CINEMATIC EXPLORATIONS OF THE UNCANNY: A STUDY OF TURKISH-GERMAN CINEMA

By

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To my family

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In contemporary globalized society, complex patterns of mobility and settlement have altered perceptions of belonging, cultural identity, and *Heimat.* In Germany, cinematic imaginations of "border crossings, multiple identities, and cross cultural encounters and the many experiments with hybridization, appropriation, and transculturation . . . has been most noticeable in the case of Turkish directors working in Germany."[1] Filmic narratives depicting the experiences of Turkish migrants, Germans with a Turkish background, and of Germans in Germany's changing socio-cultural landscape draw awareness to Germany's changing cultural community and encourage reconsiderations of what it means to be German. Increasingly, Germany must see its self as a multicultural, *de facto* country of immigration.

In this thesis, I discuss representations of first- and second-generation Turkish migrants in films by native German and Turkish-German directors. More specifically, I am interested in exploring Sigmund Freud's concept of the uncanny as a psychological element involved in the on-screen identity negotiations presented in the films that I

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[1] Hake, Sabine. *German National Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 2002. 194.

discuss. While some Turkish-German films suggest a pleasure associated with hybridity, the on-screen identity negotiations that I discuss in this thesis demonstrate complex, continuous processes that not always result in enjoyment. Rather, feelings of estrangement, alienation, and unclear categorizations of belonging and identity emerge. These representations indicate the complexities of belonging in Germany with a migrant background, and demonstrate cinema's affect on the *work of the imagination.*[2]

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[2] The phrase, "work of the imagination," is used from Arjun Appadurai's book, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. 4.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In the opening scene of Aysun Bademsoy's 2008 documentary film *Ich gehe jetzt rein*, one of the female protagonists expresses the complexities of belonging with a migrant background in Germany. She states:

> Als Ausländer wirst du immer wieder trotzdem anders behandelt und, dass kann ich nicht mehr abhaben. Also auf sowas haben wir echt keinen Bock mehr, überall fremd zu sein. . . Das, was aus meinem Leben ist, ist nur meine Herkunft Türkisch. Ich fühle mich eigentlich auch nicht mehr Türkisch, aber ich muss mich Türkisch fühlen. . .[1]

This film, part three in Bademsoy's long-term documentation, portrays the lives of five female Turkish-German soccer-enthusiasts in Germany, and highlights the social difficulties associated with cultural hybridity. Feelings of belonging, national identity as well as *Heimat* appear complicated, unclear, and questioned. The above protagonist in Bademsoy's film, although born and raised in Germany, expresses how she still feels foreign - neither fully German nor Turkish. She describes the lack of a clear sense of belonging; an uncanny feeling of simultaneously being at home while not feeling at home.

In this thesis, I discuss cinematic representations of first- and second-generation migrants[2] with a Turkish background in Germany. I am particularly interested in exploring Sigmund Freud's concept of the uncanny as a complex psychological element involved in on-screen identity negotiations in films portraying Turkish-German migrants. The films discussed in this thesis by the directors Helma Sanders-Brahms, Tevfik

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[1] English Translation of the quote: "As a foreigner you are treated differently time and time again, and I cannot stand it anymore. I just do not want it anymore, to be foreign everywhere . . . In my life, only my background is Turkish. I do not even feel Turkish anymore, but I have to feel Turkish. . ."

[2] In the Turkish-German context, first-generation refers to migrants who moved from Turkey to Germany themselves. Second-generation refers to the children of migrants who were either born in Germany or who came to Germany at a young age.

Başer, Hark Bohm, Yüksel Yavuz, Christian Petzold, Seyhan Derin, Fatih Akın, and Yasemin and Nesrin Samdereli cinematically display the presence of migrant groups and Germans with a migrant background in Germany, thus visualizing Germany's changing socio-cultural landscape. The representations encourage reevaluations of Germany's cultural community and German identity, confronting viewers to see Germany as an increasingly multiethnic society and *de facto* country of immigration.

The on-screen identity negotiations in the films discussed involve both migrant groups and native Germans. The representations call for audiences to reassess notions of belonging, identity, and *Heimat*, and consider developments such as cultural hybridity and the category of the transnational as elements present in contemporary, globalized society. Since migration "permeates almost all aspects of contemporary society," our sense of being in the world has changed (Papastergiadis 1-2). Increasingly, "complex patterns of movement across national boundaries, and the articulation of new forms of identity by minority groups . . . have destabilized the foundations of the nation-state" (Papastergiadis 2). In Germany, these contemporary changes emerged in large part due to West Germany's labor recruitment plan during its *Wirtschaftwunder* (economic miracle). During this time, labor migrants were hired as *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) to fulfill West Germany's expanding economic demands. German policy makers initially considered *Gastarbeiter* to be a temporary labor force, and expected them to return to their countries of origin after working in West Germany. However as Mary Fulbrook explains, "many families came and settled, and inevitably, too, many children of *Gastarbeiter* were actually born in Germany, which was more 'home' to them than an unfamiliar country which they rarely visited" (169). Today, over sixteen million people in

Germany come from a migrant background, of which 2.5 million have Turkish roots, creating the largest migrant group in Germany (Nordbruch 5). The addition of migrants and Germans with a migrant background in German society indicates Germany's status as an immigration country. It furthermore encourages discussions of German identity and reconsiderations what it means to be German. Ruth Mandel, in her book *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany*, explains that the "foreigner question" in Germany concerns the ways in which Germans have construed the "others" and ultimately also themselves (7). "German society," Mandel writes, "has entered into an internal debate about what constitutes German identity. Germans now must ask, in a very real sense, 'who is a German'" (7).

German and Turkish-German filmmakers explore questions involving German identity and the status of Germans with a Turkish background in German society throughout their films. Initial representations of Turkish migrants in Germany took place during the time of New German Cinema, which is also where I begin my discussion in Chapter one of this thesis. Termed a "cinema of duty," many of these films, such as Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Katzelmacher* (1969) and *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats Soul*, 1974) or Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Shirins Hochzeit* (*Shirin's Wedding*, 1976), focus on the problems associated with migration, and create "pictures of victimization" (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 7). According to Deniz Göktürk, "Immigrants are depicted as victims, totally incapable of communicating and interacting with Germans" ("Turkish Delight," 7). Göktürk witnesses a shift, however, in later representations taking place in the 1990s and 2000s. In her essay "Turkish Delight - German Fright," she discusses a shift from a "cinema of duty" to a cinema displaying

"the pleasures of hybridity" (1)[3]. With films, such as Sinan Çetin's *Berlin in Berlin* (1993),

Göktürk argues that migrant cinema, occupying the site of a transnational "third space,"

allows migrants to speak back and, quoting Homi Bhabha, to "narrate the nation from

the margins" ("Turkish Delight," 3-4). Other film scholars, such as Randall Halle in his

book *German Film After Germany: Toward a Transnational Aesthetic*, also discusses a

shift toward more transnational representations in German cinema. In these later films,

"unlike the Turkish men and women in New German cinema, characters were no longer

presented as exotic foreigners or threatening others" (Hake 217). Rather, they tend to

focus more on ongoing discussions of transnationalism, hybridity, and living between

and across both Germany and Turkey.

Therefore in this thesis, I continue my discussion with explorations of hybridity

and transnationalism in German films by German and Turkish-German directors.

However, neither hybridity nor transnationalism appear as emancipatory or "utopic" in

this thesis, which is also a point underscored in Halle's book. Halle explains,

"Transnationalism might transform national parameters and indeed offer liberation of

fettered productive forces, but it is not a condition of full human emancipation" ("German

Film," 8). In this thesis, I aim to show how hybrid and transnational on-screen identity

negotiations appear as ongoing processes. My discussion demonstrates these as

complex and continuous, and calls attention to uncanny characteristics evoked on-

screen.

Sigmund Freud introduced his concept of the uncanny in his 1919 essay "das

Unheimliche" following Ernst Jentsch's essay "On the Psychology of the Uncanny" in

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[3] Deniz Göktürk uses these terms from Sarita Malik's Chapter, "Beyond 'The Cinema of Duty'? The Pleasures of Hybridity: Black British Films of the 1980s and 1990s," in the book *Dissolving Views: New Writings on British Cinema*. Ed. Andrew Higson.

1906. The uncanny, Freud explains, "is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar" (124). Although Jentsch associates the uncanny with "intellectual uncertainty" (Royle 40), Freud demonstrates the uncanny as arising out of something familiar - it is a familiarity that becomes strange. Freud writes that, "not everything new and unfamiliar is frightening . . . Something must be added to the novel and the unfamiliar if it is to become uncanny" (125). A consideration of the German word *unheimlich* (uncanny) may shed light on how the uncanny is linked to familiarity. *Unheimlich* is rooted in the word *heim*, which indicates "home," a familiar place. Along these lines, the word *heimlich* designates that which is homely and familiar, but also secret. *Unheimlich,* on the other hand, signifies that which is unhomely, unfamiliar, and strange. Anthony Vidler explains that, "Freud deliberately approached the definition of *unheimlich* by way of that of its apparent opposite, *heimlich*, thereby exposing the disturbing affiliations between the two and constituting the one as a direct outgrowth of the other" (23). Not solely that which is unfamiliar evokes the uncanny, rather the uncanny emerges from unfamiliarity that includes familiarity; a familiarity that is disrupted. According to Nicholas Royle:

> The uncanny involves feelings of uncertainty . . . But the uncanny is not simply an experience of strangeness and alienation. More specifically, it is a peculiar commingling of the familiar and unfamiliar. It can take the form of something familiar unexpectedly arising in a strange and unfamiliar context, or of something strange and unfamiliar unexpectedly arising in a familiar context. (1)

Furthermore, the uncanny "disturbs any straightforward sense of what is inside and what is outside. The uncanny has to do with a strangeness of framing and borders, an experience of liminality" (Royle 2). In the films discussed in this thesis, both migrant and German characters experience the uncanny arising out of identity negotiations and out

of familiar spaces rendered strange. Uncanniness appears as visual doubling, visualizing the self through the other, the expression of ambiguous borders, and the spatial conflation of familiar and unfamiliar.

In Chapter 1, I discuss Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Shirins Hochzeit* (*Shirin's Wedding*, 1976) and Tevfik Başer's *Vierzig Quadratmeter Deutschland* (*40 Square Meters of Germany*, 1986) as films focusing on the experiences of *Gastarbeiter* and first-generation migrants traveling to and living within Germany. These cinematic portrayals play an important role in disseminating images of "others" in German society, and especially focus on the experience of migrant women projecting a "double otherness" - "the otherness of Turkish experience is 'added' to that of female gender" (Adelson, "Price of Feminism," 307). Yet as I argue in Chapter 1, they also engage in discussions of post-World War II West German identity. As Sabine Hake explains, "immigrants became an integral part of the self-representation of the Federal Republic" (185). The representation of "others" had a "profound impact on definitions of German culture and society [that] reverberated throughout filmic practices" (Hake 185). These popularized images on-screen allow audiences to evaluate German society and culture through the experience of the "other." The uncanny arises in the identification process, where the familiar (self) visualizes its own situation through identification with the unfamiliar (the "other" or foreigner) on-screen. In Chapter 1, I also discuss Hark Bohm's film *Yasemin* (1988), which exemplifies an early portrayal of second-generation migrant characters, and the lasting presence of "others" in German society.

In Chapter 2, my focus turns to representations of cultural hybridity in Germany. In Yüksel Yavuz's *Aprilkinder* (*April Children*, 1998) and Christian Petzold's *Jerichow*

(2008), second-generation, Turkish-German characters demonstrate cultural hybridity and a sense of "in-betweenness." I apply Homi Bhabha's conceptualization of hybridity, from his book *The Location of Culture*, to the on-screen identity negotiations in *Aprilkinder* and *Jerichow.* Cultural hybridity appears spatially in various urban settings that mix Turkish and German characteristics, as well as in hybrid (Turkish-German) identity negotiations. These appear, in quoting Bhabha, as "neither One nor the Other but something else besides, in-between" (313). Cultural boundaries and categorizations of identity demonstrate ambiguity and a blurring of clear affiliations. Rather than viewing hybridity in these films as a clear pleasure or liberation, an uncanny blurring of positions creates the feeling of *Entfremdung* or estrangement that implicates both migrant and native German characters. The blurring of boundaries and the intermingling of familiar and unfamiliar elements evokes the uncanny in these films, and encourages a reconsideration of the meaning of German identity and culture in contemporary globalization.

In Chapter 3, I discuss cinematic representations of reversed or return journeys from Germany to Turkey,[4] where Turkish-German characters follow the *Spuren* (traces) of their past to explore their cultural roots and origins. The films that I explore in Chapter 3, Seyhan Derin's *Ben Annemin Kızıyım - Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter* (*I am my Mother's Daughter*, 1996), Fatih Akın's *Auf der anderen Seite* (*On the Edge of Heaven*, 2007), and Yasemin and Nesrin Samdereli's *Almanya-Willkommen in Deutschland* (*Almanya-Welcome to Germany*, 2011), exemplify transnational depictions that allow audiences to reimagine cultural communities as more fluid, rather than confined or fixed

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[4] It is reversed, because the earlier films portray or imply the journey from Turkey to Germany. Here, the journey from Germany to Turkey takes place.

categories. Through narrative travel, the characters in these films reconnect with their Turkish cultural roots, and negotiate a transnational cultural identity. The motif of the double emerges within these filmic narratives, which according to Freud is one of the most prominent motifs producing an uncanny affect (141). The on-screen doubling prevents a utopic perception of transnationalism, and instead demonstrates transnational identity negotiations as complex and continuous processes.

These films, while depicting the experiences and views of migrants, also play a role in visualizing Germany's changing socio-cultural landscape, and Germany's status as a multicultural country of immigration. As suggested, Turkish-German films may show the "pleasures of hybridity" (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 1). However, they also depict a complex space of negotiation between multiple affinities that needs to be explored.

CHAPTER 2
WEST GERMAN DEPICTIONS OF TURKISH MIGRANTS: UNCANNY SELF AND
OTHER IDENTITY NEGOTIATIONS

Germany, *Gastarbeiter*, and Identity Negotiations

In 1964, Armando Rodrigues, the one-millionth guest worker, arrived in the

Federal Republic of Germany to partake in the West German labor recruitment program

that began in 1955 (Chin 1). Rodrigues represented the typical, yet also "ideal type" of

worker sought to provide the necessary labor power during West Germany's

Wirtschaftswunder (economic miracle) (Chin 5). He was "strong, well-built, in the prime

of his life," and came to West Germany alone leaving his wife and two children in their

home village in Portugal (Chin 1). During the economic miracle, labor recruitment aimed

at ensuring the continuous presence of a strong labor force that would fuel the

expanding German economy. West German policy makers initiated bilateral

agreements with numerous countries such as Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco,

Portugal, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia to regulate the recruitment and movement of guest

workers (Ilcan 61). Images taken of Rodrigues upon his arrival circulated in various

German newspapers across the country. As the one-millionth guest worker, Rodrigues

"quickly became the labor migration's first national icon," and his circulating image in the

media provided Germans with "a common image - and explanation - of the process that

was reshaping the nation" (Chin 6). "These filmic representations also participated in the

redefinition of national culture and identity in an increasingly multiethnic, multicultural

world" (Hake 185). In the 1970s and 1980s, German filmmakers created additional

circulating images of migrant workers in Germany.

Through images such as Rodrigues's photograph and as those found in cinema,

Germans saw a socio-cultural change taking place within their own cultural community.

The increasing presence of guest workers, and their circulating images through print and visual media, confronted Germans with a new perspective of post World War II Germany. Rita Chin writes that labor migrants in West Germany "occupied a central place in the most important and enduring question of the postwar period: How would West German national identity be reconstituted after the Third Reich?" (7). Cinematic portrayals of guest workers also play an important role in this discussion, prompting Germans to view and evaluate Germany's changing socio-cultural landscape. Films such as Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Shirins Hochzeit* (*Shirin's Wedding*, 1976), Tevfik Başer's *Vierzig Quadratmeter Deutschland* (*40 Square Meters of Germany*, 1986), and Hark Bohm's *Yasemin* (1988) challenge German audiences to both evaluate the status of "others" in German society, and to examine the meaning of "Germanness" in postwar Germany. According to Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large*, media and migration form two "major interconnected diacritics" affecting the "*work of the imagination*" (3). The imagination, according to Appadurai, does not constitute a place for escape, but "acts as a staging ground for action"; it is a space of contestation (7). The films discussed in Chapter 2 exemplify the construction of changing national imaginaries through cinematic displays of the "other" in German society. They demonstrate Germany's status as a country of immigration, and portray changes to Germany's socio-cultural landscape, affecting the work of German imaginations.

Narrating the experiences of Turkish migrants in West Germany, *Shirins Hochzeit*, *Vierzig Quadratmeter*, and *Yasemin* disseminate cultural imaginations of Germany. The representation of Turkish migrants in Germany is significant, because the Turkish community forms the largest minority group in Germany today (Pratt 188). More

specifically, however, these films focus on the experiences of Turkish migrant women, which includes a discussion of gender dynamics and an added level of "otherness" within the films. Leslie Adelson, in "The Price of Feminism: of Women and Turks," claims that women in Turkish-German literature are "seen through a lens that reflects a double othering: the otherness of Turkish experience is 'added' to that of female gender" (307). The films discussed in Chapter 2, also present a "double othering" albeit on-screen. As Deniz Göktürk explains: "Many films centered around the problems of Turkish women who were oppressed by their patriarchal fathers, brothers or husbands, excluded from the public sphere, and confined in enclosed spaces" ("Turkish Women," 67). The Turkish women in *Shirins Hochzeit*, *Vierzig Quadratmeter*, and *Yasemin* all present a "double othering," allowing audiences to reflect on the presence of "others" in German society, while also engaging in a more generalized discussion of women's oppression under patriarchy. Through these cinematic narratives therefore, not only German audiences, but more specifically German women can identify with the Turkish women on-screen.

These films create another challenge to German imaginaries, namely, Germany's status as a country of immigration. West German policy makers did not see Germany as an immigration country. Rather, they saw guest workers as temporary residents in Germany, and expected guest workers to return to their countries of origin. Often, they even provided guest workers incentives to return (Ilcan 62). Despite these efforts, many permanently settled in Germany. In the 1970s, numerous foreign laborers, especially Turkish, applied for visas for their families to join them (Chin 10). Guest workers thus began to raise their children in Germany. Eventually, over two million foreigners resided

in West Germany, encouraging German policy makers to create a formal policy of "integration" in the late 1970s (Chin 10). The films discussed in Chapter 2, especially *Yasemin*, depict the settlement of migrant families, suggesting a lasting presence of migrants in German society and the transformation of Germany's image as a country of immigration.

Immigration into Germany prompted new political and social questions. Chin explains, for example, that debates concerning guest workers' "place" in German society "forced a major rethinking of the definitions of German identity and culture" (14). This suggests that immigration not only affected the socio-cultural perceptions and identities of migrants, but also of Germans. In this light, the "other" participates in the identity construction of the "self." In film, cinematic portrayals of migrants (societal others) on-screen, prompt German selves to engage in an understanding of German culture and German identities in postwar Germany. This process, an understanding of the self through the other, reflects an uncanny dynamic also present in Sigmund Freud's 1919 essay "Das Unheimliche" ("The Uncanny"), where he defines the uncanny in terms of its "other" - *das Heimliche* (the homely). The Turkish-German films discussed here represent an uncanniness at work within the identity negotiations and constructions of postwar German selves. The Turkish migrant characters presented on-screen, while portraying the "other" of German society, also play an important role in the negotiation of German identity. The self and the other do not appear as mutually exclusive parts, but rather each play a key role in the construction of postwar German identity.

The Freudian Uncanny and Constructing the Self through the Other

Freud's discussion of das Unheimliche (the uncanny) demonstrates how the presence of two parts, the self and other, both contribute toward a cohesive

understanding. Freud defines das Unheimliche (the uncanny) as: ". . .that species of frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar," but he more accurately and clearly explains the uncanny through its apparent opposite - heimlich, heimisch, vertraut (secret, homely/canny, trusted/familiar) (124). Freud goes beyond Jentsch's understanding of the uncanny as something arising from intellectual uncertainty, and rather draws from Schelling's description to expand his concept of the uncanny. Freud writes that the uncanny ". . .applies to everything that was intended to remain secret, hidden away, and has come to the open" (132). It is something that was hidden and has come to light. To arrive at this conclusion, Freud contrasts the meanings of the binary, heimlich and unheimlich. Freud writes: "Heimlich thus becomes increasingly ambivalent, until it finally merges with its antonym unheimlich" (134). Neither one nor the other is clear without its "other." We understand unheimlich by first understanding that which is heimlich. Defining unheimlich in terms of its antithesis, heimlich, implicates the lack of distinct, separate categories between the two. The unheimlich lives within the heimlich, and vice versa. In this light, the other appears to play a role in a full understanding the self - they generate each other.

In cinematic depictions of Turkish migrants in the films discussed in Chapter 2, we see an uncanny dynamic at play, where images of the other on-screen facilitate discussions of German society, cultural change, and identity. According to Randall Halle: "Self-consciousness is not a property of the self but an aspect untimely of inter-subjectivity; without the other there can be no self" ("Visual Alterity," 112). Anna Saunders, in the book The Essence and the Margin: National Identities and Collective Memories in Contemporary European Culture, also contends that in the construction of

a collective, cultural imaginary it is essential to determine where one does and does not belong (10). She writes that "we all need a definite 'other' in order to consolidate our own identity" (10). In this light, Turkish representations in German films, must be seen as a crucial element in social and cultural history, particularly contributive to German imaginaries of nation and identity. Since these initial depictions of difference arise after the war when Germany was rebuilding itself, they particularly contribute toward Germany's postwar identity.

Portraying and talking about the other, allows one to distinguish oneself. "The only way to know the other is by letting the other speak about me, by giving the other the position of 'I'. When 'I' speak about the other, I remain in fact caught in the process of defining or demarcating my self-image" (van Alphen 15). Reflecting this dynamic, Shirins Hochzeit, Vierzig Quadratmeter, and Yasemin all narrate the experiences of Turkish migrant characters in the films from a first person perspective, showing personalized narratives of guest workers and migrants. Through these representations, the German self can identify with Turkish "foreigners." What was once "other" and "foreign" becomes a reflection involved in the creation of a self identity. This idea of understanding and constructing the self through the other reflects the Freudian definition of the uncanny where the other is a part of the self. Another uncanny element arises in the fact that these films show the "untold narratives" of migrants in Germany. The films discussed in Chapter 2 focus on the stories of societal others - previously hidden or secret stories - that through cinema come to light.

Gastarbeiter and Migrants in German Cinema

Presenting the perspective of strangers in German society and the changing socio-cultural German landscape, the films *Shirins Hochzeit, Vierzig Quadratmeter*, and

Yasemin fit within the termed "cinema of duty" (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 1). Also labeled a "cinema of the affected," these films focus on the problems associated with alterity and intercultural tensions (Burns 133). In these films, guest workers and migrants appear as societal victims on the margins of mainstream German society. *Shirins Hochzeit, Vierzig Quadratmeter*, and *Yasemin* fall within the frame of New German Cinema, which took up the issue of identity, while also attempting to provide "the spectator with a coherent or meaningful place in the fiction" (Elsaesser 5). Thomas Elsaesser explains that New German Cinema went beyond sole entertainment, and rather addressed forms of subjectivity by responding in filmic forms to "apparently non-filmic issues as 'experience of selfhood,' 'identity,' 'self-estrangement'" (281). Through the cinematic experience, viewers engaged in an act of self-consciousness and self-awareness (Elsaesser 5). The depiction of Turkish migrants in German films exemplifies this cinematic experience, allowing for introspection and a reevaluation of German identity. The uncanny, in the films discussed in Chapter 2, not only affects the other at the margins of society, but also each individual experience. Through these films, German audiences can engage in an evaluation of the place of foreigners within German society, their own place within society, and ultimately contemplate German postwar identity.

Shirins Hochzeit and *Vierzig Quadratmeter* exemplify both the *Arbeiterfilm* and *Frauenfilm* of New German Cinema. The *Frauenfilm* usually refers to films by women about 'women's issues,' often pursuing two goals: "to tell different stories and to tell stories differently" (Hake 177). The *Arbeiterfilm* focuses on the lives and experiences of the German working class, usually combining documentary and feature film styles,

aiming to bring about a change of political consciousness in the viewer (Collins and Porter 19). Both films depict the working class in Germany through economic migrants, while also victimizing female characters, coming from a Turkish patriarchal environment (Rings 18). According to Deniz Göktürk, these films form part of the common discourse about the victimization of Turkish women, while also confirming the subnational placing of the immigrant ("Turkish Delight," 10-11). Both films, however also, reflect an identification with the other, demonstrating an uncanny dynamic on-screen.

Shirins Hochzeit

Shirins Hochzeit narrates a woman's experience as a guest worker, showing that not only men worked as labor migrants in Germany. The protagonist, Shirin, travels from her rural Turkish village to urban Germany in search of her betrothed Mahmut in Köln. Mahmut had migrated to Germany to work, and had forgotten about Shirin in the village. Two separate voices narrate the film: Shirin's own voice telling her story and that of the filmmaker Helma Sanders-Brahms engaging in a dialogue about Shirin's experience. Shirin narrates the story from the perspective of the present looking back, as if she were reevaluating and processing her experiences on-screen. The film shows how Shirin initially comes to Germany after escaping an arranged marriage in her village. Shirin, determined to find Mahmut, works as both a factory worker and an office cleaner in Germany. She experiences life as an outsider, and a "double otherness" through her experience as a guest worker and woman in Germany. At one point in the beginning when Shirin is new to her German environment, she says: "Ich Frau, du auch Frau. Frau immer Angst" ("I woman, you too woman. Woman always scared"). In this dialog with the other narrator, Sanders-Brahms, Shirin conveys the shared experience of women, allowing female audiences to identify with her. Shirin's life in Germany takes

a more violent turn after she is laid off from her jobs and raped by her boss. In her

desperation to find a job and a place to live, Shirin turns to a German man offering her

what she requires. Shirin explains that she knew the risk she was taking, but that she

just had to move on: "nicht gucken links und rechts" ("not look left and right"). After

accepting the man's offer, he procures Shirin, along with two other German women, in

various male guest worker dormitories. In one such dormitory, she finally encounters

Mahmut. In a dream, she fantasizes Mahmut pulling her out from underneath a grave of

dirt, as if he would save her from her current situation. Yet after Mahmut is finished

having sex with Shirin, she awakens from her dream only to move on to the next

customer. In the end, her pimp shoots her, and abandons her to die alone in a dark

corner of a dead-end street.

According to Guido Rings, the female characters are victims of violence and

humiliation (19). Shirin exemplifies this as she moves from a "Turkish patriarch as

potential husband, to a capitalist 'hire and fire' system in Germany and finally to violent

German pimps" (Rings 19). Burns furthermore explains that the film acts as a generalize

narrative of women's oppression under patriarchy (128). Female audiences can identify

with Shirin's character, and engage in their own identity negotiation, and reflect on their

own otherness and situation as women. Although Shirin's difference represents a

cultural foreignness in Germany, evidenced through her dress, headscarf, language,

and moments of cultural misunderstandings, the dialogue between the German narrator

and Shirin throughout the film proposes an identification between the two. The dialogue

does not focus on Shirin's ethnicity as necessarily problematic. Rather, the verbal

exchange connects both German and Turkish women as they share the same cinematic

experience of Shirin's past. As Shirin tells her story, the German narrator learns about her own German culture through the perspective of the other, reflecting an uncanny dynamic. Through Shirin's character, German audiences can engage in a discussion and evaluation of German culture.

According to John Davidson, the filmmaker shows her desire at solidarity with Shirin in *Shirins Hochzeit* (70). The film loses sight of the different situations in which the two women find themselves in West Germany (Davidson 70). The film while exploring how one can understand and evaluate the self through the other, also evokes the uncanny through use of the *Verfremdungseffekt*, prompting viewers to maintain a critical view of the situation presented to them on-screen. Before Shirin's pimp shoots her, Shirin decides that she wants to return home. She looks into the camera and says: "Nein, ich will nach Haus gehen" ("No, I want to return home"). In this moment, as she looks directly into the camera at the viewer, the filmmaker employs a Brechtian *Verfremdungseffekt*. The "estrangement effect" intends to awaken audiences to critically evaluate what they are watching. The gesture turns something "ordinary, familiar, immediately accessible into something peculiar, striking, and unexpected," where the actor does not necessarily identify with the character's feelings, but rather represents them (Diamond 45). Furthermore, the effect intends to bring viewers into a more "intellectual dimension" to evaluate and question (Bloom 13). In this way, viewers are also prompted, in *Shirins Hochzeit*, to engage in a self-evaluation through the other, while also being reminded of their own estrangement. The liminality, exclusion, and oppression projected on-screen through Shirin, prompts Germans, especially women, to see their own otherness.

Vierzig Quadratmeter Deutschland

Vierzig Quadratmeter Deutschland, similar to *Shirins Hochzeit*, victimizes the female character, who is also a migrant from rural Turkey moving to a city in Germany. The female protagonist, Turna, travels to Germany to live with her guest worker husband. Throughout the film, Turna occupies an enclosed, confining space within the walls of her husband's 40 square meter apartment. The combination of little dialogue and a series of close-up shots of Turna enhance the confining, enclosed feeling of the film. Dursun, her guest worker husband, forbids her to leave the apartment. He claims that he locks her in to "save her" from Germany's "amoral spaces," but also, as Anthony Coulson maintains, to exert his own control and assurance that he "can be the master within his own forty square meters" (163). From her enclosure, Turna experiences extreme distress, as well as mental deterioration. She expresses feeling like a prisoned animal and as buried alive. However, she cannot courageously confront her husband, even though she practices doing so in a mirror. In the end, after Dursun dies of a seizure, Turna is able to leave the apartment and go outside in Germany for the first time.

However, her freedom in the end remains limited. We witness a lack of understanding between Turna and German characters from her encounters with them in her apartment building. She appears incapable of communicating with her German neighbors. The film also reflects the inability of Germans to communicate with and understand her. Turna, through the difference in her appearance and language, presents German characters with alterity that confronts them within a once familiar living space. The familiar space, to a certain level, now appears foreign and uncanny. In the end, Turna, who is months pregnant, must confront the foreign space of Germany alone

after leaving her husband's space of confinement. The film, creating "the most widely-circulated image of a Turkish woman in West Germany at the time," furthermore adds a sense of credibility to popular perceptions of violent patriarchal Turkish men and obedient, dependent Turkish women (Mennel, "Politics of Space," 41-45). It also endorses, as Hamid Naficy claims, "the West's jaundiced view of Islam and Muslims" (196). *Vierzig Quadratmeter* perpetuates negative stereotypes of Turkish migrants in Germany, as well as the supposed incompatibility between the two cultures. Yet, the film also confronts German audiences with changes taking place within their own socio-cultural landscape, reflecting a strangeness permeating the familiar.

Yet, Turna is not the only figure trapped in a confined space. Through a window in the apartment, Turna connects with a young German girl on crutches. Both the German and the Turkish character relate to the other's situation, evoking an uncanny dynamic in the confrontation. Regardless of ethnicity, both see their own spatial enclosure in the other, allowing for a connection and evaluation of their own circumstance and condition. Turna and the little girl show each other their dolls and wave at each other through the window in a playful gesture. Yet, the little girl is eventually drawn away from the window by her mother, who seemingly disapproves of their distanced contact. When peering outside of her window, her only access to outside spaces, Turna also sees a prostitute on the street corner. Day in and day out, the same woman goes to the same place, just as Turna occupies the same space. Turna also sees other Germans on their balconies, which in a sense allows for the perception, according to Coulson, that "everybody here is locked away" (162). All of these characters occupy enclosed spaces. Even Dursun is enclosed as he moves from the

apartment, to work in a factory, and back to the apartment. This reflects the status of, not only guest workers and migrants, but of the working class in modernity more broadly. Members of the working class in German society also appear as confined to the same spaces daily. In this film then, Turna's confinement reflects the situation of more general confinements in Germany that seem to primarily affect the working class and women.

<div align="center">***Yasemin***</div>

In this self-titled film, the female protagonist, Yasemin, also appears as a subject to similar Turkish patriarchal environments depicted in *Shirins Hochzeit* and *Vierzig Quadratmeter* (Rings 18). However rather than representing New German Cinema's *Frauenfilm* or *Arbeiterfilm*, *Yasemin* confronts the issue of hyphenated identity - that of living within and between two cultures. Yasemin demonstrates an ability to adapt to both German and Turkish culture. This hyphenated identity emerges as a new change to the German socio-cultural landscape with second-generation migrants. The film presents migrants as a lasting presence in German society, and encourages a reevaluation of Germany as a country of immigration. It also encourages German audiences to see hyphenated identity as a continuing development in Germany.

With *Yasemin*, one of the earliest films about Turkish immigrant families in the German context, Hark Bohm represents the critical youth film (Hake 175). The film, also referred to as "Romeo and Juliet in Hamburg" (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 9), tells the story of a teenage greengrocer's daughter and a German student, Jan, who fall in love, but are prevented by Yasemin's Turkish father from being together. According to Göktürk, "Yasemin embodies the total split between German and Turkish culture" ("Turkish Delight," 10). The film depicts Yasemin as constantly adapting to both

cultures, especially through her appearance. For example, she lowers her skirt on her way home from school, and removes and puts on her headscarf to fit her environment. In this way, the film "emphasizes the gulf dividing the social spaces that Yasemin must cross" (Pratt 192). Not allowed to socialize with the opposite sex, Yasemin meets with Jan, a German classmate, in secret. The "culture clash," however, explodes when Yasemin's father tries to send her back to Turkey to save his honor. Although the film claimed to "foster cross-cultural understanding," it rather reproduced common stereotypes (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 10). In the end, Jan must save Yasemin from her oppressive, patriarchal father. Yasemin, according to Mennel, "captures the iconographic embodiment of the migrant woman in Europe, the traces of which still dominate public imaginary, debates, and policies through such topics as honor killing and head scarves" ("Politics of Space," 41).

Among the most popular German productions in the 1980s, *Yasemin* shows and disseminates stereotypical images of Turkish patriarchy (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 9). However, it also shows hybridity as a new development in German society through the protagonist's co-existance in both Turkish and German culture. Fragments of both become embodied by Yasemin, contradicting the idea of culture as clearly defined totalities. This demonstrates uncanniness through blurred boundaries between self/other, insider/outsider, and raises issues and questions of belonging for the second generation migrant, like Yasemin. For Homi Bhabha, the uncanny arises from feeling "at home and strange or estranged at the same time, or to feel not at home even when one is 'at home'" (Byrne 70). Yasemin constantly alters her appearance to fit German and Turkish environments, which serves to show that she can fit into both, but that she has

to choose and "fit the part" so to say. She cannot "look" German in her Turkish environment and vise versa. In a sense, she has to perform both parts. The film, while engaging in a discussion of Yasemin's belonging, also questions the notion of Germanness. As Susan Anderson explains: "In films, novels, and stories, characters whose identities fluctuate between 'German' and 'foreign' offer contesting notions of what being German means" (144). In *Yasemin*, "the figure of the 'German' becomes just as much an outsider as the ostensible 'foreigner' and vice versa" (Anderson 144). The film complicates perceptions of clear boundaries between insider and outsider and even complicates the situation of German in Germany's changing socio-cultural landscape.

In the film, Germans even appear as others in Turkish spaces - the once familiar becomes unfamiliar. "Jan becomes just as much an outsider in Yasemin's world as she is in his" (Anderson 150). In Turkish spaces, like Yasemin's sister's wedding, Jan does not fit in. He tries to enter into and interact with Yasemin at the wedding, but is unable to do so. "He is the foreign threat who must be repelled, and Yasemin's protective cousin becomes increasingly brutal in his efforts to chase Jan away" (Anderson 152). Jan can only see Yasemin from a distance, whether watching her from the sideline or trying to communicate with her through her bedroom window. Jan tries to learn about Yasemin's "Turkish world," demonstrated in a scene where he purchases books about Turkish language and culture at a bookstore. Yet in the end, Jan is not accepted by Yasemin's family. Before Yasemin is sent back to Turkey by her father, Jan comes and drives away with her on his motorbike. As Göktürk explains, with this ending the film "reproduced and generated common stereotypes and confirmed the view that German

society in general is more civilized and enlightened then archaic Turkish community" ("Turkish Delight," 10).

Yasemin presents the development and presence of second-generation migrants in German society, who negotiate between Turkish and German cultural affiliations. Thus, Germans see changes to their socio-cultural community on-screen, and can engage in constructions of changing German identities through visually presented others. *Yasemin*, like *Shirins Hochzeit* and *Vierzig Quadratmeter*, demonstrates "the common phantasy of victimised Turkish women who, especially when young and beautiful, need to be rescued from their patriarchal community" (Göktürk, "Turkish Delight," 10). However, these films also allow German communities to visualize societal changes and reflect on estrangement and otherness taking place within Germany. These film provide a space where the self and other, the familiar and the unfamiliar, can meet and engage in German postwar identity negotiation and construction.

Conclusion

Films representing guest workers and migrants in German society engage audiences in reevaluations of German socio-cultural developments and changes. The films evoke the uncanny by showing strangers in familiar German spaces, such as apartments, German streets, and work spaces, which asks audiences to engage in reevaluations of German identity. The cinematic narratives also evoke the uncanny by displaying previously hidden stories of the others or of strangers in German society on-screen. These stories come to light through cinema, and contribute to the imagination and perception of postwar Germany. The films also demonstrate how the other plays a role in the construction of the self. Just as the *Heimliche* helps to shed light onto that which is *unheimlich*, depictions of guest workers and migrants in German society help

shed light on postwar Germany. German characters in these films, such as the little girl

in *Vierzig Quadratmeter* or women in *Shirins Hochzeit*, identify with and reflect on their

own situations through the other, and Germans also become others as does Jan in

Yasemin. The films discussed in Chapter 2 depict Germany as a country of immigration,

where migrants appear as a lasting presence in German spaces, affecting German

cultural imaginaries.

CHAPTER 3
SECOND-GENERATION MIGRANTS ON-SCREEN: CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND
THE UNCANNY

Introduction

The collapse of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and re-unification in Germany

"provoked heated debates on the meaning of Germanness, whether defined in legal,

ethnic, linguistic or cultural terms" (Hake 190). Germany, in the 1990s, found itself in a

moment of change, not only affected by the re-unification of East and West Germany,

but also by the presence of non-ethnic German others on German soil. Today, over

sixteen million[1] people in Germany come from a migrant background, 2.5 million of

which are from Turkish origins, making up the largest migrant community in Germany

(Nordbruch 5). The increasing presence of non-ethnic Germans in Germany, after

decades of guest worker programs and immigration, prompts discussions involving the

meaning of "German," and demonstrates Germany's status as a *de facto* country of

immigration. Many guest workers, originally expected to return to their countries of

origin, continue to live, work, and raise families in Germany, which is also represented

in cinema. According to film scholar Sabine Hake, a younger generation of filmmakers

in Germany, appearing after re-unification, "focused renewed attention to the real and

imaginary topographies of space, place and belonging" in this changing Germany (191).

Filmmakers of both ethnic German and migrant backgrounds explore German

identity and belonging, and portray the changing German landscape. Cinematic

representations of German society in the 1990s and 2000s continue to portray the life of

non-ethnic German incomers and settlers, but shift focus to second-generation migrants

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[1] 19.5% of the total population (Nordbruch 5).

on-screen. Films such as Yüksel Yavuz's *Aprilkinder* (*April Children*, 1998) and

Christian Petzold's *Jerichow* (2008) portray cultural hybridity and the complexities that

second-generation migrants experience, especially regarding national identity and

belonging. Without producing clear boundaries or categorizations of identity, cultural

hybridity in these films results in an uncanny feeling of in-between. As hybridity in these

filmic examples destabilizes established, clear notions of national and cultural

belonging, second-generation migrants demonstrate an uncanny, split, and fractured

self that engages in complex negotiations of belonging that are, as Homi Bhabha says,

"neither One nor the Other but something else besides, in-between" (219). However as

the films show, the fractured self is not exclusively linked to migrants, indicating perhaps

a disseminated phenomenon of cultural hybridity in modernity that not only affects

hybrid, second-generation migrants, but also ethnic Germans living in increasingly

hybrid environments.

Hybridity, In-Between, and the Uncanny

Homi Bhabha discusses hybridity and in-betweenness in his book, *The Location*

of Culture, as key terms toward an understanding of culture, society, and politics in

modernity. According to B. Venkat Mani, "Bhabha's work marks the beginning of

systematic considerations of hybridity" (121). To Bhabha, "cultures are never unitary in

themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other," rather they demonstrate

higher levels of complexity (35-36). Bhabha explains that in the "*fin de siécle*, we find

ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex

figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and

exclusion" (1). Hybridity exemplifies one of these complex structures in contemporary

society that opens up a "third" or "in-between" space for the negotiation of identity that is

"*neither the one nor the other*" (Bhabha 25). As Mani explains:

> Hybridity denotes on the one hand a coming-together of various cultural and
> linguistic genealogies, on the other hand a movement away from these
> genealogies toward newer, fresher, hitherto unseen, unread, or unexperienced
> manifestations of complex cultural experiences, primarily at the metropolitan
> centers of immigrant populations in the West. (122)

Through hybridity, we encounter, what Bhabha terms "newness" (7). "Cultural hybridity

situates itself in movement; it locates itself in the act of dislocation; it abandons the

hitherto inhabited in order to strive toward newness" (Mani 123). Yet in Bhabha's

discussion, cultural hybridity takes on uncanny characteristics – the blurring of

boundaries that is a mark of the uncanny (Linville 24) – allowing the migrant to be at

home anywhere, but at the same time opening up the possibility of "having no home

whatsoever" (Huddard 53). Bhabha discusses the uncanny (*das Unheimliche*) literally

as *the unhomely*, bringing notions of home and "unhomed" to mind (13). According to

Anneleen Masschelein, "The uncanny or 'unhomely' is a key concept to grasp the

experience of extra-territorialization, estrangement, and ambivalence of the post-

colonial subject" (137). This, however, can also apply to cinematic representations of

second-generation migrants in Germany, who demonstrate an ambivalence and

estrangement from cultural hybridity on-screen. To Bhabha, migrants live in-between as

"not simply one thing or the other, nor both at the same time, but a kind of negotiation

between both positions," suggesting a doubleness or a splitting of the subject (Byrne

42). Since the subject neither clearly adheres to one nor the other, belonging and

cultural identity evoke an uncanniness arising out of arbitrary, blurred positions and

categorizations. Although Bhabha focuses on colonial relationships, David Huddard

explains that these characterize also the migrant experience (53), and therefore can apply to readings of Turkish-German works as well. Furthermore as *Aprilkinder* and *Jerichow* demonstrate, cultural hybridity also affects native German characters in Germany, who experience uncanniness through the increasingly cultural hybridization of German spaces. What was once familiar appears strange.

Film scholar Deniz Göktürk applies Bhabha's concept of "third space" to discuss "migrant cinema" as challenging "established concepts of national cinema" in her essay "Turkish Delight – German Fright: Migrant Identities in Transnational Cinema" (3-4). Turkish-German film and other "migrant cinema," Göktürk argues, occupies the site of a transnational "third space," allowing the migrant to speak back, narrating "the nation from the margins" and disputing the view of a "pure national identity," in line with Bhabha as well as other post-colonial thinkers ("Turkish Delight," 3-5). As Bhabha writes, "the boundary becomes the place from which *something begins its presencing*" (5)[2]. Göktürk focuses on hybridity's liberating potential to move beyond the "rhetoric of being lost between two cultures," and instead focuses on the "pleasures of hybridity" ("Turkish Delight," 6). Turkish-German films, by using humor and mutual mimicry, show hybridity in more comical and playful ways, arguably liberating "themselves from the prison of sub-national paternalism . . . towards a stage of mutual reflection" (Göktürk, "Beyond Paternalism," 251-255).

Scholar Leslie Adelson also discusses the notion of "in-between" in her exploration of twenty-first century Turkish-German literature. She argues against

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[2] Bhabha uses this idea from Martin Heidegger's "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" in *Poetry, Language, Thought.* New York: Harper & Row, 1971. 152-153. Heidegger writes: "A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing*" (152).

situating Turkish-Germans in a place "between two worlds" ("Turkish Turn," 3-4), and rather describes an "epochal sense of disorientation, categorical disorientation and historical reorientation" felt by migrants and Germans alike ("Turkish Turn," 15). For Adelson, Turkish migration in literature functions as a "cultural archive" that tracks the changes in perceptions and social imaginations not written by migrants alone ("Turkish Turn," 15, 23). This means that ethnic Germans may also partake in the disorientation and uncanniness experienced through migration, and allows us to see Turkish-German film by both migrants and ethnic Germans as "cultural archives."

Both Göktürk and Adelson draw attention to the mutual reflection developing between non-ethnic Germans and ethnic Germans in Germany today, not only placing the migrant experience as a part of German history and culture, but as Christina Kraenzle writes, also as an "inextricable part" thereof (90). As exemplified in *Aprilkinder* and *Jerichow*, non-ethnic Germans as well as ethnic Germans engage in the topic of migration, showing disorientation and cultural hybridity as not exclusively migrant experiences, but shared by ethnic Germans in Germany as well. This mutual encounter may, as Göktürk contends, represent a potential pleasure and humor to be found through hybridity in films such as *Berlin in Berlin* (1993) and *Im Juli* (2000). However, as portrayed in other films, such as *Aprilkinder* and *Jerichow*, hybridity paints a more problematic, less celebratory notion. These films do not show a pleasure, but rather demonstrate an uncanny feeling of in-between, from which subjects can negotiate belonging, but neither necessarily find it nor are liberated from the space.

Aprilkinder, *Jerichow*, and the Uncanny in Cultural Hybridity

Aprilkinder and *Jerichow* exemplify an uncanny dynamic at play regarding subject identity and belonging that reflects the uncanny, which Bhabha also discusses

in his conceptualizations of hybridity and in-betweenness. In these films, the dynamic also affects ethnic German subjects, suggesting the presence of ambiguity in identity and belonging to a wider audience living in increasingly hybrid environments. Although hybridity would seem to rectify multiple affinities within the individual, it rather highlights how difference operates within identity, and stresses "the incompleteness of the sense of self in the world" (Papastergiadis 14). "It blurs the very relational process that hybridity ought to highlight" (Papastergiadis 15). As Bhabha states: "The unhomely moment creeps up on you stealthily as your own shadow" (13). *Aprilkinder* and *Jerichow* not only show the complexities, but also question the actual possibility of belonging in a contemporary, globalized, and culturally hybrid societies. Relationships often result in estrangement and alienation, even among family members. Also in these films, modern subjects longingly try to create and re-create home and a sense of belonging within the increasingly hybridized environments. Yet, these fail to permanently materialize.

Aprilkinder

Yüksel Yavuz's film *Aprilkinder* tells the story of a Kurdish migrant family in Hamburg (Berghahn n.p). The title of this film refers to the children of guest workers that are conceived in July, during the Father's annual vacation home, and then born in April. Yavuz himself immigrated to Hamburg in 1980 at the age of sixteen with his guest worker father. He is known for directing fiction as well as documentary films (Göktürk, "Kleine Freiheit," 1). His feature film *Aprilkinder* (*April Children*) adapted from his earlier documentary, *Mein Vater der Gastarbeiter*[3] (*My Father the Guest worker*, 1994) (Halle, "German Film," 160), fuses "fiction and social reality in ways typical of social realist

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[3] Yavuz did not have the proper permission to film at the companies where his father worked, and ultimately therefore the documentary "failed" (Halle, "German Film," 160).

cinema" (Kraenzle 94). *Aprilkinder* depicts cultural hybridity and the contact of Turkish

and German elements that create culturally hybrid spaces and identities. Although the

narrative takes place in an urban environment, the individual characters operate outside

of mainstream culture, occupying in-between, hybrid spaces, such as the family

apartment, the urban streets, the meat packing factory, and the brothel. These spaces

are mixed with both German and non-German people, languages, and cultural

characteristics. According to Christina Kraenzle, Yavuz engages in reconceptualization

of *Heimat* (93), "the place where one feels at home with oneself and the world" (Blickle

19-20), while also "reminding us that identities are marked not only by nationality,

language, or ethnicity, but also by socio-economic status and class" (Kraenzle 97). In

this way, in-between positions in *Aprilkinder* is not reserved for migrant characters, but

is also occupied by ethnic Germans. Cultural hybridity acts as a way to bring migrants

and Germans together in a seemingly transnational way, but rather than resulting in

showing the "pleasures of hybridity," it reveals the complexities and uncanniness of

cultural hybridity, and an inescapable in-between space. Socially, familially, and

personally migrant and German characters experience an uncanny estrangement,

division, and blurring of familiarity although they occupy the same spaces.

  Aprilkinder focuses on the second-generation migrant, Cem, who works in a

German meat processing factory, and develops a romantic relationship with a prostitute,

Kim. Primarily, the spaces in the film are culturally hybrid. Cem's workplace at the

factory, the family's apartment, the urban streets, and the brothel, where Kim works, all

present hybridity on German soil by intermingling German and non-German culture,

people, languages, and music. Although Cem would seemingly fit into these Turkish-

German hybrid environments, as he is both Turkish and German, he does not. Cem does not actively or fully engage with either his co-workers or his family. Whether in the Turkish brothel or in the German club, Cem sits at the bar and passively gazes at his surroundings, highlighting his in-between status. Cultural hybridity, as demonstrated through Cem, does not enable a pleasure empowering him to confidently engage in his environment or surroundings.

In Cem's familial relationship, hybridity further complicates belonging, and highlights the tension between familial traditions and assimilated desire. Cem lives in an apartment with his parents, his brother Mehmet, and his sister Dilan. Through the children, the family and the living space become hybrid environments, resulting in an uncanny division, estrangement, and a generational clash between family members. According to Kraenzle, the children represent "a generation torn between parental values and traditions, and personal desires" (96). They also demonstrate culturally hybrid characters negotiating identity and belonging. In order to fulfill his mother's wishes for him to marry his cousin, Cem must sacrifice his personal relationship to Kim. Cem chooses to uphold familial traditions, while his brother Mehmet opts to follow his own personal desires to attain money and material gain through organized crime on the street. The street scenes and Mehmet's activity call to mind other "ghettocentric" films, such as Fatih Akın's *Kurz und Schmerzlos* (*Short Sharp Shock*, 1998) and Thomas Arslan's *Geschwister* (*Brothers and Sisters*, 1997)[4], clearly placing him away from mainstream society. He is also alienated the most from his parents' values (Kraenzle 96). Cem and Mehmet both negotiate their hybrid existence in "between," hybrid spaces

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[4] See Barbara Mennel's essay: "'Bruce Lee in Kreuzberg and Scarface in Altona: Transnational Auteurism and Ghettocentrism in Thomas Arslan's *Brothers and Sisters* and Fatih Akın's *Short Sharp Shock*" in *New German Critique.*

– Cem in the brothel and Mehment on the streets - which produces different outcomes, as Cem chooses to follow the traditional, familial path, and Mehmet a criminal one.

The sister Dilan also negotiates between her culturally hybrid affiliations. On the one hand, she is a dutiful daughter that does her chores as she is told, but on the other she seems to detest her parents' morals and her mother's efforts to raise her to be an obedient and dutiful young woman. She also secretly explores her own sexuality with her brother's friend, dividing her from familial tradition in favor of personal desire. In all of these examples, the division demonstrates the complexity of hybridity, and characterizes a sense of loss within familial relationships. According to Mennel, loss is involved in hybridity, for which theories discussing the play and pleasure of hybridity cannot account ("Bruce Lee," 154). In *Aprilkinder*, this loss is seen when choices between hybrid affiliations have to be made. Cem, for example, cannot please his family and still have his relationship with Kim. He must choose, and either way he chooses, he experiences a loss, but not an escape from either in-between spaces or alienation.

The film also shows estrangement through language use in the culturally hybrid familial space. Both children and parents exclude each other from their conversations, alienating them from one another. The children speak German, which their mother does not speak, and the parents use Kurdish to exclude their children (Kraenzle 96). The household, as a space that should be homely and familiar, is rendered unhomely or *unheimlich*, through its hybridity, in which parents are alienated from their children, children from their parents, and siblings from each other. The father at one point even refers to his sons as "donkeys" in the film, and does not interact with or understand his children. The key dynamic in this space is the *Entfremdung* or estrangement. According

to Bhabha, hybridity confuses "the border between home and world; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting" (13). In *Aprilkinder*, the infiltration of cultural hybridity (unfamiliar elements) into the home (a familiar space) changes the familial dynamic and environment, resulting in uncanny estrangement between family members.

Alienation, however, also affects Kim, the main ethnic German character in the film. Through marginalized ethnic German characters, Yavuz shows that experiences of dislocation and exclusion extend to "poor or disenfranchised individuals from an ethnic-German background," paralleling that of migrants (Kraenzle 94). Kim's marginal position in the Turkish club, where she works, is especially evidenced when the Turkish owner dismisses her and tells her that no one wants a German in his club. Kim becomes the outsider, portraying the complexity of belonging in the changing Germany for Germans as well. The combination of her socio-economic status and her occupation in a culturally hybrid space complicates her situation, and shows the need for Germans to come "to terms with the changing makeup of a society in flux" (Kraenzle 97). The development of culturally hybrid spaces uncannily alienates the German character Kim just as it alienates Cem and his family. In a final scene, Kim and Cem make love in the stairwell, an in-between space of transition. Kim, however, abruptly pushes him off and runs away, realizing that they cannot be together. This scene also implies the lack of liberation through hybridity or from the in-between, commenting on cultural hybridity not as a pleasure or a unifying intermingling, but rather as a complicated dynamic. It highlights "the gaps between this potential and the reality . . . the hardships of dislocation" (Kraenzle 104). The gaps become filled by a dizzying sensation that we

experience in the final scene of the film after Cem's wedding. Here the camera takes the subjective position of Cem and spins around the room, not only describing the problematic transition from one immigrant generation to another (Halft 14), but also the potential lack of control over and alienating experience of cultural hybridity.

Jerichow

Another film portraying the complexity of cultural hybridity for non-ethnic Germans and ethnic Germans in post-unification Germany is *Jerichow*, a re-working of the twice filmed noir crime novel *The Postman Always Rings Twice* by James M. Cain (King 2). The director, Christian Petzold, sets *Jerichow* in a rural, sparsely inhabited environment in the Prignitz region, Northwest of Berlin. Prignitz represents, for Petzold, post-fordist Germany "at its bleakest" (King 4), and describes it as a "dying region ... without production or work."[5] Petzold depicts the German *Heimat* in the film as an increasingly hybrid space with the development of businesses owned and operated by migrants. Hybridization, a mixing, is even reflected through the film's genre. Alasdair King categorizes this film a "hybrid *Heimatfilm noir*" (11). In their spatial configurations, noir films traditionally focus on urban modernity, whereas the *Heimatfilm* fixates on the countryside, making them appear as incongruous genres. However, the combination of these seemingly incompatible groups, reflects the very essence of hybridity. In this way, *Jerichow* itself is neither fully one nor the other, and reflects dynamics of modernity, the development of hybrid spaces and the increasing importance of capital, in the German *Heimat*. The characters in the film, operating within changing, hybrid spaces, demonstrate a renegotiation of the German *Heimat* and the difficulty of belonging.

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[5] "Die Prignitz ist eine sterbende Gegend. Es gibt keine Produktion, keine Arbeit" (Petzold).

The characters in this film, a second-generation Turkish migrant and two ethnic German characters, all appear as alienated "others," exploring belonging in "post-fordian" Germany. According to Petzold, the film centers around "Heimat-building," and more specifically this process in a rural, post-fordian environment.[6] In its filmic construction, Petzold connects the *Heimat* to modernity and capital. It is the site where migrants have settled, opened businesses, and contributed to the cultural hybridization of the German landscape. With shots of the train passing through the province, and visual depictions of *Imbissstuben* owned and operated by migrants, the German *Heimat* connects the hybridization in modernity with the changing Germany, which complicates a sense of belonging for both ethnic Germans and migrants. The three characters in the film, two ethnic Germans, Thomas and Laura, and Ali, a second-generation migrant from Turkey, all experience alienation, yet seek to create *Heimat* and belonging. Heimat building in the film takes place in the private spheres. Rather than showing scenes of the landscape or the town, the film focuses on each character's *Heim* – the private sphere presented by two houses and the baltic ocean (King 15). This representation uncannily brings the private to a public space, as the private sphere indeed becomes the object of the public's gaze when brought on-screen. This process reflects Freud's description of the uncanny - everything that was intended to stay secret that has come to the open (132). Bringing these private dynamics to the public and depicting the complications with cultural hybridity, reflects the uncanny and the character's uncanny experience on-screen.

The German *Heimat* in the film is shown as one in flux and change. As people in contemporary society continually migrate to urban centers for better opportunities and

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[6] See *Jerichow* DVD extras.

jobs, the traditional space of the German *Heimat*, i.e. the province, increasingly empties

out. In various shots, the film indeed focuses solely on the empty streets and roads,

enhancing an alienated, emptying feel. Another notable change demonstrated in the film

are the various shots that take place in non-ethnic German migrant environments. King

describes the modern province in this film as a "landscape of *Imbissbuden*, discount

stores, unemployment offices and minimum waged seasonal work" (13). With the

characters Thomas and Ali, we see the increasing presence of Turkish and Asian

Imbissstuben in the German *Heimat*, depicting a hybridized environment. The mixing of

"unfamiliar" in the "familiar" results in uncanniness, making the changing *Heimat* feel

uncanny. The film also strongly references economic exchange (King 13), and similar to

Aprilkinder, thematizes socio-economic status. In this way, the film links the modern

Heimat to capital, while demonstrating how characters weigh socio-economic

relationships over personal ones. However in *Jerichow*, migrant characters demonstrate

enhanced capital control as the owners and operators of lucrative food businesses.

Poverty and debt is connected to the two ethnic German characters. Since the second-

generation migrant character Ali demonstrates economic success, Turkish-German

relations appear in a different light. In this new *Heimat*, the ethnic German characters

work for the migrant character. Yet, all are still afflicted in the search for belonging. In

this situation, everyone can be a "victim, exploiter or exploited" (King 17). The German,

post-unification, post-fordian *Heimat*, as it is imagined in the film, presents characters

with uncanny disintegration and separation in "between" spaces. The physical presence

of the second-generation migrant in the film acts as only one part of the larger picture of

hybridity, fragmentation, and in-betweenness.

As the characters, however, continually seek belonging and *Heimat* in post-unification, post-fordist Germany, it becomes clear that money cannot buy a sense of home or belonging, even though money in the film takes precedence over personal relationships, friendships, and love, which is clear when Laura says: "Man kann sich nicht lieben wenn man kein Geld hat" ("Without money, one cannot love"). The second-generation Turkish migrant character Ali, however, cannot find love, friendship or belonging in his adopted "home" despite his material success as the operator of an "Imbissbuden" franchise, and constantly displays an in-betweenness. His material success does not liberate him. On the one hand, he is, as Alasdair King suggests, "homesick" for Turkey (7), but on the other hand, he is someone who left his country of origin when he was two years old, and is not particularly familiar with it. He demonstrates knowledge of this "home" through a picture of Turkey he carries in his wallet. Yet, it is an idealized dream of "home" that he recalls through stories and memories. The only belonging Ali creates is a fantasy *Heimat* on the beach that can, however, only last temporarily.

By getting drunk and dancing to Turkish music by the ocean, Ali feels a temporary state of home. As King states, "his remembered dance movements communicate this constructed hybrid Turkish Heimat on the German beach, as he stares out across the waves of the Baltic" (9). Yet, even in this scene Ali appears alienated, as he dances and drinks by himself, gazed upon by his wife Laura and employee Thomas, disinterested in interacting with him. Evidently, as represented in the film, Ali's home is neither in Germany nor in Turkey, placing him in-between the two, and constantly negotiating, but not escaping the "neither the one nor the other"

dynamic. *Heimat* and belonging for Ali exists in dreams and fantasies, which is neither

here nor there. He may dream of going to Turkey, for example when he tells Thomas

about a fictional property he purchased in Turkey for himself and Laura, but in the end,

this remains a dream, as he returns to Laura in Germany to die, saying, "Ich lebe in

einem Land, dass mich nicht will, mit einer Frau, die ich gekauft habe" ("I live in a

country that does not want me, with a woman that I bought").

Belonging and *Heimat* does not only pose problems for Ali, but also for the ethnic

Germans Laura and Thomas. Thomas returns to the region to start a new life after a

military tour in Afghanistan and dishonorable discharge. After his mother's death,

Thomas inherits his childhood house, and intends to renovate it, reflecting also his

internal desire to recreate a sense of home and belonging in Germany. Thomas

represents an outsider lacking belonging in a place that should be his home. Although

ethnically German, Thomas does not seem to belong in the unified, post-fordian

Germany, and is marked as "in-between" through his GDR background. In a scene at

the *Arbeitsamt*, Thomas's holds his ticket number, which is "089," a reminder of the year

1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall. The fact that he is also unemployed reflects the

status of many people from East Germany, who were unemployed after re-unification.

The development of fordist economics in Germany posed a hardship for many former

East Germans, just as it does for Thomas in the film. According to Brad Prager, the film

engages with the fall of the Berlin Wall as a continuing process, producing "fractures,

disjunctions and disillusionment, rather than (as) a bright line that separates the past

from the present" (108). The past separation of East and West Germany uncannily

haunts the present, enhancing the former East German character Thomas's alienation

and in-between position as not a member of mainstream German society, yet still German.

Ali's German wife Laura also suffers from socio-economic hardships, and even spent time in jail for having high debt. She married Ali, because he would pay off her debt. Both Thomas's and Laura's relationship with Ali is driven by their opportunistic and economic interests. Ali seeks friendship with Thomas, but is not sure how to achieve it, evidenced by the clumsy embraces in the film (King 10). With Laura, Ali seeks love, but does not receive any. At times, Ali exhibits brutal, controlling, jealous, and suspicious feelings towards Laura and even Thomas, further complicating the notion of relationships in post-fordist society. Laura represents a character seeking freedom and escape from her debts in a loveless marriage that ends in an adulterous relationship with Thomas, and Ali's suicide. According to King, the film presents a specific approach to contemporary Turkish-German relations, in which the "energy and vitality of the determined immigrant become valuable commodities," desired by the two Germans affected and outcast by changing economic circumstances in Germany (10). They simply cannot adapt as proficiently as the "newcomer" (King 10). Economic relationships become the main currency for relationships in post-fordian society, and the representation of migrant businesses and the successful migrant in the German *Heimat* alter perceptions of the German space. Belonging and the creation of an actual sense of home in the end, do not materialize.

Conclusion

Both *Jerichow* and *Aprilkinder* show hybridity and in-betweenness as characteristic of both migrants and ethnic Germans. Alienation in these films affects all characters, which concludes in either an unending dizzying, as the final scene of

Aprilkinder shows, or in suicide, Ali's final act in *Jerichow*. These strongly express the difficulty of escape. Hybridity, rather than allowing for a "pleasure" or liberation, demonstrates an uncanny blurring of positions and *Entfremdung* from familiarity in these films. Culturally hybrid subjects, as well as subjects living in culturally hybrid spaces, engage in complex negotiations of identity and belonging in changing, hybridizing environments. Through cinematic depictions of second-generation migrants, audiences can visualize the dynamics of a culturally hybrid existence, while also envisioning new forms of belonging, national-identity, and *Heimat*. A closer look also shows ethnic German characters paralleling migrants' negotiation of identity and belonging. This demonstrates characteristics of contemporary, globalized society in which identity and belonging, rather than resulting in clear categories, become complex negotiations and where an uncanny "doubling, dividing and interchanging of the self" (Freud 356) occurs. These uncanny dynamics, in these films, reflect Bhabha's conceptions of "in-between" and hybridity. *Aprilkinder* and *Jerichow* furthermore visually display and shed light on dynamics present in contemporary society, which Nikos Papastergiadis describes as "porous boundaries between groups, the globalizing patterns of communications and the hybrid process of cultural transformation" (105). Increasingly countries such as Germany must confront the "inevitability" of seeing itself as a "multiethnic society" (Papastergiadis 3). Turkish-German works in Germany are part of German culture, and engage in complex portrayals and discussions of identity and belonging in contemporary Germany.

CHAPTER 4
TURKISH-GERMAN TRANSNATIONAL CINEMA AND THE UNCANNY

Introduction

In contemporary Europe, movement and impermanency have developed into "a lifestyle for a significant number of Europeans" (Mazierska and Rascaroli 1). Heightened mobility and travel, along with increased migration patterns in globalization, call for new conceptualizations of cultural communities and artistic production. Many scholars have turned to the concept of the transnational to describe contemporary socio-cultural dynamics. Transnationalism enables cultural imaginations to focus on the mobility and fluidity between and across national boundaries. "While 'minority studies' was primarily concerned with the politics of recognition and dynamics of inclusion or exclusion *within* the nation state, the current era warrants 'thinking and feeling *beyond* the nation'[1]" (Göktürk and Wolbert 3). As a concept, transnationalism emerged in anthropological studies that explored what was termed "immigrant transnationalism," which altered the view of migrants as "uprooted," and instead presented the "transmigrant" as a new social type that maintains multiple relations across national borders (Waldinger 5-6). Increasingly, film scholars and critics explore transnationalism in cinema, questioning how this category challenges traditional understandings of national cinema and cultural borders, and how it engages in re-conceptualizations of migrant, cultural communities in contemporary society.

In the German context, Turkish-German cinema is a part of a cinema of border crossings that has "radically expanded and transformed the filmic imagination" (Hake

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[1] In reference to Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins's book *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (1998).

194, 216). More recent Turkish-German films, such as Seyhan Derin's *Ben Annemin Kızıyım - Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter* (*I am my Mother's Daughter*, 1996), Fatih Akın's *Auf der anderen Seite* (*On the Edge of Heaven*, 2007), and the 2011 film *Almanya-Willkommen in Deutschland* (*Almanya-Welcome to Germany*) by the sisters Yasemin and Nesrin Samdereli, exemplify transnational depictions that enable German audiences to reassess the German socio-cultural landscape. As Arjun Appadurai describes in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, electronic mass media affects the ways in which individuals perceive the self and the world: "electronic media provide resources for self-imagining as an everyday social project" (4). To Appadurai, the globalization of media and migration transforms the work of the imagination (9). Through mass media and technological developments in modern globalization, the perceived span of socio-cultural communities widens, giving rise to a transnational aesthetic or world view. In the context of contemporary globalization, societies appear to be more connected through international institutions and modern technologies that enable affordable and readily available communication and travel opportunities. Since the representation of society through visual media impacts perceptions, cinema, as a popular visual media, plays an important role in the shifting socio-cultural views, and can encourage transnational cultural imaginations.

Randall Halle, in *German Film after Germany: Towards a Transnational Aesthetic*, describes transnationalism as a cultural dynamic, designating sociopolitical ideational processes (5). Transnationalism allows us to perceive and imagine cultural communities as fluid rather than confined, enabling the view of migrants as maintaining affiliations and ties across national boundaries. Within a transnational framework,

migrants can identify with multiple places and cultures, rather than having to choose between host and home country or between fixed cultural categories. "German Turks are a part of the recent phenomenon of transnational space" (Kaya 483). As Ayhan Kaya explains, many Turkish-Germans have made both Turkey and Germany into their own practical and symbolic habitats; Turkish-Germans "simultaneously dwell in both countries" (487). Enhanced technological advancement enables migrants to stay connected to various places and people across national borders. Indeed, many Turkish-Germans "often remain actively involved in their homeland by maintaining kinship and friendship ties, but also by remaining involved politically, economically, and culturally in the larger homeland society" (Kaya 489). These connections demonstrate the actual transnational ties of Turkish-Germans in Germany, and show how many migrants are not fully focused on only one society, but rather bridge both societies.

Second-generation migrants especially fit within a transnational framework, since, as Peggy Levitt explains, many are raised within a transnational social field (1226). Many children of migrants (i.e. second-generation migrants) do not simply choose between "home and host-land" - between their country of familial origin or place of residence - they rather create a complex set of practices (Levitt 1239). The Turkish-German films discussed in Chapter 4, *Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter*, *Auf der anderen Seite*, and *Almanya*, visually display this dynamic within the narrative setting of travel. Second-generation migrant characters appear in the films as highly mobile and able to adapt to various places, highlighting important transnational characteristics. In disseminating the view of transnational inhabitants on-screen, the films also act to alter perceptions of migrants and cultures in contemporary societies as belonging to fixed or

static categories in cultural imaginaries. Through these journeys, the films display identity negotiations and the discovery of cultural roots, as well as an uncanny doubling involved in the process.

Identity Negotiations: The Freudian Double in Turkish-German Transnational Film

In each of the films discussed in Chapter 4, the protagonists embark on a journey, a "reversed" journey,[2] from Germany to Turkey, showing the "return" to cultural roots and origins. Through pictures and stories, the characters follow the *Spuren* (traces) and ruins of the past to discover and understand their familial roots, and in the process gain a fuller understanding of the self. This undertaking highlights identity as something always in the process of becoming rather than as a fixed category.

According to Kara Somerville, "Second-generation migrants describe a fluidity of identities, and a myriad of ways in which their identities are expressed as a direct result of shifting ethnic and national contexts" (31). Indeed, most Turkish-Germans "have become 'transmigrants' who can practically and symbolically travel back and forth between their countries of destination and origin" (Kaya 498). The films discussed demonstrate this adaptability to multiple places as an important transnational characteristic of second-generation migrant characters on-screen. The characters cinematically move back, forth, and between Turkey and Germany, fitting a transnational aesthetic. The journey creates a space where second-generation migrant characters can engage on a quest toward self-discovery by exploring their cultural roots and familial history across national borders.

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[2] It is "reversed," because the earlier "cinema of the affected" discussed in Chapter 1 portrays or implies the journey from Turkey to Germany by first-generation migrants. Here, the journey from Germany to Turkey takes place with second-generation migrants.

Within these filmic narratives, however, the motif of the double emerges, maintaining a level of complexity in the on-screen transnational identity negotiations. Transnational migrants, like Turkish-German second-generation migrant characters, "experience a permanent tension between homelessness and home in a way that leads to the construction of more complex and multiple identities" (Kaya 493). Rather than celebrating a utopian reconciliation of multiple national and cultural affinities, these films maintain identity constructions as complex through the motif of the double - an uncanny emergence characteristic of second-generation migrant characters in the films. "Transnationalism might transform national parameters and indeed offer liberation of fettered productive forces, but it is not a condition of full human emancipation" (Halle, "German Film," 8). The Freudian motif of the double maintains a level of tension and prevents a utopic vision of transnationalism. There are still complexities and multiplicities under negotiation on-screen. "The argument is often made that if the citizen is by definition the subject who must be recognized, transnationalism can quickly lead to the production of subjects who are, in many ways, beyond recognition" (Ezra and Rowden 11). The Freudian motif of the double, and the uncanniness evoked therein, disrupts any straight forward recognition or definition of second-generation characters in these films.

As Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden contend, "transnational cinema's narrative element is generated by a sense of loss," and filmmakers explore how "physical mobility across national borders necessarily entails significant emotional conflict and psychological adjustment" (7). In the films discussed in Chapter 4, the "loss" seems to be a lost connection to cultural roots or to a part of the second-generation migrant

character's self that is missing or that has become less apparent. This prompts a journey to cultural origins. However, an uncanny doubling occurs, which becomes more apparent throughout the narrative journeys and in instances that visual manifest. For Sigmund Freud, the double is one of the most prominent motifs producing an uncanny affect (141). He explains that: "The self may be duplicated, divided and interchanged," and that a person may evoke the double by identifying "himself with another and so become unsure of his true self; or he may substitute the other's self for his own" (Freud 142). Doubling evokes an uncanny feeling of the existence of another self within the self - an other within.

According to Freud, doubling initially occurred in an attempt to preserve the self from death; it was a type of immortalization. Referring to Otto Rank's work on the double, Sigmund Freud explains: "[t]he double was originally an insurance against the extinction of the self, or as Rank puts it, 'an energetic denial of the power of death,' and it seems likely that the 'immortal' soul was the first double of the body" (142). In the case of second-generation migrant characters, the double can thus result from holding on to multiple cultural affinities in an attempt to prevent the "death" of one or the other. The Turkish-German characters hold on to both Germany and Turkey as socio-cultural sites of identification. Rather than letting one "die out" or become extinct within the self, so to say, a doubling occurs, allowing second-generation migrant characters to maintain an identity in both places. Maintaing these ties is an important characteristic of transnational inhabitants or of "transmigrants," as Kaya explains (487-489). Therefore, we can see doubling as characteristic of some filmic imaginations of transnational inhabitants, who seek to maintain ties and identify with multiple places across borders.

Both a Turkish and German self exist at the same time as parts of the same single individual.

Freud, however, extends his theory of the double by including an element of return. The double's "uncanny quality can surely derive only from the fact that the double is a creation that belongs to a primitive phase in our mental development, a phase that we have surmounted, in which it admittedly has a more benign significance" (Freud 143). The double was originally a wish fulfillment, and what has been repressed is a stage of development (Møller 132). According to Lis Møller, Freud modifies his conceptualization of the uncanny in his discussion of the double. Rather than showing "'the long familiar' that has been estranged through repression," with the theme of the double "uncanniness pertains to the *return* of that which has been repressed or surmounted" (Møller 132). This helps to explain why the uncanny element of the double arises in the *return* journey for second-generation migrant characters in the films. It marks a psychological return to familial roots, cultural heritage, and to a "former self." The return brings these "lost," forgotten, or faded cultural ties back to light. Although the cinematic return journeys in *Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter*, *Auf der anderen Seite*, and *Almanya* display the transnational ties of second-generation migrant characters, they also demonstrate a psychological process of the uncanny: return and doubling.

Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter

Seyhan Derin's first full feature film, *Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter*, emerged as a project from the Munich film school (Löwisch 129). It premiered at the 1996 Berlinale, and won second prize at the Munich documentary film festival that same year (Löwisch 129). As Henriette Löwisch explains in an interview with Seyhan Derin, the film attempts to "portray a close-up of her mother, who throughout her life, stood in the

shadow of the dominating father to whom Seyhan was the favorite child" (129).

However, this autobiographical documentary film goes beyond a simple portrayal of her

mother, and includes Derin's own investigation into her own background. The film

portrays a journey of self-discovery that explores origins and a side of her own past that

she hardly knew, or with which she had become disconnected. In learning about her

mother, she also learns more about her self, and reestablishes both familial and cultural

ties.

Seyhan Derin explores her familial history and origins by returning to the Turkish

village where she was born. As a small child, she moved with her mother and three

young sisters to live with her father, a guestworker, in Germany. As Mennel explains,

this film belongs to a set of "diverse films" that, "self-confidently claim Germanness,

while advancing a cinematic language that integrates German, Turkish, and

transnational culture" ("Politics of Space," 42). Indeed, Derin's film depicts a

transnational journey where she, as the main character, reconnects with her cultural

roots, and demonstrates transnational cultural ties through her fluid interactions in both

Germany and Turkey. Derin comfortably moves within and between German and

Turkish culture, as she reconstructs and processes her familial past and origins. Letters

and photographs serve as the film's *Leitmotif* that direct the film's plot, and reveal

pieces of her past. A compulsion to return, however, prompts her journey. She

expresses in the film that her childhood would visit her in her dreams, and that she had

to come back to this place (in reference to the Turkish village whence her family came).

The compulsion shows a, perhaps unconscious, desire to reconnect with this other part

of herself. During her journey, she comes to terms with and accepts this other part of

her self, represented by a little girl in reoccurring black and white scenes. The little girl, her double, represents her childhood self - her "other," former Turkish self. The double visually demonstrates Derin's complex identity negotiation as a second-generation migrant, which she, however, eventually accepts.

Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter begins with a letter that Derin wrote to her father. Her niece finds the letter along with various family pictures in a box. Her niece, representing the third-generation, can only read some of the words in the letter that is written in Turkish. This early scene shows the generational changes between the second- and the third-generation. This transnational characteristic - the ability to effectively communicate in both Turkish and German - links more closely to second-generation migrants, like Derin, than to subsequent ones like her niece, who requires Derin's help to understand the letter and the pictures. Second-generation migrants, in this scene, play an important role in translating between the first- and the third-generation and in connecting the two. Although the past and familial history presents itself through these found items, at times second-generation migrants may need to help subsequent generations understand them. In the letter to her father, Derin describes the difficulties and problems in her family life. A voice-over reading the letter recounts the conflict that existed between the father and the children. As the letter claims, they did not understand why he went to the gambling halls, or why he drank so much, why he was so cold, or why he imposed "other rules." We find out later that Derin and her sister left home when they were teenagers, because her father wanted to send them back to Turkey. She and her sisters stayed in Germany, which split the family apart. The

journey that Derin takes, therefore, not only represents a reconnection with cultural

roots and self-discovery, but also a journey that confronts this family conflict.

In confronting familial tensions, another important element of Derin's past arises.

She expresses in another letter, this time written to her mother, how little about her

mother she knows. Her childhood, she explains, is characterized by a "tenderly spoken

sentence from her father: you are the daughter of your father." Turkish tradition presents

the male side as the more important, Derin claims. During her journey, she seeks to

uncover this missing side to her past by exploring her mother's side. She wants to know

who her mother is since her father had overshadowed her, Derin explains. In Derin's

reconnection with her cultural roots and uncovering of her mother's side, she provides a

counter-narrative to the patriarchal perspective, and contests the popularized images of

migrant women in the 1980s found in cinematic portrayals like *40 Square Meters of

Germany* or *Shirin's Wedding*. "In cinema, and more generally in the popular

imagination, they tended to appear trapped in claustrophobic space and scenarios of

imprisonment" (Göktürk, "Turkish Women," 64). Derin's travel in Turkey with her mother

provides her with a new perspective, and she learns to see her mother as a self-

sufficient and independent village woman. As she explains, this blatantly contradicts the

image formed in Germany.

In their Turkish village, Derin's mother takes her to the spaces and ruins of her

past. They visit their old, barely standing house, for example, with collapsed walls and

broken stone. Her mother describes the hard work that she had to do. As her mother

tells Derin her stories, Derin realizes how strong and independent of a person her

mother is, contradicting perceptions of Turkish women as dependent and reliant on

men. However, a repeated line in the film by the women that their husbands must know best, disrupts seeing the women in a fully unsubmissive or unsubservient light. The women in the film still display obedience to their husbands. On the one hand, the women maintain such traditions, but also appear to be more than capable of taking care of themselves and their children. Various scenes in the documentary depict the village women hard at work on the fields and by their homes. Derin's mother also explains her own experience, and how she provided for herself and her children in her husband's absence, exemplifying the image of a self-sufficient, capable woman. She even tells Derin that after three days of giving birth to her, nonetheless alone, she had to return to work to provide for the family. When Derin asks her mother if this life was hard for her, she responds by saying that she did what she had to do to make money and provide. Although her mother appears obedient and dutiful to her husband, she nonetheless maintains an image of an independent, self-reliant woman. Derin says in the film that she developed a feeling of pride that she had a mother, who despite keeping up with traditions externally, mastered her life through inward strength. She gains a new insight to her past and origins, and uncovers this part of herself that was once foreign to her. She reconnects with her mother in a new way, and learns to see her origins differently, allowing her to identify with this piece of herself. Symbolically, repeated scenes of a little traveling girl represent Derin's childhood, "other" self. In traveling to her cultural roots, Derin reconnects with her past self and origins.

Throughout Derin's travels in the village, a reoccurring, black and white scene emerges from time to time of a young girl on a train. This girl traveling in the in-between space between Turkey and Germany on a train demonstrates Derin's journey of self

discovery. The girl is alone in the train cabin, and she repeatedly shakes the door handle, but it will not open. As Mennel explains, the film moves beyond documentary film conventions, and highlights sociological and psychological elements of migration ("Local Funding," 55). The scenes of the little girl symbolize a psychological negotiation. "Derin is doubled by the representation of her alter ego as a little girl, she is also doubled as the subject and the director of the film" (Mennel, "Local Funding," 56). The doubling, described by Mennel as a "dream sequence" ("Local Funding," 55), demonstrates Derin's own identity negotiation, and coming to terms with her transnational affiliations. In the final scene with the little girl, Derin shows herself explaining to the little girl how to perform the black and white sequence. This acts as a Brechtian *Verfremdungseffekt* (Rendi 88). It draws attention to the scene, but disrupts any close identification with the character. This doubling mixed with travel also prevents us from seeing her identity negotiation or self-exploration as a completed project. Derin says in the film that the journey continues, which she also visually expresses through shots of the moving train.

In the final scene, the little girl appears in two places at the same time. One stands by an old abandoned house in a field by the village, and the other girl is in the train. The girl in the field, symbolizing Derin's Turkish childhood self, waves to the girl on the train - a gesture that suggests a coming to terms with both identities. As the girl on the train continues her journey, she takes her other Turkish side with her. Yet through the doubling, we see her identity negotiation as ongoing. The doubling represents Derin's multiple, transnational ties, but prevents the establishment of a union between the sides. Rather, they stay separate sides of the whole that are continuously

negotiated. Through her journey she learns to accept both her Turkish origins and German existence. She is able to maintain both as a part of herself, displaying her transnational cultural affiliation.

Auf der anderen Seite

Auf der anderen Seite also depicts a transnational journey where the protagonist engages in both a reconnection with cultural roots as well as familial reconciliation. The filmmaker Fatih Akın, as one of the major Turkish-German film directors in Germany, brought new attention to German film. At the 2004 Berlinale, Akın received the Golden Bear award with his film *Gegen die Wand*, which was the first German film in eighteen years to win the award (Berghahn 141). According to Halle, "he is the first filmmaker to put forth images that truly imagine the possibility of life as a transnational inhabitant" (*German Film*, 164). Although other filmmakers also imagine transnational culture on-screen, Akın has received more international attention and acclaim. *Auf der anderen Seite* depicts life as a transnational inhabitant through the protagonist Nejat, but also expresses important aspects of globalization. According to Mennel, the film captures geographer David Harvey's idea of the "time-space compression" of globalization brought on by increased speed of transportation and communication technologies ("Criss-Crossing," 2). In this film, characters in both Turkey and Germany seem more connected and able to cross borders more freely, demonstrating the effect of enhanced technology in contemporary globalization. Although the film depicts a transnational aesthetic and features of globalization, it furthermore portrays a reconnection with cultural roots and familial reconciliation through the protagonist Nejat. Through this second-generation Turkish-German migrant character, we witness a transnational

identity negotiation on-screen where doubling occurs through cinematic spaces portrayed.

Many scenarios taking place in the film repeat, but are set in different places and contexts. According to Mennel, doubling exists in the film as an "organizing principle," which "does not only organize character constellations but also applies to the films's narrative structure. Repeated individual shots are embedded in parallel time lines" ("Criss-Crossing," 9). The film's complex narrative structure is divided into three chapters: Yeter's Death, Lotte's Death, and The Edge of Heaven. Both of the opening shots in Yeter's Death and Lotte's Death depicting a political demonstration, for example, exemplify a doubling of scenes. The former takes place in Germany, whereas the latter takes place in Turkey and ends in violence. Doubling occurs in other scenes after the deaths of Yeter, the Turkish mother of Ayten, and Lotte, Ayten's German girlfriend. The scenes of the airlines transporting their bodies back to their countries of origin repeats. Yeter's body returns to Turkey after her unintended death caused by Nejat's father Ali. Lotte's body goes back to Germany after some kids shoot her in Turkey. Mennel refers to these doubling scenes as "criss-crossing" space and time. "Criss-crossing in time and space captures contemporary mobility under globalization on a phenomenological and symbolic level" (Mennel, "Criss-Crossing," 13-14). After the tragic deaths, the family members left behind rekindle ties and seek reconciliation with each other. Another type of spatial doubling occurs in the film through the protagonist Nejat, who creates a pseudo-German space in Turkey. This doubling demonstrates something other than a "criss-crossing," and has more to do with his own psychological identity negotiation as a transnational inhabitant. It also displays a socio-cultural change

in Turkey where German spaces exist on Turkish land. Through Nejat's spatial doubling, he expresses and explores his own cultural identity, enabling him to connect with his Turkish roots and seek to amend ties with his father.

Nejat, a German studies professor in Hamburg, portrays a character that seems comfortable and at home in both Germany and Turkey. He demonstrates high spatial and linguistic mobility as he travels through and between the urban and rural spaces of Germany and Turkey, representing a transnational inhabitant in globalized society. Yet, often when Nejat spends time with his father, and even during a dinner scene with Ali and Yeter, Nejat seems to prefer to use German over Turkish, even though he is fluent in Turkish. During the dinner scene with Ali and Yeter, for example, he responds to them in German despite the fact that they ask him questions in Turkish and talk to each other in Turkish. In scenes such as this one, Nejat shows a level of uneasiness or lack of interest toward using Turkish, which perhaps demonstrates a lack of connection to his cultural roots.

A disconnect also appears in his relationship to his father. Ali expresses to him that it is impossible to talk to him, for example. In another scene, Nejat yells at his father for smoking a cigarette after refusing Yeter's *börek*.[3] Ali claimed that the *börek* was bad for his health. Nejat angrily confronts him, and Ali responds by telling him to stay out of his life. "You have yours and I have mine," he says. The tension in this father-son relationship heightens when Nejat rejects having a father.[4] While Nejat travels to and across Turkey to connect with his cultural origins, he also realizes his need to reconnect

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[3] A type of Turkish pastry.

[4] In Turkey, Nejat is asked about his father, and he responds by saying that a murderer is not my father. Earlier in the film, his father accidentally killed Yeter, a Turkish prostitute who was living with him.

with his father. Nejat, after telling Lotte's mother Suzanne the Abraham and Isaac story celebrated on the day of *Bayram*, he travels to Trabzon in the Black Sea region to find his father. This is also the site of his actual familial heritage, and where his father still owned a house. Before traveling to Trabzon, Nejat lived alone in Turkey and was therefore only able to explore his cultural origins to a certain level. We typically see him alone in interior spaces like his German bookstore in Turkey. However with his father in Trabzon, he would be able to discover his cultural heritage on a more personal, familial level, and experience his origins through his father's perspective. Ameliorating his ties with his father, therefore, also allows him the opportunity to truly explore his origins. Yet, we do not see the actual reconciliation between father and son take place on-screen. After driving to his father's house, Nejat finds out that Ali was fishing. He goes to the ocean to wait for him. Reuniting with his father remains an open ended question in the film, just as Nejat's transnational identity negotiation stayed uncompleted on-screen as an on-going process.

Initially, Yeter's death prompted Nejat to return to Turkey. He wanted to find Yeter's daughter, Ayten, to pay for her college as a way of paying off his father's *Schuld* (guilt or debt) for Yeter's death. However after finding a bookstore for sale, he feels compelled to stay. After Yeter's funeral, her relatives show Nejat family pictures of Yeter and of Ayten at a young age. He duplicates a picture of Yeter and hangs them up as fliers around the town, hoping that Ayten will recognize the picture and contact him. While hanging up the pictures, he comes across a bookstore owned by a German. He walks into the bookstore and greets the store owner in German who seems stunned and thrilled to hear his native language. Nejat asks the owner why he wants to sell the

bookstore, and the owner explains how he has been in Turkey for almost ten years. The store owner tells him that he suddenly found himself missing Germany, and the German language as well. He states that he simply has *Heimweh* (homesickness). Nejat says that he understands. His decision to then purchase the store suggests his own *Heimweh* that he may have experienced away from Turkey - the *Heimat* that was a part of him, but from which he may have felt disconnected. In this scene, Nejat shows that he misses Turkey, or feels some compulsion to return to Turkey and reconnect with his roots. The German bookstore allows him to stay in Turkey and maintain his German identity. It also demonstrates a double of his space in Germany, as a German studies professor and lecturer of Goethe. Through the doubling of his spatial environment, he can negotiate his cultural ties to Germany while connecting with his cultural roots in Turkey. He exhibits transnational culture through these ties, and the doubling of his German spatial environment allows him to keep both of these connections alive and present.

Almanya-Willkommen in Deutschland

The 2011 film *Almanya* by the sisters Yasemin and Nesrin Samdereli also exemplifies a transnational, return journey to cultural roots. However this film, rather than focusing on travel by second-generation migrants, depicts a family journey. The first-, second-, and third-generation Turkish-German migrants travel back to their Anatolian village in Turkey together. The filmmakers expressed how they wanted to change the common depiction of Turks in Germany, and show something different in this film. Yasemin Samdereli, quoted in *Reuters*, states: "[w]e had noticed over many years that the issue of Turks in Germany is often cast in a negative light . . . and it was quite tiring. My own family tried very hard to face up to the new challenges (when they

arrived in Germany), but this was never portrayed" (Marsh n.p). In their film, they tell a story of familial migration to Germany, but rather than showing difficulty and difference negatively, they use the opportunity to cast these in a humorous light. They show comedic elements in intercultural connections, as the migrant family tries to adapt to their new life in Germany. A third-generation migrant character, Canan, tells the family story of their migration to Germany to her small cousin Cenk, who curiously wants to know who or what he is - German or Turkish? The family goes on a journey to their cultural origins, an Anatolian village in Turkey, allowing both the second- and third-generation migrant characters to reconnect and discover their cultural roots and origins. Eventually, Cenk learns about his family's past and realizes that they can exist as both Turkish and German at the same time, evidenced in a later scene in the film portraying the characters along side their doubles, the visual manifestation of their former selves.

The film opens up with a scene showing family pictures. The first picture shows Canan, the story's narrator, as a small child with her grandfather, and then another picture of her family on their trip in Turkey taken shortly before her grandfather died. Her grandfather, Hüseyin, initially came to Germany as a guestworker. During this opening sequence, black and white video clips show people coming to work in Germany during the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle). In September 1964, Hüseyin came to Germany as the one-millionth and one guestworker, portrayed in a comical scene where he could have been the famous one-millionth guestworker to come to Germany. The pictures in this scene document their familial past, and as Canan tells the story this past enters the present through recounted memories on-screen. In another picture this time given to Cenk by Hüseyin, he receives his first glimpse at his family's cultural origins.

The picture shows the countryside of their village. Hüseyin tells Cenk that the picture shows "unsere Heimat" (our homeland). Confused Cenk takes the picture, angrily puts the picture down on a table, and yells: "Was sind wir denn jetzt, Türken oder Deutsche?" (What are we, Turks or Germans?). His family turns to him, and at the same time his mother responds "Germans" and his father says "Turks!" Although a humorous scene, it highlights the difficulty of overcoming fixed categorizations. At school, Cenk experiences this difficulty, but learns his family's transnational cultural connections through the journey that they take.

For Cenk, the complicated question of his identity and belonging confronted him in school. His teacher, for example, asks him where he is from during a simple classroom activity marking the student's origins on a map. He says that he is from Germany when asked, but the teacher then asks him from where his father comes. He says Anatolia, which does not appear on their European map that cuts off at Istanbul. He is thus placed off the map in an area further east, locating him outside of Europe in a place that is visually nonexistent. Even though Cenk appears unfamiliar with his familial origins, he is still associated with Anatolia as his "homeland" - the place where he is from. In another school scene, the boys wanted to play a game of soccer - Germans against Turks. Cenk, unsure of where to go, is shoved by another boy who says to the Germans that they can have him; that he cannot even speak Turkish. The other children categorize Cenk even though he himself cannot decidedly figure out to which side he belongs. The various people at his school, his classmates and teacher, categorize him and tell him where he belongs. Yet in a contradicting fashion, his German teacher places him in Turkey, while his Turkish classmates ascribe him to Germany. He

appears to be in both, but neither at the same time. However, as his cousin Canan tells

him and as he learns on the journey in Turkey, he can be both German and Turkish at

the same time. The journey, while connecting Cenk and his family members with their

past, also allows them to understand themselves and negotiate their transnational ties.

At a family dinner, the grandfather surprises the family with the news that he

bought a house in Turkey in their old village. He wants to take them on vacation to the

village, the space of their familial past, to renovate the house. The film follows the family

along the Turkish roads that they travel in a rented van. Along the drive, Canan tells the

story of their family's migration to Germany, and how the family decided to stay in

Germany rather than return to Turkey. Unfortunately, the family soon discovers that

Hüseyin passed away during the drive. They go to their old village to burry him there.

During the ceremony, a doubling visually emerges on-screen. Cenk looks around at the

crowd and sees his grandmother holding the hand of her former self - the young women

that she used to be when the family migrated to Germany. As Cenk peers around, he

sees all of his relatives with their doubles. He sees his dad as a baby, because he was

born in Germany. Next, he sees his aunt and uncles with their Turkish, childhood

selves. After returning to their cultural origins, Cenk's second-generation migrant family

members reconnected with their cultural roots, giving rise to the emergence of their

double. The double visually represents the psychological process and negotiation of

identity, which can consist of both Turkish and German sides. Cenk smiles; he seems to

understand that both selves create the whole, and that the Turkish and German self

create each individual in his family.

A similar doubling scene repeats after the family finds the house that Hüseyin purchased. When they arrive at the house, they realize that it is actually a ruin with a door, but without walls, a roof, or a floor. From these ruins and pieces, however, the family can rebuild their on house, reflecting the psychological dynamic at play. With the pieces of our own past, we can negotiate our own identities and belonging. In another scene, we see the family members and their doubles, their present and former selves, sitting in the grass, between the outline of the house, interacting with one another. The narrator's voice reappears and concludes the film with the message that we are the sum of everything that happened before us and our experiences. We are every person that influenced us; we are everything that happens after we are gone.[5] The film shows that we create our identities through interactions and connections, and that we take our experiences and past selves with us regardless of where in the world we end up.

Conclusion

In the films, *Ich bin die Tochter meiner Mutter*, *Auf der anderen Seite*, and *Almanya*, the double appears as a reoccurring theme that can manifest both at an individual level and spatially. These doublings, emerging during return journeys to cultural origins, allow second-generation migrant characters to negotiate a transnational cultural identity and belonging between German and Turkish culture. The double maintains and visually conveys a level of complexity within these identity negotiations, which prevents any utopic view of transnationalism. Rather, these negotiations remain complex, on-going processes. The figure of the double visually displays how both a

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[5] "Wir sind die Summe all dessen was vor uns geschah. All dessen was unter unseren Augen getan wurde. All dessen was uns angetan wurde. Wir sind jeder Mensch und jedes Ding dessen dasein uns einflusste oder von uns beinflusst wurde. Wir sind alles was geschiet nachdem wir nicht mehr sind und was nicht geschähe wenn wir nicht gekommen wären."

Turkish and German self remains alive and present within the individual. In the films discussed in Chapter 4, we see the second-generation migrants embrace their transnational identity, and come to terms with or accept their cultural roots as a part of themselves. The films also demonstrate the significance of visual media such as photography and the importance of recounting memories and storytelling as ways to connect with familial past and cultural origins. These aid the journeys of self-discovery and identity formation. The films discussed here depict the transnational migrant as an established community in contemporary society. As Halle explains:

> Unlike the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when emigration generally meant the loss of engagement with the country of origin, the new transnational migrants are no longer forever dislocated from their homelands. There is a routine of travel and contact that is not a matter of being in-between. ("German Film," 167-168)

The cinematic portrayal of these migrants encourages a reevaluation of fixed socio-cultural categories, cultural identities, and belonging in contemporary, globalized societies within cultural imaginaries.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

Throughout the modern period, people created a sense of belonging through allegiance to a nation-state (Papastergiadis 2). Yet, increasingly complex patterns of movement across national boundaries, along with new expressions of identity by minority groups have destabilized this foundation (Papastergiadis 2). Although the nation-state remains an important political and legal organizing principle in the world, socio-cultural belonging and identity based on nation-state affiliations and ties appears under question and negotiation. Turkish-German cultural productions exemplify this shift in perception by depicting cultural hybridity and transnationalism as contemporary cultural imaginations of belonging. Electronic media, such as cinema, has especially offered "new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds" (Appadurai 3).

Since West Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder*, Turkish migrants formed a lasting presence in German society, changing perceptions of what it means to be German. Turkish-German cinema opens up a space to negotiate these discussions, and reassess notions of belonging, identity, and *Heimat* in contemporary, globalized society. Although more cross-cultural, cross-national imaginations of belonging, such as transnationalism, have emerged, they do not necessarily indicate a sense of completion or emancipation. As Nikos Papastergiadis explains, "Migration may have spawned new diasporic communities and facilitated the critique of the nation-state, but this in itself has not necessarily produced greater levels of freedom and cross-cultural understanding" (6). The negotiations of identity and belonging are not completed processes.

As demonstrated in this thesis, Turkish-German cinema and representations of migrants in German society, enable cultural imaginations of Germany's multiculturalism and changing socio-cultural landscape. On-screen identity negotiations in the films discussed, reflect complex, continuous processes of discussion, and evoke uncanny dynamics and characteristics. The presence of uncanny elements maintains a level of complexity, and disturbs any clear sense of outsider/insider and *Heimat*. The uncanny arises from familiarity that becomes strange, which affects both Turkish migrants, Germans with a Turkish background, and native Germans in the films discussed in this thesis. Rather than portraying clear pictures of pleasures associated with hybridity, the films question a clear sense of enjoyment. Nonetheless, "Turkish-German films have contributed to the repoliticisation of cinema around issues of identity and their relationship to practices of exclusion and discrimination" (Hake 219). Both native Germans and Germans with a migrant background experience these shifts, and participate in redefinitions of German.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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