THE REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY-ROOTED WOMEN IN GERMAN CINEMA:

FROM THE WOMAN VICTIMS OF SILVER SCREEN TO PLEASURE OF

HYBRIDISM

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ABSTRACT

This article examined "the representation of Turkey-rooted women in German Cinema from past to present" in the context of trans-nationalism and hybrid identity. The study was set out by examining the chronology of immigration from Turkey to Germany, the identity-formation process of the Turkey-rooted generations in German within these two cultures since the beginning of the immigration, and the way how the identities of these immigrated individuals changed or were transformed from generation to generation. In this context, it was studied through movie analysis and literature review whether the change or transformation of the identities were reflected into the representations of Turkey-rooted women in German movies. Apart from the topics which were aimed to be analysed through movie analysis and literature reviews, interviews were made with 24 Turkey-rooted women, who were born, raised or spent most of their lives in Germany due to the work-related issues of their families, in order to enable the real individuals of the topic to express themselves freely. Thus, it was aimed to observe parallelism between the opinions put forward through literature review and the real life practices. In-depth interview and thematic analysis of Keyton were used in this research as qualitative methods for data gathering and analysis. It was concluded that the representations of Turkey-rooted women were turned into hybrid identities and gained a transnational feature within historical process.

Keywords: German Cinema, Turkey-rooted women, gender, representation, trans-nationalism, hybrid identity

Alman Sinemasında Türkiye Kökenli Kadınların Temsili: Beyaz Perdenin Kadın Kurbanlarından Melezliğin Hazzına

ÖZET

Bu makalede "Alman Sineması'nda Dünden Bugüne Türkiye Kökenli Kadın Temsilleri", ulusötesilik ve melez kimlik kavramı bağlamında incelenmiştir. Çalışmaya Türkiye'den Almanya'ya göçün kronolojisi ve göçün başlangıcından günümüze kadar Almanya'daki Türkiye kökenli nesillerin iki kültür içindeki geçirdiği kimlik süreçleri ve göçmen kökenli bu öznelerin nesilden nesile kimliklerinin nasıl bir değişime ya da dönüşüme uğradığı incelenerek başlanılmıştır. Bu kapsamda, kimliklerdeki değişim ya da dönüşümün Alman Sineması'ndaki Türk kökenli kadının beyaz perde temsillerine yansıyıp yansımadığı, literatür taraması eşliğinde film analizleriyle incelenmiştir. Araştırmada, literatür taraması ve film analizleriyle incelenmeye çalışılan konular haricinde, konunun gerçek kişilerinin kendilerini özgürce ifade etmelerini sağlama amacıyla Almanya'da doğmuş, büyümüş ya da ailesinin işi nedeniyle hayatının büyük kısmını Almanya'da geçirmiş Türkiye kökenli 24 kadınla görüşülmüştür. Böylelikle literatür taraması ile öne sürülen görüşler ile gerçek hayat pratikleri arasındaki paralellik de gözlemlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu araştırmada verilerin toplanmasında ve analizinde nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden derinlemesine mülakat ve Keyton'un tematik analizi kullanılmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda Alman Sineması'ndaki Türkiye kökenli kadın temsillerinin tarihsel süreç içerisinde, ulusötesileştiği ve melez kimliklere dönüştüğü sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Alman Sineması, Türkiye kökenli kadınlar, toplumsal cinsiyet, temsil, ulusötesilik, melez kimlik

Introduction

Immigration is an individual or collective movement for change of location from current place to a new one. However, immigration which is simply defined as a movement for change of location and has a significant place in human life directly affects both the residents of the place where the immigrants settle and the immigrants themselves as immigration emerges upon the effect of many factors (Gündüz and Yetim, 1997, p.110). Immigration affects the geographical conditions and cultures of both places immigrated and left, and make both of them more accessible to each other. With this feature of immigration, it has also a phenomenological qualification more than an individual one. Like in many areas, globalisation has affected immigration as well. Distances have narrowed, immigration has speeded up; international migration movements have increased. The profiles of immigrants have also been influenced, and structurally changed: While advances in technological areas like transportation and telecommunication have enhanced information and people mobility significantly, they have started to undermine the understanding that all of social and cultural entirety is restricted and fixed to only one place. Many societies, primarily the immigration-receiving countries, don't display any structure like "nationally homogeneity" or "mono-

culturalism" (Uçar İlbuğa, 2010, p.170). These changes brought about new concepts related to the phenomena and individuals that have difficulty in fitting into patterns. Recently, the transnationalism concept – intensively used in immigration studies as well as in many disciplines – explains a lot in order to understand the modern immigration concept and the ones who were affected by immigration, and opens an important field of study. Immigration is accepted to be an action which usually makes return essential after it is made for compulsory objectives. This assumption limits the aspect of immigration.

Today, the theme of immigration consists of many aspects by pointing at the constant shuttle between two locations. Immigrant mobility which is generally between the geographies immigrated to and left behind makes it possible to cross the border of these two geographies through economic, social and educational facilities which the family members make with other nations. The trans-nationalism concept is the interaction between many lands, cultures and groups and the trans-national area is the single plane emerging within this concept. Trans-nationalism is the creation of new chances for "belonging to a nation" beyond borders after the spatial identities and collective formations within the political, cultural and economic links and relations between people and institutions lose their significance. Within this context, transnational social areas are that social relations happening in line with the regular lives and actions of the individuals find their places beyond the geographical borders (Hugger, 2005, p.1-19).

Previous terms about immigration and immigrants have expired. The word immigration no more evokes the painful processes of learning a new language and culture or rootlessness. Now, a new kind of immigrants with their links, facilities and textures of life between the country of origin and the country of settlement emerge. We define this new concept as 'transnationalism', and this new kind of immigrant as 'trans-migrants' (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995, p.59).

If we study the transnationalism concept – that was aimed to be explained by way of the immigration concept till now –with reference to Turkey-rooted immigrants who are the actors of immigration movement beginning with the labour transfer to Germany as of the 1960s, we can conclude that the first-generation of the immigrants made plans for temporal working in Germany in order to save money for better life conditions in their country of origin where they suffered from poverty. However, a return to the homeland was constantly put off, even became a myth after the next generations (who either came to Germany by their families or were born in Germany) received education in Germany, and after the families reunited. Especially, third generation immigrants who didn't directly experience immigration

like their ancestors, and were born and sent to school in the country of settlement had multi-directional perspectives about future different from their families.

These youngsters who learnt English, French and Spanish as second or third language in addition to their mother tongue and the language of the country of settlement grew up in a multi-cultural and multi-linguistic circle of friends. For that reason, not only Turkey but many countries have become both a country of vacation and a target country for them who have multi-cultural features rather than a mono-cultural feature (Uçar İlbuğa, 2010, p.170).

The aim of this article is to find out whether the first period movies in the German cinema in the 1970s, which were about the problems of Turkish women who were far away from the public sphere, located in closed areas, and were oppressed by their fathers, brothers and husbands, underwent a change within the years when the new identities were formed along with the new generations. The comprehension of whether these representations underwent any change will offer an opportunity to make an assumption about the change and perception about Turkish woman within this process from past to present. In this study, the representation of Turkey-rooted women in German Cinema from past to present was examined in the context of trans-nationalism and hybrid identity.

Turkey-Rooted Immigrants, Hybrid Identities and Germany

On October 31, 1961, first-generation immigrants moved to Germany with the thought of return. They developed "all-togetherness" in order to overcome this tough immigration process (Kaya, 2000, p.51). The immigrants withdrew into themselves and adopted a "ghetto" type lifestyle with the influence of the negative manners of Germans towards Turkish immigrants while trying to cross the barrier of the German culture and language which is quite different from their own. According to the results of a research in 1982, only 8% of Germans described Turks with positive words (Abadan Unat, 1985). The guest workers, who took their families along with themselves in line with the Family Reunification Law, left the guesthouses reserved for them, and settled into the cheap districts where the immigrants - who came from their homelands or other countries to Germany as guest workers like themselves – were in. In the districts where the immigrants lived intensively, new generations grew up and shaped up in a multi-cultural and multi-linguistic environment as a result of the "all-togetherness" of immigrants from their homelands and other countries while they were receiving education as from the preschool years. While new generation immigrants were shaped by their own cultural values together with their parents, relatives and neighbours, they also stepped into a multi-cultural formation and identification process with their peers from Arabia, Greece and the Balkan states in a circle of friends, at streets, within the cultural

conditions and education system of Germany as from the preschool years (Uçar İlbuğa, 2005, p.40).

New immigrant identities which developed in this process with the second, and especially the third generation established a transnational "third space" over the bridge between their homeland's cultures and the European and other cultures. The "third space" concept was first put forward by Homi Bhabha in 1994. In the matter of "third space", Bhabha ascertained deepness in a metaphoric space where cultures meet, and carried out studies in order to expand this. In this space, where cultures meet, the colonist authority is dominant, and new hybrid identities are created as well. Bhabha states that global and national cultures constitute a third space and open up a cultural area by creating unsynchronized temporariness, and that this third space originates an immeasurable difference, and both of existing borders form a specific space (Bhabha, 1994, p.218). In today's world, where the fourth generation of Turkish immigrants live in Germany, it is possible to frequently observe the hybrid identities as mentioned in Bhabha.

Immigrants on the Silver Screen

Cinema hasn't kept itself away from recording the processes of immigration and identity formation. Immigrants have been reflected on the silver screen in individual, social, political or cultural topics in especially immigration-receiving countries just like they take a part in literature. Immigration representations received its share from the nature of the "New German Cinema Movement" acting with a sense of mission as of the late 1960s. This "mission cinema" was interested in "immigrant" topics till the end of the 1980s. The first appearance of the representatives of "immigrant", "guest worker" or "minority" comes from the humanist and didactic feature of the "mission cinema". The fact that the minority of guest workers thought to be from a sub-culture in Germany is seen as a traditional, authentic, poor, silent and excluded character, a traditional loser underlies all these developments.

The principally criticised aspect of the movies of this period is that these movies depend on a dichotomous world vision divided between the immigrants and aborigines. Stories about oppressing and oppressed ones imply two nations who can never live together at the same time. These movies are criticised for they fulfil the task of reinforcing the popular utterance about "missing ones between two cultures" by emphasizing this rooted difference between the German and un-German (Yaren, 2008, p.120). An attempt to live together in the immigrant movies of the 70s and the 80s which present the people -named as guest worker- as the victims of finance-centred policies that are unrelated to the integration and are

implemented for the foreigners with the impulse of social enlightenment is always subject to failure (Nicodemus, 2004).

Turkey-rooted immigrants weren't late for taking their places among these characters in the German cinema. Within this process, representations of Turkey-rooted women went through a "double marginalisation" process among marginalised cinematic characters (Göktürk, 2000, p.66). This "double marginalisation" is associated with being a woman who is a member of both an immigrant and patriarchal society. In the representation of immigrants appearing with the New German Cinema Movement – that comes after the period when German accepted guest workers intensively in the aftermath of the Second World War – Turkish women were reflected on the silver screen many times as being a victim. Many movies of this period were constantly about the problems of Turkish women who were far away from the public sphere, located in closed areas, and were oppressed by their fathers, brothers and husbands. As of the middle of the 1990s, the movies about the second generation immigrants or the children of labour immigrants appeared. This is a milestone because the immigrants found an opportunity to create their own narration and realise their self-representation for the first time, apart from the self-righteous narrations despite the usually well-intentioned efforts of the movie-makers of the host country or old compatriots who were not from the labour class like themselves. In this way, they left behind the "mission cinema" of the 70s and the 80s (Yaren, 2008, p.124).

These films from the last decade introduce us to German-Turkish relationships that differ significantly from those represented in the New German Cinema of the 1970s and early 1980s, taking leave of the stereotype of portraying immigrant communities in Germany as lost between two cultures and insisting instead on fluid notions of both German and Turkish identity (Gemünden, 2006, p. 182). Immigration was shown here primarily as a sense of alienation, as a problematic "Us-Them" feeling.

The German-Turkish directors are the third generation Turks like Ayşe Polat, Buket Alakuş, Fatih Akın, Sülbiye Günar, Thomas Arslan and Yasemin Şamdereli. They brought a new impulse to the German cinema and led to big changes in the representation of Turkey-rooted characters. They often find the ideas for his characters in their own biographies like Fatih Akın. He was born in 1973, the son of Turkish immigrants in Hamburg, and grew up in a district that was regarded as a typical "problem neighbourhood". He built a reputation in the international area and represents Germany in many platforms successfully.

The 1970s-80s: Women Victims of the Silver Screen

The main theme of the movies of the 1970s and the 1980s in Germany was parallel to the lives of Germans and Turks. The main themes were such as the isolatedness of the Turkey-rooted immigrants from the society, their loneliness, cultural shock, intercultural differences, gender roles, generation gap, domestic conflicts, homesickness and Turkish youngsters in love with German youngsters, etc. In the German cinema, the representations of Turkish immigrants formed a problematic area and the first generation immigrants who have a conformity problem with the society, macho man, outcast and tongue-tied women roles along with the cliché immigrant characters came to the forefront in the movies (Uçar İlbuğa, 2012, p. 5).

The first woman victim reflected on the silver screen in the German cinema appeared in the *Hochzeit (Shirin's Wedding)* movie, which was a black and white movie directed by Helma Sanders in 1975. Şirin (Ayten Erten) came to Germany in order to find her fiancée Mahmut (Aras Ören) who went to Germany for work and didn't show any concern in Şirin. She didn't find Mahmut, her desperation got deeper, and went astray as she couldn't hold on to this world different from her language; she started to whore. Şirin was murdered by her trafficker at the end of the movie.

One of the most powerful examples is *40 m^2 Deutschland*, which is a movie by a Turkish director Tevfik Başer. In the movie, Dursun (Yaman Okay) – a worker in Germany – gets married to Turna (Özay Fecht) from his village in Turkey, and brings her to his house of 40 m^2. Turna's husband locks her in their apartment and refuses to let her out while he's working. Dursun deals with her tomb-like existence by peeking through her tiny window and communicating by sign language with her next-door neighbour. The bride rebels against her husband when he suffers a stroke. Turna refuses to seek aid, watches her husband die, and for the first time she emerges into the German streets. She is alone, pregnant and penniless but free.

In the movie *Abschied vom Falchen Paradies (Farewell to False Paradise)* by Tevfik Başer, we see that Elif (Zuhal Olcay) who killed her husband finds freedom and happiness in a German prison. Elif can integrate with the German society, learn fluent German, develop her skills and have a profession, make friendships, and even exchange letters and fall in love with a prisoner from the male wing at the prison, which turns into a safe paradise. Changing completely and becoming a more "Western" person, Elif gets out of the prison crying as she will be sent to her country of origin, Turkey. Farewell to False Paradise depicts the cinematic

confinement of the immigrants within the parameters of well-intentioned multi-culturalism, which lives on the desire of contrasts and integration (Göktürk, 2000, p.68).

The most highly popular movie among the productions which were about the problems of immigrants in the German cinema in the 1980s was a 1988 movie, *Yasemin*. *Yasemin* is frequently on the screens of Goethe Institute and nearly all of the Turkish-German film programs; even in Thailand and India. Portrayed by Ayşe Romey, Yasemin, with a villain father and a passive, kerchiefed mother, lifts the lid on the sharp contrast between the two worlds of living in and out of the house differently. Yasemin, who has been maltreated by her father and has been about to be sent to Turkey at midnight in the trailer of a load truck after her father has learnt that she is in love with a German boy, is "rescued" at the last moment by her German boyfriend with his motorcycle.

Blumentrath, who analyses the Turkish-German products in cinema and literature in his book, clearly states that the Yasemin movie puts forward a symbolic culture war between the east and the west. In addition to his assertion that this movie proposes a culture war, he also claims that it propounds a holy war, and adds stating that Yasemin's boyfriend Jan looks like a cuirassier of the Medieval Crusades. Just like a cuirassier dismounts from his horse, Jan gets off his motorcycle; just like a cuirassier takes off his headset, Jan takes off his helmet (Blumentrath, 2007, p.94-95).

According to Göktürk (2000),

(...) whereas the promoters of this film claimed to foster cross-cultural understanding, it really reproduced and generated common stereotypes and confirmed the view that German society in general more civilised and enlightened than the archaic Turkish community. Integration in this binary model could only be achieved by a split between first and second generation immigrants. The popularity of this film draws on the common phantasy of victimised Turkish woman, who especially when young and beautiful need to be rescued from their patriarchal community. (p.68)

The stories about Turks in German society are generally about sex-oriented relations. It has been always a popular fantasy that poor Turkish women escape from pressure, oppression, obedience and even being a prostitute. Even though they are from different ethnical roots, all of the directors including Tevfik Başer, Hark Bohm and Helma Sanders have been a part of the discourse which affirms the common bias that Turkish women are victimized and the immigrants are from a sub-culture (Göktürk, 2000, p.69).

The 1990s and 2000s: Pleasure of Hybridism

After the immigrant directors took camera in hand, changes happened in the representations of Turkey-rooted women reflected on Germany's silver screen. Up to these years, Turkey-rooted women immigrants who found life in the movies of either German (Selma Handers, Hark Bohm and others) or Turkish directors without a history of immigration (Tevfik Başer) started to be reflected on to the silver screen by the real actors of this process. It is possible to explain this situation not only with the roots of the directors; but also with the years passing, new generations growing up in Germany, and changing practices and phenomenon of immigration. The directors, who have been hybridised and gained transnational identities, began to produce similar examples to their own identities and life practices. From then on, the depression felt in and tears shed for the "immigrant dramas" of the German directors of the 70s and the 80s fall from grace (Yaren, 2008, p.128). This cinema is not relevant to ghettoisation, crime-prone youth, social problems and cultural isolation. According to the outlook on which these movies are based, immigration is such a frequently-encountered situation in the global world on which it leaves its mark today that it isn't worthy of talking about it (Nicodemus, 2004).

Berghahn (2009) supported the transformation of the representations of the Turkey-rooted immigrants in German Cinema by stating these,

> (...) while the first examples of Turkish-German cinema were about the separatist relations and the stories with the cliché 'stuck between two worlds'; the Turkish-German film producers who were the guest worker's next generation born and raised in Germany led their ways from offending social dramas to a cinema which celebrates the pleasure of hybridism. (p.6)

Turkey-rooted women, who were passive, silent and oppressed in the movies of the 1970s and the 80s, the period when the immigrants were for the first time represented in the cinema, was also highly changed as time passed. Not only did the passive immigrants speak German, but they also achieved to cross the borders by harmonizing their own cultures and the culture in which they were living. *Im Juli (In June)* is a 2000 Turkish-German road movie from Hamburg to Istanbul which we watch the transnational and border-crossing Turkey-rooted woman with all of her impressiveness.

The character Melek – a Turkish girl going to Istanbul to meet her boyfriend Isa – is depicted as a modern-dressed, beautiful Turkish girl who can speak German fluently. Melek, who doesn't abstain from having a dinner with and spending the night at the house of Daniel whom she met for the first time in Hamburg although she resides in Berlin, represents a brave, free-spirited, straight-out and self-ordained Turkish immigrant who can speak Turkish and

German fluently. Daniel can't realize that she's a Turkish girl until she gives her name. With her dressing, speaking and manners, Melek is no different from any European or German women just like the character Ceyda. The German character Juli appears before us as a character that is shier than Melek and finds it difficult to abreact her feelings. So, also in this movie, Fatih Akın tries to show critically and without tolerating any bias that Turkish women of the second generation immigrants living in Germany are not humiliated and obedient. Melek presents a modern, European Turkish woman, who can make her own decisions by herself, act freely in woman-man relations, and break the stereotypes (Künüçen and Ateş, 2006, p.4-5).

Blumentrath (2007, p.111) makes a striking comment on the nation and gender subjects in the movie: "Just as angels are genderless, it is not important that Melek is Turkish, that's to say, this doesn't swing the balance. Daniel falls in love with a woman who has a sun image on, not with a Turkish woman". Blumentrath added that crossing both national borders and cultural borders wasn't clear.

Another third generation Turkish director Yasemin Şamdereli met the viewers with *Wilkommen in Deutschland (Welcome to Deutschland)* in Berlin Film Fest in 2011 when the 50th Anniversary of Migration from Turkey to Germany was celebrated, and she resonated with the audience. This movie narrates the 45-year story of Hüseyin (Fahri Yardım) with his family, who leaves his village in Turkey in order to work in Germany and brings his family to Germany later. In this movie which humorously narrates the integration problems of his family at the first phase of their settlement in Germany, Hüseyin takes his family to Turkey in order to have a vacation and show them the house that he has just bought. In this movie which doesn't focus on the clichés but on the characters and their lives, the gap between the generations of Turkey-rooted women, and the transformation of Turkey-rooted women from past to present are conveyed on to the silver screen in an undramatic, realistic and witty way. In the movie in which we see border-crossings again, Canan, the third generation member of the Turkey-rooted immigrants, is a modern and young woman who lives in Germany and has a British boyfriend.

Making an interview with the Time Out Istanbul magazine about the movie which flouts the taboos by narrating the change and transformation of Turkish women in an undramatic way, Şamdereli (2011) utters:

> (...) I was asked why I made a comedy film about a Turkish family, why the movie was so positive and didn't include any dark points. There was a general view that I should focus on certain problems because I am Turkish and a woman. And as a reply, I asked why the Germans aren't asked why they don't make a movie about the problems

of their own society; why they are free to make a movie about any topic they wish; and why I was expected to be 'politically correct'.

This comedy movie is a shot in the arm without any negativity about Turks in Germany, honor killings, etc. It depicts real lives and real people. It doesn't offer any solution or suggestion, doesn't give advice. It shows lifelines of each figure (Sadigh, 2011).

Der Schöne Tag (A Fine Day), the last movie of Berlin trilogy of Thomas Arslan, is a 2000 movie which narrates a day of a Turkey-rooted the woman, Deniz (Serpil Turan). Deniz is a young actress, who makes dubbing at an acting agency. In the movie, the leading character who has emotional problems with her boyfriend and relations questions her life in the axis of love, happiness and emotions. Throughout this whole survival struggle, Deniz is a self-confident, modern, city-dweller woman. Her origin counts for nothing.

This stereotype-breaking movie depicts Deniz as someone searching for happiness, not an identity. It is clear that Thomas Arslan got rid of and reacted to narrating same topics, and kept away from the documentarian approach. Arslan states that Turks lead a normal life in Berlin. He only wants to show a young and self-confident Turkish woman instead of showing Turkey-rooted woman with a head-scarf like other movies. Deniz just wants to make her own way and she is far away from an identity crisis (Wever, 2000).

Deniz is not a victimized woman this time, but a self-confident person. She is not passive and she can control her destiny with the intuitive power. The audience didn't ask any question about the identity, because it isn't about a woman with an identity problem. Thomas Arslan doesn't want to show or solve a conflict between any two cultures. Primarily, he wants to unravel what's unknown or exotic in Deniz, and to approach her as an independent person. The director states that the homeland perception is not an issue that is relevant to whether a person is Turkish or German, but a question coming from outside. What is important for Deniz is not her origin, but her daily problems. (Reinhardt, 2001):

Methodology

Within this study, in-depth interview is applied as a method, along with literature review and film analysis. Apart from the topics which were aimed to be analysed through movie analysis and literature reviews, interviews were made with 24 Turkey-rooted women, who were born, raised or spent most of their lives in Germany due to the work-related issues of their families, in order to enable the real individuals of the topic to express themselves freely. Thus, it was aimed to observe parallelism between the opinions put forward through literature review and the real life practices. This study applied in-depth analysis and thematic

analysis of Keyton as qualitative methods for data gathering and analysis. The most important characteristics of Keyton's thematic analysis is that it enables the grasp and categorization of the views of the participants about the most sensitive topics within their daily communication practices (Akiner, Waldnerova, Retfalvi, 2012:942). Identity formations of Turkey-rooted women in Germany, their individual identity perceptions, and their perceptions about their representations in literature and media were evaluated in the context of their transnational and hybrid identity approaches in this study. The participants felt comfort while discussing the sensitive topics in the atmosphere of face-to-face conversation. Half-structured discussions were made in a comfortable and informal atmosphere, so most of the information shared came into light in the natural course of the conversation. Each interview lasted 20 to 40 minutes. All of the conversations were recorded digitally; and although it was offered to the participants to use a nickname in order to protect the privacy of their identities, they preferred to use their real names. The questions related to Turkey-rooted women were prepared regarding their demographic information (Table 1). The average age of the Turkey-rooted women living in Germany and participating in the in-depth interview is 29, 21 (range=19-69). Their nationalities are: Turkish (n=7:% 29,16), and German (n= 17:70,83).

Table 1. Demographic Features of Participants

Name	Age	Nationalities	Education
Sema	20	German	Under Graduate
Figen	33	German	Master of Arts
Hürdem	38	German	Bachelor of Arts
Etka	22	German	Under Graduate
Zeynep	22	German	Under Graduate
Dilek	30	German	Under Graduate
Gönül	23	Turkish	Under Graduate
Zeliha	44	Turkish	Under Graduate
Elif	21	German	Under Graduate
Betül	21	Turkish	Under Graduate
Cansu	27	German	Master of Arts
Gizem	30	German	PhD Student
Sibel	22	German	Under Graduate
Zeynep Akçay	22	German	Under Graduate
Ergül	69	Turkish	Primary School
Hülya	25	German	Associate Degree
Hatice	32	German	High-school
Arzu	33	German	Associate Degree
Deniz	34	German	Master of Arts
Janna	29	German	Master of Arts
Tülay	32	Turkish	Secondary School
Ziynet	40	Turkish	Associate Degree
Fatima	55	Turkish	Primary School
Melissa	19	German	High-school Student

In-depth Interviews and Analysis

Feeling Oneself Turkish

Seven out of 24 in-depth interviewees in total stated that they feel themselves Turkish. The average age of the participants who feel themselves Turkish is 31,42. 3 out of these 7 interviewees who were asked whether they can identify themselves with a transnational identity explained that they oriented themselves with the culture in which they grew up, and they gained a transnational identity because they are a part of the current system and frequently shuttle between countries. They consider themselves as transnational people restricted because of the differences between the two cultures. Another 3 interviewees regard themselves as only Turkish. Another finding related to this theme is that the participants who feel themselves Turkish use the pronoun "we" when they talk about Turks. When talking about Germans, they preferred to call them "they" or "the Germans". The distinction between "we" and "they" used in the conversations is corroborative for the definitions of holistic culture notion (Kaya, 2000) mentioned in the previous sections.

As Sema (20), university student, German citizen and third generation states:

"Germans still sees us as immigrants, not as Germans; or, even when they do, they see us as the other whose parents are from another culture. If Germans don't see me as a German, then I can't see myself here as a German."

Or Hülya (25), German citizen and third Generation:

"I rather feel myself Turkish, because the education and lifestyle which my family gave to me is relevant to the Turkish culture, and we have lots of Turkish around. In our social lives, we attend the Turkish parties and speak Turkish. Moreover, we frequently go to Turkey. As I dote on my family and love them so much, my identity has been shaped more by the Turkish culture."

And Ziynet (40), secondary school graduate, vocational competence certificate and job holder, Turkish citizen and second generation:

"I see myself as a Turk. That's why I didn't acquire German citizenship. For years, I have never watched any German TV since Turkish channels started to be broadcast via satellite. I don't even know what is on German TVs. Berlin is already called as Little Istanbul. Here is Berlin, and like in Turkey, Turks are everywhere, we never feel out of things as the Turks of Berlin."

Feeling Oneself German

Two out of 24 interviewees in total stated that they feel themselves German. The average age of the interviewees is 26. As explained by these interviewees, the reason why they see themselves as German is that they don't have any common value to express themselves with the Turkish culture. They don't identify themselves with a transnational identity as they don't include a second culture to their identities and they act in a certain manner that they feel themselves German. The conspicuous finding here is that unlike the women who identify themselves with a Turkish identity, the ones who feel themselves German don't make any implication of "we" about the society to which they feel they belong.

Arzu (33), vocational degree and job holder, German citizen and third generation:

"I feel myself German. I was raised in respect to the German culture; discipline is, for me, to arrive somewhere on time, to do something right as it requires. So, I can say I'm rather German. The approach of Turks when doing something and saying 'Forget it, let be, all right for now' are not meant for me."

Melisa (19), high school student, German citizen and third generation

"I speak German better than Turkish. Here I have my friends, all of my families and my whole life. I can't imagine myself within the Turkish culture or while living in Turkey. I'd feel myself rather a foreigner there."

Identifying Oneself with a Transnational Identity Rather Than a Turkish or German Nationalist Identity

Eleven out of 24 in-depth interviewees in total stated that they identify themselves with a transnational identity. In this theme covering the replies of the majority, the numerousness of the statements supporting the syncretic culture notion mentioned in the previous sections draws attention. This notion sets forth that culture can't be confined within local borders, and it occurs within a composition process happening beyond these borders. It asserts that the cultural identity emerges as a result of constant change within a dynamic process. The experts adopting the syncretic culture notion also approve the approach of Fredrik Barth about ethnicity. The Norwegian anthropologist F. Barth puts forth that ethnicity is not a substantial phenomenon existing from the beginning, but a design which emerges depending upon the social conditions within time (Kaya, 2000, p.28-29).

While advances in technological areas like transportation and telecommunication have enhanced information and people's mobility significantly, they have started to undermine the understanding that all of social and cultural entirety is restricted and fixed to only one place. In the era of globalisation, cultural values of individuals and the different cultural, social

groups are open to different exposures every day, and they are constantly changing; that's to say, the dependence of each individual on other individuals, social groups and societies is the matter. Primarily the immigration-receiving countries don't display any structures like "national homogeneity" or "mono-culturalism". Today, people with their transnational lives have life practices ranging from very different geographical lands to quite diverse social areas. For instance, with the "transnational immigrant" term, the transborder life of a person who was born in Turkey, raised and educated in Germany, and then employed in England gains importance. In addition, this person can maintain his/her relations with his/her friends and relatives living in these or other countries through mutual visits, communication facilities and the web, and the perspective of that person about the future is not restricted to one geographical space (Uçar İlbuğa, 2010, p.170-180). One important observation and finding about the women who gave replies related to this theme and identified themselves with transnational identities is that they didn't refer to Turks or Germans as "we" and "they". Instead of using "we" and "they", the interviewees used "Germans" or "Turks", and they didn't use a certain "other" expression unlike the ones who identified themselves with a single identity.

While Popp emphasizes the fact that people cannot be reduced to belonging to one single direction, a pure religious doctrine or nationalism, and this reduction can be dangerous, he sees like identity as a dynamic category, and concretises the ownership of a multicultural identity by quoting from writer Amin Maalouf who was born in Lebanon and lives in France. Maalouf is asked everywhere he goes whether he feels himself Lebanese or French, and the writer answers this question by saying "both this and that"; this is because what determines his identity for the writer is that he moves across two countries, two or three languages and many cultural norm borders (as cited in Uçar İlbuğa, 2010, p. 170).

The "third space" concept was first put forward by Homi Bhabha in 1994. Bhabha states that global and national cultures constitute a third space and open up a cultural area by creating unsynchronized temporariness. In the matter of the "third space", Bhabha ascertained deepness in a metaphoric space where cultures meet, and carried out studies in order to expand this. In this space the colonist authority is dominant, and new hybrid identities are created as well (Bhabha, 1994, p. 218).

Hatice (32), high school graduate, German citizen and third generation

"I see myself as neither Turkish nor German. I have chosen a third way. I see myself as "human", and prefer to live with people who can tolerate differences and find the balance in their life. And these people can belong to any society. For me, change is a good thing. I can identify myself with all kinds of construction which break with

clichés and stereotypes because clichés and stereotypes lead to one single point of view. However, a transnational view embraces each part of society. That's to say, the former one is unidirectional; the latter one is multidirectional. My preference is slanted towards openness and plurality."

Etka (22), university student, German citizen and third generation:

"I don't think that my personality develops out of a certain nation. An individual personality peculiar to me developed since I grew up between the two cultures, and it isn't a personality which includes only two nations (Turkish and German). I have so many friends from different nations in Germany that it would be nonsense to attribute myself to specific nations. So I think that my personality is transnational, and it has developed through my experiences and world-view."

Zeynep (22), university student, German citizen and third generation

"I can identify myself with both cultures. For me, people growing up in the two cultures generally acquire the identities of the two cultures. There are always exceptions, but I have two identities inside. That is also because there are Germans and Turks around me on an equal basis. So I got accustomed to being bicultural at young ages, I know how to behave in different groups and situations. As I grew up in the two cultures and languages, I have an identity reproducing from this mixture, and this is reflected outwards in any way."

Regarding ownership of transnational/hybrid identity as an advantage/richness

Modern literature related to the transnational and hybrid identity concepts dignify the subjects with these identities. Especially, Stuart Hall's (1991) statements about diasporic subjectivity and cultural hybridism is frequently mentioned in the modern literature,

(...) the diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. (p.401-402)

Hall attributes a different meaning to this cultural composition, the state of hybridism which is not traditionally dignified; he dignifies it, finds a strong creativity in it since hybridism offers the opportunity to create a new, dynamic and mixed culture, saying (Hall, 1991, p.403): "What [ever] is creatively emergent in the modern arts will find that it has something to do with the languages of the margin".

Turkish youngsters draw up their own strategies in order to overcome the problems like discrimination, racism, and structural exclusion along with the impacts of globalisation. They develop an identity which is composed of the two cultures to which they are constantly exposed. This condition which we can define as diasporic consciousness is in fact a design arising from the process of interaction between the global and the local, the past and the

future, "here" and "there". This takes us to the presence of a sort of "double consciousness" phenomenon (Kaya, 2000, p.66).

The questions posed in the scope of this theme enable us to learn from real actors of the Turkish diaspora in Germany whether their transnational/hybrid identity perceptions turn back to them as advantages or richness.

Gönül (23), vocational education student, Turkish citizen and third generation:

"I have two cultures. I can transfer this to my children in the future. I can give them both the Turkish culture that I acquired from my family and the German culture that I acquired from outside. I can tell them how the Germans eat, how they go to the church and worship; I can tell them all. I can see another advantage of this bicultural life when my relatives in Turkey come to Germany. When they come here, the German culture seems bizarre to them. They are alien and reactive to their eating habits, behaviours and so on. And that's when I realise how much I am used to everything."

Etka (22), university student, German citizen and third generation:

"I don't feel myself under pressure in any way, and I don't think that whatever I do and think should belong to a specific side. This makes me free."

Zeynep (22), university student, German citizen and third generation:

"It is an important privilege to know the two cultures and languages. The good sides of being a Turk: Turkey is a sophisticated country which has a wonderful city like Istanbul, a long history and a rich culture. Moreover, its citizens are warm and hospitable. And the good side of being a German is that you have one more language and culture, you are a citizen of European Union so that you have lots of privileges, the ease of travelling, that you can pass to different countries easily thanks to its geographical location in Europe so that you can feel more free."

The Disadvantages of a Bicultural Life

This theme was added to other themes as a result of the answers to the questions posed in order to approach to the study from different perspectives. "Biased welcoming" and "being insufficient to speak Turkish" are the most disadvantageous factors according to the interviewees.

Hürdem (38), graduate of Acting Academy, German citizen and second generation:

"I came across the disadvantages more in my work life. I was asked to act in the role which reflects that my ethnicity is Turkish; however, since I am different from a typical Turkish brunette image in appearance, I couldn't take many roles in this category. I can never know whether this was good or bad luck for me (Laughs). My ex-husband was a German director. Hark Bohm – the director of the Yasemin movie about a domestic tragedy of a Turkish girl in Germany – told me that I could portray the elder-sister role in case the actress portraying Yasemin had a fair complexion, but Yasemin was portrayed by a brunette actress Ayşe Romey."

Dilek (30), university student, German Citizen and third generation:

"I experienced the disadvantages when I was so young and at puberty. We were wearing our costumes together with our girl and boyfriends for a theatrical play at school. I had my pants on, but I had to wear skirts. Then I wore skirts over pants, and took off my pants. Just after that, one of my German friends came next to me and said "You're a Turk to the core". While I had never thought or realized that I was different, I realized that after my friend said so. This continued so throughout all my school years. I always felt that I was different just after others said so. There were times when I regarded being a Turkey-rooted woman as a problem at my puberty. While desiring to live the host culture, I was stuck between the two since I couldn't free myself from the one at home. But, I already overcame them."

Figen (33), graduate of Master's Degree, administrative secretary and second generation:

"I haven't experienced a direct exclusion, but that was always indirect, and I comprehended this heart-breaking situation after years. At primary school, I was the only foreign student and I was always out of the groups of other children. I made friendships with other excluded ones like a plump or red-haired girl. I hadn't understood that at that time, but I realised this stinging reality after such a long time."

Evolution of Turkey-Rooted Women in German within the Historical Process

The main objective of this article is to study the change of Turkey-rooted women image in the German cinema from past to present. Thus, it was aimed in the questions forming this theme to learn the perceptions of primarily real life actors about the change/development of Turkey-rooted women in Germany, not in German cinema, and so to study the parallelism between their real life practices and theatrical representations. The important finding here is that all of the 24 interviewees think that "Turkish women have gone through change/development".

The questions forming this theme were added after the first 3 interviews, when the interviewees intensively mentioned about Turkey-rooted women in the axis of the German media in their answers. With the influences of the accessibility of media channels (TV, radio, and newspaper), their cheapness and easiness in respect to cinema, it was observed that there was a special sensitivity towards media representations among the interviewees. All of the interviewees stated that the representations of Turkey-rooted women in German media are biased; this media intensively use clichés, and they feel discomfort with that.

Uçar Ilbuğa (2006) makes her statements about the media's attitude underlying this discomfort,

(...) especially in some printed and visual German media, representations of negative and problematic immigrants come to the fore, and it is seen that these negative

representations of immigrants improve the judgment that the immigrants are a problem for the society. The immigrant women are depicted in the media as oppressed groups who need protection and can't stand on their own legs. Moreover, the problems of the immigrants in the process of integration are generally evaluated through their ethnic and cultural conditions in the media. The immigrants are approached by the German media not as an individual, but through generalisations in terms of their national, religious and cultural conditions. Media drew its attention to Islamist-rooted immigrants after the terrorist attack on September 11th, 2001; in this sense, especially Turkey-rooted women were identified with hijab, and for a long time, they remained on the agenda of the media which implied that they were oppressed under the dominance of Muslim men. (p.56)

Etka (22), university student, German citizen and third generation:

"Turkish women learned to be independent, and most importantly, they can decide by themselves what kind of life they want to lead. For example, today, many Turkish girls/women can make a selection between founding a family and building a career. I think that Turkish women have gone beyond certain borders. For example, either doing a career and being devout, or founding a family and working… These were shown as contrast selections until a short time ago. However, it is necessary to consider the negative points. For instance, there are many Turkish women who are afraid of change and a 'European' life, and label these as 'bad' directly and without questioning. Or reversely, the ones who are ashamed of being a Turk, feeling humiliated and saying 'I am one of you'.

Ziynet (40), secondary school graduate, vocational certificate holder, Turkish citizen and second generation:

"In my opinion, there is a very big development. From now on, women are free. My parents are the first generation immigrants, and when they first came to Germany, they were so desperate. Of course, women didn't stand in the same place; everything has changed. People developed themselves. There is no difference between men and women anymore, even women are stronger now. Especially foreign women are very strong. It is impossible not to see that many things are done by women entrepreneurs when we go to the tax administration. Women are always stronger than men; maybe they are physically weaker, but mentally stronger."

Janna (29), graduate of Master's Degree and third generation:

"Turkish women, of course, have developed within time. Just like German women… There are certainly women who live in a traditional way and think that a mother who treasures her family rather than her career should sit at home. However, this is not an unworthy situation to be condemned; because this is a woman's personal decision, and it doesn't mean that these women don't esteem information, or they are undeveloped."

The Negative/Partial Representation of Turkey-rooted Women by the German Media

The questions forming this theme were added after first 3 interviews, when the interviewees intensively mentioned about Turkey-rooted women in the axis of German Media

in their answers. With the influences of the accessibility of media channels (TV, radio, and newspaper), their cheapness and easiness in respect to cinema, it was observed that there was a special sensitivity towards media representations among the interviewees. All of the interviewees stated that the representations of Turkey-rooted women in German media are biased, this media intensively use clichés, and they feel discomfort with that.

Etka (22), university student, German citizen and third generation:

"What I get from the German media at first is that they imply that Turkish women need help. For example, a Turkish woman, who can't resist to family oppression, is obliged to cover her head, is oppressed in her own culture, is beaten by her husband and father, and most importantly, who can't lead a German-style life although she desires it, or who tries to live such a life secretly. In short: It serves the image that only when a Turkish woman lives like a German, does she become a good Turkish woman."

Figen (33), graduate of Master's Degree, German citizen and second generation:

"It changes depending on the news content in the media, but generally there are biased representations. Modern Turkish women aren't represented. We see them as women who are not modern and integrated to the culture. Here the cliché is the matter. Media put ahead the image of the immigrants – who couldn't integrate – for news-worthiness, because it is not news-worthy to report the lives of the immigrants who live no different than an integrated German. Modern, intellectual, and free-living Turkish women like me are portrayed neither in cinema nor in the media. We need this."

Janna (29), graduate of Master's Degree and third generation:

"I think it is definitely so. I can exemplify it like that. One of the last movies in the German cinema, Gegen Die Wand, depicts Turkish women as liberalised. But in the TV serials like Türkisch für Anfägner, we still see Turkish women by clichés. Just like the Turkish image in Germans' minds… I think that it is a sided-representation of the development of Turkish women in the media."

The Turkey-rooted women were represented in the German cinema in the 1970s and the 1980s in a victimised and passivated way.

Turkey-rooted women among the immigrants marginalized by the German society in the process of immigration went through double marginalization. Their voices which couldn't be recognized within their so-called oppressive and patriarchal cultures were announced to the world on behalf of other Turkey-rooted immigrant women in Germany. The double-faced stories about freedom, independence and westernization about these highly sensitive topics were expected to be internalised (Göktürk, 2000, p. 66).

The image of the passive, quiescent, silent victim – "guest worker" (Turkish) – for whom it was decided that the best thing to do is to turn back to the homeland (although they

couldn't do that) lives on biases and stereotypes as much as it depends on the social reality. Along with fictions like novels and movies; many documentaries and interviews which report humanist concerns internalises this stereotypical point of view without realising it (Yaren, 2008, p. 123).

In the literature, the highly-criticised representations of the Turkey-rooted women in the first period of the German cinema bring to minds the question "to which side between salt realities and stereotypes these are closer". The image of the passive, quiescent, silent victim – "guest worker" (Turkish) – for whom it was decided that the best thing to do is to turn back to homeland (although they couldn't do that) lives on biases and stereotypes as much as it depends on the social reality (Yaren, 2008, p.126). The real actors of the process were asked for their opinions about the extent of the relations of the representations in those years with the real subjects.

Hürdem (38), graduate of Acting Academy, German citizen and second generation:

"A different history and culture emerged here after the Turks came to Germany with the status of worker. Of course, this was reflected onto the points of view of the German society and consequently those of the directors. When it comes to Turks in the cinema, the only thing on their minds is the Turk from the working class they know here. I realised that when I performed various works in the field of theatre and cinema in France, because I had the chance of only performing my art without encountering any bias. I was always asked for speaking German in accent for the roles portraying Turkey-rooted women. I had to do this although my German is better than my Turkish, and I don't speak in accent. Turkey-rooted directors have also suffered from that in this sense. They were also expected to handle the profile of a problematic immigrant. They were forced to treat these subjects in order to raise funds for their productions. While a German director could treat any subject they wished in the 1980s, the Turkish ones were restricted to such subjects."

Tülay (32), secondary school graduate, German citizen and third generation:

"That's a difficult question for me to answer. I don't want to generalise, but I believe that many didn't have the right to say something because they didn't have any other chance in those years. They were dependent on men. I don't find this representation so odd."

Janna (29), graduate of Master's Degree and third generation:

"Of course, there were passive women those days. All in all, they came to a new country, and they were weak. I think these representations are partially correct because I believe that there were also free women back then."

The Representation of Turkey-rooted Women in German Cinema with Transnational Identities in the 1990s and the 2000s

This theme was formed in order to learn the opinions of the interviewees about the reflections which are the representations of their own ethnic roots. The interviewees who aren't interested in cinema didn't prefer to talk about this topic, and stated that they don't have any idea. The number of those interviewees is 15. The rest stated that the representations of Turkey-rooted women have developed positively and have gained a qualification of trans-nationalization.

While the first examples of the Turkish-German cinema were about the separatist relations and the stories with the cliché stuck between two worlds, the Turkish-German film producers who were the guest worker's next generation born and raised in Germany led their ways from offending social dramas to a cinema which celebrates the pleasure of hybridism (Berghahn, 2009, p. 6).

The youngsters' identification processes, sufferings, different orientations, rootlessness, belonging nowhere, omnipresence, gender roles, existence problems, love affairs, daily lives, expectations, and dreams are beyond being stuck and are shaped in the context of their multicultural, multilingual, and transnational lives; the immigrants are the groups who live in Germany and have links with Turkey with their heterogeneous and multi-layered structures rather than being a homogeneous group (Uçar Ilbuğa, 2012, p. 5).

Gönül (23), vocational education student, Turkish citizen and third generation:

"In the past, Turkey-rooted women were depicted with long dresses and hijabs. Now, they are more modern in appearance, they have make-ups on, and they don't have hijabs. Also there are many movies which depict that women are already more superior than men in the sense of vocational career and economic freedom. We also see that in TV serials. Now, representations of Turkey-rooted women are modern and strong."

Zeliha (44), vocational diploma holder, Turkish citizen and third generation:

"Now, there are more realistic representations. This can arise from the fact that the directors of the new movement come from immigrant-rooted lives, and that they have experienced those lives."

Janna (29), graduate of Master's Degree and third generation:

"In my opinion, this depends upon whether the director is Turkey-rooted or not. The Turkish directors use more modern and free representations, and struggle for that. However, the German directors treat this subject rather with the clichés."

Conclusion

Living two cultures together enriched Turkey-rooted women within historical process and brought qualifications regarding the trans-nationalism and hybridism.

The assumption at the beginning of the study that the representations of Turkey-rooted women in the German cinema from past to present have gained the qualification of transnationalism and hybridism was confirmed through the literature review, the accompanying movie analyses, and the in-depth interviews.

Turkey-rooted women who are included in the sample of the research are observed to be are glad with the transnational representations in the cinema.

However, some German media institutions, critics, and authoritarian circles direct negative criticisms about the display of the women who are not worth of being talked about their non-cliché, unproblematic history of immigration. From this perspective, the Turkey-rooted woman is still a creature who is in need of help and should be approached with the sense of social mission. In the Berlin Film Fest at which the premiere of the 2000 *A Fine Day* movie was made, the director of the movie Thomas Arslan was criticised in the interview after the premiere for not treating the social problems of Turkey-rooted women in a familiar way, and Deniz Göktürk said about this (Hamm-Ehsani, 2005, p.75): "The critics haven't realised that young and Turkish women with a history of immigration have left a significant impression on today's Germany, and that the directors present new representations."

Another finding that wasn't designated as a research question in the beginning of the study but came into light after the research was that the German media represent Turkey-rooted women with negative and old stereotypes. It was observed that all the interviewees complain about the German media's use of stereotyped representations of Turkey-rooted women and the negative influence of the media news on the perceptions of German society about Turkey-rooted women.

Janna (29) stated,

(...) I think it is definitely so. I can exemplify it like that. One of the last movies in German Cinema, Gegen Die Wand, depicts Turkish women as liberalised. But in the TV serials like Türkisch für Anfägner, we still see Turkish women by clichés. Just like the Turkish image in Germans' minds… I think that it is a sided-representation of the development of Turkish women in the media.

There were so many old-fashioned, stereotyped and negative immigrant representatives on German television channels. "Fremde Kulturen im Fernsehen / Foreign Cultures on TV" research in 1995 is an important example for this issue (Eckhardt and Horn,

1995, p.2-11). According to another research in 2005, there was no notable change in the findings of Eckhardt and Horn (Miller, 2005, p.100).

The fact that the representations in the cinema have changed and are still being used with stereotypes can arise from the fact that cinema sources and control mechanisms are more autonomous than the media. Moreover, the representations can be characterized as more realistic due to the fact that the hybrid identities are narrated by Turkey-rooted movie-makers in the German cinema and those movie-makers are closely acquainted with the life practices of these identities. In further researches, the representations of Turkey-rooted women in both these areas can be compared, and the differences and their reasons can be researched.

In the Federal Germany, in which the dual citizenship proposal has gone through the Assembly, cinema has already brought the identities together with the "double consciousness", has hybridized them and has taken them beyond borders. In this sense, it can be observed that the media and political developments are slower than the cinema.

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