

Are we Turkish or are we German? Exploring the identity crisis of Turkish Gastarbeiter in Turkish-German Film

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Statement of Authorship

I declare that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution, and the sources used have been acknowledged according to referencing guidelines.

Abstract

This thesis expands on the current political climate in Europe and the issue of immigration, by exploring the past experiences of immigrants in Germany through the lens of German-Turkish film. Through the labour recruitment program in the post-war period, Germany saw an influx of workers, especially those from Turkey, and the issue of immigration was brought in to the forefront of political and social debate. The Turkish guest workers faced many problems in regards to their integration, based on Germany's lack of openness to immigration, the workers' attachment to their home country, and the difference of cultures. Facing discrimination in various areas, the Turkish guest workers began to document their migration experiences through literature, creating a new Turkish-German genre. This thesis discusses how two examples of Turkish-German films – *Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland* and *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* – reflect Homi K Bhabha's postcolonial concept of cultural hybridity. Through the clashes of the Turkish and German cultures, a third space has opened up and due to the intercultural interaction, a new hybrid culture has been created.

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INTRODUCTION

“A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing”

Martin Heidegger, ‘Building, dwelling, thinking’¹

Homi K. Bhabha begins the text *The Location of Culture*² with the above quote. The definition of a boundary cannot be clearly defined, as evident in the case of national borders and the lack of boundaries of cultural identity. As a result of this, a homogenous culture is something that is being redefined,³ which led Bhabha to develop the idea of cultural hybridity, a mixture of different cultures. My thesis revolves around this idea, and the identity crisis of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in Germany. In this thesis, I explore the depiction of the integration of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) in Germany, in Turkish-German film, and whether integration is portrayed as an achievable goal or whether the cultural differences are too significant. Integration is a controversial, idealistic and ambiguous term, which is difficult to define, especially in this context of Turkish guest workers in Germany. The definition of integration that I will be using comes from Arnold Rose: “it does not mean the elimination of old national culture and institutions, but it does mean allowing a new cross-national culture and set of institutions to be built parallel to the old.”⁴ In this introduction I briefly introduce the texts that I will be examining; give a brief history of postwar immigration in Germany and attitudes towards foreigners; explore the labour recruitment program from the start in 1955 to the end in 1973; and the methodology I will be using.

Texts

In Chapter 1, I will be discussing my first chosen film, *Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland*.⁵ It was released in 2011, and directed by Yasemin Şamdereli. Set in the present, the film follows the

¹ Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 1.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*, 5.

⁴ Arnold M Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), 4.

⁵ Yasemin Şamdereli, "Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland," (2011).

story of how a Turkish guest worker family came to live in Germany during the 1960s, how the family settled in Germany, the difficulties they faced and their journey back to Turkey on a family holiday. Each character is struggling with identity problems in their own way – from the original guest worker Hüseyn, to his grandchild Cenk – and the film explores their hybridity between two cultures. Using archival footage alongside the fictional story allows the director to add an historical dimension to the film, representing the real history of the labour recruitment program. As the film falls within the comedic genre, the director uses comedy as a way to escape from the mostly negative connotations about Turks in Germany, and as a political intervention into the affective dimension surrounding the memory of labour migration itself.⁶

Chapter 2 will discuss the second film, *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*,⁷ released in 2013 and directed by Buket Alakuş. The main character, Hatice, exists in a space between two worlds, living as an integrated second-generation Turkish guest worker in Germany, facing pressure from her religious and traditional Turkish family. Hatice's father will not allow her younger sister to marry before Hatice does, but Fatma must marry soon before her pregnancy begins to show, which forces Hatice to try and find a suitable man. The film is based on a novel with the same title, written by Hatice Akyün, and through her work she tries to encourage cultural tolerance and the understanding that many immigrants and their descendants believe Germany to be their home.⁸ Touching on issues of racism and prejudice, the author made the decision to avoid other controversial topics like forced marriages and honour killings,⁹ with the film following suit and using comedy in the same way as the previous film.

In both films, I will be exploring the ways in which the Turkish and German cultures have clashed through the discussion of stereotypes, citizenship, religion and language, and the ways they are portrayed throughout various scenes of the films. These scenes reveal intercultural interactions, how integration has occurred, and how a hybrid culture has been created in a new third space.

⁶ Lizzie Stewart, "Turkish-German Comedy Goes Archival: Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland (2011)," in *Edinburgh German Yearbook 9: Archive and Memory in German Literature and Visual Culture*, ed. Dora Osborne (Edinburgh: Boydell and Brewer, Camden House, 2015), 114.

⁷ Buket Alakuş, "Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Soße," (2013).

⁸ Katelyn J Petersen, "Translating 'Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Sosse' (University of Alberta, 2007), 1.

⁹ *ibid.*

Immigration

Germany has a long history of immigration, especially after unification in 1871, with attitudes towards immigrants being an important and controversial issue. Migration policy in Germany has been dominated by two principles: "1) migration policy as pure labour market policy, and, thus, dependent upon the economic situation of the Federal Republic; and 2) the Federal Republic is not an immigration country."¹⁰ Despite Germany's long tradition of immigration and emigration, the country refused to acknowledge that it was a country of immigration for a long time.¹¹ There have always been mass movements of people coming in or out of Germany, with foreigners moving to Germany as economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, or for various other reasons. As Klaus Bade argues, Germany was an ideal destination for immigrants: "dreams and nightmares collide at its borders: those who are outside dream of entering; those who are inside fear outsiders will indeed come and demand a share of the imagined fortune at the centre of the continent which, it is said, lies in Germany."¹²

In his book, Joel Fetzer examines the different periods of immigration in the history of Germany, previous labour movements and attitudes towards these immigrants.¹³ Between 1880 and 1913, "the first major wave of foreign workers into the newly founded Germany was that of ethnic Poles from Russia and Austro-Hungary."¹⁴ There was widespread prejudice and discrimination against these workers, with Eastern European Jewish immigrants facing similar hostility. The German Reichstag passed a law excluding all ethnically Jewish or Polish immigrants from citizenship, as the law was based on *jus sanguinis*, having German 'blood.'¹⁵ During World War 1, 1914-1918, Russian Poles were used as forced agricultural labourers, replacing the Germans who were fighting in the war, and were later joined by captured POWs.¹⁶ In the period of the Weimar Republic – although unemployment numbers rose – farms in eastern Germany continued to rely on Polish migrant workers, and Germany also employed foreign workers from Czechoslovakia, Holland, and Austria. In the Nazi era, a large number of foreigners were exploited and forced in to labour, joined by POWs and civilians captured during World War II, while anti-Semitic views

¹⁰ Manfred Oepen, "Media, Migrants and Marginalization: The Situation in the Federal Republic of Germany " *The International Migration Review* 18, no. 1 (1984): 112.

¹¹ *ibid.*; Klaus J Bade and Lieselotte Anderson, "Immigration and Social Peace in United Germany," *Daedalus* 123, no. 1 (1994).

¹² "Immigration and Social Peace in United Germany," 85.

¹³ Joel Fetzer, *Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 64.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 65.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 67.

increased.¹⁷ After World War II, the three main population influxes were: 1) German refugees and expellees returning to the Federal Republic straight after the war; 2) those who took part in the labour recruitment programs; and 3) asylum seekers and *Aussiedler* (ethnic German re-settlers from East Europe).¹⁸ Despite this influx of workers to the Federal Republic, the idea of Germany being a country of immigration was still denied by “politicians, government officials, the media and the public itself.”¹⁹ This constant denial hindered the integration of the large number of foreign workers, particularly the guest workers who arrived after World War II, and this thesis examines the immigration of the Turkish guest workers, as reflected in Turkish-German film.

Rita Chin is a key author on this topic, being one of the first to offer an account of the West German debate about the guest workers.²⁰ Two events that led to the start of the recruitment program were: the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle) and the growing shortage of able-bodied German male workers.²¹ The first labour recruitment treaty was signed with Italy in 1955, which set the standards for the treaties that followed, detailing the application and placement procedures, and articulating the meaning of ‘guest’ – temporary workers rather than immigrants looking for long-term settlement.²²

The Federal Office for Labour Recruitment and Unemployment Insurance (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosversicherung*) set up offices in the various countries where potential workers would apply. The offices would then interview and screen them for political and criminal records, carry out medical examinations, issue contracts and transport them to the destination in which they had agreed to work.²³ They obtained one-year work permits, which could be renewed, giving them job security. The workers would be placed in the unskilled or semiskilled industry, in sectors involving heavy or dirty work, shift work, and repetitive production, for example “the construction, mining and metal industries.”²⁴ The labourers tended to live in housing provided by employers, in areas near the factories and far removed from city centres, interior

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 68.

¹⁸ Wesley D Chapin, *Germany for the Germans? The Political Effects of International Migration* (Westport, Connecticut Greenwood Press, 1997), 8.

¹⁹ Mark E Spicka, "Cultural Centres and Guest Worker Integration in Stuttgart, Germany, 1960-1976," *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* 33, no. 2 (2015): 117.

²⁰ Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

²¹ *ibid.*, 33.

²² *ibid.*, 30.

²³ Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2000), 217.

²⁴ Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 39.

neighbourhoods, or public transportation.²⁵ While living in this sort of accommodation, the areas turned in to ethnic enclaves, and impacted the integration of the foreign workers.

The number of workers increased and as a way to facilitate integration cultural centres were introduced. These were initially as a form of social control, to provide social support and also to reaffirm the workers' cultural ties to their homeland.²⁶ The centres show the political authorities' changing conception of the position of the guest workers in West German society, from 'guests' to longer-term residents, illustrating the growing desire of the workers to exert their own independence and reflect the changes in policy that emphasised a deeper integration of the guest workers.²⁷ Italian workers constituted the majority of guest workers in the beginning, and due to these numbers, these cultural centres were first initiated. The Turkish workers soon became the majority, and in 1963, the workers formed the *Verein türkischer Arbeitnehmer* (Association of Turkish Employees). This provided a way to assist their countrymen, and develop a further mutual understanding between the German population and the Turkish guest workers.²⁸ The numbers below indicate the increasing presence of the Turkish workers:

"From 1968 until 1973 the number of Turkish workers moving into Germany averaged out at about 97,053 per year: their total increased from 123,386 in January 1968 to 599,000 in December 1973. This represents only a fraction of those who wanted to move because in September 1971 over 1.2 million Turks had registered with local Turkish labour bureaus for employment in the Federal Republic."²⁹

While the centres seem to be a positive step in the integration of the workers – with the centres offering various services to help the workers with their everyday lives in Germany, such as language courses – the centres highlighted the sense of difference between the guest workers and the local German population. Newspapers further highlighted the issue, as they "pleaded for the need for 'our' workers to have a community centre and described the centre once it was opened as 'their' space."³⁰ And it was not until the late 1990s, early 2000s that the guest workers

²⁵ *ibid.*, 40.

²⁶ Spicka, "Cultural Centres and Guest Worker Integration in Stuttgart, Germany, 1960-1976," 120.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*, 125.

²⁹ Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others*, 218.

³⁰ Spicka, "Cultural Centres and Guest Worker Integration in Stuttgart, Germany, 1960-1976," 123.

were given the opportunity to become full, legal participants in Germany society, as German citizens.³¹

The recruitment program ended in 1973, due to the economic oil crisis, and “with more and more Germans out of work, a chorus of political and journalistic commentators called for restrictions on importing labourers, especially Turks.”³² Government policies of the 1980s aimed at restricting the flow of foreigners to Germany, putting a ban on further immigration, and offering financial compensation to guest workers if they agreed to return to their home country.³³ Despite this, “so-called ‘guest workers’ tended not only to remain for long periods, but also brought their families to Germany, consequently adding to the social costs of the economy.”³⁴ Transforming the atmosphere of the country, Turkish guest workers began to be labelled as German-Turks or Turkish-Germans, as their Turkish identity acquired German traits, and in turn imported Turkish features in German life.³⁵ With the increasing number of foreigners arriving, despite the ban, public attention turned to the guest worker question.

While economic progress continued, tolerance of foreign workers was at a high level, but as soon as the economy worsened this tolerance decreased.³⁶ Germans argued that foreigners were the cause of socioeconomic problems – unemployment and higher crime rates – with racism and violence against foreigners becoming more common. Some statistics show that as the immigrant population rose, as did unemployment levels, but there is no clear evidence that the figures were linked.³⁷ The guest workers were the face of this discrimination, and Turkish workers were particularly affected.

Fetzer writes, “at a given time, public reception of the major groups of foreigners is largely determined by how similar the group’s culture is to that of the Germans.”³⁸ As a result of this, Turkish guest workers and non-European and Romanian-‘Gypsy’ *Asylbewerber* suffered more abuse than *Aussiedler* who were ethnically German. Fetzer states that “scores of opinion polls,

³¹ *ibid.*, 133.

³² Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 64.

³³ Johanna Watzinger-Tharp, “Turkish-German Language: An Innovative Style of Communication and Its Implications for Citizenship and Identity,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 24, no. 2 (2006): 286.

³⁴ Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others*, 218.

³⁵ David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky, *Turkish Culture in German Society Today* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), 148.

³⁶ Hans J Buchholz, “Gastarbeiters in Germany: An Overview,” *New Zealand Journal of Geography* 86, no. 1 (1988): 11.

³⁷ Chapin, *Germany for the Germans? The Political Effects of International Migration*, 57.

³⁸ Fetzer, *Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany* 72-73.

hundreds of anti-Turkish hate crimes, and the ubiquity of vicious ‘Turkish jokes’ all testify to the extreme public opposition that most Gastarbeiter have faced in the Federal Republic.”³⁹ This quote shows that the Turkish workers were at a major disadvantage compared to the workers from more European nations, as larger cultural distance typically leads to weaker integration outcomes, as exemplified by the Turkish-Muslim immigrants.⁴⁰ Appearance was important in the case of Germany, as the workers from Turkey looked different from most Germans, and brought with them their own cultural practices which were hugely different from German ones.⁴¹ Some of these cultural practices include dress, food, religion, and language. A lack of integration – not only affecting the guest workers themselves, but the future second and third generations⁴² – is also evident in the issue of citizenship, with those of German ethnicity being granted citizenship, but others being denied this opportunity.⁴³

By the beginning of the 1990s, immigration became a top political issue, with the New Right using it to further its political goals and tie social and economic problems to the presence of immigrants.⁴⁴ The continued denial of Germany as a country of immigration affected people’s perceptions and attacks against foreigners were increasing, with perpetrators of violence being “poorly educated, unorganized individuals and small groups.”⁴⁵ Concerns about national identity and nativist sentiments arose and the interplay between them, and attitudes towards immigrants is a central issue for the 21st century.⁴⁶

What followed was the *Leitkultur* debate – “a debate about Germany’s predominant or guiding culture.”⁴⁷ The term was coined by political scientist Bassam Tibi, and popularized by Christian Democratic politician Friedrich Merz in the late 1990s.⁴⁸ The idea of *Leitkultur* reflects the belief that different, sequestered cultures should remain separate in order to retain their identities and avoid otherwise inevitable cultural conflicts, and the debate reflected the international

³⁹ *ibid.*, 70.

⁴⁰ Alexander Danzer and Firat Yaman, "Do Ethnic Enclaves Impede Immigrants' Integration? Evidence from a Quasi-Experimental Social-Interaction Approach," *Review of International Economics* 21, no. 2 (2013): 331.

⁴¹ Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others*, 8.

⁴² Fetzer, *Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany*

⁴³ Chapin, *Germany for the Germans? The Political Effects of International Migration*, 9.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 63.

⁴⁵ Anderson, "Immigration and Social Peace in United Germany," 95.

⁴⁶ Victoria M Esses, "Perceptions of National Identity and Attitudes toward Immigrants and Immigration in Canada and Germany," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 30 (2006): 654.

⁴⁷ Hartwig Pautz, "The Politics of Identity in Germany: The Leitkultur Debate," *Race and Class* 46, no. 4 (2005): 40.

⁴⁸ Yasemin Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 208.

phenomenon of the culturalisation of politics.⁴⁹ Part of this debate is the desire to keep boundary lines between nationals and immigrants, with other languages besides German being cast as damaging and counter to 'integration',⁵⁰ which can be seen in the treatment of the Turkish guest workers in their transition from guests to permanent residents as immigrants, and later citizens. The idea of a *Leitkultur*, with its theory of the incompatibility of different cultures, is at odds with other approaches to the interaction between cultures, such as Homi K Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity.

Methodology

I will be analysing the chosen films through a postcolonial lens, drawing especially on Homi K Bhabha's postcolonial theory of cultural hybridity. The applicability of postcolonial theory to the topic of Turkish guest workers in Germany is contested, as they do not come from a country that was colonized by Germany. Sara Lennox discusses this, stating that Germany is not rich in postcolonial literature as its colonial history is brief, compared to other colonial empires.⁵¹ Colonialism only began after unification in 1871, and Germany acquired its entire colonial empire by 1885: four African territories, and several territories in the Pacific.⁵² As a result of World War I and the Versailles Treaty, Germany lost control of its colonies, and "was henceforth a postcolonial country, but the official language of the territories it had colonized was no longer German."⁵³ As a result of this, Lennox notes that despite the lively and productive field of postcolonial studies in German English departments, German literature scholars have been at a loss to identify a German-speaking population to which the term postcolonial could be applied.⁵⁴

On the one hand, German studies scholars and migrant authors have rejected using the term postcolonial to describe Germany's migrant populations, particularly to the large Turkish-German community, since the historical relationship between Germany and Turkey cannot be defined as colonial.⁵⁵ The Turkish-German migrants, it is argued, would be better placed in the new concepts of diaspora, migration studies, minority cultures and literatures, rather than the postcolonial

⁴⁹ Pautz, "The Politics of Identity in Germany: The Leitkultur Debate," 40-41.

⁵⁰ Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition*, 208.

⁵¹ Sara Lennox, "Postcolonial Writing in Germany," in *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature*, ed. Ato Quayson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 620.

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ *ibid.*, 621.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 622.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

framework.⁵⁶ On the other hand, researchers such as those in the German Research Society Network 'Postkoloniale Studien in der Germanistik' and Britta Schilling have argued that

"German postcolonialism has evolved into a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, one that envelops memories of colonialism in white German and diasporic communities, but also the all-pervasive paradigm of the Holocaust, as well as the experiences of Afro-Germans, and, only to a small and very specific extent, the experiences of migrant communities into the present day."⁵⁷

Current stereotypes against non-Europeans in Germany draw upon paradigms rooted in colonial racism and Orientalism, and Schilling argues that racist attitudes towards "blacks, Muslims and 'others'" are considered to be a part of German postcolonialism.⁵⁸ Describing postcolonialism as a process of 'working through,' two issues of contemporary multicultural Germany link back to the legacies of German colonialism: questions of migrants' citizenship; and anti-racist activism.⁵⁹ I have chosen this methodology for this thesis as the theory and criticisms of the postcolonial theory can be useful tools for understanding the texts of migrant and ethnic minority communities, as described by Lennox.⁶⁰

Homi Bhabha is a significant contributor to postcolonial theory, defining his theory of cultural hybridity in his works such as *The Location of Culture*. In simple terms, cultural hybridity describes the mixing of cultures resulting from colonialism and transnational migration. Bhabha's work examines crossing of space and time, to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion.⁶¹ He argues "these 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself."⁶²

The idea of a national identity is being redefined, and being produced from the perspective of disenfranchised minorities,⁶³ with world literature depicting ways in which cultures recognize

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 632.

⁵⁷ Britta Schilling, "German Postcolonialism in Four Dimensions: A Historical Perspective," *Postcolonial Studies* 18, no. 4 (2016): 428.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 432.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 433.

⁶⁰ Lennox, "Postcolonial Writing in Germany," 624.

⁶¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 1.

⁶² *ibid.*, 1-2.

⁶³ *ibid.*, 6.

themselves through their projections of 'otherness.'⁶⁴ Through the migrant metaphor, Bhabha argues that "the time for 'assimilating' minorities to holistic and organic notions of cultural value has passed,"⁶⁵ which goes against the hierarchy of cultures of the *Leitkultur* debate and Rose's definition of integration. Problems emerge from cultural interaction "where meanings and values are (mis)read or signs are misappropriated,"⁶⁶ which is something that has occurred with the clash of Turkish and German cultures.

This leads to the concept of third space, formulated by Bhabha and other theorists, as the space in which this idea of hybridity is formed:

"it is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity... it is this 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; that even the same sign can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew."⁶⁷

Multiculturalism is a term with many definitions, which can at times be controversial and difficult to define. Briel defines it as something that "is deeply connected to the various complex relationships towards what one defines as 'one's own' and what one defines as belonging to 'the other.'"⁶⁸ Through the increasing number of migrants and immigration within Germany, and its increasing participation with the EU, Briel suggests that Germany is becoming a multicultural society, and the idea of cultural homogeneity will be replaced by cultural plurality.⁶⁹ This is complementary to Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity, which has occurred in Germany through intercultural interactions and this thesis looks at the introduction of Turkish guest workers in Germany. The hybridity formed between these two cultures occurs in the third space, with people living between two worlds merging two separate cultures in to one, with characteristics from both. These ideas and concepts are represented throughout various examples of Turkish-German

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁵ Jonathan Rutherford, "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha," in *Identity : Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 219.

⁶⁶ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 34.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 37.

⁶⁸ Holger Briel, *German Culture and Society* (London: Arnold Publishers, 2002), 95.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

literature. The following chapters will explore two specific films – *Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland* and *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* – and how they portray the success of integration. This is explored through the discussion of stereotypes, religion, language and citizenship, and how this has helped to form a new Turkish-German hybrid culture in the third space.

Chapter 1

Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland – “Was sind wir denn jetzt, Türken oder Deutschen?”

“Cenk, man kann auch beides sein. So wie du.”

“Nein das geht nicht. Einfach die eine Mannschaft oder die andere.”

It took more than a decade after the first arrival of guest workers in Germany for them and other immigrants to reflect their experiences in Germany, in German-language literature and film. Chin notes that “most literary studies have pointed to the early 1970s as the breakthrough period when migrant artists and intellectuals began to publish works in German.”⁷⁰ This breakthrough occurred at the same time as the end of the guest worker recruitment, and the connection between the two events was also the starting point of the guest worker question gaining more public attention. The early 1970s thus represents “the critical juncture when policymaking and minority critiques converged, as literary texts by migrant intellectuals came into explicit dialogue with government policies and rhetoric.”⁷¹

The first examples of Turkish German cinema date back to the 1970s, and in these early films guest workers were being “depicted as isolated, incapable victims who could not speak for themselves or for their people, German directors were the first to provide portrayals on immigrants in Germany.”⁷² Only after reunification in 1989 and particularly within Anglo-American film studies, did German cinema see a real proliferation of films dealing with the guest worker phenomenon, being made by second- and third-generation migrant filmmakers.⁷³

The 1990s marked the move beyond the ‘cinema of duty’ to the ‘pleasures of hybridity,’⁷⁴ as the second-generation emerged and created a breakthrough for Turkish-German cinema. These filmmakers saw “their in-betweenness as a cultural richness rather than an obstacle, but also want(ed) to express themselves by circulating more realistic and subtle representations of Turks

⁷⁰ Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 31.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² Ayca Tunc Cox, “Three Generations of Turkish Filmmakers in Germany: Three Different Narratives,” *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 1 (2011): 115.

⁷³ Gozde Naiboglu, “Review: Turkish German Cinema in the New Millenium: Site, Sounds and Screens,” *Screen* 56, no. 2 (2015): 286.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

in Germany that would break established stereotypical images."⁷⁵ This new generation of filmmakers attempts to open up a 'third space' between the celebration and the denial of otherness, dismantling cultural stereotypes rather than recycling them.⁷⁶ The third-generation guest workers have, like the second-generations, become active agents and are qualified, skilled, educated and thus self-confident, no longer the silenced and disadvantaged members of the host society.⁷⁷ A recurring idea in this Turkish-German cinema is the status of border-crosser and migrant populations, and how they influence the concept of a pure national culture.⁷⁸ These shifts from essential identity to hybridity have led to a shift towards more playful, performative and comic works,⁷⁹ with more films falling under the genre of comedy.

Films that fall under this genre of Turkish-German cinema tend to depict the above qualities, and the film I have chosen to analyse – *Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland* directed by Yasemin Şamdereli and released in 2011 – falls under the shift to more cosmopolitan films, portraying the differing roles of the guest workers and later generations. The film is classified as a magical realist narrative – “grounded in reality but disrupts the real through momentary magic” – which is a representational mode privileged in postcolonial and diasporic texts.⁸⁰ Magical realism has the tendency to assault binary structures, through the real and the imaginary, the self and the other, and to advocate in-betweenness, plurality and hybridity,⁸¹ relating to concepts described by Bhabha. Conflict between Turkish and German cultures is both a natural consequence of immigration, and a consequence of the neglect of integration,⁸² and this chapter will focus on these clashes through the themes of stereotypes, citizenship, religion and language. Throughout my analysis, I will expand on the above ideas of hybridity using Bhabha's third space, which is portrayed in the three distinct stages of the migration story – labour, culture and transnationalism.⁸³ The film explores this through the varying stories of the different generations. Hüseyin Yilmaz, as the original guest worker who came to Germany for work, portrays the labour

⁷⁵ Cox, "Three Generations of Turkish Filmmakers in Germany: Three Different Narratives," 123.

⁷⁶ Rob Burns, "Towards a Cinema of Cultural Hybridity: Turkish-German Filmmakers and the Representation of Alterity," *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 15, no. 1 (2007): 7.

⁷⁷ Cox, "Three Generations of Turkish Filmmakers in Germany: Three Different Narratives," 115.

⁷⁸ Deniz Gokturk, "Beyond Paternalism: Turkish German Traffic in Cinema," in *The German Cinema Book* (London: British Film Institute, 2002).

⁷⁹ Baris Kilicbay, "Turkish-German Cinema Reconsidered," *Third Text* 28, no. 6 (2014): 508.

⁸⁰ Daniela Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 70.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² Heather Horn, "Nagel's Cost: Turkish Integration in Germany," *Harvard International Review* 29, no. 1 (2007): 12.

⁸³ Levent Soysal, "The Migration Story of Turks in Germany: From the Beginning to the End," in *Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008), 201.

stage. His children and grandchildren as the second and third generations, portray becoming accustomed to living with a different culture and the transnationalism of a modern nation, with the increasing presence of cultural hybridity occurring in the third space. As part of this analysis, the question of integration arises – has it been achieved or is it an unattainable goal – and will be explored in the varying generations of the Turkish guest workers.

Film

The film begins with Canan – the granddaughter of the Hüseyin – narrating over a photo montage, including photos of herself as a child and other moments from the family's past, with the film credits presented next to the photos. The next sequence shows Hüseyin arriving in Germany, at the border control, and his interplay with Armando Rodrigues – the one millionth guest worker who became the labour migration's national icon, and served as a public acknowledgement of the arrival of guest workers in Germany.⁸⁴ Hüseyin bumps into Rodrigues, and lets him go first to get his passport stamped, leaving Hüseyin to become the one millionth and first guest worker, watching the spectacle and excitement surrounding Rodrigues from a distance.

Like the one-millionth guest worker Chin writes about, the celebration of Hüseyin and the other guest workers' arrival elided many of the negative elements of the recruitment drive. Whisked away from the other guest workers, the celebration of Rodrigues included fanfare from many journalists and photographers, the gifting of carnations, and being presented with a motorcycle,⁸⁵ portraying "his status as a transitional, mobile figure who is not permanently rooted in West German society."⁸⁶ Chin writes on what was elided in the spectacle:

"there is no indication here, for example, of the physical dislocation, separation from family, or fear of the unknown that Rodrigues had undoubtedly experienced on the way to Cologne. There is no sign of the strenuous labor, cramped living quarters, meagre wages, and social isolation that await him after the ceremony. There is no explanation of Rodrigues's life before his arrival or what he hoped to gain by coming. There is no hint of potential workplace conflict, xenophobia, or public anxiety about the presence of hundreds of thousands of foreigners on West German soil."⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Stewart, "Turkish-German Comedy Goes Archival: Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland (2011)," 108.

⁸⁵ Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 2.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

By including the story of Rodrigues, the film is able to add a factual side to the comedic interpretation. Another way the film achieves this is by using archival footage, shown through scenes in the beginning of the film, and during the flashbacks of the migration story. Lizzie Stewart argues that “in the midst of a film full of fantasy, it emphasizes that while the story told here is presented in fantastical version, it has its basis in historical reality.”⁸⁸

The next scene uses the technique of a green screen combined with other background footage in post-production, allowing the fictional character of Hüseyin to be inserted into archival footage of an iconic moment in the history of labour migration⁸⁹ – the arrival of the one millionth guest worker. After passing through the border control, Hüseyin proceeds to walk out, leaving the station through a dark tunnel – which fades to the present, as Hüseyin and his wife Fatma walk out of a grocery store. It is clear that a number of years have passed, Hüseyin is significantly older and Fatma is of similar age. The perspective is at a middle focal length position, at a straight-on angle, which displays enough of the background to show the viewer that Fatma and Hüseyin are at the supermarket while still having the focus on the couple. Before the transition from past to present, the narration and the language spoken was German, whereas Hüseyin and Fatma speak in Turkish to one another as they finish their shopping. The couple are talking about the following day, when they will receive their German passports as new German citizens.

The next few minutes of the film, a series of short and direct scenes, introduce the issues of cultural identity and family conflict that are central to the storyline. The first scene introduces Canan’s story of her unplanned pregnancy with her English boyfriend, as they look at a pregnancy test while in the bathroom. Next, Cenk is at school participating in a classroom activity in which students are asked to reveal their cultural heritage by putting dots over various countries and cities on a map of Europe. Cenk is not only at a disadvantage because of his Turkish heritage, but also because he is not from Istanbul, which is still shown on the European map. The result is that Cenk’s mark is not placed on the map, rather the plain, blank whiteboard. Cutting to that evening, the scene changes to Fatma and Hüseyin in bed, discussing the following day. Dreaming about picking up their new German passports, the viewer only becomes aware that it is a dream when it turns in to a nightmare, and Hüseyin wakes up in fear as Fatma calls out for him to get up. The scene cuts again to Cenk at school, this time in the sports hall with his classmates choosing teams for a game of soccer. As the son of a Turkish-German father, Ali, and a German

⁸⁸ Stewart, "Turkish-German Comedy Goes Archival: Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland (2011)," 112.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 109.

mother, Gabi, Cenk is chosen for neither the Turkish team nor the German team, and feels upset, isolated, and angry and picks a fight with one of his classmates.⁹⁰

All this background information and context is followed by the whole family gathering for a meal together, where Hüseyin and Fatma share their news, and the family questions Cenk's black eye.⁹¹ The lead up happens within the first ten minutes of the film, with a significant amount of information being presented to the audience. Details about the labour recruitment program, citizenship in Germany, and some differences between Turkish and German cultures portrayed through stereotypes and over exaggerations are showcased during these first ten minutes of the film. The next sequence depicting a family meal is an important setting for the rest of the film. It lays out the main issues of the film, sets the context for the rest of the film, shows family dynamics and identity issues throughout the whole family, and gives a hint as to where the journey of the film will take the characters and the audience.

A montage sequence shows the various family members arriving at Hüseyin and Fatma's apartment, sitting down to enjoy the meal together – their children: Veli, Muhamed, Leyla and Ali; Ali's wife Gabi and their son Cenk; Leyla's daughter Canan; and other unknown family members. Hüseyin and Fatma represent a paradoxical situation, having recently gained German citizenship and bought a home in their homeland.⁹² "Wir haben Überraschung" Hüseyin offers to the table, while Fatma interrupts to exclaim "Wir sind jetzt Deutsche!"⁹³ Close-up shots of the family's faces show their shock and happiness at the news, as Fatma hands around their new German passports. Hüseyin cuts in with "Ich habe Haus gekauft, in Türkei, in Dorf, in Heimat." This statement is met with more close-ups showing shocked and confused faces, but the real statement that creates mayhem around the table is spoken in Turkish by Hüseyin, when he states that he wishes the whole family to go to Turkey in the next holidays. The family is shocked and the camera goes around the table as they all come up with excuses as to why they do not want to or cannot go. But Hüseyin is determined that they all go, saying he has never asked anything from them before. "Wir sind eine Familie" Hüseyin says in Turkish, and then "eine türkische Familie" in German. The camera focuses on Cenk, using a medium shot with a straight on angle, and follows him as he walks away from the table. He seems confused and angry about this statement, and cries out asking "was sind wir den jetzt, Türken oder Deutschen?" Ali replies

⁹⁰ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 1.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ Quotes are transcribed directly from the films and any grammatical inconsistencies observed reflect the language used by the characters in the film.

'Turkish,' despite speaking hardly any Turkish and in some respect, is more German than the blonde haired, blue eyed Gabi,⁹⁴ who replies 'German,' and Hüseyin adamantly replies we are still Turkish. Canan comes and sits next to Cenk, trying to comfort him by saying you can be both, but he is unsatisfied with that answer.⁹⁵ Cenk replies "Nein das geht nicht. Einfach die eine Mannschaft oder die andere," clearly reflecting his school experience of being excluded from both the Turkish and German teams. He questions why the family is in Germany if they are Turkish and Canan answers this question by telling the migration story of Hüseyin, and how him and others came to Germany as guest workers.

This conversation between Cenk and Canan begins her narration of the film, with her voice guiding the viewer through the flashbacks, and "Cenk's imagination merges with documentary footage from the 1960s to populate and animate the story."⁹⁶ The story begins with a montage in the form of old-fashioned projection – the scene surrounded by a thick, black border – that tells the history of the invitation of guest workers to Germany, and how Hüseyin answered this invitation. Canan narrates the rest of the film, as Cenk wants to hear the rest of the story. Cenk's imagination transcends borders and boundaries, fusing what is separate in terms of time and space,⁹⁷ using the magical realist concept through the flashbacks in the film, occurring in what can be defined as Bhabha's third space.

Stereotypes

Almanya is rife with stereotypes, mostly Turkish stereotypes about Germans and their culture. Various scenes show the differences in cultures, how they clash, and inherently have created a new hybrid culture. Bhabha suggests that a stereotype "is a complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation, as anxious as it is assertive, and demands not only that we extend our critical and political objectives but that we change the object of analysis itself."⁹⁸ Stereotyping is based on identity, "the visibility of the racial/colonial Other,"⁹⁹ and "as the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourse, for both colonizer and colonized, is the scene of a similar fantasy and defence – the desire for an originality which is again threatened by the differences of

⁹⁴ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 1.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ Stewart, "Turkish-German Comedy Goes Archival: *Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland* (2011)," 109.

⁹⁷ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 72.

⁹⁸ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 69.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 81.

race, colour and culture.”¹⁰⁰ While the Germans and Turks cannot be defined as colonizer and colonized, the same effect has occurred – threatened by a different culture, a different way of life, the integration of the Turks has been hindered, discrimination has occurred in various ways, and this has been portrayed through the use of stereotypes in various examples of Turkish-German literature and film. Many films portray the Turkish character as struggling to fit in, struggling with life in Germany and being stereotyped by German society. *Almanya* goes against this, turning “the classic perspective of immigrants as the Others on its head,”¹⁰¹ keeping with the theme of magical realism. The film subverts and repositions structures of power, by flipping the German majority and Turkish minority, portraying the Germans as the ‘Other,’¹⁰² through the use of stereotypes.

The first scene that depicts these stereotypes of German culture is the nightmare that Hüseyin has the night before going to pick up their passports. He dreams that they are at the *Beamte*’s (civil servant) office, shown by the office setting, and the first thing the camera shows is the stamp holders. The camera pans upwards and then zooms out, bringing the *Beamte* into the middle of the frame, who is intensely and loudly stamping all their paperwork. He begins to question them, starting with whether they are prepared to take on the German culture as their guiding and leading culture,¹⁰³ based on the *Leitkultur* debate – “Verpflichten Sie sich als baldige deutsche Staatsbürger die deutsche Kultur als Leitkultur zu übernehmen?” The shot changes to Hüseyin and Fatma’s reactions, him confused and worried looking while she nods her head in excitement. “Das bedeutet sie werden Mitglied in einem Schützenverein, sie essen zweimal in der Woche Schweinefleisch, Sie sehen jeden Sonntag Tatort, und verbringen jeden zweiten Sommer auf Majorca.” A close-up of Hüseyin’s face shows that he is worried and unsure of what is happening. Bhabha suggests that by affixing the unfamiliar to something established, in a form that is repetitious, the threat of Otherness can be controlled, which is achieved through stereotypes, whose veracity can never be empirically proven.¹⁰⁴ This scene, and the film overall, depict a topsy-turvy world, where “a mirror is held up to German majority culture, inviting the ‘natives’ to marvel at their own ‘Otherness.’”¹⁰⁵ Presented with paperwork to sign, Fatma signs it immediately while Hüseyin questions what she is doing. “Sie sind jetzt Deutsche” the *Beamte* says as the shot shows

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰¹ Sarah Marsh, “Feel-Good German Film Says Multiculturalism Not Dead,” *Reuters Online* 2011.

¹⁰² Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 71.

¹⁰³ James Hodkinson and Jeff Morrison, *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture* (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2009), 204.

¹⁰⁴ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 5.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 71.

him handing over the German passports. The camera pans left, showing the *Beamte* opening a secret compartment in the cupboard, and taking out three plates of food – pork knuckle, potato dumpling, *Rotkraut* and gravy – an example of typical German cuisine.¹⁰⁶ As Fatma begins to eat the meal, Hüseyin looks at her with a shocked expression and does a double take – Fatma is now dressed in the traditional German Dirndl. The camera, from Hüseyin's point of view, pans down to look at her exaggerated cleavage in the Dirndl, while Fatma speaks in a very German dialect. With a look of horror on his face, Hüseyin sees his reflection in the glass cupboard – the camera zooms in to show Hüseyin with a moustache that mimics the shape of Hitler's. The *Beamte* watches on and says "Sehr schön." Terrified, Hüseyin runs out of the room and we begin to hear Fatma calling out his name to wake him up. The setting changes to Hüseyin waking up in bed, with his wife telling him to hurry up and get ready. This scene exemplifies the idea of this movie – turning the classic perspective of immigrants upside down, and portraying the 'natives' as the foreign and strange objects.

The next scene featuring stereotypes takes place when Cenk is at school, and the scene shows the classmates choosing which soccer team to be on – Turkish or German. Cenk's face is shown in a close-up, a scared and sad look on his face, as his classmate calls out for a German versus Turk game. The Turkish team give Cenk as a present to the German team, pushing him to that side, but the German team laugh and make fun of him, saying he looks like a Turk. Due to his mixed heritage, the Turkish team mock Cenk saying he is not Turkish, he cannot even speak the language, and the camera zooms in on his face showing his anger. The camera pans across to the right, following Cenk, as he charges at his classmate and starts a fight. A high angle is used, looking down on Cenk and the boy fighting on the ground, while the other classmates stand around them in a circle. This scene is integral to the storyline, as it shows how the identity crisis of Cenk has begun. At the family gathering, Cenk innocently questions the family about whether they are Turkish or German, and Canan answers "Cenk, man kann auch beides sein. So wie du," and Cenk has to make do with this seemingly unsatisfactory answer.¹⁰⁷

Another scene illustrating Turkish stereotypes of Germans takes place when Fatma and the children say goodbye to their friends in Turkey before they move to Germany. A middle focal length and a straight-on angle shows three boys sitting on a rock facing away from the camera. The shot changes to a slight low angle close-up of the boys faces, depicting Veli and his friends fishing one last time as he hands his rod over. A close-up follows Leyla as she bends down and

¹⁰⁶ Briel, *German Culture and Society*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 1.

kisses her friends on the cheeks as a farewell, followed by a long shot showing her walking away from her friends. Next is Muhamed, saying goodbye to his friend sitting on some stairs, shown through a medium long shot. This conversation between the boys talks about the religious stereotype through Christian practices, and how there is the fear of something so different. This conversation also shows the opposite side of an implicit hierarchies of faiths that determines the integrative and assimilative ability of migrants, portraying how eerie Christianity is to non-Christians, when it usually portrays Muslims as the 'Other.'¹⁰⁸ Close-ups of the boys are used to see their emotions and reactions, and the last shot after their conversation is a medium shot, showing them look away from each other in fear and worry. "Ich bin froh das wir dahin nicht müssen," Muhamed's friend says. "Wieso?" Muhamed asks. "Das sind alles Ungläubige da. Mein Bruder hat mir gesagt, Deutsche essen Schweinefleisch und Menschen. Zeichen ist tote Mann an Kreuz. Die haben ihm auch aufgegessen. Und Sonntag treffen sie sich in eine Kirche, und essen von ihm, und trinken sein Blut." "Echt. Die essen Menschen?" Muhamed replies in shock and horror. This conversation shows how the Germans are portrayed as the 'Other,' with their diet consisting of pork and potatoes, and their religious practices bearing a resemblance to cannibalistic rituals.¹⁰⁹ Fatma's farewell is next, a slight high angle shot showing her and her friends sitting around in a circle. Medium close-ups are used to show the friends as they give her presents, including: socks ("Hier Liebes, in Deutschland soll es doch so kalt sein"); tea towels ("Hier, die hab ich selbst gestrickt, Deutschland soll es nur dreckig sein"); and a bag of food ("Das ist von mir, es ist nicht viel, aber Deutschland soll es nur Kartoffeln geben"). The friends and Fatma have sad expressions, and at the end of the scene some begin to cry – the idea of going to Germany is far from an exciting experience. These farewells show that the stereotypes and ideas that the Turkish people have of Germans and Germany are not positive, their culture is seen as foreign and strange, living their lives in a completely different way. Using magical realism, these farewells, as well as the other scenes below, show the destabilising structures of power and the implicit hierarchies between majority culture and its Others.¹¹⁰

An example of this negativity and fear of Germans is when the family arrives in their new apartment in Germany. Hüseyin excitedly shows the family around the apartment, stopping in the bathroom: "und das ist unsere eigene Toilette." With a high angle looking down at the toilet, Fatma is confused about the toilet seat, exclaiming "Mit dem Po da drauf? Da geht keiner drauf, bis ich

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 71.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, 82.

sie geputzt habe. Wer weiß was die Deutschen für Krankheiten haben.” Worried about the dirtiness of Germans, Fatma meticulously cleans and scrubs the toilet.

Overlaying a scene at Christmas time, Canan’s narration states “Und so länger sie weg von der Heimat waren, desto größer wurde der Einfluss der fremden Kultur.” The scene uses archival footage showing both the nostalgic and humorous comparison of German Christmas traditions, and Fatma’s clumsy attempts at them.¹¹¹ The children are excited about the prospect of celebrating Christmas, shown through their awe and wonder as they stare through a shop window at the Christmas tree and presents, and nativity set. A traditional German Christmas carol is played in the background, as archival footage of families decorating their Christmas trees is shown, and the children convince Fatma to partake in the German traditional way of giving presents. Fatma agrees and attempts to follow their orders, one child exclaiming “unsere erstes Weihnachten.” This desire to celebrate Christmas shows the increasing influence the German culture is having on the children, and this begins to worry Hüseyin. First, Leyla questions why he has a moustache, saying no one does it in Germany and it is not nice, and then Muhamed and Veli begin speaking to one another in German (the invented language of the director.) Medium close-ups of Hüseyin and Fatma’s faces shows their confusion at the boys’ interaction, and Hüseyin’s look of sadness. “Um den Einfluss der Deutschen entgegen zu wirken, beschloss Opa ein Urlaub in der Türkei. Der sollte sie zu ihren Wurzeln zurückführen.” After being back in Turkey, remembering their old way of life, and the luxuries they had in Germany, Hüseyin decides to buy a house in Germany. Various other families made this decision during and after the recruitment program, which led to the increase of immigrants coming to Germany even after the recruitment ban, as a result of family reunification.¹¹²

The stereotypes in this film portray the process of hybridisation, with the scenes in the past depicting the two distinct cultures and their early interactions, and the more recent ones depicting the less clear boundaries of homogenous cultures. Particularly shown through the character of Cenk, the film portrays the idea of opening of a third space where the cultures combine and create a new hybrid culture with features from the Turkish side and the German side. Cenk is stuck in between these two worlds, struggling to create his own identity.

¹¹¹ Stewart, "Turkish-German Comedy Goes Archival: Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland (2011)," 115.

¹¹² Soysal, "The Migration Story of Turks in Germany: From the Beginning to the End," 201.

Citizenship

Citizenship in Germany is something that has always been hard to come by, especially for foreigners from non-EU countries. At the time of unification in 1871, Germany was considered to be 'incomplete' as a considerable number of the German population resided outside the newly defined borders.¹¹³ From this point onwards, German citizenship was based on the idea of *jus sanguinis*, where one had to be of German descent to become a citizen. The Alien Act was originally introduced in 1965 to regulate the work and residence permit of guest workers, and now regulates foreigners' access to citizenship.¹¹⁴ From the 1980s and 1990s, the issue of the 'foreigner problem' was becoming more political, attitudes towards foreigners were becoming negative, and the integration of these foreigners was being hindered due to the difficulty of gaining German citizenship. After reunification, this was a key issue in the public debate, and a new citizenship law was introduced in 1999. It stated that "a person born in Germany to a foreign parent, who has resided in Germany lawfully for 8 years or has held unlimited residency permit for at least 3 years, would automatically be granted German citizenship."¹¹⁵ This new concept of *jus soli* is a step towards integration, but the changes did not include any recognition of dual citizenship. The *Optionmodell* was introduced, where "children born in Germany to foreign parents are allowed to have dual citizenship until the age of 23," but then they must choose which citizenship to retain.¹¹⁶ Naturalization also falls under the citizenship laws, and in the 1970s and 1980s, the dominant state ideology was that Germany is not a country of immigration. In 1990, naturalization expanded and "foreigners between 16 and 23 years of age with 8 or more years of residency and foreigners above the age of 23 with a minimum of 15 years of residency would have legal claim to naturalization."¹¹⁷ In 1999, this changed again with a minimum residency requirement of 8 years, with no age restriction, but with certain criteria that needed to be met: one had to declare loyalty to the German constitution, be able to support oneself without benefits, have no criminal convictions, have adequate knowledge of the German language, and renounce one's previous citizenship.¹¹⁸

Citizenship can be an important part of the integration of migrants: it gives them a voice and lets them participate in the political atmosphere of a country. It also shows a country's willingness and

¹¹³ Merih Anil, "No More Foreigners? The Remaking of German Naturalization and Citizenship Law, 1990-2000," *Dialectical Anthropology* 29, no. 3/4 (2005): 454.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 455.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

openness to foreigners, but this was somewhat non-existent in Germany, especially during the time that the guest workers arrived in Germany. The idea of nationness and the writing of the nation produces categories and identifiers, for example 'cultural difference,' and the metaphorical movement of migrants represents a kind of 'doubleness,' moving between cultural formations and social processes.¹¹⁹ Bhabha states "it is precisely in reading between these borderlines of the nation-space that we can see how the concept of the 'people' emerges within a range of discourses as a double narrative movement."¹²⁰ While the opportunity to become citizens became more accessible for foreigners, not all foreigners want to have to give up their own citizenship in order to obtain German citizenship, or take years to make the decision. In *Almanya*, Hüseyin and Fatma chose to apply for German citizenship after almost 50 years of living in Germany, the film depicting them receiving their new German passports.

One of the first scenes of the movie shows Hüseyin and Fatma coming out of a supermarket, with Hüseyin saying in Turkish: "Ich habe meine Meinung geändert. Ich will den deutschen Pass doch nicht." Fatma replies: "Hast du den Verstand verloren? Wir haben nicht umsonst den Antrag auf Einbürgerung gestellt." It is clear from this conversation that it was not Hüseyin's idea, rather Fatma's, and she is determined to get their German citizenship. The next scene referring to their citizenship, is the nightmare that Hüseyin has, as mentioned previously. The dream shows the *Beamte* asking the couple whether they are willing to make the German culture their dominant culture. While it is not necessarily true, there was the perception that gaining German citizenship meant one would have to give up their own culture and heritage, as dual citizenship is not accepted and one must renounce their original citizenship in order to become German citizens,¹²¹ and as part of the ongoing *Leitkultur* debate.

The night before the family go on their holiday to Turkey, Hüseyin and Fatma are lying in bed, a medium shot focusing on their faces and reactions. Fatma, with a massive smile on her face calls out to her husband, excitedly saying in Turkish "Das wird die erste Reise mit unseren deutschen Pässen." Unimpressed, Hüseyin rolls over and falls asleep, and the scene goes dark as he turns the light off. These few scenes show that Fatma is the one who was most interested in getting German passports, while Hüseyin still considers himself to be completely Turkish. But, according to the law both in Germany and Turkey, they are now both considered to be German, despite what they may feel. This is shown later on in the film, shortly after Hüseyin's death.

¹¹⁹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 140-41.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, 145.

¹²¹ Kolinsky, *Turkish Culture in German Society Today*, 92.

Set in a morgue in Turkey, a scene after Hüseyin's death begins with a close-up of Fatma's face. The camera zooms out to show Muhamed, Veli and Canan with Fatma, talking to a Turkish official trying to organise the burial of Hüseyin's body. "The Islamic approach to death is organized into a set of rituals and communal norms that structure the initial response to death, the funeral, and the formal mourning periods,"¹²² and the Yilmaz family try to adhere to these rituals. Unfortunately, they are confronted with disappointing news about the burial of Hüseyin. The Turkish official gives them the information on the cemetery for foreigners, but a close-up of Fatma's face shows her shock and confusion as she says, "Da muss ein Missverständnis vorliegen, mein Mann war Türke!" The official replies "Das mag sein, aber er hat einen deutschen Pass. Als Deutscher darf er nicht auf einem muslimischen Friedhof beerdigt werden." Close-ups of the other family members show that they all have the same reaction as Fatma: shock and confusion. Muhamed exclaims but my father was Turkish, and the shot changes to a medium long shot showing the official leaning in as he says "Freunde, wenn ihr wollt, kann ich die Sache für euch regeln." The camera zooms back in to a close-up, and Veli leaning over the desk asking, "An was hatten Sie gedacht?" The shot changes, skipping to the family back in the van and angrily discussing what the official wanted – 10,000 euros. The scene shows the difficulties that citizenship poses for foreigners and those of mixed heritage, the problems it places on the idea of culture, and how it affects everyday aspects of life.

Religion

Religion is an important aspect of German culture, with its history tied strongly to Christianity, and the fight between Protestantism and Catholicism. The introduction of the Turkish guest workers also brought along the introduction of Islam into German society. After the attacks of September 11, and as terrorist attacks started to become more regular, the debate on immigrant integration started evolving into a debate on Muslim integration.¹²³ As the majority were Muslims, Turkish guest workers were at a major disadvantage when compared to other guest workers who tended to come from EU and Christian nations. Those of a Turkish background were put under suspicion, Turkish migration to Germany was considered a failure and a danger,¹²⁴ and due to their religion,

¹²² Hend Yasien-Esmael and Simon Shimshon Rubin, "The Meaning Structures of Muslim Bereavements in Israel: Religious Traditions, Mourning Practices, and Human Experience," *Death Studies* 29, no. 6 (2005): 495.

¹²³ Ahmet Yukleyen and Gokce Yurdakul, "Islamic Activism and Immigrant Integration: Turkish Organisations in Germany," *Immigrants and Minorities* 29, no. 1 (2011): 68.

¹²⁴ Morrison, *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, 182.

their ability to integrate was hindered. With the increase of their numbers, “the debate on the social integration of immigrants has become a question of whether Islam is incompatible with the values of German society and, if so, whether this could lead to a failure to integrate.”¹²⁵ The theoretical model of postcolonial theory as a literary tool has diversified and expanded from literature to address race, gender, ethnicity, the environment, migration, religion, the sacred, etc.¹²⁶ Within this model, the nature of religion represents power relations between the colonizer and the colonized,¹²⁷ or in this case, native Germans and Turkish guest workers. The difference between the Muslim culture and Christian culture is shown in this film, portrayed through various scenes that relate back to the ideas of stereotyping and the issues of citizenship.

One of the first things the viewer notices is the clothing that Fatma wears. The viewer's eye is drawn to her headscarf in the first scene she is in, by its bright colour and that no one else around her is wearing one. Throughout the rest of the film, the clothes she wears are quite conservative and modest. The shock on Hüseyin's face when he dreams of her in the *Dirndl*, tells us that she would never wear something like that in real life. Various examples of Islamic female dress codes often are interpreted as symbols of female oppression, and gender inequality.¹²⁸ The film does not discuss this outright, but the issue of women and their headscarves is seen as neither a negative nor a positive thing, only a part of the everyday life of Muslim women.

In the first flashback, Canan tells the story of how Hüseyin and Fatma met, explaining the traditional Turkish and Muslim beliefs of courtship. “Islamic tradition places a strong emphasis on marriage due to the family's role as the fundamental unit and building block of a society,” and there are varying kinds of marriage from love marriages to arranged marriages.¹²⁹ The role of the family plays a significant role in the choosing of a marriage partner, and this is evident in Hüseyin's act of going to Fatma's father and other male relatives to ask to marry Fatma. The scene starts with a medium close-up of a man's face, and pans across to the right showing two other men sitting in a row. The first two men have dark hair with thick moustaches, the third man is the same but with grey hair, all with very serious looks on their faces. The camera turns away showing Hüseyin sitting across from them and Fatma in the background leaning against the wall with her head facing down. For an unknown reason Fatma's father says no to Hüseyin's proposal. “Aber

¹²⁵ Yurdakul, "Islamic Activism and Immigrant Integration: Turkish Organisations in Germany," 68.

¹²⁶ Nicole Goulet, "Postcolonialism and the Study of Religion: Dissecting Orientalism, Nationalism, and Gender Using Postcolonial Theory," *Religion Compass* 5, no. 10 (2011): 631.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 632.

¹²⁸ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 25.

¹²⁹ Annisa MP Rochadiat and Stephanie Tom Tong and Julie M Novak, "Online Dating and Courtship among Muslim American Women: Negotiating Technology, Religious Identity, and Culture," *New Media and Society* (2017): 3.

Hüseyin wollte das nein nicht akzeptieren.” Canan’s narration explains how Hüseyin then approaches Fatma, – “Er entführte sie. Damals reichte es schon wenn ein Mann eine unverheiratete Frau auch nur berührte. Das bedeutete das dieses Mädchen entehrt war.” The practice of avoiding contact and socialisation with ‘non-mahram’ men was pivotal for women in Islam,¹³⁰ which explains Canan’s quote about how Hüseyin and Fatma came to be together and got married. This sequence ends with Fatma and Hüseyin alone in a house together, and transitions to the future when they have children and live in their own house as a family.

A religious motif throughout the film is Muhamed’s fear of Jesus on the cross. Jesus is present in the Islamic faith, but while he is the centre of Christianity, he is only peripheral in Islam and Muslims do not believe that he is the Son of God or God as part of the Holy Trinity, recognizing him only as any other prophet and spiritual leader.¹³¹ As a result of this, Jesus on the cross is not worshipped in Islam like it is in Christianity, and Muhamed has a fear of this unknown ritual. During a sequence mentioned previously, the farewell scenes, Muhamed learns about Christianity and one of the main beliefs of the religion – Jesus Christ and how he died on the cross. Muhamed’s friend tells of how unbelievers live in Germany, how they eat pork and humans, and how they worship the cross icon, making the motion of Jesus on the cross and saying “und die haben sie auch aufgegessen.” He also describes how Christians go to church every Sunday and eat the body and blood of Christ. Muhamed is haunted by this idea, and the following evening has a nightmare of this motif. While lying in a luxurious bed, a high angle shot shows the bottom of the bedroom door slowly creaking open, followed by a shot panning upwards to show a life-sized Jesus on the cross. Switching between a high angle shot showing the figure towering over Muhamed in his bed, and a low angle view over the figure’s shoulder of Muhamed in the bed, the Jesus figure pulls himself off the cross and lurches at him. Terrified, Muhamed wakes up screaming from his nightmare. A next scene of this motif is set in their new apartment in Germany, Muhamed hurriedly tries to find a toilet (Fatma is still cleaning the toilet), ends up at the kitchen sink, steps up on a stool, stumbles and pulls down a curtain as he tries to stabilise himself. Once he pulls the curtain off his face, a low angle shows his perspective as he looks up and sees a statue of Jesus on the cross hanging on the wall. Fatma and Veli come running at the sound of Muhamed’s scream, and Fatma questions what the figure is. Veli explains what it is, Fatma replies “Eine Holzfigur. Die beten eine Holzfigur an. Allmächtiger. Ist das nicht alles so...” laughing and

¹³⁰ Irene Zempi, “‘It’s a Part of Me, I Feel Naked without It’: Choice, Agency and Identity for Muslim Women Who Wear the Niqab,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39, no. 10 (2016): 1741.

¹³¹ Bruce McDowell and Anees Zaka, *Muslim and Christian Beliefs: A Comparison* (Fort Washington, PA: CLC Publications, 2000), 36-38.

turns to Leyla, who is also laughing about the idea. This shows how different the religions of Islam and Christianity are, and by not knowing the practices of the other religion, some practices may seem comical and unnatural.

While living in Germany, the family are influenced by various aspects of the German culture. This is especially shown through the celebration of Christmas, and the children's desire to participate in the traditional practices and rituals, despite it being a Christian holiday. As mentioned previously, the children try to convince Fatma to partake in the traditional practices in relation to the presents. This scene relates to the *Leitkultur* debate, where immigrants were expected to adapt, and various politicians described German culture as a culture where Christian holidays are to be celebrated, not Muslim ones.¹³² In Germany, Christmas is celebrated on Christmas Eve, and this is when the children tend to open their presents. "Also, ich gehe jetzt darein, und dann mit der Glocke läuten?" Fatma questions. Veli answers "Geschenke. Du musst erst die Geschenke um den Baum legen. Und dann mit der Glocke läuten. Okay?" Fatma leaves the kitchen and returns holding the presents. The children complain about them not being wrapped, and Fatma says "Ja dann macht eure Augen eben zu." A close-up angle shows Fatma's hand ringing the bell, and a medium shot shows the kids entering the room – first with excitement on their faces, turning to disappointment as Fatma steps out of the way to show them the Christmas tree. A close-up of the tree, with a panning down motion shows a very small tree, small trunk and a few branches, poorly decorated. Close-ups show the disappointment on the children's faces, and then Fatma's disappointed look as she notices their reactions. Through growing up in Germany, the children of a Muslim background have become the "'hybrid' inhabitants and citizens of a historically non-Muslim German state,"¹³³ due to the influence of German culture. Shown through this scene, the hybridisation of cultures is portrayed in various aspects, particularly religion and its traditional beliefs and practices. While the rituals are from the traditional German and Christian side, the family are still eating their traditional Turkish food showing that they haven't fully complied to German traditions. Noticing this influence for the first time, Hüseyin is fearful of it, which leads to his decision to go back to Turkey for a visit.

As mentioned previously, despite being a Muslim, the Turkish officials did not allow Hüseyin to be buried in a Muslim cemetery because of his newly received German citizenship. As a result of this, Fatma tells the family "Wir bringen euren Vater ins Dorf. Sofort!" Muhamed replies "Mutter,

¹³² Ahmet Yükleven, *Localizing Islam in Europe: Turkish Islamic Communities in Germany and the Netherlands*, 1st ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2012), 2.

¹³³ Morrison, *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, 3.

du hast es doch selbst gehört. Laut Pass ist Vater ein Deutscher." Almost angrily Fatma replies with "Das ist nur ein Stück Papier. Dein Vater wollte nie Deutscher werden. Wenn er nicht im Dorf begraben wird, werde ich mir das nie verzeihen." The children proceed to tell her that they cannot do that without the proper paperwork, and that it is illegal. She responds with "Seit tausenden von Jahren begraben wir unsere Toten in der Erde. Was ist daran rechtswidrig? Es steht ihm zu, hier beerdigt zu werden." While it is not clear in the film, the treatment of the body must follow Islamic rituals, the main part is the washing of the body to "prepare the deceased for his or her meeting with God," including positing the grave towards Mecca.¹³⁴ The burial service is held, with friends and family present, and all the women wearing headscarfs. The music is very slow, nostalgic and sad, and no sound from the service is heard. A long shot of the surrounding mountains shows the transition from after the burial service to the next morning, through a time lapse of the sunset and sunrise. The family begins to search for the house, and their journey has reached its climatic end – they find the house but it is in ruins. The film uses the physical journey on the road as a metaphor for life, Hüseyin's death is interpreted as transformation rather than loss and separation, and finding the house in ruins symbolises nostalgia, a longing for a home that no longer exists.¹³⁵

Language

When arriving in a new country, immigrants face problems of adjusting to both the national cultures of the immigrant countries, and the urban culture and to the specific occupations in which they move.¹³⁶ Governments devote resources and efforts in to the integration of immigrants in order to avoid future social costs, and as a way to prevent immigrant groups from forming ethnic enclaves characterised by poverty risk, unemployment and cultural isolation.¹³⁷ On a micro-level, an example of failed integration is immigrants failing to learn the host country's language,¹³⁸ as learning the language is a key part of the integration process. The linguistic behaviour among the

¹³⁴ Rubin, "The Meaning Structures of Muslim Bereavements in Israel: Religious Traditions, Mourning Practices, and Human Experience," 501.

¹³⁵ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 74.

¹³⁶ Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment*, 38.

¹³⁷ Alexander Danzer and Firat Yaman, "Ethnic Concentration and Language Fluency of Immigrants: Evidence from the Guest-Worker Placement in Germany," *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organization* 131 (2016): 151.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

Turks in Germany changed throughout the different generations, and reflects their changing position and status in Germany.¹³⁹

In any kind of literature, language plays a significant role, especially in film and this is particularly evident in *Almanya*. The use of language in the film helps one to understand the experience of the Yilmaz family as they arrived in Germany. The director, Yasemin Samdereli, "created a fantasy language as a stylistic means to give German viewers the same feeling of oddness and confusion caused by a new language,"¹⁴⁰ which has been mentioned previously and labelled the invented language. The film is mostly in German, but features speech in Turkish with German subtitles, and this fictional language created by the director. As most guest workers had little to no knowledge of the German language, the new immigrants faced problems in their everyday lives, from the simple task of going shopping (as shown in the film), to companies teaching workers traffic signals as many were accident prone and ignorant to traffic rules.¹⁴¹ Bhabha describes the situation of colonials, post-colonials, migrants, and minorities as "wandering peoples who will not be contained within the *Heim* of the national culture,"¹⁴² while specifically discussing the Turk in Germany. The Turk leads the life of the double, the automation, a mere imitation of life and labour rather than master and slave, without the language that bridges knowledge and act, without the objectification of the social process.¹⁴³ Using John Berger's words, Bhabha tells of the effect that language or the lack of language has on an individual, the opaqueness of words, the difficulty that the Turkish guestworkers faced when confronted with the situation of asking for a simple beverage but being unable to speak the language and not knowing where the correct place to ask for a coffee is.¹⁴⁴ In *Almanya*, this experience of total lack of comprehension is made tangible to the viewers through the use of Samdereli's pseudo-German, which they too cannot understand.

During the first flashback narrated by Canan, the scene shows when Hüseyin first arrives in Germany among hundreds of other guest workers, as a crowd gathers outside the station and in front of a stage and podium. A medium shot shows two men standing at the podium, with a "Willkommen" poster hanging up behind them. One of the men, a German official/politician begins to give a speech, but the camera shows Hüseyin and the other workers looking around at each other with confused looks on their faces, showing that they cannot understand what is being said.

¹³⁹ Watzinger-Tharp, "Turkish-German Language: An Innovative Style of Communication and Its Implications for Citizenship and Identity," 285.

¹⁴⁰ Marsh, "Feel-Good German Film Says Multiculturalism Not Dead."

¹⁴¹ Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment*, 38.

¹⁴² Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Oxon; New York: Routledge Classics, 2004), 236.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, 237-38.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 237.

This German official is speaking in the invented language, pretending to be the German language, representing the workers inability to comprehend what is being said. The other man at the podium begins to speak, in the language that the workers understand which is shown through their now happy and smiling faces.

Another scene where this confusion is portrayed is when the family arrives in Germany together. They approach the border controller and Hüseyin confusedly hands over their passports as he is unable to understand what the controller is saying. The camera angle switches between a high and a low shot, showing the German customs officer in a higher position looking down on the family. Clearly scared about being in a new foreign place, Fatma and the children jump at the loud noise of the controller stamping their passports. The children are especially scared by this encounter, and look around curiously at all the German officials, commenting on their appearances.

A similar thing happens when the family gets in to a taxi and are unable to understand the German driver. This scene in the taxi, shows the language barrier, but also portrays simple everyday things that are different between the Turkish and German lifestyles. The German taxi driver stops at a zebra crossing, which confuses the Turkish family. Muhamed looks out the window and screams at “Eine Riese Ratte,” which turns out to be a small Dachshund dog, and Hüseyin explains that Germans take their dogs for walks on a lead, and even let them sleep in their beds. These peculiar habits of the Germans¹⁴⁵ are confusing and completely foreign to Fatma, and praying for courage from her God, “Allmächtiger, steh uns bei,” she and the children laugh.

The first real struggle for Fatma is the first time she needs to go grocery shopping, which relates to what Berger says above about the struggle of the guest worker in Germany. She asks Hüseyin to go, but he says by the time he gets home from work all the shops are closed, and Fatma replies worriedly “Was soll ich denn sagen, ich kann doch die Sprache überhaupt nicht.” The next morning Fatma goes to the local corner shop. In keeping with magical realism’s ideas, the structures of power are subverted and repositioned, the relationship between the majority and minority culture is turned upside down,¹⁴⁶ shown through the interplay between Fatma and the shop keeper. In a very shy and scared manner, she looks around the shop, and jumps when the shop keeper begins to speak to her in the invented language. Fatma walks over to the counter, asks for some bread, but the server looks at her with a confused look on his face, unable to

¹⁴⁵ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 71.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

understand what she is asking for. A medium shot is used, as Fatma begins to use hand motions to try and describe what she means, making the shape of a loaf of bread. A close-up of the fake pig figure on the counter pans across to the server holding out a large bit of salami, and horrified, Fatma says no! Giving up on the bread she asks “Haben Sie Milch?” After having resorted to calling out a “moo” sound and making the motions of milking a cow, the shop keeper finally understands and hands over a bottle of milk, Fatma cries out in happiness and says “Allmächtiger, Sie kennen Milch!”

The guest workers who brought their families over to be with them, faced the task of sending their children to school. “In wenigen Wochen nach der Ankunft und ohne ein einziges Wort Deutsch zu sprechen, wurden alle Kinder eingeschult,” Canan narrates as the scene begins with a medium long shot of a school’s entrance hall, with school children running around, screaming and talking. A low shot is used to show the school children’s perspective of the family, as Fatma walks in with her children hiding behind her. Zooming in on the school children’s faces shows how they all stopped what they were doing to look at the newcomers, some with smiles on their faces, other with grimaces. This scene shows that from an early age, by participating in German schooling, second-generations faced discrimination and rejection through their language and religion, with identity crises and orientation problems being virtually pre-programmed during these early stages.¹⁴⁷ Leyla was the first to learn the language, “und wurde als Dolmetscherin überall eingesetzt.” The example of this is when Fatma gets a visit from a doctor, and Leyla is the translator – “Was hat Sie gesagt? Ich hab was Schlimmes oder?” Fatma asks Leyla, who answers “Du bekommst noch ein Baby.” The baby is Ali, the only child of Hüseyin and Fatma to be born in Germany.

Conclusion

The film culminates with a ceremony held by Chancellor Angela Merkel, in which two hundred migrants who had settled in Germany were invited, thereby officially acknowledging Germany’s debt of gratitude.¹⁴⁸ Asked to present a speech, Hüseyin is insistent on not attending, but throughout the film, he and Cenk practice the script of his speech. The last scene of the film shows Cenk speaking on behalf of Hüseyin, representing both the guest worker generation, and the third

¹⁴⁷ Matenia Sirseldoudi, “The Meaning of Religion and Identity for the Violent Radicalisation of the Turkish Diaspora in Germany,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24, no. 5 (2012): 814.

¹⁴⁸ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 71-72.

generation, with the family watching on proudly. The film portrays a transnational and hybridised family idyll, “touched but not destroyed by the forces of mobility and modernity,”¹⁴⁹ and the ceremony shows a potential growth in the acceptance of foreigners in Germany. The acceptance of foreigners in Germany could only be established through the admission of Germany being a country of immigration, something that has only occurred in more recent times.

Going back to Rose’s definition of integration from the introduction,¹⁵⁰ one can see that integration is not a matter of complete assimilation, but rather the creation of a new culture across nations that has features from two or more national identities. The film shows that during the start of the labour recruitment program, there were no integration policies in place, especially when Hüseyin brought his family over. The way that the family adjusted to the German way of life was through Hüseyin’s own limited experience, and they began to pick and choose which aspects of their own culture to keep and which ones they adapted from the German culture. Integration can be an achievable goal, but only through the hybridity of new cultures.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 75.

¹⁵⁰ “It does not mean the elimination of old national culture and institutions, but it does mean allowing a new cross-national culture and set of institutions to be built parallel to the old.” Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment*, 4.

Chapter 2

Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße – “Leben in zwei Welten”

“Um weiteren Fragen nach meiner Herkunft aus dem Weg zu gehen, antwortete ich konsequent: ‘Ich bin Hatice, Türkin mit deutschem Pass.’ Das sage ich übrigens immer, wenn ich nach meinem Herkunftsland gefragt werde. Es ist sofort für jeden klar: Ich bin Türkin, aber erfolgreich integriert.”¹⁵¹

In the era of global migration, societies, particularly those in Europe, can no longer be defined as homogenous, due to the increasing presence of migrants in society.¹⁵² A way that these migrants express themselves and their experiences is through literature. By originating in one culture and writing in the language of another culture migrants can serve as a mediator between the two,¹⁵³ occupying a third space in between the two cultures. The term migrant literature encompasses work from those who have migrated themselves, or are second-generation immigrants, and comes from authors from a wide range of nationalities. In Germany migrant literature, which saw a breakthrough in the 1970s, has been primarily associated with work written and published in German by those of a Turkish background.¹⁵⁴ Since then, the analysis of this genre of literature has been approached from various disciplinary fields. One Turkish-German author, Emine Sevgi Özdamar, suggests that the situation of the guest workers was a form of belated internal colonialism, inviting a postcolonial reading of this genre of literature,¹⁵⁵ as described in a conversation with Horrocks and Kolinsky,¹⁵⁶ adding to the justification of using a postcolonial methodology.

In the age of globalisation, more recent analysis focuses on new modes of imagining and conceptualizing social life, in relation to transnational and postnational formations, amidst ongoing debates about the fate of the nation-state and stateless nationalism.¹⁵⁷ The Turkish-German

¹⁵¹ Hatice Akyün, *Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Soße* (Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 2007), 178.

¹⁵² Kolinsky, *Turkish Culture in German Society Today*, x.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Petersen, "Translating 'Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Sosse,'" 5.

¹⁵⁵ Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition*, 149.

¹⁵⁶ Kolinsky, *Turkish Culture in German Society Today*.

¹⁵⁷ Leslie A Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2.

aspect of migrant literature showcases the bridge between two-worlds, one European and one the Other, and various examples of this literature shows that the space in between is either a site of discriminatory exclusions or the home of happy hybridity, or anywhere in between.¹⁵⁸ Turkish authors, artists and directors have used their work to show this state of in-betweenness, and to represent their past and present experiences of both themselves and their families. According to Bhabha, these in-between spaces provide the terrain to initiate new signs of identity, new sites of collaboration, and contesting the act of deifying the idea of society itself.¹⁵⁹

Topics that are commonly dealt with within Turkish-German literature include migration, integration, Germany as an immigrant country, intercultural relations and the differences between both cultures through language and religion. Some notable German-language authors and directors of Turkish descent who touch on these topics include Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Zafer Senocak, Feridun Zaimoglu, Kerim Pamuk, Fatih Akin, and Yasemin Şamdereli.

Another notable author is Hatice Akyün, the author of the autobiographical novel *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*. This novel deals with all the above topics, and can be analysed from the perspective of cultural and literary studies, women's writing, and migrant and migration literature.¹⁶⁰ Akyün's father travelled to Germany to find work, became a miner and brought his family with him to an industrial city in the Ruhr Valley. After being born in Turkey, Akyün grew up and was educated in Germany where she has struggled with questions of her heritage and identity throughout her life, and has documented her experiences in this novel. The novel "makes a concerted effort to encourage cultural tolerance and the understanding that many immigrants and descendants of immigrants believe Germany to be their home."¹⁶¹ Written from the perspective of the second-generation, the novel is subtitled *Leben in zwei Welten*, showing Akyün's focus on the two cultures and her existing in both worlds, living in the in-between spaces that Bhabha discusses.

The novel was adapted in to a film with the same title, and the film is my second chosen text. Directed by Buket Alakus and released in 2013, it incorporates some aspects from the original novel which was episodic in nature, but creates a new linear storyline. This chapter will provide a brief description of the film with aspects from the novel, and the ways in which the audience can see the clashes of culture – stereotypes, citizenship, language and religion. Bhabha's notions of

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 5.

¹⁵⁹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 1.

¹⁶⁰ Petersen, "Translating 'Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Sosse,'" 27.

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, 1.

third space and cultural hybridity are reflected in the novel and the film, and the film also questions whether integration has been successful or whether it is an unattainable ideal.

Film

The novel *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* “is structured as the memoir of a second-generation immigrant in which the narrator addresses the reader directly and relates a long, multifaceted, and sometimes intimately detailed personal account.”¹⁶² The narration is delivered by the main character Hatice Coscun, and gives a detailed description of her life, her family, their experiences living in Germany and the fight between her German life and the traditional Turkish desires for her life from her father. In the novel, the narrator has no problems to overcome, she has happily integrated in to German society and only feels occasional irritation with her family who are less integrated and hold more tightly to their traditional Turkish beliefs. In the film, this irritation with her family is still present, but most of the details of the storyline are different. Hatice provides the narration, depicting the struggle between the two cultures, and identifies the problem that she must overcome. Being the second oldest daughter, according to their father, Hatice must be married or at least engaged in order for her younger sister, Fatma, to get married. Fatma has met the love of her life and accidentally fallen pregnant, but her father will not allow her to get married until Hatice does. The film consists of Hatice’s attempts to find a suitable man in a short period of time, and her father eventually coming to terms with the fact that she does not need a man and lives a fulfilled life, allowing Fatma to get married. The film depicts the differing beliefs and experiences of the first generation of guest workers, compared to their second and third generations. As Peterson notes:

“While many Gastarbeiter never learned German and isolated themselves from greater German society by associating only with other from their native land or cultural group, the children and grandchildren of these workers – often born, raised, and educated in Germany – embody the entire spectrum of the integration process. Naturally, this leads to conflict within immigrant families and communities. Different generations often have radically different views on the maintenance of culture and language, the importance of religion, and the different roles men and women are expected to play.”¹⁶³

¹⁶² *ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, 4.

The first-generation of Turkish migrants in Germany are often depicted as gloomy guest workers, delaying their return to the homeland by creating an imitation of *Heimat* with familiar shops, restaurants, houses and organisations in Germany.¹⁶⁴ The second- and third-generations, on the other hand, are represented as experiencing in-betweenness, and identity crises in their search for a home,¹⁶⁵ reflecting Bhabha's arguments about migrants from post-colonial nations and shown throughout this film in the everyday lives of the generational family. The experience of in-betweenness and a search for identity are most clearly evident in the themes of religion, stereotypes, language and citizenship in the film.

Religion

Due to the rise of secularisation and pluralisation, and the arrival of new religious communities, the two main churches in Germany have lost large numbers of members.¹⁶⁶ Although Germany defines itself as secular, the two central churches (Protestant and Catholic) still have a significant impact on social life in the country. This ranges from heads of the churches commenting on political issues – abortion, gay marriages, social security etc. – to acting like members of civil society by running parts of the public social system – hospitals, nursery schools, homes for elderly and handicapped.¹⁶⁷ In addition to these roles on the national level, religion plays an important role on the everyday lives of its adherents. One aspect of this is familial relationships, and the traditional religious beliefs about marriage, dating, sexual relationships and the role of women and men in the family. Through the labour recruitment program, and the arrival of the guest workers, Germany saw the arrival of a new religion – Islam – mainly through the Turkish migrants.¹⁶⁸ When family reunification took place at the end of the recruitment program, guest workers felt the desire to “cultivate religious tradition and pass it on to the next generations,” and mosques and Quran schools were established.¹⁶⁹ Originally these guest workers lived in the modern, secular state of Turkey, where all religious activities were controlled and monopolized.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Esin Bozkurt, *Conceptualising "Home": The Question of Belonging among Turkish Families in Germany* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), 11.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Reinhard Henkel, "State-Church Relationships in Germany: Past and Present," *GeoJournal: The political Geography of religion: Historical state-church relations in Europe and recent challenges* 67, no. 4 (2006): 307.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 310, 11.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 307.

¹⁶⁹ Jeroen Doomernik, "The Institutionalization of Turkish Islam in Germany and the Netherlands: A Comparison " *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, no. 1 (1995): 48.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 49.

By moving to western European nations such as Germany, where there isn't as strict state control on religion, religious organisations and participation changed substantially.¹⁷¹ Newcomers were astonished that they would meet more women wearing headscarves in an area of Berlin than in Istanbul,¹⁷² and Turkish politics itself was discussed and engaged in more actively by the guest workers in Germany than by those living in Turkey.¹⁷³ Turkish politics and the Islamic religion influenced the lives of Turkish guest workers, impacting their ability to integrate and clashing with the traditional Christian culture of Germany.

In Islam, the family institution is a very important aspect of everyday life. As Osman Bakar argues, "the family is first of all a religious institution since it is based on the principle of sacred marriage and it exists to serve as an instrument to help man realise the twin goals of his existence in accordance with God's cosmic plan."¹⁷⁴ Bakar describes various definitions of the word family, the importance of family in Islam as written in the Quran, and how it "has been impacted by modernisation, secularisation, and globalisation" seen through the changes in the place and role of near relatives in the larger family community.¹⁷⁵ The family institution and its essential components – sacred marriage, parenting and parenthood, parents-children relationship, and inter-sibling relationship¹⁷⁶ – play an important role in the telling of the story in *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*. From Hatice's search for her perfect man, the time limit of this placed on her by her sister, and her relationship with her parents throughout this search and her whole life, the traditional Islamic and Turkish beliefs impact all these relationships. The characters' religion not only impacts their relationships in life, it affects everything from what they wear, to what they eat and how they act. This is evident in the way that Hatice is portrayed, and her struggle against some of these traditional beliefs.

In the first scenes of the movie we are introduced to Hatice, and given a glimpse in to her life. The first shot of the film is a close-up of a woman's legs and feet, wearing black and red high-heeled shoes. Jumping upwards, a close-up shows the woman wearing a tight, red, pencil skirt. Next, we see the back of her head, showcasing her long dark, wavy hair. The woman is shown to be going

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² Sirseloudi, "The Meaning of Religion and Identity for the Violent Radicalisation of the Turkish Diaspora in Germany," 814.

¹⁷³ Ruth Mandel, "Shifting Centres and Emergent Identities: Turkey and Germany in the Lives of Turkish Gastarbeiter," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 155.

¹⁷⁴ Osman Bakar, "Family Values, the Family Institution, and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: An Islamic Perspective," *Islam and Civilisational Renewal* 3, no. 1 (2011): 12.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 14.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 27.

up in the lift, and then entering her office. In her business attire, the first-person narration tells us that this is Hatice – “Ich bin Hatice. Türkin mit deutschem Pass.” The film is about Hatice’s identity as a Turkish-German woman, but this opening quote also symbolizes “das Oxymoron beiläufig auf die Kritik an den Debatten um das Einwanderungsland Bundesrepublik, wo naturalisierte Deutsche, und insbesondere Deutsche mit türkischen Wurzeln, nur allzu gern als ‘Türken mit deutschen Pass’ bzw. als ‘Mitbürger’ ausgegrenzt und diskriminiert werden.”¹⁷⁷ Setting the scene for the movie, the quote from Hatice shows the importance of how she defines herself and identifies herself – a Turk with a German passport.

The next scene of the film shows Hatice at home in her apartment, trying on clothes in front of the mirror. A recurring motif throughout the film is the Anatolian Village – “Türken in Deutschland haben immer ein anatolisches Dorf dabei.” As Hatice puts on a short skirt, a group of people, miniature in size, appear next to her representing the traditional Turkish people and their beliefs, with the women wearing headscarves. The wearing of headscarves or other kinds of veils, can be seen as an act of worship of adherents allowing them to be closer to God.¹⁷⁸ The *anatolisches Dorf* criticise the shortness of Hatice’s skirt, especially compared to their colourful and conservative clothing of typical Turkish villagers, as it goes against what is written in religious texts about wearing a veil and dressing modestly.¹⁷⁹ Hatice ignores them, and keeps this skirt on.

Shortly afterwards, Hatice and her boyfriend, Stefan, make their way to her parents’ home. This is the first meeting for Stefan and Hatice’s parents, therefore tensions are running high and Hatice feels a great deal of pressure. When they reach the outskirts of the town, Hatice pulls the car over, gets out and pulls a suitcase out of the trunk. She takes off her short, denim skirt, and puts on a floor length denim skirt instead. Her *anatolisches Dorf* applaud and cheer her on. A key part of the Islamic faith is to show kindness and charity, and to respect ones’ parents,¹⁸⁰ and the *anatolisches Dorf* represent the views and opinions of her parents, which she respects by changing her skirt to a more appropriate length to wear in her parents’ home. Stefan questions what she did, and she replies “Vater-Rock. Ich zieh meinen Vater-Rock an, wenn ich zu meinen Eltern fahre. Dann habe ich meine Ruhe. Ich weiß, das sieht furchtbar aus.” Stefan contradicts

¹⁷⁷ Karin Yesilada, “'Nette Turkinnen Von Nebenan' - Die Neue Deutsch-Türkische Harmlosigkeit Als Literarischer Trend,” in *Von Der Nationalen Zur Internationalen Literatur: Transkulturelle Deutschsprachige Literatur Und Kultur Im Zeitalter Globaler Migration*, ed. Helmut Schmitz (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 130.

¹⁷⁸ Zempi, “‘It’s a Part of Me, I Feel Naked without It’: Choice, Agency and Identity for Muslim Women Who Wear the Niqab,” 1741.

¹⁷⁹ Hilary Landorf and Luis Pagan, “Unveiling the Hijab,” *The Social Studies* 96, no. 4 (2005): 173.

¹⁸⁰ Bakar, “Family Values, the Family Institution, and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: An Islamic Perspective,” 18.

her, saying it looks good on her and she should wear it more often. Angered by his comment, Hatice questions whether she should wear a headscarf, and walk behind a man, which she gives as examples of patriarchal ideas of male domination, particularly in the Western view of Islam.¹⁸¹ This conversation leads in to an argument, where some differences between Turkish and German cultures are made clear. Over the top of the couple arguing, Hatice's narration says "Ein Deutscher der sich in einen Türken verwandelt." Cutting back in to the argument, Stefan says, "Ich bin Türke und wir heiraten," and Hatice's reply of "Ich will aber keinen Türken," emphasises the difference between the two. In anger, and after her refusal to say she wants someone Turkish, Hatice drives off leaving Stefan standing on the side of the road.

After arriving at her parents' home, her family questions where *Schwiegersohn* (son in law) is, and are disappointed that Hatice has come alone. A later scene shows Hatice and her father in the car, stopped at a red light. Her father questions "Wie alt bist du jetzt?" The narration explains this question in the *Vater-Sprache* that her father speaks, an indirect language which alludes to an underlying meaning: "Das heißt in Vater-Sprache; es wird Zeit, dass du heiratest." Hatice answers 34, which is followed by a flashback sequence of similar conversations that the pair have had in the past. At 10 years old, her father hopes that she will marry a strong man from the Turkish village they come from. At 21, he gives up on that idea, saying that as long as her future husband is from Turkey and is Muslim, he will be happy. A few years later, her father says that there are Muslims from all over the world, her future husband doesn't have to be Turkish because Allah loves all humans. Back to the present, her father repeats "34" with a disappointed and discouraged looked on his face, coming to the conclusion that she might never marry. This sequence of scenes portrays the importance of marriage in the Turkish and Muslim culture, how the preservation of the traditional family institution through the sacred principle of marriage is part of divine Islam laws,¹⁸² and how it is ingrained in to children from an early age.

A next scene sets the plot for the film, beginning with the three sisters – Hatice, Fatma, and Abla – getting ready for a wedding. Fatma tries on a dress, but struggles to zip it up. She admits, "Ich bin schwanger" and a medium close-up shows Hatice and Abla looking surprised and worried. Fatma explains that if Hatice had introduced Stefan to their father, he could have been persuaded to allow Fatma to get married. Abla insists "Wir müssen einen Mann finden" as a solution to the

¹⁸¹ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 128.

¹⁸² Bakar, "Family Values, the Family Institution, and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: An Islamic Perspective," 25.

problem. Sacred texts of major religions proscribe premarital and extramarital sex,¹⁸³ and abortions are not allowed as a women's body is not her own, but was given by God.¹⁸⁴ These are reasons why Fatma is so worried about getting married before her pregnancy begins to show, and while it is not specifically a religious practice, there is a tradition that older daughters must marry before younger daughters can. Ismail, their father, follows this tradition, and will not allow Fatma to get married until Hatice, her older sister, is married or at least engaged. The day after the wedding, this belief of Ismail is shown in a conversation between him, Abla, Fatma and Hatice, which leads in to an argument between the three sisters. Ismail and his wife, Emine, discuss the matter, with her defending Fatma's boyfriend, while Ismail admits that one of the reasons behind his decision is to force Hatice to get married. As Hatice leaves her parents' home, Fatma says she has four weeks to find someone.

An issue that arises when discussing the idea of marriage, in any religion, is who a marriage is between. Bakar states that in Islam, "traditional marriage is one that is realised between the opposite sexes, that is, between males and females."¹⁸⁵ While this issue is not directly addressed in the film, it is alluded to. In her desperation to find a man in order for Fatma to get married before people find out she is pregnant, Hatice begs her friend, Gero, to pretend to be Stefan and come meet her parents. During the gathering a family friend arrives – Adnan and his family – and they all collectively stare and watch Gero and judge whether he is a suitable match for Hatice. The novel *Hatice* explains that "türkische Gastfreundschaft wird überall groß geschrieben,"¹⁸⁶ and Ismail starts cooking food on the BBQ telling Hatice that he cannot send his friends home hungry. They hear dogs barking, and walk through the back gate to see what the commotion is. A medium close-up shows Gero and Adnan's son, Selim, together in a romantic tryst, with Gero stroking the latter's face. Ismail looks at Hatice with shock and sadness, and walks away. As Hatice leaves her parents' home, Hatice pretends that she had no idea about Gero, but Ismail doesn't believe it. He threateningly says, "Den nächsten Schwiegersohn den du bringst, wirst du auch heiraten." The mood changes as Ismail then mentions how he would never have thought that Selim would be gay, and they chuckle about it. The music lightens up the mood more, as the viewer sees Hatice putting back on her short skirt as she leaves Salzgitter. Ismail is not as fazed by Selim

¹⁸³ Amy Adamczyk and Brittany Hayes, "Religion and Sexual Behaviours: Understanding the Influence of Islamic Cultures and Religious Affiliation for Explaining Sex Outside of Marriage," *American Sociological Review* 77, no. 5 (2012): 726.

¹⁸⁴ Bakar, "Family Values, the Family Institution, and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: An Islamic Perspective," 27.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸⁶ Akyün, *Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Soße*, 42.

being gay as by Hatice's situation, because Selim is not part of his family and cannot embarrass his family name.¹⁸⁷

This film and novel are part of a genre of migrant literature, which invites readers "to enter the private, domestic sphere of Turkish German families."¹⁸⁸ Part of this domestic sphere is the kitchen and the food produced and the role this plays in the characters' relationships. The audience of the film is introduced to the Turkish cuisine beyond the stereotypical *Döner* kebab. As Heather Benbow notes, there is usually an emphasis on women as feeders of family and guests, associating 'feeding work' with 'women's love and caring for their families.'¹⁸⁹ Yet there are also several novels in which:

"young professional women of the second generation distance themselves from a traditional femininity of feeding and homemaking in favour of a very modern disavowal of the kitchen, but they deploy Turkish food cooked in the home by older female family members as an appealing artefact of authentic Turkish culture."¹⁹⁰

Hatice falls into this category, as she is unable to cook and does not desire to, but worships her mother's cooking skills, both in the film and the novel. In the film, however, this changes as a result of Hatice's relationship with a new man, the German Hannes. The scene where this becomes apparent shows Emine in the kitchen preparing food, with the phone cradled between her ear and shoulder, continuing to use both hands to cook. Hatice stands in her noticeably emptier and cleaner kitchen, asking her mother how to make Baklava and other Turkish dishes. Emine doubts Hatice's cooking skills, and suddenly stops what she is doing, a close-up of her face showing her break out into a knowing smile. She runs outside to her husband at the BBQ, saying "Hatice hat einen Hans." He replies with "Was? Und du glaubst, er ist der Richtige?" Emine says, "Sie will machen Baklava" and they stare excitedly at each other at the prospect that Hatice has finally found someone, and the fact that she wants to cook for him. A later scene shows Hatice in her kitchen attempting to make Baklava, on the phone to her mother questioning what to do. The dough is not turning out as it is supposed to, she hangs up as the doorbell rings, and her two sisters have come to help her out. They spend the rest of the day cooking, dancing around to music, and the food turns out perfectly. Part of the reason why she wants her food to succeed is

¹⁸⁷ One of the last scenes of the film shows Ismail and Adnan meeting and discussing their situations – both have children that do not follow the traditional cultural norms, and despite this they should remain friends.

¹⁸⁸ Heather Merle Benbow, "Food, Gender, and Cross-Cultural Consumption in Turkish-German Chick Lit," *Food and Foodways* 23, no. 3 (2015): 150.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 151.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, 152.

because she must ask Hannes a delicate question – to meet her family and pretend that they are engaged/almost engaged.

The family attend a cousin's wedding in Hamburg, and stay at Hatice's apartment. On the one side, Hatice expects that Hannes will meet the family before the wedding for coffee and attend the wedding too. But on the other side, her father expects Hannes to come to dinner with them the night before the wedding. The sequence of scenes begins with the family sitting around Hatice's apartment reading magazines and newspapers, and Emine looking through the fridge and kitchen. Hatice announces "Ich hab einen Tisch in einem türkischen Restaurant reserviert" to excited cries from her siblings, but Emine insists that she can cook better than any restaurant and she will not go to a restaurant because of what *Schwiegersohn* will think. Hatice looks confused, saying that they are meeting Hannes the following day, but Ismail is determined that *Schwiegersohn* must come that evening as he did not come to meet him in Salzgitter, and Emine drags Hatice to the supermarket. Hatice phones Hannes while her mother shops, but he has an important basketball game and cannot come. Back at the apartment, the women are in the kitchen preparing food, while Ismail and Mustafa sit at the table. Ismail is determined that Hannes should come meet him tonight, as Hannes did not make the journey to Ismail's home, and Fatma begs Hatice to go get him. At the gymnasium, Hatice arrives and causes Hannes to miss his shot. This was the teams last chance to score and they lose the game as a result, leaving Hannes in a bad mood and blaming Hatice. She begs Hannes to come and pretend that they are engaged, but he says he will not come with her and "Ich glaube es ist besser, wenn wir uns erst mal nicht mehr sehen."

Ismail has told his friend Adnan that he is bringing his new *Schwiegersohn* to the wedding, and Emine is insistent that Hatice bring "ein Hannes" to the wedding. Under pressure from her parents and her sister, Hatice invites a German man that she had previously refused to go on a date with. The wedding scene begins with Ismail interrogating and questioning the new 'Hannes,' asking about his job, his parents' jobs, and what car he drives. This questioning is based on the idea of the economic health of the family,¹⁹¹ making sure that he would be able to support Hatice. Ismail seems to approve and with his good mood, Aba asks whether Ismail will allow Fatma to become engaged. He says they can discuss it when they are home, and the sisters all look around excitedly at each other at the news, and the plan has seemed to work. After this moment, Hatice sees the real Hannes walk in to the hall where the wedding reception is held. Fear crosses her

¹⁹¹ Bakar, "Family Values, the Family Institution, and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: An Islamic Perspective," 30.

face, she tries to hide, but as Hannes sees her, she gets up and tries to get him to leave the room. Her family follow her though, and Ismail questions who this man is. Hannes announces that he is Hannes, but Emine points to the other 'Hannes' and says "Nein, dass Hannes." In the background, Adnan comments "Oh, zwei Hannes" and Ismail walks away with tears in his eyes, disappointed with the situation and that Hatice has lied to him again. In Islam, it is a common practice for men to have multiple wives, but "women are allowed only one male partner at a time (temporary or permanent husband,)" as a way to monitor female interactions "for the sake of identification and retrieval of patrilineal descent, should pregnancy arise."¹⁹² This is one underlying reason why it is such a shock that Hatice has "two Hannes's," and it is frowned upon. It also causes Ismail to be too embarrassed to go to the mosque, the whole village is talking about what happened, and it causes a massive rift between father and daughter. This is one way in which Hatice does not comply with traditional expectations of women in Turkish society, and in other respects are detailed below.

In the novel Hatice quotes from the Quran¹⁹³ to explain why she does not adhere to the tradition of wearing a headscarf. Hatice and Fatma do not adhere either, but Abla and their mother do. She explains that her own family cannot decide whether to follow this tradition, and questions how the entire Islamic community should be able to agree on it. One scene shows Hatice at work, in a meeting with the people in her company. She is pitching an idea about an article she wants to write. She describes how "Kopftücher sind für die Deutschen immer nur ein Symbol der Unterdrückung. Keiner kommt auf die Idee, dass es auch ein modisches Accessoire ist." And then pitches "Wir könnten eine Geschichte bringen, die sich mit Integration beschäftigt und mit Mode." A medium long shot shows the co-workers mumble to each other, unimpressed by the idea, while a medium close-up shows one of her Turkish co-workers as he supports the idea and mentions "ein anatolisches Dorf im Hinterkopf." A close-up shows Hatice's eyes open wide in surprise as a response to this comment. Previously, this co-worker has mentioned that he does not want to be with a Turk, just like Hatice, but after the meeting, they discuss their *anatolisches Dorf* and he suggests that maybe they should go out together. This scene shows that as a journalist, Hatice is trying to educate the German public about what wearing a headscarf is about, rather than the stereotypical impression of the oppression of women. She is trying to bridge her two worlds

¹⁹² Fadia Hasna, "Islam, Social Traditions and Family Planning," *Social Policy and Administration* 37, no. 2 (2003): 184.

¹⁹³ Petersen, "Translating 'Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Sosse,'" 199. "Sura 33, Verse 59, it reads: Oh Prophet, say to your wives, and your daughters, and the wives of believers, that they cover themselves with their overgarments. This is more proper; they will sooner be recognized as Muslims, and thus they will not be molested."

together, the Muslim Turkish traditions and the Christian German ideals. In bringing these two worlds together, she has created a hybridity of these cultures, in Bhabha's so-called third space.

Stereotypes

The stereotypes in the film *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* are tied up with aspects of identity, based largely on religious identity. Many of the stereotypes of both the Turkish and the Germans are based on ideas that come from their religion, and stereotyping them into a category of Muslim or Christian hinders their ability to create their own identity and to integrate. As Bhabha notes:

“Normally the problem with a stereotype seems to be that it fixes individuals or groups in one place, denying their own sense of identity and presuming knowledge that is at best defective. This problem is of course present in colonial discourse. The colonial discourse wants stereotypes to be fixed, and in turn traditional analyses of colonial stereotypes assume them to be fixed.”¹⁹⁴

The notion of a singular identity is an illusion, a person's identity is influenced by many aspects – such as nationality, geographical location, gender, race, or class – and reducing a person to one specific aspect of cultural identity, leads to dangerous antagonisms, on a local and a global scale.¹⁹⁵ Stuck in this identity as “Muslim,” the second- and third-generation descendants of the Turkish guest workers struggle with the idea of Islam. Whether they are practicing Muslims or not, this is still how they are defined, and how the world looks at them – as stereotypical Muslims. A lot of these religious stereotypes are discussed above, in the way that the characters struggle with the traditional Islamic and Turkish beliefs. But the film also depicts other stereotypes, the differences between Turkish and German culture through appearance and personality traits. Bhabha writes about an understanding of the processes of subjectification made possible through stereotypical discourse, shifting from the recognition of images as positive or negative,¹⁹⁶ and the film attempts to move past positive or negative portrayals, and show an understanding of the differing cultures through the creation of a new hybrid culture.

Hatice's search for the perfect man is an example of the portrayal of stereotypes in both appearances and personality traits. She has immersed herself in the German way of life, become

¹⁹⁴ David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006), 37.

¹⁹⁵ Morrison, *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, 182.

¹⁹⁶ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 67.

a German citizen, has German friends, and speaks German perfectly. Throughout the film, she is set on the fact that she does not want to marry a Turkish man, she wants a German man, and her friends and sisters constantly talk about the characteristics of Turkish men compared to German men.

Stefan, Hatice's boyfriend at the beginning of the film, is a German man but determined to become Turkish. In one of the first scenes of the film, Hatice wakes him up and tells him to start getting ready because they have to leave soon (to meet her parents). Stefan has blonde hair with a blonde beard, and Hatice asks whether he is going to shave it. While he is in the bathroom, Hatice's narration says "Ich mag Stefan. Aber manchmal fehlt mir doch die türkische Leidenschaft. Und das muss er irgendwie missverstanden haben." Stefan walks out of the bathroom, now sporting a moustache, saying "In mir steckt ein richtiger Türke." Hatice begs him to shave it off, but he keeps it. A lot of Turkish men sport dark, thick moustaches, and Stefan in his desire to become Turkish, tries to fit in to this stereotype. Stefan's attempts at becoming more Turkish despite his German heritage, portrays Katrin Sieg's idea of Ethnic Drag.¹⁹⁷ While Sieg discusses German ethnic drag in relation to theatre performances, with a dubious history in Jewish impersonation,¹⁹⁸ this concept can be broadened and applied to Germans performing and acting out other 'ethnic' characters. Considering various arguments of ethnic drag offering the potential for a post-colonial critique of racial science and stereotypes, Sieg argues that when white Germans appear on stage in non-German roles, they call upon:¹⁹⁹

"feminist and postcolonial notions of mimicry, queer concepts of drag and performativity, and the recuperations of the simulacrum for a critique of race. These poststructuralist strategies all hinge on the severing of signifier and signified, act and essence, performer and mask, in order to contest the truth claims undergirding mimesis, identity and the structuring of social orders around innate, supposedly 'natural' differences."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Katrin Sieg, *Ethnic Drag: Performing Race, Nation, Sexuality in West Germany* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2002).

¹⁹⁸ Heather Merle Benbow, "Ethnic Drag in the Films of Doris Dorrie," *German Studies Review* 30, no. 3 (2007): 518.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Sieg, *Ethnic Drag: Performing Race, Nation, Sexuality in West Germany*, 15.

Through Stefan shaving his beard in to a thick moustache, asking whether Hatice's father would take him to Mecca, and saying yes to being circumcised, he is applying a form of ethnic drag by trying to become more Turkish.

After their argument and break-up, once Hatice returns to the city, she goes to Stefan's apartment to try to rekindle their relationship to help Fatma. Stefan calls himself a Turk, sips his Turkish tea from the typical glass mug, and is listening to Turkish music in the background. Hatice apologises about their argument, and says that she should be excited that he has such an interest in the Turkish culture. Stefan complains that she should be more invested in her own culture, and she says that he should be invested in his own German culture too, questioning "Warum bist du nicht ein bisschen deutscher?" Performing their own kinds of ethnic drag, the pair is unable to sort through their differences, and Hatice storms out of the apartment while Stefan skulls the rest of his tea. Both question why the other doesn't relate more to their own culture; Stefan isn't German enough and Hatice isn't Turkish enough. While they could be considered in the same category, stuck in their own hybrid culture, their cultural differences are too strong to continue their relationship.

One scene depicts Hatice having lunch with Gero and another friend Julia, and discusses the kind of man she wants. "Er soll Deutscher sein. Er soll leidenschaftlich wie eine Türke sein. Ein Hans mit scharfer Soße eben." While it is not explained properly in the film, the novel describes what is meant by 'Hans' – "Hans und Helga heißen alle Deutschen bei uns Türken,"²⁰¹ – relating back to the stereotypes that each culture has of each other, and shows the meaning behind the title of the film and novel. Stressing the humorous nature of these texts, the title represents the German Hans being transformed into a food item that is waiting to be consumed by the protagonist.²⁰² Gabriele Maier interprets the title as symbolising an amalgam between German and Turkish culture, Hans representing the German *Currywurst*, which is a German delicacy served with an unusually spicy sauce.²⁰³ She argues that this metaphor portrays Hatice's search for the perfect partner, how she wants a German man, but with the Turkish personality traits and characteristics depicted through the *scharfer Soße*. But the fast food metaphor of the title – the phrase beginning with "Einmal" tends to be how Germans order fast food – could also be read differently. The spicy sauce is usually one of the options served with a Döner kebab in Germany, and thus could instead

²⁰¹ Akyün, *Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Soße*, 8.

²⁰² Gabriele Eichmanns Maier, "Shoes, Shopping, and the Search for Mr Right: Investigating the Trivial in Recent Turkish-German Chick Lit," *Monatshefte* 109, no. 1 (2017): 113.

²⁰³ *ibid.*

symbolise a Döner with German meat in a Turkish dish, also implying that Hatice wants a man that is a mixture of Turkish and German.

The scene and the idea behind the title of the film is related to the idea of intermarriages, which is a common discussion in migrant communities. Leo Lucassen and Charlotte Laarman describe that when migrants marry within their own group, often from the country of birth of their parents, it is a hurdle on the road to integration.²⁰⁴ Expanding on work on assimilation, they argue that mixed marriages are a sign of decreasing social and cultural distance between ethnic groups,²⁰⁵ which shows the increasing presence of a hybridity. Hatice personifies this idea in her desire to find a German man and her going against the common practice in Turkey of an arranged marriage. Daniela Berghahn discusses Western perception of arranged marriage, with reference to Bhabha, arguing that "Otherness is invariably charged with ambivalence: that is, the attempt to position the Other simultaneously inside and outside Western knowledge."²⁰⁶ The Other is split between contradictory positions, the negative pole denoting inferiority and the positive promising exotic allure, and arranged marriage "demarcates the negative pole and holds some kind of gruesome fascination for Western audiences, who tend to regard it as an atavistic social practice and evidence of the backwardness of those societies that abide by it."²⁰⁷ Although Hatice voices a desire for a German man with Turkish characteristics, she is also subconsciously influenced by the traditions relating to arranged marriage and intermarriage, as she goes on dates. This is shown through a sequence of scenes where she gets ready for dates and judges the men on their actions, affecting her decision to go out with them.

More explicitly than the film, the novel addresses day-to-day concerns, from cooking to beauty tips to handling oneself with poise and confidence in all situations,²⁰⁸ which relates to these scenes of Hatice getting ready for her dates and how she handles herself. The first date calls to tell her he is in the car waiting downstairs. The second date rings the doorbell but still waits in the car. The third date comes to her door, and she agrees to go on a date with this man. At the restaurant, it seems to go well, but one of Hatice's Turkish co-workers ends up sitting at the table next to theirs, on his own date. Being at the end of the meal, as the waitress brings the cheque, Hatice's date asks "Die Rechnung. Wollen wir sie teilen?" Overhearing this, the Turkish co-worker,

²⁰⁴ Leo Lucassen and Charlotte Laarman, "Immigration, Intermarriage and the Changing Face of Europe in the Post War Period," *The History of the Family* 14, no. 1 (2012): 54.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, 154.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Petersen, "Translating 'Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Sosse,'" 9.

knowing that she does not want a Turk, comments “Vielleicht solltest du doch lieber mit Türken ausgehen. Ein Türke würde sich lieber bis seines Lebensende verschulden als die Dame seines Herzens an der Rechnung zu beteiligen.” Not acknowledging him, Hatice says to her date that she wanted to invite him anyway, pays the bill, and walks away staring angrily at her co-worker, leaving her date behind.

On a night out with her friend Julia and her sisters, Hatice has a blind date with a German man. He compliments Hatice, “schickes Shirt,” and her sisters overhear this and mock him. They discuss how a Turkish man would complement a woman: “Deine Schönheit trifft mein Herz mit 1000 Messern; Wenn du mich anziehst... verbrenne ich.” This expands on the idea that is repeated throughout the novel and film, comparing German men as dull and all the same, with Turkish men who are passionate and know how to express their feelings. Relating back to the idea of stereotypes, this blind date appears to be a typical German man in the beginning of the date, but after overhearing the sisters’ conversation, does something to change this impression. Looking up a Turkish translation, he says something beautiful and full of passion to Hatice, getting the tick of approval.

After the wedding fiasco, a scene shows Hatice and Julia sitting on a bench overlooking the Hamburg harbour, discussing Hatice’s situation. Hatice has come to the conclusion that “Ich bin zu Türkisch, und zu Deutsch bin ich auch.” Fighting against the traditional belief that finding a man and marrying him is the only way to define her happiness, Hatice gives up on the search. While confronting her father, Hatice admits to him that no one wants to marry her, and she does not want to marry anyone either. “Ich habe gute Freunde, und das macht mich froh. Ich liebe meinen Beruf.” As part of living between two worlds and in her new hybrid culture, Hatice does not conform to the typical stereotype of the Turkish women.

Language

The introduction of the Turkish guest workers in to Germany has created an intercultural interaction resulting in a clash of cultures and the creation of new cultures. The term ‘hybridity’ has been criticised, some arguing that something richer than a simple mixture of cultures and languages has occurred, and Bhabha has expanded on this through his discussion of third space.²⁰⁹ Petersen uses Bhabha’s words to define third space – “Here the transformational value

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 12.

of change lies in the rearticulation, or translation, of elements that are neither the One (unitary working class) nor the Other (the politics of gender) but something else besides, which contests the terms and territories of both” – and describes it as the place where something more from intercultural exchanges take place.²¹⁰ Language is a key part of this intercultural exchange, and through the novel *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*, Petersen argues that the subtitle of *Leben in zwei Welten* does not describe a hybridity, “but rather a unique identity and cultural sensibility that allow her to move from place to place throughout her cultural network.”²¹¹ Hatice’s character constantly goes between both cultures, but I argue that while she can fit in to both worlds, to an extent, she has created a new hybrid culture that is a mixture, which allows her to communicate with both worlds. One way she has achieved this is through language.

Like other second and third generations, Hatice learnt German from an early age by attending German schools, and learnt Turkish through her parents. The film does not address language as much as the novel does, only through listening to her parents speak can one see that their German is not so grammatically correct. The novel explains this, saying that Emine “mag keine Konsonanten” and “Probleme bereiten ihr auch die Artikel.”²¹² Ismail speaks slightly better German, but struggles with word order and pronunciation – “Wenn ich versuche, meinem Vater die richtige Satzstellung beizubringen oder seine Aussprache zu verbessern, sagt er, ich soll bloß ruhig sein.”²¹³ The novel also describes the situation of Hatice’s brother, Mustafa – “Mit seinen Freunden spricht er die Deutschländer-Sprache, ein Kauderwelsch auch deutsch und türkisch. Sprache er deutsch, sagt er, würde er sich verkleidet verkommen.”²¹⁴ This section of the novel describes a version of ethnic drag, comparing Mustafa to assimilated Turks: Mustafa has succeeded in becoming comfortable in his world because he does not forcibly try to banish all that is Turkish from his life, like assimilated Turks have done.²¹⁵ The novel suggests that assimilated Turks become assimilated because they feel ashamed of their countrymen who leave a negative impression on the Germans,²¹⁶ using the idea of ethnic drag to become more German-like. Mustafa refuses to associate with these hyper-Germans, and uses this as a reason behind the language that he speaks. Johanna Watzinger-Tharp describes the varying types of language that the guest workers and the second- and third-generations speak, for example

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

²¹¹ *ibid.*, 14.

²¹² Akyün, *Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Soße*, 16,17.

²¹³ *ibid.*, 17.

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, 129.

²¹⁵ Petersen, "Translating 'Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Sousse,'" 151.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

Gastarbeiterdeutsch, and Türkendeutsch,²¹⁷ but there are many names given to language spoken by Turkish-Germans. This new hybrid language has created new and innovative forms of expression, it enriches the German linguistic landscape, and reflects Germany as a multilingual, multicultural society.²¹⁸

Citizenship

Citizenship in Germany is a complicated issue. Part of this is Germany's continued denial of itself as an immigration country, and this has affected the countries citizenship laws. "The politics of integration practically did not exist in the first decades of presence of Muslim *Gastarbeiter* in Germany, its substitute was 'Mulitkulti,' which allowed immigrants to live their separate lives and in fact deepened their alienation."²¹⁹ Since the 1990s, citizenship laws have become more and more inclusive, but there has still been the attitude of "Germany is not a country of immigration."²²⁰ Dual citizenship has become a much-debated topic: opposition based on Germany as not a country of immigration; and agreement based on idea of integration and inclusion. Since 2014, dual citizenship is more easily attainable, but the children of foreign parents must have been raised in Germany, lived at least eight years in Germany, attended a German school, and have proof of a school diploma, in order to apply for German citizenship and keep their original citizenship.²²¹ This is an important step forwards in the integration of guestworkers and the second and third generations.

The film does not discuss citizenship in much detail, but some parts are explained in the novel. The novel describes how Hatice applied for German citizenship to the dismay of her father, defending her decision by explaining "Außerdem ist es doch egal, was auf einem Stück Papier steht, schließlich fließt dein Blut in meinen Adern, und meine Seele bleibt immer türkisch."²²² But soon after he was asking her to organise the paperwork and help start the process for Ismail and Emine to apply for citizenship.

²¹⁷ Watzinger-Tharp, "Turkish-German Language: An Innovative Style of Communication and Its Implications for Citizenship and Identity," 285.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*

²¹⁹ Katarzyna Andrejuk, "Muslim Immigration and Its Influence on the Redefinition of Nationhood in Germany " *Studia UBB Sociologia* 58, no. 1 (2013): 46.

²²⁰ *ibid.*, 40.

²²¹ Naomi Conrad, "Dual Citizenship Law Takes Effect in Germany," *Deutsche Welle* 2014.

²²² Akyün, *Einmal Hans Mit Scharfer Soße*, 105.

Unlike in the novel, the film shows that Emine is going through the process of obtaining German citizenship. The first time that Hatice visits her parents, the family is sitting in the lounge room, around a table laden with food. Hatice tries to talk in Turkish to her mother, but Emine refuses to speak Turkish – “Sprich deutsch. Muss ich üben wegen Antrag.” During a later scene, when Gero is being introduced as Stefan, Emine questions “Wie viele Bundesländer hat Deutschland?” No one knows the answer, Emine comments “äh, ganz schwerer Frage, ne? Eingebürgertest.” Very proudly she answers “Ich wisse. 16,” showing the amount of study that goes in to preparing for the citizenship test, and how difficult and obscure some of the questions are.

Conclusion

The film comes to an end on a happy note, giving some conclusions to the storyline. After the cousins' wedding, Hatice and her father have a falling out and he refuses to talk to her. Hatice confronts him, tells him that no one wants to marry her and she doesn't want to marry anyone, and lives a happy and fulfilled life. Her father comes to terms with this, and allows Fatma to get married. This is shown in one of the final scenes, where Fatma tries on a wedding dress. Ismail rearranges the fabric around her stomach saying “dann sieht man nicht so,” and the women look at each other in shock as Ismail makes clear that he knows about the pregnancy. The final scene shows Hatice and her father in the car, and he once again asks her age and whether she is dating someone. She replies the same age, 34, and that she is dating someone, but it is not made known who that person is. These final conclusions represent the family coming to terms with cultural hybridity and slowly letting go of Turkish cultural norms, as a new cross-national culture and set of institutions have been built parallel to the old.²²³

Bhabha's notion of cultural hybridity is highly relevant to German-Muslims and Turkish-Germans. Applying Bhabha's notions to (post)colonial culture “allows us to think of the identities of colonizers and colonized as already complex and in flux at the point of encounter.”²²⁴ Following this, these encounters need no longer be thought of as a unilateral process where one party exercises power over another, or as simple collisions of opposites – black and white, Eastern and Western.²²⁵ The integration of the Turkish guestworkers has to some extent failed for many reasons, one being the unclear definition of integration, often perceived as the need for Turks to

²²³ Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment*, 4.

²²⁴ Morrison, *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, 14.

²²⁵ *ibid.*

give up their cultural identities to become German,²²⁶ seen through the availability of citizenship, the language spoken and religious identity. The film portrays Hatice as a poster child for the integration of Turkish-German migrants, while the rest of her family live a more traditionally Turkish life but show a growing acceptance of hybridity. The characters show that one can live in a parallel society, in the third space created between the Turkish and German cultures.

²²⁶ Richard Verdugo and Claus Mueller, "Education, Social Embeddedness, and the Integration of the Turkish Community in Germany: An Analysis of Homeland Identity," *European Education* 40, no. 4 (2014): 6.

Conclusion

“We asked for workers and human beings came.”

Max Frisch²²⁷

At the core of this thesis are the concepts of culture and identity, and how they are being challenged. Particularly national identities are being impacted by globalisation and migration, and an increasing amount of attention has been placed on hybrid identities.²²⁸ Migration has been a consistent feature of mankind, but the speed and ease in which individuals travel between countries has accelerated,²²⁹ which has brought the issue more in to the public debate. As a consequence of this, the distinction between native and migrant, mother tongue and foreign language, has become less clear,²³⁰ and the idea of a homogenous culture with national boundaries has been challenged. Homi Bhabha has written extensively on these ideas, and states that “increasingly, national cultures are being produced from the perspective of disenfranchised minorities.”²³¹ This thesis has focused on the depiction of one such potentially disenfranchised minority – the Turkish guest workers in Germany – analysing whether Turkish-German films portray their integration as successful or whether the cultural differences between Turks and Germans are shown as being too significant for this to occur.

This thesis has based its definition of integration on Rose’s definition: “it does not mean the elimination of old national culture and institutions, but it does mean allowing a new cross-national culture and set of institutions to be built parallel to the old.”²³² Expanding on this definition, Rose proposes that the integration into a host society is based on the following: “1) the openness of the host society; 2) the degree of attachment the immigrants feel to their society of origin; 3) the

²²⁷ Peter T Suzuki, "Psychological Problems of Turkish Migrants in West Germany," *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 35, no. 2 (1981): 187.

²²⁸ Daniel Faas, "Reconsidering Identity: The Ethnic and Political Dimensions of Hybridity among Majority and Turkish Youth in Germany and England," *The British Journal of Sociology* 60, no. 2 (2009): 299.

²²⁹ Mairead Nic Craith, "Migrant Writing and the Re-Imagined Community: Discourses of Inclusion/Exclusion," *German Politics and Society* 33, no. 1/2 (2015): 95.

²³⁰ *ibid.*, 95-96.

²³¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 6.

²³² Rose, *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment*, 4.

similarity of the cultures of the country of emigration and the country of immigration.”²³³ This theory is useful when examining the integration of Turkish guest workers in Germany.

The first point, the openness of the host society, relates significantly to Germany and their motto of Germany as not a country of immigration. As detailed in the introduction of this thesis, Germany has had a long history of immigration but did not define itself as a country of immigration until more recent times. Changes in citizenship laws, which happened in the early 2000s, also saw a change in the Immigration Act, regulating migration and affecting past and future foreigners. Slowly Germany has become accustomed to the label of an immigration country, and various migration websites now provide detailed information on migrating to Germany,²³⁴ including the new slogan of the country: “Germany is a Country of Immigration. Global migration and increasing diversity are key challenges. Today and Tomorrow.”²³⁵ These changing views are evident in the films discussed in this thesis, as the older guest worker generations take the necessary steps in becoming German citizens, years after their arrival. The changes have been important in the acceptance of migrants, but Turkish guest workers are still facing discrimination, affected by the delay in these changes.

As part of the *Leitkultur* debate, as mentioned in the introduction, and the similar *Volkskultur* concept of 19th and 20th Century German nation-building, the ‘Volk’ representing an essentialist, homogenous and separatist view continues to regularly rear its head in Germany.²³⁶ Bhabha’s work agitates against the idea of a guiding culture that migrants have to adapt to, arguing that cultural hybridity is the rise of something new and unrecognisable, a new area of meaning and representation,²³⁷ that comes from the transnational migration of people and the interaction of different cultures. He argues that

“these imaginative geographies that spanned countries and empires are changing, those imagined communities that played on the unisonant boundaries of the nation are singing different voices. If I began with the scattering of the people across

²³³ *ibid.*, 33.

²³⁴ Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, “Focus on People - Support and Integrate,” <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Startseite/startseite-node.html>.

²³⁵ Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, “The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration,” <https://www.svr-migration.de/en/>.

²³⁶ Guido Rings, “Blurring or Shifting Boundaries? Concepts of Culture in Turkish-German Migrant Cinema,” *German as a Foreign Language*, no. 1 (2008): 7.

²³⁷ Rutherford, “The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha,” 211.

countries, I want to end with their gathering in the city. The return of the diasporic; the postcolonial.”²³⁸

This thesis has focused on the portrayal of former Turkish guest workers, and their families, in two recent Turkish-German films. The two films I have written about, *Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland* and *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*, depict stories of how the guest workers came to Germany, brought their family over with them, and their journey from temporary guests to longer term migrants. The films show how integration levels are varied between the guest workers and the second and third generations, yet they all still face an identity crisis. Split between the past and the present, *Almanya* tells the story of Hüseyin Yilmaz, the one-millionth and first guest worker, and his family. Set in the present, but through the use of flashbacks and Canan’s narration, the film tells both the past journey of Hüseyin, from Turkey to Germany as a guest worker, and the present story of Hüseyin and his family on their journey from Germany back to Turkey. The film portrays how the Turkish culture has clashed with the German culture through the discourses of stereotypes, religion, citizenship and language, and how through these clashes a hybrid culture has been created, opening up a third space that Bhabha discusses. This third space is also depicted in *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*, through the character of Hatice and her *Leben in zwei Welten*. As the daughter of a Turkish guest worker, Hatice calls herself a successfully integrated Turkish-German woman, but still struggles with the traditional Turkish beliefs of her family, especially her father. The plot of the film focuses on how Hatice must find a man so that her father allows her younger sister, Fatma, to get married, before Fatma’s pregnancy shows. This film also shows how German and Turkish cultures have clashed through stereotypes, citizenship, religion and language, and how the characters have become accustomed to a hybridity of their old and new culture.

These films portray migration in a positive light, using comedy to appeal to the audience. There are many more films that portray different experiences of the guest workers and other Turkish migrants, some of them, such as Fatih Akin’s *Gegen die Wand* portraying far more problematic hybrid cultural identities for the children of the guest worker generation, and that is a limitation of this thesis – that it only looks at two examples of Turkish-German film. In the future, this study could be expanded to include both more Turkish-German films, as well as other examples of Turkish-German cultural expressions. The key topics of this thesis have been integration and how clashes of culture have led to cultural hybridity. A future study could also be expanded to include

²³⁸ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* 169.

how issues of identity and belonging in the descendants of the guest workers – now on to the fourth-generation with children such as Canan's unborn child – continue to evolve in Turkish-German literature and film, and are affected by developments such as the current public debates about dual citizenship, the refugee crisis, and Germany's changing immigration policies. "The dilemma of belonging – or not – is a question faced by increasing numbers of groups and individuals within the new Europe,"²³⁹ and as Bhabha argues, "the time for 'assimilating' minorities to holistic and organic notions of cultural value has passed."²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Andrew Geddes and Adrian Favell, *The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), 222.

²⁴⁰ Rutherford, "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha," 219.

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