

**The Representation of Turkish Immigration to Germany
in German, Turkish German and Turkish Cinema**

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Deniz Güneş Yardımcı, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the 20th century, various migration movements have transformed not only European cultures and societies but also European cinema. Migration, identity politics and cultural encounters of various kinds have emerged as prominent themes in European cinemas. Filmmakers with a migratory background have played a pivotal role in bringing these themes to public attention. They have also introduced new aesthetic and narrative forms which have influenced well-established cinematic traditions, thereby creating a culturally hybrid diasporic and transnational cinema.

This dissertation takes a comparative approach to the representation of Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in German, Turkish German and Turkish cinema. While there is already a considerable amount of scholarly literature on the representation of Turkish guest-workers and Turkish diaspora culture in German cinema, a critical analysis of Turkish migration in Turkish cinema is still outstanding. My thesis seeks to address this gap by offering an important complementary vantage point that also includes Turkish cinema.

By drawing on theories of cultural hybridity, I invoke a critical framework that has hitherto not been systematically applied to the corpus of films under investigation and that, therefore, has the capacity to yield original insights into the filmic construction of migrant and diasporic identities. I argue that German, Turkish German and Turkish cinemas exhibit three distinctive perspectives when depicting Turkish migrants and address issues of cultural hybridity in different ways.

This study combines a literature review and the exploration of relevant theoretical concepts with a contextual and textual analysis of selected films. The dissertation's comparative approach, which focuses on the cinema of the receiving country, the cinema of the sending country, and transnational Turkish German cinema, seeks to make an original contribution to the existing body of scholarship on filmic representations of Turkish migration into Germany in these (trans)national film cultures.

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INTRODUCTION

In the famous Turkish movie *Almanya Acı Vatan/Germany Bitter Homeland* (1979, Şerif Gören), Güldane, a Turkish guest-worker in Germany, has a monotonous, hectic, and stressful job as an assembly line worker at a typewriter factory. The scenes showing Güldane at home and at her workplace emphasise the inhumane living and working conditions by depicting Güldane running and working rapidly in a sterile environment of white and cold pastel blue. ‘Achtung 25959! Achtung 07401! Achtung 07401! Achtung 22401!’, a constant robotic voice chivvies the workers along by calling ‘Attention’, followed by their personal numbers whilst a disturbing relentlessly loud machine noise persists throughout the scenes. The 1970s’ disco hit song ‘Rasputin’ by Boney M, playing at the factory, accompanies the scene that introduces Güldane’s work. The upbeat music that aims to speed up the workflow and increase efficiency is incompatible with the song’s original context – German discos in the 1970s and a hedonistic Western lifestyle – and stands in stark contrast to the hard living and working conditions experienced by guest-workers.

Whilst Güldane faces the hardship of the capitalist industrialised world, her husband Mahmut struggles with the foreign German culture. When he arrives at the train station in Berlin, he is left alone with a suitcase and an address. Mahmut is overwhelmed by the new impressions and his effort to speak to the people around him to ask for help to find the address fails. When he finally manages to leave the station things get worse. Anxious and confused, he wanders around the streets, observes his environment, which appears strange to him, gets lost in a huge mall, and is afraid of crossing busy streets. Mahmut’s panic peaks when it gets dark and he is confronted by disturbing bright lights and a crowd of people asking him: ‘Hey Turk, do you have hashish?’. This question echoes loudly several times accompanied by hysterical laughter. Mahmut, who feels threatened, starts to run and hides in a corner where he falls asleep. When he wakes up to the loud church bells his anxiety starts all over again. In the course of the film, Mahmut will continue to struggle to adapt to this new cultural environment.

Güldane’s difficult working and living conditions and Mahmut’s loneliness, speechlessness, his experience of foreignness and being the *other*, and culture shock are well-established thematic complexes in the representation of early Turkish labour immigrants, which started in the 1960s, in German cinema. Scholars in the field of

Turkish German diasporic and transnational cinema such as Göktürk (1999) and Burns (2007a) have identified a shift in the representation of Turkish immigrants from a pessimistic social worker perspective in German cinema in the 1970s and 1980s, towards a cinema produced by second- and third-generation Turkish German filmmakers since the 1990s, that emphasises cultural hybridity and the heterogeneity of the Turkish diaspora. Whilst Göktürk argues that the representation has seen a shift from a ‘cinema of duty’ to a cinema that features the ‘pleasures of hybridity’ (Göktürk 1999: 7), Burns describes this phenomenon as a change from the ‘cinema of the affected’ to a ‘cinema of hybridity’ (Burns 2007a: 375).¹ Both scholars highlight the notion of hybridity as a distinctive component of the second phase of films by Turkish German diasporic filmmakers.

The term (cultural) hybridity, which Robin Cohen calls a ‘newly-fashionable word’, is growing in significance in the context of global migration movements and diasporas in the contemporary world and has superseded notions like multiculturalism and interculturalism that advocate a static, and thus essentialist, understanding of culture and cultural identity (Cohen 2008: xiv). As the sociologist Claire Alexander notes in her article ‘Diaspora and Hybridity’, ‘while the history of modernity is the history of movement (...), the past 100 years have seen dramatic upheavals that have transformed the racial and ethnic landscape globally, and in small, local and intimate spaces of everyday lives’ (2010: 487). Indeed, Europe in the 20th century is marked by various migration processes caused by decolonisation around the 1950s (particularly movements from North Africa to France and South Asia to Britain), socioeconomic factors that led to labour migration after the end of the Second World War (from Southern European countries, Turkey, and former Yugoslavia into Northern and Western Europe), migration flows from Eastern to Western Europe as part of the disintegration of the former Soviet Union after the 1990s and migration from outside Europe, including refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, the Schengen Agreement’s open border policy and the worldwide economic crisis have led to two distinct strands of an intra-EU migration. Firstly, there is an increase of emigration from Romania and Bulgaria mainly into countries in west and south Europe after their accession in the European Union in 2007 (European Commission 2011). Secondly, after the global financial and debt crisis in the late 2000s that has in particular affected the economy of some Southern European countries, a new wave of migration from the so-called PIGS

¹ Chapters 3.1 and 3.2 provide an in-depth exploration of the shift, related terminologies, and the characteristics of the two phases of the representation of Turkish migrants before and after the mid-1990s.

states (Portugal, Italy, Greece and, Spain) started as a result of increasing unemployment rates. Furthermore, recently, the conflict in Syria between the government and different anti-government forces that started in 2011 continues to cause one of the largest migration crises affecting neighbouring countries and European countries (Yazgan et al. 2015).

Especially since the 1980s, various sometimes overlapping terms, concepts and theories have emerged that deal with migration and its diverse effects on the sending and receiving countries' societies and with the meaning of culture, identity, and nation (Alexander 2010, Kalra et al. 2005, Brubaker 2005). Alexander argues that conceptualisations of diaspora and hybridity have occurred alongside each other, problematising the notion of culture and identity and their (changing) connotations for migration (2010: 488). The diverse migration movements have shaped the receiving countries' culture including their cinematic traditions. Scholars investigating the impact in films such as Hamid Naficy (2001), Thomas Elsaesser (2005), Stuart Hall (1990, 1991), Laura Marks (2000), and Sujata Moorti (2003) are also interested in engaging with the terms diaspora, hybridity, culture, and identity.

With respect to European cinema, Berghahn and Sternberg note that 'European cinema has been transformed as a result of the increased visibility of film-makers with a migratory background (...). Representations of migration and diasporic experiences and cross-cultural encounters have assumed a prominent position in cinematic narratives' (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010b: 2). The authors further point out that these filmmakers' 'non-European aesthetic paradigms and generic templates (...) have changed and revitalised European cinema' (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010b: 2). Alongside Maghrebi French, Black British and Asian British cinema, Turkish German cinema has attracted much scholarly interest.

Although extensive research has been carried out on different aspects of the representation of Turkish labour migrants and their descendants in German and Turkish German cinema, no study exists which adequately covers the notion of cultural hybridity in respect of the narratives and aesthetics of these films. Even though scholars working in the field of Turkish German cinema invoke the term hybridity in their essays on Turkish German films – like Deniz Göktürk (1999) and Rob Burns (2007b) – and briefly discuss hybridity in response to the shift that took place in Turkish German filmmaking in the 1990s, thus far, cultural hybridity has not been systematically examined. This in particular pertains to films that emerged in Turkish cinema, where up to this point no debate exists that applies Bhabha's concepts of cultural hybridity and

the *third space* to these films. In applying a critical framework from postcolonial studies, I seek to make an innovative critical intervention in current scholarly debate. Hence, this dissertation is the first in-depth study, attempting to apply the concept of cultural hybridity to Turkish cinema. Moreover, scholarly debates about the representation of Turkish immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany do not address how these communities are represented in Turkish cinema.² This study aims to make an important contribution to the field by including Turkish cinema. Furthermore, cultural hybridity is a critical approach that has neither been applied to the corpus of German films from the 1970s and 1980s nor to Turkish films from the 1960s to the present. I suggest that cultural and linguistic hybridity as a heuristic tool will result in original insights into Turkish, German, and Turkish German films about immigrants that go far beyond the dominant discourse that reads these films in relation to the discursive contribution they make to political debates about immigration and integration. In this dissertation I have combined close textual and contextual analysis of certain apposite films with a critical exploration of important theories and concepts.

The reasons for adopting a contextual analysis are twofold. Firstly, films dealing with Turkish migration to Germany naturally engage with real sociohistorical developments and the different phases of a migration movement that started in the 1960s. Embedding these films – especially those chosen for close textual analysis – into this wider sociohistorical context offers additional insight beyond the text. This will help to ‘activate’ ‘meaning’ in the text that could otherwise pass unnoticed and to integrate it for a more precise analysis. However, I am aware that this can lead to a quite biased examination of the text. Secondly, films about migration made in Turkish Yeşilçam cinema are highly impacted by specific production circumstances that existed in the Yeşilçam era between the 1950s and 1980s. Therefore, it is essential to consider the film production context in Turkey during that time. Given the importance of integrating context into the film analysis and setting it into a dialogue with the text, I intend to investigate the history of Turkish migration to Germany and evaluate its impact on both countries and the film production context during the Yeşilçam era in Turkey in this thesis. I have chosen to combine contextual analysis with a close textual analysis over a close formal analysis for different reasons. Even though I am certain that the cinematography and the use of filmic tools such as editing, sound, and camera play a

² Rather than giving a literature review in one block at the beginning of the dissertation, I have decided to break it up. A detailed literature review on research about the representation of Turkish migration in German and Turkish German cinema will be given in Chapter 3.1 and in Turkish cinema in Chapter 4.1.

crucial role in the representation of migration, I believe that the text will yield greater insight into developments in the representation of themes in particular. However, I will include certain significant formal aspects in my analysis. The films chosen for a close textual analysis will be introduced further below.

The dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 1 provides an overview of the sociohistorical context of Turkish immigration to Germany, starting with Germany and Turkey's bilateral labour recruitment agreements in the 1950s and 1960s. It is divided into two subchapters; the first gives an historical outline of the most important political and social developments from the recruitment of the early guest-workers until they became permanent settlers and formed a Turkish diaspora in Germany. Besides providing relevant data about the number of guest-workers and the Turkish community, I give an account of significant legal steps in German politics in the course of the 50 years until the early guest-workers and their families were officially recognised as an immigrant community by Germany. It concludes by providing some statistical data about the Turkish diaspora's contemporary socioeconomic position in German society. Whilst this first part looks at the milestones of Turkish immigration from the perspective of the receiving country Germany, the second part of this chapter addresses the reasons for Turkish migration and examines the social and economic impact on Turkish society and culture. This second subchapter also discusses current migration trends, such as return migration to Turkey, continuing migration to Germany through arranged marriages, and the transnational mobility of today's Turkish German transmigrants. The historical background sketched in Chapter 1 seeks to contextualise the cinematic representations of Turkish migration in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework upon which the analysis of the representation of Turkish immigrants in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema is based. It examines the concepts of diaspora and cultural hybridity in relation to other relevant terms such as 'migration', 'immigrant', 'postcolonialism' and 'cultural identity'. It starts by investigating the concept of 'diaspora'. I draw on a range of interdisciplinary scholarly literature, including works by the sociologists Avtar Brah, Rogers Brubaker, and Robin Cohen, the anthropologists Pnina Werbner and James Clifford, the political scientist William Safran, and the literature scholars Khachig Tölölyan and Andreas Huyssen, who all do research in the field of diaspora studies. The exploration concludes with a discussion as to whether the Turkish community in Germany, with the majority having lived there for more than five decades, can be regarded as a diaspora. It is important to establish this since I will draw on theories of

diaspora and diasporic cinema in the analysis in the cinematic case studies. The second part of the chapter seeks to explore the connection between diaspora, cultural identity and what Avtar Brah termed *diaspora space*. Since scholars engaging with diasporas often relate the term to the concept of hybridity, I draw on the above mentioned authors and expand this by including the theories of sociologists like Stuart Hall and Virinder Kalra, and Nikos Papastergiadis from cultural studies. The third part of the chapter provides a detailed discussion of hybridity, including Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of linguistic hybridity, and elaborates on the related ideas of heteroglossia, dialogue, double-voicedness, intentional/artistically organised hybridity, and unintentional/organic hybridity. These are then linked to the linguistic hybridity that occurs in various forms of language-mixing, such as language-crossing and code-switching, which is a common practice in cinemas dealing with migration and in particular diasporic cinemas like Turkish German cinema. This section mainly refers to works from the sociolinguists Ben Rampton and John Gumperz, who coined key terms in the field of multicultural language change, and Jannis Androutsopoulos, who has written about language-mixing practices in multicultural urban youth milieus and amongst Turkish Germans. The chapter continues with an examination of Homi Bhabha's cultural hybridity that has emerged in the context of postcolonial studies. I briefly introduce Edward Said's (1978) seminal work *Orientalism* in relation to Bhabha's theorisation of mimicry, cultural hybridity and *third space*. I then consider whether or not this idea of cultural hybridity can actually be applied to Turkish immigrants in Germany, who have no postcolonial history. My discussion of cultural hybridity concludes with a synopsis of the scholarly debates surrounding this influential concept, including critiques by Robert Young, Jonathan Friedman, Paul Gilroy, Aijaz Ahmad and two scholars from Germany, Kien Nghi Ha and Mark Terkessidis. The final part of Chapter 2 addresses the characteristics of aesthetic hybridity in films from diasporic and culturally hybrid filmmakers by approaching several key concepts in this field like Hamid Naficy's accented cinema, Sujata Moorti's diasporic optic, Kobena Mercer's dialogic tendencies, Laura Marks's haptic visuality and the model of polyglot cinema by Chris Wahl.

The third chapter examines the representation of immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in German and Turkish German cinema. Considering the immigration history of Germany and the related theoretical concepts of hybridity, diaspora, and identity as discussed in Chapter 2, I aim to discuss the development of cinema about migration in Germany starting from the first cinematic representation of early guest-workers and

their families up to the present depiction of the Turkish diaspora. After a detailed outline of the scholarship on migration in German and Turkish German cinema, I expand the literature review section by focusing on pertinent concepts, terminologies, key paradigms, and findings from scholars in this field. The significant change that has taken place in the representation of migration in the cinema of Germany over the decades has attracted much academic attention and resulted in the emergence of new terminologies to describe and classify the films in two main categories. Exploring terms such as *Gastarbeiterkino*, cinema of alterity, cinema of the affected, and cinema of duty for films produced in the first phase and expressions such as transnational cinema, culturally hybrid cinema, hyphenated identity cinema, cinema of double occupancy, accented cinema, cinema du *métissage*, and Turkish German cinema for films made by diasporic filmmakers after the mid-1990s, I elaborate on the thematic and stylistic characteristics of the two phases. Thus, Chapter 3.2 investigates the particular term used to characterise films about migration released between the 1970s and late 1980s. In Chapter 3.3, I apply the concept of cultural hybridity to films produced in this first phase. By drawing on the five most famous movies from this phase *Katzelmacher* (1969, Rainer Werner Fassbinder), *Angst essen Seele auf/Fear Eats Soul* (1974, Rainer Werner Fassbinder), *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland/40 Square Meters of Germany* (1986, Tevfik Başer), *Abschied vom falschen Paradies/Farewell to a False Paradise* (1989, Tevfik Başer), and *Yasemin* (1988, Hark Bohm), I will show how cultural hybridity is already apparent in various dimensions in these early films that have not as yet been analysed with reference to this theoretical concept. Chapter 3.4 focuses on the depiction of immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in Turkish German cinema, which constitutes the second phase that began in the mid-1990s. Drawing on Bhabha's conceptualisation of cultural hybridity and Bakhtin's theories of linguistic hybridity, I examine cinematic representations of cultural hybridity and culturally hybrid identities. Chapter 3.5 applies the concept of cinema of hybridity to five films by the Turkish diasporic filmmaker Fatih Akın: *Kurz und Schmerzlos/Short Sharp Shock* (1999), *Kebab Connection*³, (2005), *Im Juli/In July* (2000), *Gegen die Wand/Head-On* (2004), and *Auf der anderen Seite/The Edge of Heaven* (2007).

Chapter 4 investigates the representation of Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in Turkish cinema from the 1960s to the present. After a brief literature review and an outline of the main research questions, I attempt a classification of relevant films. The chapter examines the impact of Turkish Yeşilçam cinema and its

³ *Kebab Connection* is directed by the German Anno Saul, with a screenplay by Fatih Akın.

specific narrative and aesthetic characteristics on films about Turkish migration between the 1960s and 1980s, before analysing the so-called new cinema of Turkey from the 1990s until the present. The following close textual analysis of *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı/A Turkish Girl in Germany* (1974, Hulki Saner) and *Almanya Acı Gurbet/Germany Bitter Gurbet* (1988, Yavuz Figenli), both produced during the high- and late-Yeşilçam era, and the recent comedy *Berlin Kaplanı/The Tiger of Berlin* (2012, Hakan Algül) asks how the representation of Turkish migrants is affected by different generic conventions ranging from Yeşilçam singer films over arabesk melodramas to comedy. One of my main concerns is investigating how cultural hybridity is reflected in the use of language, music, and genre and how this relates to the construction of culturally hybrid identities in these films.

In sum, this dissertation aims to make a contribution to the existing body of work on Turkish German cinema, and, more broadly, scholarship on diasporic and transnational cinema. In addition, it intervenes with academic debates in the newly emerging area in Turkish film studies, namely the representation of Turkish German migration and diaspora in Turkish cinema. I suggest that any form of migration leads to multifaceted cultural encounters that inevitably influence culture and identity and result in the cultural hybridisation of identity, its artistic representation, and of cinema as a whole. In applying the concept of cultural hybridity to films about Turkish German migrants in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema, I argue that all three cinemas not only feature culturally hybrid characters, but also culturally hybrid narrative and aesthetic strategies. Moreover, the comparative analytical perspective of this thesis adds a new dimension to current debates about German, Turkish German cinema and Turkish migration cinema and paves the way for further research.

CHAPTER 1

From Guest-workers to Turkish German Transmigrants: The Social and Historical Context of Turkish Labour Immigration to Germany

The emergence of European diasporic cinema over the course of the past 30 years is related to two historically key migration flows that occurred in the second half of the 20th century. The first movement appeared in the postcolonial setting when people from former European colonies immigrated to the so-called ‘mother countries’ such as the Maghrebi and West African migration to France and the South Asian and Caribbean migration to Britain. Simultaneously, a second labour migration flow occurred from Southern European countries like Spain, Italy, Turkey, and Greece to Western and Northern European countries. Over time, these migrants’ families joined then and they became a permanent settled population and formed new diasporas (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010c: 12ff.). The Turkish labour migration to Germany that started in the early 1960s falls under the second category of migration movement. At first German filmmakers were inspired to represent the lives of the so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest-workers), but after 30 years, as second- and third-generation immigrants appeared, they not only began to shoot films of their own depicting their parents’ and grandparents’ lives influenced by their migration experience, but also showing the culturally hybrid lives of their own generations. These films from Turkish German diasporic filmmakers are mainly grouped under the label Turkish German cinema and regarded as a part of the international phenomenon of diasporic cinema.

In this chapter, I aim to outline the most significant political, legal, and social contexts of the history of immigration to Germany furnishing relevant background to how migration shaped the social reality of Germany and Turkey. This will provide some insight into the Turkish immigrants’ and the Turkish diaspora’s lives and provide a framework in which to situate film and Turkish German directors. However, I do not imply that film mirrors social reality, but instead that film contributes to public discourses on migration and has the capacity to shape these under certain conditions.

The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first section portrays labour immigration to Germany from the 1950s until the present from the receiving country’s perspective. This is followed by a brief discussion of the present socioeconomic status of the Turkish diaspora in Germany and the community’s heterogeneity. The second part focuses on migration triggers and the impact of Turkish emigration to Germany on Turkish society and culture.

1.1 From Post-1945 Guest-worker Recruitment to a Turkish Diaspora in Germany

Due to mass emigration to America until the 1890s, Germany had primarily been a country of emigration. The end of the Second World War in 1945, the following political and territorial rearrangement in Europe, and the economic growth of the 1950s provided the foundation for the migration of millions of people (Münz et al. 1999: 43; Yano 2007: 2; Bade 2004: 530f.). Jan Motte et al. suggest that German post-war history can even be defined as a history of migration including three distinct flows, namely labour migration, asylum, and the resettlement of the so-called *Aussiedler* (Motte et al. 1999: 15ff.).⁴ The rapid growth of industrial areas like the Ruhr region in Western Germany, led to labour shortages and a demand for low-cost labour. Consequently, agreements for the recruitment of foreign workers were negotiated in the 1950s and 1960s, whereupon approximately 5.1 million immigrant workers entered West Germany between 1956 and 1973 (Yano 2007: 4). Thus, Germany transitioned from a country of emigration to one of immigration together with the integration of approximately 13 million persons displaced as a result of the expulsion of Germans from Eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary and from previous Eastern European German territories that were annexed by the Soviet Union and Poland after the Second World War (Motte et al. 1999: 16f.). Klaus Bade emphasises the fact that West Germany had, socially and culturally, become a country of immigration over the decades, which had not been acknowledged legally and Germany refused to regard itself as an immigration country for a very long time (Bade 2004: 545).

The lack of labour resulted in an immigration wave from East to West Germany, leading East German authorities to erect the Berlin Wall in 1961 in order to prevent people from leaving. By the time of its construction, about 3 million people had migrated from East to West Germany (Bade 2004: 530). Due to the increased labour shortage, East Germany (German Democratic Republic) also recruited foreign workers, but on a much smaller scale than West Germany. Labour recruits in the German Democratic Republic came from countries amongst others Vietnam, Mozambique, and Cuba and the duration of their stay was restricted by the terms of their contract. The immigration policy of the former German Democratic Republic pursued a strongly regulated job rotation system regarding foreign workers and their families were not allowed to join them (Bade 2004: 534f.; Gruner-Domic 1999: 232ff.). These strictures meant migrants were likely to return to their home countries and explain the low

⁴ The term *Aussiedler* means a group of German ethnic re-settlers and will be explained further below.

number of immigrants and why they did not become permanent settlers and formed a diaspora over time.⁵ In this chapter, I focus on immigration to West Germany and to Germany after the reunification in 1990, since there has not been any significant Turkish immigration to the German Democratic Republic.

1.1.1 Situating the Turkish Immigrant: The Sociopolitical History of Immigration into Germany between the 1960s and 2000s

In this chapter, I investigate three main migrant flows: labour migration, the immigration of displaced ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*), and refugees. My main interest lies in labour migration and in particular the Turkish guest-workers and their families. My outline of migration events and immigration policies in Germany is divided into six phases up to the implementation of the important New Immigration Act of 2005. A concluding seventh still ongoing phase will cover the current situation.

The Recruitment of Guest-workers

Due to labour shortages and a period of rapid economic growth after the Second World War, the Federal Republic of Germany signed the following labour recruitment agreements with Italy (1955), Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) (Yano 2007: 2; Münz et al. 1999: 43). As the recruitment policy involved only temporary immigration and the rotation principle was applied, foreign workers' work and residence permits were generally restricted to the duration of one year (Münz et al. 1999: 47). These workers from abroad were called *Gastarbeiter* (guest-workers) as their contracts stipulated they would be sent back to their home countries after their permit expired and their positions would be occupied by new workers. However, the colloquial expression guest-worker was a sociopolitical colloquialism rather than an official confirmed designation (Bade 2004: 418). The rotating guest-worker idea was useful to the German government because it did not demand that these migrants be afforded educational opportunities or social benefits, such as German-language courses or psychological-social assistance in acculturation or integration (Mecheril: 2004: 35; Auernheimer 2003: 35).

⁵ I will explore in depth whether the Turks in Germany are a diaspora according to theoretical concepts about diasporas in Chapter 2.1.

The recruitment contracts were not the same for all and varied depending on the country of origin. The opportunity to bring families was initially exclusively reserved for workers from Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal while a two-year work-restriction applied to those from Morocco and Turkey (Yano 2007: 3). However, the continuous demand for labour prompted the government to abolish this restriction for Turkish workers in 1964, which Yano interprets as the first important step from the rotation principle to a de facto immigration of Turkish guest-workers (Yano 2007: 3f.). Near the end of the 1960s the popularity of the rotation model diminished more and more. Many guest-workers could not achieve their self-imposed savings target within one or two years, since most of their money went for living expenses. This meant that they did not make enough money to return to their homeland and start a business, purchase land, ask for a loved one's hand in marriage or achieve their economic goal.

Münz et al. focus on the employers' perspective noting that the constant rotation of the workforce proved a substantial disadvantage to companies (Münz et al. 1999: 48). As a consequence, the Federal Republic of Germany facilitated a procedure whereby the guest-workers' resident permits could be extended in 1971 and the immigrant worker could receive a special residence permit if he had been working in Germany for five years legally and without interruption. Concomitant with this development, German employers continually encouraged guest-workers to invite fellow countrymen, which, together with family reunions, led to chain migration. Up to 1973 the number of employed labour immigrants in West Germany grew to approximately 2.5 million, most of them from Turkey and Yugoslavia (Yano 2007: 4). The rapid growth of the immigrant population in Germany and their appearance in social, cultural, and political settings led to a public debate about the 'guest-worker issue' in the early 1970s. Yano argues that many Germans developed a fear of 'foreign infiltration' as a consequence of the increased numbers of immigrant children in schools (Yano 2007: 4). The public debates about the guest-worker model, but in particular OPEC's (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil embargo and the subsequent recession, caused the Federal Republic of Germany to change this recruitment policy at the end of 1973 (Yano 2007: 5; Bade 2004: 439; Motte et al. 1999: 191).

From the 'Guest-worker Problem' to a De Facto Country of Immigration

The second phase of immigration into West Germany lasted from 1973 to 1979 and was primarily characterised by the family reunions of the previously recruited employees. In 1973, 2,595 million immigrant labourers were living in Germany, of whom more than

600,000 were Turkish (Herbert 2001: 224). When the recruitment stopped, the number of immigrant employees fell but the total immigrant population continued to rise. The number of employed immigrants decreased from approximately 2.6 million to approximately 2.1 million between September 1973 and September 1980, while the total number of the immigrant population increased from approximately 3.5 million to approximately 4.5 million over the same period (Yano 2007: 5). The end of the recruitment phase in 1973 actually encouraged family members to move to Germany as this now represented their only chance to emigrate. Employees from Turkey in particular (and their families) decided not to leave Germany, since as citizens migrating from a non-European Community country, they were not given a permit to re-enter Germany and thus the majority settled permanently in Germany.

In 1974, more than 1 million Turks belonged to the residential population and about half of them were employed. The number of Turkish residents increased steadily, whereas residents from other countries decreased until 1979. People of Turkish origin made up more than 1.4 million out of a total of 4.4 million migrants, i.e. they were the largest immigrant group in Germany in 1980 (Bundesministerium des Innern 1982: 31). Furthermore, due to the continuing family reunions, marriages with partners from Turkey, and the high birth rate of Turkish immigrants, the Turkish community in Germany continued to grow. Family reunions defeated the actual purpose of the halt in recruitment, since more rather than fewer Turkish immigrants settled in Germany. The average length of stay of those who had entered Germany as workers and of family members became increasingly longer (Yano 2007: 6). Over time, the migrants moved out of their worker residences and settled in certain affordable neighbourhoods close to the factories in big cities, leading to the formation of special milieus similar to ghettos. The migrants' savings ratio decreased, their consumption ratio increased and their connection to their home country became weaker, which in particular applied to their children, the second-generation labour migrants (Herbert 2001: 232-236).

The working conditions of these immigrants differed from those of the majority of the population. They were mostly semi-skilled workers in the low-waged sector with few opportunities for advancement. In addition, their workload was heavy and they were employed in a sector in which health-damaging, dangerous, and dirty work had to be done. German sociologist Stefan Hradil points out that these were jobs that the Germans did not want. The advent of guest-workers enabled Germans to work at pleasanter jobs (Hradil 2005: 345). Unemployment amongst immigrant workers gradually began to increase because their professional fields were those most affected

by the economic crisis of the 1970s (Herbert 2001: 237). The situation in those years can be summarised as follows: family immigration leading to the emergence of a second generation; the immigrants' endurance of poor working and living conditions; and the increasingly tense relations between the majority and minority population.

When the German Federal Government realised that labour immigration to Germany had developed far beyond the original rotating guest-worker model and that settler communities had resulted, it reacted with three main action plans: limiting immigration into Germany, offering a support scheme for return migration, and providing temporary social integration for immigrants like additional German-language classes at schools (Yano 2007: 5). Herbert stresses the ambivalence of this political strategy, which, on the one hand, restricted immigration into Germany and provided financial support and benefits to encourage immigrants to return to their homelands in order to calm the German population, but on the other hand, acknowledged the existence of the second generation, recognised their social and educational needs and responded with measures for integration (Herbert 2001: 247f.). About two-thirds of all immigrants had lived in the former Federal Republic of Germany for more than six years by 1980. And West Germany had virtually become a country of immigration (Yano 2007: 6).

Competing Integration Concepts

The third phase of migration policy in West Germany between 1979 and 1981 was characterised by political, social, and scholarly debates about diverse integration models. At the end of 1978, Heinz Kühn in the SPD (Social Democratic Party) became the Federal Republic of Germany's first official 'Representative for the Integration of Foreign Employees and Their Family Members'. Kühn suggested a paradigm shift in the migration and integration policy from restrictions and temporary integration towards profound integration (Yano 2007: 6). The key demand of his first report in 1979 (The 'Kühn Memorandum') was that the government recognise the facts of the immigration situation and develop a deliberate integration policy. Kühn called in particular for communal suffrage for immigrants, the option of naturalisation for young people who were born and grew up in the Federal Republic of Germany, and equal opportunities for the second-generation immigrants in education, apprenticeship, and employment. However, the then Social Democratic Party/Free Democratic Party government did not implement Kühn's suggestions and continued to focus on temporary integration (Auernheimer 2003: 39; Yano 2007: 6). To sum up, Kühn's demands were an important

step towards Germany recognising itself as a country of immigration but they remained widely unnoticed in political and public discourse.

The Change in West Germany's 'Foreigners Policy'

In the preceding phase starting in 1981, West German policy on 'foreigners' became harsher and more restrictive once more. Between 1981 and 1990 immigration mainly occurred in the form of further family reunions and asylum (Herbert 2001: 247). Despite the end to recruitment in 1973, migration flows from Turkey changed rather than ceased due to considerable refugee movement in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980, a military coup d'état in Turkey raised the number of asylum seekers when Turkish and Kurdish political opponents of the then Turkish government fled. At that time, more than half of all applications from asylum seekers came from Turkey (Hanrath 2011: 16). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the outbreak of a military conflict between the Turkish security forces and the formerly separatist PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan) in the southeast of Turkey, led to a further wave of asylum seekers from Turkey, this time, predominantly refugees from Kurdish provinces (Hanrath 2011: 16).

These new migration events unsettled the German population once again and 'foreign infiltration' fears became a public issue. These fears motivated the return to a more restrictive policy on foreigners, which was implemented with the required cabinet decisions in 1981. This restrictive policy was directed at all foreigners from non-European Community countries and included measures against family reunion and the reduction of the age from 18 to 16 for children, who wanted to join their families. Parallel to this, measures were introduced to encourage immigrants to return home like a repatriation bonus of 10,500 West German Mark for unemployed or short-term working guest-workers. The Federal Government estimated that the repatriation support was taken up by 300,000 guest-workers and this was seen as a major success (Herbert 2001: 247-255). The response to these initiatives was meagre and in fact Turkish, Yugoslavian, and Greek immigrants in particular continued to bring their family members into Germany (Yano 2007: 7).

Germany's denial that it had become a country of immigration, negative debates about 'foreigners' and asylum seekers, and the instrumentalisation of the migration issue in election campaigns, had a negative impact on society's perception of immigrants, with Turks especially seen as the problem. Media discourse reiterated that the Turks were unwilling to integrate. In addition, the Turks' different culture (primarily their Islamic faith and social practices) was considered a problem (Herbert 2001: 259f.).

In 1986, violent assaults on refugees increased and the issue moved to the fore again featuring prominently in election campaigns for the Bundestag of 1987.

By 1987, the ‘foreign’ population had reached a total of 4.8 million (Yano 2007: 7). The social marginalisation of these people became increasingly apparent as time went on, caused partly by the decreasing importance of the old industrial sectors (the metal and textile industries), in which they had predominantly worked. This initially triggered discrimination against immigrants and their families in the employment market. The second generation in particular was struggling to find apprenticeship and employment. As a consequence, several additional social and youth projects appeared designed to tackle the ‘problems’ of lack of integration and language deficiencies (Auernheimer 2003: 38ff.).

The urgent need for a contemporary ‘Aliens Act’ was already apparent in the 1980s, but did not become effective until 1991. The partially progressive but also restrictive ‘Aliens Act’ introduced a regulated family reunion policy and made naturalisation easier for the second generation. However, at the same time, it enhanced the Foreigners’ Registration Office’s discretionary powers to extend limited residence permits (Yano 2007: 7f.). To conclude, although these amendments to the naturalisation process offered proper immigrant status to foreigners for the first time, Germany still did not accept that it had become a country of immigration.

Asylum and *Aussiedler* Policy: A New Immigration Process

In the re-unified Germany, a new phase of migration history began in 1991 and continued until 1998. This phase was characterised by a new influx of immigrants mainly Third World asylum seekers, war refugees from former Yugoslavia, and re-settlers of German descent called *Aussiedler*. Most re-settlers originated from countries of the former Soviet Union and since German citizenship was based on *jus sanguinis* they received German citizenship due to their German ethnicity (Mecheril 2004: 29). Initially, the majority of refugees came from Africa and Asia; later the number of civil war refugees from former Yugoslavia increased.

The subject of asylum seekers came into the fore during the German national election campaign of 1990, the campaign became increasingly anti-asylum, backed by the tabloid *Bild-Zeitung* and the *Welt am Sonntag* (Herbert 2001: 299). Fears of ‘foreign infiltration’ and moral outrage about ‘benefit cheats’ led to xenophobic violent acts against refugees and immigrant workers. Numerous assaults on foreigners and asylum seekers culminated in attacks on their homes in Hoyerswerda, Solingen, and Mölln

(Herbert 2001: 304-320). High immigration figures with many entitled to political asylum (440,000 alone in 1992) and the general unrest of the majority generated change in the basic right to asylum in article 13 of the constitution (Yano 2007: 12). The idea was to refuse asylum to refugees originating from countries 'free of persecution' and to those entering via 'safe third countries' and rendering Germany almost inaccessible to refugees by land culminated in fewer asylum seekers (Yano 2007: 12f.).

Alongside guest-workers from the first wave of labour recruitment, *Aussiedler* are the second most significant group of immigrants in Germany. *Aussiedler* are ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe as well as the dissolution of the socialist state USSR between 1989 and 1991 brought a new wave of immigration. Until 1989 the majority of the *Aussiedler* came primarily from Poland but after 1991, 90% hailed from the former Soviet republics. Ethnic Germans immigrating after 1993 are called *Spätaussiedler* (late-*Aussiedler*). This enormous immigration wave led Germany to limit the inflow of re-settlers in subsequent years. These immigrants were considered to be ethnic Germans and so were immediately naturalised, enjoyed privileged status compared to other immigrants and benefited from special integration measures (Motte et al. 1999: 19). However, their societal problems were very similar to those of other immigrants, such as insufficient language proficiency, ghettoisation, and unemployment. Despite these three enormous immigration movements in these years, Germany still did not accept the fact that it had become a country of immigration. This paradigm shift occurred during the following phase of migration and integration under the new coalition formed by the Social Democratic Party and Alliance 90/The Greens (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), which governed Germany from 1995 to 2005.

Citizenship and the New Immigration Act

The change of government in 1998 led to a shift in Germany's immigration policy, including the reformation of the Nationality Act and the introduction of the *Green Card* alongside debates about a New Immigration Act in a phase that lasted until 2004. In particular the reformation of the Nationality Act in 1999 provided a significant improvement, since German citizenship was no longer based only on heritage (*jus sanguinis*), but linked to the birthplace principle (*jus soli*). The new regulation of January 2000 granted 'foreigners' children born in Germany additionally German citizenship up to the age of 23 after which they could decide themselves which citizenship to keep (Yano 2007: 8f.). The right to citizenship was a necessary but

delayed response to the social reality of a Germany marked by the diasporisation of different immigrant communities over decades, like the Turkish diaspora.

The *Green Card* initiative was the second key element of the immigration policy and allowed Germany to invite IT specialists into the country for a period of up to five years, but excluded bringing their families (Herbert 2001: 333).

A further innovative step was the passing of the New Immigration Act in 2005. The legislative procedure took more than four years and was accompanied by various multifaceted political, public, and academic discussions about immigration, integration, and multiculturalism. After multiple compromises and renewals, the New Immigration Act became effective on 1 January 2005 (Heckmann and Vitt 2002: 237-286). It was Germany's first-ever immigration law to govern all immigration issues and was the first official acknowledgment that Germany was a country of immigration.

The Migration Policy in Germany since 2005

The integration of immigrants now took priority in the policy of the next government of Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union. To underline the significance of this issue an 'integration summit' was formed under the Federal Government initiative in 2006, including representatives from politics, media, and immigrant associations. Subsequent to this summit, a 'National Integration Plan' was developed, which focused on dialogue with Muslims and the convening of an Islamic conference (Bade 2007: 53). The implementation of mandatory so-called 'integration' courses on German language, German history and culture as well as Germany's legal system for (newly arrived) immigrants in 2015 proves that Germany took integration seriously. The integration course idea was received critically by migrant organisations and refugee associations because of its mandatory nature and the fact that penalties could result.

I want to conclude the historical outline of the immigration history of Germany at this stage, since the following events are beyond the scope of my research interest, which focuses on the early Turkish guest-workers and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. The next subchapter investigates the current socioeconomic status of immigrants and the Turkish diasporic community in Germany.

1.1.2 Germans with a Migration Background and the Turkish Community's Heterogeneity

As a result of the various immigration movements starting with the labour recruitment of the 1950s, the numbers of citizens with a migration background continuously rose. According to the definition of the Federal Statistical Office, a person has a migration background, if she/him herself/himself, or at least one parent has not received the German citizenship at birth (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016: 4) The term includes third-country nationals, EU migrants, naturalised Germans and immigrants' descendants. The Microcensus, which is an annual official collection of statistics on the population and the labour market in Germany conducted jointly by the Federal Statistical Office and the statistical offices of the federal states, provides information on the lives of migrants in Germany including the Turkish diaspora.

The latest Microcensus 2015 confirms that there are 17.1 million people (out of a population of 81.404 million) with a migration background, which equates to 21% of the total population. Most of these originate from Turkey (16.7%), followed by Poland (9.9%), the Russian Federation (7.1%), Italy (4.5%), and Kazakhstan (5.5%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016: 7). The census also shows that, in comparison with the native German population, those with a migrant background are significantly younger (36.0 vs. 47.7 age), more often single (46.5% vs. 39.0%) and male (50.6% vs. 48.7%), and their households are larger (2.3 persons per each household vs. 1.9). Moreover, there are significant differences in education participation those with a migration background having 13.3% (vs. 1.7%) no secondary school-leaving qualifications. Those between 25 and 65 are almost twice as frequently unemployed (7.3% vs. 3.7%) than native Germans, are more rarely gainfully employed, and more often workers (versus civil servants) (34.1% vs. 18.4%). Those with a migration background most often work in industry, in trade, and in the catering and hotel industry (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015: 7).

The results of the Microcensus 2015 confirm well-known facts. The German sociologists Stefan Hradil and Rainer Geißler reach comparable results concerning the demographic and socioeconomic situations of people with a migration background in Germany, discovering that people with a migration background disproportionately often belong to the underclass (Hradil 2005: 332-353; Geißler 2006: 231-254). However, the problem with the census data is that it conveys the misleading impression that people with a migrant background are a homogeneous group. In reality, the heterogeneous

community has different lifestyles, value orientation, and social conditions, just as is the case with the heterogenic German majority population.

To show for the heterogeneity of the population with a migration background, the Sinus Institute (2008) has conducted studies on migrant milieus that confirmed the multifacetedness of this community. The objective was to uncover the lifestyles of these people in order to identify common sociocultural clusters and special social milieus (Flaig and Wippermann 2009: 7). This research, conducted also exclusively on people with a Turkish background, identified 8 specific migrant milieus: the Religious Deep-Rooted Milieu, Traditional Guest-worker Milieu, Uprooted Milieu, Status-Orientated Milieu, Intellectual-Cosmopolitan Milieu, Adaptive Middle-Class Milieu, Hedonistic-Subcultural Milieu, and Multicultural Performer Milieu (Sinus Sociovision 2008a; Sinus Sociovision 2008b).

Sinus's study reveals a complex image of the communities with a migration background in general and the heterogeneity of the Turkish diaspora in particular. Nevertheless, this concept of milieu, primarily developed for market research and psephology in the 1980s, has been justly criticised by several sociologists, such as Michael Vester (2001) and Rainer Geißler (1996, 2006), for neglecting and minimising the importance of the persistent socioeconomic inequalities people with a migration background still face and ignoring real socioeconomic conditions, but instead surveying lifestyles and cultural, social, and political attitudes, depicting a colourful variety of diverse migrant milieus. However, the milieu concept draws attention to the vital fact that immigrant communities and diaspora in Germany are heterogeneous. This knowledge will be of importance when analysing the representation of Turkish immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema in particular to evaluate whether these cinemas represent this heterogeneity or rely on stereotypical depictions.

1.2 The Socioeconomic Impact of Turkish Emigration to Germany on Turkey

This section focuses solely on Turkish immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany, investigating the reasons for their emigration, their socioeconomic backgrounds, family structures, and the impact of their emigration on Turkish society and culture. This will facilitate a greater understanding of the representation of Turkish migrants particularly in Turkish cinema.

Except for the mass emigration of the non-Muslim population in the course of the nation-building in Turkey at the beginning of the 1920s, emigration from Turkey was minimal until the early 1960s (İçduygu 2012: 13). The labour migration to Germany that began in the 1960s and the refugee movements after the military coup d'état in Turkey later in the 1980s and 1990s, had not only a socioeconomic and cultural impact on Germany as explored in the previous section of this chapter, but also on Turkey. In his article entitled '50 Years after the Labour Recruitment Agreement with Germany: The Consequences of Emigration for Turkey' Ahmet İçduygu (2012) analyses the impact of Turkish emigration on Turkey's society and economy. From the start the author underlines the paucity of literature on this subject and notes that, although research on several areas of Turkish emigration exists, there has been comparatively little on the consequences of emigration for Turkey (İçduygu 2012: 12f.). Before investigating the socioeconomic impact of the migration process on Turkey, the main push and pull factors behind emigration and the Turkish migrants' characteristics will be described.

Push Factors of Turkish Emigration

In consideration of the external and internal migration patterns from Turkey after the mid-1950s, Ayhan Kaya and Fikret Adaman (2012) mention most of the sociological characteristic push and pull factors of migration including the 'industrialization and mechanization in agriculture as well as qualitative and quantitative superiority of various services like health and education' (4). The authors found that patterns of emigration in Turkey are strongly linked to the country's political and socioeconomic developments. The literature focuses on two key socioeconomic factors.

The first is the demise of the agricultural sector in Turkey. Given that agriculture was predominant in Turkey in the first part of the 20th century, its mechanisation during the 1950s threatened proletarianisation and unemployment for those in the agricultural sector in rural regions and led to migration movements from rural regions of Turkey to firstly urban areas in Turkey, particularly Istanbul and, secondly, to Western European countries. External migration began, so Ahmet Akgündüz, when 'petit bourgeois' from the agricultural sector sought to escape from the danger of proletarianisation. This group and also workers and the unemployed were 'all open to the attractions offered by advanced capitalist countries; this was the specific meaning of 'push' conditions during the recruitment period in Turkey' (Akgündüz 1993: 171). Bilateral labour agreements existed with West Germany (1961, revised in 1964) but also with other countries like

Austria, Netherlands and Belgium (1964), France (1965) and Sweden (1967) (Akgündüz: 1993: 155).

The second key push factor is fast population growth that led to a rise in unemployment (Abadan-Unat 1976: 5). In 1960, the birth rate in Turkey was significantly high at 44 per 1,000. This led to a surplus in labour supply in a country that already had ‘disguised and open unemployment’ (Abadan-Unat 1976: 5). Simultaneously, many European countries and Germany in particular required workers after the Second World War. At the same time, the first Five-Year Development Plan targeting the period from 1962 to 1967 was developed in Turkey. The plan was an illustration of the current societal and economic state of the country and included recommendations for economic development, focusing on the demographic growth that had resulted in increased unemployment. Turkey’s economic development policy wanted to find a solution for the unemployment rate, which was to export the surplus of (unskilled) labour force from Turkey to foreign countries (Abadan-Unat 2011: 12ff.). With respect to the expected economic gain of labour force emigration for Turkey, Nermin Abadan-Unat states: ‘The planners were operating on the hypothesis that sending an unskilled work force abroad would secure the return of the necessary skills with which to undertake Turkey’s industrialization process’ (Abadan-Unat 2011: 12). Related to this, İçduygu adds, besides reducing the unemployment, Turkey expected remittances from the Turkish labour migrants that would benefit the economy of the country (İçduygu 2012: 13).

Abadan-Unat summarises three main push factors for Turkish labour emigration as ‘unemployment, poverty, and economic underdevelopment’ (Abadan-Unat 1976: 3f.). Thus, the labour recruitment agreement with Germany in 1961 and other bilateral agreements with several countries of Western Europe can be regarded as a step towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Five-Year Development Plan. Germany proved the most popular country for Turkish emigrants. Akgündüz’s (1993) statistic from the Ministry of Labour in Turkey reveals that a significantly high number of Turks (649,257) emigrated to West Germany between 1961 and 1974. Emigration flows into other countries were much smaller (Akgündüz 1993: 174).

Whereas the labour emigration to Germany in the 1960s had socioeconomic reasons, the military coup in 1980 was a political trigger that resulted in the second emigration wave of Turkish left-wing intellectuals and Kurds to Germany in the 1980s and 1990s. Around 400,000 asylum seekers migrated from Turkey to countries in Western Europe between 1980 and 1995 (İçduygu 2012: 17). However, the 2000s were

characterised by the decline of emigration and asylum flows from Turkey to Western European countries. Moreover, these years were marked by return migration, to which I will refer below.

Characteristics of Turkish Emigrants with a Particular Focus on Female Migrants

The actual recruitment process was led and designed by the German *Bundestanstalt für Arbeit* (Federal Republic Labour Office), which established special recruitment offices in the countries concerned, for example Spain, Italy, and Turkey. After a successful application to the *Bundestanstalt für Arbeit* and the payment of a fee, those looking for work in Germany underwent medical check-ups to ensure they were healthy. In this way, the *Bundestanstalt für Arbeit* selected the most suitable workers for German needs.

Kaya and Kentel (2005) note that most came from Central Anatolia and the Black Sea regions. Akgündüz points out that the majority of the very first Turkish emigrants came from ‘richer and more Westernised regions of Turkey’ like Thrace, Marmara and North-Central Anatolia (Akgündüz 1993: 174). He claims that the professional skills and the education level of Turkish emigrants were high especially compared to the overall education level of the working population in Turkey. This is related to the fact that the majority of the very first Turkish emigrants came from urban regions. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that today’s Turkish migrant population in Germany is socioeconomically and culturally heterogeneous.

According to Ahmet Gökdere (1978), female workers were recruited to fulfil the demands of the German textile and electronics industry in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their number constantly increased from almost 7% in 1960 to more than a quarter of all Turkish immigrants in 1974 (Abadan-Unat 2011: 89). Abadan-Unat identifies two main factors for this: firstly, the ‘voluntary and imposed demands of potential women migrants’ and secondly, Germany’s policy of family reunification in the early 1970s (Abadan-Unat 2011: 89). In relation to the latter İçduygu draws attention to the phenomenon of marriage migration and points out its importance as a different form of family reunification. Family reunification in its traditional meaning described the reunification of married who were geographically separated. İçduygu notes that besides continuing traditional family reunifications, ‘many of the immigrants arrived in the receiving countries by way of marrying someone (...) who had already lived there: marriage migration became a new form of family reunification’ (İçduygu 2012: 15).

Abadan-Unat notes the importance of the steel and coal industry as well as the docks in Northern Germany, which required physically strong workers to begin with. Other sectors, such as the automobile, textile, food or packaging industries needed mainly female workers, with 'manual dexterity' (Abadan-Unat 2011: 89). The author points out that women from mostly rural regions of Turkey, where traditional gender roles persist, were allowed to emigrate alone by their husbands and older family members because of the family reunion opportunity after a period of time (Abadan-Unat 2011: 89f.).⁶ The emigration process had various social and psychological effects on these women, with loneliness in particular leading to unhappiness (Abadan-Unat 2011: 90). Turkish female workers in Germany had to overcome various challenges, such as adapting not just to a new country and language, but also to the new industrial environment. They had to cope with loneliness, but also enjoyed economic independence. Hence, emigration led to the emancipation of these women, which had a significant impact on traditional gender roles and their positioning in mostly extended and patriarchal family structures.

Impact on the Economy, on Families Back Home, and Social Change in Turkey

As İçduygu (2012) argues, Turkish emigration to Western European countries had a significant effect on Turkey, causing various societal changes. One of these was the returnees' liberalised attitude on traditional family roles and relationships. Furthermore, emigration had an impact on the life quality of returnees, who had improved their living standards, familiarised themselves with a different culture, and could afford better education for their children. İçduygu points out the correlation between migration and social mobility and emphasises that the returnees' social status significantly improved, which led to socioeconomic upward mobility in their home country (İçduygu 2012: 27). However, another important result was a change of attitudes to gender and generation relationships and particularly changes in the status of women and children.

Ayhan Kaya and Firkret Adaman (2012) note that the emigration process had an important influence on traditional gender roles. In the case of male migrants, women in rural regions in Turkey gained more responsibility in life: in the household, in financial issues, and childcare, empowered by the absence of men. Conventional gender roles were also altered when women emigrated and men remained, as they had to take care of the elderly and children, traditionally the woman's task. However, return migration could result in the rebuilding of traditional gender roles.

⁶ See Abadan-Unat (2011: 90f.) for demographic characteristics of Turkish female emigrants.

The separation of the family and in particular the lack of a father figure caused a kind of trauma for the children of emigrants left behind. According to Kaya and Adaman (2012) this traumatic effect on children could also be seen in those who had moved to Germany due to family reunifications, but had then been sent back to Turkey to be educated in the 1980s and 1990s when several Turkish German schools opened in Turkey to reintegrate those returned children. Most of the time, they had to stay either with their grandparents or alone without parental care. As for the elderly, this group suffered from the lack of social, financial, and health support, usually provided by the younger family members (Kaya and Adaman 2012: 19).

The emigration process had an important effect on Turkey's economy in form of remittances from migrant workers in Germany. Kaya and Adaman state that 'especially in the 1960s, remittances were regarded as the major source of external financing catering for offsetting the trade deficits in particular' (Kaya and Adaman 2011: 45). The authors observe a decline of remittances between the end of the 1990s and 2000s and relate this to the fact that the third- and fourth-generation Turkish migrants had weaker ties to Turkey and family members there and so were less likely to send money. Hülya Ülkü's (2012) microanalysis of 590 Turkish migrant households in Berlin reveals that on average 7% of the household income was returned to the home country, for investment purposes, and the financial support of family members in Turkey.

Return Migration

Kaya and Adaman (2012) differentiate several stages of return migration and note an increase in transit migration and return migration today. Returnees between the 1960s and 1980s returned to Turkey because of German's remigration programme. The number of returners until 1974 was circa 2.5 million. When Germany introduced the voluntary return scheme in 1984, around 300,000 people decided to return to Turkey (Kaya and Adaman 2012: 6). Currently, this first-generation early returnees lives half of the year in Turkey and the other half in Germany. Gitmez (1991) notes that this group had no significant socioeconomic impact on Turkish society. However, a continuous movement between Turkey and Germany marks remigration in the 1990s and 2000s.

Today, return migration has become a constant process of mobility for those transmigrants between the country of residence and the country of origin. Many Turkish emigrants who had previously settled in various European countries are returning to Turkey, but not all of them permanently (Kaya and Adaman 2012: 4).

In this respect, the steadily growing group of qualified middle- and upper-middle-class Turkish origin returners constitutes a new phenomenon. Drawing on interviews the authors note that these returners are often fluent in both Turkish and German, speak English and work in German companies such as Lufthansa, Mercedes, Siemens, or various call centres. They complain about discrimination in Germany and this prompted their return to Turkey to live in Istanbul or other big cities like Izmir to work in international companies in different sectors (Kaya and Adaman 2012: 6). İçduygu comments that early returners used to buy delivery trucks or taxis and work as taxi drivers, open small businesses, or participated in the service industry (İçduygu 2012: 25). The new generation of returners or transmigrants work in various sectors including banking, engineering, and arts and culture. Jenjira Yahirun (2012) found that those who have successfully established a secure place for themselves in the German labour market and have purchased houses are more likely to stay. Today, the outmigration of people with a Turkish origin from Germany exceeds the immigration of Turkish people to Germany (Kaya and Adaman 2012: 6f.).

The sociopolitical outline of Turkish migration history to Germany from the first labour recruitment agreement in 1961 until the present reveals some interesting facts. Due to the failure to enforce the initially planned labour rotation model, a great number of Turkish guest-workers remained in Germany. By making use of the opportunity for family reunions in the 1970s and 1980s and because of its birth rate, the Turkish community not only developed into the largest immigrant group in Germany, but gradually became permanent settlers and formed a Turkish diaspora. The early Turkish guest-workers and the following generations were regarded as foreigners for decades before Germany recognised them as immigrants. The analysis reveals two crucial realities: firstly, the early guest-workers dealt with harsh working conditions and secondly, together with the later asylum seekers, they were exposed to German society's xenophobia. Moreover, their migration had a significant social and economic impact on Turkey and Turkish society, particularly their own families. Today, they form a heterogenic Turkish diaspora and the contemporary situation is characterised by three key developments: On the one hand, Turkish immigration into Germany continues through arranged marriages between couples from Turkey and Turks in Germany, which is considered a new form of the old family reunions. On the other hand, return migration from Germany to Turkey is now a significant phenomenon, which has

attracted scholarly interest. Lastly, members from the Turkish diaspora display multifaceted transnational movements between Turkey and Germany and therefore are now regarded as transmigrants. In the following Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I will investigate how early guest-workers and the heterogamous Turkish diaspora and their lives are approached in German, Turkish German and Turkish cinema, my main focus being the representation of cultural hybridity and culturally hybrid identities.

CHAPTER 2

Theorising Diaspora and Cultural Hybridity

Contemporary sociopolitical and scholarly debates in Germany focus in the main on the notion of multiculturalism and interculturalism when engaging with Turkish migrants and those descended from migrant families. Wolfgang Welsch (1999) argues that these concepts draw on Johann Gottfried Herder, who considers culture to be rather folk-bound and static. However, recent scholarly debates, especially through the concepts of transculturalism (Welsch 1999) and hybridity (Bhabha 1994), claim that a static understanding of culture is not sustainable. The term hybridity in particular is gaining more currency (Schneider 1997). Referring to this, Kien Nghi Ha speaks of a 'fashion term' (Ha 2004a: 153). Likewise, Robin Cohen (2008) identifies hybridity in his book *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* as a 'newly-fashionable word' (xiv). There are hybrid motorcars, computer systems, aesthetics, cultures and identities. When analysing postmodern societies, hybridity is cited as one of the most prevalent characteristics (Schneider 1997: 13). The attractiveness of Bhabha's terminology in this field might be due to the fact that migrant cinema in Germany is often engaged with cultural identity. Bhabha's approach constitutes an appropriate vantage point for exploring not just new developments in Turkish German films but also in a range of representations in Turkish cinema. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the term 'cultural hybridity' is crucial in the context of this dissertation. Thus, it is vital to examine Bhabha's theorisation of hybridity and the *third space* and to show how these terms can be used in exploring different aspects not only of the representation of Turkish immigrants in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema, but also in analysing the visual styles of these movies.

Before any attempt to examine hybridity in these cinemas can be made, it is essential to elucidate the notion of hybridity with reference to related terms like 'diaspora', 'migration', 'postcolonialism', 'transnationalism', and inevitably 'culture' and 'identity'. In order to undertake this, it is vital to draw on several academic disciplines including postcolonial studies, cultural studies, sociology, and anthropology. Hence, this chapter builds on an interdisciplinary approach and references a diverse range of scholarly works. Given that diaspora and hybridity are related to each other in various ways and hybrid formations can be found especially in diasporic encounters, this chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part explores the concept of diaspora and diasporic identities in particular in relation to hybridity. The purpose of

theorising diaspora is to explain in the analytical part of the thesis, what makes diasporic communities and their cultural productions hybrid. It begins by attempting to define diaspora, before examining whether the Turkish community in Germany can be considered a diaspora. This part focuses on ideas from scholars such as William Safran, Robin Cohen, Avtar Brah, Pnina Werbner, Khachig Tölölyan, Rogers Brubaker, and James Clifford (2.1) and concludes with a discussion of how diaspora is linked to cultural identity and the concept of hybridity by drawing on Stuart Hall (2.2). The second part deals with the notion of hybridity. After discussing the historical meaning of the term (2.3), Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of linguistic hybridity and related terms such as 'heteroglossia', 'dialogue' and 'double-voicedness' and the concept of language-crossing with reference to diasporic cinema and Turkish German and Turkish cinema in particular will be covered (2.3.1). Thereafter, the concept of cultural hybridity, which was developed in the context of postcolonial theory, will be examined (2.3.2), with a very brief introduction to postcolonial criticism before continuing with the theoretical approach to Bhabha's notion of hybridity and the *third space* in postcolonial discourse. A full discussion of postcolonial theory lies beyond the scope of this study. This section will consider to what extent the term hybridity that emerged in postcolonial discourse is applicable to the case of Turkish German migration relations in today's society. The final section (2.4) attempts to explore aesthetic hybridity and includes scholarly works on polyglot cinema.

2.1 Theorising Diaspora and Diasporic Identities

Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (2003) note that the notion of diaspora originates from the Greek *diasperien* and merges *dia* (through or across) and *sperien* (to sow or to scatter) and can be dated to about 3 BC. The term was first 'used in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures explicitly intended for the Hellenic Jewish communities in Alexandria (...) to describe the Jews living in exile from the homeland of Palestine' (Braziel and Mannur: 2003: 1). The authors point out that the term had a negative connotation due to its association with the plight of this community. Similarly, Robin Cohen stresses that this experience has been linked not only to displacement but also to trauma.

The destruction of Jerusalem and razing of the walls of its Temple in 586 BC created the central folk memory of the pessimistic, victim diaspora tradition – in particular the experience of enslavement, exile and displacement. The Jewish leader of the time, Zedekiah, vacillated for a decade, and then impulsively sanctioned a rebellion against the powerful Mesopotamian Empire. No mercy for his impudence was shown by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar. His soldiers forced Zedekiah to witness the execution of his sons; the Jewish leader was then blinded and dragged in chains to Babylon. Peasants were left behind in Judah to till the soil, but the key military, civic and religious personnel accompanied Zedekiah to captivity in Babylon. Jews had been compelled to desert the land ‘promised’ to them by God to Moses and thereafter, the tradition suggests, forever became dispersed (Cohen 2008: 22)

According to Cohen, although diaspora was initially used to describe in particular the Jewish experience, the connection with trauma also applies to the ‘first’ African diaspora,⁷ which is rooted in the African slave trade; the Armenian diaspora, which is linked to the massacres in the 1890s and their forced displacement by the Turks in 1915 and 1916; the Irish diaspora following the famine of 1845-1852; and the Palestinian diaspora related to the refugee movements after the state of Israel was proclaimed in 1948 (Cohen 2008: 2-4).⁸ The author classifies these five diasporas as prototypical diaspora. In Cohen’s categorisation of diaspora studies into four phases, the prototypical diasporas constitute the first phase and are marked by a traumatic and forced dispersal from a homeland and the communities’ collective memory of that original homeland (Cohen 2008: 4).⁹ Therefore, the Jewish, African, Armenian, Irish, and Palestinian diaspora can be classified as ‘victim diasporas’ (Cohen 2008: 2).

However, most notably since the 1980s the term has developed into a concept that captures present experiences of migration and exile. In this context, Khachig Tölölyan notes that the term ‘that once described Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion now shares meaning with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community’ (Tölölyan 1991: 4). In his attempt to renew the historical meaning of diaspora and to adapt it to today’s modern societies, William Safran suggests a definition of diaspora whereby the Jewish diaspora constitutes the ‘ideal type of

⁷ Cohen suggests that a ‘second’ form of a new African diaspora which is caused by emigration movements predominantly due to famine, civil wars, and political turmoil emerged in the postcolonial 20th century (Cohen 2008: 3).

⁸ See Cohen (2008: 21-38) for a detailed exploration of the Jewish diaspora and (39-60) for the African and Armenian diasporas.

⁹ See Cohen (2008: 1-12) for the exploration of the evolution of four phases in diaspora studies.

diaspora' (Safran 1991: 84).¹⁰ Safran further states that even though other diasporas such as the Turkish diaspora, cannot entirely conform to the ideal form of the Jewish diaspora, it is possible to speak about a Turkish (and several other) diasporas in Germany in the frame of his definition of diaspora. Safran explains his idea of a Turkish diaspora by drawing on an opinion poll from 1988 showing the Turks' hopes of returning to their original homeland within a short period of time. For Safran, this urge to return demonstrates the Turks' 'highly developed diaspora consciousness' (Safran 1991: 86).

Many scholars in the field of diaspora studies, such as James Clifford (1994), Rogers Brubaker (2005), and Cohen (2008), have criticised Safran's ground-breaking definition of diaspora mainly for its primary focus on the original homeland. A closer look at the definition reveals that four of the six diaspora features are linked to a real or imagined homeland: firstly, the retention of a collective memory including the history and achievements of the homeland; secondly, the belief that this homeland is the ideal home and the place they wish to return one day; thirdly, a collective commitment to the maintenance, safety and prosperity of the homeland; and fourthly, the continuity of a relationship with the homeland that shapes the communities' solidarity and ethnic and communal consciousness (Safran 1991: 83f.). Although Safran states that meeting several of the six criteria is adequate to identify a community as a diaspora, it seems unlikely that the outlined four homeland-bound features all apply to the Turkish community in Germany. It seems plausible to assume that this community continues a relationship to Turkey mainly through frequent visits and by following the Turkish media. However, the criterion of regarding Turkey as the ideal home to return to one day as well as collectively committing to the maintenance, safety and prosperity of Turkey seems questionable especially in relation to the third- and fourth-generation immigrants. This assumption needs to be researched further. Responding to Safran's homeland related criteria, Clifford remarks that even the 'ideal' type of the Jewish diaspora does not meet the last three features of the defined diaspora: 'a strong

¹⁰ Safran defines diaspora as expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original 'center' to two or more 'peripheral', or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (Safran 1991: 83-84).

attachment to and the desire for a literal return to a well-preserved homeland' (Clifford 1994: 305).

Drawing on Clifford's advice to 'recognize the strong entailment of Jewish history on the language of diaspora without making that history a definitive model' and to take the 'Jewish (and Greek and Armenian) diasporas (...) as nonnormative starting points for a discourse that is traveling or hybridizing in new global conditions' (Clifford 1994: 306), scholars working on diaspora have extended the definition of the concept of diaspora. Brubaker points out that the extension enabled scholars to also include among others 'labour migrants who maintain (to some degree) emotional and social ties with a homeland' (Brubaker 2005: 2). This interpretation of diaspora includes the Turkish community in Germany. Similarly to scholars such as Clifford (1994) and Brubaker (2005), Cohen (2008) picks up on Safran's definition, modifies it and names nine common features of a diaspora:

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
2. alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
3. a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements;
4. an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
5. the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland;
6. a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate;
7. a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
8. a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial; and
9. the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism (Cohen 2008: 17).

Cohen presents here an extended definition of the concept of diaspora. While Safran's definition assumes a forced dispersal and implies the wish to return to the homeland, Cohen, by contrast, refers with his second criterion to dispersal of any kind whereby a (constant) link to the homeland exists without a definitive wish to return. The

last feature in particular of the modified definition demonstrates a constructive approach to the notion of diaspora in assuming a creative and enriching life in a heterogeneous host environment. This point seems applicable to the Turkish community in Germany and in particular to Turkish German filmmaking, which represents a transnational creativity likely to enrich the society as a whole. In addition to those nine features, Cohen (2008) determines five ‘ideal types of diaspora’ by giving examples to each form: *Victim* including Jews, Africans, Armenians, and present-day refugee groups; *imperial* (colonial or settler diasporas) like British or Russians; *trade* which embraces business Chinese and Indian business people; *deterritorialised* (Caribbean people, Roma, and religious diasporas)¹¹; and *labour diaspora* (also termed *proletarian diaspora*) including, among others, Indians, Chinese, and Turks (Cohen 2008: 18). Cohen’s broader definition seems to be the most comprehensive one so far and can therefore be used to assist in defining whether an explicit dispersed group embodies a diaspora. However, the author draws attention to the point that not all of these nine criteria need to be met. In using the expression *common*, Cohen aims to show that not every diaspora will feature each criterion (Cohen 2008: 16). In the same way, Clifford refers to Safran’s definition and points out: ‘Whatever the working list of diasporic features, no society can be expected to qualify on all counts, throughout its history’ (Clifford 1994: 306). With regard to different definitions of diaspora and proposed features of diaspora, Brubaker suggests three key elements which are essential: firstly, a traumatically or voluntary *dispersion*; secondly, a *homeland-orientation* to a real or imagined homeland; and thirdly, a *boundary-maintenance* that leads to group solidarity (Brubaker 2005: 5ff.).

When exploring Turkish guest-workers and their descendants in Germany, (German) scholars generally refer to this group as immigrants, second- or third-generation immigrants and as people with a migration background. The term migrant seems to be more often applied to Turks living in Germany than the notion of diaspora. Hence, at this point, it is useful to examine how the terms migrant and diaspora can be distinguished and how they are interrelated. In its basic definition, ‘migration involves the (more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities’ (Scott and Marshall 2009: 470). Similarly, the International Organization for Migration defines migration as the ‘movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border,

¹¹ Cohen notes that the terms hybridity and cultural are mainly linked to this type of diaspora (Cohen 2008: 18).

or within a State (...) encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes' (IOM 2011: 62f.). Both definitions imply that migration can be either permanent or short-term. Related to this idea, Cohen cites Richard Marienstras who suggests that 'time has to pass' (Marienstras 1989 as cited in Cohen 2008: 16) before it becomes clear that a migrated community can be seen as a diaspora. This implies that migration is invariably a prerequisite for diaspora. In this respect, Tölölyan supposes that 'migrations have led to a proliferation of diasporas and to a redefinition of their importance and roles' (Tölölyan 1991: 4). It follows from this that migration can be regarded as a precondition for the eventual formation of a diasporic community. However, in today's world, marked by transnational mobility and flexibility, there are also forms of migration that do not result necessarily in a diaspora – as for example in the case of temporary professional labour migration or short-term refugees. Diaspora, in contrast to migration, always requires a permanent settlement and collectivity.

Brubaker's three core elements of diaspora and Cohen's nine diaspora features, together with his suggested five ideal types, provide relevant and useful tools. Alongside the relation described between migration and diaspora, they help to determine whether the Turkish community in Germany constitutes a diaspora. In this framework, it is worth mentioning that diaspora is a scholarly term that is rarely used in the media or in the public sphere. The Turkish migration to Germany in the early 1960s is the precondition for a formation of a diaspora community. As explored in Chapter 1, Turks living in Germany, have settled there with their descendants for more than five decades and participate in the social, political, and cultural everyday life of the host society and still have links to Turkey. A steadily growing number of scholars working on diaspora already refer to the Turkish community in Germany as a diaspora (e.g. Safran 1991: 84; Brubaker 2005: 2; Huyssen 2007: 88; Appadurai 1996: 4; Cohen 2008: 18). One question that needs to be asked, however, is what sort of diaspora the Turkish community in Germany represents. According to Cohen (2008), the Turkish community can be classified as a labour diaspora. Since their migration was motivated by a search for work, at first, Cohen's suggestion seems appropriate. Cohen states that migration in search of work does not necessarily evolve into a diaspora, in particular if migrated individuals or small groups intended to assimilate to the host society and are easily accepted. In this case, a diasporic consciousness, which is one of the crucial features of a diaspora, may not emerge. Whereas retaining group ties in the form of religion, language, and cultural norms over a lengthy period, a myth of a link to homeland, and a

social exclusion in host countries enable a community of labour migrants to be labelled a diaspora (Cohen 2008: 61). Based on the fact that the Turkish migration to Germany was generated by emigration in search of work and the long existing group bonds as well as the connection to the homeland and different levels of social exclusion experienced, allows us to conceptualise the Turkish community as a labour diaspora. However, taking into account the political refugees, who emigrated in the 1980s and the Kurds, and thus the heterogeneity of this community, Pnina Werbner's term '*complex or segmented* diasporas' also seems applicable (Werbner 2004: 900). With this conceptualisation, she aims to capture 'modern diasporas' coming from a broader geographical region who share – regardless of their national homelands, language or religion – 'similar cultural preoccupations, tastes, cuisines, music, sport, poetry, fashion' like 'South Asians, Middle Eastern Arabs, Latin Americans, Africans [and] Afro-Caribbeans' (Werbner 2004: 899). She further states that

members of such diasporas may unite together in some contexts and oppose each other in other contexts (...). In such complex, segmented diasporas the fact that people from a particular region share a rich material culture of consumption, both high cultural and popular, and sometimes a dominant religion (...), creates public arenas and economic channels for cooperation and communal enjoyment, which cut across the national origins or religious beliefs (Werbner 2004: 900).

Despite the fact that the author applies the concept to communities from vast geographical regions such as South Asia, Middle East or Africa, the idea of a complex and segmented diaspora seems to be applicable to the case of people from Turkey in Germany. This would respect the community's heterogeneity marked by diverse religions, ethnicities, languages, political affiliations and also take into account similarities in their shared culture and history. In this respect but in a broader framework, Brah (1996) draws attention to the fact that 'diaspora represents a heterogeneous category differentiated along the lines of class, gender and so on' (196). This also applies to the Turkish community that is differentiated not only by religion, language or ethnicity, but also by gender and class.

A detailed look at the heterogenic structure of the Turkish diaspora reveals a highly segmented community in regard to religion, language, and politics. Taking the latter as an example, Ogelman et al. (2002) have shown how the Turkish community in Germany is as deeply politically partisan as it is in Turkey. Political organisations representing diverse interests such as the Islamists, pan-Turkic nationalists, Kurds, and

Alawis have been established in Germany (and other Western European countries) who dependent on their stance on Turkey's Kemalist ideology try to influence Germany's policy on Turkey. Most of their goals are along the agenda of Turkish politics and are likely to either totally support the existing Kemalist state or to oppose it (Ogelman et al. 2002: 148). Whilst Islamic associations seek to ease the harsh secularism in Turkey, the Ultranationalists aim to strengthen the Turkish ethnic identity in Turkey and Turkic peoples. In his investigation of nationalism in the Turkish diaspora, Landau (2010) notes that the 'clearest evidence of the attachment to the homeland may be observed in the ultra-nationalist organizations' (232). Turkey's religious minority, the Alawis, call attention to their oppression by the Sunni Muslim majority, whereas the Kurdish associations focus on self-determination and cultural independence for the Kurds. These four key strands concentrate on generating change in Turkey by influencing German policy. However, another highly organised community are the Pro-Kemalists whose aim is to positively influence German policy on Turkey and to weaken the anti-Kemalist Kurdish and Islamist organisations. (Ogelman et al. 2002: 148-152).¹² These five main Turkish political directions in Germany that are closely affiliated with Western European organisations, illustrate clearly not only how segmented the Turkish diaspora in Germany is, but also the strength of its relationships with the Turkish diaspora in other countries and in particular the communities' commitment to the homeland's preservation, restoration, and safety. With regard to the impact of these different Turkish political organisations in Germany Ogelman et al. note:

The most striking feature of the preferences within Germany's Turkish diaspora is the intense, highly conflictual fragmentation they have generated in the community. Germany's Turks are so intensely divided in their preferences about the Federal Republic's policies toward Turkey that they are unable to work together effectively to pursue common goals, such as greater political empowerment (Ogelman et al. 2002: 152).

The Turkish diaspora's focus on Turkish politics rather than on politics in Germany shows how important homeland remains to them and could imply a wish to return there one day. Although the Turkish diaspora is heterogeneous, its members all have similarities in their shared culture and history. This creates the group consciousness, requisite for any diaspora.

¹² See Ogelman et al. (2002: 145-157) for a complete discussion of Turkish organisations in Germany and their impact on Germany's policy on Turkey.

A significantly high number of the Turkish migrants who came to Germany as guest-workers in the 1960s and, as Turkish and Kurdish political refugees between the 1980s and late 1990s, have become permanent settlers over time. The question arises as to what extent former guest-workers, resident in Germany for almost 60 years, and today's third- and fourth-generation immigrants, who have dual citizenship until the age of 23, can still be regarded as a diaspora. When will they simply be considered 'Bürger', citizens of Germany or German citizens? I believe that being either, part of a Turkish diaspora and a German citizen, are not mutually exclusive. Since the Turkish and Kurdish community in Germany share many features that define a diaspora, I argue that they can be seen as a diaspora. Besides maintaining a collective memory of Turkey, many of them continue strong relationships with extended families in Turkey and still have vague dreams of returning to Turkey one day which can be seen in current return migrations of the second- and third-generation immigrants in particular (Kaya and Adaman 2011; Aydın 2011). The mentioned political activities of different diaspora groups focusing on Turkey, on the one hand, clearly reveal a collective commitment to either the homeland's maintenance or restoration. On the other hand, it shows a sense of togetherness with co-ethnic members living in a diaspora in mostly European countries to whom also often kinship relations exist. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly in the context of this thesis, members of the Turkish diaspora with their multilingualism and cross-cultural encounters are constantly creating hybrid cultural artefacts – as for example the films of Turkish German filmmakers – and are therefore enriching the social and cultural sphere in Germany. Hence, in considering the fact that an increasing body of scholars working in the field of diaspora already refer to the Turkish community in Germany as a diaspora and that key features defining a diaspora are applicable to this community, it seems plausible to argue that the Turkish community in Germany constitutes a (complex and segmented) diaspora. It has to be mentioned here, that more empirical research is needed to elucidate the Turkish community's distinct diasporic features. In this context, for instance studies on (the change in) cultural self-identification, relations and loyalty to homeland, and problems of exclusion in the host country, would provide a better scholarly basis to identify the type of diaspora that best encompasses the Turkish community in Germany.

2.2 Diaspora and Hybridity – The Negotiation of Cultural Identity in the *Diaspora Space*

As mentioned briefly in the section about diaspora, hybridity is strongly linked to the concept of diaspora and in particular to diasporic identities. John McLeod (2000) explains the advantage of using the expression diasporic identities instead of migrant identities in relation to the second and third generations of a diaspora. The author stresses the significance of differences in a diaspora and notes that not all individuals living in a diaspora have experienced migration (McLeod 2000: 207f.). In the case of the Turkish community in Germany, the second-, third- and meanwhile fourth-generation migrants (or their descendants), who can claim German citizenship or acquire it by birth, were not involved in the actual migration process. Nonetheless, since they are born to a migrant or later diasporic community, they are influenced by the migration experience of their parents and grandparents and therefore might feel attached to the diasporic community and share a diasporic consciousness. In agreeing with McLeod, it seems more authentic to apply the expression of diasporic identities or diaspora identities rather than use migrant identities.

Before exploring diasporic identities in detail, the connecting elements of the concepts diaspora and hybridity need to be considered. According to Virinder S. Kalra et al., ‘authors writing on diaspora very often engage with the mixed notion of hybridity’ (Kalra et al. 2005: 70). Indeed, the relationship between diaspora and hybridity has been widely investigated by scholars such as Papastergiadis (2000), Kalra et al. (2005), Hall (1990). Kalra et al. explain the link between both concepts as follows:

In its most recent descriptive, and realist usage, hybridity appears as a convenient category at ‘the edge’ or contact point of diaspora, describing cultural mixture where the diasporized meets the host in the scene of migration (Kalra et al. 2005: 70).

According to this perspective, taking migration as a pre-condition, once there is an interaction, an encounter between diasporic identities with the host society or with other diasporas, culture and identity are negotiated anew. Hybridity occurs precisely at this moment of cultural negotiation and has an effect on the involved subjects’ identities. This negotiation happens in what Bhabha has termed the *third space of enunciation* or Brah labels the *diaspora space*.¹³

¹³ See Chapter 2.3.2 for a detailed exploration of the *third space*.

In *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, Brah (1996) introduces the concept of *diaspora space* in contrast to *diaspora*:

Diaspora space is the intersectionality of diaspora, border, and dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural, and psychic processes. It is where multiple subject positions are juxtaposed, contested, proclaimed, or disavowed; where the permitted and prohibited perpetually interrogate, and where the accepted and the transgressive imperceptibly mingle even while these syncretic forms may be disclaimed in the name of purity and tradition (Brah 1996: 205).

This space is marked by various types of border crossing: geographical, socioeconomical, cultural, and psychological. In contrast to the notion of diaspora, in the *diaspora space* diasporic identities *and* those who are seen as indigenous are located. Brah notes that ‘the diaspora space is the site where *the native is as much a diasporian as the diasporian is the native*’ (Brah 1996: 205, emphasis in original). In this sense, Germany can be seen as the *diaspora space* whereas Turks, Poles, or Iranians in Germany are diasporas. The contact of all individuals in the *diaspora space* Germany continually results in new formations of culture and identity for all parties involved. Brah’s concept of the *diaspora space* provides an alternative to the notion of nation by enabling Germany to be seen as a *diaspora space* and not as a nation, which emphasises various border crossings instead of fixed culture, identity, class, and gender. The *diaspora space* is marked by multiple axes of differentiation such as gender, sexuality, class, and racism and social relations, experiences and identity are located within these multiaxial fields of power relations (Brah 1996: 205). Thus, the *diaspora space* is similar to the *third space*, being a space *in-between*¹⁴ and having the potential to deconstruct any boundaries. Bhabha’s *third space* as well Brah’s *diaspora space*, where new, hybrid forms of culture and identity emerge, challenge a static understanding of culture and identity as pure and fixed and thus the concept of multiculturalism. Claire Alexander discusses the relation between hybridity and diaspora and comes to the conclusion that in the concepts of the *third space* and the *diaspora space*, ‘diaspora is itself a hybrid formation, while hybridity is the inevitable result of diaspora encounters’ (Alexander 2010: 490). Even though there is evidently a relationship between the concepts of hybridity and diaspora, they are not interchangeable. Whereas the *third space* constructs a space where culture and identity in particular are negotiated, the

¹⁴ Bhabha also refers to the *third space* as the *in-between*. See Chapter 2.3.2 for the exploration of the relation of both terms.

diaspora space has the potential to include variables such as gender and class. Hence, Brah's concept encompasses cultural alongside social, economic, and political formations and can be regarded as an adequate response to those who criticise Bhabha's notion of hybridity and the *third space* for neglecting categories like gender and class structures, and social power relations at large.

In 'Locating Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe' Berghahn and Sternberg draw on Brah's *diaspora space* and suggest that the concept enables the inclusion of films by non-diasporic filmmakers that engage with diasporic individuals as part of migrant and diasporic cinema (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010c: 17).

Alexander (2010) also sees a connection of the terms diaspora and hybridity that understand culture and identity as fluent and reject the idea of fixed boundaries. By including the notion of nation, she argues:

Hybridity and diaspora focus (...) on the movement across borders/boundaries on processes of translation and cultural fusion which transcend and transgress the nation, and disrupt the ascription of neat, bounded and homogeneous cultural/minority identities. The focus of both concepts is very much on the creation of identity (Alexander 2010: 489).

Considering the meaning of nation in this context, Kalra et al. note that diaspora and hybridity have both subverted 'naturalized forms of identity centred on the nation' (Kalra et al. 2005: 2). Similarly, McLeod discusses the term hybridity in relation to diaspora and national identity:

The concept of hybridity has proved very important for diaspora peoples (...) as a way of thinking beyond exclusionary, fixed, binary notions of identity based on ideas of rootedness and cultural, racial and national purity. Hybrid identities are never total and complete in themselves (...). Instead they remain perpetually in motion, pursuing errant and unpredictable routes, open to change and reinscription (McLeod 2000: 219).

McLeod comes to the conclusion that hybridity, as a form of cultural crossing, occurs in diasporic encounters and leads to new forms of identity namely hybrid identities.

Stuart Hall has discussed how the concept of diaspora is interlinked with the question of identity and hybridity. In his famous essay 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', Hall, by considering the visual representation of 'Afro-Caribbean (and Asian) 'blacks'

of the diasporas of the West' (Hall 1990: 222), explores the formation of (cultural) identity in a diasporic context. Hall stresses two possible ways to see cultural identity: The first essentialist and traditional perspective is highly focused on a 'collective one 'true self'' based on a common culture and shared history, whereas the second appreciates 'critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather—since history has intervened—'what we have become'' (Hall 1990: 223ff.). In this second perspective, cultural identity is being and becoming and therefore has its place in the past and in the future:

Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power (Hall 1990: 225).

In combining these two perspectives, Hall focuses on the black Caribbean identity and suggests that identities are framed by two concurrent operating axes. The first represents 'similarity and continuity', which is located in the past, provides grounding in the past as well as continuity with the past, whereas the second one is the axis of 'difference and rupture' and 'reminds us that what we share is precisely the experience of profound discontinuity' (Hall 1990: 226f.). Hall then draws on Bakhtin's concept of *dialogism* and stresses that both axes are continuously in a dialogic affair.¹⁵ This implies that difference is always dependent upon a position in relation to something else, e.g. the *other* or the ethnic minority group is defined in relation to the dominant culture. In conclusion, Hall offers an alternative definition of diaspora and identity contrasting 'the old, the imperialising, the hegemonising form of 'ethnicity'' (Hall 1990: 235):

Diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea (...). The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (Hall 1990: 235).

Hall here suggests that identity is a never a completed production rather than an accomplished fact and that diasporic identities are naturally heterogenic and hybrid.

¹⁵ See Chapter 2.3.1 for a detailed consideration of Bakhtin's conceptualisation of dialogism.

This observation makes hybridity a crucial part of identity formation in a diaspora. In constituting identity *within* representation, Hall also suggests that cinema is

‘not (...) a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists, but (...) [a] form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak’ (236f.).

The following section examines hybridity in relation to language, culture, (diasporic) identities, and aesthetics. After a brief exploration of the historical meaning of hybridity, the chapter addresses first linguistic hybridity and then the conceptualisation of cultural hybridity in the postcolonial context in depth.

2.3 Theorising Hybridity: From Mikhail Bakhtin to Homi Bhabha

Regarding the origin of the term hybridity, Nikos Papastergiadis writes: ‘A quick glance at the history of hybridity reveals a bizarre array of ideas’ (Papastergiadis 2000: 169). Robert Young explores the emergence and the original meaning of the notion of hybridity in detail in his book *Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* and states that the term hybrid has its roots in the ‘biological and botanical’ fields and comments further that the Latin word, which first appeared in the 1700s, was widely used in the 19th century, to mean ‘the offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar’ (Young 1995: 5). An animal or a plant created from the mixture of two different species was called a hybrid. However, animals from the same species were regarded as fertile, whereas hybrids were seen as weak and infertile. Young gives the example of the (unproductive) hybrid offspring of a horse and a donkey, the mule (Young 1995: 8).¹⁶ By the mid-19th century (drawing parallels with the world of animals), the term began to be used in discourses about race and racial mixture. So debates about racial hybridity focused on sex between white and black people and led to anti-miscegenation laws in South Africa and the United States (Young 1995: 9; Kalra et al. 2005: 53). These laws were motivated by fear about the loss of racial purity and stemmed from a belief that the black races were inferior and that, therefore, interracial marriage and sexual relations outside marriage had to be avoided. In particular in discourses about race and sex,

¹⁶ It might be worth mentioning that the term ‘mulatto’ is derived from mule, the unproductive offspring of a donkey and a horse (Young 1995: 8).

hybridity was (for the most part) viewed as degradation. This very brief history of the origins of the term hybridity shows, as Papastergiadis appropriately summarises, ‘quasi-scientific claims that hybrids were sterile, physically weak, mentally inferior and morally confused’ (Papastergiadis 2000: 15). Thus, hybridity had an entirely negative connotation. The meaning of hybridity became more affirmative when Bhabha used the term in his late 20th century works. These ideas will be explored further when investigating Bhabha’s use of the term hybridity.

2.3.1 Linguistic Hybridity

In spheres of cultural encounters that are governed by unequal power relations such as in colonialism as well as in slavery, a hybridity of language occurs. According to Young ‘Pidgin and creolized languages constitute powerful models because they preserve the real historical forms of cultural contact’ (Young 1995: 5). Pidgin, for example, emerges as a very simple language in the contact zone of two different languages when parties mix their language, borrowing words from each other to enable communication. The vocabulary from one language is imposed upon the linguistic structures of another language (Young 1995: 5; Kalra et al. 2005: 75). Creole, on the contrary, is a more complete language that develops over time when pidgin forms settle and become more complex. In the case of guest-workers in Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, the language that they developed to communicate with their German employers and neighbours and guest-workers from different countries was termed *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (guest-worker German), which some linguists regard as *Pidgin-Deutsch* (Pidgin German) (Csehó 2009; Meisel 1975; Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 1975). Alexander points out the important link between hybridity in its philological and cultural form and remarks that ‘the linguistic model of hybridity has proved a fruitful one for theorists of cultural hybridity, drawing particularly on Mikhail Bakhtin’s (...) work’ (Alexander 2010: 500).

Thus, at this point, it is crucial to explore Bakhtin’s conceptualisation of linguistic hybridity and discuss certain significant terms such as *heteroglossia* and *double-voicedness* that are connected with the idea of philological hybridity. It is essential to examine Bakhtin’s theory in the context of this dissertation for three reasons. Firstly, Homi Bhabha’s conceptualisation of hybridity and mimicry draws on Bakhtin’s achievements, who had already used the notion of hybridity positively at the very start of the 20th century. Since Bhabha’s understanding of hybridity forms the main

theoretical concept in the analysis of Turkish German cinema, German cinema, and Turkish cinema within the scope of this thesis, it is important to explore the link between both these theorists and their perception of hybridity. Secondly, the phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing as a form of hybrid language mingling that can be found in films dealing with migration relates to the Bakhtinian approach to language hybridity. As Turkish German language-crossing will be dealt with in detail in the actual film analysis, it is useful to investigate how this hybrid philological occurrence relates to Bakhtin's notion of linguistic hybridity. Finally, several scholars such as Kobena Mercer (1994), Hamid Naficy (2001), Paul Willemsen (1994), and Nikos Papastergiadis (2000) working in the field of diasporic cinema have already engaged with Bakhtin's conceptualisation of language and hybridity and applied concepts like *heteroglossia* and *dialogic voicing* to various phenomena in diasporic films. It is also worth mentioning the German linguist Jannis Androutsopoulos (2012a, 2012b), who addresses Bakhtin's notions in relation to (socio)-linguistic aspects in Turkish German cinema. The relevance of all three aspects, to be addressed in more detail later in this section, for the purpose of this thesis renders a critical evaluation of Bakhtin's concept of linguistic hybridity a crucial tool in the analysis of Turkish, German, and Turkish German cinema.

Bakhtin's conceptualisations of *heteroglossia* in his collection of essays *The Dialogic Imagination* (translated in 1981) deal with different kinds of intermixture of many voices (polyphony) and different languages (*heteroglossia*). *Heteroglossia* describes the diversity of languages in novels (in contrast to epic poetry) as for example the author's, the narrator's, and the characters' language. Bakhtin (1981) defines the novel as 'a diversity of social speech types (sometime even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized' (262). Thus, *heteroglossia* refers to

[t]he internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions (Bakhtin 1981: 262f.).

Bakhtin argues that different voices and social languages exist within a single national language. Regarding the genre of the novel he then states: 'Every novel, taken as the

totality of all the languages and consciousness of language embodied in it, is a hybrid' (Bakhtin 1981: 366). He further remarks that this hybridity is 'intentional' and 'artistically organized' (Bakhtin 1981: 366). Hybridity is called what emerges in the utterance.

What is hybridization? It is a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor (Bakhtin 1981: 358).

Bakhtin then differentiates two types of hybridity: an intentional hybridity and an unintentional historical or organic hybridity. The first is the artistically organised hybridity that appears in novels, also termed the 'novelistic hybrid' (Bakhtin 1981: 361). To elucidate *double-voiced discourse*, it is necessary to understand Bakhtin's categorisation of three different types of discourses in the novel genre. Morson and Emerson (1990) summarise these discourses clearly in their book about Bakhtin called *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics*. The first discourse is the *direct discourse* and is oriented to the object or topic of reference. In this form, the author speaks directly and informatively about the object or topic and the author is in the definitive authoritative position (Morson and Emerson 1990: 148). The second type (*objectified discourse*) is the discourse of the represented person, and thus the speech of the characters. It is again the author's speech but this time filtered through the characters while always subordinate to the authorial discourse (Morson and Emerson 1990: 149). Both these discourses are classified as *single-voiced discourses* or *monologic discourses* because they represent one single consciousness. The last form is termed *double-voiced discourse*. This type includes the voice and speech of character and author.¹⁷ In this, the author is in an active dialogue with his characters and the reader can perceive both consciousnesses. The *double-voiced discourse* can be either passive or active. The *double-voiced discourse* is passive when the author uses the character's voice for his own purposes. Thus, the character's (the *other's*) speech remains passive. However, Bakhtin's main interest lies in the active type: the *double-voiced discourse*. Here, the *other* influences the author's voice and speech. This is an active process of two discourses. The *other's* voice influences the author's voice, who then answers it (Morson and Emerson 1990: 155). In *double-voiced* discourses, one voice consciously

¹⁷ This third type characterises most of Dostojewski's works, the focus of much of Bakhtin's analysis.

unmasks and/or ironises the *other* within the same utterance: ‘intentional semantic hybrids are inevitably internally dialogic’ (Bakhtin 1981: 360). In the following extract, Bakhtin explains the constitution of *double-voicedness* and shows how hybridity and *double-voicedness* interrelate:

What we are calling a hybrid construction is an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical (syntactic) and compositional markers, to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two ‘languages’, two semantic and axiological belief systems. We repeat, there is no formal — compositional and syntactic — boundary between these utterances, styles, languages, belief systems; the division of voices and languages takes place within the limits of a single syntactic whole, often within the limits of a simple sentence. It frequently happens that even one and the same word will belong simultaneously to two languages, two belief systems that intersect in a hybrid construction – and, consequently, the word has two contradictory meanings, two accents (Bakhtin 1981: 304f).

Thus, *double-voiced discourse*, in which two belief systems or two voices occur, can be called *dialogic*. Bakhtin notes that such a *dialogic* discourse always undermines an authoritative discourse. The authoritative discourse ‘is by its very nature incapable of being double-voiced; it cannot enter into hybrid constructions’ (Bakhtin 1981: 344). Since hybridisation brings the authorities (in Bakhtin’s case the authors) into a new context in which they are influenced by the *other*’s (the character’s) voice, the authorities’ voice cannot persist.

A very similar idea of losing authority in discourses of power can be found in a cultural framework in Bhabha’s conceptualisation of *mimicry*. This will be elaborated in the next chapter that attempts to investigate hybridity from a mainly cultural perspective. After the analysis of the *double-voiced discourse* in the novel genre, it seems useful to see how Bakhtin describes the *double-voiced discourse* in everyday life:

Someone else’s words introduced into our own speech inevitably assume a new (our own) interpretation and become subject to our evaluation of them; that is, they become double-voiced. All that can vary is the interrelationship between these two voices. The transmission of someone else’s statement in the form of a question already leads to a clash of two intentions within a single discourse: for in so doing we not only ask a question, but make someone else’s statement problematical. Our practical everyday speech is full of other people’s words: with some of them we completely merge our own voice, forgetting whose they are; others, which we take as authoritative, we use to reinforce our own words;

still others, finally, we populate with our own aspirations, alien or hostile to them (Bakhtin 1984: 195).

These ideas about *double-voicedness* in everyday life relate to the second type of hybridity. Besides the intentional hybridity, Bakhtin refers to a second form. The so-called unintentional hybridity appears in everyday life. Bakhtin stresses the importance of this type of hybridity and remarks:

Unintentional, unconscious hybridization is one of the most important modes in the historical life and evolution of all languages. We may even say that language and languages change historically primarily by hybridization, by means of a mixing of various 'languages' co-existing within the boundaries of a single dialect, single national language, a single branch, a single group of different branches, in the historical as well as paleontological past of languages (Bakhtin 1981: 358f.).

This second form of hybridity is regarded as highly productive since it repeatedly creates new views and social languages.

Where diaspora communities or immigrants connect with each other and the host society, cross-cultural encounters inevitably result in *heteroglossia*. Taking the complex and segmented Turkish diaspora in Germany as an example, the interplay of different cultures, national languages, dialects, genders, generations, socioeconomic statuses, and (political) ideologies in the *diaspora space* Germany, influence the subject's voice and lead to – in Bakhtin's words – 'internal stratification of any single national language' (Bakhtin 1981: 262). The co-existence of different languages in a single utterance is what Bakhtin sees as hybridity. Thus hybridity is the intermingling that occurs in the utterance. Furthermore, the negotiation of different languages is always dialogic as it consists of at least two different consciousnesses and is therefore *double-voiced*. Although for Bakhtin all societies are organically hybrid, it seems that the co-existence of many voices and different languages becomes more complex (and therefore more attractive to explore) in sociocultural circles where migrant and diasporic communities encounter each other and the host. The dialogic processes created in these spheres, where the majority (the host) can be regarded as the authority (as in Bakhtin's concept the author is the authority) and diasporas and immigrants as the minority, seem to be more obviously marked by dialogues of power, hierarchy, domination, and conflict. This might be the reason several scholars, particularly in the field of diasporic cinema

and especially in the field of polyglot cinema (e.g. Berger and Komori 2010), draw on Bakhtin's conceptualisation of linguistic hybridity. Given that, films are not monologic but in general *heteroglossic*, *double-voiced* and thus *dialogic*, because the filmmaker is continuously in a passive and active *double-voiced* process with the characters and the producer. Even though the actors are following a script, their individual voice is always present and is actively influencing the authoritative position of the filmmaker. An actual film also includes the voices of subjects dealing with light, camera, editing, and location. Thus, film in itself is always a representation of the co-existence of many voices and different languages and is therefore always hybrid. This signifies that diasporic films, or migrant cinema, and in the context of this thesis the Turkish German cinema too, inherently entail hybrid (social) languages. The fact that cinema is in general *dialogic* and *heteroglossic* creates the impression that there is no significance in approaching diasporic or migrant cinema as a special case in terms of a dialogic process. However, Kobena Mercer (1994) utilises Bakhtin's conceptualisation of dialogue with reference to black cinema in Britain and sees a separate aspect of how dialogic practices occur in diasporic cinemas and works out the constructive element of a dialogic tendency in Black British cinema.

What is at issue can be characterised as the critical difference between a *monologic* tendency in black film which tends to homogenize and totalize the black experience in Britain, and a *dialogic* tendency which is responsive to the diverse and complex qualities of our black Britishness and British blackness – our differentiated specificity as a diaspora people (Mercer 1994: 62).

Similarly, Daniela Berghahn (2009) argues for the existence of dialogic practices in Turkish German cinema. In referring to Kobena Mercer, Berghahn suggests that dialogic tendencies in Turkish German cinema, like in black independent cinema, can also be seen as 'critical interventions of minority cultures' (Berghahn 2009: 3). Again drawing on Mercer's analysis and citing him, Berghahn describes dialogue in Turkish German cinema in the following way:

Turkish-German cinema is characterized by a 'dialogic imagination' (...). These films critically appropriate and hybridize 'elements from the master-codes of the dominant culture' (Mercer 2003: 255), thus creating a new visual language borne out of the filmmakers' multiple cultural affiliations and their familiarity with Western and non-Western styles and traditions. Moreover, in contrast to the 'monologic tendencies' inscribed in dominant discourses and cultural formations which 'homogenize and totalize' (Mercer

2003: 254) the experience of ethnic minorities, the dialogic structures that can be identified in many recent Turkish–German productions refrain from this kind of ethnic essentialism, offering more individualized and differentiated portrayals of the ‘other’ traditions (Berghahn 2009: 7).

Berghahn here argues that the dialogic principle in Turkish German cinema results in the Turkish diaspora being represented as culturally heterogenic, fluent, and hybrid. Of particular relevance is the fact that the dialogic tendencies in Turkish German films hold, as Mercer puts it, ‘the possibility of social change’ (Mercer 1994:62). Bakhtin stresses the ability of a dialogic discourse to continuously undermine the authoritative discourse, since a dialogue, that is always hybrid, brings authorities into a new setting in which they are influenced by the *other’s* voice, authorities’ voices cannot survive. Assuming that diasporic communities, and thus Turkish German filmmakers as a part of such a community, are in a minority position and mostly marginal and therefore subject to difficulties resulting from being or better regarded as *different* and the *other*, it is possible to position Turkish German filmmakers as marginal and thus peripheral to the German cinema industry which consequently constitutes the centre and the mainstream. In this respect, as the governing language, the German national cinema forms the authority in the German film market. The moment that Turkish German filmmakers with their individual voices (that occupy different languages from both their home and host culture) enter the film industry and establish a dialogue with the authoritative German cinema, the latter is influenced by the Turkish German filmmakers’ voice and loses its dominant and authoritative status. This cross-cultural dialogue between the marginal and the dominant enables, in Mercer’s words, ‘the possibility of social change’ (Mercer 1994: 62).

In the following Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 when exploring hybridity in the representation of Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora in German, Turkish German and Turkish cinema, I will utilise Mercer’s ideas to explore if ‘monologic tendencies’ actually are more applicable to the representation in German and Turkish cinema and if Turkish German cinema exhibits *dialogic tendencies* characterised by an intermixing of different cultural identities, and aesthetical and narrative practices, which would make these films hybrid.

As briefly mentioned earlier, another important aspect that this thesis examines is the phenomenon of language-crossing as a special form of linguistic hybridity in the films analysed. Ben Rampton, who coined the term, defines language-crossing as ‘the

use of language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups that the speaker does not normally belong to' (Rampton 1995: 14). Three years later, in his article 'Language Crossing and the Redefinition of Reality', Rampton suggests a more detailed definition of language-crossing.

The term (...) refers to the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker. Language crossing involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter (Rampton 1998: 291).

Language-crossing is a special type of code-switching. Although both terms describe the use of two or more languages/codes alternately within a conversation, a sentence or even within a single utterance and therefore heteroglossic processes, the latter also involves bilingual code-switching, whereby both languages (language of origin and majority language) may 'belong' to the speaker (Androutsopoulos 2003: 85). In his conceptualisation of language-crossing, Rampton draws on Bakhtin's notion of *double-voicing* in particular (Rampton 1998: 304). Since in linguistic crossing situations, different languages and voices coexist in a single utterance, the language is *double-voiced*. The use of the *other's* language for one's purpose results in a cultural dynamic that leads to social change (Rampton 1998: 304). Androutsopoulos, with reference to the language mixing processes of the Turkish diaspora in Germany, states that the early *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (guest-worker German), *Türkendeutsch/Kanaksprak*¹⁸ (Turkish German) constitute examples of language-crossing (Androutsopoulos 2003: 88). The term *Kanake* is a derogatory expression used for mainly Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany and *Kanaksprak* is a stylised version of *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* and evokes the stereotype of an uneducated and simple foreigner as well as German prejudices.¹⁹ Androutsopoulos notes that

Zaimoglu's use of it reclaims this stigmatized social label as a positive emblem of immigrant identity (...). Zaimoglu discusses *Kanaken* and their language, *Kanak Sprak*, which he views as an 'underground code' and 'a sort of Creole with secret codes and signs'. He also stresses the analogy between their (alleged) imperfect competence of both German and Turkish and their position between two cultures. In the light of the language ideology

¹⁸ The author Feridun Zaimoğlu has coined the linguistic phenomenon *kanaksprak* in his same-titled book in 1995. The book contains stories from the second-generation Turkish migrants in Germany. Adolescents in multi-ethnic communities in particular use this ethnolect.

¹⁹ See for example Androutsopoulos 2001, Auer 2003, Deppermann 2007, and Eksner 2006 for analysis of the use of *Kanaksprak* amongst Turkish German adolescents.

framework, this is a classic case of iconization, which establishes the distance of *Kanak Sprach* from ‘normal’ German as iconic of the distance of *Kanaken* from German society (Androutsopoulos 2010: 187).

Here, the originally negative term *Kanake* has been subverted and in becoming – as Androutsopoulos puts it – iconic, represents a sign of resistance (Androutsopoulos 2010: 187). *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* and *Kanaksprach* (mainly in Turkish German comedies) both frequently appear in the *Gastarbeiter* cinema, Turkish German cinema and Turkish cinema depicting migration. The later analysis of these films will also focus on these hybrid language-crossing practices and their potential for resistance and social change.

In conclusion, Bakhtin’s linguistic hybridity, both intended and unintended, constitutes a very fertile conceptual framework for the exploration of the philological hybridity in the representation of the Turkish diaspora in cinema. Since different (social) languages occur more frequently in geographical and sociocultural spheres where migrants and diverse diasporic communities are in contact with each other and with the host society, each other’s voice is continuously influenced. Therefore, these films naturally involve what Bakhtin calls the organic, unintentional hybridity and also various forms of artificial and intentional hybridity like language-crossing, rendering these films *heteroglossic*, *dialogic*, and thus *double-voiced*. How exactly hybridity is expressed in the films and whether hybridity here creates a force in opposition to the dominance of the authoritative majority society shall be explored in this thesis.

Bakhtin’s ideas of hybridity have been borrowed and modified by various scholars working with cultural theories (Alexander 2010: 501). Bhabha was influenced by Bakhtin’s thoughts when conceptualising his notion of hybridity. Before exploring Bhabha’s theory of hybridity in the postcolonial framework, the following chapter delivers a very brief introduction of postcolonialism.

2.3.2 Cultural Hybridity and the *Third Space*

Arif Dirlik proposes in his article ‘The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism’ that postcolonialism begins ‘*when Third World intellectuals have arrived in First World academe*’ (1994: 328f., emphasis in original). Indeed, there

has been lively debate about when postcolonialism originated, which historical period it describes, and even how it should be spelt McLeod (2000: 5).²⁰ Several scholars in the field of postcolonial studies such as McLeod (2000) and Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (2002) agree that the term ‘postcolonial’ indicates a period after colonialism has become untenable. Today it seems widely accepted that postcolonialism does not refer to a historical era after colonialism, since it is difficult to locate an exact period like this. Moreover, postcolonial theory is eclectic, encompassing a variety of materials. It draws upon wide-ranging theoretical positions and includes approaches such as colonial discourse, diaspora, race, nation, ethnicity, globalisation, and gender (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2006: 2-8). In respect of the historical and intellectual complexity of the term postcolonial, McLeod presumes that ‘single sentence definitions are impossible and unwise’ (McLeod 2000: 34) and instead offers a definition by distinguishing three areas postcolonialism studies covers:

- Reading texts produced by writers from countries with a history of colonialism, primarily those texts concerned with the workings and legacy of colonialism in either the past or present.
- Reading texts produced by those that have migrated from countries with a history of colonialism, or those descended from migrant families, which deal in the main with diaspora experience and its many consequences.
- In the light of theories of colonial discourses, re-reading texts produced during colonialism; both those that directly address the experience of Empire, and those that seem not to (McLeod 2000: 33).

My analysis of the representation of Turkish migrants and their descendants can be located in the second of these areas. This chapter focuses on one particular strand, namely the strand of studies on hybridity and its relation to culture, identity, diaspora, and aesthetics.

Postcolonial theory evolved from critical debates on colonial discourse. Anticolonial activists and liberation theorists such as ‘Amilcar Cabral, C. L. R. James,

²⁰ McLeod discusses the two different spellings of postcolonialism and allocates them specific distinct meanings: ‘post-colonialism’ with a hyphen and ‘postcolonialism’ without. He considers the latter to be more pertinent since ‘post-colonialism’ implies a historical period after the political end of colonialism whereas postcolonialism written as a single word reflects the assumption that colonialism and postcolonialism are linked through ‘both historical *continuity* and *change*’ (McLeod 2000: 33). He proposes considering ‘postcolonialism not just in terms of strict historical periodization, but as referring to disparate forms of *representations*, *reading practices* and *values*. These can circulate *across* the barrier between colonial rule and national independence’ (McLeod 2000: 5).

Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, Ngugi wa Thiong'o' (Ha 2004b) count as forerunners of postcolonialism. Frantz Fanon is considered an important early exponent of critical account of colonial reality. His works from the 1950s and 1960s explore the racist relationships between colonisers and colonised in Algeria. In his two books *Black Skin White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Fanon approaches the psychological effects of colonialism and the creation of self under colonialism. According to McLeod, '[f]or Fanon, the end of colonialism meant not just political and economic change, but psychological change too' (McLeod 2000: 21).

In this context, Edward W. Said is the first to expose barriers caused by racism, which may have resulted from colonialism. Postcolonial thinkers mainly agree that Said is the founder of postcolonial studies. In his 1978 book *Orientalism*, he addresses the forms how the alien, the *other*, is constructed by studying the relationship between power and knowledge with regard to the historical construction of an Orient and Occident in Western thinking. Said explores how British and French colonisers represent the Middle East and North African countries in the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, the term 'Orientalism' goes further and is related to – as McLeod notices – 'the sum of the West's presentation of the Orient' (McLeod 2000: 39). Said uncovers hidden racism and stereotyping behind a mythical image of the Orient found in numerous texts (McLeod 2000: 47-60). In analysing different texts written during colonisation and after countries have gained independence, Said shows that colonial power mechanisms do not end after a decolonisation but rather persist. Said's concept of Orientalism describes how dominant cultures represent other cultures and thereby construct the Orient as the counter-image of Europe (Said 1978: 7). The depiction of foreign cultures or the *other* creates this foreign culture and more importantly serves to stabilise and idealise the own European identity. According to Said, the separating line between Orient and Occident established over the centuries is an effect of Western discourse dominating East (Said 1978: 2).

Homi K. Bhabha is a representative of the next generation of postcolonial theorists. His interest lies in the exploration of the formation of culture and identity within the conditions of colonialism. In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Bhabha discusses Said's *Orientalism* in the chapter 'The Other Question. Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism' and criticises Said's binary opposition of the Orient and the Occident, the *other* and the *self* (Bhabha 1994: 101ff.).

Bhabha, by contrast, advocates the idea of allowing *ambiguity* and the evolution of productivity from an *in-between* of the *self* and the *other*. With respect to the colonial context, Bhabha argues that ‘hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other ‘denied’ knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority’ (Bhabha 1994: 162). Young interprets Bhabha’s definition of hybridity linking it to Bakhtin’s *double-voicedness* and notes that hybridity ‘describes a process in which the single voice of colonial authority undermines the operation of colonial power by inscribing and disclosing the trace of the other so that it reveals itself as double-voiced’ (Young 1995: 23). This *double-voicedness* has the effect of subverting the authoritative position of the coloniser. Young further argues that Bakhtin’s intentional hybrid has been transformed by Bhabha into an active moment of challenge and resistance to a dominant cultural power (Young 1995: 23). Bhabha contends that in this process new hybrid cultures and identities emerge from the dialogue and interweaving of the cultures of the coloniser and the colonised. In this context, the author draws upon Vidiadhar Surajprasad Naipaul’s 1967 *The Mimic Men*. Bhabha defines mimicry as ‘the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite’ (Bhabha 1994: 122). Mimicry occurs when the colonised tries to imitate the coloniser’s gesture, language, or behaviour. The fact that the imitator always deviates from the ‘original’ and presents an incomplete copy of it creates the chance of colonial resistance. This idea is very similar to Bakhtin’s *double-voiced discourse* where two (social) languages continually influence each other’s position (also voice or speech). Thus authoritative discourse is always undermined by the *other* and the governing authority loses its position of power. The process of imitation or negotiation occurs in what Bhabha terms the *third space*. In his chapter ‘The Commitment to Theory’ he explains this metaphorical space of enunciation:

It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are structured in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin to understand why hierarchal claims to the inherent originality or ‘purity’ of cultures are untenable (...). It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity (Bhabha 1994: 54f.).

This *third space*, also referred to as the *in-between*, is a sphere where the process of hybridisation occurs. In other words, the process of negotiation and translation, which

consequently result in the reformation of culture and identity and occur in the *third space*, are described by Bhabha as hybridisation. Hence, the *third space* is a sphere of radical heterogeneity, translation, negotiation, and transformation (Bhabha 1994: 56). The result of hybridisation is hybridity, a new mixed form ‘composed from variable sources, different materials, many locations – demolishing forever the idea of subjectivity as stable, single or ‘pure’ (McLeod 2000: 219). Hybridity is the formation of something original that is influenced by two or more (cultural) *others*, by the *self* and the *other*. Thus it continuously dissolves the dichotomy of *self* and *other*. Bhabha clarifies the way in which hybridity emerging in the *third space* is related to the understanding of culture.

[T]he split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an *international* culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture’s *hybridity*. (...). [I]t is the ‘inter’ – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture (Bhabha 1994: 56).

Bhabha abandons a homogenised conception of culture and identity and emphasises that cultures are impure, mixed, and hybrid and in a process of continual hybridisation in the *third space*, where cultural identities are positioned. The categories culture and identity are always in a process of transformation. In this context, John Hutnyk refers to hybridity as a ‘disruptive and productive category’ (Hutnyk 2005: 81).

Here it has to be clarified how the notion of hybridity developed in postcolonialism theory can be applied to communities without colonial history like the Turkish people in Germany. An idea would be to see the Turkish community sharing with postcolonial diasporas the position of 1. being also a diaspora, 2. having a history of migration, 3. being marginal and a minority, and 4. being the *other* in the host society. These commonalities appear to justify employing the concept of hybridity in an analysis of Turkish diasporic cultural formations in Germany.

The concept of hybridity has been criticised by many scholars, including Robert Young, due to its origin in debates about ‘miscegenation’ in the 19th century. Young warns of the danger of repeating historical essentialist positions on race and ethnicity (Young 1995). In this context and in drawing on Young’s work, Alexander stresses that

hybridity maintains its association with the prohibitions of interracial sex and miscegenation. This gives the concept a very ambivalent status, [and] can be seen to reinscribe and champion essentialised notions of racial and ethnic difference, as well as contest and fracture them (Alexander 2010: 489).

A second criticism argues that the most renowned theoreticians of postcolonialism and hybridity are participating in Western knowledge regimes and theorising from a privileged position in the society since they can take advantage of cross-cultural border crossings in contrast to refugees or labour migrants for example, who do not have these opportunities. Thus, Jonathan Friedman – mainly with respect to Bhabha’s notion of hybridity – claims that the concept of hybridity is a new intellectual cosmopolitan view and represents a new elitist viewpoint (Friedman 1997: 75).

Another critique is that hybridity tends to romanticise global processes of diaspora and migration and ignore the bitter reality of refugees and social inequalities (Kalra et al. 2005). Similar to Friedman, Aijaz Ahmad, a Marxist critic of postcolonialism, accuses Bhabha’s notion of cultural hybridity of being a concept ‘specific to the (...) migrant *intellectual*, living and working in the western metropolis’ (Ahmad 1995: 13). Ahmad writes with respect to disregarded class structures and gender that in ‘Bhabha’s writing, the postcolonial who has access to (...) monumental and global pleasures is remarkably free of gender, class, identifiable political location’ and further argues that ‘this figure of the postcolonial intellectual has a taken-for-grantedness of a male, bourgeois onlooker’ (Ahmad 1995: 13). In her assessment, Werbner also includes the problem that the concept neglects race and points out that ‘too much hybridity (...) leaves all the old problems of class exploitation and racist oppression unresolved’ (Werbner 1997: 20). Similar to Ahmad, Kien Nghi Ha criticises that in postcolonial discourse the term hybridity is partially used in an assertive and uncritical way that reproduces differences between marginalised subjects and postcolonial metropolitan intellectuals (Ha 2004b).

Kien Nghi Ha, as well as Mark Terkessidis, concentrate their criticism on the reception of postcolonial theories in the German-speaking world and point out two main problems: the misinterpretation of the hybridity concept as a model of ‘culture mixture’ and the euphoric celebration of this intermixture (Terkessidis 1999; Ha 2004a; Ha 2004b). In this respect, Ha argues that in Germany an understanding of hybridity is popular that only celebrates cultural intermixture (Ha 2004a: 159). Ha illustrates his

idea of a cliché-based understanding of cultural mixing by giving the example of a Flamenco teaching Moroccan in Germany:

If such clichés are taken as the basis for the new hybrid mingling, then they only lead to appearing more *ethnicizing* and *exotizing*. Despite the modernised terminology, such perceptions evidently still revert to a thinking in which multicultural plurality functions as an ethnic-cultural distinction model (...). Such explanations consolidate binary culture and identity schemata as they do not question the categories of »self« and the »other«. Emphasising authenticity and cultural idiosyncrasies as a requirement for hybridisation leads to a modernised form of multiculturalism (Ha 2004b).²¹

Whilst Ahmad, Friedman, Werbner, Ha, and Terkessidis all point out that a political positioning, which is essential to the postcolonial discourse, is in danger of getting lost, Paul Gilroy believes the problem of the concept of hybridity lies in evocation of a pure and non-mixed anterior position. He says:

Which culture is not (...) hybrid? The idea of 'hybridity', of intermixture, presupposes two anterior purities (...). [T]here isn't any purity; there isn't any anterior purity (...). I try not to use the word 'hybrid', because there are degrees of it, and there are different mixes (...). Cultural production is not like mixing cocktails. What people call 'hybridity', I used to call 'syncretism' (...). I would prefer to stick with that — syncretism is the norm, but, that dry anthropological word does not have any poetic charge to it. There isn't any purity. Who the fuck wants purity? Where purity is called for, I get suspicious (Gilroy 1994: 54f.).

In rejecting the term hybridity, Gilroy argues that the concept is dependent on absolute origins and evokes (cultural) boundaries. However, a detailed look at Bhabha's conceptualisation of hybridity and in particular the *third space* reveals a different understanding. As quoted above, in 'The Commitment to Theory', Bhabha explicitly stresses that the *third space of enunciation* where hybridisation occurs ensures that 'the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity' (Bhabha 1994: 55). In an interview with Jonathan Rutherford about the *third space* he explains:

²¹ Translated from original: 'Wenn solche Klischees als Grundlage für die neuen hybriden Vermischungen genommen werden, dann wirken sie nur ethnisiertend und exotisierend. Trotz der modernisierten Terminologie greifen solche Wahrnehmungen offensichtlich immer noch auf ein Denken zurück, in der multikulturelle Pluralität als ethnisch-kulturelles Abgrenzungsmodell funktioniert (...). Solche Deutungen verfestigen binäre Kultur- und Identitätsschemata, da sie Kategorien des »Eigenen« und des »Anderen« nicht hinterfragen. Authentizität und Kultureigenheiten als Voraussetzung für Hybridisierung zu betonen, führt zu einem modernisierten Multikulturalismus' (Ha 2004b).

[T]he 'original' is never finished or complete in itself. The 'originary' is always open to translation so that it can never be said to have a totalised prior moment of being or meaning – an essence (...). [A]ll forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity (Rutherford 1990: 210f).

Bhabha clearly stresses the absence of a fixed and pure origin.

In agreeing with Gilroy and Bhabha that there is no primordial origin of culture, I would like to draw on Benedict Anderson's concept of *imagined communities* to describe why thinking about these pure origins is still relevant. Anderson conceives nation as imagined and thus abstract. He argues that, although even in the smallest nation the members most probably will not know each other, they continue to conceive an image of community in their minds (Anderson 1991: 6). Anderson further states that nation is a socially constructed concept that emerged in connection with the advent of printed works such as papers and books in the vernacular, and created national print-languages and thus 'languages-of-power' (Anderson 1991: 45). The opportunity to read the same printed material and communicate about it gave rise to the shared imagination of a community. In this respect, when nation is regarded as an imagined community, then national culture is also imagined. An understanding of culture as pure and fixed results from the imagination of constituting a community in a nation that shares the same national culture. Again, in agreeing with Bhabha and Gilroy, I would like to note that although national culture itself is not static or pure, it is often imagined or felt to share a culture that belongs to a nation.

Referring to Friedman's critique that migrant or postcolonial cosmopolitans are in the privileged position to enjoy the pleasures of cultural hybridity, I would like to argue that cultural hybridity exists and is experienced in all different social spheres. The problem here is that society does not acknowledge the productivity and enrichment of cultural hybridity by socioeconomically underprivileged social classes including refugees and labour migrants, where cultural hybridity is still mainly regarded as the problematic and difficult situation of being torn between two or more cultures. Society rather tends only to acknowledge the elites' cultural hybridity as a resource and advantage. I believe that the problem with cultural hybridity lies exactly here, namely in its recognition as something highly productive, regardless of the socioeconomic and sociocultural positioning of its 'possessors'.

In conclusion, it can be said that the postcolonial discourse has significantly contributed to the discovery of hidden residual perceptions of culture as a homogenous system. However, Terkessidis critically notes, that although new terms like cultural hybridity emerge in societal and political debates in Germany, the fundamental understanding of culture as having a fixed origin and borders does not change. Thus, the perspective that immigrants pursue a difficult life between different cultures still prevails:

Whether the enriching qualities of the multicultural are now lauded or conservatives insist upon the German 'Leitkultur' (dominant culture), Johann Gottfried Herder remains the invisible godfather of the culture discourse. Yet the most advanced postmodern conceptions of 'transculture' work off the conventional perception that cultures are independent structures with solid borders and a core that remains constant. In this sense, it is said about immigrants that they live a difficult life "between the cultures" (Terkessidis 2001).²²

However, scholars' approaches in the field of Turkish German cinema have already shown that these films question the established model of the difficult life between the cultures. It will be interesting to investigate the depiction of the same migrant group in the chapter about Turkish cinema and figure out how (among other things) cultural identity is represented. Is the Turkish film delivering the vision of a difficult life between home and host culture or is it similar to Turkish German cinema that depicts the pleasures of the Turkish diaspora's cultural hybridity?

Utilising linguistic and cultural hybridity as an analytical tool in the exploration of German, Turkish, and Turkish German cinema does not imply an uncritical adoption of Bhabha's concept. I have taken the critiques of hybridity seriously but agree with Alexander about the usefulness of hybridity as an alternative to the separating concept of multiculturalism. With respect to critiques on diaspora and hybridity, Alexander writes:

[Where] multiculturalism is increasingly understood as the practice and consequence of living separately rather than the process of living together, diaspora and hybridity are positioned as an alternative to these imagined 'parallel lives' (...) containing the possibility

²² Translated from original: 'Ob nun die bereichernden Qualitäten der Multikultur gepriesen werden oder Konservative auf die deutsche "Leitkultur" pochen, immer bleibt Johann Gottfried Herder der unsichtbare Pate des hiesigen Kulturdiskurses. Noch die avanciertesten postmodernen Konzeptionen von "Transkultur" arbeiten sich an der hergebrachten Vorstellung ab, Kulturen seien unabhängige Gebilde mit festen Grenzen und gleich bleibendem Kern. In diesem Sinne heißt es über Migranten, sie würden ein schwieriges Leben "zwischen den Kulturen" führen' (Terkessidis 2001).

of their transgression or dismantling. If the optimism that underpinned the emergence of 'diaspora' and 'hybridity' as theoretical tools (...) has waned, nevertheless (...) both the 'fact' of hybridity and diaspora, and their critical potential in opening up new spaces for engagement (...) assume even more significance (Alexander 2010: 504f.).

In this sense, hybridity appears to be very useful in reference to diasporic people and thus Turkish German filmmakers, who can already be considered to be culturally hybrid.

2.4 Aesthetic Hybridity and Polyglot Cinema

Turkish German filmmakers as members of the Turkish diasporic community in Germany are always in dialogue. Their hybrid cultural identity is continually re-created and renewed in what Bhabha has termed the *third space*. The filmmakers' cultural hybridity becomes interesting with particular regard to their works' narrative and aesthetic features. At this point, it is worth exploring in what ways the filmmakers' hybridity inspires their films' aesthetics. Does the Turkish German cinema show *dialogic tendencies*? How do *double-voicedness*, language-crossing, and hybridity manifest visually in these films? Moreover, does aesthetic hybridity in these films represent a form of resistance against a dominant national filmic discourse? So, how aesthetically hybrid is cinema made by culturally hybrid filmmakers who have access to the film tradition and aesthetics of the country of origin Turkey and the host country Germany? Taking this a step further, Turkish German directors might be influenced not only by Turkish Yeşilçam cinema and arabesk films, the New German Cinema and the Berliner Schule, but also by various film genres and cinematic styles such as New Hollywood or Nouvelle Vague.

In this respect, Hamid Naficy ascertains the existence of distinctiveness in aesthetic (and narrative) features in diasporic cinema. In *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (2001), Naficy coins the term 'accented cinema' to encompass films made by diasporic, migrant, exile and postcolonial filmmakers who live and work outside their country of origin (Naficy 2001: 10f). He argues that films produced by these filmmakers mirror their *double consciousness*. Moreover, this *double consciousness* constitutes the films' distinctive 'accented style' (Naficy 2001: 22). By borrowing the term accented from linguistics, the author stresses the importance of the

filmmakers' *double-voicedness*. As Bakhtin elucidated 'even one and the same word will belong simultaneously to two languages, two belief systems that intersect in a hybrid construction – and, consequently, the word has two contradictory meanings, two accents' (Bakhtin 1981: 305). In his article 'Situating Accented Cinema' (2006), Naficy explains the interrelation between *double-voicedness* and *double consciousness* with respect to filmmaking in diaspora or exile:

Accented films are (...) created with awareness of the vast histories of the prevailing cinematic modes. They are also created in a new mode that is constituted both by the structures of feeling of the filmmakers themselves as displaced subjects and by the traditions of exilic and diasporic cultural productions that preceded them. From the cinematic traditions they acquire one set of voices, and from the exilic and diasporic traditions they acquire a second. This double consciousness constitutes the accented style that not only signifies upon cinematic by its artisanal and collective modes of production, which undermine the dominant production mode, and by narrative strategies, which subvert that mode's realistic treatment of time, space and causality (Naficy 2006: 118).

Naficy identifies several components of the accented style, which is constituted by the director's double consciousness, such as the film's narrative, visual style, 'character and character development; subject matter, theme and plot; structures of feeling exile; filmmaker's biographical and sociocultural location; and the film's mode of production, distribution, exhibition and reception' (Naficy 2001: 21). The author notes that not each component has to appear in the accented style since accented films are a heterogeneous formation. With regard to film aesthetics, Naficy suggest that the visual style is characterised by amateur aesthetics and incompleteness. Furthermore, these films are driven more by words and emotions than action and the settings are predominantly real locations, claustrophobic and often ethnically coded interiors, but also the 'homeland's landscapes, nature, [and] monuments' (Naficy 2001: 289). In addition, airports, bus and train stations, as transnational border places, are common locations. For Naficy, multilingualism is significant. Cultural hybridity expressed by 'selectively appropriating other cultures and practices and keeping them in tension' is another feature of accented films (Naficy 2001: 291). I suggest that accented cinema, which is marked by specific accented styles like cultural hybridity, multilingualism and amateur aesthetics, and which is *double-voiced* with respect to the filmmakers double-consciousness and their opportunity to mix home and host cinematic experiences, is always a culturally hybrid

cinema. Naficy's concept of 'accented cinema' will reappear in relation to Turkish German cinema in the following chapter.

Similar to the idea of 'accented cinema', Sujata Moorti (2003) suggests that diasporic cinema is characterised by a 'diasporic optic'. She argues that 'the diasporic community has produced a visual grammar that seeks to capture the dislocation, disruption and ambivalence that characterizes their lives' (Moorti 2003: 359). The 'diasporic optic' of a filmmaker 'looks constantly at two or more different worlds and moves in two different directions at once' (Moorti 2003: 359). Thus, this special look enables the filmmaker to represent a mix of different impressions which I think might be regarded as a culturally hybrid depiction influenced by the directors' multiple and transnational belongings.

Laura Marks (2000) discusses intercultural cinema and offers another useful concept named 'haptic visuality' for seeing films produced by culturally hybrid filmmakers. 'Haptic visuality' describes the phenomenon when the vision itself becomes tactile 'as though one were touching a film with one's eyes' (Marks 2000: xi). Berghahn and Sternberg summarise Marks's theory:

[Marks's theory] centres on the hypothesis that the experience of diaspora, exile, migration and displacement has a profound effect on the film-makers' entire sensory apparatus, not just their vision but their olfactory and haptic perception, enabling them to decipher the auratic nature of objects in a way less commonly found in the work of non-diasporic artists (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010c: 26).

Thus, Turkish German filmmakers' diaspora experience ensures that their films produce a 'haptic visuality', which is distinct from mainstream cinema and can be regarded as a specific aesthetical feature in Turkish German cinema.

With respect to Naficy's, Moorti's, Marks's, and Mercer's theoretical achievements, Berghahn and Sternberg assume that 'the diasporic experience calls for a distinctive aesthetic response. [Their] concepts (...) suggest that an aesthetics of double consciousness can be identified as a further distinctive feature of migrant and diasporic cinema' (2010c: 26). In agreeing, I suggest that the concepts of 'accented cinema', 'diasporic optic', 'haptic visuality' and the formerly explained 'dialogic tendencies' (Mercer 1994) are all applicable to filmic representations in Turkish German cinema, creating distinctiveness in the narrative and visual style. The filmmakers' culturally hybrid identities and their familiarity with at least two cinematic traditions (of the home

and host country), inevitably result in narrative and aesthetic hybridity, mixing cinematic traditions, genres, cultures, and languages.

With respect to language-crossing as a linguistic form of hybridity that constantly appears in Turkish German, German, and Turkish films that depict migration, migrants, and the lives of diasporic subjects, Chris Wahl's concept of polyglot film is relevant. In 'Discovering a Genre: The Polyglot Film' (2005), Wahl lists the typical characteristics of a polyglot film:

In polyglot film (...) languages are used in the way they would be used in reality. They define geographical and political borders, "visualise" the different social, personal or cultural levels of the characters and enrich their aura in conjunction with the voice (Wahl 2005: 2).

Wahl considers – what he titles – the immigrant film as a subgenre of polyglot film. The most specific characteristic of a polyglot film is thus the presence of bilingualism or multilingualism. In this sense, several films that are considered in my analysis and Turkish German films in particular can be regarded as polyglot films.²³

In this chapter, I have introduced the key concepts of diaspora and hybridity and tried to explore theories on diaspora, diasporic identity, linguistic, cultural, and aesthetical hybridity in terms of their usefulness as theoretical tools in analysing the representation of Turkish migrants and Turkish diaspora in Germany in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema. What kinds of differences can be recognised when analysing the representation in Turkish German cinema that can be seen as a transnational cinema and diasporic cinema and the representation in German and Turkish 'national' cinema.

²³ Relevant works on polyglot cinema include Verena Berger and Miya Komori (eds.) (2010) *Polyglot Cinema: Migration and Transcultural Narration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*; Tessa Dwyer (2005) 'Universally Speaking: Lost in Translation and Polyglot Cinema', and Chris Wahl (2005) *Discovering a Genre: The Polyglot Film*.

CHAPTER 3

From *Gastarbeiter* to the Turkish Diaspora: The Representation of Migrants and Cultural Hybridity in German and Turkish German Cinema

Turkish labour immigration to Germany that began in the 1960s inspired German filmmakers to represent the first guest-workers' lives on screen. Later, when these guest-workers' family reunifications became an important sociocultural issue in Germany in the 1970s, German cinema switched focus from the depiction of the guest-workers solely onto the entire migrant family. In time the second, third, and fourth generation emerged and former guest-workers and their families inevitably constituted a Turkish diaspora in Germany. This historical development has also interested filmmakers in Germany, whose work featured the lives of these following generations. However, this time second- and later the third-generation Turkish German directors began to concentrate on the lives of their own generation, producing numerous films in the late 1990s. The emergence of directors such as Fatih Akin, Thomas Arslan, Ayşe Polat, Yüksel Yavuz, Aysun Bademsoy, Kutluğ Ataman, and Yasemin Şamdereli marked the end of the so-called guest-worker cinema (*Gastarbeiterkino*) of the 1970s and 1980s, characterised by social realist aesthetics and the depiction of the poor working and living conditions of guest-workers as well as the despair of people who had lost their social and cultural links (Göktürk 2000a: 330; Burns 2006: 127).

In this chapter I aim to delineate the development of migrant cinema in Germany from the beginnings of the first cinematic representations of migrants up to the present. At the same time I will consider the most significant scholarly concepts and terminologies used to describe and categorise the different phases of cinema on Turkish migration in Germany. In considering the societal context and Germany's immigration history, thematic and stylistic features of both phases will be identified. Thereby the focus lies on how these cinemas approach cultural hybridity. The perspective of films about Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in both German and Turkish German cinema on cultural hybridity is of particular importance for the later comparison with the depiction of cultural hybridity in Turkish cinema.

I aim to make three key contributions to the existing scholarship on this subject. Firstly, I will challenge the prevailing academic belief that the shift in the filmic depiction can be described as a move towards the portrayal of cultural hybridity. The terminologies used to classify the change from 'cinema of duty' to a cinema displaying the 'pleasures of hybridity' (Göktürk 1999: 7) or from 'cinema of the affected' to a

‘cinema of hybridity’ (Burns 2007a: 375) put emphasis on the notion of (cultural) hybridity and thereby imply that films from the initial phase neglect the representation of cultural hybridity and culturally hybrid identities. However, I argue that cultural hybridity is present in the earliest films about Turkish migrants in German and, contrary to scholarly opinion, is not something that only emerged in Turkish German cinema. My second contribution is strongly related to the first and offers for the first time a discussion of movies from the first phase, considering how they approach cultural hybridity, by providing a close analysis of scenes from relevant movies, concentrating on the display of linguistic hybridity and the characters’ culturally hybrid identities. An in-depth analysis of several of Fatih Akin’s films, focusing on how they break stereotypes to depict linguistic hybridity, hybrid urban milieus, and culturally hybrid identities, constitutes my third main contribution. I focus on language-mixing practices for three main reasons. Firstly, the utilisation of diverse forms of linguistic hybridity has so far received little scholarly attention and neither have Akin’s films benefited from such analysis. The small sample of existing research either looks at how multilingualism functions to situate the film in contemporary Europe, like Berna Gueneli (2011), or on linguistic multiplicity in Akin’s films as a characteristic of polyglot films in a global film industry as David Gramling (2010) suggests. In the abstract of his article, Gramling criticises the scholars’ ‘predilection for “culture” over “language”’ (Gramling 2010). However, my research interest combines culture and language, and by an in-depth examination of how exactly language-mixing occurs, I relate it to the formation of cultural identity. Thereby I argue that language use is relevant to cultural identity creation. Secondly, my Turkish German background and bilingualism allows me to develop a comprehensive analysis of language-mixing including subtle forms of linguistic crossing. Thirdly, it is pertinent to explore differences in the representation of language-mixing practices in German cinema and Turkish cinema in comparison to Turkish German cinema made by multilingual hyphenated identity filmmakers such as Fatih Akin.

3.1 Literature Review: From Guest-worker Cinema to a Cinema of Cultural Hybridity

Scholarly interest in Turkish German cinema emerged when the second-generation Turkish migrants began to direct their own stories in the mid-1990s. The German

anthology „*Getürkte Bilder*“: *Zur Inszenierung von Fremden im Film*²⁴ (1995) is the first book to consider the representation of migrants in German cinema. The collection includes articles that deliver a close analysis of one relevant film produced between the 1970s and 1980s. For example, in ‘Die Heimat des Geschlechts – oder mit der fremden Geschichte die eigene erzählen. Zu „Shirins Hochzeit“ von Helma Sanders-Brahms’²⁵, Annette Brauerhoch focuses on the depiction of Turkish women’s struggle in a patriarchal society, citing *Shirins Hochzeit/Shirin's Wedding* (1975, Helma Sanders-Brahms). Similarly, in ‘Ehrenrettung um jeden Preis. Zu „Yasemin“ von Hark Bohm’²⁶, Karsten Visarius engages with the importance of honour in a Turkish patriarchal family in his analysis of *Yasemin* (1988, Hark Bohm), while the German film scholar Michael Töteberg, for instance, in ‘Alle Türken heißen Ali. Sozialkritik und Melodrama: Zu „Angst essen Seele auf“ von R. W. Fassbinder’²⁷ focuses on *Angst essen Seele auf/Fear Eats Soul* (1974, Rainer Werner Fassbinder) and highlights its sociocritical perspective. Even though many of the contributions engage with the topic in-depth and criticise the one-dimensional and pessimistic depiction of migration, they employ a rather biased analytical framework. The authors frequently emphasise the foreignness of migrants and their descendants. Nevertheless, since their focus is on films from the first phase, their research findings are particularly pertinent to the depiction of the transition in the cinematic representation of migration in Germany and are especially useful for revealing the differences between films made in the two phases.

This shift was first observed by German studies scholar Deniz Göktürk in the late 1990s and hypothesised in her seminal article ‘Turkish Delight – German Fright: Migrant Identities in Transnational Cinema’. She sees a transition from a ‘cinema of duty’ to a cinema that features the ‘pleasures of hybridity’ (Göktürk 1999: 7). This discovery has been adopted by many scholars of German studies in the US and Britain especially, who began to investigate further various aspects and outcomes of this development. The numerous articles on Turkish German cinema, especially in the following decade, show that Göktürk’s terms and her perspective have become the predominant discourse in this field.

²⁴ English translation of the title: “*Fake Pictures*”: *About the Staging of Foreigners in Film*. The German word *getürkt* means *fake* and is related to the word ‘Türke’ (Turkish).

²⁵ English translation of the title: ‘The Home of Gender – or Telling One’s Own Story by Telling a Foreign Story. About “Shirins Hochzeit” by Helma Sanders-Brahms’.

²⁶ English translation of the title: ‘The Redemption of Honour at All Cost. About “Yasemin” by Mark Bohm’.

²⁷ English translation of the title: ‘All Turks are Named Ali. Social Criticism and Melodrama: About “Fear Eats Soul” by R. W. Fassbinder’.

Many scholars have engaged with the new notion of (cultural) hybridity, including Deniz Göktürk herself, Daniela Berghahn (2006, 2009, 2011, 2015b), Barbara Mennel (2002, 2008), Rob Burns (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2009), Özkan Ezli (2009), Randall Halle (2008, 2009), and the German film critic Georg Seeßlen (2000), when analysing the representation of identity and culture in Turkish German cinema. They draw not only on Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion of cultural hybridity, but also theoretical concepts that stress the special aesthetics and narratives of diasporic filmmakers. In this respect, the researches commonly apply theories or notions such as Hamid Naficy's (2001) 'accented cinema', Thomas Elsaesser's (2005) 'cinema of double occupancy' or 'hyphenated identity cinema', Stuart Hall's (1990, 1991) 'cultural identity', Laura Marks's (2000) 'haptic visuality', and Sujata Moorti's (2003) 'diasporic optic'. In doing so, several also chose to position Turkish German cinema within a broader global framework of diasporic cinema, analysing films with reference to European transnational cinema like, for instance, Maghrebi French and Black and Asian British cinema.

Another crucial contribution to the field of Turkish German cinema is by Daniela Berghahn with her two research projects on diasporic cinema in the late 2000s. The first international research network 'Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe' was funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) from 2006 to 2008. The AHRC funded also the following project 'The Diasporic Family in Cinema', which builds on the first and lasted from 2010 until 2011. The resulting monographs, articles in books and journals, and special issues are of particular importance and include the 2009 special issue of the journal *New Cinemas* on Turkish German cinematic dialogues. Another crucial work is the anthology edited by Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Film in Contemporary Europe* (2010a). Then followed Berghahn's *Far-flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema* (2013) resulting from the second project 'The Diasporic Family in Cinema'. The author focuses on the filmic depiction of diasporic families across Europe and, as well as Turkish German cinema, she draws on Black British and French Beur cinema. To sum up, the academic outcomes of these projects greatly enriched the debates in this field and presented new ideas for further research.

Turkish German cinema has received interest from academic fields as diverse as film studies, German studies, and sociology, which may explain the existence of diverse analytical perspectives and why certain themes are popular. With regard to the

aforementioned shift, gender, for instance, became a useful lens through which to examine the change of the perspective on gender-related issues (amongst others, Leal and Rossade 2008; Göktürk 2000c; Fincham 2008; Kılıçbay 2006, 2008; Mennel 2002; Berghahn 2009; Gueneli 2012). Furthermore, themes like mobility, space, and belonging and in relation to them the meaning of home and homecoming arouse scholarly interest (amongst others, Mennel 2010; Berghahn 2006, 2013; Kraenzle 2013; Yaren 2013). Other factors worth a mention are the utilisation of various music styles and the transnationality of music in Turkish German cinema (Göktürk 2010a, 2010b; Tunç Cox 2013a), the impact of generational differences on diasporic filmmaking (Tunç Cox 2011, 2013b), and the reception of Turkish German cinema and Turkish German directors in the Turkish and German press (Machtans 2012; Tunç Cox 2012).

However, the predominant analytical and theoretical angles appear to originate in postcolonial studies and cultural studies and thus themes related to culture, ethnicity, and identity like transnationalism, cultural hybridity, and diasporic hyphenated identity not only frequently co-exists with other subject material and constitute important parameters when investigating films from Turkish German diasporic filmmakers, but also form the main analytical perspective (see, amongst others, Burns 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2012; Rings 2008; Eren 2012; Göktürk 1999, 2000a; Ezli 2009, 2010; Berghahn 2011b).

The literature review demonstrates that scholars from Germany have shown minimal interest in Turkish German cinema. The works of the German based scholar Özkan Ezli (2009, 2010), Henrik Blumentrath's (2007) coedited anthology on transculturalism in Turkish German literature and film, and Ömer Alkın's (2017) anthology are the major contributions from Germany.

Another interesting observation is that Turkish German cinema is often referred to as a distinct cinema in books on German cinema. Works like Sabine Hake's (2008) *German National Cinema, The German Cinema Book* (2008) edited by Tim Bergfelder, Deniz Göktürk, and Erica Carter, and the anthology *New Directions in German Cinema* (2011) edited by Paul Cooke and Chris Homewood all not only deal with Turkish German cinema as an integral part of German cinema, but also appreciate its specific historical development.

Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium. Sites, Sounds, and Screens (2012a) coedited by Sabine Hake and Barbara Mennel was the first book to recognise that Turkish German cinema had its own unique identity. The anthology covers topics ranging from the reception of the films in the press (Tunç Cox; Machtans) to the

normalisation of ethnicity, through the sexualisation of Turkish German actors like Mehmet Kurtuluş and Birol Ünel (Berna Gueneli). Hake and Mennel discuss current scholarly debates, perspectives, and future trends in Turkish German cinema in their comprehensive introduction. The authors observe a growing interest in the relevant topic amongst scholars in the United States and Europe and acknowledge the important role of Turkish German film festivals, the increased accessibility to subtitled films on DVD, and the support of academic publishers and academic institutions that promote scholarships in this field (Hake and Mennel 2012b: 10).

From Göktürk's early publications on Turkish German cinema within the context of diasporic and transnational cinema in the late 1990s to Hake and Mennel's (2012a) co-edited volume focusing exclusively on Turkish German cinema around ten years later, the topic still engages scholars from different academic strands. My contribution can be considered as part of the transnational and diaspora cinema discourse and in particular as an addition to discussions on the representation of the migration experience, culture, and identity in films about Turkish migration to Germany and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Firstly, I consider the representation in German and Turkish German cinema and look further into the aforementioned shift. A brief introduction is followed by an analysis of the characteristics and the outcomes of this shift.

Over three generations, since the beginning of the labour migration to Germany in the 1960s, the *Gastarbeiterkino* (guest-worker cinema) has developed into a stylistically innovative cinema. Göktürk describes the development in the 1990s as a shift from 'cinema of duty' to the 'pleasures of hybridity' (Göktürk 1999:1), while Burns defines the phenomenon as a change from the 'cinema of the affected' to a 'cinema of hybridity' (Burns 2007a: 375). The German film historian Georg Seeßlen (2000) discusses this development in relation to the emergence of *cinéma beur* in France and argues that the 1970s' 'cinema of alterity' has been superseded by the *cinéma du métissage*, which does not make a big deal of the immigrants' otherness but instead depicts their everyday life and the hybridisation of minority and majority cultures. 'Turkish German' or 'German Turkish' are also used to describe the modern migrant cinema in Germany (Hake and Mennel 2012a; Löser 2004: 137f).²⁸

²⁸ More generally and with reference to other transnational contexts, it has been referred to as 'hyphenated identity cinema'. The 'cinema of double occupancy' or the 'hyphenated identity cinema' is shaped by filmmakers with dual or multiple belongings (Elsaesser: 2005).

In contrast to Burns, Göktürk, and Seeßlen, Guido Rings does not recognise such a transition:

Unlike common perceptions (...) most films, including productions by celebrated directors such as Fatih Akın, continue to draw on traditional concepts of culture that break with the strong transcultural perspectives voiced by the same directors. While there is a development from rather separatist multicultural and intercultural representations in Turkish-German cinema before Unification towards more interconnected transcultural portrayals in post-Unification films, many contemporary productions maintain monocultural perspectives (Rings 2008: 6).

Rings is an exception to the rule. Most scholars concur that there is a transition from the 'cinema of the affected' to a 'cinema of hybridity' (Burns 2007a: 375) and differentiate two stages. The first is dominated by a one-dimensional representation of the first-generation labour migrants in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s, with loneliness, alienation, and victimisation the dominant themes. The Turkish migrant woman is depicted as an oppressed victim of patriarchy. A significant change is noticeable in the representation of Turkish immigrants in films made since the mid-1990s, when the second-generation Turks in Germany began making films and creating images rather different from those in the preceding decade. Their focus is on the second- and third-generation immigrants and to portray German and Turkish cultures, showing a transnational and hybrid culture on screen. In *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium: Sites, Sounds, and Screens*, Hake and Mennel identify three phases of migrant cinema in Germany and propose that a new phase began after the millennium, characterised by a variety of genres and 'powerful indications of the normalization of ethnic imaginaries' (Hake and Mennel 2012b: 11). Since films made in the 1990s like *Lola und Bilidikid/Lola and Bilidikid* (1999, Kutluğ Ataman), *Kurz und Schmerzlos/Short Sharp Shock* (1998, Fatih Akın) and *Aprilkinder/April Children* (1998, Yüksel Yavuz) had already depicted hybrid cultures and are marked by the absence of stereotyped ethnic images, I differentiate between two phases instead of three.

3.2 *Gastarbeiterkino* and the ‘Cinema of the Affected’

Cinema about and made by immigrants from different countries can be found wherever societies are shaped and reconfigured by any form of migration. When immigrant communities become settler communities and diaspora cultures emerge, we can discern a significant impact on the host society’s culture, notably everyday culture such as food, fashion, and music, but also literature and cinema. Film scholars appear to be driven by a desire to categorise and classify films, be it along the lines of characters, plot or aesthetics and this explains the proliferation of terminologies in the present context.

The same desire for neat taxonomies can be observed in the case of French migration cinema. The term *cinéma beur* for example first appeared in the French journal *Cinématographe* in 1985, referring to films made by and about second-generation filmmakers of Maghrebi descent in France (Tarr 2005: 2). Since these people tend to reside in the *banlieues* (housing projects on the peripheries of French cities), the concepts of *cinéma beur* and *cinéma de banlieue* are sometimes conflated. Whilst *cinéma beur* emphasises the race and ethnicity of its protagonists, *cinéma de banlieue* foregrounds locality.

Cinéma de banlieue emerged within French film criticism in the mid-1990s as a way of categorising a series of independently released films set in the rundown multi-ethnic working-class estates (the *cités*) on the periphery of France's major cities (the *banlieues*), the most significant of which was Mathieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* (1995) (Tarr 2005: 2).

Similar difficulties arise over terms to do with Turkish German cinema, with *Gastarbeiterkino* prevailing in reference to cinematic releases from the 1970s and 1980s. The *Gastarbeiterkino* emerged within the New German Cinema of the 1970s as a component of a ‘politically critical national cinema’ (Burns 2006: 127) and consists of films dealing with the distress of the so-called guest-workers (*Gastarbeiter*), depicting the social, material, and cultural reality of the first generation. Thematically, the focus lies on the experience of discrimination, substandard living and working conditions, social exclusion from the host society and the difficulty of adapting to a new culture, with the women shown coping with the oppression of patriarchy. Victimisation is the dominant theme. The documentary *Ganz Unten/Lowest of the Low* (1986, Jörg Gfrörer) is one of the first significant examples of *Gastarbeiterkino* and addresses the inhumane living and working circumstances of the first labour immigrants in Germany. The

documentary is based on the eponymous literary reportage of Günter Wallraff, who assumed the identity of Turkish contract worker Ali for two years and investigated undercover the exploitation and discrimination of guest-workers in Germany. The director Jörg Gfrörer accompanied Wallraff posing as a Greek temporary worker secretly recorded what went on. Rob Burns summarises how the documentary constructs the *other*:

Wallraff constructs a model of the Turkish 'other' which, in more or less the same way as the official designation *Gastarbeiter*, defines an immigrant purely in relation to his/her economic function as a worker. Devoid of both a personal history and a private sphere Wallraff's 'Ali' has no individual identity, no life beyond the workplace (...). [H]e had presented a patronizing, clichéd portrait of the Turk as uneducated, unskilled, and basically ignorant, as well as naïve (Burns 2007a: 362).

As families were re-united in the 1970s, the wives and children of the guest-workers joined the male workforce living in isolation, gradually becoming a residential population. Film responded to the new social structure putting women into the limelight. In another documentary called *Die Kümmeltürkin Geht/Melek Leaves* (1985, Jeanine Meerapfel), the German Argentinian director Meerapfel accompanies the female Turkish guest-worker Melek Tez, who has been exploited as an employee and socially excluded in Germany, as she prepares to return after 14 years.

In the 1970s and 1980s the dual hardship of being a Turk and a woman became a popular concern of the *Gastarbeiterkino*. Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Shirins Hochzeit/Shirin's Wedding* (1975, Helma Sanders-Brahms) is the first film to focus on female migrant workers and casts a Turkish woman as a dual victim. The protagonist Shirin in order to escape an arranged marriage in Turkey travels to Germany and searches for Mahmud, a man from her village to whom she was promised as a young girl and to whom she wants to get married. She begins work as a guest-worker but, when made redundant during the recession of the 1970s, gets trapped in the double bind of illegality: without a work permit, she cannot get a residence permit, without a residence permit, she cannot get a work permit. Eventually she works as a prostitute and encounters Mahmud in a guest-workers' dorm. She sleeps with him and is subsequently killed in a shooting. The humiliating treatment of these guest-workers and the exploitation of the Turkish woman are central topics of the film. Irmhild Schrader (2005) sees the woman's hard-luck story as a critique of the patriarchal society of both countries. Claudia Bulut (2000) believes this condemnation of the patriarchal society to

be misguided, asserting that the director's attack on the patriarchal system failed because the woman was portrayed as helpless and dependent. Annette Brauerhoch criticises the film for conflating the fate of a Turkish female victim with the oppression of woman in all patriarchies. At the time, German feminists like Helma Sanders-Brahms felt that German society was characterised by patriarchal power structures and she uses Shirin's story to address female oppression per se (Brauerhoch 1995: 112-115).

As the guest-workers' children grew up, a Turkish diaspora came into being, effecting a change in the cinematic focus to depict the lives of bi-culturally grown up women. Bulut suggests that the popularity of this subject resulted from its potential to provoke conflict for the plot. She expands this to argue that German filmmakers could now elaborate not only on the characters' Turkish German inter-cultural conflict as in earlier *Gastarbeiterkino*, but also to expose the inner cultural conflict inherent in the bi-culturalism of the new protagonists. In other words, the topic of cultural conflict served both plot and character construction (Bulut 2000: 258). Notions of culture and identity came to the forefront in this phase. The second-generation Turkish German female adolescent became material for German filmmakers, whose predominant aim was to portray the effects of living with two cultures. Culture is mostly shown as fixed, with the protagonists depicted as torn between the traditional Turkish and the modern German culture. Hence, the fluidity of culture is neglected in many of these early films. Even if they do not entirely refuse the fact that the intermingling of cultures influences the Turkish German character, the outcome of such a fusion is regarded as problematic for the character, who is frequently portrayed as lost between two cultures. In this sense, I agree in general with Bulut's assertion that the emergence of the second generation offered German filmmakers the opportunity to create complex characters suffering from the inner cultural conflict resulting from growing up with both the Turkish and the German culture. Many films at that time relied on a typical binary opposition of a patriarchal Turkish culture versus a modern and liberal German culture, with Turkish German young women being presented to be in this cultural dilemma.

An example that clearly illustrates this cultural dilemma is Hark Bohm's film *Yasemin* (1988, Hark Bohm). The German director Bohm, later Fatih Akın's teacher at the film academy, based his film on 17-year-old Yasemin grown up bi-culturally who leads the life of an emancipated young women in the outside world but, at home plays the part of a traditional Turkish daughter. Conflict is generated when the protagonist begins a relationship with a German man and is confronted with the traditional mores of her parent's culture. Yasemin's attempts to mediate between people and cultures fail

and the film ends with Yasemin jumping onto a motorcycle and riding off with her German boyfriend. According to Schrader (2005), Bohm represents Yasemin to be torn between the two cultures but deserving a self-determined, happy life. Bulut (2000) and Blumentrath (2007) are more critical and accuse Bohm of advocating assimilation as the solution to cultural conflicts. Blumentrath (2007) contends that the film showcases monocultural and ethnocentric thinking. The resolution, which to Bohm means the adjustment to the German culture, can therefore only happen through the rejection the culture of origin. In choosing emancipation and her German boyfriend, Yasemin must in return accept the break with her family. In contrast to Shirin, Yasemin is not speechless and isolated but integrated into mainstream society, a good student and a member of a judo club. She is portrayed as passive and dependent on being saved by her German boyfriend. In this sense, *Yasemin* does not succeed in depicting the Turkish woman as anything more than a victim. The director emphasises the difficulties of reconciling two cultures and implies that one must take precedence. Belonging to two cultures is seen to represent a disadvantage and a point of conflict. Drawing on Bhabha's conceptualisation of cultural hybridity and *third space*, it can be argued that the film neither acknowledges the inevitable intermingling of cultures that occurs in what the theorist terms the *third space*, nor does it appreciate the result of this cultural negotiation, which, according to Bhabha, is the hybridisation of the individual's cultural identity. Furthermore, Bhabha and Bakhtin argue that the newly created culturally hybrid identity is an enriching resource and a competence rather than a weakness or handicap, which is not the case in the representation of Yasemin.

As mentioned earlier, besides directors' desire to thematise the inter and inner cultural conflict and the victimisation of Turkish women, the hardship of being a (male) guest-worker was another prioritised topic. Rainer Werner Fassbinder was the first filmmaker to tackle the lives of labour immigrants in Germany in depth. Although Fassbinder's *Katzelmacher* (1969) and *Angst wssen Seele auf/Fear Eats Soul* (1974) do not feature first-generation Turkish migrants but rather a Greek and a Moroccan, it is important to include them since they constitute significant examples of films produced in the first phase. In *Katzelmacher*, Fassbinder portrays the life of the Greek guest-worker Jorgos (played by the director himself) in a suburb of Munich in the 1960s. Jorgos is not proficient in German and therefore experiences problems communicating and interacting with his neighbours, especially with the local youths. As his charm and otherness is attractive to the German women who live nearby, he is regarded as a sexual rival and experiences the aggressive xenophobia of German men from the local youth

group. Although Jorgos is depicted as lonely, alien, speechless, slightly confused, disoriented, and excluded from the German society, he still poses a threat to the German community. Fassbinder's interest in the lives of the male guest-workers remained and four years after *Katzelmacher*, he directed another film on the same subject.

In *Angst essen Seele auf* (with the early working title of 'Every Turk's name is Ali' (Göktürk 1998: 104; Töteberg 1995)), a Moroccan guest-worker is shown to be the victim of discrimination. The film depicts the relationship between an older German woman, Emmi, and the Moroccan, Ali. When Ali encounters Emmi in a German bar, they begin a relationship and eventually decide to get married. Their union is deemed to be socially unacceptable and the couple face prejudice and hostility. By the end of the film, the psychological pressure and hard working conditions give Ali a stomach ulcer.

The films approach the topic of the first Southern European labour immigrants in Germany in the 1960s and early 1970s from the same angle. The male protagonists are not only excluded from German society, but also have to confront the prejudice, hatred, and the aggression of the majority. Moreover, the two men, whose alterity is foregrounded, struggle with isolation, speechlessness, and loneliness. Although their otherness is shown to be sexually appealing to German women, integration into German society is difficult if not impossible. Fassbinder wanted to reveal the plight of the newly arrived young guest-workers and the racism of the German majority. In both movies, which can be regarded as significant examples of films about the first guest-workers in German cinema, Fassbinder adopts a social realist perspective. They draw attention to the misery of the early migration experience and critique the attitude of the German society towards the new immigrants, who are continually positioned as alien and the *other*. In his analysis of Fassbinder's movies, Farzanefar (2004) criticises the fact that they fail to render a realistic portrayal and instead paint a stereotypical picture of the immigrants' lives. The author stresses the impact Fassbinder's approach had on later movies on the subject and regards them as the starting point for the proliferation of such stereotypes over the following twenty years (Farzanefar 2004: 234). Fassbinder's abiding influence on subsequent films is evidenced by the perpetuation of similar themes. Firstly, the plight of migrants, focusing on their poor living and working conditions and problems with language and adapting to a new country; secondly, the prejudices and xenophobia of the German host society; and thirdly, the the patriarchal

Turkish culture and the value men place on (family) honour and how this affects women, who are oppressed and victimised by these patriarchal structures.²⁹

Alongside *Gastarbeiterkino* other terms were coined to describe the first phase of films about immigrants in Germany. 'Cinema of alterity' was introduced by the German film critic Georg Seeßlen (2000) to denote films about immigrants that adopt a social worker perspective and focus on the social and cultural problems encountered by early guest-workers and their families (Burns 2006; Seeßlen 2000).

Another term is 'cinema of the affected' which is proposed by Rob Burns and partly overlaps with the 'cinema of alterity'. In 'Turkish-German Cinema: From Cultural Resistance to Transnational Cinema?' (2006), Burns adopts a term from German literature of the 1980s, 'Literatur der Betroffenen' (literature of the affected), and comes up with 'cinema of the affected'. Although the 'cinema of the affected' bears some similarities to *Gastarbeiterkino*, the 'cinema of the affected' emphasises the authenticity of personal experience and is therefore reserved for films made by Turkish German filmmakers. Two films made by Tevfik Başer are key examples for the 'cinema of the affected'.

As in *Shirins Hochzeit* and *Yasemin*, women take centre stage in *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland/40 Square Meters of Germany* (1986, Tevfik Başer). This film by the Hamburg-based Turk Tevfik Başer is frequently heralded in scholarly literature as the first film from a Turkish filmmaker in Germany and as the advent of Turkish German cinema (Burns 2006: 128). However, I disagree since Başer went to Germany as a student at the University of Fine Arts and is not related to the guest-worker phenomenon unlike the Turkish German directors Fatih Akın and Ayşe Polat. These second-generation hyphenated identity filmmakers, who had to negotiate the Turkish or Kurdish culture of their origins and German culture, depart from the problem-based representation of migration experience and exhibit a specific style when depicting the Turkish diaspora as will be explored in the later section on Turkish German cinema. However, Başer, was the first Turkish filmmaker in Germany to concentrate on the lives of guest-workers.

His first film *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* tells the story of a young Turkish woman Turna living in Turkey, who gets married to the significantly older guest-worker

²⁹ In addition *Palermo oder Wolfsburg/Palermo or Wolfsburg* (1980, Werner Schröter), *Aus der Ferne sehe ich dieses Land/I See This Land From Afar* (1978, Christian Ziewer), *Drachenfutter/Dragon Chow* (1987, Jan Schütte), and *Happy Birthday Türke/Happy Birthday Turk* (1991, Dorris Dörrie) are other examples of *Gastarbeiterkino* from the first phase which cover similar issues.

Dursun in Germany. Dursun is portrayed as a traditional dominating patriarch in opposition to the liberal Western lifestyle of German society. He sees his wife as his property and believes that he has the right to control not only her honour, but her whole life and prohibits her from any contact with the outside world. He goes so far to lock her up when he leaves the flat, so Turna has no opportunity to meet anyone and becomes lonelier and lonelier. Even near the end of the film, when Dursun dies of a heart attack in the shower, his dead body blocks the entrance, signifying his attempt to control Turna from beyond the grave. After spending the night with his corpse, Turna eventually manages to get out of the flat and the final scene shows her exiting the house in a very confused and disoriented state. Since the film takes place almost completely in the couple's small flat and features nearly solely the two protagonists, some scholars see the film as a typical 'chamber play' (Göktürk 1998: 105; Mennel 2008: 54). Mennel stresses the construction of strictly separated inside versus outside worlds and argues that the flat, as an enclosed and even claustrophobic domestic space, represents the place of migration experience.

After the film's success Başer shot his second film *Abschied vom falschen Paradies/Farewell to a False Paradise* (1989), adapted from the novel *Frauen, die sterben, ohne dass sie gelebt hätten* (Women, Who Die before They Have Even Lived) (1987) by Saliha Scheinhardt (Göktürk 1998: 105). Başer again utilises the motif of the victimised woman, focusing on Elif, who has killed her tyrannical Turkish husband and is waiting in a German prison for her deportation to Turkey. In prison, Elif befriends fellow prisoners, learns German and, in this way, finds a form of liberation but this emancipation does not last long. In order to escape her deportation to Turkey, where another trial and punishment re pending, she attempts suicide.

Several scholars have criticised Başer's films of being one-dimensional and reducing the Turkish migration experience to gender relations in a Turkish patriarchal environment (Mennel 2008; Göktürk 2000a). Mennel, for example, notes:

Tevfik Başer's films about locked-up Turkish women, for example his paradigmatic film *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* (1986), are based on binary gender construction according to which the interior room is restricted and coded as feminine. The camera and the film do not leave this room and thereby replicate the experience of migration as claustrophobia for the audience. Migration is relocated into the private room in which a patriarchal Turkish chamber play is then carried out (Mennel 2008: 54).³⁰

³⁰ My translation from original: „Tevfik Başers Filme über eingesperrte türkische Frauen, zum Beispiel sein paradigmatischer Film ,40 Quadratmeter Deutschland' (1986), basieren auf einer geschlechtlich

The author is of the opinion that such a strictly gender-based approach implies that the migration experience solely concerns the constraints of the Turkish patriarchal structures, allowed to persist in the enclosed spaces of liberal West. However, two years later, Mennel considers Başer again in ‘Politics of Space in the Cinema of Migration’ (2010), arguing that scholars might have misread his films and proposing an alternative interpretation. She suggests that Başer’s films could be relevant in the context of the then emerging left-wing Turkish cinema, led by the Turkish director Yılmaz Güney.

Thus, when Başer employs entrapment in a confined space as a result of migration in *40m2 Germany* and *Farewell to False Paradise*, he not only comments on the social reality of experience of Turkish migrants in Germany, but he also continues a Turkish filmic tradition steeped in left politics. In that context, the imprisonment not only critiques the Turkish patriarch but also situates the film in a filmic tradition of class analysis. This kind of discursive apparatus was neither visible for a West German audience at the time, nor has it been reflected by contemporary scholarship so far (Mennel 2010: 49).

Mennel’s idea is interesting and affords valuable new insights. The notion that the social realist films in Turkey at that time might have had an important impact on Başer seems plausible, since he grew up in Turkey and was familiar with this political and social critically cinema that brought the misery of class and gender inequities into focus on screen. Such an interpretation opens up the possibility to characterise both films as culturally hybrid since they draw on Turkish cinema traditions. However, this does not alter the fact that *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* and *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* envision the migration experience from a problem-and victim-based perspective, with a clichéd focus on the Turkish women’s plight.

Göktürk discusses the depiction of the Turkish women as victims in immigration films of the 1970s and 1980 and sums up this phase as follows:

Stories about Turks in Germany frequently work within the context of gender relations. The liberation of the poor Turkish woman from captivity, suppression, dependence or even prostitution is a popular fantasy which originates from the German audience’s sense of

binären Konstruktion, der zufolge der innere Raum einschränkt und weiblich kodiert ist. Die Kamera und der Film verlassen diesen Raum nicht und reproduzieren somit die Erfahrung der Migration als Klaustrophobie für die Zuschauer. Migration wird in den privaten Raum verlegt, in dem sich dann ein patriarchales türkisches Kammerspiel vollzieht“ (Mennel 2008: 54).

superiority. The sympathy with the victims of other cultures above all serves as their own self-verification (Göktürk 2000a: 336).³¹

The author argues that these films vindicate liberal Western culture and later points out the risk of such a stereotypical depiction of ethnic minorities, since it could often be perceived as representing the totality of an entire ethnic group (Göktürk 2000a: 336).

Göktürk (1999) uses the term 'cinema of duty' to describe this phase, adopted (like 'pleasures of hybridity' for the second phase) from Sarita Malik's 'Beyond 'The Cinema of Duty'? The Pleasures of Hybridity: Black British Film of the 1980s and 1990s' (1996), which uses the terms in relation to Black British cinema. 'Cinema of duty' was originally coined by the film critic Cameron Bailey in 1990, who defined it as

Social issue in content, documentary-realist in style, firmly responsible in intention [and it] positions its subjects in direct relations to social crisis, and attempts to articulate 'problems' and 'solutions to problems' within a framework of centre and margin, white and non-white communities (Bailey cited in Malik 1996: 203-204).

The films are social-issue based and inspired by a social-worker ethos, aiming to call attention to societal problems such as female oppression that would otherwise go unnoticed.

Gastarbeiterkino, 'cinema of alterity', 'cinema of the affected' and 'cinema of duty' all attempt to categorise specific features in the early films about guest-workers and their descendants who came to West Germany in the beginning of the 1960s. The above outline shows that these terms overlap and by no means exclude each other. Quite the contrary, they have many things in common. While the *Gastarbeiterkino* and the 'cinema of alterity' focus on films directed by German filmmakers of the New German Cinema who often use realist aesthetics to depict the social problems of immigrants, the 'cinema of the affected' is a continuation of these films. By including films from the Turkish director Tevfik Başer, such as *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* and *Abschied vom falschen Paradies*, the terminology emphasises the authenticity of the immigrants' personal experiences. By contrast, the 'cinema of duty' can be seen as a category that

³¹ My translation from original: „Geschichten über Türken in Deutschland arbeiten sich häufig an den Geschlechterbeziehungen ab. Die Befreiung der armen Türkin aus Gefangenschaft, Unterdrückung, Abhängigkeit oder gar Prostitution ist eine populäre Phantasie, die dem Überlegenheitsgefühl des deutschen Publikums entspringt. Das Mitleid mit den Opfern der gewalttätigen anderen Kultur dient in erster Linie der eigenen Selbstbestätigung“ (Göktürk 2000a: 336).

includes all these films and stresses the social responsibility of showing migration-related problems. These first-phase films are similar in that they are all social problem films, delivering an essentialised representation of culture and focusing on marginalised and exploited (mostly) Turkish guest-workers and oppressed, victimised Turkish women. Guest-workers are strongly stereotyped and presented as victims on the margins of society, unable to communicate in German and excluded from majority culture. Similarly, the terms migrant or migration cinema and the German term *Migrantenkino* refer to films about immigrants made between 1960 and 1990 irrespective of the filmmakers' ethnicity.

However, in the 1990s, when second- and subsequent-generation Turkish migrants began to produce films on the lives of their own generation, they forge a new approach. Their films attest to a new confidence and new scholarly terminologies arise to reflect fundamental changes in representation.

3.3 Examples of Cultural Hybridity in the *Gastarbeiterkino* and the 'Cinema of the Affected'

Before investigating those movies' characteristics of the second phase, it is essential to consider the role of cultural identity in the representation of migration in the films from the first phase, since cultural hybridity constitutes a key theoretical tool in this thesis. However, since my main research interest lies in the depiction of Turkish migrants in Turkish cinema, I will just briefly touch on this. Nevertheless, this current section is of particular importance, since it is the first challenge to the predominant thinking that the representation of cultural hybridity is limited to films from the second phase.

A review of the key literature on migration in German and Turkish German cinema reveals the total neglect of theories on cultural hybridity and the concept of transnational cinema in the context of films made in German cinema (first phase). Researchers seem apply these theories exclusively to the second phase, in so-called Turkish German cinema. Such a divisive stance not only implies the existence of a pure German national cinema, but also constructs a dichotomy of a national German cinema versus a transnational Turkish German cinema. With respect to German national cinema, Hake and Menzel seem to be amongst the few authors in this field, who draw attention to the fact that German cinema has been hybrid and transnational since the Wilhelmine era.

From its inception German cinema has been multicultural, accented, hybrid, and hyphenated; Turkish German cinema is only the latest manifestation of a model of cultural production and representation unique to cinema (...). Notwithstanding the official discourse on national cinema, filmic production, distribution, and consumption have always been international as well as transnational, with film professionals (both native and foreign-born) as the quintessential skilled migrant worker; examples include the Danish film professionals in Wilhelmine cinema, the Russian film as the first diasporic cinema in post-1918 European cinema, the contribution of German Jewish actors and directors to Weimar cinema, or the role of Austro Hungarians to the sound film of the late 1920s and early 1930s (Hake and Mennel 2012b: 12).

The authors alert us to the impact of various cultural traditions on cinema in Germany since the advent of cinema itself, which negates the idea that there is a purely national German cinema. Films from Germany have always been culturally hybrid and exhibited transnational tendencies.³²

Bakhtin's theories of *heteroglossia* and hybridity, which he conceptualises in relation to the novel can also be applied to film and are therefore of great value when analysing cultural hybridity in migration-related movies.³³ The term *heteroglossia* means *different languages*, where the word language does not describe a spoken or written national language, but rather a social language capturing the variety of different jargons, social dialects, characteristic behaviours of diverse groups and generations that all co-exist in a single language (Bakhtin 1981: 262-263). With respect to the novel, the Russian philosopher further claims that various languages exist in a novel, such as the author's, the characters', and the narrator's language. The intermingling of these languages in one and the same novel then turns the novel into a hybrid piece of art. This idea can fruitfully be adapted to film as it similarly involves the screenwriter's, the producer's, the director's, and the characters' language, each of them being hybrid themselves. Bakhtin calls this type of hybridity intentional and artistically organised hybridity. Another form of hybridity that the author differentiates from the intentional one is the unintentional or historical hybridity, which is an organic hybridity that appears in everyday life. Encounters that cause a continuous intermingling of diverse social languages result in the hybridisation of a social language (Bakhtin 1981: 258-259). Hake and Mennel's comments on German cinema as a historically hybrid and

³² The concept of transnational cinema will be explored in detail in the following subchapter.

³³ At this stage, I very briefly reflect on Bakhtin's and Bhabha's relevant concepts. A detailed discussion of their theories can be found in Chapter 2.3.1 and Chapter 2.3.2.

accented cinema and Bakhtin's identification of artistic hybridity and hybridity of everyday lives implies that films from the first phase are also culturally hybrid. In addition, Bhabha's (1994) theory on cultural hybridity, in which he describes the intermingling of two or more cultures in an abstract place (the *third space*) to result in a completely new cultural hybridity and a culturally hybrid identity of those, who are involved in the cultural encounter, is a further important concept. This idea demonstrates that no national culture or cultural identity could possibly be pure and thus supports my argument that also in the movies of the first phase cultural hybridity inevitably occurs in various forms. Where guest-workers, immigrants, and diaspora communities encounter each other and the host society, cross-cultural meetings naturally and unavoidably result in cultural hybridity and culturally hybrid identities. This is also the case with early films on migration, which feature cultural hybridity in various aspects such as linguistic hybridity, hybridity of identity, hybrid aesthetics, and hybrid music.

Both Tevfik Başer's films *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* and *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* feature strong transnational elements and exhibit cultural hybridity. The director is familiar with Turkish and German culture, which is not only reflected in his work, but also renders them culturally hybrid pieces of art. His stories about the damaging effects of a Turkish and Kurdish patriarchal society on women in Turkish immigrant communities in Germany are influenced by the Turkish leftist cinema tradition of the filmmaker Yılmaz Güney, not only a Kurdish Turkish hyphenated identity filmmaker, but an immigrant himself, since he had to seek asylum in France, where he lived until his death. Güney came from a leftist social realistic perspective and preferred to film existing social, political, and economic inequalities and injustices in Turkey and especially in the Kurdish regions of Turkey (Dönmez-Colin: 2008: 91; Arslan 2011: 181). Besides themes such as capitalism and class differences, he also featured the oppression of women caused by the archaic patriarchal system in Turkey.

Başer assesses this topic in a similar way to Güney and shows its effect in a migration setting in Germany. The director adapts not only Güney's sociopolitical cinematic angle but also works with İzzet Akay, one of Güney's cameramen, and in *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* features the famous Turkish actor Yaman Okay, who appeared in several of Güney's movies. It is interesting that Elif in Başer's *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* is played by the prominent actress from Turkey Zuhal Olcay. Thus, both films produced in Germany and regarded as a part of German cinema are not only heavily impacted by the Turkish leftist cinematic tradition, but also feature Turkish

stars as protagonists. Hence, diverse cultural influences on Başer's films can be identified. They are affected by the cinematic style of Yılmaz Güney from the cinema of Turkey; they involve a Turkish and German international cast and crew, and star at least one well-known actor and actress from Turkey in a film produced in Germany. Furthermore, the films feature amongst others Turkish, German and Greek cultural encounters, exhibiting various styles of multilingualism. Before giving some examples of how language-mixing either in the form of language-crossing and code-switching occurs in a significant number of films, I would suggest that Başer's films and certain others involving international cast, crew, and the subject of migration inevitably feature some aspects of cultural hybridity, for instance linguistic hybridity, and may therefore be regarded as transnational cinema not national cinema. Additionally, the fact that a famous Turkish actor or actress stars in several movies will naturally arouse interest in Turkey too. Consequently, they are also distributed in Turkey, becoming transnational. *Yasemin* also fits this model. Similar to Başer, the German director Böhm works with an international cast and crew and casts a prominent Turkish actor in an important part, in this case Şener Şen as Yasemin's father Yusuf. His participation in *Yasemin* ensured that the film gained attention in Turkey.

Focusing on *Yasemin*, I will illustrate how linguistic hybridity plays a significant role in many first-phase films. Yasemin is a second-generation Turkish migrant in Germany and can be regarded as a character with Turkish German hyphenated identity; she is familiar with both cultures and both languages. Her bilingualism enables her to continually switch between languages. Her mother and father, first-generation guest-workers in Germany, have also mastered German language and also constantly mix Turkish and German. In the kitchen, Yasemin and her mother Dilber debate the best way to tell her father that Yasemin wants to stay on at school. This scene is a good illustration of language-mixing.

Yasemin: *Hast du jetzt endlich mit Papa gesprochen wegen der Oberstufe?* (Have you finally talked to Dad about the issue of Oberstufe?³⁴)³⁵

Mother: *Wann? Vallahi kızım ein Esel hat besser Zeit als ich: Putzen, Kochen, Waschen, Nähen. Ich bin fertig, da schläft er schon.* (When? Seriously, my daughter, a donkey has more time than me: cleaning, cooking, doing the laundry, sewing. He is already asleep when I'm done.)

³⁴ *Oberstufe* is a German word to describe the advanced stages of high school in Germany.

³⁵ For a better understanding of how the switching between Turkish and German occurs and to be able to separate them, the German language is shown in italics.

Yasemin: *Aber du willst doch auch, dass ich studiere?* (But you too want me to study, don't you?)

Mother: Tabii! (Sure!)

Yasemin: *Ja dann must du ihn fragen.* (So then you have to ask him.)

Mother: *Wann?* (When?)

Yasemin: *Jetzt. Şimdi.* (Now. Now.)

Mother: *Efendim? Im Laden voller Menschen?* (Sorry? In the shop full of people?)

Yasemin: *Wann denn sonst? Ok, ich mach das selber.* (When else? Ok, I'll do it myself.)

Mother: *Kızım deli mi oldun? Bist du närrisch kızım? Bak, wenn Du jetzt deinen Vater im Laden vor dem Onkel fragst, dann kriegst du vallahi billahi ein Nein.* (My daughter are you crazy? Are you crazy my daughter? Look, if you ask your father now in the shop in the presence of your uncle, I promise you will get a no.)

(...)

It seems useful to adopt the sociolinguist Androutsopoulos's (2012a) categorisation of four different language uses, developed in his analysis of the Turkish German comedy *Süperseks* (2004, Torsten Wacker) to classify the characters' language repertoire. He differentiates between *Turkish*, *native German*, *near-native German*, and *interlanguage German*. The first describes native colloquial standard Turkish, with dialects and discourse markers. *Native German*, which he also calls *abbreviated German*, is standard colloquial German, including slang and jargon. The term *near-native German* captures fluent standard colloquial German with a slightly non-native accent. *Interlanguage German* describes obvious non-native German including, for example, bad grammar and the omission of articles and prepositions and is reminiscent of *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*, a highly simplified German that helped early guest-workers to achieve basic communication with Germans (Androutsopoulos 2012a: 310f.). All four languages are already hybrid in themselves, since each one is the result of a specific intermingling procedure of various dialects, slangs, jargons, and the standard colloquial languages Turkish and German. However, a second level of hybridity occurs in the dialogue extract through the characters' continual switch between languages. Whilst second-generation Yasemin uses exclusively *native German*, her mother alternates between *interlanguage German* and Turkish. Their conversation exemplifies how diverse styles of language-mixing like inter-sentential (between single sentences), intra-sentential (within a single sentence), and tag-switching (using a phrase or word from another language in a sentence, dominated by the other language) can occur. Chris Wahl believes films that feature multilingualism in a way that mirrors reality can be labelled polyglot films or polyglot cinema (Wahl 2005: 2). With reference to multilingualism in

film, Androutsopoulos alerts us to the important fact that language and language-mixing in a multilingual film could be tailored to the target audience's language knowledge and therefore often do not reflect realistic and authentic use of multilingualism. Moreover, the author points out that the characters' language repertoires may rely on stereotypes (Androutsopoulos 2012a: 321). However, I claim, that either way – whether a realistic or fabricated depiction of multilingualism – *Yasemin* and several other films such as Başer's two movies can be categorised as polyglot cinema, which I argue is *heteroglossic* and thus culturally hybrid.

Since the *Gastarbeiterkino* mainly depicted newly arrived guest-workers as isolated from German society, speechless, and unfamiliar with the German language like the Greek Jorgos and the Moroccan Ali in Fassbinder's films *Katzelmacher* and *Angst essen Seele auf*, *interlanguage German* is predominant. Except for Ali's extremely rare use of the Arabic phrase 'kif kif' ('it's all the same') the protagonists do not switch languages, but communicate instead in broken German. In regard to linguistic hybridity, even if the films are almost exclusively monolingual, featuring only German and not the guest-workers' language of origin, they still represent linguistic hybridity by displaying Jorgos and Ali's broken German. Both speak a typical Pidgin German characterised by simple and poor sentence structure and incorrect grammar. 'Guest-worker German', or Androutsopoulos's *interlanguage German*, is a hyphenated language combining German with grammar similarities to the guest-workers' language, thus creates a completely hybrid language. In the very first scene in which Ali and his later German wife Emmi meet, Ali speaks a typical 'guest-worker German'. He asks Emmi to dance with him 'Du tanzen mit mir?' ('You dancing with me?') and 'Ja, du allein sitzen. Macht viel traurig. Allein sitzen nicht gut.' ('Yes, you alone sitting. Makes a lot sad. Alone sitting not good.'). These examples show how Ali simplifies the German language by ignoring grammatical rules like the conjugation of verbs and declension of articles, nouns, adjectives, and pronouns and this creates a completely new and hybrid language. Ali's attempt to (flawlessly) mimic the German language fails and therefore results in a unique hybrid language. This is very similar to Bhabha's observation that the colonised tries to mimic the coloniser's language, gesture, and behaviour, but cannot reproduce these accurately. Thus, the colonised produces a new hybrid culture containing elements of both.

Similarly, the concept of mimicry arises in relation to Jorgos (played by Fassbinder himself). Like Ali, the Greek guest-worker Jorgos, who barely speaks at all,

communicates in the philologically hybrid 'guest-worker German', in short sentences such as 'Gehen zusammen Griechenland' ('Going together Greece.') and 'Jorgos nichts verstehen' ('Jorgos nothing understand.') which exhibit the same grammatical simplification as Ali's 'guest-worker German' and the attempt to mimic German creates a hybrid language. However, Jorgos displays another rather subtle kind of mimicking. Fassbinder, a German, has to imitate a Greek guest-worker with a Greek accent and talk in Pidgin German. His mimicking of a Greek inevitably results in an incomplete copy and produces a highly hybrid cultural identity, embodied by the character Jorgos.

Another representation of cultural hybridity occurs in *Angst essen Seele auf*. Several scenes illustrate how German and Arabic cultural encounters combine into a cultural fusion, with music playing a crucial role. The film even begins with an Arabic song played over the opening credits and in the first scene in a traditional German pub, in which Ali and some Arabic friends are having a night out, drinking beer and occasionally flirting with German women. The fact that an Arabic song is playing in the pub appears strange at first. However, it becomes apparent that Ali and the other Arabic men are regulars at the pub, whose owner has adapted to this new situation by including Arabic songs on the jukebox. The predominance of Arabic music in this typical German pub is seen as something completely normal by the few Germans there, who appreciate that Arabic guest-workers might want to listen to these familiar melodies. Arabic songs are heard in the background of several scenes, suggesting a culturally hybrid atmosphere and setting. In order to illustrate how this use of music generates cultural hybridity, I want to examine two scenes.

When the elderly German lady Emmi enters the pub, someone puts on some traditional German Schlager music with a tango rhythm called 'Du schwarzer Zigeuner' ('You black gypsy') sung by the Swiss Vico Torriani and the Arabic music gives way to the German song. Ali asks Emmi to dance and this becomes their song that at the end of the film will save their relationship from a crisis, when Emmi puts it on and they start to dance. In another scene, Emmi and Ali are dancing the same slow dance as in the first scene, but this time to a lively and upbeat Arabic song. The encounter of the Arabic music with a traditional German pub and the (rather Western) slow and close couple dance culture redefines cultural patterns by taking the lively Arabic music out of its context of origin and inserting it into a completely different setting. The same applies to the German pub culture and the romantic couple dance culture. The entering of the Arabic (music) culture transforms the 'original' cultural patterns of a German pub

setting and the prevailing habits of slow music couple dance. In this way the encounter of different cultures results in a completely new culturally hybrid setting.

Another scene that exemplifies a similar kind of cultural intermingling takes place in Emmi's flat. Ali's Arabic friends have been invited over for a cosy get-together. The young male guest-workers play the German board game 'Mensch ärgere dich nicht' while they drink beer, smoke and listen to Arabic music in Emmi's flat, which is the normal tidy flat of an elderly German woman. This scene not only illustrates how cultural hybridity occurs when different ethnicities come into contact, but also when a specific culture of a group of younger men encounters the environment of the elderly. The different 'age cultures' influence each other and whilst Emmi's behaviour and even body language becomes more youthful and vivid, the men adopt a calm attitude. The complex intermingling of diverse cultures produce this culturally hybrid setting and culturally hybrid identities in the film. Emmi's culturally hybrid identity is even put down in writing in the film; after she marries Ali, Emmi Kurowski's name changes to 'Emanuela ben Salem M'Barek Mohammed Mustapha'.

To sum up, the examples given reveal the fact that films depicting migration and contact between different cultures are not only culturally hybrid themselves, since they are what Bakhtin calls artistically hybrid, but also show cultural hybridity on screen. Cultural hybridity is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that seems inevitable when cultures encounter each other. My aim in focusing on certain first-phase films was to illustrate that cultural hybridity is an essential element of the *Gastarbeiterkino* or 'cinema of duty'. Hence, I suggest being cautious when dividing the history of migration cinema in Germany into two phases on the basis of cultural hybridity, arguing that cultural hybridity is characteristic for the second phase.

Nevertheless, the division of migration films in Germany into two phases is reasonable since there are significant differences between movies produced up until the late 1990s and those made by Turkish German second- and third-generation filmmakers. It should prove enlightening to investigate, amongst others, how these hyphenated identity directors approach cultural hybridity in their films.

Before concluding, I want to draw attention to the fact that I have decided to use the term 'cinema of cultural hybridity' in the context of the second phase for three main reasons. Firstly, as mentioned, respected scholars of migration cinema have already employed the concept of hybridity in reference to the second phase in literature; secondly, the directors of this second period are themselves culturally hybrid; and lastly,

their films feature not only cultural hybridity as an inevitable outcome of (Turkish and German) cultural encounters like first-phase films, but go beyond and depict the enrichments of cultural hybridity, which is the significant difference of the representation of cultural hybridity before and after the cinematic shift. However, the chosen labelling ‘cinema of cultural hybridity’ for the second period in filmmaking should not be misinterpreted as simply characteristic of films made by Turkish Germans after the mid-1990s. I argue that cultural hybridity is an unavoidable phenomenon in films about migration and hence can be found in diverse forms in both phases.

3.4 The ‘Cinema of Cultural Hybridity’

The German journalist Moritz Dehn was one of the first authors to detect the change in the cinematic representation of migrants and their descendants when the second-generation Turkish migrants began to make films. In ‘Die Türken vom Dienst’ (1999)³⁶ he summarises the characteristics of films during – what he calls – the Turkish German cinema boom. In considering works by Thomas Arslan, Fatih Akın, Yüksel Yavuz, and Kutluğ Ataman, Dehn notes that, in these new films, the lives of migrants have become a natural part of German society and thus no longer situated as the *other* in a binary construction of *self* and *other*. Moreover, the themes differ significantly from earlier productions in that they no longer portray the experience of immigration and the difficult lives of first-generation guest-workers. Quite the contrary, the stories concern the everyday lives of third-generation young adults and their desires, aspirations, and conflicts with their elders who are more traditionally Muslim. In these early movies from Turkish German filmmakers, Dehn observes a new and unique storytelling style with the allure of the ‘exotic’. Thus, the author suggests conceptualising Turkish German films as a newly emerged genre (Dehn 1999).

Five years later in 2004, the film historian Claus Löser dates the beginning of this change to the mid-1990s in ‘Berlin am Bosphorus: Zum Erfolg Fatih Akın und anderer türkischstämmiger Regisseure in der deutschen Filmlandschaft’³⁷, an article published in *apropos. Film 2004. Das Jahrbuch der DEFA-Stiftung*. He argues that this transformation began when a group of young filmmakers with a Turkish migration

³⁶ English translation of the title: ‘Turks in Charge’.

³⁷ English translation of the title: ‘About the Success of Fatih Akın and Other Directors of Turkish Origin in German Film’.

background graduated from film academies and entered the German film industry. Many directors, including Thomas Arslan, Fatih Akin and female filmmakers like Ayşe Polat, Aysun Bademsoy, Buket Alakuş, and Seyhan Derin moved on from making short films to full-length features or documentaries. This new phase was also noticed by Werner Stein, who, almost ten years after the advent of these second-generation films, asserts that Turkish German cinema has developed into a commercial mainstream art and constitutes a creative and lucrative strand in current German cinema.

Georg Seeßlen and Katja Nicodemus are important German film critics, who investigate the occurrence of Turkish German cinema and its characteristics in several articles. Even as early as 2000, Seeßlen discovered similarities between Turkish German cinema and films made by the second, third, and fourth generation of in particular Maghrebi French filmmakers in France. Seeßlen opts for the term *cinéma du métissage* (Kino der doppelten Kulturen/cinema in-between), also known as the ‘cinema of the in-between’, instead of ‘cinema of alterity’. In general, the term is applied to a young cinema shaped by the later generations of former immigrants in France, the United Kingdom and, after a longer period, Germany, too. These films are often based on the filmmakers' personal experience of living in between two cultures and are the continuation of the ‘cinema of alterity’ as well as a contradiction thereof (Seeßlen 2000). The *cinéma du métissage* no longer problematises alterity and nor depicts migrants as foreigners but focuses instead on the hybridisation of cultures. Seeßlen defines the majority of movies made in this second phase as *cinéma du métissage*, the French word *métissage* describes the racial mixing and the intermingling of cultures.

The French root word *métis* refers to ‘people of dual heritage and is underpinned by tenets of (colonial) race thinking, for instance, that humans can be divided into distinct ‘races’ and that miscegenation leads to ‘racial impurity’ (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010c: 27). Even if over time and through the efforts of postcolonial criticism, the intermingling of different races and (diasporic) cultures has been recognised as productive, the term remains ambivalent because of its negative connotations, which according to Berghahn and Sternberg, led to it being rarely used by French scholars and film critics (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010c: 28).

Owing to the above, I will not use the phrase *cinéma du métissage* or its English counterpart ‘cinema of the in-between’ when discussing this second phase. Moreover, I would suggest that the label ‘cinema of the in-between’ appears to be problematic since it assumes the existence of two strictly separate, static and oppositional cultures. The individual then is not only positioned in between two different and ‘competing’

cultures, but also caught in between these two cultures. The term implies that, even if the in-between can constitute a new creative space through the intermixing of cultures, it can be a place of tension where the person is torn between two distinct cultures.

This expression Turkish German or German Turkish cinema describes a cinema by filmmakers from Germany who are of Turkish origin as well as films about Turkish German societal phenomena, regardless of the filmmakers' origin (Löser 2004: 137f.). Irrespective of any restriction regarding the origin of the filmmakers and the themes of this heterogeneous cinema, Löser avoids an exact definition of Turkish German cinema according to the current state of research. The author emphasises the complexity, multifacetedness, and heterogeneity not only of the aesthetics and narratives of relevant films, but also of the filmmakers' biographical background, which makes it rather difficult to categorise their films under the same label and give a definition of Turkish German cinema (Löser 2004: 137). Göktürk scrutinises new categorisations and terminologies such as Turkish German cinema and, by concentrating on the cultural complexity behind the making of these films and their transnationality, she poses a challenging question:

Of which nationality, for example, is a film that plays in Hamburg and was produced there under German direction, but in which Turkish actors speak in Turkish-German dialogue and Turkish milieus are presented? Is such a film to be allocated to German or Turkish cinema? Does it express statements about the German or Turkish culture or about both? How does it appear, if the director is a Turk living in Germany, who works under similar production conditions to his German colleagues? (Göktürk 2000a: 331).³⁸

I agree with Löser and Göktürk that Turkish German cinema is difficult to define and I believe that it is irrational to categories movies with different filmic aesthetics and from dissimilar genres in the same group. Thomas Arslan's films are guided by the characteristics of the French Nouvelle Vague whereas Fatih Akın is influenced by (amongst others) the themes and styles of American New Hollywood. Moreover, there are Kurdish German filmmakers like Yavuz Yüksel, whose films are considered to be part of the newly created classification of Turkish German cinema. However, scholars in all fields seem obsessed with classifications. Even if sometimes these groupings and

³⁸ My translation from original: 'Welche Nationalität hat beispielsweise ein Film, der in Hamburg spielt und dort unter deutscher Regie produziert ist, in dem jedoch türkische Schauspieler türkisch-deutsche Dialoge sprechen und türkische Milieus darstellen? Ist ein solcher Film dem deutschen oder dem türkischen Kino zuzurechnen? Macht er Aussagen über die deutsche oder die türkische Kultur oder über beide? Wie verhält es sich, wenn der Regisseur ein in Deutschland lebender Türke ist, der unter ähnlichen Produktionsbedingungen arbeitet wie seine deutschen Kolleg/innen?' (Göktürk 2000a: 331).

terms are problematic, I claim that new labels and categories might be needed to describe developments in a specific academic field, such as Turkish German cinema.

I prefer to use Burns's and Göktürk's concept of hybridity over the ambivalent term *métissage* for second-generation Turkish German and Kurdish German directors in Germany and to categorise these films as belonging to a 'cinema of cultural hybridity'. Although cautious about the origin of the term hybridity, I contend that it has undergone a positive redefinition through the works of Bakhtin and Bhabha. As mentioned, the category (sometimes even called a new genre) Turkish German cinema is problematic because it includes aesthetically and narratively diverse films and emphasises the directors' nationality. Moreover, the phrase Turkish German not only implies the existence of two separated and in themselves static (national) cultures, but also the filmmaker's origin over his work. However, as well as 'cinema of cultural hybridity', I have decided to use the expression Turkish German and Turkish German cinema for second-generation immigrants and filmmakers and, by omitting the hyphen between Turkish German, I negate a binary opposing construction and aim to create and stress a unique and culturally hybrid *Turkish German* instead of a separatist *Turkish-German* with a hyphen.

Many scholars of Turkish German cinema, such as Göktürk (1998, 2000a) and Burns (2006), identify the 'cinema of cultural hybridity' as a cinema that crosses national, cultural, geographical, and cinematic boundaries and therefore assign this cinematic movement to the international phenomenon of the so-termed transnational cinema. In order to examine if Turkish German cinema can be regarded as a part of or a subcategory of transnational cinema, I will briefly elaborate on the characteristics and proposed definitions of transnational cinema to distinguish it from the concept of national cinema.

Transnationality and Transnational Cinema

Transnational cinema is another key term used to categorise second-phase films. More recently, German cinema has been considered in regard to its transnational dimension. Much of the literature on Turkish German cinema locates this particular transnational cinema in a specifically German context, with debates centring on what Turkish German filmmakers brought to German national cinema. An alternative approach is to situate it in the context of so-called 'hyphenated identity cinema' (Elsaesser 2005) such as Asian British, Maghrebi French etc. and compare these transculturally. Before

moving on to the specificities of these second-phase films, I shall explain how Turkish German cinema fits into the discourse of transnational cinema.

Around fifteen years ago, scholars began to acknowledge that cinema's production, circulation, and themes had become transnational. They began to question the relevance of national cinema as a productive heuristic tool since it locates films according to their national context economically (domestic film industry) and textually (representation of national character) (Higson 1989: 36). The concept of transnational cinema surfaced in response to two main phenomena: firstly, the emergence and growing importance of the term transnational to refer to how people, institutions and organisations are connected across nations (Ezra and Rowden 2006) – it first occurred in disciplines such as sociology, cultural theory, and economics; and, secondly, in response to the limitations of the existing terminology (national cinema) and the desire to study films beyond the borders of nation states as well as to consider films from a new angle (Higson 2000; Higbee and Lim 2010). The term reflects the changing circumstances in the globalised world characterised by economic and cultural exchange across national boundaries, coupled with advances in technology (Higbee and Lim 2010). As pointed out by William Brown (2009), this exchange is also enabled by media and cinema itself. According to Andrew Higson (2000) and Brown (2009) the global exhibition and reception of a film at various film festivals, via foreign distribution, DVD sales, (cable) television and online streaming opportunities show how limiting a study of films under the umbrella of the concept of national cinema is. In the age of globalisation, an analysis of films as a part of a specific national and cultural context seems therefore insufficient. Many contemporary films involve funding, cast and crew from various nations and/or reflect different cultural identities. They feature protagonists from diverse nations and/or whose identity is shaped by different national and cultural backgrounds (hybrid identities), and approach themes raised by migrant communities or depict – as Brown phrases – 'protagonists who travel (for work, for pleasure, or out of necessity) across various nation-states' (Brown 2009: 17).

Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim (2010) differentiate three main approaches to the study of transnational cinema. The first is based on Higson (2000) who affirms that the national/transnational binary is limiting and that transnational is a 'subtler way of understanding cinema's relationship to the cultural and economic formations that are rarely contained within national boundaries' (Higbee and Lim 2010: 9). The research focuses mainly on the internationalisation of the production, distribution, and reception of the films. According to the authors, the drawback to this is its potential to obscure

imbalances of political, economic, and ideological power in this global exchange, ‘most notably by ignoring the issue of migration and diaspora and the politics of difference that emerge within such transnational flows’ (Higbee and Lim 2010: 9). The second approach adopts a regional perspective focusing on a shared cultural heritage of regional cinemas as for example the Scandinavian cinema also called the Nordic cinema (Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) and the Chinese cinema (Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan). However, the authors challenge this idea for not necessarily needing the category of the transnational and instead suggest new categories like regional cinema or supra-national Chinese cinema (Higbee and Lim 2010: 9). The third approach to transnational cinema refers to the analysis of diasporic, exilic, and postcolonial cinemas that mostly involve the representation of cultural identity and question the existence of a pure national culture. The filmmakers have often an exilic, diasporic, postcolonial, or migration background; their films deal with issues of migration and feature cultural hybridity. Higbee and Lim’s characterisation of transnational cinema is useful when analysing the international co-production and distribution of Turkish German films. Furthermore, it allows us to explore how transnationality and cultural hybridity are visible in the aesthetics and narratives of current Turkish German film.

Regarding the discourse of transnational cinema Higson (2000) stresses the continuing importance of the concept of national cinema for politics. He argues that governments still design strategies to protect and to promote the local or national culture as well as local or national economy and that cinema plays a role in promoting ‘the nation as a tourist destination, to the benefit of the tourism and service industries’ (Higson 2000: 20). In ‘Lost in Transnation’, Brown (2009) draws attention to some shortcomings of the concept of transnational in film studies. He criticises the term as being too vague and broad in meaning and argues that there is a risk of it could become meaningless. The author differentiates two types of transnationality in cinema. The first is what Brown calls ‘born of necessity’ (Brown 2009: 16) and applies to filmmakers who have to work in a transnational context, such as asylum seekers or immigrants. The second identifies transnationality as the privilege of being able to invest in filmmakers in developing nations ‘with all the issues that this raises of exoticising otherness and cultural imperialism’ (Brown 2009: 16).

To return to the German Turkish cinema, Hake and Mennel argue that debates on transnationalism have shaped the discussion of Turkish German cinema since the mid-1990s (Hake and Mennel 2012b: 15). The authors further state:

Turkish German cinema makes a rightful claim to occupying both sides of the divide marked by the absent hyphen: of being self and Other, at home and abroad, foreign and native—a unique position that explains the frequent enlistment of these films in larger theoretical debates about national cinema (Hake and Mennel 2012b: 16).

Transnational mobile filmmakers, like the Turkish German Fatih Akın or Ayşe Polat, work in multiple networks and have transnational connections. Their films reflect their multicultural attachments with regard to the choice of the films' location, the multinational co-productions and financing, as well as worldwide distribution and international audiences. Furthermore, they display narrative and aesthetic cultural hybridity in their representation of Turkish, German, Kurdish and other (rural) cultures, languages and dialects, music, lifestyle habits etc.

Auf der anderen Seite/The Edge of Heaven (2007, Fatih Akın), for example, is a German/Turkish/Italian co-production, set in Bremen, Hamburg and Istanbul, featuring a story about Turks, Germans and Turkish Germans continually crossing geographical borders, linguistic and musical boundaries and starring two legendary Turkish and German actors Hanna Schygulla and Tuncel Kurtiz. Moreover, the film was distributed in countries all over the world and thus cannot be adequately categorised as part of any national framework. The transcultural aesthetics and narrative, the international production background and the international distribution of films like *Auf der anderen Seite* makes it necessary to conceptualise German Turkish cinema as a transnational cinema.

I agree with Brown that transnational cinema is too vague and wide-ranging. I believe that Turkish German cinema could be a subcategory of transnational cinema with its own specific characteristics. Furthermore, since my research interest lies in the representation of culture and identity in films made by second-generation Turkish German filmmakers rather than in exploring the transnational aspects of modes of production, funding, distribution, and reception of films, I do not believe that the concept of transnational cinema is appropriate. Instead, as mentioned, I prefer to engage with Bhabha's notion of hybridity (and its positive connotations) in my analysis of Turkish German filmmaking in Germany.

Göktürk (1999) in her seminal article dealing with paradigm shift in the cinema about migration in Germany titled 'Turkish Delight – German Fright. Migrant Identities

in Transnational Cinema' and later Burns (2007b) in his article called 'Towards a Cinema of Cultural Hybridity: Turkish-German Filmmakers and the Representation of Alterity' identify Turkish director Sinan Çetin's film *Berlin in Berlin* (1993) as a historical turning point in the filmic depiction of Turkish immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Whilst Burns argues that the film symbolises the departure from the 'cinema of the affected' (first phase) and is a key example of 'cinema of hybridity' (second phase), Göktürk states that *Berlin in Berlin* constitutes the starting point of the shift from the 'cinema of duty' to the 'pleasures of hybridity'.

Berlin in Berlin is a Turkish German co-production directed by a Turkish filmmaker, mainly working in the Turkish advertising sector, and can be regarded as the first humorous representation of the German and Turkish culture in German cinema. The story starts with the German amateur photographer and engineer Thomas, who becomes fascinated by the Turkish woman Dilber and follows her on the streets to take pictures of her. When her brother finds out about the photos, he gets angry with Thomas and a fight ensues in which Thomas unintentionally kills the brother. The dead man's brother vows blood-vengeance on Thomas. As Thomas flees, he accidentally ends up in Dilber's flat, in which four generations reside. However, the elderly family members agree not to lay a finger on Thomas since, as long as he is in the flat, he has the status of a guest. Thomas, afraid to confront the brother, decides to remain in the flat and the film illustrates Thomas's assimilation as he learns the language, Turkish songs, and customs such as kissing hands when celebrating a religious festival and passing around Turkish delight and eau de cologne. By comparing the portrayal of Thomas with the representation of Turkish immigrants from the first-phase films, Göktürk notes: 'It is now the Turks who are watching the German, almost like a circus animal and who stare at him in claustrophobic close-ups' (Göktürk 1999: 13). Near the end, the family members discover the photos of Dilber whereupon Thomas and Dilber together leave, hand in hand.

Admittedly, *Berlin in Berlin* shows a different perspective on Turkish immigrants in Germany than earlier films. The film eschews a focus on the sorrows and difficulties of guest-workers and their (extended) family encounter, the prejudices they face, and their otherness. Çetin reverses the gaze on the 'exotic' Turkish *other* and the German Thomas becomes the *other* in the eyes of the Turkish migrant community. Given that the film depicts Turkish German cultural encounters from a humorous slant, Göktürk argues that this comic perspective allows it to exhibit the 'pleasures of hybridity' (Göktürk 1999: 13). Comparing the film with older productions, Göktürk sums up:

Berlin in Berlin shows more potential in exploring the pleasures of hybridity than previous attempts to portray German-Turkish encounters. The reversal of the asylum situation and the resulting symbiosis open up possibilities of mutual humor and reflection, of traffic in both directions – aspects which seemed to be absent from earlier examples of a “cinema of duty” (Göktürk 1999: 13f.).

The author believes that humour and the ironic handling of cultural stereotypes are instrumental to revealing the pleasures of cultural hybridity. She suggests that ‘we need more of this ironic and irreverent spirit not only in the films to come, but also in the discourse about exile and diaspora cultures’ (Göktürk 1999: 14). I agree with Göktürk that *Berlin in Berlin* responds to cultural hybridity in a very different manner than first-phase films. By humorously exaggerating cultural customs and stereotypes such as Turkish hospitality and the archaic concept of ‘blood-vengeance’ and by showing how Thomas assimilates into the Turkish culture, mimicking customs and so on, the film emphasises pleasures that could result from cultural encounters. *Berlin in Berlin* is also a culturally hybrid film since it involves an international and multicultural crew and cast. Furthermore, the film combines three different genres: comedy, melodrama, and thriller (in the scenes backed with sombre music, such as when Thomas stalks and secretly takes pictures of Dilber or in the scene when the family discovers the photos and understands that they caused the brother’s death). In adopting elements from the thriller the film becomes a uniquely hybrid genre.

Although *Berlin in Berlin* depicts the pleasures of hybridity, I argue that the actual breakthrough of the Turkish German culturally hybrid cinema came a few years later with the second-generation filmmakers Thomas Arslan and Fatih Akin in the latter half of the 1990s. Their films feature very specific characteristics related to the fact of growing up and being familiar with both cultures. Moreover, I believe that *Berlin in Berlin*, a film made by a Turkish filmmaker from Turkey, who has no diasporic experience, might be part of the cinema of Turkey rather than Turkish German cinema. In this sense, I rather disagree with Göktürk and Burns and aspire to prove, with reference to concepts associated with diasporic filmmakers such as Hamid Naficy’s (2001) ‘accented films’ that reflect the filmmakers’ double consciousness, Sujata Moorti’s (2003) ‘diasporic optic’, Laura Marks’s (2000) ‘haptic visuality’, Thomas Elsaesser’s (2005) ‘hyphenated identity cinema’ and ‘cinema of double occupancy’, and Kobena Mercer’s (1994) ‘dialogic tendencies’, that the paradigm shift previously

discussed occurred when Arslan and Akin made their first films.³⁹ These theories all start from the premise that the filmmakers' double consciousness leads to a distinctive visual and narrative aesthetic. Moreover, I suggest that second-phase films share the significant characteristic of appearing to value cultural hybridity and, in Göktürk's words, displaying 'hybridity as a source of strength and pleasure, rather than lack and trouble' (Göktürk 1999: 3). This new positive attitude frees Turkish immigrants and their descendants from being pessimistically portrayed as torn between two (competing) cultures struggling for a way out.

In the last part of this chapter, I will show how second-phase films demonstrate the positivity of cultural hybridity. I have chosen Fatih Akin's five critically acclaimed films as representative of the cinematic shift, and as engaging with cultural hybridity and portraying culturally hybrid identities as an inevitable and enriching commonplace. I deliberately draw on the works of Fatih Akin, not only because he is a Turkish German diasporic director and hence a representative of the so-called 'hyphenated identity cinema', 'accented cinema', 'cinema of double occupancy', 'culturally hybrid cinema' and has this so-called 'diasporic optic', but also because although there is a substantial body of work dealing with his films as mentioned earlier, no study applies theories of cultural hybridity to his films in depth.

Furthermore, his film *Kurz und Schmerzlos* can be considered one of the first films to move away from the 'cinema of duty' to portray a very specific style when dealing with the Turkish diaspora in Germany. *Kurz und Schmerzlos/Short Sharp Shock* (1999), *Kebab Connection*⁴⁰ (2005), *Im Juli/In July* (2000), *Gegen die Wand/Head-On* (2004), and *Auf der anderen Seite/In the Edge of Heaven* (2007) shatter stereotypes and create a space for the negotiation of hybrid cultures.

3.5 Examples of Cultural Hybridity in Fatih Akin's Oeuvre

A common trait in first-phase films is the representation of culture as static rather than subject to change. Turkish German cultural encounters rarely result in a renegotiation and hybridisation of the characters' cultural identity. However, when filmmakers allow their protagonists to be influenced by another culture, it leads to conflict and

³⁹ A detailed elaboration of all these concepts can be found in Chapter 2.4.

⁴⁰ *Kebab Connection* is directed by the German Anno Saul and Fatih Akin wrote the screenplay.

dissatisfaction and usually involves characters having to choose one culture over another. This perception leads to a problem-based view of cultural hybridity. I argue that the most significant difference between these films and those of diasporic filmmakers like Fatih Akin is that the latter – due to their double occupancy – represent various forms of cultural hybridity (such as aesthetic hybridity, music hybridity, language hybridity, and culturally hybrid identities) as enriching. Before analysing how Fatih Akin' (Turkish German) multiple belongings and his culturally hybrid identity affect his works, I will first of all introduce the filmmaker and his oeuvre.

The second-generation Turkish German filmmakers Thomas Arslan and Fatih Akin surfaced in the film industry in Germany at the end of the 1990s. Their early films showed the lives of the second- and third-generation Turkish immigrants. However, they have different artistic visions. Whilst Arslan is inspired by the European auteur cinema movement, Akin's first film in particular exhibits many characteristics of New Hollywood cinema. After his two short films *Sensin – Du bist es!*/*Sensin – You're the One* (1995) and *Getürkt/Weed* (1996) Akin's full-length feature film debut is *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, which tells the story of a multicultural trio of petty criminals. The Turkish German Gabriel, the Serbian German Bobby and the Greek German Costa have been good friends since childhood and reside in Altona (a culturally diverse district in Hamburg). Whilst Gabriel, recently released from prison, wants to go straight, change his life profoundly and live a decent life, Costa is still a petty criminal and Bobby wants to join the local mafia. When Bobby and Costa are killed while doing business with the mafia, Gabriel returns to the criminal milieu to take revenge.

In the culture-clash comedy *Kebab Connection*, whose script was co-written by Fatih Akin, the young Turkish German protagonist İbo dreams of filming the first German kung fu film. A commercial for his uncle's kebab shop turns him into an overnight star in his neighbourhood. When his German girlfriend Titzzi becomes pregnant, it is not only İbo who needs some time to come to terms with this, İbo's father and Titzzi's mother are shocked and opposed to the relationship.

Akin went on to film the road movie and romantic comedy *Im Juli*, portraying a journey from Germany through Eastern Europe to Istanbul. Believing he has found the love of his life, the German teacher Daniel follows the Turkish German woman Melek in an adventurous odyssey from Hamburg to Istanbul. The screenplay of Akin's third feature film *Solino* (2002) is written by Ruth Toma and relates the twenty-year story of an Italian immigrant family, who open one of the first pizzerias (called *Solino*) in

Germany, showing how the four family members' cultural identity is negotiated. As Berghahn (2006) correctly states in 'No Place Like Home? Or Impossible Homecomings in the Films of Fatih Akın', the question of home and the meaning of homecoming figures largely in the plot. The author suggests that the youngest son Gigi's return to his parents' former village in Italy (his homecoming) is presented as salvation.

Gegen die Wand was Akın's greatest success so far. The film tells the love story of Turkish German Sibel and Cahit. Sibel wants to enter into an alibi marriage with the older alcoholic and drug-addicted Cahit to escape the rigid moral codes of life with her parents. Cahit agrees but unexpectedly falls in love with her and one day kills one of her lovers in a crime of passion. Cahit goes to prison and Sibel migrates to Turkey, disowned by her family. Many years later they meet again in Turkey. Sibel has already started a family and Cahit embarks on a new life in Mersin Turkey, where he was born.⁴¹ The film is the first part of a trilogy 'Liebe, Tod und Teufel' (Love, Death and Devil), with *Auf der anderen Seite* as the second part. In *Auf der anderen Seite* Akın tells the tale of six people with different national and cultural backgrounds such as German, Turkish and Turkish German in Turkey and in Germany whose lives intersect with fateful results. Akın next film is the comedy *Soul Kitchen* about a young German Greek diner owner Zinos in Hamburg, who transforms his scruffy restaurant into a funky boho-style place. *The Cut* (2014) on the Armenian genocide in Ottoman Empire is the third and last part of Fatih Akın's trilogy, and a departure of Akın's usual concerns. Similarly his coming-of-age film called *Tschick/Goodbye Berlin* (2016) does not concentrate on the lives of former guest-workers and the following Turkish German generations. In his recent film *Aus dem Nichts/In the Fade* (2017) Akın returns to focus on the *diaspora space* Germany in his politically-charged tale about the German woman Katja whose Kurdish/Turkish German husband and son are killed in a bomb attack by a neo-Nazi group. Akın's scripts of the two latter films are co-written with Hark Bohm, his teacher at the film academy in Hamburg and the director of *Yasemin*.

Akın has also written and directed three documentaries. The first *Denk ich an Deutschland – Wir haben vergessen zurückzukehren/When I Think of Germany – We Have Forgotten to Return* (2000) portrays the immigration history of his parents, who immigrated to Germany as guest-workers in the mid-1960s. The second documentary *Crossing the Bridge – The Sound Of Istanbul* (2005) presents the multicultural and hybrid music scene in the metropole Istanbul. His last *Müll im Garten Eden/Pollution*

⁴¹ For an in-depth analysis of the film see Daniela Berghahn's (2015b) *Head-On (Gegen die Wand)*.

Paradise (2012) eschews urban cultural hybridity for an exposé on the pollution problem in the small village Çamburnu on the Black Sea Coast in Turkey.

To sum up, Akin's oeuvre is multifaceted in genre and narrative. He has shot a gangster film set in a petty criminal milieu *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, a road movie *Im Juli*, a retro family drama and a coming-of-age film *Solino*, a melodramatic love story *Gegen die Wand*, a family drama *Auf der anderen Seite*, a modern-day *Heimatfilm* *Soul Kitchen*, another coming-of-age film *Tschick/Goodbye Berlin*, politically-charged films like *The Cut* and *Aus dem Nichts/In the Fade*, and three documentaries. Akin draws on different genres when depicting stories revolving around the lives of second- and third-generation immigrants and the lives in the *diaspora space* Germany. This might be one of the reasons why he moves so easily beyond the problem- and victim-based perspective to display the heterogeneity of migrant lives.

The following analysis is divided into two parts, each focusing on a specific topic. I begin by examining how the diasporic directors confounded cultural stereotypes and freed Turkish women from their victimhood. Thereafter, I will delve into the representation of cultural hybridity.

3.5.1 Challenging Stereotypes and the Liberation of the Woman from Victimhood

The depiction of immigrant women and their daughters as speechless, oppressed, and victimised by the patriarchal family system has a long tradition in the 'cinema of duty' lasting from the 1960s to the mid-1990s. Although this cliché still surfaces in a couple of films after the 1990s, it is either a secondary concern, or the women are shown escaping these bonds. Women from Turkish families have regained their voice and been empowered to lead their own lives. A Turkish dialogue between young Turkish German married women in *Gegen die Wand* exemplifies their new confidence and thus the general change in the representation of women on screen. When Sibel and her 'only-on-paper husband' Cahit dutifully visit some friends at her brother's place, the women start to talk about their husbands:

Woman 1: Eee, kocan nasıl? (So, what's your husband like?)

Sibel: Çok hoş. (Very nice.)

Woman 1: Yatakta? (And in bed?)

Sibel: İyi. (Good.)

Woman 2: Yalıyor mu kız? (Is he licking, girl?)

Sibel: Kedi gibi. (Like a cat.)

Woman 3: Oh be ne güzel. Bizimkisi de inek gibi yalıyor güzelim. Arada da muluyor yani.
(Oh, that's so good. Mine is licking like a cow and sometimes he even moos while doing that.)

The women's open conversation about intimacy with their husbands, who are sitting in the next room, shows that they have not only regained their voices, but can even be interpreted as an expression of their sexual liberation. They actually have the courage to denigrate their spouses' sexual performance. Such a conversation would be for female characters unthinkable in the 'cinema of duty', like Turna in *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland*, Shirin in *Shirins Hochzeit* and even the second-generation eponymous Yasemin.

Sibel in *Gegen die Wand* is probably the best-known example of a second-generation Turkish German woman, oppressed by patriarchal dominance of the family, but able (with much effort) to liberate herself. She is being forced to marry 'any' Turkish man, which could free her from the family's oppression. Her life changes when she ends up in psychiatric clinic after attempting suicide and meets Cahit, there for the same reason. Sibel realises that Cahit has a Turkish background and recognises a chance to escape her family and live autonomously. A marriage on paper with Cahit could effect her freedom. Sibel manages to convince Cahit to enter into a fake marriage with her, persuade her family that he is the right candidate and even plan all the traditionally necessary stages on route to their wedding. Her freedom begins on her wedding night, when she goes out in her wedding dress, drops into a bar and seduces the owner. This is her first sexual experience and the next morning she is shown as liberated and happy, finally free of male dominance. Neither her parents, nor the following men and one-night stands can hold her back. Her marriage of convenience with Cahit is the passport to freedom, which she savours and even celebrates by partying, drinking, having sex with different men, and getting a piercing. The stereotype of the victimised and speechless woman is thus shattered. Later, when her parents and her brother discover that she has 'cheated' on her husband Cahit, who ended up in prison, Sibel's brother plans to kill her. At this difficult juncture, Sibel displays her strength again by moving to Turkey, and move in with her cousin. She also does not surrender, even after being raped and almost killed in Istanbul. Sibel manages to start a decent life with her daughter and a new man.

Ceyda in Akın's debut film *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, another important female character, also signifies women's liberation from victimhood. This is coded in her

appearance; second-generation Ceyda has bright red dyed hair, a big tattoo on her upper arm and is anything but under her parents' and two big brothers' spell. Ceyda is the sister of one of the protagonists Gabriel and completely dissimilar to the female characters in first-phase films. Not only is her appearance differently alternative, but she is self-determined with no obligation to explain herself to her family. Ceyda is in a relationship with Gabriel's best friend the Greek German Costa. Gabriel, who has a close connection with his sister, does not interfere in Ceyda's (love) life at all, unlike Sibel's brother Yilmaz. He witnesses her kissing Costa and later her new boyfriend Sven and is not concerned. Ceyda is a strong woman, who (like Sibel) knows exactly what she wants. Ceyda breaks up with Costa and his best friends Gabriel and Bobby console him. When the three men encounter Ceyda and her new man Sven on the streets of their district Altona, a struggle occurs between the four men. Back home later, Ceyda confronts her brother Gabriel in his room, criticising his behaviour and warning him that he should not interfere in her life. This conversation reveals how Ceyda refuses to accept the role of victim so common in earlier films.

Ceyda: Ich dachte, du wolltest dich nicht mehr prügeln. (I thought you don't get into a fight any more.)

Gabriel: Wenn dein Freund meine Jungs verprügelt, dann verteidige ich meine Jungs, damit das klar ist! Du bist auch so bescheuert, Ceyda. Weißt du eigentlich, was du Costa angetan hast? Weißt du das überhaupt, he? Was knutschtest du dich vor allen Leuten in Altona rum? Mach das irgendwo in Eppendorf oder in Wandsbek, ist mir scheiß egal, aber hier nicht. (If your boyfriend attacks my friends, I'm going to defend them. Just to let you know! You are so stupid, Ceyda. Do you know what you did to Costa? Do you know? Why are you kissing in front of everyone in Altona? Do it somewhere in Eppendorf or Wandsbek, I don't fucking care, but not here.)

Ceyda: Mit wem ich wo knutsche, geht dich nen Scheißdreck an, ok? (It is not your business who I'm kissing and where.)

Gabriel: Ich habe dich immer verteidigt, ich hab zu dir gehalten, ich hab dich vor Mami und Papi beschützt, vergiss das nicht. Du kannst nachts wegbleiben, solange du willst. Welche Türkin kann das, he? Zeig mir die. Und als du dich in Costa verliebt hast, da hab ich auch zu dir gehalten. Ich hab das respektiert. Aber diese Scheiße respektier ich nicht, die find ich zum Kotzen. (I have always defended you, I was always on your side. I have always protected you against mom and dad, don't forget that. You can stay out at night as long as you want. Which Turkish woman can do that? Show me that woman. And when you fell in love with Costa, I was on your side. I have respected that. But I don't respect this shit. I find it disgusting.)

Ceyda: Ich kann mir doch nicht aussuchen, in wen ich mich verliebe, Mann. Du willst doch immer das Beste für mich, oder? Der Typ nimmt keine Drogen, der hat Geld, der steht auf

eigenen Beinen. Kann mir Costa das bieten? (I can't choose with whom to fall in love, man. You always want the best for me, don't you? The guy doesn't do drugs, has money, has both feet on the ground. Can Costa provide me this?)

Gabriel: Ceyda, Mann, der Typ braucht dich doch. (Ceyda, man, the guy just needs you.)

Ceyda: Soll ich mich aufopfern? (Shall I sacrifice myself?)

This crucial interchange between the siblings shows how far Turkish German women have come, released from the yoke of paternalism, oppression, and victimhood. Gabriel's behaviour is not related to a need to control, but results from a concern for his friend Costa, who has not coped well with the break-up. However, Ceyda asserts her intention to pursue her new relationship in public regardless of what Costa and Gabriel think. Ceyda makes it clear that she will not sacrifice herself for anybody.

Demonstrating Ceyda's independence and strength is vital in breaking the stereotype of the victimised Turkish immigrant that dominated the 'cinema of duty'. Nevertheless, Gerd Gemünden (2004) and Barbara Mennel (2008) point out that Ceyda is a minor character and 'the biggest gap opens not between non-Germans and Germans (there are hardly any in the film) but between men and women' (Gemünden 2004:187). Mennel's criticism is that the character of Alice, Ceyda's best friend, who later falls in love with Gabriel, is little more than 'the attractive object of desire' (Mennel 2008: 151). Leal and Rossade also comment on the roles of the both minor female characters:

[L]ike (...) [Ceyda's] German friend and counterpart, Alice, her filmic function is primarily to act as love interest and as an object of contention between the men in the film. Just as [Ceyda] rejects Costa, so Alice transfers her love from Bobby to Gabriel. As the revenge plot begins to take precedence over the love story towards the end of the film both women are marginalized (Leal and Rossade 2008: 75f.).

I agree that the director fails to develop Ceyda and Alice. However, I believe that Ceyda is sufficiently well realised to represent the liberation of the Turkish German woman.

An examination of Akin's female characters reveals the representation of the heterogeneity of Turkish and Turkish German women's sociocultural and socioeconomic status. Yeter in *Auf der anderen Seite* works as a prostitute in Bremen to finance her daughter Ayten's studies in Turkey, who is a left-wing political activist and has a lesbian relationship with the German Lotte; Selma in *Gegen die Wand* is divorced and the successful manager of a five-star hotel in Istanbul; Sibel, an unskilled

hairdresser, who tries to escape the patriarch of her family; Melek in *Im Juli* is an alternative young woman passing through Hamburg; and Ceyda has a complicated love life and owns a jewellery shop. This heterogeneity of female characters dispels any cliché-based ascriptions and stereotypes.

The same applies to Akın's male characters, who are no longer mute, alien labour migrants, working hard and having difficulties adapting to German culture, or patriarchs, who oppress the women in their family. The second-generation Turkish German men are portrayed as belonging to different cultural, social, and economic milieus and having different attachments to traditional Turkish customs. The multifaceted representation of Turkish German men include Cahit in *Gegen die Wand*, a Turkey-born second-generation Turkish German, who barely speaks Turkish. After losing his German wife Katarina, Cahit turned into a depressed and suicidal cocaine-snorting alcoholic. Cahit, who prefers to hang out in an alternative punk milieu, overcomes his depression when Sibel enters into his life. Cahit has no real connection to traditional Turkish culture and does not believe in old-fashioned concepts like family honour. He even challenges the moral double standards of traditional Turkish culture. When Cahit is released (after he was sent to prison for accidentally killing Sibel's lover Nico), he goes to see Sibel's brother Yılmaz, who has just disowned Sibel for being with a man other than her husband, to ask him where Sibel is, the following conversation occurs:

Cahit: Wo ist deine Schwester? (Where is your sister?)

Yılmaz: Ich hab keine Schwester mehr. (I don't have a sister any more.)

Cahit: Ihr habt doch die gleiche Mutter. Wie geht's denn der Mutter damit? (But you have the same mother. How is your mother dealing with this?)

Yılmaz: Wir mussten unsere Ehre retten. Verstehst du das? (We had to save our honour, do you understand?)

Cahit: Und? Habt ihr sie gerettet, eure Ehre? (So, have you saved your honour now?)

Here, Cahit challenges the idea of disowning someone to save the honour of all family members and shows its absurdity. Another male protagonist, who differs significantly from the earlier cinematic constructions of speechless guest-workers or traditional patriarchs, is Nejat in *Auf der anderen Seite*. Whilst many second-phase films portray second- and third-generation Turkish German men either in a coming-of-age phase in their lives, in multicultural urban (petty criminal) environments and belonging to lower

socioeconomic and sociocultural milieus, Nejat can be positioned at a higher socioeconomic and sociocultural milieu. The son of an earlier guest-worker Nejat is a professor of German literature at a German university. In the course of the film, Nejat travels to Istanbul, decides to buy a German bookshop and remains there.

Nejat is similar in age to Cahit and could be regarded as his counter-image. Cahit is a depressive, alcohol-, and cocaine-consuming man, who displays destructive and aggressive behaviour, loves punk music and lives in an alternative milieu. He has a job at an alternative night club, where he collects empty bottles and helps do the cleaning at the end of the night. Whilst Cahit is disoriented and disorganised, Nejat has both feet on the ground and is a calm and organised intellectual, who can easily adapt to changing circumstances and knows what he expects from life. Yılmaz could also be considered the opposite of Cahit, since they have a dissimilar value system and different attitudes to Turkish traditions. However, Akın does not allow any oppositional binary constructions of (cultural) identity and ensures that Cahit shares some common traits with Yılmaz and with Nejat. Like Nejat, he rejects patriarchal and oppressing (family) structures and practices and like Yılmaz he is prone to emotional outbursts and aggressive behaviour. Attempts to recognise counter-images will fail. Cahit, Nejat, and Yılmaz and most of Akın's characters share some traits, but their personalities are different, which is a sign of their unique cultural hybridity. In other words, the films not only represent the heterogeneity of the Turkish diaspora living in Germany, but also show the characters' cultural hybridity by breaking stereotypical ascriptions and repudiating any kind of dichotomist counter-image constructions. Cultural identity is not static, but fluid and therefore continually subject to renegotiation. This hybridisation of cultural identity means that even very dissimilar characters could share common traits.

First-phase films often implied a binary of a (liberal) German culture versus a (conservative traditional) Turkish culture and represented the second generation in particular as being problematically torn between these two cultures. It is as if the cultural identity of bicultural or multicultural people is fragmented by their double occupancy, which causes them to favour their German side over their Turkish side or vice versa. To give an example, such an, in my opinion, false perspective of cultural identity would result in the following kind of analysis of Cahit: Cahit's 'marginal' lifestyle (including excessive drinking, partying, listening to punk music, and having an open relationship with German Maren) could be interpreted as the German side of his cultural identity, whereas eating the Turkish dish *dolma*, drinking the popular Turkish alcohol *raki*, and visiting the Turkish nightclub (all with Sibel) would be his Turkish

side. I argue that Akın refuses any Turkish or German binary cultural ascriptions and instead represents Cahit having his own unique culturally hybrid identity. He sleeps with Maren, enjoys drinking *rakı* with Sibel, or drives head-on into a wall. That is just him.

Another interesting strategy Akın employs to counter cultural stereotypes and clichés is to establish them only to break them. In this way, he exposes the nature of certain prejudices held by the audience and society. There are two examples of this in the road movie *Im Juli*, in which he narratively and aesthetically builds up cultural stereotypes simply to deconstruct them at the end of the film.

The German protagonist of *Im Juli* Daniel has fallen in love with the Turkish German Melek, although he barely knows her, and he decides to follow Melek when she travels to Turkey, believing she is meant for him. En route, he meets a Turkish German man İsa on a country road in Bulgaria. The film has already shown İsa getting out of his big Mercedes and opening the boot, which contains a corpse. Daniel appears behind him as İsa is about to use an air freshener to disguise the body. İsa is not only terrified, but reacts aggressively when Daniel asks him for a lift to Turkey. Here, İsa, through expression, gesture, and demeanour, is coded as a typical, unpredictable, aggressive macho man. İsa's appearance, including his crocodile-skin boots, his sunglasses, the way he is chewing gum, his silver incisor, and his enunciation perfectly, conveys the clichéd image of a criminal Turk. İsa finally agrees to drive Daniel to Turkey. Reaching the Bulgarian-Turkish border, İsa realises that Daniel does not have a passport; Akın continues his 'cliché game', with İsa attempting to throw Daniel out of the car. Since Daniel cannot prove his identity, the officer examines the car, finds the corpse and the two are arrested. In the cell they exchange blows and Daniel hits the ground hard. In the following shot, Akın finally dissolves the stereotype of the aggressive, criminal macho Turk as İsa starts to tell Daniel his story. We learn that the corpse is İsa's uncle, who went to Germany on a tourist visa to see İsa's family, but died unexpectedly. Having already overstayed his visa by this time, he had no legal permission to remain in Germany. The family decided that İsa should secretly transport his body back to Turkey to avoid any problems for harbouring a guest illegally. İsa waxes lyrical about his uncle, whom he liked a lot. The stereotype of the unknown *other*, the aggressive, criminal Turkish man, is shattered and a soft, emotional İsa emerges, a man willing to sacrifice himself by offering to smuggle his uncle's body from Germany to Turkey. He helps Daniel to escape his prison cell.

Whilst Akin's construction and deconstruction of stereotypes in İsa's case is achieved through narrative, he uses aesthetics to do the same with Melek. In the beginning of the film, Melek is portrayed as the epitome of 'orientalism' very similar to the postcolonial theorist Edward Said's (1978) concept of 'Orientalism'. Said argues that the West (the occident) sees and represents Middle East and North Africa (the orient), the *other*, stereotypically, which also includes hidden racism.⁴² Melek means angel in Turkish and she appears to be like her name. There is something impalpable and unearthly about her. When she sings a Turkish song at the beach in Hamburg, she has a voice like an angel and her face is lit by the campfire. Akin emphasises her mystical and oriental aura by using slow motion in the scene where Daniel first sees her. Daniel falls in love with the mysterious *other* and follows her to Istanbul. In their next encounter, Akin completely confounds the stereotype of the mysterious alluring oriental woman. Daniel and Melek coincidentally meet each other for the second time in a cool brightly lit, large motorway restaurant in Turkey. The scene begins with a long shot of the large, anonymous, and cool restaurant. This *mise-en-scène* effectively dismantles the initial portrayal of Melek. She is shown to be an ordinary mortal, who does not stand out from the crowd, which is why Daniel does not notice her. She sees him and when she approaches him, her walk is no longer in slow motion.

There are other examples of this in Akin's work, such as Lotte in *Auf der anderen Seite*. A German student, Lotte, is possibly the most open-minded and hospitable of all of Akin's characters. She offers shelter to Ayten, a young Turkish woman she just met, who fled from Turkey for political reasons and is now staying in Germany illegally. Lotte helps Ayten out financially and provides her with both security and freedom. Akin reverses the usual binary of Turkish hospitality and insular 'xenophobic' Western society. With Lotte, the director reveals that no habit can be ascribed to a specific national culture, and by doing so, he shows the hybridity of culture and cultural identity.

My last example goes beyond the Turkish and German context. Akin challenges the prevalent sociopolitical prejudice of Turkish Greek hostility by continually displaying the normality of Turkish and Greek relationships, for instance, between Turkish German Sibel and Greek German Nico in *Gegen die Wand*, Turkish German Ceyda and Greek German Costa in *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, and Costa and Turkish German Gabriel's friendship in the same film. Akin approaches Turkish Greek relationships and breaks clichés in his own ironic way. A scene, in which Costa's

⁴² See Chapter 2.3.2 for Edward Said's (1978) concept of 'Orientalism'.

friends Bobby and Gabriel try to cheer him up after his break-up with Ceyda, is an example of how the director parodies typical cultural ascriptions.

Bobby: Ey, was meinst du, würde dein Vater dazu sagen, wenn er rausfinden würde, dass seine Tochter was mit nem Griechen hat, Alter? (Hey, what do you think would your father say, if he found out that his daughter is together with a Greek, man.)

Gabriel: Er würde ihm die Rübe abreißen. (He would demolish his head.)

Costa: Ach was! Nur, weil ich Grieche bin? (Nah! Just because I'm a Greek?)

Gabriel: Nein Mann. Weil du seiner Tochter an die Wäsche gehst. So einfach. (No man. Because you go for his daughter. It's that simple.)

Costa: Und wenn ich Türke wär? (And if I were a Turk?)

Gabriel: Wenn du Türke wärst, Mann, dann würdest du deine Eltern enttäuschen. (If you were a Turk, man, then you would disappoint your parents.)

Costa: Dann würd ich meine Eltern enttäuschen? Das versteh ich nicht. (Then I would disappoint my parents? I don't get this.)

Gabriel: Das verstehst du nicht? Pass auf, wenn du Türke wärst und deine Eltern Griechen... (What is it you don't understand? Listen, if you were a Turk and your parents Greeks...)

Costa: Lass mich in Ruhe mit so nem Kram, Alter. (Stop bothering me with such stuff, man.)

Gabriel: Mann, er rafft es nicht. (Man he doesn't get it.)

Bobby: Nee, er rafft es nicht. Und weißt du auch, warum? Weil: Die Griechen, die riechen. (No, he doesn't get it. And do you know why? Because: The Greeks, they smell.)

Gabriel: Ich würde eher sagen: Die Griechen, die kriechen. (I would rather say: The Greeks, they crawl.)

Costa: (looking to Gabriel and then to Bobby and giving both a little punch): Und ich würde sagen: Der is für dich und der is für dich. (And I would say: This is for you and this is for you.)

The three friends' conversation as they wander around the streets of their district at night encapsulates their jocular attitude to cultural prejudices and stereotypes. The fact that they mention Turkish Greek 'hostility' to cheer Costa up proves that this prejudice is not to be taken seriously. Heartbroken Costa, however, seems for a moment to believe that Ceyda's father could have a problem with his daughter dating a Greek, whereupon Gabriel becomes momentarily serious to make clear that such an idea is false, before continuing to joke around. Bobby's and Gabriel's humorous 'Die Griechen, die riechen' ('The Greeks, they smell') and 'Die Griechen, die kriechen' ('The Greeks, they crawl') demonstrates how random stereotypical cultural ascriptions can emerge by using a

rhyme as it is in this case with the German words *Griechen* (The Greeks), *riechen* (smell), and *kriechen* (crawl).

In the very first scene of *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, the director introduces his three protagonists by freeze framing each of them, cutting audio, and subtitling the images: Costa, Greek; Bobby, Serb; Gabriel, Turk.⁴³ Mennel (2008) and Terkessidis (1999) both interpret this deliberate reduction to first names and non-German ethnicities as ironic. In this respect, Mennel points out that this kind of ‘self-reflexive subversion exaggerates the process of negative stereotyping, but it assumes an informed spectator who can appreciate the irony’ (Mennel 2008: 148).

Akın expects an informed and critical spectator when he ironically depicts the clichés of honour killings and suppressed married Turkish women, fearful of their husbands. Another example of Akın using irony to invalidate stereotypes can be found in the conversation between Sibel and her lover Nico in *Gegen die Wand*. Sibel has realised she loves Cahit and wants to break up with Nico so she intentionally deploys the concepts of honour and oppression to push him away. When Nico meets Sibel on the street and tries to tell her that he has fallen in love with her, she immediately interrupts him saying that she only wanted to have sex with him:

Sibel: Nico hör zu: Wir ham zusammen gebumst, weiß du. Und das war ein Fehler! Ich wollte wissen, wie du im Bett bist. Jetzt weiß ich’s und das Ding ist durch. Geh du mir aus dem Weg, und ich geh dir aus’m Weg, okay? (Listen Nico: We had sex together, you know. And this was a mistake! I wanted to know how you are in bed. Now I know and it’s off the table. Do avoid me and I avoid you, okay?)

After this blunt remark, Sibel walks away but Nico follows her and grabs her arm whereupon she uses the cliché of a traditional Turkish patriarchal husband:

Sibel: Lass die Finger von mir. Ich bin eine verheiratete Frau. Ich bin eine verheiratete türkische Frau, und wenn du mir zu nahe kommst, bringt mein Mann dich um, verstehst du? (Keep your hands off me. I’m a married woman. I’m a married Turkish woman and if you approach me, my husband is going to kill you, you get it?)

These examples illustrate how Akın challenges cultural stereotypes in a various ways, such as reversing binary-coded cultural clichés, using exaggeration or irony, or in a serious manner. By critically interrogating cultural stereotypes and rejecting

⁴³ The subtitles are written in German in the film as Costa, Grieche; Bobby, Serbe; Gabriel, Türke.

essentialist notions of cultural identity, Akin promotes the idea that cultural hybridity is actually the norm. To sum it up in one sentence, the dissolution of cultural stereotypical ascriptions in Akin's films is the precondition that enables him to represent the positivity of cultural hybridity. The next section analyses the ways in which cultural hybridity is presented and how it is connoted as a competence rather than a difficulty. I will focus on the depiction of culturally hybrid urban milieus and language hybridity and how they relate to the formation of culturally hybrid identities.

3.5.2 Culturally Hybrid Urban Milieus, Language-Mixing Practices and Hybridisation of Cultural Identity

Whilst the early guest-worker is represented a solitary figure in the German neighbourhoods like Jorgos in *Katzelmacher* or in enclosed spaces detached from German society like Turna in *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland* in first-phase films, this depiction changes in Turkish German cinema. Over decades, immigrants formed diasporas, such as the Turkish diaspora, and multicultural and multiethnic districts emerged in big cities such as Hamburg and Berlin, where people from diverse cultural backgrounds not only live together, but also influence each other's cultural identity. Akin's stories are often set in these multicultural districts or feature urban multiculturalism. In this way, the filmmaker demonstrates the normality of how the constant contact of *multicultures* has created culturally hybrid milieus.

Already Akin's first film *Kurz und Schmerzlos* is set in the culturally hybrid district Altona in Hamburg and focuses on three friends, Gabriel, Bobby, and Costa, who have a Turkish, Serbian, and Greek migrant background. The director depicts his characters with their very own multifaceted cultural identities, including aspects of their parents' culture, the friends' migration backgrounds, German culture, urban youth culture, a petty criminal culture and, in case of Bobby, American gangster culture. The intermingling of these diverse cultures creates the particular culturally hybrid identity of each character, which finds expression in their hybrid language, habits, gestures, and lifestyle.

Another film set in a culturally hybrid urban milieu is *Kebab Connection*, which features people from diverse national and cultural backgrounds including Turkish, Greek, German, Albanian, and Italian origins all residing in the same district. This culturally multifaceted neighbourhood is introduced in the opening credits. Whilst the

young Turkish German protagonist İbo skateboarding around his neighbourhood Schanze in Hamburg, the camera shows people of different ethnic backgrounds, Turkish grocery stores and restaurants, old women with scarves, German policemen and homeless people. A Turkish English rap song with oriental melodies by Turkish rap singer Sultana accompanies the images. The song's bilingualism and hybrid melody underline the cultural hybridity of the neighbourhood. The cultural heterogeneity of the area is demonstrated throughout the film, by a Turkish Kebab restaurant, a Greek restaurant, an Arab café, and a taxi rank with predominantly immigrant drivers as (main) settings of the film. In *Kebab Connection* Akın shows that there are no static ethnic or cultural borders by presenting how characters from various (migrant) backgrounds influence each other. The film thus negates any simplistic construction and essentialist understanding of culture and cultural identity.

The character Lefty himself and his café constitute good examples of how a culturally multifaceted urban milieu creates a culturally hybrid location and how cultural identity is formed by different cultural influences. Greek German Lefty is İbo's best friend. With the Albanian German Valid, the three men – similar to the trio of Gabriel, Costa, and Bobby in *Kurz und Schmerzlos* – have grown up as second-generation immigrants in the same neighbourhood and they have been friends since childhood. Lefty is disowned by his father for refusing to work in the family's Greek restaurant and deciding to become vegetarian and to open a vegetarian restaurant with his friend Valid. The restaurant is a trendy local café with a predominantly Arabic vegetarian cuisine, aptly named after Iraq's capital 'Bagdad'. Its interior design reveals influences from various cultures. The café has a young and hip clientele amidst traditional Middle Eastern tray tables and glasses; decorated with *dreamcatchers* (symbolic objects in Native American culture); serves *Afri Cola* (an old-school local German soft drink); and has the Greek instrument *bouzouki* hanging on the wall. The music playing in the café is a piano-based instrumental cover version of the old Turkish classical song 'Kalamış'tan' from the *Türk Sanat Müziği* genre (Turkish Art music or Ottoman Classical Music), rooted in the Ottoman Empire. The two owners' migration backgrounds, the name of their café, the decoration, and the music create a uniquely culturally hybrid venue, never static, but ever open to new cultural negotiations.

I argue that the cultural atmosphere of Bagdad café represents the fusion of different cultures from the culturally multifaceted milieu and even includes other diverse cultural influences, such as the Aboriginal inspired *dreamcatchers*. Moreover, I suggest, that the café at least partially reflects Lefty's cultural identity, extending from

his *bouzouki*, which he will play at İbo's wedding and make his Greek father, who has called his restaurant *Taverna Bouzouki* proud, to his favourite Arabic vegetarian food, *falafel*. During the film, the viewer learns more about Lefty. He wears a long-sleeve T-shirt with a *Buddha* image, which may symbolise his spiritual or religious bent, he smokes weed, and has passion for kung-fu films and culture. To conclude, the representation of Lefty and his café can be interpreted as the creative culturally hybrid outcome of the continuing cultural intermingling in the multicultural neighbourhood Schanze itself, as well as cultural influences from outside the milieu.

I want to elaborate on one of these 'outside influences' in the film that affect the construction of culturally hybrid identities. Even the very beginning of *Kebab Connection* exhibits how cultural impacts from outside the milieu create a unique cultural hybridity. The film starts with the East Asian martial arts genre-inspired scene in the Turkish kebab restaurant where two men are fighting over the last döner kebab. The scene draws heavily on the aesthetics of martial arts films, with kung-fu moves, slow-motion jumps and flying fighters, and South East Asian melodies in the background. However, the kung-fu genre-inspired fight is set in a Turkish kebab restaurant and some fight scene characteristic elements are interchanged. The usual swords are changed for large kebab knives, the falling leaves the kung-fu fighters catch with their swords are replaced by napkins, the enemy's decapitation is achieved by a *lahmacun* (Turkish pizza), and the music switches into oriental melodies towards the end of the scene. Moreover, during the fight, the camera occasionally captures the everyday life outside the neighbourhood Schanze through the large window in the restaurant and shows a Turkish flag behind the kebab counter. The positioning of martial arts aesthetics in a different cultural context, namely in a typical Turkish kebab diner, not only parodies the martial arts genre itself, but by mimicking it and mixing it with Turkish and German culture produces a new and unique culturally hybrid scene. Soon the audience learns that the kung-fu fight scene is for a commercial İbo is making for his uncle Ahmet's kebab diner called 'King of Kebab'. İbo, who is fascinated by the martial arts film culture and dreams of shooting the first kung-fu film in Germany, produces two more spots for his uncle's restaurant during the film.

His second commercial for his uncle's restaurant, that also features a fight scene, draws on the Italian Western or so-called Spaghetti Western genre, combining this again with kung-fu elements. İbo plays the hero 'Shanghai Joe', a reference to the Italian Western movie *Il mio nome è Shanghai Joe/The Fighting Fist of Shanghai Joe* (1973, Mario Caiano), in which the Chinese martial artist protagonist is called Shanghai Joe.

İbo's passion for kung-fu films generates further intertextuality. After smoking some weed, he hallucinates the kung-fu artist Bruce Lee, who encourages him to fight for his relationship with his pregnant girlfriend Titz. Reika Ebert and Ann Beck (2007) have suggested that the title 'Kebab Connection' refers to the title of the film *Chinese Connection* (1972, Wei Lo)⁴⁴, starring the actor Bruce Lee.⁴⁵ Similar to the first commercial, this commercial also depicts a culturally hybrid scene. Drawing on the generic conventions of culture-clash comedy, coming-of-age film, martial arts film, and Italian Western, *Kebab Connection* also displays generic hybridity.

The Asian martial arts culture is shown to have influenced the characters' identities. İbo in particular, not only reflects his passion in his commercials and his hallucinations of Bruce Lee, but also surrounds himself with symbols characteristic of this culture. Besides his Bruce Lee T-shirt, he has a big Chinese yin-yang-Symbol *taijitu* patch on his jacket, builds a dragon-shaped buggy for his baby, and he greets a friend with martial arts moves or practises kung-fu techniques with his friends. This is one of many other cultural influences on İbo's cultural identity in the film. His 'Turkish' cultural background is evident in his interactions with his family members and its importance is symbolised by the Turkish flag on the window of his atelier. Another significant cultural influence can be detected in his baseball cap and skateboard, which could be seen to represent German hip hop youth culture.

İbo's passion for kung-fu film culture seems to have influenced his German girlfriend Titz's cultural identity, too. Titz, who wants to study drama, has a large dragon tattoo on her arm, a dragon lamp in her room, and is shown cooking a spicy Chinese soup for İbo that she serves in traditional Chinese bowls. Furthermore, she has a traditional Middle Eastern tray table in her room and wears a *kufiya* (also known as a Palestinian scarf) round her neck in one scene.

To sum up, the examination reveals that all the different cultural influences create Lefty's, İbo's and Titz's culturally hybrid identity, making it impossible to label or categorise. The predominance of aspects of the martial arts (film) culture shows that cultural negotiations reach further than just the German majority culture and minority cultures. Diverse cultural influences, whether generational, as evident in the case of Emmi and Ali in *Angst essen Seele auf*, external, like the impact of martial arts culture in *Kebab Connection*, or between minority cultures as with Gabriel, Costa, and Bobby

⁴⁴ The film is also known as *Fist of Fury*.

⁴⁵ See Ebert and Beck (2007) on *Kebab Connection's* intertextual reference to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

in *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, as I will demonstrate in my analysis of language-mixing practices in *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, appear in German and Turkish German cinema on migration.

In the course of this section, I want to focus on different types of language-mixing and its relation to cultural identity for two reasons. Firstly, I consider language-mixing the phenomenon that best displays the hybridisation of cultural identity; secondly, my own multilingualism and familiarity with German and Turkish allows me to recognise even subtle forms of language-mixing. Additionally, the sociolinguist Androutsopoulos (2012a), with reference to multilingualism in film, argues that ‘sociolinguistic difference in fiction may not be noticed at all, for example when films are screened to audiences with different sociolinguistic backgrounds, when knowledge of the original language is limited or unavailable, and of course when films are dubbed’ (Androutsopoulos 2012a: 304). Not only can I understand and discern the use of different accents and sociolects, but also interpret what kind of circumstance determines the language use and why.

My analysis of five of Akin’s films demonstrates various forms of language-mixing practices mostly between Turkish German and sometimes English. While the first generation prefers talking in their mother tongue Turkish, speaks German with accent, and uses *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* or what Androutsopoulos calls *interlanguage German*, the following generations are bilingual and communicate in German among themselves. Some of them are not fluent in Turkish, for instance the second-generation Turkish German characters Nejat in *Auf der anderen Seite* and Cahit in *Gegen die Wand*. These generations often speak Turkish with an accent and have not mastered Turkish vocabulary and grammar. Drawing on Androutsopoulos’s (2012a) categorisation of four language groups in a Turkish German movie, I suggest extending his useful concept by adding *near-native Turkish* as a language of several second- and subsequent-generation Turkish Germans to the language styles *near-native German*, *Turkish*, *native German* and *interlanguage German*. Like *near-native German*, *near-native Turkish* also includes dialects and sociolects. This conversation between the first-generation Turkish Yeter, who works as a prostitute in Germany, and the second-generation professor of German literature Nejat, demonstrate the characters’ different language repertoires, each philologically hybrid in themselves, which can be seen as the first level of linguistic hybridity. A second level of linguistic hybridity is the linguistic

hybridisation of their conversation. After Yeter and Nejat's father Ali have become a couple, Nejat is curious about how they met each other.

Nejat: Wie habt ihr euch denn kennengelernt? (How did you meet each other?)

Yeter: Er ist zu mir gekommen. (He came to me.)

Nejat: Wohin? (Whereto?)

Yeter: Hat er dir nichts erzählt? *Ben bir hayat kadınıym.*⁴⁶ (Didn't he tell you anything? I'm a prostitute.)

Nejat: *Hayat kadını ne demek.* (What means prostitute?)

Yeter: *Bildiğin orospu işte.* Gute Nacht. (Simply a whore. Good night.)

Their conversation reveals many forms of linguistic hybridity. Nejat's Turkish is poor so he fails to understand the Turkish euphemism 'hayat kadını', literally translated as 'woman of life'. Yeter is forced to use the less flattering expression 'orospu' (whore) instead. Yeter's German is perfect, but like most first-generation Turkish immigrants, she has an accent when she speaks German and is therefore more comfortable using her mother tongue. Borrowing from Androutsopoulos's (2012a) differentiation of four language practices, she can be categorised as a *near-native German* user. This is true of Nejat's father Ali, who prefers to use Turkish in his conversations with his son. Ali has a very strong dialect from his region of origin, the Black Sea Coast in Turkey. In summary, this short extract shows various kinds of linguistic hybridity in the form of an accent, a dialect, and inter- and intra-sentential language-switching or code-switching.

Language-switching is particularly common among the second- and third-generation Turkish Germans as illustrated by the characters Nejat, Sibel, and Gabriel, who are still close to their parents and therefore speak good Turkish. They frequently choose to communicate in Turkish with their parents and, with their bilingual siblings and friends, they either speak in Turkish or switch between languages. Thus, it appears that there is a generation-specific use of language and language-mixing. Cahit, though, has no contact with his parents and sister, which might explain his poor Turkish. In *Gegen die Wand*, when Cahit asks for Sibel's hand in marriage, her brother Yılmaz addresses Cahit's bad Turkish skills.

Yılmaz: Dein Türkisch ist ganz schön im Arsch. Was hast du mit deinem Türkisch gemacht? (Your Turkish is pretty much screwed. What did you do with your language?)

Cahit: Weggeworfen, (Thrown away.)

⁴⁶ The words put in italic are Turkish and serve to visualise the language-mixing between Turkish and German.

However, Cahit has not completely ‘thrown away’ his Turkish, but only uses it when he feels comfortable with someone such as his best friend Şeref. Şeref seems to be Cahit’s only connection to the Turkish language until he meets Sibel. He can have a whole conversation with Şeref in Turkish, whereas with Sibel, he favours German and rarely switches to Turkish only for one sentence or an expression. Cahit travels to Istanbul, after his release from prison, to find Sibel, and he has to talk to Sibel’s Turkish cousin Selma in order to find out where Sibel is. In this exchange, he switches from Turkish to English when he gets insecure or wants to express his feelings for Sibel.

Cahit: *Sibel nerde?* (Where is Sibel?)⁴⁷

Selma: *Burda, İstanbul’da.* (She is here in Istanbul.)

Cahit: *Beni ona götür. Lütfen.* (Bring me to her. Please.)

Selma: *Olmaz.* (No way.)

Cahit: *Neden?* (Why?)

Selma: *Yeni bir hayatı var. Çok mutlu. Sevgilisi var, çocuğu var. Sana ihtiyacı yok.* (She has a new life. She is very happy. She has a partner, she has a child. She does not need you.)

Cahit: How do you know that? When I met Sibel first time I was dead. I was dead even long time before I met her. *Ben kendimi kaybettim. Çoktan.* (I lost myself. Long time ago.) Then she come and drop in my life. She gives me love. And she gives me power. *Anladın mı?* (Do you understand?) Do you understand that? How strong are you Selma? Are you strong enough to stay between me and her?

Selma: Are you strong enough to destroy her life?

Cahit: *Hayır, değilim.* (No, I’m not.)

Both characters switch between Turkish and English and the foreign language English enables them to convey intimate feelings.

English also figures in *Im Juli*, since it is the main language the German Daniel employs in the different countries he traverses in his journey from Germany to Turkey. Near the start of the film, the conversation between Daniel and his neighbour Kodjo shows a rather extraordinary language-mixing that not only symbolises the multiculturalism and multilingualism of their district, but also playfully demonstrates the hybridity of languages. Kodjo, who is wearing a Jamaica tricot and smoking a bong, seems to be high already when he meets Daniel at the stairs:

⁴⁷ The words put in italic are Turkish and serve to visualise the language-mixing between Turkish and English.

Kodjo: Heeey, erste Person Singular, teacha. (Heeey, first-person singular, teacha.)

Daniel: Hallo Kodjo. (Hello Kodjo.)

Kodjo: You know we go Jamaica, drink cool pina colada and we smoke the good gun just smuggling and look for the kinny sisters. You know the kinny sisters?

Daniel: Ich glaube nicht Kodjo. (I do not think so Kodjo.)

Kodjo: No? Bi and Zu kinny (Hahaha). Digga, wo fährst du in Urlaub hin? (No? Bi kinny and Zu kinny (Hahaha). Dude, where are you going for holidays?)

Kodjo's first language is German; but he uses English slang and an exaggerated impression of a Jamaican, to joke around with Daniel. Language hybridity is evident in English German code-switching and in Kodjo's attempt to mimic Jamaican English, which fails and results in a new hybrid language.

Gabriel and Costa in *Kurz und Schmerzlos* barely use English, but Bobby sometimes interjects English expressions, which can be ascribed to his affection for American gangster movies. He also imitates the gangster screen heroes such as Al Pacino in *Scarface* (1983, Brian De Palma) in his gesture. A good example is when Bobby introduces Gabriel to his new girlfriend Alice with the words 'mein badass motherfucker' ('my badass motherfucker'). Then, he introduces Alice and the way he talks, shows influences from the American gangster style, including a degrading word choice regarding women.

Bobby: Gabriel, weißt du, wer das ist? Ey, zum Glück, ich hatte Glück. Weißt du, so keine Szenebraut, keine bitch, kein blondes Stück Scheiße. Anstatt dessen krieg ich die Erfüllung meiner Träume Mann. Guck sie dir an, mein Engel, die Mutter meiner Kinder. (Gabriel, do you know who that is? Ey, fortunately, I had luck. You know, no scene chick, no bitch, no blonde piece of shit. Instead I get the fulfilment of my dreams, man. Look at her, an angel, the mother of my children.)

Language-mixing appears in in form of language-crossing, which differs from the above examples of language-switching or code-switching. The term was coined by Ben Rampton, and defined as 'the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker' (Rampton 1998: 291). According to the author the crossing appears across distinct felt ethnic and social boundaries and should not be confused with language-switching, which refers to the mixing of two or more well-known languages. In this scene, Bobby borrows phrases and expressions from English, such as 'bitch' or 'badass motherfucker' and these cross the major language German.

Language-crossing is common practice between Gabriel, Bobby and Costa, who have a Turkish, Serbian, and Greek background, and whose shared language is German. The bilingual protagonists are familiar with their parents' language. Gabriel, as for example, converses in Turkish with his parents and sister. Bobby argues in Serbian with his uncle Silvio and sometimes uses Serbian words, such as his nicknames for his German girlfriend Alice. Costa has recourse to Greek infrequently in emotional situations when he swears or when he sings to express his pain after Ceyda has left him.⁴⁸

The variety of languages in the film and the protagonists' diverse and complex hybrid forms of language-mixing reflects everyday normality in a culturally hybrid society such as in the multicultural district Altona in Hamburg. At this point, I want to return to the concept of language-crossing and draw on the German scholar Androutsopoulos (2003), who has considered this phenomenon amongst Turkish German youth in Germany. He argues that language-crossing frequently occurs in multiethnic multicultural urban areas and social milieus (like Altona). Language-crossing appears when the majority language German is crossed by using expressions, phrases or words from languages belonging to minority groups. It may include specific accents or grammatical conventions from these minority groups. The borrowing of words and accents results in a new subcultural hybrid language. In *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, the minority languages are Turkish, Greek, and Serbian and the majority language is German. Either a character crosses German language with phrases from their mother tongue, completely understood and taken for granted by the other two, or they cross with the other two friends' mother tongue. Serbian German Bobby for instance addresses Turkish German Gabriel with the Turkish expression 'moruk' ('dude') and Gabriel greets Greek German Costa with the Greek slang expression 'malaka' ('jerk').

It becomes apparent that the three friends enjoy their very own hybrid language that borrows from Greek, Turkish, Serbian, and English, is influenced by a specific Hamburg dialect, and is impacted by youth slang. This intermingling not only results in the continual hybridisation of their language, but also reflects their culturally hybrid identity, making any attempt to categorise them culturally impossible. Their culturally hybrid identity also reveals itself in their gestures and expressions as is the case with

⁴⁸ Other scenes that show Costa singing in Greek is when he gets high on marijuana and is chilling with Bobby and Gabriel and towards the end of the film, when Costa lies badly injured in Gabriel's arms and he sings in Greek for the last before he dies.

Bobby, who likes to imitate Italian American gangsters from the movies. Thus, Bobby's culturally hybrid identity has components from Italian American gangster culture, German culture, Serbian culture, Hamburg Altona culture, urban milieu youth culture, and also Turkish and Greek culture, since he is constantly influenced by Costa and Gabriel. This shows that cultural intermingling occurs with majority and minority cultures, but also from external influences. The trio has its own culturally hybrid group identity that includes the habit of continually kissing each other's cheeks when greeting each other or cheering someone up, which is common to southern European countries from which their families originate. Their unique culturally hybrid language is apparent when Costa sells Bobby a stolen laptop:

Costa: Ich hab 'nen Laptop. (I have a laptop.)

Bobby: Hip hop. (Hip hop.)

Costa: Tip top. (Tiptop.)

Bobby: Sieben. (Seven.)

Costa: Eins. (One.)

Bobby: Acht. (Eight.)

Costa: Eins. (One.)

Bobby: Costa, kein motherfucker auf der Welt gibt dir Eins dafür. Du weißt das. Du weißt das, darum geb ich dir Acht, jetzt. Wie Bouzouki in meinen Ohren. (Costa, no motherfucker on earth gives you one for it. You know that. You know that, therefore I give you eight, now. (Bobby counts the money) Like bouzouki in my ears.)

Costa: Ok, neun. (Ok, nine.)

Bobby: Du bist ein Sackgesicht, weißt du das. Acht. (You are a dickface, do you know that. Eight.)

Costa: Leck mich, fick mich, gib mir die Acht. (Sod you, fuck you, give me the eight.)

Bobby: Gib mir den Laptop. Gib mir den Laptop. (Give me the laptop. Give me the laptop.)

Costa (counting the money): Ey du willst mich bescheißen Alter. Hey du willst mich bescheißen, das sind nur sieben. Hey das sind nur sieben. (Hey, you wanna screw me, these are just seven. Hey, these are just seven.)

Bobby: Costa, weißt du was, du bist manchmal richtig billich. Du bist manchmal richtig billich. Unser Kumpel kommt zurück und du willst dich nicht mal so wenig an seinem Geschenk beteiligen. (Costa, do you know what, sometimes you are really cheap. You are sometimes so cheap. Our mate is coming back and you even don't want to contribute a bit to his present.)

Costa (swears in Greek): Du willst mich beschei..., Jugo Betrugo, Alter. (You wanna screw me..., Jugo Swindler.)

Bobby: Ey kanscht du machen nix. Leben geht weiter. (Hey, you can't do nothing. Life goes on.)

Costa: Kannst du machen niix? Kannst du mir geben eine Hunderter mehr. (You can't do nothing? You can give a hundred more.)

Bobby: Kannst du mir geben Akku dafür. (You can give me the battery.)

Costa: Akku bekommst du. (You get the battery.)

Bobby: Wann? (When?)

Costa: Hunderter mehr. (Hundred more.)

Bobby: Ey weißt du was, du bist richtig gut geworden. (Hey, you know what, you got really good.)

It might be difficult for the spectator or the reader familiar with the German language to discern all the linguistic subtleties in this conversation. For those unfamiliar with German, it might even be impossible to fully understand and recognise the diverse linguistic influences as subtleties are lost in the translation process. First and foremost, the two friends seem to have established their own unique language and are able to communicate with each other without recourse to proper sentences. Instead, they call out one word at a time, single numbers like 'seven', 'one', 'eight', which stand for the former German currency 700 DM (Deutsche Mark), 1,000 DM, and 800 DM, in negotiating the price of the laptop. Their interchange include some rhyming insider word play, like 'laptop', 'hip hop', 'tiptop', which can be understood in standard language as 'I have got a laptop', 'that is good news', 'the laptop is in a very good condition'. Simplifying and playing with language by using one-word sentences or rhymes demonstrate that language is not a pure and fixed construction but always open to hybridisation. The conversation is further impacted by Bobby's gangster style allusions (English terms like motherfucker) and their humorous game with the stereotypes ascribed to each other's 'culture of origin'. Bobby tries to get away with paying only 700 DM, instead of the demanded 1,000 DM by teasing Costa by referencing the Greek side of his cultural identity. Counting the 700 DM in his hand, Bobby relates the sound of the counting to that of the traditional Greek music instrument *bouzouki*: 'This is like *bouzouki* in my ears'. Costa feels cheated in the deal with Bobby calling him 'Jugo Betrugo', a made-up rhyming slang expression that means 'jugoslawischer Betrüger' ('Yugoslavian cheater/swindler'), implying that people from former Yugoslavia tend to cheat (a prejudiced stereotype) to express his disappointment in Bobby's behaviour and the deal. The 'insult' does not bother Bobby at all, since he recognises it as a humorous play with cultural and ethnic prejudices, a common habit between the three friends Costa, Bobby, and Gabriel.

Since the characters do not share the same bilingualism (Bobby is bilingual in Serbian and German and Costa in Greek and German), language-switching does not occur. However, another type of linguistic hybridity emerges towards the end of the conversation when they start to mimicking the broken German of their parents. The two imitate the simplified guest-worker German leaving out the articles and using infinitives. However, like in all cases of mimicking, their attempts to copy their parents' guest-worker German fail and they create something different and new as it is influenced by youth slang of their urban milieu. I suggest the linguistic hybrid result of their mimicking can be interpreted as a form of the linguistic phenomenon *Kanaksprak*, which describes a language or a sociolect used by a group of second- and later-generation migrants in Germany.⁴⁹ The word *Kanake* is a derogatory term used particularly about Turkish immigrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. *Kanaksprak* is a stylised version of *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* marked by a deliberately poor use of German (Androutsopoulos 2003: 21). Drawing on Zaimoğlu, who coined the term *Kanaksprak*, Androutsopoulos notes that its underground nature means that Turkish Germans, fluent in both languages, choosing to communicate in the broken German of their parents, are subverting its negative connotations. Instead, their adaption of it asserts their separation from German language and society, which can be interpreted as a sign of resistance to assimilation (Androutsopoulos 2010: 187). I argue that Bobby and Costa's conscious use of broken guest-worker German, combined with youth slang is very similar to *Kanaksprak*, which Androutsopoulos defines as a form of language-crossing.

My analysis of these five Akin's films has revealed a variety of language-mixing practices including conversational, inner-, and inter-sentential code-switching, and language-crossing. This intermingling of diverse national and ethnic languages, and also dialects, accents, and slangs results in the hybridisation of language into a new and unique language, fluid and open to renegotiation, exactly as Bakhtin theorised. It is important to point out that Akin at no time presents language-mixing as a deficit or semilingualism, or an indication of the lack of proficiency in any languages. Quite the contrary, he depicts it as an opportunity to find a wider range of expression. The spectator might often be uncertain about the characters' language skills, either through unfamiliarity with a language, or because this is not explained in the story like in the

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.3.1 for a more detailed explanation of the roots and meaning of the expression *Kanaksprak*.

case of Bobby and Costa. However, even if the characters' Serbian or Greek is weak, the director emphasises that any additional language is a bonus. Bobby is able to argue with his uncle in Serbian and Costa prefers to express emotions like anger by swearing in Greek and his melancholy by singing in Greek.

In the case of the Turkish German Cahit from *Gegen die Wand*, the spectator is made aware of his poor Turkish, but at no time does Akin present this as a deficit. On the contrary, he uses broken Turkish to express his emotions, which otherwise might be oppressed. Moreover, when Cahit is compelled to communicate in Turkish with Sibel's Turkish cousin Selma in Istanbul, the director shows how his poor Turkish becomes an opportunity to converse with Selma. When Cahit realises that his poor Turkish is not the best language to describe his former depressive life and his love to Sibel, he switches into English. Cahit could have continued in Turkish, but chooses English instead, which is not to be interpreted as a failing but rather having recourse to an additional (language) resource. He is able to choose the most appropriate language for the circumstances. The examples show that language-switching and language-crossing are opportunities for diasporic people, a vital part of their culturally hybrid identities, and an additional resource. Akin's polyglot films repeatedly cross any kind of language borders and in doing so prove the *organic hybridity* of language, ever liable to influence and therefore in a process of continual hybridisation as Bakhtin and Bhabha have theorised.

3.6. The Myth of Cultural Fragmentation: Screening the Positives of Cultural Hybridity

The aim of the analysis of the cinematic representation of culturally hybrid urban milieus and linguistic hybridity, which I consider the most striking characteristic of the characters' culturally hybrid identities, has been to demonstrate the most significant difference in the phases of cinema on migration and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. As discussed, cultural hybridisation is an inevitable process when people encounter each other and becomes particularly interesting in migration settings where diverse cultures meet. I argue that this unavoidable phenomenon occurs in every cinema dealing with migration-related issues, thus even in first-phase films also known as the 'cinema of duty', as I have shown by using examples from films made before the 1990s. However, almost all of these early films either directly portray or imply the problematic situation of being torn between cultures. Cultural hybridity is rarely presented as

enriching or a benefit and I suggest that the cinematic shift occurs at exactly this point. For the first time, hyphenated identity filmmakers like Fatih Akın acknowledge the productivity of cultural hybridity as emphasised by the seminal theorists Bakhtin and Bhabha. Their films display the positives of hybridisation resulting from cultural encounters.

My analysis focused on the dimension of linguistic hybridity and how it constitutes a vital aspect of the diasporic characters' culturally hybrid identities. However, several other cultural spheres such as music, food, fashion, and even interior design also experience cultural hybridisation. Moreover, such hybridity means these films form a culturally hybrid phenomenon, which in some cases is already reflected in linguistically hybrid titles like *Evet, ich will/Evet, I Do* (2008, Sinan Akkuş). and *Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland/Almanya – Welcome to Germany* (2010, Yasemin Şamdereli).

At this point, I want to refer to the dialogue between Bobby and Costa in *Kurz und Schmerzlos* again. The linguistic hybridity in this conversation should be interpreted as a highly creative outcome of the intermingling of diverse cultural and linguistic influences. The scene reflects the multilingual and linguistically hybrid reality of multicultural and multiethnic urban milieus in Germany in a very special manner and with accuracy, which I ascribe to the hyphenated identity of the diasporic filmmaker Fatih Akın. Many scenes in his films deliver such an almost hyper-realistic portrayal of cultural hybridity.⁵⁰ How do hyphenated identity filmmakers manage to convey such an accurate image of the multifaceted dimensions of cultural hybridity on screen? It seems that the key to these filmmakers' success is the title of Berghahn's (2011b) essay: They are 'Seeing Everything with Different Eyes'.⁵¹ These 'different eyes' refers to what Moorti calls the 'diasporic optic', Marks terms 'haptic visuality', and Naficy labels the 'accented style' of hyphenated identity filmmakers. The common ground of these three concepts is that they not only acknowledge the specific art of cinemas made by diasporic people, but venture beyond this and appreciate the creativity and otherness in their works. In agreeing with the authors and drawing on Stuart Hall's (1990) seminal discussion of culturally hybrid identities, I argue that Fatih Akın and other diasporic filmmakers inevitably reflect the positives and creativity of their own culturally hybrid identities in their films.

⁵⁰ Since it is beyond the remit of my thesis, I will not present any further examples.

⁵¹ The complete title of Berghahn's (2011b) essay is "' Seeing Everything with Different Eyes": The Diasporic Films of Fatih Akın'. See Berghahn's essay for an expanded analysis of Fatih Akın's special diasporic optic.

To conclude, besides radically breaking old cultural stereotypes, Turkish German filmmakers were able to represent in Göktürk's phrase 'the pleasures of hybridity'. I propose to call this the 'positives of cultural hybridity', since hybridity is not always a pleasure, but cultural hybridity is always a special competence and therefore something creative and positive.

CHAPTER 4

The Representation of Turkish Migration to Germany and Cultural Hybridity in Turkish Cinema

The labour migration from Turkey to Germany, which started in the mid-1960s, had not only a socioeconomic impact on the sending and receiving countries' societies as outlined in Chapter 1, but also an influence on Turkish culture including film, and other forms of art and entertainment. In the previous chapter, I explored the effect of Turkish migration on German cinema and showed the shift that took place in the depiction of Turkish migrants in German cinema and later in Turkish German cinema. This chapter focuses on how Turkish cinema between the 1960s and the present represents migrants who moved to Germany and the present Turkish diaspora.

4.1 Literature Review and Research Interests

Guest-workers and their families appeared in Turkish cinema at about the same time as they did in German cinema. My research identified almost 80 movies by Turkish filmmakers in Turkey, that portray external migration and the lives of Turkish emigrants abroad and their return to Turkey between the mid-1960s until the present. The majority of these films feature the (labour) emigration to Germany, which is of particular interest to this research. These films have, however, received hardly any scholarly attention so far.

The first article on the topic is Emel Ceylan Tamer's 'Türk Sinemasında Göçmen İşçi Sorunu'⁵² (1978) which explores how early labour migration was reflected in Turkish cinema. Based on an investigation of five films, *Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim/I Lost My Heart to a Turk* (1969, Halit Refiğ), *Dönüş/The Return* (1972, Türkan Şoray, Kaya Ererez), *El Kapısı/Foreign Door* (1974, Orhan Elmas), *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı/A Turkish Girl In Germany* (1974, Hulki Saner), and *Otobüs/Omnibus* (1974, Tunç Okan), Tamer states that Turkish cinema approaches emigration in a manner very similar to its other movies, concentrating on love stories and relegating the depiction of migration to the background. She further argues that Turkish cinema in general did not create well-rounded characters and therefore the representation of Turkish emigrants also remained rather superficial.

⁵² English translation of the title: 'The Labour Emigrant Issue in Turkish Cinema'.

Oğuz Makal's book *Sinemada Yedinci Adam. Türk Sinemasında İç ve Dış Göç Olayı* (1987)⁵³ is the first monograph to tackle Turkish internal and external migration and migrants in Turkish cinema. After giving examples of films dealing with internal migration in Turkish cinema, Makal focuses on external migration, briefly investigating 13 films depicting Turkish migration to Germany and other European countries, with three – *Shirins Hochzeit/Shirin's Wedding* (1975, Helma Sanders-Brahms), *Ganz Unten/Lowest of the Low* (1986, Jörg Gfrörer) and *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland/40 Square Meters of Germany* (1986, Tevfik Başer) – being part of German rather than Turkish cinema. In his conclusion, Makal criticises the dominance of a rather pessimistic and pathetic representation of migrants' lives, adding that, while the early films about Turkish migration fail to deliver a realistic depiction of the living conditions of the migrants or their relatives in Turkey, later films such as *Almanya Acı Vatan/Germany Bitter Homeland* (1979, Şerif Gören) succeed by paying close attention to their social milieus and the hardship of their everyday lives, including their loneliness, search for identity, and communication problems (Makal 1987: 105f.). Furthermore, Makal draws attention to the lack of films that capture the social and cultural reality of Turkish migration and suggests that Turkish cinema should focus more on the depiction of the migrants' real circumstances. Makal's analysis of Turkish migration in Turkish cinema was the only work of this type for a long time.

Almost 30 years later Mehmet Anık (2012) takes a sociological perspective and also advocates a more realistic representation of social issues in Turkish migrant cinema. In his chapter 'Türk Sinemasında Yurtdışına Göç Olgusu'⁵⁴ in the volume *Türk Sinemasında Sosyal Meseleler* (2012)⁵⁵, Anık explores four films in detail, while registering there a larger corpus of films, ascertaining there are a high number that either focus on Turkish customs, traditions, and related themes such as the importance of honour, or that look at migration through a comedic lens. He bemoans the dearth of films that consider the migration experience in depth, and that significant angles such as the actual process of emigration and the social, cultural, political, and economical situation of Turkish emigrants have been neglected (Anık 2012: 56f.). However, Anık's research is limited by the size of his sample and therefore could be considered as unrepresentative. Like Makal, who in his film analysis considered three films as a part of Turkish cinema, although they belong to German cinema, Anık includes a movie

⁵³ English translation of the title: *The Seventh Man in Cinema. Internal and External Migration in Turkish Cinema.*

⁵⁴ English translation of the title: 'The External Migration in Turkish Cinema'.

⁵⁵ English translation of the title: *Social Issues in Turkish Cinema.*

Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland/Almanya – Welcome to Germany (2011, Yasemin Şamdereli) that is actually a German production directed by a Turkish German filmmaker.

All three scholars emphasise the neglect of social realist films that authentically depict the hardship of Turkish migrants in Germany and seem to work under the assumption that film's sole function is to accurately represent reality. Tamer, Makal, and Anık's critiques concentrate on early films and only consider a small selection. In my analysis, that includes recent productions and a greater corpus of films, I will also look at the extent of the neglect of a realistic cinematic perspective.

Ersel Kayaoğlu and Ömer Alkın have also examined the representation of migration in Turkish cinema. Kayaoğlu's recent study about external migration in Turkish cinema is the most comprehensive research on this subject to date. In his article entitled 'Figurationen der Migration im türkischen Film' (2012)⁵⁶, the author gives a chronological overview of 42 films, including character analysis, dramaturgy, and filmic staging. He suggests that almost all movies show melodramatic tendencies and focus on the sadness resulting from working abroad and feeling oppressed on the fringes of German society. Another popular slant he reveals is the juxtaposition of a morally degenerate German society contrasted with a morally superior Turkish society. Kayaoğlu reaches the same conclusion as Makal and Anık criticising the paucity of authentic reflections of real labour migration experiences in Turkish cinema (Kayaoğlu 2012: 100f.). Although the author's study is the most detailed analysis in the field so far, it suffers from the lack of a critical theoretic framework. However, the chronological overview of a great number of films is a very useful starting point and Kayaoğlu does uncover some interesting trends.

In his previous article 'Das Deutschlandbild im türkischen Film' (2011)⁵⁷, Kayaoğlu focuses exclusively on the representation of Germany and German culture in Turkish cinema on external migration. He argues that until the mid-1970s, Turkish film was principally concerned with constructing a national identity and therefore tended to depict Turkish society in a positive light and contrast this image with a morally inferior Germany by including themes such as Germany's Nazi past, the promiscuity of German women, and a degenerated hippy youth. The construction of this counter image enabled a filmic representation that highlighted Turkish social and cultural values as superior. In addition, the author draws attention to an ambivalence in the presentation of

⁵⁶ English translation of the title: 'Figurations of Migration in Turkish Film'.

⁵⁷ English translation of the title: 'The Depiction of Germany in Turkish Film'.

Germany, since Germany was shown as progressive, but this quality was incompatible with the positively depicted Turkish values (Kayaoğlu 2011: 103).

A further relevant scholar currently studying the representation of emigrants in Turkish cinema is Ömer Alkın. In his article 'Europe in Turkish Migration Cinema from 1960 to the Present' (2013), Alkın, like Kayaoğlu, looks at how Europe and Germany are represented in Turkish migration cinema. Based on a corpus of more than 50 films, he claims that the positive depiction of Europe as a place of wealth and modernity is juxtaposed to the migrants' negative experience of 'alienation' and 'displacement' (Alkın 2013: 56). He identifies a change in the image of Europe and, with reference to two recent films *Avrupalı/The European* (2007, Ulaş Ak) and *Made in Europe* (2007, İnan Temelkuran), he argues that Europe is shown as a place where emigrants have complex experiences of migration in a globalised world (in *Made in Europe*) and in *Avrupalı* as a 'national counter-place from where Turkey, after a history of emigration and idealisation, will finally emancipate (Alkın 2013: 66). In his analysis, the author makes an interesting point by differentiating between the image of Europe and the image of Germany in Turkish migration cinema. I will explore this distinction later in this chapter when analysing the presentation of Germany and Germans.

In a second article, 'Re-Writing Turkish German Cinema from the Bottom-Up: Turkish Emigration Cinema' (2015), Alkın considers one of the latest films dealing with Turkish emigration to Germany *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı/Spring Blossoms* (2012, Ali Levent Üngör) and critiques the lack of academic interest – that mainly concentrates on the aspects of transnationality and hybridity – in the large number of Turkish films about Turkish emigration.

In his two following articles 'Der türkische Emigrationsfilm. Vor-Bilder des deutsch-türkischen Kinos?' (2015)⁵⁸ and 'Ist das Gerede um den deutsch-türkischen Film postkolonial? – Zum Status des deutsch-türkischen Migrationskinos, seiner wissenschaftlichen Bewertung und den „verstummtten“ türkischen Emigrationsfilmen' (2016)⁵⁹, the author criticises the current scholarship in the field of Turkish German cinema for ignoring the perspective of Turkish cinema and bemoans the one-sidedness of the debate.

⁵⁸ English translation of the title: 'The Turkish Emigration Film. Role Models for the German Turkish Cinema?'.
⁵⁹ English translation of the title: 'Is the Talk about German Turkish Film Postcolonial? About the State of German Turkish Migration Film, Its Academic Approach and the Turkish Emigration Film That 'Became Silent''.

This review of the relevant literature in the field of external migration in Turkish cinema discovered that only a small body of research has been published on this subject to date.⁶⁰ These studies provide some useful insight into the cinematic representation of Turkish emigration to Germany and other countries and helped in the process of identifying a corpus of films to consider and to compose a first overview of them. Furthermore, researchers have also ascertained that certain significant subjects appear in a large proportion of the films, such as the image of Europe, Germany, and Germans. However, I could not find any comprehensive study of all the relevant movies or that adequately included those made from the 2000s on. Although some scholars show an interest in some recent movies, such as Kayaoğlu with *Berlin Kapları/The Tiger of Berlin* (2012, Hakan Algül) and Alkın with *Made in Europe* and *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı*, they do not take into account the corpus of films on various types of migration. Even if migration is not the primary subject of these films, they are still worthy of attention for how they shed light on how the Turkish diaspora is perceived in recent Turkish cinema. Alkın, however, seems to have expanded his investigation recently to include diverse perspectives and also newer films.⁶¹

To sum up the important insights scholars have provided, I argue, that (mainly) Turkish scholars of Turkish films about migration to Germany, did important fieldwork in defining the corpus of relevant films. Furthermore, they saw their main task in alerting other scholars to the existence of these key films, and as a result, much of their writing reveals recurrent themes and supplies important plot analysis. Alkın, however, has looked at these films more deeply emphasising their neglect in the field of Turkish German cinema.

In this way, Turkish scholars paved the way for further work like my dissertation that will with reference to certain theoretical concepts investigate this corpus of Turkish films. Another gap is that scholars, except for Alkın, do not relate their findings to German and Turkish German movies about the Turkish emigration and Turkish

⁶⁰ Besides these studies on external emigration in Turkish cinema, there is some further research, mainly in the form of journal articles and master theses, such as ‘Türkiye’de Göç ve Türk Sinemasına Yansımaları: 1960-2009’ (‘Migration in Turkey and Its Reflections in Cinema: 1960-2009’) (2010) by Günseli Pişkin; ‘Immigration Movies in Turkey: How Economic Changes Affect Turkish Cinema in 1960s’ (2014) by Gökhal Uğur; the PhD thesis *El Kapılarında Yeşilçam: 1970-1990 Arası Türkiye’de Dış Göç-Sinema İlişkisi (Yeşilçam on Foreign Doors: External Migration Cinema in Turkey Between 1970 and 1990)* (2009) by Ayşe Toy Par, and the master thesis from Ayşegül Çilingir (2009) *Türk Sinemasında Dış Göç Olgusunun Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında İncelenmesi – El Kapısı Filmi Örneğinde (External Migration in Turkish Cinema and the Analysis of Gender Issues – The Example of El Kapısı)*.

⁶¹ Ömer Alkın’s upcoming volume *Deutsch-Türkische Filmkultur im Migrationskontext* (German-Turkish Film Culture in the Context of Migration) will be published in 2017 after I have finished my research. Hence, the contributions in the book are not a part of my research.

diaspora, which I also will fill with my research. However, this argument also applies to scholars who have examined German and Turkish German cinema and likewise ignored the representation of migration in Turkish cinema.

My first aim is to provide an overview of the existing corpus of Turkish films on migration to Germany, allowing a comparison with key themes in German and Turkish German cinema and additionally, (if we understand film as a form of art that reflects parts of social reality and at the same time creates reality), enabling us to see how the socioeconomic impact of Turkish emigration to Germany from the 1960s onwards (cf. chapter 1.2) is reflected in Turkish cinema. Furthermore, it will be interesting to discover whether the depiction of Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora in Turkish cinema has more in common with the depiction in German cinema than with that in German Turkish cinema, which is accented and characterised by the Turkish German filmmakers' diasporic optic. Additionally, it is crucial to consider the role of the Yeşilçam era in Turkish cinema and its relation to Turkish films about migration. I will also discuss whether there has been a change in the cinematic representation of migrants in Turkish cinema from the late 1960s until today, as there has been in German and Turkish German cinema. After establishing common themes and their treatment, I will relate the depiction of migrants in Turkish cinema to the concepts and theories discussed in Chapter 2. In this regard, I will initially consider whether Turkish cinema really is or remains national when portraying Turkish migration, or if it can be termed transnational or increasingly transnational over time. Secondly, I invoke Bakhtin's theories of linguistic hybridity and *heteroglossia* and more particularly Bhabha's notions of hybridity and the *third space* and explore what these concepts might mean for the films and the representation of characters. In doing so, I also consider the question of whether multilingualism and code-switching, as a special form of linguistic hybridity, and the role of music in positioning cultural identity, feature in these movies.

My analysis is divided into two main parts. Firstly, prevailing genres, recurring topics, and major perspectives in Turkish cinema about Turkish emigration to Germany will be illustrated by apposite film examples from the whole corpus of identified films. Secondly, a close analysis of three films will deliver an in-depth exploration of the representation styles and of how cultural hybridity is depicted in Turkish cinema about migration. The movies *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı/A Turkish Girl in Germany* (1974, Hulki Saner), *Almanya Acı Gurbet/Germany Bitter Gurbet* (1988, Yavuz Figenli), and *Berlin Kaplanı/The Tiger of Berlin* (2012, Hakan Algül) are good examples since they

address diverse aspects of Turkish emigration to Germany and the experience of different generations of the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Moreover, the three films belong to different genres and periods in Turkish cinema.

The research questions guiding my analysis in this chapter are: How can the corpus of relevant films be classified with regard to common themes and the representation of migration to Germany? Do Turkish films seek to provide a historically accurate account of Turkish migration? How do these films negotiate the popular appeal of genre cinema with realist modes of representation? Can Turkish films about migration described as culturally hybrid and how do they depict cultural hybridity? Finally, what similarities and differences do Turkish migration films evince with their German and Turkish German counterparts?

4.2 Corpus of Films and Initial Classification

In order to give a comprehensive overview of the representation of Turkish external migration in Turkish cinema, it is essential to evaluate the whole corpus of films. After extensive research, I identified 80 Turkish films that address the topic of external Turkish migration in some form, with 8 featuring countries other than Germany. Therefore, around 70 films from various genres from the 1960s until the present that depict Germany as the receiving country of Turkish emigrants are relevant to my analysis. Movies focusing on emigration to other countries such as Sweden, Switzerland or Austria, could be, or should be, subjects of future research.⁶²

A first review of the films reveals the opportunity to divide the corpus of movies into two groups. The first would consist of those in which Turkish emigrants and Germany as the receiving country for Turkish migration rather functions as a narrative background and is merely incidental to the main plot. Most of these films only feature a first-, second-, or third-generation Turkish immigrant in the role of a supporting character. This is particularly common in films made since the 2000s. The second category would include films that focus on the migration experience.

⁶² Films dealing with emigration issues in countries other than Germany are: *Cumartesi Cumartesi/Saturday Saturday* (1984, Tunç Okan) (France/ Switzerland); *Gül Hasan/Hasan the Rose* (1979, Tuncel Kurtiz) (Sweden); *Güneşi Gördüm/I Saw the Sun* (2009, Mahsun Kırmızıgül) (Norwegian); *Kardeş Kanu/Splettring* (1984, Muammer Özer) (Sweden); *Memleketim/My Hometown* (1974, Yücel Çakmaklı) (Austria); *Otobüs/Omnibus* (1974, Tunç Okan) (Sweden); *Umut Adası/Island of Hope* (2007, Mustafa Kara) (UK), and *Umut Dünyası/World of Hope* (1973, Safa Önal) (Australia).

With reference to the first category, I would like to take a closer look at three films in which emigrants and Germany function as the narrative background for the main storyline.

İntizar/Expectation (1973, Oksal Pekmezoğlu) tells the love story of Neşe, a woman working in a printing company, and Kemal, a minibus driver. In order to earn enough money to buy a new minibus and marry Neşe, Kemal opts to emigrate to Germany for a while for work. Neşe does not want him to leave so she takes a job as a singer in a nightclub, which will bring in more money. To ensure that Neşe's lover does not sabotage her plan, the nightclub owner hides drugs in Kemal's car so Kemal gets arrested. Neşe thinks that Kemal has gone to Germany without telling her and marries the nightclub owner. This film has a happy ending when the lovers are reunited, but it concerns the pitfalls Neşe and Kemal face en route. This movie can be designated as a singer film as the main role is taken by the famous singer Neşe Karaböcek and her songs are showcased throughout the movie. I will go further into detail about this specific singer film genre later on in this chapter. With respect to my two categories, it is important to notice that *İntizar* does not focus on emigration to Germany and its impact on the individual or society. The film rather references emigration as a factor in its love story.⁶³

The next two films are interesting, since although both start with the topic of emigration to Germany, they actually feature internal Turkish migration from villages to Istanbul. The first is the tragicomedy *Banker Bilo/Bilo the Banker* (1980, Ertem Eğilmez), in which Bilo, a returnee from Germany played by the famous comedy actor Şener Şen, promises some men from his village in Turkey that he can smuggle them into Germany in his truck, but then abandons them in Istanbul. When these men arrive in Istanbul, they initially believe they are in Germany but the story concentrates on their problems of adapting to the big city and the difficulties of internal migration from a Turkish village to the metropolis Istanbul.

The arabesk film *Ayrılamam/I Cannot Leave* (1986, Temel Gürsü) starring the famous arabesk child singer Emrah, starts with Emrah's guest-worker father Hasan's return from Germany to his village, where his wife and two children await him. However, Hasan is bringing his new German wife Anita and their son. Hasan and Anita die in a car accident before they get there and only the son survives, whereupon Emrah

⁶³ Other examples of films dealing with the fateful separation of lovers caused by emigration are *Batan Güneş/The Setting Sun* (1978, Temel Gürsü), *A Turkish Girl in Germany* (1974, Hulki Şaner), *Vahşi Arzu/Wild Passion* (1972, Yavuz Figenli), and *Büyük Acı/The Big Pain* (1971, Mehmet Bozkuş).

accepts him as his little brother and uses the 100, 000 DM Hasan had saved to move the whole family to Istanbul. The family struggles to cope with the immorality, spite, and mercenary nature of city dwellers, experiencing rape, kidnapping, and losing all their money.

Unlike these movies, there are films in Turkish cinema that focus on different aspects of Turkish emigration to Germany. These films will become the focus of attention in my in-depth analysis later in this chapter. At this stage, I would like to give one detailed example of such a migration film that is representative for the second group. The film I have mentioned in the introduction of my dissertation *Almanya Acı Vatan/Germany Bitter Homeland* (1979, Şerif Gören)⁶⁴ depicts the life of the female labour migrant Güldane and her husband Mahmut in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin. It begins in a village in Turkey, introducing Mahmut, who desperately wants to move to Germany to get rich and fulfil his dream of owning a car. Since Germany is not accepting labour migrants at this time, his only chance is to marry a woman who is already working abroad. During a family visit to Turkey, Güldane, employed in a typewriter factory in Germany, agrees to a marriage of convenience with Mahmut from her village. Back in Germany, they go their separate ways and the audience witnesses Güldane's monotonous and tough life as an immigrant in Berlin. She shares a room with three other Turkish women, all of whom have to get up early, have a quick breakfast and leave the house for work. In order to emphasise the inhumanity of this repetitive and stressful morning routine, the director repeats exactly the same scene a few times in the course of the movie. Dull but stressful assembly line work at a typewriter factory follows. These scenes are also repeated several times with little or no variation to demonstrate dreariness of the guest-workers' routine. Similar to Güldane, Mahmut also shares a room with three other men, but instead of working hard, he becomes addicted to the immorality of the West. He drinks beer in pubs, gambles, goes to sex shops, and gets together with a German woman. When Mahmut gets Güldane pregnant, he wants her to have an abortion. Since she can no longer trust Mahmut and her working conditions get harder, Güldane decides to return to Turkey with her unborn baby. In the end of the film, Güldane goes insane on her way to Turkey. Sitting on the ground crying at the airport, she repeats again and again in a mechanical and monotonous voice: 'ev, metro, fabrika, vida' ('flat, underground, factory, screw'), before she starts laughing

⁶⁴ *Almanya Acı Vatan* is originally the title of a Turkish emigrant folk song from the Black Sea Region by Erkan Ocaklı which came out in the 1960s. The lyrics are not from the perspective of the emigrants, but rather from those left behind, focusing on the pain and grief of separation.

crazily. *Almanya Acı Vatan* depicts Germany as an inhospitable place, which explains Güldane's wish to return home. This negative perspective on the migration experience in Germany recurs in numerous movies, as I will discuss later. *Almanya Acı Vatan* that focuses on the problems of guest-workers, has been criticised by the film scholar Oğuz Makal for its lack of realism and failure to portray the hard living conditions of guest-workers abroad (Makal 1987: 80). However, I argue that *Almanya Acı Vatan* is one of the few Turkish films on external migration, which feature the lives of emigrants in detail.

To conclude, the existing corpus of relevant films about emigration to Germany in Turkish cinema has provided the opportunity to categorise them in two different groups. Firstly, those films that merely mention migration and use the topic of migration to Germany to initiate the main plot, and secondly, movies that in fact cover the various experiences of emigration and the lives of the Turkish diaspora in Germany and make it to their main plot. In considering the two categories I devised, I argue, that movies like *İntizar*, *Banker Bilo*, or *Ayrılamam* from the first group do not seem to be as relevant to my analysis as those from the second, but they nevertheless provide some interesting insights into how migration affected Turkish society. I suggest that the great number of movies that only touch upon the topic of emigration exists because emigration had become the normality in Turkey's everyday life and cinema reflected this part of Turkish reality in different ways. Moreover, emigration themes added variety to the plot. However, my in-depth analysis will be on films from the second category.

4.3 Yeşilçam's Impact on Turkish Migration Cinema

An overview reveals that most of the migration films in Turkish cinema are produced in the 1970s and 1980s (52 films in total and 46 focusing on migration to Germany), which suggests that a significant number belong to the Yeşilçam era. Therefore, it is essential to explore the societal importance and filmic characteristics of Yeşilçam cinema. Then I will investigate the impact Yeşilçam films has had on the representation of Turkish migration to Germany in Turkish cinema in relation to genres, aesthetic and narrative perspectives. The first subchapter (4.3.1) is an introduction to Yeşilçam cinema, its origins, and its specific conventions. The following subchapter (4.3.2) illustrates Yeşilçam's genres and investigates its impact on films about Turkish migration, with comedies and melodramas a particular concern. Special attention will be

paid to singer and arabesk film. Finally, Yeşilçam's hybrid character will be explored in 4.3.3.

4.3.1 An Outline of Yeşilçam Cinema and Its Specific Conventions

As mentioned above, an overview of the corpus of films shows that a substantial number of films related to migration to Germany appeared during high- and late-Yeşilçam era. I could identify 46 films produced between the beginning of the 1970s and end of the 1980s, which is slightly more than a third of the total. Hence, it is necessary to analyse Yeşilçam and its effects on Turkish migration cinema. A review of the post-Yeşilçam period reveals the existence of very few films handling the issue of migration. Between 1990 and 1994 there were only 8 films, and then none for a long period. The Turkish diaspora in Germany did not appear on screen until the end of the 2000s in *Made in Europe*. With respect to the long temporal gap, Kayaoğlu interrelates the total number of films made in Turkish cinema with the number of those on migration during 1990s and mid-2000s and concludes that film production had significantly decreased in Turkish cinema in general, which in turn affected the number of films about migration (Kayaoğlu 2012: 101). The importance of the Yeşilçam era for Turkish migration films requires a closer examination.

In the mid-1960s, peoples' interest in movies increased leading to a significant rise in film productions and a sudden growth of the Turkish film industry. The Turkish expression Yeşilçam, literally meaning 'Green Pine', derived from Yeşilçam Street in a district of Istanbul's called Beyoğlu, where many production companies, crew, and actors were based at that time (Arslan 2011: 11; Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 535). In his monograph entitled *Cinema of Turkey. A New Critical History*, Savaş Arslan, divides the Yeşilçam era into three phases: 'early-Yeşilçam' in the 1950s, 'high-Yeşilçam' in the 1960s and 1970s, and 'late-Yeşilçam' in the 1980s, and asserts that 'high-Yeşilçam' in particular, could be seen as the 'golden age' in Turkish popular cinema alike to the era of classical Hollywood cinema (Arslan 2011: 11). Erdoğan and Göktürk note that Turkish film industry was unable to keep up with this level of increase, since no investment was made in studios or technical equipment (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 535). This led to the production of low-quality films. According to Arslan, Yeşilçam stole from Western cinema and synthesised it with 'local cultural

forms and structures' (2009: 85). He further explains: 'Yeşilçam 'Turkified' Western cinema by putting it into the vernacular, transforming it into a local product, by openly pirating scripts, themes and footage from both Hollywood and European film' (2009: 85). Arslan adds that 'Turkification' is not only adapting Western movies, but especially combining Western styles with traditional Turkish forms such as with the melodramatic modality, the construction of binary oppositions of pure evil versus pure good, and the dominance of oral narration over visual narration, which has its roots in the shadow plays in the Ottoman Empire (Arslan 2011: 83-88).

Furthermore, Yeşilçam films tended to have poor character and script development, camerawork, editing, lighting, and *mise-en-scène*, since the film industry had to produce a large number of films on low budgets very quickly to respond to audience demand (Arslan 2011: 17; Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 536). With respect to the poor character development, often the two-dimensional characters were flat, static, and predictable, lacking depth and credibility. Erdoğan notes that characters 'who were never depicted as individuals and who could not act, but were 'acted upon', reinforced the melodramatic affect' (Erdoğan 2006: 236). Besides a poor character development, Yeşilçam was also notorious for its dubbing practices. Dubbing was a lucrative way to enable inexpensive and fast filmmaking, reducing the need for rehearsals and allowing filmmakers to complete scenes in one take (Arslan 2011: 117). Erdoğan points out the underrepresentation of shot/reverse shots in favour of front shots, with the actors facing the camera most of the time and not turning their backs. According to the author, this time- and money-saving procedure created empathy rather than identification with the characters (Erdoğan 2006: 235). Çağrı İnceoğlu (2015) in 'Devingen Mizansenden Huzursuz Kameraya: Yeşilçam'da Zum'⁶⁵ analyses the number of zooms and their role in Turkish films in the late 1960s and 1970s and argues that although the zoom in Yeşilçam cinema was initially merely a stylistic tool to signify an important incident in the narrative, its excessive use in the 1970s was to reduce production costs. He discovers that the zoom increasingly replaced cuts and camera movements and as a result (unintentionally) created a very particular film aesthetic. Because zoom was so ubiquitous, it had to become even more excessive when emphasising a significant event. Thus, a fast, almost hectic, zoom style emerged that was usually accompanied by a loud and piercing sound. Moreover, extreme 'close-up zooms' in faces and symbols were very common. The consequence was a poor *mise-en-scène*, but also a specific form of

⁶⁵ English translation of the title: 'From Dynamic *Mise-en-scène* to Restless Camera: The Zoom in Yeşilçam'.

zoom, an excessive zoom. In his article 'The Zoom in Popular Cinema: A Question of Performance' Paul Willemen (2002) discusses the practice of zoom in commercial Turkish action cinema in the 1970s along with Pakistani films and Indian action melodramas of the period and discovers a 'repeated overemphatic use of the zoom' (Willemen 2002: 6). Willemen appreciates this specific zoom form and by relating it to theatrical performances, he indicates a public character that such a use of the zoom creates.

[T]he zoom, to the extent that it displays a narratorial performative flourish, implies a recognition, within the very texture of the filmic discourse, of the presence of the audience in the same way that theatrical performances imply a recognition of this 'live' presence in, for instance, the spatial disposition of actors on the stage, the recourse to voice-projection techniques and so on. There is a sense in which the zoom, just like certain aspects of the actorial style of performance in Turkish, Indian and other non-European films, acknowledges the presence of the audience in a way that transforms the performance space into a public space (...). In other words, the actors behave on the screen as if they were in a public space, constantly 'on display' to others, rather than behaving as if they were in an 'unobserved', un-overlooked private space (Willemen 2002: 13).

Both İnceoğlu and Willemen recognise that this characteristic use of the zoom in Yeşilçam cinema, which emerged out of economic 'necessity', created a distinctive visual style

Referring to Yeşilçam's narrative and aesthetic features Arslan notes that 'Yeşilçam, viewed from a Western and westernized perspective, did not present a realistic language of high-quality filmmaking, but instead was a series of discontinuities and failures' (Arslan 2011: 17). Arslan points out that the films poor quality did not present a problem for the audience, because 'Yeşilçam's presentation of its stories was based on oral cues rather than visual narration. It was the story that was of interest and therefore the deficiencies of visual narration were eliminated through oral narration' (Arslan 2011: 17). The audience's role was important, since Yeşilçam productions were very much geared to the audience expectations. Production companies negotiated with regional film distributors about the spectators' desires for genres or stars and 'distributors could demand revisions to plot and casting' (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 535).

4.3.2 The Influence of Yeşilçam Genres on Turkish Migration Cinema

Regarding the predominant genres of the Yeşilçam era, Arslan (2009, 2011) and Erdoğan and Göktürk (2001) stress the existence of a ‘melodramatic modality’ throughout all genres. The latter identify four key genres like melodrama, comedy, historical action/adventure movies, and detective/gangster movies, with melodrama at the head followed by comedy (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 536). In this context, Arslan also mentions sex films of Yeşilçam, which were very popular in the latter half of the 1970s (Arslan 2011: 111-115).

Migration films made in Turkey between the 1960s and the present can be categorised into two main genres: firstly, (romantic) melodramas including the subgenres singer films and arabesk films, and secondly, comedies. Since comedies and melodramas are predominant in migration films, I will focus on them in greater detail.

At this stage, it appears to be important to mention key debates on the concept of melodrama as a genre and the notion of melodramatic modality. In her essay ‘Rethinking Genre’, Christine Gledhill (2000) argues that film genre is a cyclic concept, with unstable boundaries and subject to the influence of history and culture. Moreover, in relation to the contextuality, a genre is not designated a specific genre by its narrative and aesthetic conventions from within a film text itself, but also influenced by the film industries’, the audience’s, the film scholars’, and the film critics’ perspectives and categorisations. Gledhill (2000) suggests melodrama should be considered a mode rather than a genre, as it operates across other genres such as comedy and horror, or cinematic styles like *film noir* and across decades and nations. In agreement with Gledhill, Linda Williams (1998) also suggests to regard melodrama as a mode. In her essay ‘Melodrama Revised’, Williams extends Gledhill’s idea and, in relation to classical Hollywood cinema, outlines some features of the melodramatic mode, such as characters embodying the moral binaries of good and evil, the focus on victim-heroes’ virtue, the desire for innocence, with which a story begins and wants to end, and a borrowing from realism (Williams 1998: 65-77). Drawing on Gledhill’s work, Williams stresses the connection between melodrama and reality and summarises the author’s view:

[M]elodrama is grounded in conflicts and troubles of everyday, contemporary reality. It seizes upon the social problems of this reality – problems such as illegitimacy, slavery, racism, labour struggles, class divisions, disease, nuclear annihilation, even the Holocaust.

All the afflictions and injustices of the modern, post-Enlightenment world are dramatized in melodrama (Williams 1998: 53).

In agreeing with both authors' perspective on the concept of melodrama, I use melodrama not as a genre with rigid conventions, but in a broader sense as a mode that appears in diverse genres and has certain recurring narrative and aesthetic codes including those outlined by Williams, plus some other specific Yeşilçam conventions, which I will introduce further below.

4.3.2.1 Comedies and the Melodramatic Modality

According to Erdoğan and Göktürk, Yeşilçam comedies were primarily based on 'gags and puns' and many were produced with the same cast including famous comedy stars like Kemal Sunal, Şener Şen, Sadri Alışık, and the comedy duo Zeki Alasya and Metin Akpınar, each having their own stereotypical character on screen. These comedies, which most of the time had a melodramatic overtone, affirmed not just family values, but also 'subtly produced points of resistance to power' (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 535). Moreover, comedy film series such as *Cilalı İbo/İbo the Polished* by Osman F. Seden with Feridun Karakaya in the leading role, *Turist Ömer/Ömer the Tourist* by Hulki Şaner starring Sadri Alışık or *Şaban/Şaban* directed by Kartal Tibet starring Kemal Sunal as Şaban, were very popular comedies during Yeşilçam. Interestingly, the first both mentioned film series each have an episode dealing with Germany called *Cilalı İbo Almanya'da/İbo the Polished in Germany* (1970, Osman F. Seden) and *Turist Ömer Almanya'da/Ömer the Tourist in Germany* (1966, Hulki Saner). However, the Şaban series has two episodes, one where Şaban is an emigrant in Germany (*Gurbetçi Şaban/Şaban the Gurbetçi* (1985, Kartal Tibet) and the other a returnee from Germany (*Katma Değer Şaban/Value Added Tax Şaban* (1985, Kartal Tibet). The Şaban series, like most of the comedies starring Kemal Sunal, centre on a village idiot, often exposed to abuse by people in power around him, but manages to eliminate the evil. Şaban is 'an ordinary man with good intentions, pure, clean, clumsy, and moral because he rebels against unjust situations' (Arslan 2011: 216). Frequently the character Şaban, 'a migrant from a rural area or a lower-class bum, copes with the challenges of adapting to urban environment' (Arslan 2011: 217). With respect to the already mentioned melodramatic mode in comedies, Arslan points out that the melodramatic moments in Şaban's movies

are based on conflicts between rich and poor, good and evil, rural and urban. These melodramatic conflict poles prove very fruitful in comedies dealing with migration to Germany, where the migrant frequently embodies the innocent, rural and poor and Germany and the Germans represent the urban and prosperity. This might explain why comedy was a popular genre to represent migration to Germany.

Turkish cinema started to depict the Turkish guest-worker through a humorous lens earlier than German and Turkish German cinema. Even if the first Turkish German culture-clash comedies *Turist Ömer Almanya'da* and *Cilalı İbo Almanya'da* were produced at the end the 1960s, they are not relevant for my analysis because both movies are a type of slapstick comedies focusing on funny situations emerging from tourist experiences in Germany rather than from migration.⁶⁶

In the mid-1970s, the very first comedy that touches upon the topic of Turkish migration to Germany appeared in Turkish cinema and can be categorised in the first group of movies mentioned above. *Baldız /Sister-In-Law* (1975, Temel Gürsü) starts with the return of the guest-worker Hasan to his village, where his father expects him to marry a woman from the village. Since Hasan believes that he is going to marry Naciye, the beautiful sister of the actual woman he should marry, he agrees to the marriage. After marrying the sister, Naciye, who now is Hasan's sister-in-law, becomes pregnant from Hasan. It takes the whole film until Hasan finally convinces all relatives to get together with Naciye. However, as soon as they are allowed to get together, he starts flirting with another woman. Even if in the very beginning the audience sees Hasan returning to his village with a BMW car and the camera particularly gives close-ups of objects like Hasan's hat and his large golden ring, which are typical symbols of wealth and the emigrant's success in Germany, Hasan's migrant identity and his experiences as a guest-worker are not main concerns of the narrative. In fact, the movie is not about Hasan's definite return to Turkey, but a kind of romantic comedy about misunderstandings and a flirtatious man.

Fikrimin İnce Gülü – Sarı Mercedes/Mercedes mon amour (1987, Tunç Okan) can be regarded as the first comedy that concentrates on a Turkish guest-worker from Germany. The black comedy that incorporates Williams's outlined features of the melodramatic mode, is about Bayram, a guest-worker in Germany, who is on his way back to his village in Turkey by car. He is in love with the yellow Mercedes he has worked so hard for in his three years in Germany. He is really excited to show off his

⁶⁶ Another type of slapstick comedy film *Deliler Almanya'da/The Crazy People are in Germany* (1980, Yavuz Figenli) produced ten years later.

car and what he has achieved in Germany to friends and family back home. Bayram is characterised as selfish, cunning, and as attaching importance to material things and the need to impress people. Through flashbacks, the audience learns that Bayram had a difficult childhood with no parents and was often excluded and oppressed in his village. This explains his dream of becoming a successful man to impress these people. En route, Bayram visualises how he will be welcomed with a celebration by a big crowd, who will admire Bayram for his success. Unfortunately for him, he experiences many misadventures in his Mercedes and so his symbol of success and prosperity gets literally scratched during his journey home. Moreover, when he finally arrives, he sees that everything has changed. His village is empty and his childhood love Kezban, whom he planned to propose to, is married and pregnant. The film ends with Bayram passing his village in his damaged Mercedes and stopping at a crossroads to wonder which direction to take. It is this sense of alienation that creates the deeply pessimistic perspective at the end of the film. *Fikrimin İnce Gülü – Sarı Mercedes* constructs opposing poles of urban, rich Germany and rural, poor Turkey. Bayram, with his shallow values and his greed for money, success, and approval, is punished by loneliness. Anık argues that this portrayal of Bayram as arrogant and selfish is a generalisation applying to the majority of guest-workers in Turkish cinema (Anık 2012: 40). It is true that Bayram is shown in a bad light but there is no hint of that this character is typical of Turkish emigrants in Germany. Moreover, Bayram is a rather tragic character, a role the prominent Turkish actor İlyas Salman was famous for.

Additionally, the famous comedy actor Kemal Sunal's films shall be briefly mentioned. Sunal, who frequently plays a naive, clumsy, and innocent village idiot, who comes into contact with people with poor morals and has trouble adapting to an urban environment, stars even in five comedies about Turkish emigrants in Germany. In *Davaro* (1981, Kartal Tibet) and *Katma Değer Şaban/Value Added Tax Şaban* (1985, Kartal Tibet), Sunal portrays a returnee from Germany, whereas the comedies *Gurbetçi Şaban/Şaban the Gurbetçi* (1985, Kartal Tibet) and *Polizei/Police* (1988, Şerif Gören) are shot in Germany and so show the guest-workers' lives abroad.⁶⁷ All the humorous moments in these films result from culture clashes in various dimensions such as the clash of values in the binary of rural versus urban, rich versus poor, and tradition versus modernity. These dichotomies of good and evil create the melodramatic tone in Sunal's movies. Experiences of alienation as a guest-worker in Germany and a returnee in

⁶⁷In the fifth film starring Kemal Sunal *Postacı/The Postman* (1984, Memduh Ün) he does not portray an emigrant, but experiences problems with his girlfriend's brother Latif, a returnee from Germany.

Turkey, as well as being the *other* in both countries are intrinsic to the pessimistic perspective on migration.

An overview of the comedies reveals that Turkish migration cinema was able to take a self-reflective comedic approach as *Alman Avrat 40 Bin Mark/German Woman 40 Thousand German Marks* (1988, Ali Avaz) and its follow-up *Alman Avradin Bacısı/The German Woman's Sister* (1990, Ali Avaz) show. Both parody scenes and characters of several emigration melodramas. *Alman Avrat 40 Bin Mark*, as for example, borrows from migration melodramas such as *Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim/I Lost My Heart to a Turk* (1969, Halit Refiğ) and *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı/A Turkish Girl in Germany* (1974, Hulki Şaner). *Alman Avrat 40 Bin Mark* features the impact Ali's emigration to Germany has on his family and village in Turkey. It starts with Ali's fantasy of going to Germany and becoming a millionaire. After convincing his wife Ayşe, Ali emigrates to Germany to work. The film then cross-cuts between scenes of Ali's hard working conditions in Germany and of Ayşe, who waits desperately for his letters and his return. When Ali finally returns to his village, he is accompanied by his attractive, blond, new German wife Helga. Scantily dressed and spoiled Helga upsets Ayşe, but arouses the interest of the men in the village, including Ali's and Ayşe's son. Helga walks around the village skimpily dressed and sunbaths in inappropriate places. These scenes are obviously copied from other films' depiction of German lovers or wives. When Ali wants to divorce from Helga, she claims 40,000 DM from Ali to get divorced. Helga is pressured by Ali to adapt to the local culture and wear traditional clothes including a scarf, work in the fields, and help out at the farm. A satirical moment of subtle social criticism of the tough conditions for Turkish women in villages occurs when Helga on top of all the hard work, has to please Ali sexually, who also continues to have sex with Ayşe. Since Helga can bear these living conditions no longer, she agrees to a divorce and returns to Germany. Ali, Ayşe, and Helga represent exaggerated versions of the characters Murat, Zeynep, and Gertha in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*, a singer melodrama that I will analyse later in the chapter.

The follow-up comedy *Alman Avradin Bacısı* is more a satire than a parody, since it involves a stronger social-critical overtone. After Ali's wife Ayşe dies, he moves to Istanbul where he lives an ordinary life with his son, until one day, they receive a visitor from Germany. Helga's sister Anna, who like Helga in the first movie attracts notoriety through her promiscuity, has decided to live in Istanbul. The multilingual film is, on the one hand, a culture clash comedy deriving humour from German Turkish cultural encounters and language misunderstandings, and, on the other hand, a satire on the

whole emigration process to Germany, as it showcases the male neighbours' ceaseless efforts to marry Anna in order to get the opportunity to move to Germany. At the end of the film, Anna marries one of these men and after becoming a Turkish citizen, neither Anna nor her husband can get a visa for Germany. *Alman Avradın Bacısı* ends with a message recited by Ali, that questions the existence of borders and nations and criticises the privileged status of the West. The binarism of the privileged West/Germany versus the unprivileged East/Turkey creates the typical melodramatic tone at the end of the film.

Neden? Neden?	Why? Why?
Hudutları kimler çizdi? Ayrılık neden?	Who draw the borders? Why separation?
Pasaportlar, kontrollar, vizeler neden?	Why passports, controls, visas?
Vizeler neden?	Why visas?
Sen bana benziyorsun, ben sana benziyorum.	You look like me, I look like you.
Ben sana bakayım, sen de bana bak.	I look at you, so look at me.
Hayvana benziyor muyum Babo?	Do I look like an animal <i>babo</i> (mate)?
İkimiz de insanız. Adımız insan.	We are both human. We are called human.
Sen istediğin zaman bana geliyorsun.	You can come to me whenever you want.
Ben istesem gelemiyorum.	I cannot come to you when I want.
Bencillik neden?	Why this egoism?
Senin ayrıcalığın neden?	Why are you privileged?
Yasaklar neden?	Why these prohibitions?
Vizeler neden?	Why visas?
Neden, neden Babo neden?	Why? Why <i>babo</i> (mate) why?
Neden? Neden vizeler? Neden?	Why? Why visas? Why?

After a long break of over two decades, the genre resurfaced with the comedy *Berlin Kaplanı/The Tiger of Berlin* in 2012. It is interesting that even after twenty years the first humorous take on migration still includes a melodramatic mode, with Ayhan, as a naive man with good intentions, having to confront his calculating relatives.⁶⁸

In summary, most of the comedies on emigration were made between the mid-1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. This reveals that Turkish cinema showed emigration and Turkish German cultural contact from the humorous angle around a

⁶⁸ *Berlin Kaplanı* will be analysed in depth later in this chapter.

decade earlier than Turkish German cinema did. An examination of these comedies demonstrates that whether slapstick comedy, black comedy, or a comedy entailing satire or parody, the humour usually stems from cultural clashes resulting from encounters of the liberalised, modern, Western culture in industrialised Germany versus the rural traditional culture of guest-workers and their friends and families in Turkey. All the comedies employ the melodramatic mode that often accompanies typically fixed binary oppositions. Germany, Germans, and assimilated Turkish emigrants often represent the 'bad value' associated with urbanisation and prosperity, such as individualism and degeneration, whereas Turkey and villagers frequently represent innocence, honesty, fidelity and high moral values. Other prevailing themes are the emigrants' and returnees' experiences of loneliness, unemployment, alienation or difficulties adapting, which similar to German films representing a rather pessimistic view of migration as victimised. The construction of different 'black and white' binaries is a typical convention of Yeşilçam comedies and migration comedies made during Yeşilçam are highly influenced by this convention. As a result, nearly all the comedies that tackle migration are crossed by a melodramatic mode. Thus: even in a comedy, migration is always shown as something sad or melancholic and is never depicted as pleasure or a valuable and enriching experience.

4.3.2.2 Migration Melodramas under the Influence of Yeşilçam

Yeşilçam melodramas are often based on dichotomies, similar to the conventions of the melodramatic mode in comedies. Erdoğan and Göktürk name some common binaries in melodramas about couples. They state that socioeconomic conflicts are underlined 'on a number of axes: poor versus rich, rural versus urban, lower class versus bourgeois, Eastern versus Western' (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 536). Similarly to Erdoğan and Göktürk, Gönül Dönmez-Colin in *Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging* asserts that dichotomies, are the backbone of Turkish melodrama, further noting that 'Yeşilçam equated the lower class/rural with the East/local culture and upper class/urban with the West/foreign culture' (Dönmez-Colin 2008: 31). The upper class/urban/West was the object of desire, but carrying connotations of 'moral corruption displayed by American cars, blonde women in provocative dresses, cocktail parties, whiskey and gambling', whereas lower class/rural women, for example, were 'chaste and loyal' and 'dressed modestly' (Dönmez-Colin 2008: 31). Dönmez-Colin

sees the othering of the West as a specific component of Yeşilçam. The West/urban is mainly equated with Istanbul, an ambivalent place of desire and fear, where the rich are shallow and the lower-class hero will succeed by the end of the film, but not without giving the rich a moral lesson. In melodramas about Turkish migration to Germany, Germany replaces Istanbul as the symbol of the West/urban. Thus, it could be argued that Germany is likely to be depicted as a place of desire and fear and those attributes associated with the West. Whether this binary conflict of East/West appears in migration films and how it is approached, will be analysed below.

With respect to love stories and stories about couples, Dönmez-Colin notes that Yeşilçam melodramas follow ‘a ‘boy meets girl’ narrative tradition of Hollywood’ (Dönmez-Colin 2008: 30). Typically, the lovers, who unite, split and then reunite, have to overcome obstacles. Destiny seems to be a more important factor than any of their own efforts. Erdoğan and Göktürk give an example of the standard plot in such a film: ‘[T]he downtown boy would seduce the poor girl from the village, the girl would then go to the city, disguised as a modern and rich woman and take revenge’ (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 536). Erdoğan adds: [T]he heroine (...) has a baby and brings it up under reduced circumstances, and then somehow becomes rich. Towards the finale, having come to appreciate the heroine’s virtues, the long-lost lover, now father, returns, but the heroine’s pride delays the reunion’ (Erdoğan 2006: 235). It will be interesting to explore whether any variation of this plot occurs in migration films.

Melodramas were not only influenced by Hollywood, but also by Arab (especially Egyptian) and South Asian (particularly Indian) melodramas, which mainly focus on the family. Thus, as well as couples and love stories, Yeşilçam melodramas concentrate on the family (Dönmez-Colin 2008: 30; Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 536). At this stage, I would like to draw on Thomas Elsaesser’s definition of the family melodrama. In his seminal essay about the roots of the Hollywood family melodrama from the mid-20th century ‘Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama’ he writes:

Family melodrama (...) more often records the failure of the protagonist to act in a way that could shape the events and influence the emotional environment, let alone change the stifling social milieu. The world is closed, and the characters are acted upon. Melodrama confers on them a negative identity through suffering, and the progressive self-immolation and disillusionment generally ends in resignation: they emerge as lesser human beings for having become wise and acquiescent to the ways of the world (Elsaesser 1972: 9).

Erdoğan concludes that Elsaesser's definition of melodrama, as marked by misunderstandings, chance happenings, and coincidences, is very well suited to Yeşilçam. Yeşilçam melodrama, that is to say, has rather a narrative 'inspired by legends, fairy tales and epopees' than by 'tragedies, which emphasis the inner conflicts and transformations of its characters' (Erdoğan 2006: 234). Accordingly, Yeşilçam melodramas lack a deep character development and stay superficial in its character developments and narratives.

Dönmez-Colin differentiates between Western and Eastern melodrama and suggests that whilst Western melodrama originates in family conflict, then refocuses on the individual, Eastern melodrama, to which Yeşilçam is more similar, lacks the individual perspective remaining concentrated on the family (Dönmez-Colin 2008: 30). Therefore, the separation of spouses and the dissolution of the family were the main causes of conflict, the solution to which was often delayed by misunderstandings, class differences, and false accusations. All conflicts were subordinated to the prime conflict between good versus bad.⁶⁹

Furthermore, in its focus on the construction of oppositional binaries, Erdoğan argues that Yeşilçam tries to build national identity through these dichotomies. The role of woman is very important as the author points out: 'In Turkish, *anavatan* and *anayurt*, which might be translated as 'motherland' and 'mother country', are terms which explain how Woman comes to represent values attached to the concept of nationhood' (Erdoğan 2006: 237). Thus, rural Turkish women primarily positioned as chaste, loyal, proud, clean, and hence good like the motherland Turkey.

However, the ambivalence in these binary oppositions is that although the West carries mainly negative connotations, it remains the place of desire. Erdoğan claims that Yeşilçam 'imposes the cultural values attached to national identity as necessary and temporary deviations. One must conform to them for now so as to acquire the norm (that is the West) in the future' (Erdoğan 2006: 240).

In this context, it is worthwhile considering the political history of Turkey. The Turkish Republic was established under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as a secular nation-state in 1923. Atatürk attempted to modernise the new country and so a key aim was the Westernisation of Turkey. The consequences of this endeavour can be detected today in

⁶⁹ See *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar* (Notes on Turkish Cinema) by Nilgün Abisel (2005) for a detailed discussion of the representation of the family in Turkish cinema and Hasan Akbulut's (2008) *Kadına Melodram Yakıştır: Türk Melodram Sinemasında Kadın İmgeleri* (Melodrama Fits the Woman: Images of the Woman in Turkish Melodramatic Cinema) for an in-depth exploration of the depiction of women in Turkish melodramas.

Turkey's efforts to join the European Union. The legacy of Atatürk continues in parts of Turkish society, which might explain the aforementioned ambivalence.

Erdoğan (2006) notes that most conflicts were resolved through the exercise of male authority. According to Erdoğan and Göktürk, conflicts in Yeşilçam melodramas are 'resolved in the realm of fantasy' (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 536). In another article, Erdoğan expands on this idea of resolution when he states that Yeşilçam family melodramas are often inspired by fairy tales. As an example, a recurring plot is a poor young girl usually from a village, becomes a famous, rich, attractive, and sophisticated star almost overnight, after being coincidentally discovered by a nightclub owner. In some cases, she undergoes such a radical transformation in her journey to be accepted by urban high society that even the man she is (secretly) in love with, does not recognise her. Erdoğan argues that 'the transition from one identity to another takes place in the realm of fantasy (...). The huge efforts required to achieve success (...) are either shown in a rapid successions of scenes or ignored entirely' (Erdoğan 2006: 236). Similar to Erdoğan and Göktürk, Dönmez-Colin maintains that 'melodramas of Yeşilçam (...) use fantasies of social climbing to replace social analysis' (Dönmez-Colin 2014: 236).

This statement is of particular interest to films that depict migration. The fact that Yeşilçam melodrama's focus lies in a more fantastical narrative and solution of conflicts without a social analysis of social and individual conflicts, might be also the case when it comes to the representation of the lives of emigrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. As a consequence, the migration might not be depicted realistically, so would not critique social circumstances or portray the actual experience of migration.

As already mentioned, nearly all Turkish films about migration draw on the Yeşilçam melodramatic tradition. To illustrate how the melodramatic mode is deployed in these movies, I will look at the melodrama *Dönüş/The Return* (1972, Türkan Şoray, Kaya Ererez). The film addresses the destructive effect migration has on diverse aspects of life. The alienation of the guest-worker from the former home country Turkey and the separation of the nuclear family are its key themes. Even though the film deals with the effects of emigration, it follows specific Yeşilçam conventions.

Dönüş begins in a rural village in Turkey where women are working hard in the fields. The protagonist Gülcan is one of these women and buys land with her husband İbrahim and they have a child. However, this happy family life disappears when İbrahim cannot pay his debts for the field. Having lost the field, İbrahim decides to

emigrate to Germany for a while to earn money to support the family. When he returns to his village, he looks completely different. The close-ups of symbols that represent wealth and modernity like his suit, hat with a feather, a camera on his shoulder and the watch he is wearing are the first outward signs of İbrahim's alienation. İbrahim's inner change becomes clearer when he continually talks with enthusiasm about the modern West. In a bath scene in which Gülcan showers him with water from a bucket, İbrahim recalls the superior facilities in modern Germany. By cross-cuttings, symbols of the rural village and the industrialised West are juxtaposed such as bucket versus shower head. This visual juxtaposition of symbols occurs also in other scenes, for example when İbrahim recognises Gülcan's old shoes he remembers German women's nice high heels, or a lighted candle versus lamp. An inner conflict results from İbrahim's desire for the modern life he has seen in Germany. İbrahim, who has saved enough money in Germany to pay his debts, has no financial imperative to return to Germany. However, he cannot acclimatise to his old life in the village so he decides to go back to Germany again to raise more money, promising to return with a new car. Gülcan does not hear from İbrahim for a very long time. In the meantime, she experiences problems with the villagers, suffers a rape attempt, loses her child and in anguish burns all the presents İbrahim had brought from Germany. In the final scene, Gülcan, who has lost everything, walks hopeless and depressed on the paths of the village and sees a car accident. İbrahim is lying dead on the ground with a German woman next to him, who is also dead. The only survivor is their small child, whom Gülcan takes with her.

In *Dönüş*, emigration to Germany damages the migrant İbrahim's and his Turkish family's lives. İbrahim dies at the end of the film; Gülcan, who suffered much grief and lost their son, is left alone with the baby. *Dönüş* shows migration to be destructive by portraying the young nuclear family's collapse as a result of İbrahim's emigration to Germany.⁷⁰ The plot draws on the dichotomies popular in Yeşilçam melodramas, with Germany replacing urban Istanbul, representing the West as rich, modern but immoral, where greed for money is paramount. The film constructs this image of Germany through İbrahim's stories of his experiences. Germany is encoded with attributes such as cars, blonde women who wear revealing clothes, parties, and beer. This picture is in sharp contrast to the rural/East, the loyal wife Gülcan who remains behind in the Turkish village loyally waiting for her man. I will return to Yeşilçam's binarism of

⁷⁰ Other films in which migration lead to the disastrous collapse of families are for example *Baba/The Father* (1971, Yılmaz Güney), *Almancının Karısı/The Almanci's Wife* (1987, Orhan Elmas), and *Ayrılamam*.

East/West in greater detail in my close textual analysis in subchapter 4.5.4, where I will provide specific examples of the filmic construction of Germany and the blonde woman that also represent the West in migration films.

In the following section, I will discuss two important subgenres of Yeşilçam melodrama, which are the singer film and arabesk film.

Singer Films and Arabesk Films

The prominence of singer films can be ascribed to Eastern melodrama and to the popularity of Egyptian singer films in particular. According to Arslan, the movies were produced in abundance and presented ‘a complete entertainment program, through the coupling of songs, dances, and shows with romantic stories’ (Arslan 2011: 197). A common plot, as Ahmet Gürata notes, is that the female protagonist ‘earns her living as a singer when she is fallen and separated from her family’ (Gürata 2006: 249). She is discovered and becomes a famous and sophisticated singer overnight. Even if separated from her lover, she always remains faithful to the man she loves and once they are reunited, she ends her career as a singer. Gürata states that singer films typically conclude with a portrayal of the economically liberated heroine as ‘unconvincingly resigned to her position as mother and housewife. And she is no longer an object of the male gaze as a singer’ (Gürata 2006: 249). A singer film always includes singing and sometimes also dancing in music halls or nightclubs. These locations function as a meeting point for different social classes and a stage for moral conflict, where the poor and pure girl meets high society, depicted as corrupt and depraved. Moreover, singer films and arabesk films, which often overlap, usually star a prominent singer, whose music is featured in the film.⁷¹ However, arabesk films differ in some crucial ways from singer films and have their own history of origins.

Egyptian films, and in particular melodramas, became very popular in Turkey after the Second World War in the 1940s. At the same time, a significant increase in the numbers of film theatres in Anatolian cities and small towns meant that ‘beginning with Egyptian melodramas, film content developed toward the tastes of an increasingly rural, lower-class spectatorship (...). It was the melodramatic modality of these films that attracted the spectators who became the driving force behind Yeşilçam films’ (Arslan 2011: 67). Egyptian melodramas were distinguished by involving singers who

⁷¹ Directors of films on Turkish migration to Germany also made use of the singer film genre. *Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı* and *İntizar* are two key examples that follow a classical singer film plot and star the famous singer Neşe Karaböcek.

performed several songs in the film, but these musical scenes were single units and frequently unrelated to the plot (Arslan 2011: 68). In fact, it was the popularity of these films that influenced the growth of arabesk music, arabesk films, and the arabesk culture in general.

The arabesk culture, also referred to as ‘Arabesque’, became very popular amongst Turkish migrants who had migrated from rural areas in Turkey to cities like Istanbul, where they lived on the periphery in squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) during the late 1960s. As a kind of response to internal migration, arabesk was also a protest against the urban culture and circumstances of urban life (Arslan 2011: 69). Arabesk was regarded as a rural and therefore backward culture by the Turkish state and the Western-oriented higher class and therefore arabesk music was not permitted on state television and radio in the 1970s and 1980s. However, the arabesk culture, and arabesk music in particular, is hybrid as it combines Eastern and Western instrumentations and forms of singing. According to Dönmez-Colin arabesk music is influenced not only by Arab, but also by Indian and Anatolian music and is therefore a hybrid genre. Over time, arabesk music became a sociocultural phenomenon and very soon began to appear in cinema and created its own distinct genre, the arabesk film. Arabesk music therefore constitutes a significant component in these films which star famous arabesk singers such as Müslüm Gürses, İbrahim Tatlıses, and the child stars Küçük Emrah (little Emrah) and Küçük Ceylan (little Ceylan). Their songs are featured in the films, with usually the lyrics commenting on events. With respect to the narrative structure of arabesk films, Arslan maintains that arabesk singers like Ferdi Tayfur and Orhan Gencebay produced films ‘that repeated the narrative formulas of 1950s and 1960s folk singer melodramas’ (Arslan 2011: 70). These films, according to Dönmez-Colin, typically concern the Anatolian migrants’ difficulties in adapting to a life in the metropolis and in relation to this romanticise the rural home. A further central topic is the unrequited love, the *kara sevda* (Dönmez-Colin 2014: 42). The term *kara sevda* (dark passion) refers to the melancholy inherent in unattainable love, so painful that it results in a death wish. In his crucial work on arabesk music and culture *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*, Martin Stokes (1992) identifies some other emotions and themes besides *kara sevda* and the resultant melancholy in arabesk narratives. He points out that these movies, and particularly the music, revolve around *gurbet* (living alone as a stranger or foreigner in another city/country), *özlem* (yearning, longing), *yalnızlık* (loneliness), *hüsran* (disappointment, sorrow, frustration), *hasret* (longing, ardent desire), and *kader* (fate). The circumstance of being in *gurbet* initiates

the emotional state of *yalnızlık*, *hasret*, *hüsrân*, and *özlem*. (Stokes 1992: 142-146). Stories of arabesk movies involve ‘the disruption of the family, migrant labour, alienation in the city, a state of solitude and helplessness brought about by a remote and manipulative ‘other’ (Stokes 1992: 141) and tend to have a ‘tragic as opposed to happy conclusion’ (Stokes 1992: 138). The author emphasises the important role of fate and destiny. Characters are represented as powerless over their destiny, and fate is the real enemy, ‘for whom the human actors are just playthings’ (Stokes 1992: 154).

The popular arabesk genre with its significant focus on internal migration seems to have some bearing on films about migration to Germany and the migrants’ lives. Several movies on Turkish external migration star famous arabesk singers such as Ferdi Tayfur, Küçük Emrah, and Küçük Ceylan and feature a typically arabesk plot.⁷² Since the genre deals with the difficulties of migration and living in big cities like Istanbul and romanticises the rural home, arabesk films depicting migration to Germany have mostly a bitter and hopeless overtone. Similar to comedies and melodramas, arabesk films portray Germany as the country of labour emigration replacing big cities such as Istanbul in the classical arabesk plot. I will give an in-depth analysis of how the arabesk genre and the arabesk music in Yeşilçam films have influenced the representation of Turkish guest-workers and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in chapter 4.5.4 and 4.5.5.

On the basis of the analysis, it seems fair to suggest that films about Turkish emigration to Germany are strongly influenced by the plot, visual characteristics, and production conditions of Yeşilçam. The following observations about the hybrid structure of Yeşilçam are of particular interest in the context of my analysis. If Yeşilçam cinema is a culturally hybrid construct, then films about Turkish migration produced during that period are likely to incorporate similar aspects of cultural hybridity.

4.3.3 The Hybrid Structure of Yeşilçam Cinema

As already briefly mentioned in the section about the history of Yeşilçam and its characteristic features, Yeşilçam has always been a hybrid cinema. Arslan stresses how films during that period ‘Turkified’ European cinema and Hollywood by copying whole

⁷² Other arabesk films on Turkish migration in Germany are: *Ayrılamam/I Cannot Leave* (1986, Temel Gürsü), *Batan Güneş/The Setting Sun* (1978, Temel Gürsü), *Son Sabah/The Last Morning* (1978, Natuk Baytan), *Almanya Acı Gurbet/Germany Bitter Gurbet* (1988, Yavuz Figenli).

narratives and distinctive visual practices (Arslan 2009: 85). He further states that Turkish cinema during the Yeşilçam era adapted, dubbed, and ‘Turkified’ not only Western films, but also Egyptian and Indian films from the 1940s and 1950s. Arslan notes that this process ‘involved (mis)translations, Turkification of characters, and muting ideological aspects of films by giving them a “Turkish” voice’ (Arslan 2011: 116). The author also mentions the domestication of social realist Soviet films and describes the methods Turkish cinema used to adapt them for the Turkish market. The films were dubbed and new scenes were added that altered the narrative in order to reflect life in Turkey. Usually the new scenes involved performances by famous Turkish singers.

Erdoğan argues that the practice of dubbing, which does not conform to Western aesthetics, represents a typical Turkish tradition that has its roots in shadow-plays with the two-dimensional cut-out characters Karagöz and Hacivat (Erdoğan 2002: 236). This demonstrates how Turkish cinema sometimes resists Western aesthetics and unwittingly creates something new. In ‘Narratives of Resistance: National Identity and Ambivalence in the Turkish Melodrama Between 1965 and 1975’, Nezi Erdoğan refers to the issues of adaptations and plagiarism during Yeşilçam, arguing that it is possible to recognise an identity crisis in Turkish cinema, so focused on mimicking the *other* cinema, it is unable to establish its own national identity (Erdoğan 2006: 230).

In ‘Translating Modernity: Remakes in Turkish Cinema’, Gürata draws attention to the difficulties of remakes, arguing that the process of remaking a movie for a different cultural context involves an alternative perspective which has to take into account different cultural modes, values, and morals (Gürata 2006: 244). He further suggests that this process of the negotiation of original and remake could be seen as highly creative and that these remakes might have a ‘hybrid nature’. Similarly to Gürata, Erdoğan explains how plagiarism, as he prefers to call the adaptation of foreign movies into Turkish cinema, combined different narrative and stylistic forms and therefore created something new:

The technical and stylistic devices of Yeşilçam differ radically from those of Hollywood and European cinema. Lighting, colour, dubbing, dialogue, shooting practices, point of view shots and editing create a very specific cinematic discourse in even the most faithful adaptations (Erdoğan 2006: 235).

In summary, scholars who have approached the Yeşilçam period agree - to cite Erdoğan – that ‘Yeşilçam was a hybrid cinema’ (Erdoğan 2006: 235). I shall examine this statement more closely by drawing on Bakhtin’s concepts of *heteroglossia*, dialogue, and hybridity, as well as on Bhabha’s theory of mimicry, the *third space*, and hybridity.⁷³

Bakhtin’s concept of *heteroglossia* (different languages) describes the intermingling of different languages in novels, such as those of the author, the narrator and the characters. With respect to film, this would incorporate the producer’s, the director’s, and the screenwriter’s language. *Heteroglossia* refers to the variety already present in any single (national) language with ‘social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions’ (Bakhtin 1981: 262-263). In relation to the novel, the author claims that every novel is hybrid, since it involves all these different voices. Bakhtin’s remarks on hybridity can apply to film as another form of art. The author calls this type of hybridity ‘intentional’ and ‘artistically’ hybridity and defines hybridity as a fusion after an encounter of two social languages and consciousness in a single utterance (Bakhtin 1981: 258-366). Besides intentional hybridity, Bakhtin affirms the existence of a second form of hybridity, namely the unintentional, historical, or organic hybridity, which is a mix of different ‘languages’ ‘co-existing within the boundaries of a single dialect, single national language, a single branch, a single group of different branches, in the historical as well as paleontological past of languages’ (Bakhtin 1981: 358f.).

The postcolonial theorist Bhabha was influenced by Bakhtin’s thoughts when theorising the notion of hybridity. In his crucial work, Bhabha (1994) focuses on the construction of culture and identity within a colonial context and the relationship between the coloniser and colonised. He argues that the dialogue between both parties, which can also be regarded as the dialogue between the *self* and the *other*, leads to an interweaving and an intermixture of cultures. This process results in the formation of new hybrid cultures and thus in hybrid cultural identities. Another concept Bhabha uses to explain the cultural dynamics between the *self* and the *other* is the idea of mimicry. He claims the colonised attempt to mimic and copy the coloniser’s language, behaviour,

⁷³ See Chapter 2 for a detailed exploration of all theoretical concepts including the work of Bhabha and Bakhtin.

and manners, but inevitably deviate from the 'original'.⁷⁴ The process of mimicry and negotiation of different fluid cultures takes place in what Bhabha names the *third space*, a symbolic space of enunciation where hybridisation occurs.

To sum up, both theorists assume that neither a social language (Bakhtin), nor a culture or identity (Bhabha) is ever stable or pure, but fluid and always in motion. Bakhtin argues that unintentional or organic hybridity emerges in the utterance when different languages create something new. Similarly Bhabha uses his concept of the *third space* as a metaphorical place where different cultural identities negotiate and likewise produce an original hybrid culture.

This brief repetition of the crucial theorists' conceptualisation of hybridity serves on the one hand to support the scholars' arguments that Yeşilçam cinema is a hybrid cinema and on the other hand to provide an entry point for the following analysis of (cultural) hybridity in films on Turkish migration to Germany and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in Turkish cinema in the last section of this chapter.

With respect to Yeşilçam's hybridity, I agree with Göktürk, Erdoğan, Arslan, and Gürata, who argue that Yeşilçam's practice of pirating and adapting narratives from Western, Egyptian, and Indian cinema as well as remaking such films for the Turkish sociocultural context, creates something new and hybrid. Erdoğan believes this creates an identity crisis of Turkish cinema (Erdoğan 2006: 230). Without going into too much detail about what constitutes national identity, I want to draw on Bhabha's ideas about culturally hybrid identities and stress that it is difficult, if not impossible, to speak about a (stable or fixed) national identity that could be represented. This is especially true of Turkey where the population includes diverse large ethnic groups like the Kurds or the Armenians. However, I agree that mimicking other cinemas (the *other*) leads to a process of negotiation and mixing of the in itself also fluid *other* and *self* whether this occurs in Bakhtin's *utterance* or in Bhabha's *third space*. The outcome of this intermingling then is new and hybrid. Hence, it can be stated that Yeşilçam was a hybrid cinema.

As a significant number of films about Turkish migrants in Germany and their descendants were produced during Yeşilçam, it is a given that these movies are already artistically, organically, and culturally hybrid. Given the fact that film is artistically

⁷⁴ This imperfect duplicate provides the chance for colonial resistance, since the coloniser loses his position of power when undermined by the colonised, who tries to copy, but inevitably creates something new.

hybrid and cultural identity is hybrid too, the critical question is to what extent an analysis of hybridity in migration films is relevant. Nevertheless, the key purpose of the following analysis is to examine how cultural hybridity resulting from migration and different cultural encounters is represented in Turkish cinema. The main question is whether culturally hybrid identities with a migrant or diasporic background are considered, and hence depicted, as something positive and constructive or are there instead ‘monologic tendencies’ in the representation that ignore ‘the diverse and complex qualities’ of people with a migration experience (Mercer 1994: 62).⁷⁵

Before the in-depth analysis of cultural identity and hybridity in the three chosen films from Turkish external migration cinema, I will explore the cinematic representation of Turkish migration to Germany after the Yeşilçam era. As mentioned, fewer films about migration were produced in Turkey after Yeşilçam. However, it is important to investigate the reasons for this decline and the eventual change in the representation of migration in the post-Yeşilçam era, which is also called the new cinema of Turkey.

4.4 The Turkish Diaspora in Germany and Its Relationship to the New Cinema of Turkey

The decline of Yeşilçam and the emergence of the new cinema of Turkey gradually occurred after the military coup in Turkey in 1980 (Arslan 2011: 237-273). According to Arslan, the 1980s can be termed the late-Yeşilçam period, characterised by the slow decrease in the number of films and in ticket sales (Arslan 2011: 201-236). This stemmed from political and economic developments after the military intervention. Arslan argues that the three-year-long junta government and the governments thereafter marked a break, as after this, the cultural life in Turkey was controlled and films were censored. People almost completely stopped going to movie theatres, preferring to watch films on television and video. Moreover, the increase of private broadcasting and satellite television and the fact that Hollywood companies began to control the Turkish film market led to the end of Yeşilçam at the beginning of the 1990s. Cinema after the 1990s was marked by a large number of new young filmmakers producing not only popular films but also art films.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 2.3.1 for Kobena Mercer’s concept of ‘monologic tendencies’ versus ‘dialogic tendencies’ in cinema.

This period after Yeşilçam has been consciously called the new cinema of Turkey rather than new Turkish cinema by many scholars in the field of Turkish cinema such as Savaş Arslan, Gönül Colin-Dönmez, Nezi̇h Erdođan and Deniz Gökürk. Arslan argues that Yeşilçam was marked by its ‘Turkification’ and nationalism while cinema after Yeşilçam cannot be defined by its Turkishness. Arslan expands:

I suggest the use of new cinema of Turkey (...) to move from a limiting, nationalistic framework to an understanding focusing on multiplicities and pluralities, as well as the transnational and global characteristics of contemporary cinema in Turkey. The post-Yeşilçam era brings to the fore various changes in the production, distribution, and exhibition network and in storytelling conventions (Arslan 2011: 20).

I agree with Arslan and I will also use new cinema of Turkey to describe the post-Yeşilçam era.⁷⁶

The late-Yeşilçam period has two main characteristics: firstly, the continuation of popular genre films produced for the video market and secondly, the emergence of auteur films mostly social dramas concerned the position of women in society (Arslan 2011: 205ff.; Erdođan and Gökürk 2001: 538). However, the new cinema of Turkey is marked by transnationalism and hybridity. Arslan claims two main factors, globalisation and labour migration to European countries that began in the 1960s, have resulted in the rise of a transnational cinema in Turkey. The globalisation of the film market also influenced filmmaking in Turkey in form of international co-productions, distribution, and an international cast and crew. Furthermore, the participation of auteur movies – for example from directors such as Nuri Bilge Ceylan – in film festivals, and the European support and funding these movies received, integrates the cinema of Turkey into the global film network. Additionally, the fact that a significant number of these post-Yeşilçam films were released in European theatres in countries with a large Turkish diaspora such as Germany, France, and the Netherlands supports Arslan’s argument that the new cinema of Turkey is transnational. Arslan considers films by Turkish German filmmakers like Fatih Akın and other migrated filmmakers, such as the Turkish-born Ferzan Özpetek, who has lived and worked in Italy for years, maintaining that post-Yeşilçam cinema is not only transnational, but also hybrid, because of the filmmakers’

⁷⁶ Throughout the entire thesis the term Turkish cinema will also be used with respect to post-Yeşilçam films and thus films produced in the new cinema of Turkey. By doing so, I do not aim to support a nationalistic perspective and ignore the filmmakers’ national, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. The expression Turkish cinema is only chosen to facilitate the formulation of the argument.

hyphenated identities and their hybrid narratives and aesthetics (Arslan 2011: 237-273). Arslan's statement confirms my analysis in the previous chapter about hybridity in Turkish German cinema. However, I believe that films by these filmmakers with a hyphenated identity cannot be regarded simply as a part of the new cinema of Turkey, but rather as part of Turkish German cinema.

The previous section focused on how migration to Germany has been depicted in the Yeşilçam era, which naturally leads on to the question of how migration and the Turkish diaspora are represented post Yeşilçam, in the new cinema of Turkey.

As mentioned earlier, only 8 such films were made between 1990 and 1994 before a long gap. The Turkish diaspora in Germany did not reappear on screen until the end of the 2000s with the film *Made in Europe* in 2007. Kayaoğlu points out that this decrease reflected the general decline in film productions in Turkey (Kayaoğlu 2012: 101).

A closer look reveals that migration is usually a secondary theme in these films, such as in *Vavien* (2009, Yağmur Taylan, Durul Taylan), *Mavi Pansiyon/Blue Lodge* (2011, Nezih Ünen), and *Kaledeki Yalnızlık/Loneliness in the Goal* (2011, Volga Sorgu Tekinoğlu).

In *Vavien* the female protagonist Sevilay's parents are living in Germany and her father regularly sends money to Turkey that she saves. Although Sevilay talks to her father on the phone only three times, the money she receives (75 thousand Euros altogether) is crucial to the plot.

In the case of *Mavi Pansiyon*, Halil and his German wife Erika frequently appear in the film's subplot. In their first scene Halil tells other guests in a hotel in Bodrum in Turkey that he has spent his youth in *gurbet*⁷⁷ in Germany. The audience finds out that Halil was born and grew up in München where he met Erika. When Erika sunbaths topless at the beach, Halil boasts to other tourists about the attraction of less inhibited European women compared to the conservative nature of Turkish women and how proud he is of Erika's feminine allure. Erika is significant in the subplot. When Zeynep, who works with her rather conservative husband in the hotel, encounters Erika, her life changes. With Erika's help, Zeynep undergoes a process of transition and releases her femininity. The scene in which Erika convinces Zeynep to take a break and offers her a cigarette to smoke at the beach can be understood as the turning point in Zeynep's life. The shy woman, who dresses and behaves decently, becomes aware of her feminine

⁷⁷ The Turkish term *gurbet* means being abroad, living in another country and has a melancholic overtone.

beauty and towards the end, she is even given the starring role in a low-budget film, which she accepts against her husband's will.

Kaledeki Yalnızlık is about the life of a former successful goalkeeper Nurettin, who had to retire from soccer after being injured in a traffic accident in which he also lost his wife. Nurettin continues to play in an amateur team and tries to get back to his professional status. However, one day, his desolate life with his teenage son changes when Nurettin's sister-in-law Zenos comes to visit them from Germany. Easygoing and fun-loving, Zenos brings a new energy, expressed in an early scene of all three having a nice breakfast in the sunny garden. Zenos, a third-generation migrant and part of the Turkish diaspora in Germany, stands out not only visually from the locals with her dyed streak of hair, tattoos, and generally alternative appearance, but also with her positive energy, naivety, and her strong German accent when she speaks Turkish. The fact that she is bilingual is not perceived as an advantage. On the contrary, her accented Turkish is seen as something to make fun of. The representation of Zenos shows some facets common to migration films from Yeşilçam, for instance, the purchase of presents for families and friends in Turkey. However, presents seem to have lost their allure over 40 years and therefore the chocolate and shirt Zenos brings from Germany are not properly appreciated, but regarded as commonplace. *Kaledeki Yalnızlık* is one of the first films in the cinema of Turkey to feature the third-generation Turkish diaspora in Germany.⁷⁸

To summarise, even if the three movies cannot be categorised as films about migration or films that primarily deal with Turkish migration and migrants, they are still examples of movies that touch on the subject. *Vavien* includes a first-generation labour migrant, *Mavi Pansion* features Halil from the second generation and his German wife Erika, and in *Kaledeki Yalnızlık*, the third generation makes an appearance. This brief introduction of the movies reveals three main insights. Firstly, the new cinema of Turkey has started to include all generations, evolving currently with the real history of Turkish labour migration to Germany and the emergence of the following generations over time. Secondly, symbols and themes from Yeşilçam movies dealing with migration still occur in post-Yeşilçam films. In *Vavien*, for example, the topic of remittances is addressed.⁷⁹ *Mavi Pansion* repeats the well-established trope of the scantily dressed alluring blonde German woman. However, she is no longer perceived as a threat for the

⁷⁸ A very similar approach appears in the 2012 produced film *Berlin Kaplamı*. The third-generation Turkish German protagonist Ayhan is also naive and speaks Turkish with a marked accent. In a parallel scene, presents Ayhan bought in Germany are not appreciated by his relatives in Turkey.

⁷⁹ For a detailed insight about the significance of remittances in the history of Turkish migration to Germany, see the exploration in Chapter 1.2.

Turkish woman and her husband or lover, but is respected and inspires the oppressed Turkish woman to celebrate her femininity. The presents, often out of place in rural Turkey, that symbolised the migrant's wealth in Yeşilçam films, appear in *Kaledeki Yalnızlık* but they no longer have the same cachet. Although the same symbols and topics from Yeşilçam occur in post-Yeşilçam films, they frequently have different connotations.

Finally, this brief evaluation of the movies reveals that a mode of normality has been established in the representation of the Turkish diaspora in Turkey. As mentioned, there are only a few films that can be actually classified as migration films after the Yeşilçam era. Given the fact that the number of films in which Turkish migration to Germany is shown but not the focus far exceeds the number in which it is the primary focus, it could be argued that the guest-worker and his descendants have become accepted as a usual part in the cinema of Turkey.⁸⁰ The integration of former migrants into different cinematic genres accompanies the Turkish diaspora's presence in many of the latest Turkish TV series and some television films.⁸¹ Since this important trend goes beyond the scope of my thesis, it would merit future research.

The next section concentrates on films that do focus on the Turkish diaspora in Germany or featuring Turkish German protagonists. I could identify four films belonging to this category. The low number can be ascribed to the general decline in films productions in Turkey after the 1990s (Kayaoğlu 2012: 100f.).

I would like to briefly investigate all four films before concentrating on one in particular.⁸² *Made in Europe, Mülteci/ Refugee* (2007, Reis Çelik), *Berlin Kaplanı*, and *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı*, were all made around 2010 and show Turkish emigration to Germany from diverse angles. Whilst the first two focus on the lives of political refugees, the comedy *Berlin Kaplanı* features a third-generation Turkish German and

⁸⁰ Other movies from the cinema of Turkey touching on migration in the form of a subplot or supporting character are: *Neredesin Firuze/Where's Firuze* (2004, Ezel Akay), *Son Ders/The Last Lesson* (2008, Mustafa Uğur Yağcıoğlu and Iraz Okumuş), and *Bizim Büyük Çağresizliğimiz/Our Grand Despair* (2011, Seyfi Teoman).

⁸¹ A great number of famous Turkish TV series feature guest-workers and second- and third-generation Turkish German characters. Even if these are only supporting characters, it is interesting, since it shows that they occupy a space in everyday Turkish society. Some successful and lesser known examples are: *Bizimkiler/Ours* (1989-2002), *Yazlıkçılar/Holiday Summer House* (1993-1998), *Kavak Yelleri/Poplar Tree Breezes* (2007-2011), *Seksenler/Eighties* (2012-ongoing), *Gurbette Aşk Bir Yastukta/Love in Gurbet* (2013-2014), *Bir Aşk Hikayesi/A Love Story* (2013-2014), *Hayat Şarkısı/Life Song* (2016-2017), and *Kehribar/Amber* (2016). Additionally, three television movies feature the Turkish diaspora in Germany: *Babam Geri Döndü/My Father Returned* (2005, Temel Gürsu), *Kin ve Gül/Hate and Rose* (2005, Savaş Esici), and *Kenan'da Bir Kuyu/A Well in Canaan* (2005, Gül Güzelkaya).

⁸² *Berlin Kaplanı* will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

his experiences as a returnee to the homeland of his grandparents. The social drama *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı* deals with the difficulties of female Turkish migrants in Germany.

Mevsim Çiçek Açtı, set in the German city Nürnberg, tells the story of Çiçek, who left her village in Turkey, after getting married at 15 to Nazmi, a guest-worker in Germany. Since Nazmi is a compulsive gambler who often beats Çiçek and their daughter Mevsim, they find shelter in a women's refuge, where they meet other women, who have had similar experiences. The film takes a social realist approach in addressing arranged marriages, violence against women, language difficulties, and their lack of knowledge of their rights in Germany. Germany is repeatedly presented as a welfare state that offers support for those in need. The benefits of these social institutions and services in Germany like the women's refuge, the youth welfare office, and jobseeker's allowance are frequently shown. The film attempts to portray a heterogeneous picture of the Turkish diaspora in Germany that comprises not only former guest-workers and more recently arrived emigrants, like Çiçek, but also Turks, who emigrated to Germany as political refugees after the military putsch in Turkey in 1980.

Similar to *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı*, the 2007 produced films *Made in Europe* and *Mülteci* also approach migration from a social realistic perspective. Both focus on the problems refugees face when they are forced to leave their home for a Western European country. Whilst *Mülteci* includes the different stages of the refugee process: the reasons for leaving, the journey itself, and finally the difficult circumstances in the new country Germany, *Made in Europe* portrays the aftermaths of their emigration.

Set in three different countries – Spain, France and Germany – *Made in Europe* shows how similar the lives of male Turkish and Kurdish political refugees are regardless of the country they have emigrated to. Three groups of friends in Madrid, Paris, and Berlin are shown on the night that US troops invaded in Afghanistan in 2001. The exterior scenes in the three capital cities are shot in black and white on a hand-held camera to reflect the tristesse and instability of their lives in their new home in Europe. Many of the men are there illegally and are struggling to get a residence permit. The left-wing political refugees, in search of a better life, have either already been to other countries or plan to move on to another European country soon. Their journey is ongoing. The refugees' current situation is presented as aimless, passing time with friends either on the streets, or at home. The scenes in the flats in particular illustrate the desolation and melancholic despair they feel. In an environment of alcohol, drugs, and dirty bleak homes, the conversations alternate between hopelessness, unemployment, future dreams, and women. The plot also involves ordinary and universal themes and

conflicts such as power struggles, the nature of manhood, betrayal, distrust, and the insecurities of the group members. To briefly conclude, the general impression is that these desperate circumstances will persist.

This hopelessness can also be found in the movie *Mülteci*, which focuses on the story of the Kurt Şivan, who, after being falsely accused of arson in his village in South Eastern Turkey, finds himself caught up between the state and a terror organisation. In order to escape prison and possibly death, his father sends him to Germany, with the help of an illegal emigration network. After arriving in Nürnberg, Şivan is placed into a refugee camp. The narrative then focuses on two key topics. Firstly, the frequently inhumane bureaucratic procedure, such as rigorous medical check-ups for new refugees, who find themselves caught in a seemingly endless loop of legal steps that have to be taken to acquire a residence permit in Germany, and secondly, the poor living conditions, loneliness, alienation, language difficulties, communication problems, and longing for home experienced by the refugees. The desolate circumstances and absence of future perspectives finally lead to the protagonist committing suicide.

It is apparent that these three films follow a social realist approach, reminiscent of German films from the 1970s and 1980s, a period characterised by the depiction of poor living and working conditions of the guest-workers, alienation, feelings of loneliness, language barriers, and finally the continuing longing for their home country Turkey. Very similar themes crop up in the cinema of Turkey around 30 years later, but with refugees rather than labour migrants. Both migrant groups have different socioeconomic and sociocultural backgrounds and pull and push factors that caused their emigration to Germany. Furthermore, there are differences in legal status and in what services and opportunities Germany will provide in the way of employment and housing, for instance. Despite the two groups' different initial situation in Germany, a great number seem to share a common experience when emigrating especially in their first years away; at least, this is what is shown in German cinema and 30 years later in the new cinema of Turkey. In this respect, I would like to draw on Hake and Mennel (2012b: 5), who note that many scholars agree that a 'social worker perspective' persists in migration films in German cinema. With this in mind, I suggest to consider the films *Mülteci* and *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı* in particular as made from a social worker perspective, since their focus lies primarily on the harsh circumstances of newly arrived refugees and additionally – with the latter – gender-related problems faced by female Turkish migrants.

Another interesting finding is that these films are transnational if we consider their international ways of production, funding, distribution, but also the themes and the multicultural cast and crew. They are all shot in different countries and include characters and languages from different nations.

Made in Europe, for instance, has a Turkish director and has locations in Spain, France, and Germany. Moreover, it features Turkish, Spanish, and Kurdish actors and the work of an international crew, such as with cinematographer Enrique Santiago Silguero from Spain. The characters communicate in many different languages, such as Spanish, Turkish, German, and French, which therefore allows the film to be categorised as polyglot cinema.⁸³ Furthermore, although the director Temelkuran grew up as part of the majority culture in Turkey, he studied in Spain for several years and has therefore been influenced by at least two – namely Turkish and Spanish – cultures. His multiple and transnational belongings, in turn, enable him to incorporate a mix of diverse cultural impressions and to create not only a transnational film, but a hybrid film, that features culturally hybrid identities in hybrid settings. Similar transcultural connections also apply – to a considerable degree – to the more recent movies *Mülteci*, *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı*, and *Berlin Kaplanı* in particular.

To briefly sum up, these few films on Turkish migration all feature transnational themes and characters, multilingualism and – except for *Berlin Kaplanı* – employ a social realist perspective with a tendency to see migrants as victims.

Thus far in this chapter, I have given a comprehensive overview of relevant films about Turkish migration to Germany and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in Turkish cinema during the Yeşilçam era from the 1950s until the 1980s and in the post-Yeşilçam era, also known as the new cinema of Turkey. The most interesting findings are firstly that there are so many films representing Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora, secondly, that well-established Yeşilçam conventions have been a major influence, and thirdly, that certain topics recur, resulting in a pessimistic view of the migration experience and implying that migration inevitably leads to despair, loneliness, and devastating family separations.

In the following chapter, I explore narrative and visual hybridity in films on migration as well as cultural hybridity in the representation of the characters. As previously established, the depiction of Turkish migration in German cinema can be

⁸³ See chapter 2 for a detailed exploration of polyglot cinema.

divided into two groups, the phase from the end of the 1960s to the 1990s, in which a victim perspective dominates, and the phase from the 1990s on, when Turkish German directors began to consider the subject. This second phase, influenced by the filmmakers' hyphenated and culturally hybrid identities, forsook the problem-based angle in order to screen culturally hybrid identities as positive.

The history of Turkish cinema also affords the opportunity to divide films on migration into two phases: during and after Yeşilçam. The following examination will examine how cultural hybridity in these films is depicted by filmmakers from Turkey, who have neither hyphenated identities nor a diasporic or exilic background. I have selected three films from both phases for closer analysis. The first *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* is a singer film set in both countries and is typical of many of the films illustrating the alienation of the guest-worker, family separation, and the transformation of cultural identity through Turkish German cultural encounters. The second is an arabesk movie *Almanya Acı Gurbet* representative of arabesk films on migration from the Yeşilçam era. The last is *Berlin Kaplanı*, which may not be typical of the second group, but nonetheless, as the latest and most popular movie as well as the first comedy on migration for decades in the cinema of Turkey, a closer look appears worthwhile.

4.5 Cultural Hybridity in Turkish Migration Cinema: A Close Analysis of Three Films

In my analysis, I will investigate linguistic hybridity, hybridisation of cultural identity, and the use of music in relation to hybridity and the positioning of cultural identity. Moreover, since the majority of these films were produced in the Yeşilçam era, I will examine the influence of specific Yeşilçam conventions. However, the following four sections should not be regarded as independent of each other, but rather as an aid to categorise findings. Therefore, an overlap of themes and the sections is not only possible, but in fact a desirable outcome.

I consider the following movies good examples of Turkish films on Turkish migration to Germany and the Turkish diaspora in Germany. *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* and *Almanya Acı Gurbet* belong to the Yeşilçam era and the third, *Berlin Kaplanı*, is the latest movie to feature the Turkish diaspora. These films, set in either both Turkey and Germany or completely in Germany, represent diverse genres and periods in Turkish cinema. *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* is a singer film made during the high-Yeşilçam era

between the 1960s and 1970s when the majority of migration films originated in Turkish cinema. The second film *Almanya Acı Gurbet* is from the end of the late-Yeşilçam era produced solely for the booming video market at that time. The comedy *Berlin Kaplanı* is part of the new cinema of Turkey. I believe that the selected Yeşilçam films depict certain dominant tendencies of a significant number of movies about migration made during the Yeşilçam era. By examining films from different genres and phases, I aim to cover a broad spectrum of the representation of migration and can detect developments over time. However, they do not represent the whole corpus, but my analysis can help to determine characteristic thematic and stylistic tendencies as well as the representation of cultural hybridity.

4.5.1 *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı/A Turkish Girl in Germany, Almanya Acı Gurbet/Germany Bitter Gurbet, and Berlin Kaplanı/The Tiger of Berlin*

Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı is a singer film from the high-Yeşilçam phase made in 1974. It displays characteristics specific to the singer film genre. The movie stars the famous female Turkish singer Neşe Karaböcek in the lead role of Zeynep, who is waiting desperately for her spouse Murat to return from Germany, where he has been a guest-worker for some years. Zeynep's longing for Murat is finally over when Murat returns with a group of German tourists. To Zeynep's astonishment, she does not recognise her husband, whose appearance has altered dramatically. She soon realises that Murat is involved with one of the tourists Gertha (played by the Turkish actress Ceyda Karahan) and plans to return to Germany, which he eventually does. When Zeynep, who becomes pregnant by Murat during his brief visit, receives the divorce papers, she decides to travel to Germany to tell him the good news. The rest of the film is set in Germany, where Zeynep undergoes a change and with the help of her producer and lover German Hans becomes a rich and famous singer. Murat sees Zeynep's transformation and her new status, falls in love with her and the two are reunited back in their village at the end of the film.

Almanya Acı Gurbet is an arabesk film starring the famous female arabesk singer and child star Ceylan. The film was exclusively produced for the video market, as was typical in late-Yeşilçam. Erdoğan and Göktürk remark that '[v]ideo distribution was primarily aimed at Turkish migrant workers living in Germany and other European countries' (Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001: 538). This knowledge is crucial, since it allows

us to consider the film with the awareness, that it was produced with labour migrants as its target audience. The film, completely set in Germany, is about the young protagonist Ceylan and the difficult life she, her uncle Murat, and older sister Nilgün have in Germany. Ceylan lost her parents in a car accident which left her uncle blind. Since she has a very nice voice and Murat is a *bağlama*-player, (*bağlama* is a stringed instrument), they get the opportunity to perform at a Turkish café, hoping to save money for Murat's eye surgery. One day Ceylan is deliberately run over by a car, driven by the father of a member of another group that performs in the same café, and is badly injured. After Murat's eye surgery, he wants revenge and in killing the culprit, is also injured. In the finale, the wounded Murat carries Ceylan from the hospital to fulfil her final wish to return to Turkey. However, both die from their injuries dramatically on German streets.

The last film is written by and stars the famous Turkish comedian Ata Demirer as Ayhan. *Berlin Kaplanı* is the first movie in Turkish cinema to focus on the third generation. Ayhan is a third-generation Turkish immigrant in Berlin, who earns his living as a professional boxer and bodyguard. When the middle-aged Ayhan hits a losing streak, he and his trainer Cemal get into debt to and big trouble with the boxing betting mafia. Then Ayhan loses his job and just as he hopes for a miracle, a relative he does not know comes to visit under false pretences without informing him about his inheritance in Turkey. Since Ayhan has begun to suffer from panic attacks, he decides to visit his relatives in the seaside town Fethiye in Turkey. Unaware of his inheritance and what is happening behind his back, naive, humble Ayhan enjoys his idyll even falling in love, until he discovers his uncle's betrayal. However, things improve for Ayhan by the end when he gets the opportunity to box, he wins the match and is able to pay off his debts.

4.5.2 Polyglot Elements: Multilingualism and Language-Mixing

Once geographical borders are crossed – either national or regional – and cross-cultural encounters occur, different languages, such as national or regional languages, come into contact. As a consequence, a process of intermingling of various languages begins, resulting in various types of linguistic hybridity, such as language-mixing, language-crossing, code-switching, and Pidgin.

Use of Pidgin German and Pidgin Turkish

Pidgin is a very simple version of a language developed to enable basic communication. The term Pidgin German has been used to describe the first Turkish guest-workers' German. It involves borrowing words from German but subjecting them to the linguistic structure of Turkish. This so-called 'Guest-worker German' allowed newly arrived guest-workers to communicate with their employers and neighbours and vice versa. Germans would simplify their speech significantly in order to be understood by the Turkish migrants (Csehó 2009; Meisel 1975; Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 1975).⁸⁴ In German guest-worker cinema, Rainer Werner Fassbinder even utilises Pidgin German in the title of his movie *Angst essen Seele auf*/*Fear Eats Soul* (1974, Rainer Werner Fassbinder). The German verb *essen* (to eat) is the infinitive form rather than the grammatically correct conjugation of the verb *essen*, which would be *isst* (eats). The use of the infinitive is a common practice to Pidgin German, since it facilitates the use and understanding of a foreign language.

Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı was made in the same year as *Angst essen Seele auf* in 1974. The first part is set in a Turkish village and the second in Germany. The film shows Turkish German encounters in various ways, making communication an interesting phenomenon to consider here. When guest-worker Murat visits his village in Turkey accompanied by a group of German tourists, Turkish German language-mixing and a sort of Pidgin Turkish results. Murat's German lover Gertha, for example, continually speaks broken, simple Turkish and mixes both languages in a sentence. In her very first scene, when she gets out of the bus in the Turkish village, she asks Murat for help: 'Murat inmek istiyorum burdan, *komm. Komm* Murat *bitte*' ('Murat I want to get off, come. Come Murat please')⁸⁵ and, after being introduced to Murat's parents and his wife Zeynep, Gertha speaks Turkish using grammatical forms typical of Pidgin: 'Ben çok memnun oldum yaptım' ('I did do very much pleased'/correct English: 'Nice to meet you').⁸⁶ In another scene, Gertha expresses her feelings: 'Harika bir gece. Çok eğlenmek yaptık' ('A wonderful night. We did do have much fun'/correct English: 'We had much fun'). Here, Gertha uses the infinitive of the Turkish verb *eğlenmek* (to have fun) without the correct grammatical conjugation. To give a last example of her conversation style with Murat, in the following statement, Gertha combines Turkish and

⁸⁴ See Chapter 2.3.1 for a detailed exploration of Pidgin German.

⁸⁵ The words put in italic are German and serve to visualise the language-mixing between Turkish and German.

⁸⁶ German words are in italic.

German and simplifies Turkish again by using the infinitive: ‘Murat *komm*, çabuk hadi canım. Ne kadar beklemek burda’ (‘Murat come, quick my dear. How long to wait here’). The verb *beklemek* (to wait) is not appropriately conjugated, but left in its infinitive form. Several examples of Gertha’s Pidgin Turkish can be found throughout the film. Murat talks to Gertha in his very limited German, which Androutsopoulos (2012a) has termed *interlanguage German*. His sentences are always short like ‘*Ich komme Gertha*’ (‘I am coming Gertha’) or ‘*Jetzt jetzt*’ (‘Now now’). The lovers’ style of communication consists of short sentences and simplified grammar. Interestingly, as previously mentioned, Gertha is played by the Turkish actress Ceyda Karahan. She has to consciously speak broken Turkish and imitate a strong German accent when speaking Turkish. To draw on Bhabha’s concept of mimicry, she fails to accurately mimic a German accent and hence creates something entirely new and hybrid when she speaks Turkish with a German accent. This also applies to the actor who is mimicking German when playing Murat. This phenomenon is common to many actresses and actors in films on Turkish migration to Germany. The actor playing the German character Hans is also Turkish and has to imitate a German accent in his Turkish speech, so inventing another completely hybrid language. According to Bakhtin, whenever many voices and different social languages occur in a single utterance, hybridisation results. This is of course the case in every conversation in real life and in film, but is particularly interesting when actresses and actors have to imitate not only a foreign language, but an accent too and thereby create natural linguistic hybridity that was not the filmmakers’ intention.

This phenomenon also appears in *Berlin Kaplani*, in which the Turkish comedian Ata Demirer plays the third-generation Turkish German boxer Ayhan Kaplan, who lives in Berlin. The actor on the one hand imitates German, when Ayhan speaks German, and on the other hand he mimics a German accent when speaking Turkish. Since the actor fails to copy the German language and the German-accented Turkish, in both cases, the intermingling of different social languages again creates something new and hybrid.

Whereas Yeşilçam films about the first-generation Turkish guest-workers feature various styles of Pidgin, in films on the second- and third-generation Turkish German language-mixing becomes more complex and multifaceted. The bilingual characters, who are familiar with both Turkish and German display diverse forms of language-mixing, such as language-crossing or code-switching. Since *Berlin Kaplani* focuses on the next generation of former guest-workers, it no longer features any kind of Pidgin.

Language-Crossing as a Typical Phenomenon of Multicultural Urban Milieus

Whilst Pidgin defines the simplification of a single language to enable easy communication, language-crossing describes the mixing of two or more languages in a conversation or even a single sentence. The term was coined by Ben Rampton, who draws on Bakhtin's concept of 'double voicing' and defines language-crossing as 'the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker'. He adds that the practice 'involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries' (Rampton 1998: 291). Language-crossing should not be confused with language-switching or code-switching, since it does not involve the mixed use of two or more well-known languages.

The German sociologist Jannis Androutsopoulos, who has researched language-crossing such as *Kanaksprak* in the case of Turkish German youth in Germany, notes that language-crossing (Androutsopoulos prefers to use the term ethnolect) theoretically appears in diverse generations, but has been mainly analysed in the context of adolescents, where it occurs more often in multiethnic urban areas and specific multicultural social milieus (Androutsopoulos 2003: 86).⁸⁷ To give an example of language-crossing in the Turkish German case, Turkish as the language of the largest minority group in Germany, is frequently used to cross the majority language German by Germans as well as by other minority groups. Words, phrases, and expressions are inserted into the majority language and/or other languages and with specific use of accent and grammatical conversions, crossing creates a new subcultural hybrid language. This borrowing also applies to other languages like Greek or Serbian as in Fatih Akin's film *Kurz und Schmerzlos*.

This form of language-mixing appears in multicultural milieus where two or more languages are commonly used. People mix the majority language with different minority languages by borrowing phrases or words. Language-crossing is rare not only in the case of the three films I analyse in this chapter, but generally in Turkish films on migration, the reason being the paucity of films on second- or third-generation Turkish migrants and their cultural environments.

Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı does not feature language-crossing as it is on the first generation of guest-workers, who were not familiar with the German language and therefore tended to communicate in Pidgin German. Turkish guest-workers interacted with migrants from other Southern European countries like Italy and Greece, because

⁸⁷ See Chapter 2.3.1 for a more detailed description of *Kanaksprak*.

they usually shared the same workplace and living space as described in the chapter about the history of guest-worker migration. It is highly probable that various forms of language-crossing such as the adaption of commonly used phrases by a minority group occurred in guest-worker circles. However, according to Androutsopoulos, the phenomenon of language-crossing is mostly researched in the case of adolescents living in multiethnic and multicultural urban surroundings (Androutsopoulos 2003: 86). This is exactly the case in *Berlin Kaplanı*. Ayhan lives in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, which is known not only for having a large Turkish population since the beginning of the Turkish labour migration to Germany in the 1960s, but also for having developed into a multicultural district. As a result, cultural and linguistic encounters constitute an inevitable part of daily life, leading to diverse mutual influences of language. As might be expected, the film features various styles of Turkish German language-mixing. However, only one scene can be interpreted as illustrating the philological phenomenon of language-crossing, in which Ayhan, employed as a dog walker, is walking the dogs in the park when he meets a group of Turkish German teenagers.

Ayhan: Süleyman, handy yeni mi, lan? (Süleyman, is the mobile new, bud?)

Süleyman: *Ja*, süper makina Ayhan abi. Aküsü beş gün gidiyor biliyon mu? (Ja, super machine Ayhan brother. The battery lasts for five days, do you know?)

Ayhan: *Schwör!* (Swear!)

All teenagers: He he. (yes.)

Ayhan: Ben onu gördümdüydü de. Tipi hoşuma gelmedi. Yarın maçım var gelin ister. (I saw it but I did not like the appearance. I have a match tomorrow, don't you want to come?)

One of the boys: Yarın sınav yazacaz. Olmıcak galba ya. (We have a classwork tomorrow. Nothing will come of it.)

Ayhan: Ok, Hadi *tschüss*. (Ok, so, bye.)⁸⁸

This short scene gives the impression that its only purpose is to present Turkish Germans' unique inter-group communication style. In the non-standard and broken Turkish dialogue in the park, Turkish German language-crossing occurs when Ayhan includes German words to the Turkish conversation. The expression 'Schwör!' ('swear!'), for example, here has a different meaning than usual. Ayhan does not ask Süleyman to really swear, but the word expresses his surprise. The teenagers totally understand the intra-conversational redefinition of the word, but in another

⁸⁸ German words are in italic.

environment, it would cause confusion. Similarly, the colloquial German goodbye word 'Tschüss' is combined with the Turkish word 'hadi' ('Go ahead!/Come on!').

Despite the multi-ethnic and multicultural Kreuzberg district, the linguistic phenomenon of language-crossing only occurs in this single scene. This underrepresentation, I believe, might be due to the following: the ability to present language-crossing on screen tends to be the preserve of Turkish German filmmakers, who can more easily master the challenge of displaying language-crossing, because of their own life experiences; secondly, the absence of language-crossing in *Berlin Kaplani* is probably due to the fact that most of it takes place in Turkey, where there would be few situations in which language-crossing could occur; finally, the film was produced for the Turkish market in particular and thus targets Turkish audiences, who would have no interest in Turkish German language-crossing. With respect to the realistic use of language-mixing in film Androutsopoulos remarks that (multilingual) films are often aimed at a specific audience and this results in an inauthentic depiction of multilingualism in order to help the audience understand dialogues (Androutsopoulos 2012a: 321).

However, as mentioned, *Berlin Kaplani* does display language-mixing in the form of linguistic code-switching, which will be explored in detail after a brief introduction to this linguistic practice.

Language-Switching and Code-Switching: A Common Practice of Multilinguals

The last form of language-mixing to consider is code-switching. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is closely connected to bilingualism or multilingualism and occurs when a person switches to another code when speaking in a single conversation or writing. The word code stands here for languages and language varieties such as dialect, style, and accent. Different types of code-switching like inter-sentential, intra-sentential, tag-(word or phrase), and intra-word-switching exist and according to the linguist John J. Gumperz (1982), this alternation of codes or languages can be categorised as situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching. The first relates to an actual situation (specific place), the conversation partner, or the topic, and stops when the situation changes (Gumperz 1982: 61). This applies for instance, when a German enters a Turkish German bilingual conversation; the practice of alternating between languages frequently comes to an end, since the German would not be able to understand the conversation. Metaphorical code-switching, however, emerges within a specific situation and is not dependent on the change of the situation. This form of switching

refers rather to change the meaning or emphasis of a topic or statement and thus can be understood as a metaphorical use of different languages. To take a simple example, a Turkish German bilingual person could switch to Turkish to express her emotions, but switch to German when talking about work.

As discussed, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* mainly features Pidgin German and Pidgin Turkish and not the more complex form of language-crossing. However, the intermingling of languages does occur in the form of the so called tag-code-switching. Basic German phrases such as 'Komm!' ('come!'), 'Danke!' ('Thanks!'), 'Bitte sehr!' ('You're welcome'), and 'Auf Wiedersehen!' ('Goodbye!') crop up in conversations between Turkish and German characters. to begin or finish a Turkish sentence, or as one-phrase sentences.

Berlin Kaplamı features several instances of inter-sentential-, intra-sentential- and tag-code-switching. The Turkish German bilingual Ayhan and his bilingual environment in Berlin are used to naturally switching from one language to the other. Language-crossing appears in the very first scene between the boxer Ayhan and his manager and sponsor Hacı, when Ayhan has to explain himself after having lost another match:

Manager: *Verdammt nochmal!* 50 maçta 21 galibiyet. Başlarım böyle sponsorluğa. (Damn it! 21 victories from 50 matches. I do not feel like doing this sponsorship.)

Ayhan: Vallaha şans Hacı abi. Adamı ters ayakta yakaladım tam indirecem hopladı. Ben de aldım kontayı. (This was bad luck Hacı brother. I caught the man when he was standing on his wrong feet, and when I was about to knock him out, he jumped.)

(...)

Manager: Hesap burda. 50 maçta 29 maglubiyet. 15 i knock out, *verstehst du?* Zarar, 17 bin Avro. Gelir sıfır. (Here is the calculation. 29 losses in 50 matches. 15 of which are knock outs, do you understand? 17 thousand Euro loss. Zero profit.)⁸⁹

(...)

This extract exhibits how intra-sentential- and tag-code-switching can occur in a single conversation. Ayhan speaks his 'broken' Turkish, his sponsor Hacı switches to German in the Turkish-dominated conversation. He starts with the German phrase 'Verdammt nochmal!' ('Damn it!') then continues in Turkish. This constitutes a good example of what is termed tag-code-switching. In the second case, Hacı switches codes intra-sententially by finishing his Turkish sentence with the German words 'verstehst du?'

⁸⁹ German words are in italic.

(‘do you understand?’). Another distinct code appears in the scene when Hacı speaks in a dialect particular to the region of the Black Sea. This means that he alternates between Turkish language, German language, and Turkish Black Sea, hence creating his own hybrid language.

Although Ayhan does not switch between Turkish and German here, he still has his individual hybrid language. His broken Turkish has a personal accent, which cannot be regarded as a German accent, but rather as something that deviates from standard Turkish. His bad pronunciation, incorrect use of words, primitive sentence structure, and the correct but in the Turkish context odd appearing translation of German words into Turkish (for example the Turkish word *hopladı* (he jumped) is incorrect in this context) is a phenomenon that also occurs beyond the screen in real life when Turkish Germans speak Turkish. Moreover, the Turkish actor Ata Demirel, who plays Ayhan, cannot speak German, but has to imitate German and adopt the accented Turkish spoken by some second- or third-generation Turkish Germans. In doing so, he additionally involves, in Bakhtin’s words – another ‘different social language’. The intermixture of all these different codes creates not only linguistic hybridity, but also cultural hybridity. Ayhan consistently employs also German Turkish code-switching similar to his manager in the previous extract.

After the talk with his manager Hacı, Ayhan encounters his hated Serbian rival while training, who makes fun of Ayhan’s failure in his last match against an Arab boxer:

Serbian boxer: *Rocky, bist du gestern wieder Champion geworden?* (Rocky, did you become a champion again yesterday?)

Ayhan: *Was laberst du, lan?* (What are you babbling about, bud?)

Serbian boxer: *Den arabischen Hammer hast du doch geschmeckt oder?* (You have already tasted the Arab hammer, haven’t you?)

Ayhan: *Ne diyon lan sen? Ne diyon lan?* (What are you saying, bud? What are you saying, bud?)

Serbian boxer: *Waas?* (So what?)

Ayhan: *Ne diyon lan sen? Ne diyon lan? Komm! Komm! Dummkopf.* (What are you saying, bud. What are you saying, bud? Come! Come! Fool!)

Serbian boxer: *Wir sehen uns im Ring, Dickerchen.* (We see each other in the boxing ring, fatty.)

Ayhan: *Kaplan’ı taniyacan.* (You will get to know Kaplan.)⁹⁰

⁹⁰ German words are in italic.

Ayhan switches repeatedly from German to Turkish and back in his dispute with the Serbian boxer, finishing his first German sentence with the Turkish word *lan*, which constitutes a form of tag-code-switching.⁹¹ Furthermore, Ayhan's switch of languages between two sentences can be regarded as intra-sentential code-switching.

These extracts of the two dialogues demonstrate the existence of various types of code-switching practices. By comparing the two, another interesting observation can be made about the difference between situational and metaphorical code-switching. The first extract is an example of situational code-switching. The conversation takes place in the manager's office where everyone, including Ayhan's trainer and the manager's bodyguards, are familiar with both Turkish and German language, and therefore a situation, in which code-switching is rife, since all present will be able to understand. In the case of an official meeting involving monolingual Germans, code-switching would probably not occur. Therefore, the language-mixing here can be regarded as situation-dependent. On the other hand, the code-switching in the second scene can be interpreted as metaphorical. In his exchange with the Serbian boxer, who is probably not familiar with Turkish, Ayhan gets angry and chooses to express his rage in Turkish, knowing that his counterpart will not understand him. However, it is important to keep in mind the fact that firstly, Ayhan is played by a Turkish actor from Turkey, whose German skills are very limited, and secondly, that the film was made for the Turkish market. Therefore, the argument that the Turkish German Ayhan often uses the Turkish language for strategic reasons seems valid.

During the film, Ayhan visits his Turkish relatives in the Mediterranean city Antalya in Turkey, where he has to communicate in Turkish, since his family and friends do not speak German. Tag-code-switching is the form of language-mixing most common in Ayhan's speech. The Turkish German protagonist naturally integrates German phrases and words into his Turkish sentences. It is possible to spot some frequently used words such as 'aber' ('but'), 'nein' ('no'), 'ja' ('yes'), 'was' ('what'), 'Dankeschön' or 'Danke' ('thanks'), 'Scheiße' ('shit'), and 'Tschüss' ('bye'). Metaphorical inter-sentential code-switching takes place when Ayhan gets excited during his nephew's football match. Whilst he speaks Turkish only with his nephew and the nephew's trainer during the match, he suddenly switches to German to express his joy when the child scores a goal with expressions such as 'wunderbar' ('wonderful') or 'mein Junge' ('my boy'). Similar to the scene with the Serbian boxer, when Ayhan

⁹¹ The Turkish word *lan* is the short form of *ulan* and can be translated as *bud* or *buddy*.

switches to Turkish to show his anger, he does the same here when he gets emotional, only now it is to express his happiness.

Ayhan is fluent in both German and Turkish. Nevertheless, his Turkish is not only slightly weak, but also delivered in a German accent. His broken Turkish causes confusion and misunderstandings in Turkey, providing the basis for several humorous scenes. Nonetheless, his linguistic weakness does not appear to constitute a problem for him or his family.

To conclude, *Berlin Kaplanı* is the first movie from Turkey to reflect the experience of a third-generation Turkish German. It no longer features the first guest-workers and their Pidgin. The film acknowledges that second and third generations have evolved in the context of at least two cultures and languages and depicts this reality on screen. The intermingling of different (social) languages, such as German, Turkish, regional dialects, accents, and intra-group slang has led to not only a hybridisation of the characters' language, but also to the creation of the characters' hybrid cultural identities, which will be discussed further below.

The analysis has demonstrated that various types of Turkish German language-mixing occur in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* and *Berlin Kaplanı*, but to a different extent in each. In the first, Pidgin German and Pidgin Turkish dominate, while the latter exhibits several styles of language-mixing, including language-crossing and code-switching. According to Chris Wahl (2005), a polyglot film features bilingualism or multilingualism, as in two of the films, but the arabesk film *Almanya Acı Gurbet* is solely in Turkish and therefore not a polyglot film. Wahl suggests that in a polyglot film 'languages are used in the way they would be used in reality' (Wahl 2005:2). Turkish German filmmakers are able to display realistically the shift from one language to another, in particular when working with bilingual or multilingual actors and actresses. However, films by Turkish directors, such as *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* and *Berlin Kaplanı* show language-mixing in a rather unnatural way, because the Turkish actors and actresses have to imitate the German language and a multilingualism that is foreign to them. Although the bilingualism in these films often seems unnatural or insincere, they still can be categorised as polyglot films, since they feature more than one language. One might argue that migration creates the opportunity for multilingualism and hence for polyglot films, despite exceptions, such as the monolingual *Almanya Acı Gurbet*.

4.5.3 Culturally Hybrid Identities

My analysis so far has shown that films from hyphenated identity directors focus on the second and third generation and their integration of German and Turkish cultures, creating a new transnational and hybrid culture. The films question the established model of the challenging life 'between cultures' and raise possibilities of identity formation that go beyond dichotomised and hierarchically shaped cultural characterisations and instead portray characters who are located in Bhabha's *third space*, marked by cultural and linguistic hybridity. In these films, cultural hybridity is appreciated and presented as an additional recourse. I will now examine the representation of cultural identity in Turkish films on Turkish migration and investigate whether they portray hybridity as positive and constructive.

The representation of Murat in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* is a good example that shows how cultural identity is depicted in various films about Turkish migration and in those produced during Yeşilçam in particular. When Murat visits his Turkish village accompanied by a group of German tourists for the first time after he emigrated to Germany for work, the villagers, his parents, and his wife Zeynep have difficulties recognising him, since his outward appearance is remarkably altered. Murat leaves the bus wearing a bright red shirt combined with a red cap, shorts, and sunglasses. He has a guitar on his back, a camera across one shoulder, and a cassette tape recorder on the other. The camera zooms in and takes close-ups of Murat's clothes and gadgets to underline their extraordinariness. While some villagers and Zeynep laugh at Murat's new look, his father comments: 'Bu ne biçim kılık oğlum' ('What kind of outfit is that my son?') The character's external transformation is in direct contrast to the villagers' modest attire. Moreover, it is apparent that Murat has more in common with the Germans, who also carry guitars and are dressed in a similar fashion, than with his Turkish friends and family. Nevertheless, Murat's look does not conform exactly to that of his German friends, as he seems to have exaggerated the modern style by combining too many gadgets with over-flashy clothes and so gives the impression that his attempt to mimic the German has failed.

The film continues to emphasise Murat's metamorphosis and how he has been 'Germanized' by revealing how his behaviour has changed. His new attitude is demonstrated in the following scenes. It starts with Murat's disregard for the warm welcome with music and folklore that the villagers have organised with a lot of enthusiasm and effort. Then, instead of showing gratitude, Murat greets his friends

briefly and chooses to accompany the tourist group and Gertha, his German girlfriend, to the hotel, while his wife carries his heavy luggage home and excitedly starts to cook him a great lunch. In a cross-cutting sequence, Zeynep is shown waiting for her husband to come home while Murat is depicted partying and drinking with his German friends. Zeynep sees the group in a club when she, – after having waited for hours – goes out in search of Murat. While she observes the group, a warden and friend tells her that this is not a place for a good girl like her and that she should go home. The scene juxtaposes good and bad, where the partying (culture) of Murat and his German friends appears to have negative connotations. The sequence finishes with Murat and the scantily dressed Gertha returning completely drunk and Zeynep having to surrender her bedroom to Gertha. Similar scenes of Murat's partying habits, involving excessive drinking, flirtatious behaviour, and carelessness towards his wife follow to reveal that Murat has changed in a way that challenges the villagers' prevailing habits and values and that his new persona is inadequate. His behaviour reaches its peak when drunk he sleeps with Zeynep, believing she is Gertha. Back in Germany, Murat gets divorced from Zeynep, who remains at home, now pregnant.

So the first part of *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* demonstrates Murat's transformation since his migration to Germany. The film implies that Germany was a bad influence on him and changed him into a bad person with undesirable character traits. He is self-absorbed, reckless, and uncaring to his wife. This is contrasted to Zeynep's devote and good nature. As discussed earlier, this juxtaposition of lifestyles, values and morals is typical of Yeşilçam movies. The use of binary oppositions to create a melodramatic modality applies to this movie. Murat has been seduced by urban German life and its bad values and now has priorities such as prosperity, hedonism, and self-fulfilment. His irresponsible, egocentric attitude is contrasted to Zeynep, who stands for worthwhile rural values like fidelity, honesty, and loyalty. Murat is depicted as a character torn between the Turkish traditional and the modern German culture. The film fails to represent any positive view of Murat's culturally hybrid identity. The first part of the film shows his assimilation into Germany culture, while in the second part Murat will rediscover his Turkish cultural roots. To conclude, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* features culturally hybrid identities, but not as a positive, fruitful, or enriching resource, but instead as a loss of belonging. Murat's culturally hybrid identity is not considered a bonus, but subject of humour and as something undesirable.

The arabesk film *Almanya Acı Gurbet*, is not concerned with representing the impact of various cultures on identity. The film features only Turkish characters and does not depict any Turkish German cultural encounters, showing the Turkish community in Germany to be rather isolated. Although Ceylan and her uncle Murat have been living in Germany for a couple of years, they do not speak a single German word in the entire film. Their only contact with the ‘German world’ is their long walks outside during which we see typical German motifs, such as the main railway station, the river, the shopping mall *Kaufhof*, and a German bakery. The pair explores the city, visiting parks, cafés, and the zoo. However, they keep to themselves and isolated from the German environment. The protagonists’ identities appear to be purely, unaffected by the migration experience. They do not try to mimic German culture and this is also reflected in their appearance, unlike Murat in *Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı*. Neither Ceylan nor her uncle have adopted modern fashion, accessories, or gadgets. I conclude that the absence of German Turkish cultural contact in the film is why culturally hybrid identities do not feature. This delivers an essentialist depiction of cultural identity as static and pure.

An interesting point is that the film was produced for the Turkish diaspora in Germany and other European countries, gives the target audience the image of a life separated from the German culture. Culture is represented to be static and unchangeable and the opportunity of any beneficial hybridisation of cultural identity is not only ignored, but also presented as impossible. The only solution to being a suffering minority is to return to the homeland Turkey.

Berlin Kaplanı deviates in many aspects from all Yeşilçam and post-Yeşilçam movies in its representation of hybridity and cultural identity. In this context, Kayaoğlu points out a noticeable change in the representation of the characters (Kayaoğlu 2012: 99). Indeed, the characters, in particular the Turkish German protagonist Ayhan Kaplan, are portrayed as having fluid and multifaceted cultural identities. As explored in the section on linguistic hybridity, this polyglot film features various styles of language-mixing which is evidence of cultural hybridity. However, I now focus on other aspects of cultural representation, including the characters’ behaviour, habits, appearance, and lifestyle. In addition, attention will be paid to how Ayhan’s culturally hybrid identity is shown to be advantageous. Is cultural hybridity regarded as beneficial and an additional resource, or is it portrayed humorously and as something false and undesirable as with Murat in *Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı*.

Ayhan's use of different languages including German, Turkish and his own dialect and accent already reveals his culturally hybrid identity. Ayhan's cultural identity is affected by, amongst others, Turkish and German culture, which are also subject to different (cultural) influences. It is important to remember that culture persistently recreates itself through encounters with the *other* culture, which inevitably impacts the 'first' culture or the *self*. This leads to the reformation of the cultural *self*, which again reconstructs itself by the time it meets another culture.

Ayhan has adopted different behaviours, habits, customs, and values that could be generally associated with either the Turkish or German culture and in doing so he creates his unique culturally hybrid identity. During the film, Ayhan retains his own style, which can be categorised as neither (traditionally) Turkish, nor as modern German look. The 40-year-old plump professional boxer Ayhan prefers sports and casual clothes, like a simple T-shirt, long shorts and trousers, sneakers, and a chain necklace. His appearance cannot be construed as more Turkish or more German, but rather an intermingling of various influences, in particular, his identity as a boxer. This kind of depiction was very unusual, especially for the Yeşilçam era, when films tended to stress the differences between a modern German look and a traditional Turkish one. Furthermore, conflicting binary constructions in older movies revealed that locations and habits were either attributed to good traditional Turkey, or bad industrialised and urban Germany. In *Berlin Kaplani*, however, this binary construction is not evident and, as will be shown shortly, even gets reversed.

Ayhan's life is shown to be transnational. In the first part of the film, set in Berlin, Ayhan's cultural crossings are depicted as a natural way of living in the culturally hybrid Kreuzberg. The boxer usually eats kebab in his manager Hacı's Turkish kebab restaurant, drinks beer with his trainer in a typical Berlin pub, works as a bodyguard in a club, where stars from Turkey perform, dog sits for German old women, and consults a German psychologist and a Turkish *hoca* (a Muslim preacher) about his panic attacks. The film does not emphasise cultural differences. Drinking beer for example is not considered as something German or false in this film, but rather a part of Ayhan's culturally hybrid identity. Later in Turkey, he continues to drink his beloved beer without being judged for it by his relatives. However, in the scene in which Ayhan brings the dogs back after dog sitting, he asks the old German woman if he can pick them up slightly earlier than usual the next day, the film humorously attributes traits such as methodical planning, inflexibility, and the importance of sticking to a bargain, to the German.

Ayhan: Frau Schmidt, ich kann morgen nicht mit den Hunden Gassi gehen. Ich habe einen Kampf. (Mrs. Schmidt, I cannot walk the dogs tomorrow. I have a match.)

German woman: Was? Das geht nicht, wer soll sie den ausführen? Das hätten sie vorher ankündigen müssen. (What? This is impossible. Who should take them out? You should have notified me earlier.)

Ayhan: Das kam überraschend. Hätte das auch nicht gedacht. (It came as a surprise to me. I did not know.)

German woman: Überraschend? Das ist ein großes Problem Herr Ayhan. Das geht nicht. (Surprise? This is a huge problem Mr. Ayhan. That is impossible.)

Ayhan: Ich finde eine Vertretung. (I find a replacement.)

German woman: Nein das geht nicht. Sie haben sich an sie gewöhnt. (No, that is impossible. They became used to you.)

Ayhan: Ok, dann komme ich früher. Um 7. (Ok, then I come at 7.)

German woman: Nein das ist die Schlafenszeit. (No, it is their bedtime.)

Ayhan: Um 8? (At 8?)

German woman: Nein das ist die Fütterungszeit. Halten sie sich einfach an unsere Abmachung. (No, that is their feeding time. Just stick to our bargain.)

Ayhan: Gut, bin ich um 10 Uhr hier. (Well ok, I am here at 10 o'clock.)

German woman: Um 10 Uhr. Danke. (At 10 o'clock. Thanks.)

This is the only scene to employ stereotypes to poke gentle fun of the Germans. Ayhan tries to postpone tomorrow's appointment, but has to give up eventually. He neither condemns the old lady's despair and indignation, nor her priorities and values, but instead totally accepts her point of view. However, after he leaves the conversation he comments to himself in his broken Turkish: 'Bir Alman'ı kalpten öldürecekse onla süpriz program yap' ('If you want to kill a German, just make a surprise program').

However, Ayhan behaves in a similar way later. While in Antalya, Ayhan and Elvan, a female friend from the neighbourhood, drive Ayhan's nephew to a football match. Ayhan starts to complain about Elvan and other Turks' careless and dangerous driving habits, asking her to drive more cautiously on the highway and when Elvan laughs and teases him about being scared, Ayhan remains serious and merely repeats his concerns and criticises the disorganised roadworks. A moment later, a car approaching from the other direction flashes his lights to alert Elvan about a speed camera. Elvan is pleased to be warned, but Ayhan thinks this is appalling behaviour and remarks that the camera has a purpose that should not be undermined. Elvan seems to understand Ayhan's point of view, rather than perceiving it as strange.

In this scene, Ayhan displays the 'German virtues' of obedience and orderliness. The conflict between Turkish and German ways of life is presented humorously without putting a partial emphasis on any cultural differences. In the other scene, Ayhan was sympathetic to the inflexibility of the old German woman. Similarly, his attitude in the car is accepted by Elvan. In other words, scenes like these that humorously include German and Turkish cultural clichés do not judge or classify any cultural differences as in older Turkish emigration films. Moreover, they constitute an exception in the film and therefore *Berlin Kaplanı* is not a culture-clash comedy.

The Turkish German protagonist's stance in both scenes could be mistakenly interpreted to symbolise Turkish or German parts of his cultural identity. In his comment about the German old woman, Ayhan amusingly relates the attribute of inflexibility to all Germans. In doing so, he distances himself from this trait and implies that he and Turkish people are more spontaneous. Later on in the car scene, Ayhan expresses his approval of rules and regulations. This could be understood as his German side, since the traits of obedience and orderliness are often considered German. However, such a divisive culturally perspective does neither recognise that cultural borders are blurred and unstable, nor does it appreciate Ayhan's unique cultural identity. Ayhan has negotiated and is continuously negotiating diverse (cultural) impressions and experiences *in between* the Turkish and German culture in Bhabha's *third space*. The negotiation in the *third space* then results in the hybridisation of Ayhan's cultural identity. Ayhan's flexibility, obedience, and orderliness do not represent any national cultural side of him but rather display Ayhan's culturally hybrid identity. Ayhan is flexible, orderly, and appreciates compliance with rules. This is simply Ayhan with his unique hybrid cultural identity.

Above, I have shortly addressed the point that *Berlin Kaplanı* not only breaks the binary opposition of good and bad, but also reverses it. Towards the end of the film, Ayhan hears by chance that his sister and his brother-in-law Nurettin lied to him about the sale price of the property they have all inherited. Ayhan believed it was worth 100,000 Euro, his relatives were about to sell it for 1 million Euro. On the following day at the estate agents it becomes apparent that the agent was also concealing the real value, the property is actually worth 3 million Euro. Ayhan is bitterly disappointed and feels cheated. When the estate agent remarks on Ayhan's foreignness and his lack of knowledge of business in Turkey, he explodes:

Ayhan: Ne olmuş yani burada yaşamıyorsam ben? Almancı'yız *aber* aptalmıyız? İnsan her yerde insan ya. Siz nasıl insanlarsınız ben anlamıyorum yani. Hepiniz kötüsünüz ya. Hele bu herif en kötüsü. (So what is the problem of not living here? We are *Almancı*, but are we stupid because of that? A human is a human everywhere. What kind of people are you? I do not understand. You are all bad. And this man is the worst of all.)

Ayhan is portrayed as a pleasant, gentle, friendly, and slightly naive character. In contrast to previous films on Turkish migration, which tend to show the bad influence of Germany on the migrant or the Turkish diaspora in general, *Berlin Kaplanı* reverses this perspective. Hence, the well-established duality of – to put it simply – good Turkey versus bad Germany is rescinded. However, the film does not build new binary oppositions and breaks the constructed duality, when Ayhan's relatives realise they have behaved badly. At the end, they rush to Ayhan's last boxing match in Istanbul to support him and show him their love.

To sum up, the breakdown of conflicting cultural ascriptions, such as German versus Turkish, leads to the dissolution of the binary understanding of culture, opening up possibilities for new cultural identity formations that elude any dichotomous and hierarchically organised cultural constructions. Although *Berlin Kaplanı* is a comedy also about cultural issues and it could therefore be expected to involve numerous funny situations resulting from cultural differences, I argue that it manages to consistently renew cultural attributions or even break them. Cultural boundaries are presented as blurred and porous, which allows Ayhan to negotiate various cultural impressions and influences in Bhabha's *third space* and repeatedly create his unique hybrid cultural identity.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the theorists Bhabha and Bakhtin stress that hybridity is a creative benefit. I argue that even if *Berlin Kaplanı* sometimes slightly makes fun of Ayhan's broken Turkish, it represents his cultural hybridity as productive, as it allows Ayhan to easily navigate in various cultural worlds like Germany and Turkey. However, this is neither the focus, nor the emphasis of the film.

I want to finish with a final example from the film, which, in my opinion, acknowledges Ayhan's cultural hybridity. At the end of the movie, Ayhan has an important boxing match in Istanbul. The Turkish match commentator calls Ayhan 'Berlin'li *gurbetçi*' ('Berliner *gurbetçi*') and his competitor just 'Sırb' (Serb). In contrast to his boxing opponent, Ayhan is not categorised as one nationality. The commentator does not even refer to his two nationalities, such as Turkish German Ayhan, or Turk Ayhan from Germany. Even though he is still labelled as a *gurbetçi*, I

suggest that the appellation ‘Berlin’li *gurbetçi*’ reflects Ayhan’s cultural hybridity. He is, amongst other things, influenced by the so-called *gurbetçi* culture of his ancestors, who emigrated to Germany decades ago, by German culture, and, in particular, by his unique regional Berliner culture. Although the term *gurbetçi* does not fit into Ayhan’s current positioning as a third-generation migrant and seems negatively loaded as it describes the first-generation guest-workers’ sorrows and longing for home, I claim that its use today no longer carries these negative connotations, but rather indicates Ayhan’s migratory history.

To briefly summarise, the representation of cultural identity in the three selected films differs in each as to the depiction and appreciation of the characters’ culturally hybridity identities. *Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı*, for example, features the guest-worker Murat’s cultural hybridity, but sees no positive in it, since like most Yeşilçam films on migration it draws heavily on a binary construction of good and bad (cultural traits). Thus, although the influence of the German culture on Murat’s identity is represented in some detail by the alteration in his appearance and behaviour, it is set up in opposition to a ‘better’ rural Turkish culture and perceived as something poor and undesirable.

Decades later however, *Berlin Kaplanı* portrays Turkish German Ayhan’s culturally hybrid identity as a valuable resource. Such an appreciative view of cultural hybridity was common in films from hyphenated identity Turkish German filmmakers as discussed in the chapter on Turkish German cinema. These directors, culturally hybrid themselves, are capable of putting this multifaceted identity on the screen. With this in mind, it is curious that the Turkish director Hakan Algül and the Turkish screenwriter and protagonist Ata Demirer, who have not experienced migration themselves, are able to project the phenomenon of cultural hybridity similar to Turkish German filmmakers. Certainly, there are differences between Turkish German filmmakers’ and the Turkish director’s representation of cultural hybridity regarding what Laura Marks calls the special ‘haptic visuality’ of diasporic filmmakers and, as Sujata Moorti suggests, their ‘diasporic optic’.⁹² However, I argue, that Algül and Demirer’s achievement in displaying ‘the pleasures’ of cultural hybridity can be traced back to the fact that the screenwriter and actor Demirer has had a close relationship with his relatives in Germany since he was young. In an interview in the Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet* about his film *Berlin Kaplanı*, he tells of his experiences with his numerous

⁹² See Chapter 2.4 for a detailed exposition of Laura Marks’s conceptualisation of ‘haptic visuality’ and Sujata Moorti’s ‘diasporic optic’.

relatives from Germany, who visited them in Turkey every summer holiday.⁹³ He remembers his excitement when they came with presents from Germany and adds that many scenes were inspired by real events. I suggest the Demirer's repeated contact and exchange with the Turkish diaspora has enabled him to observe their culturally hybrid identities and thereupon depict them on screen. Therefore, I argue that a close cultural encounter with migration or diasporic people, as with Demirer, seems crucial to the convincing representation of culturally hybrid identities, even if the representation deviates in many respects from that of diasporic filmmakers.

The two movies *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* and *Berlin Kaplanı* differ from each other in several ways and therefore approach cultural hybridity in different ways. However, as already addressed in the section about linguistic hybridity and the use of various forms of language-mixing, the third movie *Almanya Acı Gurbet* neglects its characters' culturally hybrid identities. The film does not feature German characters or the German language, portraying the protagonists in their own Turkish cosmos in Germany.

4.5.4 Yeşilçam's Influence: Nostalgia, Melancholy, and the Melodramatic Mode

Films about Turkish migration produced from the 1960s until the 1980s are significantly affected by the conventions of Yeşilçam cinema. As previously discussed, Yeşilçam's prevailing melodramatic mode had a strong influence on movies about migration. Moreover, melodramas, arabesk films, and singer films in particular involved this melancholic tone. The singer film *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* and the arabesk film *Almanya Acı Gurbet* rely heavily on typical Yeşilçam characteristics and display a melodramatic mode and melancholy. The impact of Yeşilçam's melodramatic modality and the importance of melancholy in migration films prove crucial to the manner in which the migration experience is handled and cultural hybridity is represented. Turkish emigration to Germany and its aftereffects is filtered through a melancholic lens in several Yeşilçam films. In this section, I will also consider how the melodramatic mode and melancholy relate to the concept of nostalgia and to what Mercer (1994) has described as the 'monologic' or 'dialogic tendency' in films about migration and diaspora.

⁹³ See <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kaplan-berlin-de-19798340>.

Nostalgia for the homeland is a major aspect in many emigration films. As explored in Chapter 2, theorists such as William Safran (1991) and Robin Cohen (2008) emphasise the importance of the homeland for diasporic people and communities as a mythical place.⁹⁴ Avtar Brah also describes home ‘as a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of “origin”’ (Brah 1996: 192). In her examination of the concept of nostalgia, Svetlana Boym (2001) similarly dwells on the myth of home, distinguishing between *restorative* and *reflective* nostalgia. The author defines nostalgia, which derives from *nostos* (return home) and *algia* (longing) as ‘a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one’s own fantasy’ (Boym 2001: viii). Boym further classifies two forms of nostalgia: ‘Restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* [return home] and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia* [longing], the longing itself, and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately’ (Boym 2001: xviii). Whilst the latter form ‘does not pretend to rebuild a mystical place of home; it is enamored of distance, not of the referent itself’, ‘restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time, reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space. Restorative nostalgia takes itself dead seriously’ (Boym 2001: 49). In other words, since reflective nostalgia ‘explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones’ (Boym 2001: xviii), I suggest that it is more capable of the reality of complex multiple human belonging and longing, whereas restorative nostalgia is stuck in a myth of the past home. Boym sees melancholia as connected to the reflective nostalgia and by referring to Sigmund Freud’s discussion on the correlation of mourning and melancholia she writes:

Freud made a distinction between mourning and melancholia. Mourning is connected to the loss of a loved one or the loss of some abstraction, such as a homeland, liberty or an ideal. Mourning passes with the elapsing of time needed for the "work of grief" (...). In melancholia the loss is not clearly defined and is more unconscious. Melancholia doesn't pass with the labor of grief and has less connection to the outside world (...). Reflective nostalgia has elements of both mourning and melancholia. While its loss is never completely recalled, it has some connection to the loss of collective frameworks of

⁹⁴ See Chapter 2.1 for a detailed understanding of the concept of homeland in relation to its importance for diasporas.

memory. Reflective nostalgia is a form of deep mourning that performs a labor of grief both through pondering pain and through play that points to the future (Boym 2001: 55).

The ‘myth of home’, nostalgia, and melancholy are common in many migration films, especially in those dealing with the experience of *gurbet*. A consideration of this trio is important because it reveals the perspective of Turkish films on the experience of migration and it interrelates with the depiction of cultural identity.

Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı begins in a small Turkish village with Zeynep desperately waiting for her husband Murat to return from Germany, where he has been for a few years. She actually runs to the bus stop to see if he has arrived, then to the post office to ask the postman if there is a letter from him. However, once she realises that Murat has neither returned nor written, the tone becomes melancholic. Zeynep goes to the seaside and remembers the good times they had together and begins to sing a sorrowful song:

Duydum ki unutmuşsun, gözlerimin rengini	I have heard you have forgotten the colour of my eyes
Yazık olmuş o gözlerden sana akan yaşlara	So pity the tears that fall for you from these eyes
Bir zamanlar sevginle ateşlenen başımı	I wish I had put my head which was once
Dizlerinin yerine dayasaydım taşlara	burning with your love on the stones instead of on your knees

This short extract expresses Zeynep’s profound disappointment in Murat and his love. So from the very start of the film, emigration to Germany and the resulting separation of lovers, is associated with the pain, suffering, yearning, and longing of all those, who remained in Turkey. The scene creates the filmic image of nostalgia in a series of flashbacks of the happy past the lovers shared and recalls Boym’s definition of nostalgia as ‘longing for a home that no longer exists’ and a ‘sentiment of loss and displacement’ (Boym 2001: xiii). However, here, home is to be understood as a (romantic) place of belonging, an intimate place of togetherness. The dissolution of home caused by Murat’s emigration leads to Zeynep’s suffering from (restorative) nostalgia and her wish to rebuild the past, the lost home. This is interesting because it demonstrates that

nostalgia is not limited to the person living in exile or diaspora, but also applies to friends, family, and partners left behind.⁹⁵

In addition to nostalgia that often overlaps with melancholia, the melodramatic mode is also featured in this film. As discussed in detail in the section about culturally hybrid identities, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* uses typical binary oppositions of good rural values and bad urban values, and rich versus poor, to establish a strong melodramatic overtone.⁹⁶ Murat and his German lover Gertha represent negative values related to urbanisation and prosperity, such as individualism and degeneration, whereas Zeynep and Turkish people living in villages are frequently associated with rural, poor, but honourable values, such as honesty, fidelity, and loyalty. Towards the end of the film, Murat realises his mistakes, but a last-minute misunderstanding delays the reunion as common in Yeşilçam romances. Murat and Zeynep separately return to their village and when they meet at the place where their love began, everything turns out alright. The return to the home country finally brings peace and happiness. Zeynep's strong wish to return (*nostos*) to the mythical 'home' of her and Murat's romance is granted. The myth turns into reality. I argue that it is typical for Yeşilçam to 'realise the impossible' and turn the myth of a past home, which caused nostalgia and melancholia, into reality. This 'ability' of Yeşilçam results from its poor and superficial plot and character development that often rely on coincidences. The desire of homecoming is also significant for the protagonists in the other two film, as I will show.

At this point, an analysis of the image of Germany in Turkish migration cinema would prove useful in order to show how the binary of the bad West and the good East is constructed. The role of the German blond woman as a symbol of undesirable Western values will be investigated.

Wealthy, Modern Germany and the Dangerous German Blonde

I would like to start with the image of Germany, as the receiving country of Turkish emigrants, in Turkish cinema. As mentioned earlier, both, Kayaoğlu (2011) and Alkın (2013) have investigated this. Kayaoğlu recognises that a stereotype of Germany predominated from the 1960s to the 1990s. First of all, it is worthwhile differentiating between firstly, how the migration experience in Germany is actually depicted in the

⁹⁵ Other films featuring the suffering from nostalgia of family members and lovers left in Turkey are for example *Dönüş*, *Almancının Karısı*, *Batan Güneş*, and *Ana Kurban Can Kurban/ Mother Sacrifice Soul Sacrifice* (1975, Feyzi Tuna).

⁹⁶ The construction of binary conflicting oppositions in this film has already been explored in the prior section that examined the representation of culturally hybrid identities. At this point, just a brief summary is given. The same is true for *Berlin Kapları*.

film, and secondly, how Turkish emigrants and their descendants represent Germany through their stories they tell to family and friends in Turkey. Turkish cinema tend to depict Germany as a place where guest-workers are confronted with loneliness, alienation, discrimination, and difficult working conditions. Their experience is often contrasted with that of the German locals, which appears better and more prosperous. However, this presentation is often at odds with how the migrant represents Germany when in contact with relatives and friends from home. Despite the migrants' difficulties abroad, they tend to deliver a positive image, focusing on how they have become wealthy and the advantages of Germany. The people back home, whose image of Germany is generated from what migrants have said about success and photos of possessions, expect to see this success and prosperity (Kayaoğlu 2011). Germany is represented through material attributes like a Mercedes or a BMW, a German hat as a symbol of upward mobility, a golden watch or ring, or a camera as symbols of success and wealth. Turkey is mainly shown as a counterexample to Western Europe, its wealth and modernity. Furthermore, it also stands for alienation and moral decay.

Like Murat in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* or Mahmut in *Almanya Acı Vatan*, the male protagonists tend to adopt bad habits such as drinking alcohol, cheating, and gambling, leading to the neglect of the wife and nuclear family and frequently causing marriage breakdown. Female characters can behave similarly like Zeynep in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*. The loyal Zeynep, who follows her husband to Germany, becomes a woman who dinks, flirts, and sings in a nightclub. However, most of the time, the lapse of female the migrant is exhibited through her excessive greed for money as shown in *Almanya Acı Vatan*. Although Güldane has saved enough money in Berlin to return to Turkey, she works harder to save money for more and more flats to buy in Turkey. However, she cannot leave, because she always wants more.

In migration films, German women tend to present the moral decay of the West or a danger to the guest-worker's relationship with his wife.⁹⁷ The German woman is typically blonde, alluring, seductive, and displayed as a sexual object. This image is reinforced in the very first scene in *Almanya Acı Vatan* when a big crowd of men sitting in a men's café in a Turkish village flip through a porn magazine that a returnee from Germany has brought, while commenting on the beauty of the German women. Gürata points out that '[t]he clash between modern and traditional values is often symbolized in the figure of woman in Turkish (...) cinema' (Gürata 2006: 247). In *Almanya'da Bir*

⁹⁷ See for example: *Almanya Acı Vatan*, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*, *Ayrılamam*, *Alman Avrat 40 Bin Mark*, *Alman Avradın Bacısı*, *Almancının Karısı*, and *Dönüş*.

Türk Kızı, seductive Gertha represents the negative aspects of modernity and the Westernisation for women in attributes such as excessive makeup and accessories, alcohol, and parties accompanied by rock and pop music. When Zeynep goes to Germany to tell Murat she is pregnant and becomes a famous singer, she deliberately imitates Murat's prior treatment of her and Gertha's Western manners, to take revenge on Murat and illustrate him how his behaviour was unacceptable. Zeynep parties, drinks, flirts with her German manager Hans, shops excessively, and behaves in an arrogant and egocentric way like Murat did in Turkey. However, this is only a game she plays for a while. Zeynep remains loyal and faithful to Murat.

To sum up, although most migration films cover labour migration and its effects, like alienation or the breakdown of the nuclear family, many use typical Yeşilçam binaries, all of which are subordinated to the prime conflict between good and bad. Germany and German women factor into these dichotomies and usually represent the bad West by simply replacing the industrialised Istanbul and urban, rich Turkish women in a typical Yeşilçam plot.

Returning to the depiction of home, nostalgia, and melancholy, a very similar sorrowful beginning accompanied by an equally sad song to that of *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* appears in the arabesk film *Almanya Acı Gurbet*. As already explained arabesk films deal explicitly with the issue of migration and its associated troubles of misery, despair, suffering, and pain. Although most of these films centre on the problematic life caused by Turkish internal migration from rural areas to the metropole Istanbul, some focus on external migration to Germany in particular, such as *Almanya Acı Gurbet*. As is characteristic of the arabesk genre, the film begins with an arabesk song from the arabesk singer Ferdi Tayfur, here delivered with pathos by the famous female child star Ceylan, who takes the lead role in the movie. The first lines foreshadow the sad story to come:

Kara gurbet diye diye	By repeatedly saying black <i>gurbet</i>
Ömrüm gelip geçer böyle	My life passes by like this
Bu sitemim sana değil	My reproach is not against you
Çekilmeyen kaderime	It is against my unbearable destiny
Hiç gülmeyen talihime	It is against my never-laughing fortune

The song recalls Martin Stokes's examination of the characteristic topics and emotions of arabesk narratives and concerns such as *gurbet* and *kader* (fate, destiny). Being in

gurbet is experienced as ‘black fate’. During the song, we see Ceylan and her blind uncle walking the streets of Germany, disconnected from the German society. Ceylan carries her *saz* (Turkish string instrument similar to a guitar) and tries to cheer her uncle up, who needs her to guide him. Their long walks are interrupted by shots of them performing in Turkish cafés to earn their living. The song about the *gurbet* experience alongside the images of Ceylan and her uncle, expresses how being abroad is linked to feelings such as loneliness, despair, sorrow, and suffering and is construed as a ‘bad destiny’, with no escape.

So both *Almanya Acı Gurbet* and *Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı* start with a sad scene, involving a sorrowful song and images of either being the suffering *other* in Germany, or a lonely longing for the missing partner. Music plays a significant part, usually connected to the plot and used to express the protagonist’s emotions. However, arabesk movies tend to feature performances and songs that go beyond the narrative as it appears in *Almanya Acı Gurbet*. Here, Ceylan and her uncle’s music is both diegetic and non-diegetic, occurring as a musical performance in a scene or played as background to a scene. The lyrics concern grief regardless of the storyline. To give an example, in one scene, Ceylan’s uncle arranges a new composition and introduces it to Ceylan and they practise it. Although there is no love story in the plot, the lyrics revolve around a typical arabesk theme, *kara sevda*, which is closely connected to melancholy, and illustrate precisely how a depressing mood is created independently of the storyline:

Aldanma çocuksu mahsun yüzüne	Do not fall for his innocent childlike face
Mutlaka terkedip gidecek birgün	Anyway he will leave you and go away one day
Kanma sever gibi göründüğüne	Do not be fooled by the look as if he loves you
Seni sevmiyorum diyecek birgün	One day he will say that he does not love you

Standard topics of arabesk movies, such as a hard working life, betrayal, personal disasters, death, and here, unrequited love appear either in the plot, or more subtly in the form of a song. Several other singer and arabesk films have similar openings, such as Ceylan’s other arabesk movie about the difficult life and the hardship of an immigrant family in Germany *Kadersiz Doğmuşum/I Was Born without Destiny* (1991, Oğuz Gözen), which begins with a song about hopelessness and helplessness so that even before the story starts, an atmosphere of despair and melancholy is conjured. In the following song, the suffering, which is regarded to be one’s *kader* (destiny/fate), is so

strong that is expressed as *kadersiz doğmuşum* (I was born without destiny), which is the title of the song:

Adımı doğarken koymuş Yaradan	The creator gave me my name when I was born
Nasibim olur mu umuttan şanstan	Will I have hope and luck
Yazılmaz insanın bahtı sonradan	Someone's destiny is not written afterwards
Kadersiz doğmuşum ben de kadersiz	I was born without destiny, me without destiny
Yürürüm umutsuz yolum kapalı	I am walking hopeless, my way is closed
Çaresiz kırdılar tuttuğum dalı	Helpless, they broke the limb I was holding
Ağlarım gözümü açtım açalı	I am crying since I have opened my eyes
Kadersiz doğmuşum ben de kadersiz	I was born without destiny, me without destiny

Whilst *kader* can also bring beauty to life, the lyrics emphasise the state of *kadersiz*, which means having no fate at all.

To briefly sum up, the two Yeşilçam films evoke a melancholic mood at the very outset through these sad songs and set the tone for the storyline.

Melancholy is continually intensified by songs throughout *Almanya Acı Gurbet*, with the last scene in particular, since it combines the characters' suffering from nostalgia and yearning for their homeland with a dark song about death sung by Ceylan. However, before exploring the final scene, where the despair and yearning for home reach a climax, I want to show how the narrative gradually builds up the protagonists' longing for their village in Turkey. Ceylan and her uncle share a moment of joy on hearing that the uncle's residence permit problem has finally been resolved but the mood suddenly switches when the uncle becomes thoughtful:

Uncle: Biz niçin burdayız? Ne işimiz var burlarda? Kendi ülkemizde de bukadar çalışmakla mutlu olabiliriz. (Why are we here? What do we do here? We can be happy in our country by doing the same amount of work.)

Ceylan: Sahi dayıcım niye. Türkiye'miz de değiliz Ben buraları sevmiyorum.' (Indeed my dear uncle. Why are we not in our Turkey? I do not like it here.)

This exchange reveals the object of their desire and cause of their melancholy. To apply Boym's concept, while Ceylan and her uncle display aspects of reflective nostalgia in

this longing for home, here they recognise their strong wish to return home, which gradually turns to an obsession and is what Boym terms restorative nostalgia. After this short dialogue questioning their stay in Germany, they impulsively decide to return to Turkey after the uncle's eye surgery. Individual statements and conversations about their unhappiness in Germany recur, making this their main focus. Near the end of the film, Ceylan is hit by a car and taken to hospital where she is in intensive care with a prognosis that she will not survive. A very desperate exchange occurs when the uncle, having had successful eye surgery after being injured in the same accident, visits Ceylan in hospital. Ceylan pathetically raves:

Ceylan: Türkiye'ye götür beni dayıcım. Harmandalı oynayacaktık. (Take me to Turkey my dear uncle. We wanted to dance *harmandalı*.)⁹⁸

Uncle: Oynayacağız yavrum. Seninle vatanımıza gider gitmez el ele harmandalı oynayacağız. Toprağımızı öpeceğiz. Bayrağına, toprağına kurban olduğumun vatanına gidip ülkemizi el ele gezeceğiz yavrum. (We will dance my child. As soon as we go to our homeland, we will dance *harmandalı*. We will go to the homeland, whose flag and earth I sacrifice myself for and we will tour hand in hand our country.)

This is another potent evocation of the protagonists' desire to return to Turkey. Reflective nostalgia, the mourning and melancholy over a past time and lost home, has changed into restorative nostalgia, driven by the idea to return and rebuild past home. Fervent patriotism surfaces, expressed through the willingness to make sacrifices for the homeland. In the strictly binary construction of the good homeland Turkey and bad Germany, the latter is presented as the root of all evil. Whilst the uncle is planning to get revenge for Ceylan, he justifies his immoral behaviour by blaming Germany, the country becomes the reason for Ceylan's current condition:

Uncle: Onu burada ölüme terk eden, bu hale getiren Almanya değil mi? Öleceksek kendi vatanımızda ölürüz. (...) Almanya delirtti beni. (Is it not Germany that leaves her [Ceylan] to die and has put her into that situation? If we have to die, we are going to die in our homeland. (...). Germany drove me insane.)

The othering of Germany here is a good example of Boym's restorative nostalgia. The author argues that restorative nostalgia's conspiratorial worldview is based on a 'battle of good and evil and the inevitable scapegoating of the mythical enemy' (Boym 2001:

⁹⁸ *Harmandalı* is a traditional Turkish dance.

43). Here, Germany is scapegoated as the cause of Ceylan's death. During the film, this othering becomes less important and the obsessive longing for home takes centre stage. After the uncle's personal protest against Germany, towards the finale, the film focuses on the painful yearning for Turkey. Ceylan's uncle takes revenge, but in the shootout with the perpetrator, he is badly wounded. Nevertheless, he manages to get to the hospital to keep his promise to Ceylan to take her to Turkey. Ceylan is waiting for him. The following dialogue begins the final scene, in which the representation of grief and longing reaches its peak.

Ceylan: Geldin mi dayıcım? (Did you come, my dear uncle?)

Uncle: Geldim Ceylan'ım. (I came, my Ceylan.)

Ceylan: Gidiyoruz değil mi dayıcım? Söz vermiştin bana, Türkiye'ye, vatanımıza dönecektik. (We will leave, won't we my dear uncle? You promised me. We wanted to return to Turkey, to our homeland.)

Uncle: Evet yavrum söz vermiştim. Bak işte sözümde durdum yavrum. Seni almaya geldim. (Yes my child, I promised you. See, I kept my promise, my child. I came to take you.)

Using the last of his strength, the injured uncle lifts Ceylan from her sickbed and carries her out of the hospital. At this point the final song starts and will back the last scene of *Almanya Acı Gurbet* until the end. The song 'Bir gün şu dünyadan göçüp gidersem' ('If I pass away from this world one day'), is sung by Ceylan in a very slightly modified version and belongs to the Turkish traditional folk music genre called *Türkü*.⁹⁹ The lyrics about death underline the sorrow of the scene.

Bir gün şu dünyadan göçüp gidersem	If I pass away from this world one day
Anam anam dağlar duman aman	My mother, my mother, misty mountains, oh
Boşa da gider gözyaşların ağlama	Your tears will get wasted, do not cry
Anam anam dağlar duman aman	My mother, my mother, misty mountains, oh
Boşa da gider gözyaşların ağlama	Your tears will get wasted, do not cry
Anam anam halim yaman aman	My mother, my mother, my condition is desperate
Yok olur benliğim çürürse beden	My self disappears, if the body decays

During this song about farewell and the fear of death, Ceylan and her uncle wander the streets of Germany at night with the purpose of going to Turkey. Knowing this is an

⁹⁹ A more detailed explanation of *Türkü* will be given later in the section on the use of music and hybridity.

impossible dream, since Ceylan is about to die and the exhausted uncle can no longer carry her, Ceylan speaks when she regains consciousness:

Ceylan: Daha ne kadar kaldı dayıcım? Çok var mı Türkiye'ye. (How much longer my dear uncle? Does it take long to Turkey?)

Uncle: Az kaldı. Nerdeyse geldik. Bak ilerde Türkiye'miz görünüyor. (We are almost there. Look, ahead our Turkey appears.)

Ceylan: Görüyorum dayıcım. Çayırda çocuklar horon oynuyor. Beni de oynatırlar mı? (I see my dear uncle. The children are dancing *horon* on the meadow. Will they let me dance with them?)

Uncle: Tabii oynatırlar kızım. Onlar bizim kanımızdan, bizim canımızdan. (Of course they will let you. They are from our blood, from our soul.)

Ceylan: Çok mutluyum dayıcım. (I am very happy my dear uncle.)

Uncle: Ben de mutluyum. Ben de Ceylan ben de. (I am happy, too. Me too Ceylan, me too. [Ceylan dies in her uncle's arms.]

Uncle: Ceylaaaaaan. Allahım nedir bu başımıza gelenler. Gurbet ellerde sonumuz böyle mi olacaktı yarabbim yarabbim yarabbim. Ceylaaaaaan. (My god, what is this that happens to us? Had our end to be like this in the *gurbet* my god, my god, my god. Ceylaaaaaan)

A moment after Ceylan's death, the uncle collapses with her in his arms and also dies. As they are about to die, they feel happiness imagining being back in their homeland. Boym's statement that 'restorative nostalgia takes itself dead seriously' (Boym 2001: 49) becomes literal when the pair genuinely attempt to go home, knowing that they will die in the process.

Ceylan's desire to play and dance with the children from her village, on the one hand, reflects Boym's definition of nostalgia as a 'yearning for a different time – the time of our childhood' (Boym 2001: xv), and on the other hand, the imagined picture of children dancing in the meadow exemplifies Naficy's ideas on the different representation of territoriality in accented films. Whilst these films tend to depict lives in diaspora and exile as claustrophobic, the homeland, on the contrary, is portrayed with a 'fetishization and nostalgic longing to the homeland's natural landscape, mountains, monuments, and souvenirs' (Naficy 2001: 5) as in the case of the protagonists' imagination of their village. Moreover, Ceylan's longing to rebuild an imaginary childhood experience is tragic because she is still a child herself. Her longing for childhood implies that Ceylan has had to grow up too fast due to the hardship of her existence in Germany. *Almanya Acı Gurbet* features reflective nostalgia which changes into restorative nostalgia. Returning to the film's scapegoating of Germany and its

establishment of an East/West antagonism, it appears that the othering of Germany not only proves beneficial for the representation of nostalgia as a longing for a mythical home, but also for the depiction of opposing binaries to develop a melodramatic mode.

With respect to the fact that *Almanya Acı Gurbet* attributes all the protagonists' misery to the circumstance of migration, I argue that migration to Germany merely provides a different backdrop for the sorrowful arabesk film that only exhibits its specific genre characteristics. As a consequence, the characters' actual migration experience in Germany is not focus of attention. In other words, even if emigration is represented as an experience of suffering and yearning for home, this suffering is not specific to the life in Germany, but rather a general state that results from migration of any kind.

As shown, alongside the melancholic mode, the melodramatic mode is also evident in both *Almanya Acı Gurbet* and *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*. This is predictable since they are melodramas and one belongs to the arabesk genre. However, the third movie I have selected is a comedy from 2012 and it is worth exploring the role of melodramatic modality and melancholy in this film. I have shown that almost every Yeşilçam comedy includes some melodramatic elements. Although *Berlin Kaplamı* was produced decades after Yeşilçam, it still contains melodramatic and melancholic traits.

In contrast to the other two discussed films, *Berlin Kaplamı* does not start with a sorrowful song. Quite the contrary, its beginning is rather energetic. After the very first scene of Ayhan's boxing match, the lengthy title sequence presents a vibrant, colourful, multicultural, and illuminated Kreuzberg at night and is backed by the lively Turkish rap song titled *Sabır* (Patience).¹⁰⁰ Combining fast cuts with rapid horizontal and vertical panning shots and fast motion, the camera tries to capture the multifaceted and complex Kreuzberg with its trams, night buses, street musicians, street arts, nightlife, bicycles, cafés, Turkish grocery stores, and diverse ethnic groups and cultures. However, the song's lyrics lay the foundation for Ayhan's story with the encouraging refrain 'sabır sabır girer yoluna' ('patience patience things will fall into place') that implies Ayhan will encounter some problems but all will be right in the end. Indeed, in the first scene, Ayhan loses his match, which heralds the start of the difficulties to come.

One might argue that the first scene, the title sequence, and the song create a problematic perspective from the beginning on like the other two films that started gloomy to draw attention to the upcoming sorrowful events caused by migration. The

¹⁰⁰ The song will be discussed more closely in the next part about hybridisation through music.

main dissimilarity however is that in *Berlin Kaplanı* the protagonist's difficulties are peculiar to the individual rather than related to migration, as in both the Yeşilçam films. This is an important fact to keep in mind since it shows that decades after the first Turkish labour migration to Germany, a kind of normality prevails with the characters' main problems being completely independent of the impact of migration.

However, there are sad moments in Ayhan's story that are linked to his migration background. As already discussed, Ayhan follows the custom of bringing presents from Germany for friends and family in Turkey. In those days, industrialised Germany offered access to goods like gadgets or chocolate not available in Turkish villages or only for a small number of wealthy people. Thus, these presents were generally received with enthusiasm and joy. Ayhan has not been back to Turkey for a long time and is ignorant of how modern it has become. His presents such as a shirt and some Nutella for his nephew Fatih fails to impress and Fatih even returns the Nutella with the comment 'We have this here, too'. Scenes showing the protagonist's misunderstanding of Turkish idioms due to his alienation from the Turkish culture are low points for Ayhan. Although these slightly depressing circumstances relate to Turkish German Ayhan's background of migration, they neither affect his positive attitude, nor constitute a predominant theme in the story.

As explored in the chapter about the representation of culturally hybrid identities, *Berlin Kaplanı* first reverses and afterwards dissolves the common duality used to generate a melodramatic mode in many Yeşilçam melodramas and comedies and also in films on Turkish migration from that period. In *Berlin Kaplanı* Ayhan's cunning relatives represent the bad Turkish part in the constructed duality. Instead of the usual representation of melancholy prevalent in many Yeşilçam migration films, Ayhan is seen to suffer panic attacks, that only stop when he returns to Turkey.

At this point, it is worth considering how Ayhan's story ends, since as in the other two films, homecoming to Turkey is a significant element. Finally, the relatives acknowledge they were at fault and regain Ayhan's affections by supporting him at his important boxing match in Istanbul. The very last scene shows Ayhan at an afternoon barbecue with family and friends at the seaside. He and Elvan have become a couple and when they all urge him to stay in Turkey, he agrees. As Kayaoğlu notes, even if Turkish migrants are no longer presented as the suffering *other* in the foreign country of Germany, Turkish German Ayhan only finds true happiness in his or his ancestors' homeland Turkey (Kayaoğlu 2012: 99f.). Indeed, although Germany is seen as Ayhan's home, with cultural borders long dissolved and new hybrid cultures in evidence

years after the first Turkish migration to Germany, it still constitutes a site of difficulty and unhappiness. Ayhan, who has no real work in Germany, suffers financial worries, trouble with the boxing betting mafia, and anxiety attacks, finds the solution to all his problems in Turkey. During his nephew's football match in Turkey, Ayhan becomes enraged with the child's trainer and, just as it looks as though he cannot control his temper, he realises that he has had no panic attacks since his arrival in Turkey. Not only that, he has also solved his money problems, found a girlfriend and a loving family. Ayhan is not shown to suffer specifically from nostalgia directly. Ayhan neither wants to return to Turkey, nor desperately longs for an imagined home. However, the fact that his actual return assuages his anxiety could indicate that he experienced some kind of reflective nostalgia on an unconscious level in Germany.

I will briefly return to the meaning of homeland, significant to most migration films. In 'No Place Like Home? Or Impossible Homecomings in the Films of Fatih Akin' Daniela Berghahn (2006), identifies three different characteristics of homecoming in Turkish German cinema and in particular in Fatih Akin's oeuvre: firstly, home as a place of salvation, secondly, as an ominous utopia, and lastly, home as purgatory and redemption.

In *Berlin Kaplani*, Ayhan's return was not planned, and he felt no desire to revisit his parents' homeland. However, a simple trip to his relatives turned out to be his salvation. He leaves all his problems behind and starts a new life in a small Turkish seaside town. Ayhan attains the life dreamed of by the character Gabriel in Fatih Akin's *Kurz und Schmerzlos*. Berghahn has described Gabriel's wish to return as a (possibly ominous) utopia that has never been accomplished (Berghahn 2006: 151f.). A realisation of this desire may have resulted in salvation as in the case of Ayhan.

Salvation also plays an important role in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*, which ends with the homecoming of Murat and Zeynep. Murat, whose migration to Germany impacted negatively on his character, rendering him immoral and selfish. He only realises what is really important in life after a bad accident. His decision to return to his village, finally brings him peace and true love. Homecoming reunites Zeynep and Murat, saving their relationship, which had suffered since Murat's emigration to Germany.

As discussed in detail, almost the entire film *Almanya Acı Gurbet* deals with the topic of homecoming. Ceylan and her uncle not only yearn and long for home, but actually take action to return to Turkey. However, the desire to go home proves impossible and so they die on the streets in Germany, dreaming of their homeland. The

arabesk film does not allow its protagonists to go back to their roots and reach salvation and thus homecoming becomes an unattainable utopia. The fate brings Ceylan and her uncle no salvation in the country of their origin, but instead salvation in form of death. The film gives the message that if the desire of homecoming stays an utopia, it can become dangerous and even lead to death.¹⁰¹

The fact that homecoming is seen as salvation in these three films implies that life in Germany is unhappy. Migration is represented to lead to misery that only can be ended by return to one's cultural and social roots in Turkey. Likewise, the representation of nostalgia and melancholy suggests that migration is a difficult experience. Moreover, relating restorative and reflective nostalgia to cultural identity, I argue that whilst the first hinders the depiction of the positivity of culturally hybrid identities due to its obsession with the myth of the past home, reflective nostalgia 'explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones' (Boym 2001: xviii), and thus opens up paths to acknowledge the characters' belonging and longing choices and possibilities of representing culturally hybrid identities.

To briefly sum up, Yeşilçam's conventions, such as the construction of duality to create a melodramatic mode that mostly involves melancholy and the representation of nostalgia have a strong influence on films dealing with Turkish migration to Germany. Melancholy is also reinforced through sorrowful music, as is the case in the two earlier films, and through endings that suggest a better life in homeland Turkey. In this sense, these films portray the migration experience as dismal and thus negative.

This bias not only leads to what Mercer termed 'monologic tendencies',¹⁰² but also exacerbates a positive representation of cultural hybridity and culturally hybrid identities. Mercer claims that films with a 'monologic tendency' ignore the diversity and complexity of diasporic people or those with a migration experience (Mercer 1994: 62). This is exactly the case in the Yeşilçam films *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* and *Almanya Acı Gurbet* and in many others. These movies rely heavily on well established rigid narrative patterns and so continually repeat, on the one hand, stories about a sorrowful and hard life in *gurbet* and, on the other hand, tales about the temptations and

¹⁰¹ In 'Beyond Return in Turkish Diasporic Cinema' Silvia Kratzer (2015) explores the meaning of home and return in Turkish diasporic cinema. In analysing amongst others Fatih Akın's *Gegen die Wand* and *Soul Kitchen*, she concludes that in transnational cinema, the configurations of home and return have changed in the sense that the home the diasporic identity longs for is neither in the host country nor in the country of origin. Home and homecoming are not geographical, but rather an ongoing spiritual journey to a deeper sense of identity and self. See the whole anthology *Cinematic Homecomings: Exile and Return in Transnational Cinema* edited by Rebecca Prime.

¹⁰² See Chapter 2.3.1 for a detailed explanation of 'monologic tendency'.

immorality of Western society, which negatively influence the migrant's cultural identity. Most Turkish films about migration – in Mercer's words – 'homogenize and totalize' the migration experience of Turkish people in Germany rather than presenting a multifaceted picture. Such a one-sided representation makes it difficult to depict cultural hybridity a valuable resource.

However, Yeşilçam was notorious for its poor character development. Characters were static, flat, predictable, and lacked psychological depth. Erdoğan states that 'characters who were never depicted as individuals and who could not act, but were 'acted upon', reinforced the melodramatic affect' (Erdoğan 2006: 236). Furthermore, according to Tamer (1978) Turkish cinema has been very much star-oriented. Each star had her or his own fixed filmic persona, which recurred in every film. So the filmmakers and screenwriters designed the narrative with this in mind in order to fulfil the expectations of the audience and the fans (Tamer 1978). In the current case, the singer and actress Küçük Ceylan is well known for her singing sorrowful arabesk songs and playing the virtuous woman, who is victimised by an unfair and cruel world. Similarly, in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*, Neşe Karaböcek is known for her music performances and for representing a decent character with high morals.¹⁰³ The effect of star orientation and these fixed roles is that a deep and realistic representation of the migration experience gives way to the priority of the proved and for the film industry beneficial star-audience relation. Given such circumstances, a positive depiction of cultural hybridity is nearly impossible. This applies to almost all Yeşilçam films on Turkish migration.

The post-Yeşilçam film *Berlin Kaplanı* is alone in depicting Göktürk's 'pleasures of cultural hybridity'. The latest movie on the Turkish diaspora in Germany about third-generation Turkish German Ayhan presents a more multifaceted and complex picture of Turkish German lives and acknowledges the positives of cultural hybridity possibly for the first time in the Turkish cinema on migration.

To conclude, the dependency of films about Turkish migration on the aforementioned Yeşilçam conventions, such as on the melodramatic modality and melancholy, the important role of nostalgia, and the poor character development, results, on the one hand, in a 'monologic tendency', which neglects the complexity of

¹⁰³ Some examples of prominent stars, who have shot several film dealing with Turkish migration to Germany and have a steady and recurring role on screen are the ethically good characters like the child arabesk singer Küçük Emrah, another arabesk singer Ferdi Tayfur, and the naive melancholic comedians İlyas Salman and Kemal Sunal.

migration experience, and, on the other hand, in a lack of appreciation of the positives of culturally hybrid identities.

Even if the characters' hybridisation is completely ignored as in *Almanya Acı Gurbet* or shown, but not valued, as in *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı*, cultural hybridity inevitably occurs when cultures encounter each other in a migration setting. I argue that film on migration cannot ignore this reality totally, as I will demonstrate in the next section. It will be interesting to look at the role of music to see how various artistic styles are combined, leading to hybridisation.

4.5.5 The Use of Music and the Positioning of Cultural Identity

The examination of how melancholy is generated in the Yeşilçam films *Almanya Acı Gurbet* and *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* has shown how music and songs are employed to create a sorrowful mood in the films to underline the longing for home, homesickness, or the suffering of the wife who is waiting for her husband's return. In my analysis of the role of music, I mainly focus on its relation to culture and identity. I argue that music constitutes a powerful indicator of cultural hybridity and therefore an investigation of its use in relation to the characters' cultural positioning should shed insight, particularly in regard to arabesk song's connection to the migration experience.¹⁰⁴

As established, the only film to view culturally hybrid identities in a positive light is *Berlin Kaplanı*, which starts with a musically hybrid song. The song titled *Sabır* accompanies the opening credits and backs the images of the culturally hybrid Kreuzberg. The song is performed by the German-born Turkish German rapper Hakan Durmuş also known as Killa Hakan, who is from Kreuzberg himself and collaborates here with the film's scriptwriter and main actor Ata Demirer. In 'Aesthetics of Diaspora: Contemporary Minstrels in Turkish Berlin', Ayhan Kaya (2002) examines the Turkish hip hop scene in Berlin and includes Killa Hakan in his analysis. About the singer and his former group *Islamic Force*'s transnational music style Kaya notes:

¹⁰⁴ The use of music and sound in films has attracted broad scholarly interest. Claudia Gorbman's (1987) *Unheard Melodies*, Anahid Kassabian's (2001) *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music*, the anthology edited by Miguel Mera and David Burnand (2006) *European Film Music*, and Amy Hezog's (2010) *Dreams of Difference, Songs of the Same: The Musical Moment in Film* are a few examples. See the literature review in chapter 3.1 for articles about music in Turkish German diasporic cinema.

Islamic Force (...) combine a drum-computer rhythm of Afro-American tradition with melodic samples of Turkish *arabesk* and pop music. By mixing traditional Turkish instruments like the *zurna*, *bağlama* and *ud* with the Afro-American drum-computer rhythm, they transculture rap music (Kaya 2002: 52).

In his song *Sabır*, the rapper fuses Afro-American drum-computer rhythms with traditional Turkish melodies and instruments like the specific use of the violin in Turkish art music. The refrain, is sung by Ata Demirer in a typically arabesk style alongside Hakan's Turkish rap parts and incorporates additionally the arabesk genre in this already hybrid musical arrangement. The eclectic mix of diverse musical traditions from different cultures results in culturally hybrid music that represents not only the singer's cultural hybridity, but also symbolises the character Ayhan's culturally hybrid identity in the film. The same melody recurs throughout the first part of the film set in Kreuzberg. However, when the protagonist moves to Turkey, the film starts to feature Turkish songs.

In the second part, music takes a backseat and soft pop Turkish melodies accompany some scenes, an exception being the scene when Ayhan and Elvan grow closer at a beach bar at night. While lying on sun beds and drinking cocktails, they open up to each other a little and Ayhan explains how he became accustomed to Turkey and the sadness he feels at the thought of leaving his loved ones behind when he returns to Germany. A live solo acoustic guitarist performs the famous Turkish summer pop song *Akdeniz Akşamları* (Mediterranean Nights) during this intimate conversation at the beach. The song's lyrics, about falling in love in a July summer atmosphere on the Mediterranean, soon has everyone singing along. This engenders a close and loving communal spirit, arising from a sense of common identity that was missing in Ayhan's life in Germany, where he was living alone in his flat. Whether Ayhan is starting to experience any longing for an imagined homeland that he was not previously aware of, is open to debate.

One could argue that this song, as a part of the Mediterranean Turkish culture, stands for and underlines the Turkish side of Ayhan's cultural identity. However, I argue that *Berlin Kaplanı* construct no binarism of culture through its music. The hybrid song *Sabır* reflected Ayhan's culturally hybrid identity and *Akdeniz Akşamları* merely amplifies the complexity of his cultural identity. The character is at home with Turkish culture, German culture, boxing culture, and Mediterranean culture and therefore he

feels comfortable and can identify himself with both musical styles. The intermingling of his various experiences continually creates a new Ayhan whose culturally hybrid identity does not allow ascriptions like Turkish or German. In the romantic beach bar scene, Elvan opens up and reveals her feelings for Ayhan and her wish to go to Germany with him. Ayhan responds with a detailed discourse on the need for a Schengen visa and how to obtain one. His unemotional and rational does not represent his practical German side because the film confounds such simplistic dichotomies to show that the Turkish German character acts according to his hybrid and multifaceted cultural identity. In this situation, he is just realistic in a romantic atmosphere.

To conclude, the film integrates musical styles from different cultural traditions either within a single song as in Killa Hakan and Ata Demirel's arabesk-rap song *Sabır*, or throughout the film, which allows multiple styles of music as *Sabır* and *Akdeniz Akşamları* to coexist. The coexistence of culturally diverse music, on the one hand, expresses the Turkish German characters hybridity, and, on the other hand, renders the whole film a culturally hybrid piece of art.

Similarly, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* features traditional Turkish folk music alongside melodies from German nursery rhyme. As mentioned, the famous Turkish singer Neşe Karaböcek takes the lead role of Zeynep, who interprets several songs throughout the film. Her musical repertoire ranges from the songs *Duydum ki Unutmuşsun*, *Dilimi Bağlasalar Anmasam Hiç Adını*, and *Saymadım Kaç Yıl Oldu*, that she sings in the *Türk Sanat Müziği* genre style (in English: Turkish Classical Music, Turkish Art Music, or Ottoman Classical Music) that has its roots in the Ottoman Empire, to arabesk songs like *Dertler Benim Olsun* by Orhan Gencebay, often called the father or king of arabesk music. Zeynep sings songs not only for herself in her village in Turkey, but also performs them for other people in a Turkish club in Germany after becoming a famous singer there. Her performances recall Herzog's definition of the term 'musical moment', which 'occurs when music, typically a popular song, inverts the image-sound hierarchy to occupy a dominant position in a filmic work (...) [and] marks a point of rupture within the larger context of the film' (Herzog 2010: 7). Zeynep's musical interludes sometimes interrupt the narrative flow to emphasise her emotional state or enhance the film with popular songs sung by a famous singer. The film also features other musical traditions like – to stay with Turkish music – Anatolian folklore music and folklore dances accompanied by traditional Turkish music instruments *zurna* and *davul*, as when the Turkish villagers welcome Murat and the German tourists.

Moreover, Murat and Zeynep's party scenes in Turkey and Germany are always backed by a mix of Western pop, rock, and funk music from the 1970s. Another interesting musical intervention occurs when Zeynep arrives in Germany at the main train station in Köln. Whilst a confused and disoriented Zeynep wanders around lost and asks for help, the German nursery rhyme *Wer hat an der Uhr gedreht* plays on the soundtrack. The diverse Turkish songs work to underline Zeynep's emotions and thoughts, or to reinforce Zeynep and Murat's intimate moments. The Western music however, represents either an immoral Western egocentric and hedonistic society with its priorities of amusement, fun, and entertainment, or is deployed to emphasise the otherness and disorientation felt by the migrant in the foreign country Germany.

Accordingly, the film distinguishes between Turkish traditional and modern Western music by giving each a different meaning. In doing so, the musical dichotomy supports the narrative's binary construction of good Turkish village values versus a bad urban West. Nevertheless, as like *Berlin Kaplanı*, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* incorporates various music traditions and styles in one single film, it – probably unintentionally, but inevitably – results in a cultural hybridisation of the whole film.

My last case study *Almanya Acı Gurbet* belongs to the arabesk genre and features mainly arabesk songs with lyrics and rhythms that express feelings of sadness, fatalism, sorrow, disappointment, yearning, and longing, which not only relate to internal migration experiences from rural Anatolia to urban Istanbul, but also result from a generally pessimistic and overly sentimental perspective on life.

The child singer star and actress Küçük Ceylan (little Ceylan) as the female protagonist interprets several well-known songs by famous arabesk artists such as *Aldanma Çocuksu Mahsun Yüziüne* by Müslüm Gürses, *Kara Gurbet* by Ferdi Tayfur, and also her own song *Kime Suçlu Diyeyim*. In addition, she performs songs from the Turkish folk music genre like her final song *Bir Gün Şu Dünyadan Göçüp Gidersem* at the end of the film. Most of the songs that are either performed at the Turkish nightclub or simply used to back different scenes are most of the time not arabesk as such, but rather a mix of arabesk and Turkish folk music.

The girl singer group performing at the same Turkish nightclub similarly interprets songs by famous arabesk singers Orhan Gencebay and İbrahim Tatlıses, such as *Elhamdülillah* and *Mavi Mavi* in a traditional folk music style. The arabesk genre, already musically hybrid as it borrows elements from Turkish folk music, such as rhythms or interpretations, here reaches a new form of hybridity. Whilst some of the

music is meant to entertain, some presents migrants' despair in the foreign country and their longing for their village in Turkey. The film does not depict any form of Turkish and German cultural encounter, underlining this by featuring only traditional Turkish music.

Of particular import here is the fact that although the film, that is completely set in Germany, features no German or Western rock or pop music, so does not display the musical hybridity that would result from a coexisting of Turkish and Germany music within a single film, it inevitably presents another form of hybridity. Drawing on Bakhtin's ideas on the intermingling of different (social) languages in a single hybrid utterance, I argue that *Almanya Acı Gurbet* continually evinces hybridity by juxtaposing the visual and the audio. The characters are frequently shown wandering the streets of Germany to the sound of traditional Turkish music and arabesk songs. This juxtaposition of – to put it simply – the German visual and the Turkish audio in a single filmic utterance is not only heteroglossic, but also culturally hybrid. The opening credits are a good example of such a hybridity. As Ceylan and her uncle wander around, the camera focuses on typical German places and shops like the German bakery 'Rahm's Brotkorb', the arabesk song *Kara Gurbet*, sung by Ceylan, is played. This audio visual intermingling of cultures creates something completely new and hybrid. It is interesting to see how this film expresses a different form of cultural hybridity and how it shows Turkish arabesk being used to denote suffering resulting from external migration instead of internal migration.

Each of the three films deploys music in different ways to express cultural hybridity. First of all, in some instances the music and songs are already hybrid as with the rap-arabesk song *Sabır* in *Berlin Kaplanı* and certain songs in *Almanya Acı Gurbet* that blend the arabesk genre with traditional Turkish folk music melodies. The analysis shows that the utilisation of music from different cultural traditions underlines either the characters' culturally hybrid identities, or the cultural hybridity of the entire film. In the so far latest film, *Berlin Kaplanı*, the music suggests Ayhan's cultural hybridity as he is shown to be familiar with both the multicultural urban Berlin and the Mediterranean culture of Turkey. By contrast, *Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı* has a definite demarcation of good/rural/Turkish music and bad/pop/Western music to reflect cultural behaviour in certain scenes. However, since diverse styles of music from different traditions and cultures are shown to coexists, the cultural hybridisation of the movie becomes inevitable. Likewise the last film *Almanya Acı Gurbet* constructs a similar binary

opposition of cultures, but here Western music is completely absent. Traditional Turkish melodies and ‘Turkified’ arabesk music underline the depiction of the characters’ static Turkish cultural identity, and in combination with sorrowful lyrics, their difficult lives as migrants. Nevertheless, the director’s musical and narrative effort to disregard Turkish and German cultural encounters and to ignore the hybridisation of cultural identity inevitable in the migration process proves untenable. When scenes of German streets are underlaid by Küçük Ceylan’s arabesk songs, the audio visual intermingling of cultures produces something new and makes it impossible to categorise the culturally hybrid film as neither a typical Turkish arabesk melodrama, nor a sheer Turkish migration film. The film rather creates something unique by telling the Turkish arabesk story on the streets of Germany.

4.5.6 Conclusion: Cultural Hybridisation as an Inevitable Process

The purpose of the close analysis of these three films on the Turkish migration to Germany, the lives of guest-workers, and people belonging to the Turkish diaspora in Germany, has been to ascertain how cultural hybridity is portrayed. The exploration has shown that such films inevitably display cultural hybridity in various parameters and dimensions, such as complex linguistic and musical hybridity. Furthermore, two of the films engage with influence of Turkish German encounters on the guest-workers’ and the third-generation migrants’ cultural identity. Whilst *Almanya’da Bir Türk Kızı* features culturally hybrid identities, but represents these as a form of assimilation, *Berlin Kaplanı* exhibits an appreciation of culturally hybrid identity as a valuable resource.

The second major finding is the remarkable impact of Yeşilçam conventions, including its binarisms, which contribute to the films’ melodramatic modality. Melancholy and nostalgia dominate in the two Yeşilçam films. This influence is evident in two aspects of these films: firstly, the overreaching melancholic tone and the predominance of nostalgia underline a problem-based representation of the migration experience as leading to victimhood and misery; secondly, the fact that Turkish and German cultures are portrayed as oppositional precludes any conclusion characterising culturally hybridity identity as something either valuable or positive.

4.6 Turkish Migration Cinema: Yeşilçam's Dominance and the *Displeasures* of Cultural Hybridity

My research has revealed the existence of a large corpus of Turkish films on Turkish migration to Germany and the Turkish diaspora, but regardless of this fact, there is very little academic work on this topic. The review of the existing literature revealed that scholars provide valuable insight into this subject and helped in identifying the relevant corpus of films, which I have categorised in two main groups. Firstly, there are those, in which the topic of Turkish migration to Germany is merely background narrative or only appears as a starting point for the main storyline. These have relevance because they demonstrate that migration was an important part of everyday life and would therefore naturally be also part of Turkish cinema. The second group, however, focuses on the subject of migration in particular and considers it in some detail. Moreover, a chronological classification of films produced during the Yeşilçam era between the 1960s and 1980 (around 90 percent) and post-Yeşilçam era has proved useful.

The most obvious finding is the tremendous impact of Yeşilçam's industrial context and genre conventions. The fact that the film industry sought to produce a great number of films on a low budget in a short period to satisfy audience demand resulted in poor camerawork, lighting, and editing as well as to the quality of script and character development.

Many productions are melodramas, some of them are singer films and some arabesk film and a melodramatic modality pervades all films, even the comedies. This is mainly created by constructing polarities of good (East, rural, traditional) and bad (West, urban, modern) and by a melancholic mode. The perceived roots of melancholy include the suffering from nostalgia of a mythical home; hardships connected to migration such as separation from family, difficulties adapting and being the *other* in a new country; problematic cultural differences; the yearning for home; and the alienation felt by returnees, which are all key topics in migration film. Hence, this dependence on typical Yeşilçam conventions inevitably results in a rather pessimistic perspective of Turkish migration. However, the few post-Yeşilçam films adopt a social worker angle and most of them can also be termed transnational and seen as evincing an optimistic perspective on cultural hybridity.

With the end of Yeşilçam era and the rise of the new cinema of Turkey, its pronounced influence on migration films dissipated, but the number of films on migration also rapidly declined. The new cinema of Turkey lost interest in the topic of

Turkish migration. By featuring people from the Turkish diaspora in Germany in supporting roles rather than as protagonists, I argue that cinema started to normalise the presence of former guest-workers and the following generations as an everyday reality of Turkish and German society, which is also reflected in the multiple Turkish TV series that involve characters representing the Turkish diaspora.

In my analysis, I could identify only four films from the new cinema of Turkey that cover this subject. Two can be classified as transnational and hybrid and portray the lives of refugees in Germany and other Western European countries. Another concerns a Turkish woman in Germany, who is oppressed and beaten by her husband, but manages to free herself with the help of the German welfare state. The three social-realistic films share the aforementioned social worker perspective akin to early films on first guest-workers in German cinema. In contrast to German cinema, they tend to represent the heterogeneity of migrants in terms of their national, ethnic, cultural, socioeconomic, and political backgrounds. The fourth film on the topic, *Berlin Kaplanı*, constitutes an exception, as the first film to adopt a positive approach to the culturally hybrid identities of diasporic characters. The comedy represents the third-generation migrants' culturally hybrid identities and showcases how varied cultural encounters can be of value.

Another aim of this chapter was to investigate how Turkish cinema on migration from the 1960s until the present represented cultural hybridity. The in-depth analysis of three films, has shown that films on migration are inevitably culturally hybrid. They differ from each other in firstly, the extent to which they focus on cultural hybridity and secondly, their perspective on and interpretation of it. Turkish German encounters are shown to result in diverse and complex forms of linguistic and musical cultural hybridity and also in the hybridisation of the cultural identity. The films predominantly present cultural hybridity as something negative and tend to strictly divide the characters' cultural identity to Turkish and German factions. In other words, although cultural hybridity is represented, it is not properly acknowledged.

However, as aforementioned, *Berlin Kaplanı* constitutes an exception. The comedy portrays the third-generation Turkish German protagonist Ayhan with his complex and multifaceted culturally hybrid identity as a resource. This finding is of particular interest in relation to the representation of cultural identity in German and Turkish German cinema. As previously examined, German cinema had a problem-based view on the migration experience and on Turkish German cultural encounters, focusing

on difficulties of being torn between cultures. However, Turkish German filmmakers, themselves culturally hybrid, dropped the social worker perspective and portrayed the everyday lives of the culturally hybrid second- and third-generation migrants and the pleasures of this cultural hybridity. In this sense, it is interesting that the director and the screenwriter of *Berlin Kaplanı*, with no diasporic or exile background, represent also the pleasures of cultural hybridity similar to Turkish German filmmakers. Even if they lack the special and exceptional ability of diasporic filmmakers to tell stories with a unique ‘haptic visuality’ or ‘diasporic optic’, they come fairly close to their filmic approach.

However, taking the whole corpus of films about Turkish migration to Germany into account, the research has revealed that with very few recent exceptions, Turkish cinema does not depict the pleasures of hybridity or highlight the positives being culturally hybrid. Furthermore, most films do not end with a message of hope, but rather disenchant the migration experience of the first guest-workers in Germany, condemn the Western culture and way of life, and concentrate on the migrants’ desire to return to Turkey, still regarded as the place of salvation. The general message is that emigration causes misery and disaster for the migrant and his family back home. Thus, this perspective on the Turkish migration experiences concentrates on the *displeasures* of hybridity.

This finding corroborates Makal’s (1987) observation about the representation of external migration in Turkish cinema. He critiques, on the one hand, the dominance of a pessimistic and pathetic depiction of the migration experience and, on the other hand, the failure to achieve realism in their representation of migrants’ lives and advocates a cinematic approach that features the cultural and social reality of Turkish migration in Turkish cinema (Makal 1987: 105f.). In agreeing with Makal about the neglect of a realistic perspective, I suggest it is not Turkish filmmakers’ duty to accurately represent the migrants’ actual migration experience.

Lastly, I would like to dwell on the question of whether the cinematic representation of Turkish labour migrants and their descendants, who form today’s Turkish diaspora in Germany, in Turkish cinema, corresponds with that in German cinema. This question resulted from the idea that both ‘national’ cinemas could share a similar filmic attitude towards the Turkish migration experience in contrast to Turkish German cinema, which is transnational, accented and characterised by the diasporic

optic of the Turkish German filmmakers. However, my analysis has proved that such an assumption is untenable for many reasons.

First, in regard to terms, Yeşilçam cinema, that produced the majority of the films on Turkish migration, can hardly be classified as a national cinema, which holds also true for German cinema as shown in the previous chapter. Diverse influences from other Western and Eastern cinemas, combined with extensive adaptations and plagiarism of narratives and aesthetics make Yeşilçam a hybrid cinema. As aforementioned, Erdoğan even identifies an identity crisis of Turkish cinema during Yeşilçam. He argues that Yeşilçam was lost in mimicking other cinemas and therefore unable to present a national identity (Erdoğan 2006: 230). With respect to post-Yeşilçam movies, Arslan (2011) emphasises the transnationalism and hybridity in the new cinema of Turkey. Thus, migration films can scarcely be placed in a pure Turkish national cinema frame. Nevertheless, several similarities cannot be denied. Both represent the migration experience from a pessimistic perspective. German cinema ‘dutifully’ depicts the hardship of migrants’ lives including their loneliness, difficult living and working conditions, and the experience of xenophobia. Turkish cinema, faithful to Yeşilçam conventions, predominantly features a melodramatic modality and emphasises the melancholic nature of the migration experience.

On the other hand, Turkish cinema, during Yeşilçam and post-Yeşilçam, differs also from Turkish German cinema that is characterised by the filmmakers’ diasporic optic, allowing them to represent cultural hybridity in a distinct way. Thus, with respect to the already existing scholarly discourse about the representation of Turkish migrants in German and Turkish German cinema, I suggest classifying the representation of Turkish migration in Turkish cinema as a third and ‘independent’ pillar alongside that in German cinema and Turkish German cinema.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation has been to investigate the representation of Turkish guest-workers and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema. Turkish films on this topic have received scant scholarly attention; the present study seeks to close this significant gap. Another key objective has been to apply a critical framework from postcolonial studies, namely cultural hybridity, to films from all three film cultures. While there is already some academic work that deploys this concept in relation to Turkish German cinema, so far no study has applied Bakhtin's and Bhabha's theories to German and Turkish cinema, presumably because notions of hybridity seem more pertinent to transnational and diasporic films than to national ones. The comparative approach I have taken to case studies from three different, albeit closely interrelated, film cultures offers a complementary vantage point to existing scholarship and, in particular, to the newly emerging work on Turkish cinema about migration. Thereby, I aim to pave the way for further important research and open up a new field of critical enquiry to the non-Turkish speaking scholarly community, which has no access to the great number of relevant films only available in Turkish.

The first objective of this research has been to outline the sociohistorical context of Turkish immigration to Germany in order to provide important background to how Turkish migration has developed over the years and influenced both Germany, as the receiving country, and Turkey, as the sending country. This has allowed me to situate films and Turkish German directors in broader societal frameworks. A critical overview of the historical developments has shown that numerous Turkish guest-workers, who emigrated to Germany in the wake of the bilateral Turkish German labour recruitment agreement in the 1960s, have stayed in Germany. As a result of family reunions in the 1970s and 1980s, a high birth rate, and the immigration of Turkish and Kurdish political asylum seekers in the 1980s, the second- and third-generation immigrants have permanently settled in Germany and become the largest immigrant community. Today, there are three important new forms of migration. Firstly, an ongoing Turkish immigration to Germany through arranged marriages between Turkish Germans and Turks. This type of migration is often seen as a new form of family reunion. Secondly, there is a significant amount of return migration from Germany to Turkey, and lastly, there is an increased number of Turkish German transmigrants, who exhibit various patterns of transnational mobility between Turkey and Germany.

One of my key hypotheses is that Turkish German filmmakers employ aesthetic strategies in their films about the experience of migration and diaspora that have been identified by other scholars as distinctive of diasporic cinemas. In the first instance, it was essential to establish whether or not the Turkish community in Germany and the filmmakers who are part of this community can actually be categorised as a diaspora. This avenue of enquiry has shown that the meaning of 'diaspora' has expanded significantly over the past 30 years and now extends beyond the original victim diasporas it originally referred to. Thus, in contemporary usage, 'diaspora' encompasses Turkish and Kurdish political refugees (a recent victim diaspora) as well as guest-workers (a well-established labour diaspora) in Germany. Due to the fact that the highly diverse Turkish diaspora in Germany exhibits numerous characteristics associated with diasporas, like a strong attachment to the country of origin, plans to return to the homeland (whether realised or not) and transnational mobility between the two countries, I suggest that they constitute a complex and segmented diaspora.

It was important to explore whether the concept of cultural hybridity originating in postcolonial studies can be applied to the Turkish diaspora despite the fact that it has no history of colonialism. I argue that the Turkish community shares some pertinent similarities with postcolonial diasporas, such as having a history of migration, constituting a diaspora, being an ethnic minority and being the *other* in the host society, and this enables me to apply this concept to the Turkish diaspora in Germany and to their cultural production, notably film.

These two facts, firstly, that the Turkish community in Germany constitutes a diaspora, and secondly, that the (postcolonial) theory of cultural hybridity is applicable to this Turkish diaspora's cultural formations, allowed me to adopt not only ideas on diasporic cinema on Turkish German diasporic filmmakers' films, but also to consider cultural hybridity in relation to films about Turkish migration. The detailed investigation of Bakhtin's concept of linguistic hybridity, Bhabha's cultural hybridity, Naficy's diasporic accented cinema, Wahl's polyglot cinema, Moorti's diasporic optic, Marks's haptic visuality, Elsaesser's hyphenated identity cinema, and Mercer's dialogic tendencies, has resulted in two key findings. Firstly, (social) language hybridity and cultural hybridity challenge a pure, static, and fixed understanding of culture and identity. By emphasising the non-essentialist nature of language, culture and identity, hybridity allows a constant re-negotiation of social languages and culture and continually creates new cultural identities and social languages. Secondly, diasporic cinema has distinctive features and is hybrid in the sense that it draws on cinematic

traditions from the hyphenated filmmakers' home and host countries; and Turkish German cinema is no exception.

After outlining the sociohistorical context and introducing the theoretical framework in the first two chapters, I applied theories of linguistic and cultural hybridity to films about Turkish migration and diaspora in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema. Although scholars such as Burns and Göktürk have already mentioned cultural hybridity in their discussions of how the representational strategies of German cinema have shifted from a social worker perspective, focusing on the plight of early guest-workers and their families, to a culturally hybrid Turkish German cinema that depicts the pleasures of hybridity, as yet manifestations of cultural and linguistic hybridity have not been systematically investigated in both cinemas. This study is the first in-depth research that has applied this concept to all three cinemas.

The present study has demonstrated that films from both German and Turkish German cinema feature linguistic hybridity and culturally hybrid characters. However, I recognised a significant difference in the representation of cultural hybridity. Whereas German cinema of the 1970s and 1980s depicts or implies the characters' problematic status of being torn between cultures and neglects to portray cultural hybridity in positive terms, Turkish German cinema is not only culturally hybrid itself by combining filmic traditions from Turkish and German cinema, but also features the characters' linguistic and cultural hybridity as a natural and creative competence. The exploration of Fatih Akin's films has revealed that breaking stereotypical cultural ascriptions is a necessary precondition for the portrayal of cultural hybridity and its positive evaluation. I concur with scholars of diasporic cinema, who have identified a diasporic optic, a haptic visuality and an accented style as hallmarks of diasporic cinema, and I argue that Turkish German filmmakers like Akin are able to provide a more realistic representation of cultural and linguistic hybridity as a creative competence, which can be traced back to their own culturally hybrid identities. The finding that both German and Turkish German cinemas actually depict hybridity is of particular importance, since it challenges previous academic debates.

From my research into the representation of Turkish guest-workers and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in Turkish cinema, an area that has received little scholarly attention, I was able to identify a large corpus of nearly 80 films featuring the

topic of external migration; almost 70 films depict migration to Germany in Turkish cinema from the 1960s to the present.

One finding that emerged from the films surveyed is that the relevant corpus can be categorised into two groups. Firstly, there are films in which the theme of Turkish migration and migrants' lives takes centre stage. In the second group, migration fades into the background and only functions as background to the main plot. Although these latter films cannot be defined as migration films as such, they are important to this research because they address how migration affects family and friends at home in Turkey. Moreover, the great number of these films reveals that emigration had a significant effect on relatives who remained in Turkey, and that it represents the norm for numerous Turkish families – which explains why it is such an important focus in Turkish cinema. Furthermore, it shows that migration themes afforded good plot variety for filmmakers.

My examination has also shown that films dealing with migration in Turkish cinema predominantly focus on labour migration and guest-workers who emigrated in the 1960s and 1970s and neglect Kurdish and Turkish political refugees from the 1980s. This might be because by far the vast majority of films about migration were produced between the 1960s and 1980s, a period when labour migration was a highly debated social issue. Another reason is, as I suggest, that the public and political climate in Turkey after the military coup in 1980 was not conducive to filmmakers interested in refugees' lives. Moreover, in the post- Yeşilçam era, the number of films produced in Turkey dropped drastically. This also explains why far fewer films about migration to Germany were made after the golden age of Turkish cinema, as Yeşilçam is often called.

The next significant finding is that around 90 percent of films were made during the Yeşilçam era between the 1960s and 1980s, which allows me to divide the whole corpus into two chronological phases: films produced in Yeşilçam cinema and in post-Yeşilçam cinema. My investigation has revealed that the drastic decrease in films about migration coincided with a general decline in film production in Turkey. This leads to another important revelation, namely the remarkable impact that Yeşilçam cinema had on Turkish films about migration.

My analysis has shown that Yeşilçam's industrial conditions and its narrative and aesthetic characteristics have shaped the representation of the Turkish emigration experience for decades afterwards. First of all, given that Yeşilçam film industry had to produce a vast number of films on low budgets in a short time to meet audience

demand, thus resulted in poor quality camerawork, lighting, editing, and plot and character development, which is also true of the films about migration. Yeşilçam cinema was dominated by popular genres, notably family and romantic melodramas, and comedies; most Turkish films about migration conform to these generic templates. Hence, in contrast to German cinema about migration, Turkish cinema adopted a humorous approach a decade earlier than German cinema, given that culture-clash comedies only came to the fore in the 1990s. These Yeşilçam comedies mostly feature culture clashes resulting from encounters between an industrial, modern, urban, and liberal German culture and the traditional rural village culture of Turkey. Yet the films' humour is inevitably tempered with melancholy, depicting the emigrants' and returnees' experiences of otherness, loneliness, alienation, and unemployment.

The research has shown that melodramas, including singer films and arabesk films, predominate when it comes to representing migration. A melodramatic modality, nostalgia and melancholy fulfil important functions in these films. They revolve around established socioeconomic and sociocultural binarisms such as rural versus urban, poor versus rich, lower class versus bourgeoisie, Eastern versus Western, and bad values versus good values. On the other hand, melancholy is created by approaching migration as an experience that entails sorrow caused by the separation from homeland, family, and friends, and difficulties in adapting to the new country. Thus, longing for home, otherness, marginalisation, loneliness and despair are dominant themes. What comedies, melodramas, and, in particular, arabesk films about external migration have in common, is that they tend to just replace the metropolis Istanbul, that represents the West and frequently embodies immorality and egocentrism in a typical Yeşilçam film, with Germany. Like Istanbul, Germany is contrasted with a highly romanticised rural homeland, which leads to a rather negative depiction of the migration experience in Germany. Moreover, arabesk films about migration depict the deep yearning and longing for home, which is underlined by the sorrowful arabesk songs and lyrics.

As this study has shown, Turkish films about migration are indebted to the Yeşilçam traditions. This is also reflected in some recurrent subjects such as firstly, the breakdown of the nuclear family and the financial and emotional suffering of the wife waiting for her spouse in Turkey; secondly, the Westernisation of the Turkish émigré in Germany, the temptation of immoral Western values and the blonde German woman, which ultimately alienates him/her from the culture of origin; thirdly, the guest-workers' experiences of loneliness, disorientation, hard working conditions, and difficulties in adapting to the new home, culture, language, and customs in Germany;

and lastly, the emigrant's homesickness, which is termed *gurbet* in Turkish culture. *Gurbet* is used to describe the difficulties of displacement and integration into the German culture and in particular the yearning and longing for the homeland, which leads to the depiction of the migrant's life as sorrowful and miserable.

Another key finding is that, after the end of Yeşilçam era in the so-called new cinema of Turkey, only a small number of films address migration to Germany. This study only could identify four films that engage with the migration experience in depth, while most films depict people from the Turkish diaspora in Germany in supporting roles. Since the 1990s a growing number of Turkish television series have depicted the Turkish diaspora in Germany. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a sign of a normalisation of migration, a recognition that it constitutes a usual part of everyday lives in Turkey. However, the analysis of the four films has demonstrated a shift from melodramatic modes to social realist modes of representation, meaning that these recent Turkish films prove similar to early German films about the guest-worker experience. However, in contrast to the German films, they foreground the heterogeneity of migrants' national, ethnic, cultural, socioeconomic, and political backgrounds.

A main aim of this study was to explore the filmic approach to cultural hybridity in Turkish films about migration. The in-depth analysis of three films, two from the Yeşilçam era, has revealed the centrality of cultural hybridity in films that depict migration and Turkish German cultural encounters, which are shown to result in complex forms of linguistic hybridity, musical cultural hybridity, and the representation of culturally hybrid characters. However, the Yeşilçam films do not depict the hybridity of cultural identity as an advantage, but rather emphasise the characters' internal struggles of being torn between two cultures and the identity conflicts they experience. *Berlin Kapları/The Tiger of Berlin* constitutes an exception and is possibly the first time that Turkish cinema portrays the hybrid cultural identity as something positive and enriching.

Taking the entire corpus of films about Turkish migration to Germany into account, the research has revealed that, with the exception of a few recent films from Turkey, Turkish cinema does not show the 'pleasures of hybridity' nor point out the advantages of being culturally hybrid. Furthermore, most films end with a sense of disenchantment and a condemnation of Western culture and culminate in the migrant's desire to return to Turkey, imagined as a place of salvation. Hence, a significant number of films suggest that emigration causes misery and disaster. It is thus fair to say that Turkish films articulate the *displeasures* of hybridity.

In addition, the study has shown that the narratives of Turkish films reflect the actual chronology of Turkish migration to Germany and the resulting sociocultural and socioeconomic impact on Turkish society. Turkish cinema starts by depicting the lives of guest-workers and how migration affects the migrant himself and his family home in the 1960s and this focus continues until the 1980s. From then on, the second- and third-generation immigrants gradually begin to appear in Turkish films. Moreover, films resonate with the real life experience of migrants and the family members left behind. Recurrent tropes of Yeşilçam and more recent Turkish films about migration include the importance of remittances sent from Germany, the practice of bringing generous gifts from Germany to Turkey and the ostentatious display of wealth acquired in Germany when visiting home.

The comparison of the representation of Turkish migration to Germany in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema has shown that German and Turkish cinema display some interesting similarities. Both approach migration from a rather pessimistic angle, whereby German cinema adopts the convention of ‘the cinema of duty’ in the social realist tradition, whereas most Turkish films draw their pessimistic point of view from prefabricated melancholic narrative patterns of Yeşilçam melodramas. Moreover, whilst German cinema concentrates on the guest-workers’ lives in Germany, Turkish cinema includes the impact of migration on the guest-workers’ families and friends in Turkey. In films made since 2000, a similar social realist approach prevails. Turkish German cinema on the other hand, displays the migration experience and the lives of the Turkish diaspora as the norm in an increasingly transnationally mobile world. It is thus not surprising that, amongst the three cinemas considered in this thesis, Turkish German cinema is the one that espouses the advantages and pleasures of cultural hybridity – both in the films’ narrative developments and aesthetic strategies.

This dissertation is intended to contribute to the existing scholarship on Turkish German cinema, with the aim of advancing the study of the subject by exploring the representation in Turkish cinema and analysing cultural hybridity in German, Turkish German, and Turkish cinema. The originality of this study is the comparative analysis of the three cinemas and the utilisation of the concept of cultural hybridity as the theoretical tool. The significance of this comparison lies in the consideration of the so far neglected Turkish cinema and its integration into scholarly debates on the

representation of Turkish immigration in German and Turkish German cinema as an essential third pillar. As a result of my findings, I would like to recommend expanding the present scholarly debates on Turkish migration in German cinema and Turkish German cinema by involving the filmic perspective of Yeşilçam cinema and the new cinema of Turkey for a more enriching academic discourse in this field. Moreover, my study of Turkish cinema dealing with migration strives to encourage more academic investigation of Turkish external migration cinema.

The findings of this dissertation indicate that there is considerable scope for further research as delineated below.

1. The current study has opened up the largely uncharted territory of Turkish migration films but has only been able to include close analyses of a small number of films. Hence, a large corpus of Turkish films, including those that portray emigration to Sweden, Switzerland and Austria still await critical analysis.
2. A combination of contextual and close textual analysis has been the methodological approach of this study. A close formal analysis with a focus on the cinematography and the use of filmic tools such as camera, editing, and sound could be beneficial to define the optic and haptic qualities of the films and their overall framing of the migrants' stories.
3. With cultural hybridity as its key critical framework, this dissertation has focused on linguistic and musical hybridity and on the construction of culturally hybrid identities. A close investigation of hybridity in several more cultural spheres like food, fashion, and living environment could yield further insight.
4. Although there is a steadily growing interest in portraying Turkish diasporic characters in Turkish television series, there is no research on this phenomenon.
5. The legacy of Yeşilçam cinema on the new cinema of Turkey, though addressed in this dissertation in relation to Turkish films about migration, merits further scholarly attention. Along similar lines, it would be interesting to explore in depth how certain conventions from Yeşilçam melodrama and arabesk films have influenced the aesthetic sensibilities of Turkish German diasporic filmmakers.

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- 40 Quadratmeter Deutschland/40 Square Meters of Germany* (1986, Tevfik Başer)
- 300 Worte Deutsch/300 German Words* (2013, Züli Aladağ)
- 650 Wörter – Kelime – Words* (2015, Martina Priessner)
- Abgebrannt/Burnout* (2011, Verena S. Freytag)
- Abschied vom falschen Paradies/Farewell to a False Paradise* (1989, Tevfik Başer)
- Agent Ranjid rettet die Welt/Agent Ranjid Saves the World* (2012, Michael Karen)
- Alltag/Everyday Life* (2002, Neco Çelik)
- Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland/Almanya – Welcome to Germany* (2010, Yasemin Şamdereli)
- Am Rande der Städte/On the Outskirts* (2006, Aysun Bademsoy)
- Anam/My Mother* (2001, Buket Alakuş)
- Angst essen Seele auf/Fear Eats Soul* (1974, Rainer Werner Fassbinder)
- Aprilkinder/April Children* (1998, Yüksel Yavuz)
- Auf der anderen Seite/The Edge of Heaven* (2007, Fatih Akın)
- Aus dem Nichts/In the Fade* (2017, Fatih Akın)
- Aus der Ferne sehe ich dieses Land/I See This Land from Afar* (1978, Christian Ziewer)
- Aus der Ferne/From Afar* (2006, Thomas Arslan)
- Auslandstournee/Tour Abroad* (2000, Ayşe Polat)
- Berlin in Berlin* (1993, Sinan Çetin)
- Bis aufs Blut – Brüder auf Bewährung/Stronger Than Blood* (2010, Oliver Kienle)
- Blutzbrüder/Blood Brothers* (2012, Özgür Yıldırım)
- Cemile oder das Märchen von der Hoffnung/Cemile or the Fable Of Hope* (1995, İsmet Elçi)
- Chiko* (2008, Özgür Yıldırım)
- Crossing the Bridge - The Sound of Istanbul* (2005, Fatih Akın)
- Dealer* (1999, Thomas Arslan)
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- Der schöne Tag/A Fine Day* (2001, Thomas Arslan)
- Deutsche Polizisten/German Police Officers* (2004, Aysun Bademsoy)

Die Erbin/The Heiress (2013, Ayşe Polat)
Die Fremde/When We Leave (2010, Feo Aladağ)
Die Hochzeitsfabrik/The Wedding Factory (2005, Aysun Bademsoy)
Die kleine Freiheit/A Little Bit of Freedom (2002, Yüksel Yavuz)
Die Kümmeltürkin geht/Melek Leaves (1985, Jeanine Meerapfel)
Die Neue/The New (2015, Buket Alakuş)
Die Opfer – Vergesst mich nicht!/The Victims – Do Not Forget Me (2016, Züli Aladağ)
Drachenfutter/Dragon Chow (1987, Jan Schütte)
Drei gegen Troja/Three Against Troja (2005, Hussi Kutlucan)
Düğün – Die Heirat/The Wedding – The Marriage (1991, İsmet Elçi)
Düğün – Hochzeit auf Türkisch/Düğün – The Turkish Wedding (2016, Ayşe Kalmaz and Marcel Kolvenbach)
Ehre/Honour (2011, Aysun Bademsoy)
Eine andere Liga/Offside (2005, Buket Alakuş)
Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße/One Hans With Spicy Sauce (2013, Buket Alakuş)
Ekmek Parası/Bread and Butter (1994, Serap Berrakkarasu)
Elefantenherz/Elephant Heart (2002, Züli Aladağ)
En Garde (2004, Ayşe Polat)
Evet, ich will!/Evet, I Do! (2008, Sinan Akkuş)
Fack Ju Göhte (2013, Bora Dağtekin)
Fack Ju Göhte 2 (2015, Bora Dağtekin)
Ferien/Vacation (2007, Thomas Arslan)
Finnischer Tango/Finnish Tango (2008, Buket Alakuş)
Freundinnen fürs Leben/Friends for Life (2006, Buket Alakuş)
Ganz Unten/Lowest of the Low (1986, Jörg Gfrörer)
Gegen die Wand/Head-On (2004, Fatih Akin)
Geschwister/Brothers and Sisters (1997, Thomas Arslan)
Getürkt/Weed (1996, Fatih Akin)
Gold (2013, Thomas Arslan)
„Hadi Tschüss“/„Hadi Bye“ (2015, Matthias Ditscherlein and Anne Denkingen)
Happy Birthday Türke/Happy Birthday Turk (1991, Dorris Dörrie)
Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter/I Am My Mother's Daughter (1996, Seyhan Derin)
Ich Chef, Du Turnschuh/Me Boss, You Sneakers (1998, Hussi Kutlucan)
Ich gehe jetzt rein/In the Game (2008, Aysun Bademsoy)
Im Juli/In July (2000, Fatih Akin)

Im Schatten/In the Shadows (2010, Thomas Arslan)

Import-Export – Eine Reise in die deutsch-türkische Vergangenheit/Import-Export – A Journey into the German-Turkish Past (2005, Eren Önsöz)

Kanak Attack (2000, Lars Becker)

Karamuk (2002, Sülbiye Günar, later adopting the Name Verena S. Freytag)

Katzelmacher (1969, Rainer Werner Fassbinder)

Kebab Connection (2005, Anno Saul)

Krüger aus Almanya/Krüger from Almanya (2015, Marc Andreas Bochert)

Kückückskind/The Milkman's Child (2013, Christoph Schee)

Kurz und Schmerzlos/Short Sharp Shock (1998, Fatih Akın)

Lola und Bilidikid/Lola and Bilidikid (1999, Kutluğ Ataman)

Luks Glück/Luk's Luck (2010, Ayşe Polat)

Mädchen am Ball/Girls on the Pitch (1995, Aysun Bademsoy)

Mein Vater der Türke/My Father the Turk (2006, Marcus Vetter)

Mein Vater, der Gastarbeiter/My Father, the Guestworker (1995, Yüksel Yavuz)

Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit/My Crazy Turkish Wedding (2006, Stefan Holtz)

Müll im Garten Eden/Pollution Paradise (2012, Fatih Akın)

Nach dem Spiel/After the Game (1997, Aysun Bademsoy)

Palermo oder Wolfsburg/Palermo or Wolfsburg (1980, Werner Schröter)

Rotkohl und Blaukraut/Turkish Kraut (2011, Anna Hepp)

Sensin – Du bist es!/Sensin – You're the One! (1995, Fatih Akın)

Shirins Hochzeit/Shirin's Wedding (1975, Helma Sanders-Brahms)

Solino (2002, Fatih Akın)

Soul Kitchen (2009, Fatih Akın)

Status Yo! (2004, Till Hastreiter)

Süperseks (2004, Torsten Wacker)

The Cut (2014, Fatih Akın)

Töchter zweier Welten/Daughters of Two Worlds (1990, Serap Berrakkarasu)

Tschick/Goodbye (2016, Fatih Akın)

Türkisch für Anfänger/Turkish for Beginners (2012, Bora Dağtekin)

Urban Guerillas (2004, Neco Çelik)

Vatanyolu – Die Heimreise/Vatanyolu – Journey Home (1989, Enis Günay and Rasim Konyar)

Willkommen bei Habib/Welcome to Habib (2013, Michael Baumann)

Wir sitzen im Süden/We Are Based Down South (2010, Martina Priessner)

Wut/Rage (2005, Züli Aladağ)
Yara/The Wound (1998, Yılmaz Arslan)
Yasemin (1988, Hark Bohm)
Zwischen den Sternen/Between the Stars (2002, Seyhan Derin)

Migration Films in Turkish Cinema

Alman Avradın Bacısı/The German Woman's Sister (1990, Ali Avaz)
Alman Avrat 40 Bin Mark/German Woman 40 Thousand German Marks (1988, Ali Avaz)
Almancının Karısı/The Alamancı's Wife (1987, Orhan Elmas)
Almanya Acı Gurbet/Germany Bitter Gurbet (1988, Yavuz Figenli)
Almanya Acı Vatan/Germany Bitter Homeland (1979, Şerif Gören)
Almanya Macerası/A Germany Adventure (1990, Oğuz Gözen)
Almanya'da Bir Türk Kızı/A Turkish Girl in Germany (1974, Hulki Saner)
Almanyalı Yarım/My German Sweetheart (1974, Orhan Aksoy)
Amansız Yol/Desperate Road (1985, Ömer Kavur)
Ana Kurban Can Kurban/Mother Sacrifice Soul Sacrifice (1975, Feyzi Tuna)
Ankara Ekspresi/Ankara Express (1970, Muzaffer Arslan)
Avrupalı/The European (2007, Ulaş Ak)
Ayrılamam/I Cannot Leave (1986, Temel Gürsü)
Baba/The Father (1971, Yılmaz Güney)
Babam Geri Döndü/My Father Returned (2005, Temel Gürsu)
Baldız/Sister-In-Law (1975, Temel Gürsü)
Banker Bilo/Bilo the Banker (1980, Ertem Eğilmez)
Batan Güneş/The Setting Sun (1978, Temel Gürsü)
Berlin in Berlin (1994, Sinan Çetin)
Berlin Kaplanı/The Tiger of Berlin (2012, Hakan Algül)
Bir Türk'e Gönül Verdim/I Lost My Heart to a Turk (1969, Halit Refiğ)
Bir Umut Uğruna/For the Sake of Hope (1991, Gökhan Güney)
Bir Yiğit Gurbete Gitse/When a Brave Goes to Gurbet (1977, Kemal Kan)
Bizim Büyük Çağresizliğimiz/Our Grand Despair (2011, Seyfi Teoman)
Büyük Acı/The Big Pain (1971, Mehmet Bozkuş)
Cilalı İbo Almanya'da/Ibo the Polished in Germany (1970, Osman F. Seden)
Çöp/Garbage (1991, Fazlı Takıroğlu)

Cumartesi Cumartesi/Saturday Saturday (1984, Tunç Okan)
Davaro (1981, Kartal Tibet)
Deliler Almanya'da/The Crazy People Are in Germany (1980, Yavuz Figenli)
Dönme Dolap/Carousel (1986, Hidayet Pelit)
Dönüş/The Return (1972, Türkan Şoray and Kaya Ererez)
Düşman/Enemy (1973, Muzaffer Arslan)
El Kapısı/Foreign Door (1974, Orhan Elmas)
Ferman/The Command (1988, Yücel Uçanoğlu)
Fikrimin İnce Güllü – Sarı Mercedes/Mercedes mon amour (1987, Tunç Okan)
Gül Hasan/Hasan the Rose (1979, Tuncel Kurtiz)
Güllü Kız/The Girl With Roses (1985, Mümtaz Alpaslan)
Güneşi Gördüm/I Saw the Sun (2009, Mahsun Kırmızıgül)
Gurbet Kuşları/Birds of Gurbet (1964, Halit Refiğ)
Gurbet/Gurbet (1984, Yücel Uçanoğlu)
Gurbetçi Şaban/Şaban the Gurbetçi (1985, Kartal Tibet)
Gurbetçiler/The Expatriats (1973, Osman F. Seden)
Haş Haş/Hashish Hashish (1975, Ertem Göreç)
İntizar/Expectation (1973, Oksal Pekmezoğlu)
Kaçak/The Escapee (1982, Memduh Ün)
Kadersiz Doğmuşum/I Was Born Without Destiny (1991, Oğuz Gözen)
Kaledeki Yalnızlık/Loneliness in the Goal (2011, Volga Sorgu Tekinoğlu)
Kara Şimşek/Black Lightning (1985, Çetin İnanç)
Kara Toprak/Black Land (1973, Mehmet Dinler)
Karakafa/Black Head (1979, Korhan Yurtsever)
Kardeş Kanı/Splettring (1984, Muammer Özer)
Katma Değer Şaban/Value Added Tax Şaban (1985, Kartal Tibet)
Kenan'da Bir Kuyu/A Well in Canaan (2005, Gül Güzelkaya)
Kin ve Gül/Hate and Rose (2005, Savaş Esici)
Kiraz Çiçek Açıyor/The Cherry Blossom Sprouts (1990, Yaşar Seriner)
Kırmızı Fistan Mor Kadife/Red Dress, Purple Velvet (1988, Ahmet Yüzüak)
Kobay (1986, Müjdat Gezen)
Made in Europe (2007, İnan Temelkuran)
Mavi Pansion/Blue Lodge (2011, Nezih Ünen)
Memleketim/My Hometown (1974, Yücel Çakmaklı)
Mevsim Çiçek Açtı/Spring Blossoms (2012, Ali Levent Üngör)

Mülteci/Refugee (2007, Reis Çelik)
Neredesin Firuze/Where's Firuze (2004, Ezel Akay)
Otobüs/Omnibus (1974, Tunç Okan)
Ölmez Ağacı/The Immortal Tree (1984, Yusuf Kurcenli)
Polizei/Police (1988, Şerif Gören)
Postacı/The Postman (1984, Memduh Ün)
Şark Oyunları/Eastern Plays (2009, Kamen Kalev)
Sevgili Ortak/My Dear Business Partner (1993, Erdoğan Tokatlı)
Son Ders/The Last Lesson (2008, Mustafa Uğur Yağcıoğlu and Iraz Okumuş)
Son Sabah/The Last Morning (1978, Natuk Baytan)
Turist Ömer Almanya'da/Ömer the Tourist in Germany (1966, Hulki Saner)
Umut Adası/Island of Hope (2007, Mustafa Kara)
Umut Dünyası/World of Hope (1973, Safa Önal)
Üçkağıtçı/The Fiddler (1981, Natuk Baytan)
Vahşi Arzu/Wild Passion (1972, Yavuz Figenli)
Vavien (2009, Yağmur Taylan and Durul Taylan)
Yavrularım/My Children (1984, Bilge Olgaç)
Yıkılış/The Downfall (1978, Natuk Baytan)

Turkish Television Series

Bir Aşk Hikayesi/A Love Story (2013-2014, Barış Yöş)
Bizimkiler/Ours (1989-2002, Yalçın Yelence)
Gurbette Aşk Bir Yastıkta/Love in Gurbet (2013-2014, Hamdi Alkan)
Hayat Şarkısı/Life Song (2016-2017, Cem Karcı)
Kavak Yelleri/Poplar Tree Breezes (2007-2011, Kerem Çakıroğlu)
Kehribar/Amber (2016, Yıldız Hülya Bilban)
Seksenler/Eighties (2012-ongoing, Müfit Can Saçıntı)
Yazlıkçılar/Summer Holiday House (1993-1998, Yalçın Yelence)

Other Films

Chinese Connection (1972, Wei Lo)
Il mio nome e Shanghai Joe/ The Fighting Fist of Shanghai Joe (1973, Mario Caiano)
Scarface (1983, Brian De Palma)