

HOW SHOULD A BODY MOVE: TURKISH GERMAN CLAIMS TO RECOGNITION  
IN ARCHITECTURE, FILM AND LITERATURE

by

PETRA LANDFESTER

B.A., University of Northern Colorado, 2001

M.A., Colorado State University, 2003

A thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Comparative Literature Graduate Program

2012

This thesis entitled:  
How Should a Body Move: Turkish German Claims to Recognition in Architecture,  
Film and Literature  
written by Petra Landfester  
has been approved by the Comparative Literature Graduate Program

---

Beverly M. Weber

---

Jill Heydt-Stevenson

Date\_\_\_\_\_

The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we  
Find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards  
Of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

Landfester, Petra (Ph.D., Comparative Literature)

How Should a Body Move: Turkish German Claims to Recognition in Architecture,  
Film and Literature

Thesis directed by Assistant Professor Beverly M. Weber

The decades-long struggle to define German multicultural society takes place in relationship to state and popular assumptions about the nature of German and Western secularism. Expressions of this struggle include the “mosque debate,” in which opponents sought to prevent new mosques in Germany, and discussions about offering Islam instruction in German schools along with Catholic and Protestant lessons. This dissertation addresses the role of the physical body in the recognition, or misrecognition, of “Others” as members of society. By utilizing theories of recognition as a starting point, it analyzes the embodied way in which people claim or grant recognition in a changing, multicultural Germany.

Architecture presents a playing field that reveals the complexity of the problems a multicultural society faces in its “mosque debate,” especially when the embodied recognition of Muslims that is needed for positive identity formation is denied. The realms of film and literature offer niches for success for Turkish German artists like Fatih Akin and Emine Sevgi Özdamar, allowing them to develop feelings of belonging through claims to recognition in local, national, and transnational communities. At the same time, funding structures and market pressures lead to a potential trap for artists of Turkish heritage, rewarding a limited focus on immigrant themes, as addressed by writers Hatice Akyün and Lale Akgün. This project, by drawing on theories of recognition to analyze the parameters within which a multicultural society develops

niches for embodied recognition, offers new vocabulary for addressing the conditions immigrants face in Germany today. Literature, film, and architecture offer niches in which parity of participation is fought for and partially achieved, and offer opportunities for the development of self-esteem that will ultimately lead to an improved feeling of belonging.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my loving and supportive husband, David and to our strong  
and beautiful children, Liam and Lena

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to the people without whom this project never would have been finished: especially Beverly M. Weber who supported and encouraged me every step of the way, her guidance to help me focus on the main themes and her flexibility and time allotted to my dissertation despite my many challenges along the way. Also, many thanks goes to Jill Heydt-Stevenson for her aid in organizing my project and getting me on the right track. Equally important, I want to thank my beloved husband, David, who encouraged me to keep going during many hours of despair. Finally, to Emily for her sharp eye and comments and to Elka's cooking.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction. How Should a Body Move: Turkish German Claims to Recognition in Architecture, Film and Literature.....	1
II. Theories of “Multiculturalism” and Recognition.....	13
III. Changes in the Physical Landscape: Mosques, Architecture, and Threatening Bodies.....	40
IV. The Films of Fatih Akin: The Fast Track to Recognition after the <i>Wende</i> .....	86
V. From Fairytale to Hot Sauce: How Turkish German Writers Have Carved Out a Niche for Recognition.....	137
VI. Conclusion .....	198
Bibliography .....	204

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ali	Akyün, Hatice. Ali zum Dessert (2008).
BGD	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn (1998).
Bridge	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. The Bridge of the Golden Horn. Trans. Martin Chalmers (2007).
Courtyard	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. Courtyard in the Mirror. Trans. Leslie A. Adelson (2005).
Hans	Akyün, Hatice. Einmal Hans mit Scharfer Soße (2007).
Hof	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. Der Hof im Spiegel (2001).
MZ	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. Mutterzunge (1998).
MT	Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. Mother Tongue. Trans. Thomas Craig (1994).
Semra	Akgün, Lale. Tante Semra im Leberkäseland (2008).



## I. INTRODUCTION. HOW SHOULD A BODY MOVE: TURKISH GERMAN CLAIMS TO RECOGNITION IN ARCHITECTURE, FILM AND LITERATURE

In 2001, the Independent Commission on Migration to Germany published “Structuring Immigration – Fostering Integration,” a report that demonstrates a clear change in the German government’s view on immigration. In the preface, Germany is described as “a de facto country of immigrants.” For many decades prior, the government had insisted that Germany was *not* a country of immigration, a premise reflected in legislation that prevented many immigrants, as well as their children and grandchildren, from obtaining recognition from the federal government as German citizens (“Structuring Immigration” 13; Martin 189). Restrictive citizenship laws in Germany, based on the notion of *jus sanguinis* (“the law of blood”), limited citizenship to children born to people with a blood connection to Germans and excluded children born on German territory without such a connection (“law of territory,” or *jus soli*) (Ingram and Triadafilopoulos, “Rights, Norms, and Politics” 370; Kaya and Kayaoğlu “Is National Citizenship?”). However, with a new citizenship law that went into effect in 2000, children of immigrants who legally permanently reside in Germany finally received an option for this level of recognition. This change in the citizenship law, combined with the initiative by the German Federal Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily, to establish the Independent Commission on Migration in 2000, represent attempts to recognize Germany’s multicultural reality.

Nevertheless, debates continue about the meaning of a multicultural society, whether at the levels of governmental institutions, artistic culture, or public media.

Since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century these debates have particularly emphasized a German identity as a secular nation. Expressions of this struggle include the “mosque debate,” in which opponents have tried to interfere with permissions to erect new mosques, and the discussion about offering Islam instruction in German schools along with already existing Catholic and Protestant lessons. Many challenges face the integration of Muslim immigrant populations in particular into Western multicultural societies. However, scholarship has rarely addressed the role of the physical body in the recognition, or misrecognition, of “Others” as members of society. Yet, theories of recognition provide a valuable starting point in analyzing the embodied way in which people claim or grant recognition in a changing, multicultural Germany.

This dissertation addresses the following questions: how do theories of recognition inform an understanding of just participation in society? How might they inform our understanding of embodied participation in a multicultural Germany? In what ways do members of the Turkish German minority claim and achieve recognition? In order to investigate these questions, I focus on the twenty-first century changes in the conditions and attempts to integrate into mainstream society. In particular I evaluate the way forms of culture such as architecture, film, and literature serve as terrains on which immigrants make embodied claims to recognition. I base this investigation on the notion that social justice movements, such as the women’s movement, the human rights movement, and the queer rights movement, have challenged previously established understandings about class, gender, race, nation, economy, and equality. The recognition of immigrants as political and cultural citizens poses another test to

established understandings about nation, gender, and race.

Germany represents itself as a country in which foreign visitors, immigrants and their families are welcome. The government, as well as businesses, particularly smaller ones, try to entice highly-skilled foreign workers in engineering fields to seek employment in Germany (“Zuwanderungsmisere;” “Structuring Immigration”), while marketing campaigns around high profile events such as the soccer World Cup have focused on a welcoming Germany open to the diversity of the world. This picture of a nation that has overcome its struggles with national identity after the *Wende* and is eager to integrate foreign nationals in a multicultural setting is alluring. Yet, recent discussions about a “failed multiculturalism” in Germany have been equally prevalent. On October 16, 2010, at a meeting of young fellow Christian Democrats (CDU), Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, declared that allowing people of different cultural backgrounds to live side by side without integrating had not worked in a country that is home to some four million Muslims: “This [multicultural] approach has failed, utterly failed” (“Integrations-Debatte”). Merkel’s most important points of concern here were that expectations for immigrant students had not been high enough and specifically that their lack of language skills have led to poor opportunities in the labor market. Furthermore, the heated debate over permissions for the building of mosques in the mid 2000s in Germany is an indicator of the ongoing politics of “Othering” and the enduring struggles for recognition by people with a migration background, particularly when they are Muslim.

This struggle is especially true for members of the Turkish German community,

which represents the largest group of people with immigration heritage<sup>1</sup> in Germany since the 1970s (Herbert 290; Chin 55). Although a thorough analysis of Germany's recent migrant past would go beyond the scope of this investigation, I would like to highlight some key points of this history. 7.1 million immigrants lived in Germany in 2009, which was 8.8 percent of the population ("Migration and Migrant Population Statistics"). According to a study by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees about 4 million Muslims with a migration background, or 5 percent of the total population, lived in Germany in 2008 ("Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland"). Many of these immigrants, their parents, or grandparents entered West Germany in the 1950s as guest workers from southern European and northern African countries to fill vacant labor positions. East Germany also hired many workers, but from Socialist and Communist countries. Although some of those workers remained in East Germany, many were forced to return after a set amount of years due to a much more restrictive return policy (Elsner and Elsner 15-17, 156, 194). West Germany allowed the renewal of many working contracts, which was desirable to employers because they would not have to train new workers. Only 12% of the early immigrants returned to their countries of origin (Chin 52). With the perceived oil crisis in the 1970s, Germany abandoned labor recruitment and adopted a family reunion policy. Because this policy hindered reentry into Germany, unexpectedly, many immigrants settled permanently (Şen and Aydın 12-14).

<sup>1</sup> The somewhat awkward phrase "mit Migrationshintergrund" (literally: with a migration background) is a standard phrase in public and academic discussions.

## Recognizing “Immigrant”<sup>2</sup> Citizens

To evaluate how these immigrants, their children, and grandchildren have integrated into mainstream German society, I will draw on theories of recognition. Theories of recognition are more commonly used in the field of political science, but have also found their way into comparative literary studies, philosophy, and critical theory via writers such as Jay Bernstein, who writes on injustice, trauma, and torture. Bernstein notes that because “physical independence and autonomy are socially constituted, then they are secured only through the continuing recognition of individuals by their social peers” (“Suffering Injustice” 315). As Bernstein believes that justice is based upon physical integrity, which is secured by recognition from one’s peers, he also argues that “misrecognition ‘dis-incorporates’ the self, ruining physical and moral integrity at once” (“Suffering Injustice” 315). This incorporation of the physical body and the harm that can be done by suffering injustice are useful for examining the role of immigrants in contemporary European culture. In addition, Bernstein’s work on torture and dignity is also interesting as it interrogates the role of bodily integrity in the constitution of a theory of recognition. Bernstein, however, is more interested in the way in which the body reacts to prolonged torture. One can find evidence for these kinds of descriptions about the body in texts such as Jean Améry’s account of his torture by the Nazis (“Torture and Dignity”). Nevertheless, this is not the focus of my work in relationship to theories of recognition.

<sup>2</sup> In Germany today, even third and fourth generation immigrants from countries outside of Europe are often referred to as “immigrants,” or even “migrants.”

My interest lies more in the importance of the body in theories of recognition as a marker of “Othering,” which occurs by marking external features such as clothing (the hijab), or an unfamiliar way of moving, such as during prayer, as uncomfortably different. In their work, most theorists of recognition, such as Simon Thompson, Charles Taylor, Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser, rely heavily on abstract notions of subjects. These critics have been helpful for me, especially Honneth’s notion of self-esteem and Nancy Fraser’s concept of parity of participation, which I discuss in the next chapter. Although Honneth and Fraser provide a solid starting point for my work and help me to contextualize recognition, and although I begin with the former’s idea that the “threatened components of personality” for self-esteem are honor and dignity, I will expand this notion to include another essential component: an embodied participation in the community that requires a feeling of belonging.

My own line of inquiry thus draws from these critics, but takes a different direction. My dissertation addresses three primary topics. First, I explore the concrete ways that mosque members, film directors, and writers variously demand recognition from mainstream organizations such as the German Writers’ Guild, the film community, local and government entities, as well as from the general public. Second, I focus on how artists represent the human body in their works or how they advertise their own bodies in public forums. Third, I evaluate the ways in which the media, sales figures, prizes, federally sponsored websites show or refuse recognition to citizens and artists with a Turkish German background and how the media often portray these bodies with flat, unvarying stereotypes.

I am especially interested in the Turkish German community, because it is the largest group of immigrants, making up approximately 2.5 million of about a total of 4 million Muslims (“Number of Muslims in Germany.”) Female immigrants with a Turkish background are often characterized as “Muslim women,”<sup>3</sup> regardless of their relationship to religion. When men are shown, they are frequently portrayed as violent.<sup>4</sup> Gender aside, immigrants are habitually represented as a homogenous mass, a depiction which ignores any differences in heritage, class, educational status, fashions, or customs. Yet, Turkish Germans have also been able to achieve recognition in the areas of film and literature. Literature in particular has become a niche that has proven to welcome and acknowledge the achievements of Turkish German women.<sup>5</sup>

I further outline my theoretical framework in Chapter II. In the remaining chapters, I address embodied claims to recognition in the forms of culture that reward them, especially the fields of architecture, film, and literature. In each chapter, these theories of recognition allow me to take an interdisciplinary approach toward understanding the forms in which recognition is bestowed upon people with a migration background in Germany, as well as the ways in which someone might claim such recognition. The kind of recognition bestowed in the field of architecture differs,

<sup>3</sup> For further information on the depiction of Muslim women in the German press with a special investigation of the title pages of the renowned magazine *Der Spiegel* please see: Weber, *Headscarves and Miniskirts*.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, “*Hijab Martyrdom, Headscarf Debates*,” “Freedom from Violence, Freedom to Make the World;” Yasemin Yıldız, “Turkish Girls, Allah’s Daughters.”

<sup>5</sup> In German, German residents of Turkish heritage are generally referred to as German-Turkish, whereas American academics prefer the term Turkish German. I will adhere to the American version of this terminology, but will cite authors using their own terminology. Therefore, the reader might encounter both variations in this text.

however, from that of film and literature, because often a team is responsible; thus the media and the local public involved might recognize the architect, the mosque community, or the funding source, or the institution (sometimes foreign) which sponsors the building of the mosque – or all four. Nevertheless, these three areas – film, literature, and architecture – are similar enough to make them comparable. They have represented and continue to represent opportunities for Turkish Germans to successfully claim recognition as cultural and political citizens. In all three chapters I analyze these claims to recognition as embodied experiences and representations. For example, I will discuss how these media sometimes portray the bodies of Muslims and Turkish Germans so as to fit Orientalizing stereotypes, regardless of their religious practices, or, how writers and directors showcase familiar expectations of “the Orient” in order to either undermine stereotypes or to appropriate them for marketing purposes. Although some that I address, such as Özdamar and the filmmaker Fatih Akin, might ask for recognition from an artistic community, others are more interested in recognition as citizens, as is the case with Hatice Akyün and the mosque communities.

In Chapter III I analyze the mosque debate. This debate is worth evaluating in this context because the mosque itself has a dual function: it contains Muslim bodies, but it also stands as a physical landmark that transforms the physical landscape. It changes not only how the neighborhood looks, but through the call for prayers, how it sounds as well. The media’s representation of the mosque debates foregrounded a “different” way of dressing or moving one’s body as a Muslim. The stereotypical



presentation of women in headscarves or long, concealing clothing has narrowed their rich and diverse customs, including for example, fashion itself, when the media collapses class differences in dress. When Muslim men are introduced, they are most often shown while praying in a mosque, or as directed by a threatening religious authority, though many Turkish German Muslims are not mosque community members. Representations of clothing or prayer positions in order to convey threats posed by members of the Muslim community have led to an essentializing of Muslims' bodies. They are either perceived as a danger that will change or destroy the cultural landscape and harm the German nationals surrounding them or, by concentrating on women's bodies, they are seen as a sign for a backward tradition that requires saving the "Oriental" woman from an archaic, patriarchal system. These perceptions prohibit Muslims' ability to become full members of a secularized nation.

In this chapter, I turn to a specific issue of media representation, the difficulties mosque communities have faced in receiving building permits. Of course, the German media has not painted an entirely negative picture of the immigrant population, nor have local governments always resisted granting permission for new mosques. On the contrary, there are many good examples of neighborly cooperation and positive portrayals, especially in the print media. This chapter, however, will focus more empathically on the controversial representations of the permit for the Cologne "mega mosque," and more generally the mosque debate itself, dominated by such critical voices such as Ralph Giordano and Necla Kelek. These intense debates, on television,

in print, and on the street, demonstrate the complexity of the struggles to participate publicly and to control the image of Muslim Germans.

The fourth chapter analyzes the increased amount of recognition that has been bestowed on Turkish German filmmakers. Here I center my analysis on the actor, screenwriter, producer, and director Fatih Akin. I will closely evaluate intertextualities with transnational film traditions in his movies *Kebab Connection*, *In July*, *Head-On*, and *The Edge of Heaven*, and their contributions to his popular and critical success. Akin's portrayals of bodies on screen question stereotypes around race, nation, and gender. The film *Head-On*, for example, uses violence to the body to achieve a visceral reaction from the viewer. Whether it is the poorly lit street in Istanbul where the female protagonist is attacked, or the noisy and darkly lit disco where she gets raped, her bloody body is experienced viscerally by the viewer, and demonstrates a Turkish German woman who takes her body to the limit in order to find her own place. *In July* introduces another theme that is centered on dead bodies in his work. The transportation of dead bodies across borders demonstrates the arbitrariness of borders and, by extension, the concept of nation. Death becomes an even more obvious topic in *The Edge of Heaven* where a Turkish national is accidentally killed in Germany and a young German woman shot dead unintentionally in Istanbul. Except for the dead uncle in *In July*, all the other violated bodies are those of females. However, death is only the most extreme form of transformation of the body, which one can observe in the director's work. Akin also uses naval piercings, tight clothing that draws more attention to body parts, and changes in hair styles to show character development. In

order to highlight such changes, the artist utilizes framing devices such as beams, mirrors, or the contrasting background of living rooms, a technique which may be familiar to the audience from Fassbinder films. However, what sets Akin apart from many earlier filmmakers is his use of the body and humor to blur gender and cultural expectations, a practice which emphasizes the absurdity of mainstream expectations. Therefore, his work becomes a powerful example of how an artist can employ the body as a means to finding recognition. Although Fassbinder's work also made use of bodies to question gender, race, and nation, Akin is interested in representing specific local communities, as a means of participating in transnational film traditions.

In the fifth chapter, I investigate texts by three Turkish German women writers: Emine Sevgi Özdamar's *Mother Tongue* (*Mutterzunge*), *The Bridge of the Golden Horn* (*Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*), and *The Courtyard in the Mirror* (*Der Hof im Spiegel*); Hatice Akyün's *An Order of Hans with Hot Sauce* (*Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*) and *Ali for Desert* (*Ali zum Dessert*); and Lale Akgün's *Aunt Semra in Land of Livercheese* (*Tante Semra im Leberkäseland*). Özdamar has long been promoted as the representative of first generation Turkish German literature. This is just one example of how recognition from publishing houses, bestseller lists, reviews in the media, financial support, prizes, and so forth allows for the integration of such authors and filmmakers into the mainstream German social and artist communities. Karin Yeşilada has further argued that all the big German publishing houses have promoted stereotypes of the Turkish German female population by each printing the works of one specific Turkish German writer who exploits the female body to increase their sales (137). My primary concerns in

Chapter 5, thus, are to illuminate the the variety of artistic works, illustrate the way in which bodies are used to reveal the absurdity of stereotypical representations of this living Muslim population, and to expose the writers' own stereotyped class or gender expectations. In this context, I will demonstrate the contradictory roles that the body plays in claims to recognition, in part through the ways in which language is embodied.

Throughout my dissertation I seek to reveal the difficulties facing an immigrant whose movements, fashions, and beliefs are racialized in ways that contribute to societal exclusion. As long as the theories and politics of recognition that address integration of immigrants and their children ignore embodied claims to recognition, such politics deny peoples with a migration background the opportunity for embodied participation in both religious and ethnic communities as well as in a shared national public. Thus, the policies informed by such theory and politics prevent peoples with a migration background from fully participating in German society. Nevertheless, using theories of recognition to explore cultural claims to recognition enable a better understanding of conditions for a feeling of belonging.

## II. THEORIES OF “MULTICULTURALISM” AND RECOGNITION

In this dissertation I examine films, literature, and architecture as expressions of human experience that exemplify claims to recognition, which are connected to the way a culture understands acknowledgement and belonging. In this chapter, I examine the theoretical questions that inform my later analysis. The problem of acknowledgement and belonging is closely bound up with discussions about necessary conditions for a just society. The political theorist Simon Thompson argues that a just society must show all of its members due recognition. In *The Political Theory of Recognition* Thompson mainly engages with are Charles Taylor, Axel Honneth, and Nancy Fraser. He argues that not only will we gain a better understanding of identity and difference by looking at such theories, but that the concept of recognition is helpful in determining which individual rights should be protected, whether cultures ought to be valued, and whether a case can be made for group representation (186). The useful part of this analysis for my project lies in Thompson’s claim that the dialogue between theorists of recognition “can help us to understand the significance of the ongoing debate between multiculturalists and their critics” (186).

I wish to examine what impulses this political theory can provide for the study of literature, film, and architecture in post-reunification Germany. Some of the artists, for example Fatih Akin and Emine Sevgi Özdamar, seek recognition in the art world, while popular fiction writers insert themselves into German pop culture traditions. Mosque communities, alternatively, are more interested in claiming recognition from the

community and state as political and cultural citizens. This recognition occurs through increased visibility in public space, as they seek to move out of their hidden courtyard and side street locations. These individuals and groups face special circumstances for claims to recognition due to the public's assumptions about their Turkish or Muslim cultural heritage. Theories of recognition illuminate the role that art can play in making claims to recognition in a secular, multicultural society, one which still demonstrates strong ties with Judeo-Christian traditions. Furthermore, these theories of recognition can help one to understand how minorities challenge dominant societies' self-understanding of a just society and how physical landmarks, as well as the movement of the body, become markers for "Othering" and exclusion. Some, such as the writer Hatice Akyün, appropriate Orientalizing stereotypes to portray their bodies to market their writing. While these artists and communities seek recognition, they do so in different ways, and achieve recognition to varying degrees. Therefore, political entities and society as a whole ought to consider the differing conditions under which recognition can be sought. Acknowledging such distinctions permits a better understanding, as well as creates more opportune conditions for fostering a feeling of belonging. The evaluation of such diverse areas as architecture, film, and literature allows the drawing of a more complex picture of the heterogeneous group of people with Turkish heritage in Germany further assisting in the better understanding this diverse group.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> At this point it appears appropriate to clarify my terminology. I use the term Turkish Germans to refer

## Secularism, “Multiculturalism,” Tolerance, and Belonging

Before continuing to evaluate the work of theorists pertaining to recognition, it is important to contextualize their work with a discussion of the understanding of the public sphere, secularism, nationalism, and the “multiculturalism” in contemporary Germany. This allows for a better picture of the circumstances under which Muslims of Turkish descent who reside on German territory are attempting to claim recognition.

While re-united Germany views itself as a secular, democratic society, a special relationship exists between church and state in which churches hold the status of corporate bodies. This in stark contrast to France, which has eliminated such ties between church and the French state, or Turkey, which retains a governmental department that regulates religion in Turkey. Yet all three are committedly secular states. “Secular” is an unstable term, which is constituted and determined by its historical framework as well as its location. As Talal Asad argues, the secular “is neither continuous with the religious that preceded it [...] nor a simple break from it [...]. [T]he secular [is] a concept that brings together certain behaviors, knowledges, and sensibilities in modern life” (*Formations of the Secular* 25).

In contrast, the respected German professor of law and public intellectual, Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, represents a more typical understanding of how the secular

to long-time residents of Turkish heritage, regardless of citizenship status. This is important, given the difficulty in attaining German citizenship, not to mention the difficulty of properly representing people with a Turkish passport who might be ethnically Kurdish, for example. Nevertheless, all of the artists described in this dissertation have German citizenship. Özdamar, for example, took German citizenship in 1996. The mosque communities are much more complex and it is impossible to know what percentage of members has taken German citizenship, who might carry dual citizenship, and so forth.

state functions and is conceptualized in the context of Islam in Germany. Böckenförde argues that the character of the secularized state can be described as lacking a religion that provides the basis and inspiration for governmental order (“Sekulärer Staat und Religion” 131). Nevertheless, such a state does by no means negate religion or set it aside, but the state “sets religion free” and becomes religion-neutral. This neutrality can take on different forms, however, as can be viewed by comparing France and Germany. France represents the concept of “distanced neutrality” which is incorporated in the French model of laicism and which tends to defer religion into the private sphere. Germany stands for a concept of “overarching open neutrality” which contrarily allows for expression of religious affiliation in public, like the wearing of crosses by students and teachers, in schools, institutions of education, and what can be called the public order, but without any identification of this expression with the religion (132-33). Ideally, there is no favoritism for any particular religion. Yet, such identification of a symbol or behavior with religion depends on a relationship vis-à-vis the majority. Böckenförde’s emphasis on a religious expression that is not perceived as such essentially relies on unmarked behaviors or symbols of the majority.

Exemplary differences in behavior and sensibilities regarding the secular can be observed in the German school system, where an “open neutrality” approach to religion is employed. One example is the case of Fereshta Ludin, an Afghani-born German Muslim school teacher who applied for a teaching position in the public schools in Baden-Württemberg and was denied access to a job due to her unwillingness to remove her headscarf while teaching. The initial parliamentary debates around Ludin’s right to



teach wearing a headscarf relied on the idea that she was not Christian, and therefore unable to uphold the values of the Christian constitution of Baden Württemberg. In the courts, however, Ludin was attacked for not being secular. Ludin was granted the right to wear the headscarf by the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe in 2003, because of the lack of individual laws regulating the relationship between church and state. Her employment was immediately halted when Baden-Württemberg quickly passed a law banning headscarves while allowing Judeo-Christian symbols and clothing. Beverly M. Weber notes that the argumentation in this case shows “an understanding of Ludin, and of the Muslim woman wearing the headscarf, as inherently, incommensurably Other to the German nation” (“Cloth on her Head, Constitution in Hand” 47). Weber’s investigation shows that the headscarf is portrayed in contradictory ways as both political and religious, regardless of Ludin’s expression of her views. When she is given agency at all then “[h]er agency is appropriated as both representation of German tolerance and embodiment of Islamic culture” (54).

Approaches to secularism further vary by *Bundesland*.<sup>7</sup> A reliance on Christian heritage is particularly prominent in the southern *Bundesländer*, including Baden Württemberg and Bavaria. In Bavaria one can observe the interconnectedness between the secular and religious culture, which was prominent during the German debate about removing crucifixes from primary schoolrooms. In 1995 the German Federal Constitutional Court overturned a Bavarian law requiring a cross on the wall of every

<sup>7</sup> Province.

primary classroom, arguing that the law violated freedom of faith as mandated by the German constitution (Caldwell 259). The court ruled in favor of plaintiffs whose child was upset about having to look at a “naked, bloody man” on a cross in her classroom. The Bavarian state government defied this ruling by passing a state law allowing the crosses to stay up. The overall debate ignited by this case shows general sentiments of a German form of secular understanding. Bavaria’s minister president, Edmund Stoiber, expressed the conservative majority opinion of the time by voicing that the Federal Constitutional Court’s decision showed a “judgment of intolerance,” because it failed to respect the sensibilities of the majority (Caldwell 261). Despite a later correction of this law in two 1997 court rulings, which allowed parents to ask for the removal of the crucifixes, the linkage of disrespected sensibilities in a secular setting such as a classroom and the expectation of tolerance of the majority by the minority point toward Asad’s criticism of the secular theory of toleration, as well as the two secular myths that he identified. Asad says:

In fact liberal democracy here expresses the two secular myths that are, notoriously, at odds with each other: the Enlightenment myth of politics as a discourse of public reason whose bond with knowledge enable the elite to direct the education of mankind, and the revolutionary myth of universal suffrage, a politics of large numbers in which the representation of “collective will” is sought by quantifying the opinion and fantasy of individualized citizen-electors. The secular theory of state toleration is based on these contradictions: on the one hand elite liberal clarity seeks to

contain religious passion, on the other hand democratic numbers allow majorities to dominate minorities even if both are religiously formed. (61)

In both cases, the Judeo-Christian cultural majority via governmental institutions prescribes the knowledge as to which religious values and traditions are compatible with secularism while at the same time accusing the minority of a lack of tolerance, as in the aforementioned case of the child that did not want to look at the cross in the classroom. Therefore, atheists or other non-Christian believers are marked as intolerant of the majority when they demand Christian symbols be removed from governmental structures, and as equally intolerant when they claim a right to wearing religious symbols. The Christian majority is also represented as more tolerant when the state might allow a ruling for the minority, such as when giving permission to build a mosque ("Moschee-Bau: Ein Symbol für Toleranz"). In such cases, the federal state portrays tolerance as a specific marker of Christian culture. Wendy Brown argues that "tolerance is exemplary of Michel Foucault's account of governmentality as that which organizes 'the conduct of conduct'" and that "tolerance nevertheless produces and positions subjects, orchestrates meanings and practices of identity, marks bodies, and conditions political subjectivities [...] through the dissemination of tolerance discourse across state institutions" (*Regulating Aversion* 4). She furthermore states that "[s]chools teach tolerance, the state preaches tolerance, religious and secular civic associations promulgate tolerance [...] tolerance knows no political party" (2-3). This notion of tolerance as a part of the discourse of depoliticization and power is reminiscent of Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony in a civil society and Edward Said's idea of

“cultural leadership.” Discourses of tolerance work on behalf of “hegemonic social or political powers” and view the West as “free,” “tolerant,” and “civilized,” in opposition to the “fundamentalist,” “intolerant,” and “barbaric” other that needs to be controlled (W. Brown 10).

In secular liberal democratic states, tolerance also functions politically and socially to regulate cohabitation (11). Therefore, tolerance becomes the graciously bestowed instrument that the dominant society uses to keep minorities in their place while simultaneously asserting their superiority. This tolerance does not indicate recognition of the Other as a participating member of a cultural community or democratic society who wears different clothing or might be offended by Judeo-Christian symbols, but rather as tolerated for being the marginalized Other. By pushing religion for some into the private sphere and prohibiting non-Judeo-Christian religious symbols like a headscarf for teachers, the state demonstrates its power to regulate, or at least hinder, professional pathways for members of minority religions and, in doing so, complicate their identity formation due to signaling that the symbols of their belief system do not correlate with good German citizens. At the same time, Muslim students who might also wear headscarves get the message that clothing styles impact career recognition in Germany, or worse yet, will bring an end to someone’s career altogether, regardless of their actual capabilities.

As a way out of the prescribed tolerance from a position of power, Asad argues that democratic societies need to stop pushing religion into the private sphere and make room for religious practices and symbols to become a part of public identity formation.

Any author, director, architect, or producer of artwork with a multicultural and especially with a non-Christian background, or who are marked as Muslims, will have to address the expectations of Germany as a secular state with a strong adherence to Christian values. Favoring a multicultural approach might become a useful angle for my investigation of the chosen works of art or the media articles. Tariq Modood argues for a new model of multiculturalism to find a way out of a sheer tolerance of the Other. My definition for the expression “multiculturalism” in this chapter is based upon Tariq Modood’s meaning of “the political accommodation of minorities formed by immigration to western countries from outside the prosperous West” (*Multiculturalism* 5). He describes the term as a liberal idea, which arises in the context of liberal or social democratic egalitarianism and citizenship (*Multiculturalism* 6). Following Modood, I view multiculturalism as a very necessary concept, because it is “a form of integration that best meets the normative implications of equal citizenship and under our present post-9/11, post-7/7 circumstances stands the best chance of succeeding” (14).<sup>8</sup> The idea of equal citizenship corresponds with necessary rights that are part of theories of recognition, which I will elaborate on more when discussing Honneth and Fraser.

As mentioned in the introduction, immigrants without ancestral ties had very restrictive German citizenship and residency options prior to a change in law in 2000. Although citizenship is now possible for immigrants in Germany, Muslim immigrants and their offspring still have to deal with ongoing experiences of racialization. What I

<sup>8</sup> 7/7 refers to a co-ordinated set of suicide bombings in London.

mean by racialization is a process by which individuals are marked as incommensurably Other via policies, social practices and behaviors, as well as institutional patterns that “stigmatize, treat as unequal, exclude, or adversely affect individuals on the basis of their perceived ethnoracial membership” (Chin 4). Although this form of racialization does not need to include any explicit beliefs about the inferiority of the Other, the marked person will still be prohibited from parity of equal participation. As Modood claims, post-immigration groups are being socially constructed based upon their markers of difference (39-41). These markers of difference include clothing, names, skin color, and the way people move their bodies in “unfamiliar” ways. Exclusions relying on these markers of difference are impacting work and immigration decisions. As Kamerun Sezer from Futureorg Institute says about the TASD Study (Türkische Akademiker und Studierende in Deutschland),<sup>9</sup> 35% of Turkish German academics have indicated that they are interested in emigrating from Germany to Turkey, despite often being born and raised in Germany and having graduated successfully from a German university. This willingness to emigrate points toward a lack of recognition of their skills as academics or in the work force, and it also hints toward a lack of a feeling of belonging as citizens. In an interview, Nimet Seker suggests that the German state should investigate why many of these academics feel unable to identify with Germany, adding that the necessity of having to write four times as many job applications as their ethnic German counterparts has led to

<sup>9</sup> Turkish Academics and Students in Germany

frustration (“Türkischstämmige Akademiker”)<sup>10</sup>. Many of these Turkish Germans are not even wear headscarves; but these items of clothing should not represent any hindrance for integration into the workforce either. If one takes Britain as an example, where headscarves are available as part of a police uniform, one can observe that it is not necessary to allow religious difference to exclude citizens from participation in public positions, but instead that the state can negotiate and provide measures of inclusion of Muslims and Islam (Gilliat-Ray 216). If such steps were taken in Germany, it would allow the Muslim youth to construct their identity formation including or excluding religious markers with equal rights and positive recognition and respect.

The government could furthermore tap into the general public’s overall feeling for respect of religion by showcasing that the experience of religious buildings does not necessarily need to be bound to strong religious affiliations. Even in Germany many people feel that churches belong to the people and their tradition needs to be treated with respect. People still use churches for weddings and funerals even if their connection to the Christian church has significantly weakened. One should not see such “church-state relations as archaic and as an obstacle to multiculturalism, we should be scrutinizing the compromises that they represent and how those compromises need to be remade to serve the new multicultural circumstances” (Modood, *Multicultural Politics* 149). Therefore, empathy toward multiple religious traditions should be encouraged among the large atheist and agnostic segments of

<sup>10</sup> “Turkish-heritage Academics”

German society, as well as among churchgoers. Modood further states that multiculturalism can become part of a culture which still treats the historically favored church traditions with respect and that “the historical and inherited can be valued in a variety of ways, including giving people a sense of belonging and national identity” (“Secularism, Religion” 6). I am not so much interested in national identity here, but more in the concept of “belonging.” A sense of belonging corresponds with a feeling of recognition. If we accept that contemporary Germany is a multicultural, secular democratic society, writers of fiction or screenplays, directors of movies, and members of mosques with a migration or multicultural background should find opportunities to develop a sense of belonging to this society. Nevertheless, for members of some mosque communities in particular, this feeling has long been denied. Debates about the necessity to permit the building of new mosques mirror this experience of denial. What often comes into play here is the connection between belonging and national identity, which was also one of the findings of the TASD study. Germany’s mainstream population, but also businesses and governmental agencies like the police department, would have to give up their exclusion of ethnic and religious minorities in order to enable a feeling of belonging and national identity. This is particularly true if the German state hopes to instill feelings of belonging in its newly naturalized subjects and their families. Although national identity is not the main focal point of my argument, I feel it is necessary to explore how national identity functions in connection with feelings of belonging.



As Anna Triandafyllidou explains, in order to form a national identity people need to have a “feeling of belonging that has a *relative* value. It makes sense only to the extent that it is contrasted with the feelings that members of the nation have towards foreigners” (26). Thus, she sees the construction of national identity as a “double-edged relationship” with both an inward-looking and an outwardly-oriented component. She emphasizes that for the inward-looking component “a set of elements [is necessary] that range from (presumed) ethnic ties to a shared public culture, common historical memories and links to a homeland, and also a common legal and economic system” (26). She excludes language from her examples, but recently, stronger ties to the German language as part of a “shared public culture” have moved into the foreground. Any sense of German national belonging, of course, must be understood against the backdrop of the particular experience of German nationalism. Indeed, contemporary sentiments of a shared public culture have often been accompanied by notions of a good command of the language as well as an “authentic accent,” which harken back to German Romanticism. This renewed emphasis on language has been problematic from two directions. Firstly, it assumes that Turkish Germans are unable to speak German, an assumption disproved by research, and an assumption that misunderstands the ability to speak in both standard German and youth dialects. Secondly, it reverts back to nationalist rhetoric that minority populations are self-excluding from German society.

The rhetoric around language illustrates why we need to be cautious with discussions of national belonging. While Triandafyllidou’s understanding of national

belongings is useful, as long as one keeps in mind that national identity is a construction that is constantly in flux, one must also be cautious about the ways that “inner” and “outer” forms of national belonging quickly slip into exclusionary practices. Outward orientation, the second component of national belonging for Triandafyllidou, is the perception of the foreigner that the insider uses as a part of identity formation in the “us versus the Other” process. The notion of the immigrant who is perceived as the Other is particularly important in Germany, because, as previously mentioned, until recently Germany’s citizenship rights were based almost entirely on ancestry. Therefore, most of the guest workers who immigrated in the 1960s and 1970s as well as their children and grandchildren were, and unfortunately sometimes still are, treated as temporary labor migrants.

The re-unification of 1990 further complicated the concept of a homogeneous German *Kulturnation*. As Triandafyllidou mentions, “[t]he racialised picture of the Other as being non-German, dark-haired, Muslim and not speaking the language properly was put under question when East Germans were found not to conform with the mythology of the ‘real German’” (73).<sup>11</sup> Because this non-conformity was a great challenge for German identity, the outward component of identity shifted even more toward the threatening immigrant Other. This was not unexpected, since in times of crisis the outward threat receives increased attention for purposes of perceived

<sup>11</sup> This problem was mirrored with an influx of “Russlanddeutsche” from Eastern Europe after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. These were people of German heritage from the former USSR who, like the East Germans, were expected to integrate seamlessly into Germany. They often had a harder time doing so due to language issues.

homogeneity. Only within the last decade has Germany officially acknowledged its role as a nation of immigration, despite nineteen percent of its total population having a migration background, of whom 33.8% are from European Union countries according to the Federal Statistical Office (“Anteil der Einwohner”).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak calls for a re-evaluation of the position of Europe, the necessity for Europe to “acknowledge its own hybrid past,” (*Postcolonial Reason* 202) and for a re-reading of texts and archival material in order to re-write history. She stresses that “[w]hat is at stake is a ‘worlding,’ the reinscription of a cartography that must (re)present itself as impeccable” (228). Furthermore, according to Spivak, women only appear in history when useful for the dominant narrative of history, which leads to Spivak’s demand for the “retrieval of the history of the margin [which] can be a lesson not only to the writing of woman’s history triumphant, but also to the writing of the most hegemonic historical accounts” (239). Although Spivak seems to limit “the history of the margin” here to women’s history during Colonialism, I would argue that this notion is productive for any representation of experiences of exclusion. A helpful tool for the evaluation of the literary texts I have chosen is Spivak’s notion of the “subaltern.” In an interview with Leon de Kock, she defines “subaltern” as “everything that has limited or no access to the cultural imperialism – a space of difference” (45). Spivak presents three different elements of the subaltern. First, she states that “[s]imply by being postcolonial or the member of an ethnic minority, we are not ‘subaltern;’” second, she outlines that when a member of the “subaltern” has been inserted into the long road to hegemony, he or she is no longer “subaltern;” third, people who are

prevented from upward social mobility are “subaltern” (310). I am particularly interested in the third idea, because if the subaltern is a space of difference with limited or no access to, in this case German cultural imperialism, or better a knowledge system that will allow for upward mobility in German society, then equal parity of participation will be limited for subalterns. As I am evaluating the opportunities and restrictions for parity of participation and the building of self-esteem by artists and members of mosque communities and compare those to some statistics.

At this point, the reader might ask himself or herself why I present postcolonial theory and the notion of the “subaltern” in conjunction with Germany, especially with Turkish German literature, film, and architecture that is used by Turkish Germans. Although Germany was a colonial nation in the southern parts of Africa, it never colonized the Ottoman Empire or Turkey. In contrast, the Ottomans took Constantinople in 1453 and stood before Vienna, which has informed the above-mentioned collective historical memories that help in the formation of national identities. This reminiscence is religiously inflected due to the Ottomans’ warfare that was at least in parts provoked by the Christian crusades. Despite never having physically colonized the Ottoman Empire, Germany always had colonial fantasies about the “Orient” which find their expression in numerous books, popular literary travel narratives throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Karl May, for example, wrote an entire series about the “Orient” in which his hero Kara Ben Nemsî (Karl the Son of the Germans) enlightens the poor Muslims about the great achievements of the enlightened West with its medicine, trying to free the “Orient” from superstition (Berman 63). Said

says that the “Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (1). May’s most popular works, despite his later anti-colonial stance, purvey such fantasies, and his widespread reception shows how Germans did and do have romanticized ideas about the “Orient” as a space. Such ideas can still be traced by viewing the representation, especially of women, in media images that help increase circulation (Weber, *Headscarves and Miniskirts* 57-59, 78, and 83). Such representations and evoked fantasies of the “Orient” are perpetual hindrances in achieving a respectful, multicultural, democratic society.

There are competing and controversial understandings of multiculturalism, with critiques from both the right and the left. Modood argues that “Multiculturalism is characterized by the challenging, the dismantling and the remaking of [diverse] public identities” (*Multiculturalism* 43). I have added “diverse” to Modood’s understanding of multiculturalism to hint at the multiplicity of the term, which has to acknowledge that Germany, as well as other nations, has always had citizens and residents of multiple ethnic origins, and also has always produced multiple forms of racism. The multiplicity of this ethnic variation has a long history and is not to be understood as a recent development due to immigration waves of guest workers that started in the middle of the twentieth century. However, the term “multiculturalism” is often only interpreted with a limited meaning, “referring to a post-immigration urban mélange and the politics it gives rise to” in Europe (Meer and Modood, “How does Interculturalism?” 179). Moreover, the German government’s previous refusal to accept and acknowledge

its status as an immigrant nation has only strengthened the notion that multiculturalism is unnecessary in Germany by perpetuating the idea of a homogenic society. Within the scope of my project, the problematic surrounding the perception of multiculturalism becomes visible, for example, through prizes won by authors with immigrant heritage. The awarding of the Ingeborg Bachmann Prize to Emine Sevgi Özdamar in 1991 was construed by some conservative critics as the awarding organization's subjection to pressures of the politics of recognition and multiculturalism.<sup>12</sup> I will revisit the challenges for recognition of this author further in the literature chapter.

Multiculturalism and recognition appear here as negative concepts that lead to the lowering of standards in German language culture. Thus, in order to find out which part of society awards recognition and how identity formation takes place, it becomes helpful to take a closer look at political theories of recognition.

### **Axel Honneth: Recognition as an Expression of Social Society's Acknowledgement and a Building Stone for Self-Esteem**

Political theory places the "politics of recognition" into a societal framework and provides important perspectives on how recognition functions in the realm of identity formation and how society bestows recognition. My starting point is Honneth's attempt to formalize a concept of recognition. He states that inter-subjective conditions for identity formation provide the basis for a "'formal concept of ethical life,'

<sup>12</sup> For an in-depth analysis, please see Karen Jankowsky. "German" literature contested: the 1991 Ingeborg-Bachmann-Prize debate, "cultural diversity," and Emine Sevgi Özdamar

understood as a normative ideal of a society in which patterns of recognition would allow individuals to acquire self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem” (*The Struggle for Recognition* xviii). While recognition becomes most apparent when denied or when the subject is mis-recognized, Honneth defines three spaces in his theory in which recognition is achieved (or violated): love (developed via the family) that allows for the development of self-confidence; the state (represented via the guarantee of rights) to establish self-respect; and solidarity, which leads to the building of self-esteem (given by social society). Honneth bases the first level of his work, love as recognition, on studies by social psychologist Donald Winnicott and British developmental psychologist John Bowlby. Winnicott emphasizes the importance of the interactive relationship between mother and child during the early years for the development of the child (161). This first part of Honneth’s theory, which describes love and the building of basic self-confidence, provides the only references to the role of the body in the gaining of recognition. Primary relationships rely on physical nurturing of the child, while fundamental forms of disrespect include rape or abuse, as direct violations of the physical integrity of the body. To show the connection between his different levels of his theory of recognition a look at an abbreviated version of his schematized outline is helpful:

In Figure 2 on page 129, Honneth lists the relationship between the different levels of his model to describe how recognition functions as follows:

<b>Forms of recognition</b>	primary relationships	legal relations	community of value
	(love, friendship)	(rights)	(solidarity)
<b>Practical relation-to-</b>	basic self-confidence	self-respect	self-esteem

<b>self</b>			
<b>Forms of disrespect</b>	abuse and rape	denial of rights, exclusion	denigration, insult
<b>Threatened component of personality</b>	physical integrity	social integrity	'honor,' dignity

**Figure 1**

Honneth explains in his chapter on “The Structure of Relations of Recognition” that disrespect of physical integrity as exemplified by torture and rape does not just produce physical pain, but also “the feeling of being defenselessly at the mercy of another subject, to the point of feeling that one has been deprived of reality. Physical abuse represents a type of disrespect that does lasting damage to one’s basic confidence [...] that one can autonomously coordinate one’s own body” and this leads to social shame (132).

I agree with Honneth, but I would like to take his argument even further. The impacts of a literal violation of the physical body might also be relevant to the misrepresentations of the body, as well as to policies and practices that exclude bodies from public visibility and democratic participation. What is missing in Honneth’s account is that one not only loses control over an autonomous body to the torturer, but that in an extreme experience of pain the body turns against itself, which can be read as an act of self-betrayal. This experience of self-betrayal can then lead to a loss of dignity and a loss of trust in the world. There is no reason to limit the loss of control or coordination over an autonomous body to a sphere of distrust in primary relationships; the loss of control over the representation of one’s body, or community exclusion as a consequence of certain bodily representations also prohibit a feeling of belonging.



Honneth argues that the mechanisms for denial of moral rights in society lead to a loss of self-respect, and that this type of disrespect is the “cognitive regard for the status of moral responsibility” that can also express a negation of social value of individuals or groups. This in turn is then read as an insult or degradation of status (134; see the second and third columns in Fig. 1). What has disappeared on this level of Honneth’s theory is “the body.” Why is disrespect suddenly disconnected from concepts of construction of the body and body politics? If one follows Honneth’s idea of self-respect, he lists denial of rights and exclusion as the forms of disrespect. The aforementioned case of Fereshta Ludin is a perfect example of how this form of disrespect not only leads to the teacher’s exclusion from the teaching force in certain states, but how it also impacts her embodied performance in the classroom. The representation of Ludin’s body as threat to secular democracy leads to a denial of respect via a denial of rights. She is excluded from both a career path and a special space of citizenship, and ultimately, is denied a form of human dignity. Therefore, a building or continuum of self-respect for the teacher, but also the students who wear headscarves and observe this case, becomes deeply connected to physical experiences and bodily representations.

Although Honneth loses sight of how the body might function at the level of what Simon Thompson refers to as “recognition as respect,” Honneth’s theory is still valuable for my project. His differentiation between “respect” and “esteem” will be helpful in looking at a multicultural society and the different forms of recognition, which artists with a migration background and mosque community members might

claim. The usefulness lies in Honneth's theory which builds upon Immanuel Kant's ideas of the human subject as an "end in itself:" "[T]he use of the Kantian formulation indicates, we are dealing in the first case [rights] with universal respect for the 'freedom of the will of the person,' and in the second case [esteem], by contrast, with the recognition of individual achievements" (111-12). Therefore, a respected subject with rights must "at least have the capacity to make reasonable, autonomous decisions regarding moral questions" (114). Although Honneth sometimes interchanges the terms "rights" and "respect," he assigns the parameter of their meaning by stating "[w]hat gives rights the power to enable the development of self-respect is the public character that rights possess" (120). Accordingly, self-respect is a positive result of the experience of rights that are publicly bestowed. As Honneth notes, there is no empirical support for this claim of a development of self-respect. Honneth claims that disrespect or the "denial of basic rights from the perspective of how withheld recognition undermines the opportunity for individual self-respect" (120). He goes even further to state that "legal underprivileging necessarily leads to a crippling feeling of social shame, from which one can be liberated only through active protest and resistance" (121).

The question arises: What are the minimum necessary conditions to be recognized as a person capable of full participation in the production and reproduction of the person's community, and what role does the body play in them? Honneth suggests that "all forms of misrecognition are states of deterioration of the human body" (135). There is no explanation of the meaning of "the states of deterioration of

the human body” in the text at this point, but Jay Bernstein connects Honneth’s ideas to the body. Bernstein sees the body as a set of social relations, which determines how we coordinate deep structures of relationality that are material, that are capable of pain, and that move in space (“Torture and Dignity”). This movement in space is important because there is a certain normativity regarding which movements are expected and acceptable, how we dress our body, which movements are visible or invisible, and which body movements should be performed in public or in private. What is expected citizens of Turkish German heritage? How do they strategically move in space? How are representations of their bodies related to cultural or religious tropes?

Another useful writer in this context is Elisabeth Grosz who says that the “subject, recognized as corporeal being, can no longer readily succumb to the neutralization and neutering of its specificity which has occurred to women as a consequence to women’s submersion und male definition” (ix) and “only if the body/mind relation is adequately re-theorized can we understand the contribution of the body to the production of knowledge systems, regimes of representation, cultural production, and socioeconomic exchange” (19). The body is a mediation of what is internal and accessible only to the subject and perceived as external and public (20). Both of these explanations of the body become useful because they describe a body that becomes visible via movement, which is then perceived as external and public. This is relevant in the public sphere in secular societies where overt signs of religious Otherness are read as markers of intolerance and threats to national identity.

If the body becomes a mediator of what is internal, then the recognition of one's mind and functioning in society also becomes bound to the body's appearance, clothing, and movement in space. Therefore, this idea can also be connected to the third part of Honneth's theory about solidarity, which grows out of recognition for accomplishments. Honneth notes that "[p]ersons can feel themselves to be 'valuable' only when they know themselves to be recognized for accomplishments that they precisely do not share in an undifferentiated manner with others" (125). Such accomplishments could be seen in the realm of literature and film by authors with a migration background. Recognition becomes visible in this category once an official prize is bestowed, when the government allocates funding to produce such a filmmaker's project, when the book or film is listed on the German literature or film list, or even more so when the work is not categorized simply as "Turkish German," but as an integral part of German culture. Recognition can also be bestowed by permitting the building of a mosque and enabling performance of religious identity in public space. What is missing in Honneth's theory, however, is that the form of recognition as self-esteem needs to incorporate the possibility of an embodied participation that requires a feeling of belonging. The mosque community members, authors, or directors should feel rewarded recognition without any possible threat to their honor or dignity regardless of the way they look, dress, or move their bodies in space.

### **Nancy Fraser: Redistribution and Recognition to Solve Social Injustice**

Fraser is interested in the role of egalitarian redistribution for the meaning of social justice in relation to claims of recognition. She believes that "neither redistribution

alone nor recognition alone can suffice to overcome injustice today” and that this is especially true for “two-dimensionally subordinated groups,” for example, those discriminated against on the basis of race or ethnicity as well as gender or class (*Redistribution or Recognition* 9 and 19). She understands gender, race, and class to be “two-dimensional social differentiations” which are connected at the same time to the economic structure as well as to the status order of society: “[R]edressing gender [and race and class] injustice, therefore, requires attending to both distribution and recognition” (19). Fraser’s understanding of *misrecognition* is noteworthy, as she believes that to be misrecognized is “to be constituted by *institutionalized patterns of cultural value* in ways that prevent one from participation as a peer in social life” (29) (Fraser’s emphasis). The patterns of cultural norms, which are implemented by social institutions to impede parity of participation, therefore need to be “deinstitutionalized” and replaced with patterns that foster parity of participation (30). In order to justify claims of recognition, Fraser suggests that such claims ought not only enhance the claimant’s self-esteem, but also that the “claimants must show that the social changes they seek will in fact promote parity of participation” (38). As examples, Fraser brings up same-sex marriage and the French headscarf debates, which led to bans on Muslim girls from wearing headscarves in state schools. The author states that it is easy to support the claim for recognition at the intergroup level of majority vis-à-vis minority due to unjust majority communitarianism, which denies educational parity to Muslim girls, since there is no rule prohibiting Christian girls from wearing crosses to school. The scholar points toward the more complicated second necessary part of the claim to

recognition on the intragroup level, in which the wearing of headscarves may not lead to an exacerbation of female subordination. Here, Fraser sides with the multiculturalists for parity of participation where “the *foulard* [veil] should be treated as a symbol of Muslim identity in transition, one whose meaning is contested in French society” (42). By allowing the headscarf to stand in as a symbol of Muslim identity, unlike French republicans, who declare the *foulard* a marker of subordination, Fraser opens up the possibility to acknowledge the tension of interpretation around headscarves within the Muslim community itself, as well as French society at large. Her take on how to deal with religion to avoid misrecognition and the possible consequences for anybody’s framework of thought is also striking and useful in a multicultural realm:

Here the remedy for misrecognition is not to deconstruct the distinction between Christian and Muslim. As we saw, it is rather to eliminate institutionalized preference for majority practices by taking affirmative steps to include minorities ... as it affirms the right of an existing group to full participation in public education. In the longer term, however, it could have transformative consequences - such as reconstructing French national identity to suit a multicultural society, refashioning Islam for a liberal-pluralist and gender-egalitarian regime, and/or generally decreasing the political and mundane. (81-82)

Fraser’s great contribution is bringing concerns about redistribution and parity of participation into the debate, which needs to be part of any “fair democratic

deliberation concerning the merits of recognition claims” (44). Even though Honneth does not explicitly use the headscarf example, it is interesting to compare Honneth’s approach with Fraser’s. According to Honneth’s theory, the denial of rights to wear a headscarf would fall within the realm of self-respect and exclusion, whereas Fraser talks about misrecognition here in a way that aligns a denial of self-esteem and parity of participation. Neither author mentions the necessity of an embodied form of participation. However, full parity of participation can only be achieved if one may move in any public space with pieces of clothing that are part of one’s bodily self image. The recognition sought by Ludin in Germany, and the Muslim girls in the French school system, is that of embodied participation within their community as both citizens and Muslims, which allows them to create a feeling of belonging.

### III. CHANGES IN THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE: MOSQUES, ARCHITECTURE, AND THREATENING BODIES

Two of Germany's most famous landmarks are the cathedral in Cologne and the "Frauenkirche" (Church of our Beloved Mother) in Munich. While many travel guides for Germany show pictures of castles, the Brandenburg Gate or the Reichstag in Berlin, whenever Munich or Cologne are among the main points of interest, these two churches appear on the cover pages. Through such a representation of "sights to be seen," Germany's Christian heritage emerges, as well as its key role in German architecture and the recognition of Christian symbols as parts of both national and local landscapes.<sup>13</sup> Christian churches as staples of the German architectural tradition take their place next to other constantly shifting architectural trends from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. There have been many changes to the architectural landscape in Germany particularly over the last two decades that were in part due to the government's move from Bonn to Berlin, where the New Synagogue was renovated and reopened as a cultural center, and the Rykestrasse Synagogue renovated and reopened as a functioning synagogue. Several mosques have also been erected. Nevertheless, among all the new construction, the building of mosques has led to the most heated discussions surrounding a change of a perceived stable visual landscape. Many frame this debate as circling around architectural tradition, increased traffic, and parking

<sup>13</sup> For more information on the function of German architecture as a symbol of its landscape see for example: Kathleen James-Chakraborty's *German Architecture* and Susanne Vees-Gulani's "From Frankfurt's Goethehaus to Dresden's Frauenkirche."



problems. However, a fundamental issue in this discussion lies in the necessity to recognize a growing Muslim population that is claiming space to articulate a form of belonging through the space of the mosque. This spatial form of recognition includes auditory changes, with the call of the muezzin, and visual changes, including a structural space that enables different bodily rituals and dress styles. In this chapter, I argue that Muslims are participating in the “fight” for recognition as German citizens via the building of mosques. Despite gains in the political arena, they have not fully achieved the level of recognition they are seeking. The debate around the building of mosques with its changes to the visual and auditory landscape is functioning as a regime of exclusion, as well as a possibility for gaining recognition.

In the mid-2000s, architecture became the new symbol for fear-provoking changes surrounding the Muslim immigrant population in Germany, dominating the media discussion over the headscarf debate. Nevertheless, the fear of change associated with this debate was further reaching than a change in architectural images. This fear was concentrated on the visible embodiment of religious rituals. The building of Muslim sacral structures, which are affiliated with the physical controlling of the body according to Islamic rules, evokes several problems with public practice of religion: the need to respect others’ faith lived in embodied rituals, the necessity for spatial recognition of a sacral structure, the spatial separation of male and female bodies in such sacral buildings which infringes on the Western understanding of gender equality,

and the requirement to negate possible feelings of fear of bodily harm due to close physical proximity.<sup>14</sup>

In order to gain a better understanding of the discussion surrounding mosques in Germany, I will give a brief outline of the mosque debate with a special emphasis on the Cologne mega mosque, explain how I use the term *fear*, and give some insight into Germany's constitutional right to religious freedom. The discourse around the Cologne mosque debate in regard to the affect of fear demonstrates how this fear functions as a symptom of challenges to spatial, economic and political notions of the liberal nation-state and leads to misrecognition of Muslims. For this research I generated a sample of articles via *NexisLexis Academics* and the online archive of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, using the German terms for mosque, debate, most frequently connected with Cologne.<sup>15</sup> However, I also accessed five online only sources via the web, such as the online newsletter from pro-Köln.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, I used the collection *Der Moscheestreit*,<sup>17</sup> in which some of the most frequently referenced and respected articles, as well as some (televised) interviews and discussions with the main contributors on the topic were

<sup>14</sup> For more information on men and women praying in separate locations please see: Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, Claus Leggewie, and Alen Jasarevic, *Moscheen in Deutschland*. There are some mosques that have men and women praying side by side like the "Omar Ibu Al Khattab Mosque" in Berlin, but this is a mosque which was built by private donations from and for a community of Muslims predominantly from Palestine and Lebanon. The mosque I address serves primarily Turkish German Muslims (Haruna).

<sup>15</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* is the major German newspaper, which does not participate in *NexisLexis*. The German papers all have archives that store their print and online articles within the same location allowing a database like *NexisLexis* to access most media coverage that is held by newspapers in one step. I would also like to mention here that very respected German professors, intellectuals, and public figures frequently take part in newspaper discussions surrounding major topics and that blogs and other online-only sources solely play a minor role in public discourse.

<sup>16</sup> Pro-Köln is a grassroots group that has given out flyers and organized demonstrations against the Cologne mega mosque, but has found only very limited support in the Cologne public.

<sup>17</sup> *The Mosque Debate*.

printed or reprinted. I focused on in-depth articles and on ongoing controversies. I identified as the major theme in the articles a fear of change, particularly of the following: Islamization (including that of the alteration of the landscape, of encroachment, and physical harm), masses of bodies, gender inequality, and terrorism. These frights/worries were often portrayed with a need for transparency on the side of the mosque communities.

### **The Mosque Debates in Germany**

There are about 2600 Islamic prayer centers and 200 mosques in Germany. Many of these religious centers are tucked away in courtyards out of sight and often located in homes or old factories. Throughout the last decade initiatives have arisen which call for more appropriate buildings to address the needs of a large Muslim community in Germany. The initiator for the plans of a central mosque in 2000 in Cologne was the “Förderverein Zentralmoschee,” an umbrella group formed specifically for this purpose, which consists of many different Muslim clubs or associations (Eingetragene Verbände) (Sommerfeld 12). Nevertheless, it was difficult to achieve a consensus among all of these associations. Therefore, in 2003, the DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs), which is a Turkish state institution and part of Turkey’s arrangement for managing of secularism, accelerated its own plans for a central mosque in Cologne and initiated conversations with politicians and the city administration of Cologne. DITIB is affiliated with the Turkish Ministry for Religion (Diyanet) and had not been part of the “Förderverein Zentralmoschee.” Because the “Förderverein Zentralmoschee” was unable to agree on a project plan, DITIB arose as the winner

among the Muslim organizations who had spearheaded the planning phase and was chosen by the Cologne city government to become the builder. After initiating an official competition<sup>18</sup> for architecture firms, DITIB selected the architect for its mosque design in 2006. The winning architectural firm was chosen because they achieved “functionality, clear composition and high spatial quality, especially with the way the light moves, a highly symbolic dome and a gently rising staircase from the entrance of the courtyard to the level of the sacral room” (“Zentralmoschee Köln”). The part which is especially important here is the connection between the cultural center to the sacral part of the building via a staircase, because this mosque will not only house a room for prayer but also a 4290 square meter center with a library, multifunction room, seminar and schooling rooms, etc.

The city of Cologne granted DITIB a permit for the building of the mosque in the fall of 2008, but DITIB will have to work with the city on details. The main points debated regarding a central mosque in Cologne include the height of minarets and domes, the lack of parking spaces, the reduction of space for businesses, as well as fears of Islamization and suicide bombings.

One might say that this debate has lost its urgency because cities such as Cologne have allowed the building of a mega mosque. Nevertheless, when one considers the 2009 ban on minarets in Switzerland, one might want to further investigate the situation

<sup>18</sup> For further information on the competition and the reasons for choosing Böhm as the winning architectural firm see: *Wettbewerbe Aktuell*.

in Germany. The magazine *Der Spiegel*, soliciting the cooperation of the polling institute *Infratest*, posed the question of whether or not minarets should be outlawed in Germany. In Switzerland, 57.5 percent of the population voted against the building of minarets; in Germany, 44 percent support a ban, whereas 45 percent consent to the further building of minarets.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, as the authors of the article “Gebetsruf überm Gewerbegebiet” (“Call for Prayer above the Industrial Area”) proclaim, most communities do not tolerate the minarets to be taller than the church steeples surrounding them.

### ***Fear as an Organizing Element of Community***

Martin Heidegger gives a phenomenological account of embodied fear in his essay “Being in Time.” Following Heidegger, one may take into account three perspectives from which to consider fear: “(1) that in the face of which we fear, (2) fearing, and (3) that about which we fear” (179). Heidegger elaborates on “that in the face of which we fear” as rather literal, because the hazard embodies a “drawing-close” of whatever is potentially harmful to our Being (180). Fear, then, is the result of the nearness of elements that threaten the body. How this fear is legitimized and utilized in the debates surrounding Muslims and their mosques in Germany is important. Interviewees or authors explain the mainstream public’s fear of Muslims with “suitcase bombs which have been deposited in regional trains” (Broder 55) or the idea that Islam as a religion has the power to motivate “any number of young men to commit suicide bombings by

<sup>19</sup> For more information see Bartsch, Matthias, et al. “Gebetsruf überm Gewerbegebiet.”

promising them immediate access to heaven” (Wellershoff 62). The perceived proximity of the suicide bombers to the people who might get killed will elicit especially high levels of fear; whether Muslims visiting a neighborhood mosque generate a real threat or not, their sheer presence has the potential to evoke fear, and this fear is embodied. The fear of Islamization is therefore not only a fear of change of the landscape by building mosques, but also of physical encroachment and possible physical harm to anybody who might live close to the mosque.

In *On Suicide Bombing*, Talal Asad looks at some “modern concepts of killing and dying” in the Judeo-Christian tradition and specifically at the feelings evoked by “unrecognized” and “anonymous” suicide bombers that include Europeans as victims, and states based on the British psychoanalyst, Jacqueline Rose: “Suicide bombing is an act of passionate identification – you take the enemy with you in a deadly embrace” (66-67). If the general German public fears mosques to be or become breeding grounds for suicide bombers, then the general public’s inability to distinguish between a regular mosque visitor in their neighborhood and a suicide bomber will add heightened levels of fear due to the perceived immediacy and danger of the other. The image of the devoted body is the marker of bodily difference and the body submitting itself to Islam via bowing in rows becomes a picture that is connected to such passionate identification on behalf of the bomber. Therefore, the perceived difference in physical features, bodily movements, and clothing of the believers who visit a mosque marks them as possible perpetrators. This fear is, of course, usually not based on actual witnessing of suicide bombings in Europe, but the imagination of potential suicide bombings, which are

provoked by the repetitive coverage of the media. This media attention brings the hype of fear into one's living room and makes the threat feel more real. Due to the repetitive viewing of such bombings and the actual bodily disintegration of the victims, the vulnerability of the body becomes apparent on several levels: the potential of being a victim, the dissolution of boundaries between self and enemy and a visceral reaction to body parts being distributed at the scene of the suicide bombing which one might become a traumatized victim of. This traumatization of the bystander can feel just as visceral, and therefore real, when the scene is observed in the media.

Mosque attendees may perform bodily disciplining by praying in certain positions five times a day, or wearing headscarves as well as other religiously sanctioned attire. In the secular modern nation state of Germany, physical disciplining for religious reasons is perceived as outdated due to the construct of a notion of a disembodied universal subject during the Enlightenment.<sup>20</sup> Asad traces an epistemological shift away from embodied affect and a religious disciplining of the body, which becomes associated with religiosity and a pre-modern state, to the secular state in which the body should not have to be disciplined for religious reasons. Instead, discipline is ideally assigned to the state in modernity. While Asad does not address this, forms of physical discipline continue to exist in Christianity as well, including forms of prayer, fasting, hair regulations, religious clothing within certain groups, etc.

<sup>20</sup> For critiques of the "disembodied subject" please see authors such as Lauren Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy*, and "National Brands/National Body," as well as Anne-Marie Fortier, "Pride Politics and Multiculturalist Citizenship."

The state regulates how and to which extent its subjects should move their bodies and functions on the assumption that we have a homogenous society in which disciplining of the body for religious purposes is obsolete.

In *Formations of the Secular*, Asad understands the secular in terms of “the way it has been constituted, made real, connected to, and detached from particular historical conditions” (25) and tries to “show how the sacred and the secular depend on each other” (26). Asad argues that this construct of the secular nation state with its Christian roots has shifted away from the external world and faith and moved to a world of knowledge and schooling understood as disembodied. There is a perceived detachment from the senses and from affect that is replaced by knowledge.

In addition to Asad’s notion of fear and physicality, Brian Massumi presents in his book, *The Everyday Politics of Fear*, the material body as the ultimate object of fear, while explaining how a subject is formed in the era of late capitalism. After proposing that fear focuses on and stems from the materiality of the body – which can be injured or destroyed – Massumi links fear to consumption. “When we buy, we are buying off fear and falling, filling the gap with presence-effects. When we consume, we are consuming our own possibilities. In possessing, we are possessed, by marketable forces beyond our control. In complicity with capital, our body becomes its own worst enemy” (12). A consumer, for example, buying into the health hype of our time, is forced to experience her or his body as especially vulnerable to aging. All the possibilities of being human and vulnerable to changes allow an entire industry of health products, vitamins, beauty creams, spas, etc., to blossom. In addition to making one feel



vulnerable and looking at all the possibilities which human life holds in stock, consumers are led to lose track of cause and effect, which is useful to my argument. Because fear drives humans to accept the media's blurring of cause and effect, Massumi sees fear as more than "*fundamentally an emotion. It is the objectivity of the subjective under late capitalism*" (12; italics Massumi).

Instead of fear as a fundamental an emotion, fear becomes reduced to a possibility for disaster, while mass media play a vital role in using such fear to keep power relations constant. As an example for mechanics which keep power relations stable, Massumi mentions the heightened media attention received by a group of women who were massacred at the University in Montreal in 1989. When the media specifically focused on such events of violence against the materiality of women's bodies, more fear was provoked. In response, women altered their behavior to avoid "threatening situations" (5). Massumi calls broadcasting the "technology of collective forgetting" (25) via which the consumer objectifies and externalizes her or his memory and "the infinite repeatability of the event distances cause from effect" (26). Therefore, the massacre of the women in Montreal offered the opportunity to explain the event away as a single incidence of madness in the violence of men against women. "Over the next twelve months, Montreal recorded the steepest rise in its history in the incidence of rape, battering, and murder by male partners" (5), but the media were not interested in broadcasting statistics on domestic violence. As a consequence, then, women changed their behavior in public, but perpetrator behavior in private remained unexamined.

Similarly, despite extensive media coverage of Muslim immigrant women in the headscarf debate<sup>21</sup> or as the victims of a patriarchal system, which excludes women from praying side-by-side with men in a mosque, there is little coverage or even research on the effects of work and life in Germany on immigrants' bodies.<sup>22</sup> As Massumi claims, there is a specific difference for the body of the underprivileged people within a society: "Those excluded from the capitalist relation incarnate its form directly in their bodies: they fall, they were. They are not remembered" (19). Massumi compares a train surfer to a Wall-Street banker and argues that where that body is permitted to be participates in the creation of the subject. "Capitalists put their money on the line; train surfers, their bodies. ... they are determined by them [the wage and commodity relation] in radically divergent ways: the former by what kind of access he/she has to them, the latter by her/his exclusion from them" (19). Some bodies are disposable within this system and fear is used to ensure the continuation of political domination. The result of these complex social mechanics, which keep most subjects in place, is, nevertheless, a probability for shifting boundaries between groups. If migrant workers have to take jobs that include more physical labor and are disadvantaged in acquiring proficient language skills, which would give them access to better paying jobs, in addition to being marked as "the Other" by their physical appearance and

<sup>21</sup> For information of the media coverage of the headscarf debate see: Beverly M. Weber, "Cloth on her Head, Constitution in Hand."

<sup>22</sup> For more information on migration and health issues see: Michael Knipper, Yasan Bilgin, *Migration und Gesundheit*. For information especially dealing with addiction see: "Gesundheit und gesundheitliche Versorgung."

clothing, they are kept in place. By the same token, the invisibility of mosques and their attendees limits their participation in public space and culture. The permission to build mosques in densely populated areas, especially with a large mainstream German population, offers an opportunity to recognize Muslims living in Germany as part of the community.

### **Muslim Bodies in the Media**

#### *The Right to Religious Freedom as a Threat to the Secular Nation State*

One of the largest issues within the mosque debate has been the perceived problem of integrating Muslims into mainstream German society, a “problem” that emerges from the belief that Muslims are irrational because of the lack of separation of religion and state and the assumption that Islam is inherently intolerant, anti-secular and irrational (see, for example, Giordano 45). Since the mosque with its domes and minarets is often described as a symbol of Islam, it also becomes a reminder of the perceived lack of separation of religion and state, which would become palpable within a neighborhood. This decreased division might influence the behaviors of Muslims who live according to the laws of the Sharia and show diminished loyalty toward Germany’s constitution, the Basic Law. The building of more visually noticeable mosques has led to a growing fear in the mainstream public that the immigrant population has become more religious and therefore poses an increased threat to German society due to its demonstrated presence in close proximity. People questioned whether it is truly necessary for Muslims to have more visible sacral buildings, as these mark the growing religiosity of

a group, perceived as “irrational”, wanting to practice its religion more in the public eye.

This argument brings the laws governing religious freedom in Germany into the debate. Generally, Germany guarantees religious freedom based upon Article Four of the Basic Constitutional Law of the Federal Republic of Germany. This right to religious freedom includes all denominations and religions and assures the right to practice religion in private and in public. In addition to this article, Germany has contracts between religious organizations and the state that regulate their relationships and their respective responsibilities.

The Christian churches have a historically-shaped relationship with each other and with the government which was influenced by the Reformation, the Thirty Years’ War and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. About sixty percent of the German population is represented in about equal parts by one of the two major Christian faiths. The Catholic Church is organized into the Catholic dioceses and the German Bishops’ Conference. The Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) is a federation of 22 independent evangelical state churches of Lutheran, Reformed and United confessions which represents the majority of evangelical Christians in Germany. The EKD council, which is elected by the Synod and the Church conference, governs and represents the EKD in the public sphere. After 1945, both major churches became important contributors to rebuilding Germany and are treated as “corporate bodies under public law” since 1949. Church taxes, which are withheld from their members’ paychecks by the State and then channeled to the churches, provide a substantial part of the churches’

income. Religious education is guaranteed in state schools, the churches have broadcasting times on publicly-owned broadcasting stations, and the church-sponsored independent welfare organizations Caritas (Roman Catholic Church) and Diakonisches Werk (Protestant Churches) are major employers in Germany with special rights regarding their hiring policies. They run schools, hospitals, nursing homes, and other comprehensive social services funded in part by the State. Both Churches are partners of the Federal Government in international development cooperation and have their own humanitarian missions (S. Brown 100).

The Jewish community did not used to have a centralized organization with a relationship to the state, as the Christian churches did. Prompted by the then West-German government, the “Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland” (Central Council of Jews in Germany) was founded in 1950 to represent the Jews remaining in Germany, who numbered at the time about 15,000. In December of 1990, the five regional associations on the soil of former East Germany joined the Central Council which now embraces 107 Jewish communities and about 106 000 individual members.<sup>23</sup> Many of the newer members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. According to the official German website, the Federal Government offers the Central Council financial support in the order of five million Euros annually.<sup>24</sup> In January of 2003, for the first time since the Second World War, a treaty was signed between the German government

<sup>23</sup> For further information see the official web page of the Central Council of Jews: “Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland.”

<sup>24</sup> For further information on the Federal Government and Religion see: *Facts about Germany*, “BMI” and Werner Schiffauer, “From Exile to Diaspora: The Development of Transnational Islam in Europe.”

and the Central Council of Jews. This treaty clearly states that the Central Council is recognized as a “corporate body under public law” and that the German government agrees to financially support the council and that it will assist with the “preservation and nurturing of the German-Jewish cultural heritage, the building of a Jewish community and the integration-political and social responsibilities of the Central Council of Jews in Germany” (Zentralrat der Juden). With this treaty the Jewish umbrella organization has established a similar level of recognition as the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches.

Since the Christian Churches and the Jews now have representatives to facilitate official dialogue with the German government and a partnership relationship, the government finds it awkward that there is no centralized leadership in Islam. Therefore, several German politicians have demanded the formation of a body that represents all Muslims and allows official dialogue between government and Muslims. But according to “Migration Info,” which is sponsored by the Federal Center of Political Education, the representation in the newly created „Koordinierungsrats der Muslime in Deutschland“ (KRM) [Coordinating Council of Muslims] was met with wide criticism in politics, society, and associations. One of the points of criticism was the nature of this coordinating council with rotating leadership between the four major organizations that it consists of.<sup>25</sup> According to Mark Chalîl Bodenstein, who teaches at the Institute for

<sup>25</sup> The four founding organizations comprising the KRM are: the Turkish-Islamic Union (DITIB), the Central Council of Muslims in Germany (ZMD), the Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Association of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ).

Culture and Religion of Islam at the Goethe University in Frankfurt/Main, the KRM is believed to represent about eighty five percent of the German mosque community and views itself therefore as a potential partner of the government to discuss, for example, the implementation of Islamic religious education in public schools. Nevertheless, Bodenstein interprets the data of a 2008 MLD study (Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland) [Muslim Life in Germany] and comes to the conclusion that only three percent of Muslims feel represented by the KRM. Many Muslims do not have any affiliation with any organization. The Muslim organizations which are likely to be organized are often more conservative and actively practicing their religion, like Milli Görüş, which was under surveillance by the *Bundesverfassungsschutz*, the federal domestic intelligence service, due to alleged support of Islamist groups.

Because the KRM does not represent the entire Muslim population in Germany, the German government attempted to replicate the process of installing a better representative forum for organized, as well as non-organized, Muslims in Germany. In 2006, the government invited fifteen representatives from different Muslim organizations as well as non-practicing Muslims and fifteen governmental representatives or advisors to the German Conference on Islam (DIK) chaired by Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble. One should not, however, view this conference as an attempted treaty between church and state, although there was hope that a treaty might emerge at some point. The official conference website proclaims that “[i]n launching The German Conference on Islam the Federal Ministry of the Interior is aiming to improve religious

and social integration of the Muslim population in Germany.”<sup>26</sup> The conference attempted to improve communications between the government and the Muslim community in Germany by acknowledging that this community does not just consist of the KRM or the ZMD. The uncertainty about which partner to cooperate with, the low level of acceptance of representation by Muslims themselves, paired with the inability to actually improve the position and recognition of Muslims in German society demonstrate the ambiguities of the current situation. The North-Rhine Westphalian government decided to use the KRM as its negotiating partner and on February 22, 2011 the two partners signed a contract that will allow for the start of religious education in selected schools during the upcoming academic year. Notwithstanding the limited acceptance of the KRM, it has been able to further the recognition of many Muslim children as students with equal rights to religious education in public schools. The Minister of Education in North-Rhine Westphalia, Sylvia Löhrmann, voiced that she welcomes the efforts of the KRM to achieve the legal status of a *Religionsgemeinschaft* (Religious Community), which German law needs in order to allow for full recognition, and to draw up a treaty (“Islamischer Religionsunterricht”).<sup>27</sup> Despite the limited

<sup>26</sup> For further information see the official website of the “Federal Ministry of the Interior” “BMI” under Islam Conference and especially statements such as: “The German Conference on Islam will have 30 permanent participants, 15 of whom are representatives of the German government and 15 of whom are representatives of Muslims living in Germany. The latter include the Turkish-Islamic Union (DITIB), the Central Council of Muslims in Germany (ZMD), the Islamic Council, the Association of Islamic Cultural Centres (VIKZ) and the Alevite Community in Germany. However, since only 10-15% of the Muslim population in Germany are members of any Islamic organization at all, representatives of a modern, secular Islam from the private sector, society, academia and the cultural scene have been invited to take part.”

<sup>27</sup> Education is a matter of the state and not the federal government in Germany.



representation and this lack of recognition as a *Religionsgemeinschaft*, other Muslim organizations still welcome the implementation of the religious education that the KRM was able to negotiate (Alder).

However, the federal government struggles with this difference in organizational structure. As of today, the government has not been able to draw up a treaty to deal with this part of their population. As the organizational structure of communication between church and state exemplifies, German society already has an over determined value system, in which Muslims are not included, especially when it revolves around what is considered appropriate public behavior. They are seen as exceptions to this system and therefore fall into the categories of “in need of tolerance” and “human rights” to ensure their opportunities to practice their religion in public.

In order to explore the relationship of the state and the churches in Germany further, I will use the writings of Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, professor of law, specifically his article surrounding the mosque debate called “Secular State and Religion” (130). Böckenförde’s contribution is interesting in this context because he is trained in law, has connections to the Catholic Church, and presents the issue of Muslims trying to build more mosques not as primarily a question of law, as many thinkers argue, but rather of culture without, however, drawing a connection between law and culture. He positions himself as a universalized subject not acknowledging his privileged position as a white, well-educated male. What makes this author unique is his belief that the problems would be easily decided for the Muslim community based on the laws of religious freedom in Germany, but are very much complicated by

cultural conflict. Although he is open to rethinking the issues at hand through a cultural lens while simultaneously explaining the judicial background, his position as a preeminent, highly influential legal scholar, needs to be further problematized. While he sees the legal ramifications of Muslim religious practices, he does not see as clearly how the discussion about the cultural aspects of the debate are significantly prefigured by the Christian tradition of Germany. The shift away from law to culture is generally positive, because it shows how the discussion has often only been hidden by legal rhetoric, but was all along about culture. Böckenförde represents the general trend which started in the 1990s of using culture as a way of constructing difference, which replaced class as its main marker and which functions as race did prior to WWII.<sup>28</sup> Despite falling into the trap of culture as the symbol for otherness, Böckenförde's writing is informative, because it allows for an investigation of connections of legal and cultural notions to establish difference that dominates the discourse.

The situation of religious freedom and the relationship of the subject to the nation-state in regard to religious practice are unique in Germany. Despite its cooperation with the churches, Germany views itself as a "secularized nation", as opposed to a "secular nation", according to Böckenförde. Böckenförde defines the secularized state as one in which religion or a particular religion is no longer the obligatory foundation for the state-run system. State and church are *fundamentally*

<sup>28</sup> For more detail in regard to *cultural politics* as a marker of difference see Rommelspacher; Weber, "Cloth on her Head" and "Beyond the Culture Trap."

separated and the state does not represent a religion or designate one as official.

Rather, churches are separated from governmental institutions and the state's public laws, which are informed by cultural traditions including religious customs, govern the behavior of its citizens. Asad, in contrast, says

“the secular” should not be thought of as the space in which real human life gradually emancipates itself from the controlling power of “religion” and thus achieves the latter's relocation. It is this assumption that allows us to think of religion as “infecting” the secular domain or as replicating within it the structure of theological concepts. .... Secularism doesn't simply insist that religious practice and belief be confined to a space where they cannot threaten political stability or the liberties of “free-thinking” citizens. Secularism builds on a particular conception of the world. (*Formations of the Secular* 191)

Despite the initial distinction between the two terms of *secularized* versus *secular*, which could have led to an explanation about how Germany moved from a Christian nation to a secularized nation with Christian underpinnings, and what this demands of Muslims, Böckenförde, unfortunately, seems to lose track of this distinction and conflates the terms in the ensuing discussion. The conflation of this terminology points toward an acceptance of the role of Christian values in Germany's secularized nation and an understanding of Germany as a secular state that ignores both the history of secularism and the varying ways in which secular countries regulate the relationship between religion and the state. The deregulation of religion unfolds in civil society where

religion, nevertheless, is able to partake in shaping the state in accordance with its subjects.

Böckenförde explains the difference between the French concept of *laïcité* and the German notion of “übergreifender offener Neutralität” (“overarching open neutrality”) as a complete move of religion into the private sphere for the former, and an attempt to allow avowal and religious lifestyle to be part of the public sphere, as far as this balance is compatible with the worldly aims of the state for the latter (131-134). This comparison itself is a reflection of how deeply engrained Judeo-Christian values and modes of behavior in public are in society. Recognition of this, however, is indeed missing in Böckenförde’s analysis. Despite the omission of this possible shift in the discussion, Böckenförde nevertheless correctly recognizes that there might be some ethnic German citizens who wish to limit the right of a religious freedom that would nurture a change of the visual landscape and lifestyles of the long-standing Christian traditions. But he also explains that from a judicial point of view all members of society have the same right to practice their religion, and that the Catholic Church has historically had similar problems in accepting the secular state with its separation of church and state, as is now voiced by some members of Islam.

Despite its neutral formulation, this presentation of religious rights echoes Asad’s genealogical description of religion as being pushed into an intellectual sphere, where it is considered to be a tool for mining knowledge, while specifically avoiding a strictly faithful or spiritual connection. This interpretation holds true for the mainstream public, which views itself as less and less religious, as manifested in a

decrease of religious rituals, especially those that are physical. The move of religion from the physical to the intellectual, which the nation-state subject is supposed to experience, is not only important in political terms, but also as an indicator of secularization itself. This indicator is one of the above-mentioned over-determined experiences that Asad discusses, suggesting that religion is replaced by spirituality or knowledge. Asad views “secularism” as an “enactment by which a *political medium* (representation of citizenship) redefines and transcends particular and differentiating practices of the self that are articulated through class, gender, and religion” (*Formations of the Secular* 5). He sees secularism as a “political doctrine”, which is often described by others as a “universal concept”, and points out that the problem with this doctrine is its close connection “with the rise of a system of capitalist nation-states” (7). One of the biggest hindrances to a coexistence of religion and secularism is the understanding of the private and public sphere. Asad believes that if secularism “as a doctrine requires the distinction between private reason and public principle, it also demands the placing of ‘the religious’ in the former by ‘the secular.’ Private *reason* is not the same as private *space*” (8). Here lies part of the dilemma, because this point is contested by most Western writers who usually equate private reason with private sphere or space.

However, there should be room for religion in the public sphere because, as Böckenförde claims, religion can be lived in the public sphere in Germany. This can be seen with Christian traditions that have long shaped Germany’s public sphere with the celebration of many Christian holidays and subsequent store and school closings, or the wearing of Christian symbols like the cross or nuns’ robes. But the overall aims of the

state are, at least currently, excluding parity of participation by Muslims and with it an opportunity to build self-esteem, as there are no closures for Islamic holidays or acceptance of its markers like the headscarf. The state still determines which religious symbols can be worn in public and how these are to be interpreted, which is reflected in the headscarf debate surrounding Ludin, as I addressed in Chapter II. Religion is also not officially used any more to “serve to define the frontiers” of a nation for most mainstream Germans. Yet religious practices are currently an important aspect of defining inclusion or exclusion from communities of citizenship. Who defines which religious practices are aligned with the aims of the state and to what extent should those practices be visible? What happens when the state successfully excludes certain religious practices from society? Much of the discussion around these questions is based on the assumption that Islam prevents a separation of religion and state.

The argument that even some Muslims themselves doubt that Islam is capable of separating religion and state is picked up by Jörg Lau in his “*Zeit*”-article “Laut ruft der Muezzin” (“Loud calls the Muezzin”) (35). Lau guides the reader into an exploration of a liberal state that does not need to deny its cultural and religious roots, which reminds one of Cardinal Ratzinger’s similar comments in the press (35). Nevertheless, Lau believes the Cologne mosque debate to be centered “around nothing less important than the naturalization of a religion” (33) that is now pressing for recognition which it might receive in exchange for submission to German laws (35). This remark is noteworthy because Lau perceives the process of integration, which was so central to the mosque debate in Cologne, as a conversation in which Muslims need to be on equal

terms. However, Lau also insists that Muslims in Germany must take the general public's doubt about Muslims' cooperation seriously, just as much as mainstream citizens must deal with an "irritating religious multiplicity that includes minarets" (36). Why is religious multiplicity irritating to so many Germans and what can we learn from this irritation? Lau believes that people will have to deal with the "irritation" but Muslims will have to show their loyalty to the state. If Muslims supposedly cannot be trusted in regard to their allegiance to the nation-state, and if this lack of trust is equated to the perceived inability to think rationally, then rationality is linked with modernity via the expectations of a post-Enlightenment secular state. The condemnation that Muslims are incapable of thinking rationally, which necessarily perpetuates Western fears, is often based on the fear of suicide bombings and other acts of terrorism, which I will expand on later. However, the supposed superiority of Westerners with their rational thought abilities also represents claims to a supposedly existent homogeneity of the German people, which is based upon the idea of a shared cultural, often meaning religious, background.

The treatment of the nation state as homogeneous has not yet disappeared from people's minds, as evidenced by another remark which Böckenförde makes when he answers a letter from then Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger: "You are correct that each state structure has its own cultural and religious roots, which is more or less expressed in its institutions and laws, even if the state is secular and neutral toward the religions and ideologies of the world" (140). The argument that state institutions and laws are, to a certain degree, dependent upon the cultural and religious traditions of the state cannot

be emphasized enough. Böckenförde only uses the point to exemplify that we need not hide this fact and still need to adhere to the notion of religious freedom for all religions as a human right. Nevertheless, this argument can also be read as an understanding that the German Catholic church, and especially Ratzinger want to argue for the distinct historically and traditionally shaped value system that cannot ensure parity of participation for all religions, and here particularly not for Islam. Meaning that one cannot change history and the influence Christianity has had on the construction of society to a much larger extent than other religions in Germany, and that this situation is acceptable. Thus, to Ratzinger (and Böckenförde) it is permissible to have a preference for architecture or fashions that were inspired by Christianity. Böckenförde generally aligns himself with Ratzinger's position, which demonstrates his bias toward Christianity as an appropriate value system on which secularized Germany is based. What this means for the practice of religion in public is that Muslims are excluded from the discussion of what is appropriate public behavior, clothing choices and physical movement as determined by religion. They are seen as exceptions to this system and are therefore forced to rely on umbrella protections, such as "in need of tolerance" and "human rights", to ensure their opportunities to practice their religion in public.

Tolerance functions here to disguise the power structures between Muslims and Christians. People in power positions claim acceptance while maintaining division. There is a willingness to engage with difference demonstrated in this discourse but the difference, when configured according to tolerance, maintains the power of the group who is responsible for *tolerating*. Mainstream Germans with Christian affiliations or



roots assume the decision-making positions and determine, for example, whether a mosque should be built or not and what shape such a building is permitted to take. They represent a hierarchy in which they control a superior position and the public, whom they represent, often embody these same feelings of superiority from which they then tolerate Muslims. Muslim's bodies are marked as different, and thus as something in need of tolerance, because German society has to achieve some sort of balance of the "danger" of such bodies against the imperative of tolerance. Nevertheless, at times tolerance, despite our criticism of the term, is not even something Muslims can expect if one follows Böckenförde's argument here, namely that it is non problematic to have Christianity as the main influence of cultural life (Therefore, if Muslims move to Germany they have to accept this situation).

Talal Asad suggests that "in post-Enlightenment society 'to tolerate' differences simply implies not taking them seriously" ("Islam in Europe" 311). In her book *Regulating Aversion*, Wendy Brown describes the process of tolerance in the context of governmental institutions, commenting that "tolerance is exemplary of Michel Foucault's account of governmentality as that which organizes 'the conduct of conduct'" and that "tolerance nevertheless produces and positions subjects, orchestrates meanings and practices of identity, marks bodies, and conditions political subjectivities [...] through the dissemination of tolerance discourse across state institutions" (4). She states further that "[s]chools teach tolerance, the state preaches tolerance, religious and secular civic associations promulgate tolerance [...] tolerance knows no political party" (2-3). If one accepts that Germany – just as any other liberal democratic nation state –

operates based on Judeo-Christian traditions, which can be found in its institutions as much as in its legal system, then the acceptance of this tradition becomes the foundation of the idea of a superior, hegemonic value system for a liberal state. Thus, tolerance functions because of hegemonic power and perceived superiority. In Brown's analysis, discourses of tolerance work on behalf of "hegemonic social or political powers" and that the West views itself as "free," "tolerant," and "civilized," and standing in opposition to the "fundamentalist," "intolerant," and "barbaric" other that needs to be controlled (W. Brown 10). In secular liberal democratic states, tolerance often functions politically and socially, but not legally, to regulate cohabitation (W. Brown 11). However, Böckenförde even argues for a legal regulation of spaces of tolerance, "[t]he laws need to give clearly in-themselves-reasoned landmarks and lines that also need to incorporate limited spaces for tolerance" (Böckenförde 141). In Böckenförde's view, then, the right to build a mosque is granted as a measure of tolerance on the part of the majority.

As long as tolerance is necessary, and a notion of human rights needs to be claimed in order to allow Muslims to practice their religion and build their mosques, Muslim citizens will continue to be viewed as outside German society. Since many mainstream Germans perceive mosques and the bodily practice of Islam as something foreign pervading their own society, the answer lies in part in the fear of bodily harm by suicide bombers. Furthermore, it becomes obvious that Germans fuel the debate about recognizing Muslims as members of German society with equal rights to religious freedom within the context of tolerance. A prime example of this is their opposition to

minarets, which would be taller than existing church steeples. The entire mosque debate turns into a discussion of whose culture should be the leading one (*Leitkultur*). Accordingly, how willing is such a culture to respect the spatial needs of a minority in its country, granting proper recognition by permitting such constructions? Furthermore, central to such recognition, how much tolerance should mainstream society permit in regard to bodies that dress and move differently?

*Lack (or Excess) of Integration: An Economic "Burden" with Increasing Visibility*

Ralph Giordano, one the most outspoken critics of Islam and the Cologne central mosque, establishes a similar link between the lack of rational thought and non-trustworthiness. As a Jew who survived Nazi-encampment, Giordano claims to be able to write about that which he assumes many others are afraid to express. In his writings he concludes there is a "fear of a creeping Islamization of our country" (37) as well as a fear of interference from the Turkish government, referring to the fact that the Diyanet in Ankara, rather than the DITIB itself, purchased the mosque. Because the Diyanet is a part of the Turkish department of religious affairs, a fear of the pervasive intentions of the Turkish government in Germany is propagated (39). Giordano believes many of the immigrants are neither capable nor willing to integrate and that they constitute a financial burden for the social welfare system. This is a strange juxtaposition of the contested "willingness to integrate" with "welfare issues" which Giordano tries to connect here and that have no connection to Islam. He goes even further in his criticism of Islam by arguing that the third generation is even more Islamic than their parents

and grandparents and even has a fraction which is prone to radical ideas that could potentially evolve into terror attacks (40-45).

In a contradictory way some articles suggest a fear that immigrants might do *too* well integrating into German society, particularly in terms of economic success.<sup>29</sup> However, these articles do not necessarily have a negative underpinning. The journalist, Daniel Bax, for example, points out, while he describes the general public's fears that the influx in mosques is in part due to the increase in Muslims who have entered the middle class and are now putting down roots ("Die Moschee im Dorf lassen."). The notion of fear is not only bound to emotions of change, physical encroachment, possible harm, and an increased need of transparency, but is also grounded in economic sentiments. If the German public were truly interested in integrating all Muslim immigrants to the point where they would have equal economic, cultural, and political power, we should not see any discussions about the other coming too close to mainstream Germans via the building of new mosques or as teachers wearing headscarves. On the contrary, as expressed by Ralph Giordano, it appears that only individual immigrants, who can demonstrate that they have not insisted upon the cultural preservation of their identity, are welcomed into the "national crowd" (45). Therefore, headscarves are very much acceptable for the cleaning lady and nobody used to voice any concern as long as Muslim immigrants did not try to mix their religious practice into more prominent professions. At the same time, mosques were tolerated in

<sup>29</sup> For economic burden or success see for example: Daniel Bax, "Die Moschee im Dorf lassen;" Wolfgang Benz, "Antisemiten und Islamfeinde;" ARD report "Allah in Ehrenfeld."

courtyards where they did not necessitate a redirection of traffic flow and a visual change of a neighborhood. Since we have Muslim teachers, who are clearly part of the middle class, and modern mosque architecture that draws attention, the tolerance for religious symbols appears to conflict not only with economic sentiments, but also with the power and influence related to economics in institutions of education, which are needed to support the political system. Although Muslim women in headscarves as teachers represent a new threat to the power structures of the Western secular state, they also elicit notions of savior behavior by politicians and public figures, as they embody an endangerment of a German understanding of gender equality.

### *Fearing the End of Gender Equality*

One of the main opponents of the mosque, Necla Kelek, has published extensively advocating against the mosque in Cologne. In a 2007 *FAZ* article, Kelek comments on a gray and white model of the Cologne mosque, saying that the architects delivered with this model what their conservative client had asked for: “a political statement of Islam in concrete. For this reason, the clash [Streit] about the building of the Cologne mosque stands in line with the headscarf debate. Friday mosques in the cityscape are like headscarves in the street: a visible political statement” (“Das Minarett ist ein Herrschaftssymbol.”). Kelek paints a dark visual image of a patriarchal system where women disappear behind dull coloration by equating the gray concrete-like quality of the mosque to the headscarf. She further describes headscarves as “colorless coats which are supposed to veil the women’s bodies and are the most unfavorable in regard to fashion which any tailor has ever stitched together and only outperformed by the

black tent of the Chador: it makes women into a depersonified nothing [entpersönlichtes Nichts].” With her descriptive words, which are visually supported by the picture of the model included in the interview, she tries to elicit fear of the “minaret as a symbol of domination [Herrschaftssymbol]” in combination with fear of women as victims of the patriarchal structure of Islam, which forces women to visually disappear behind their clothing. Both symbols are visual reference points that can be read as political statements. In stark contrast, Kelek herself appears in a color photograph, which serves as a juxtaposition to the pre-modern world. Kelek refers to Muslim women in accordance with media publications, like the magazine *Der Spiegel*, which show veiled women. A 2010 title story, “Heisse und kalte Religionen” (“Hot and Cold Religions”) by the philosopher and writer, Rüdiger Safranski, for example, shows an image of veiled women in Indonesia with the subtitle, “Islam believers in Indonesia: the ones who infiltrate from the outside”, and a similar photograph with veiled women praying says “killing off doubts.” Here, women become the main carrier of this so-called “hot religion”, which is overly sensitive to criticism and which infiltrates our lives by the masses. However, there are also articles that criticize particularly Kelek’s writing for lack of empiricism and preaching of hate, such as Daniel Bax in “Unter Hasspredigern.”

Nevertheless, Muslims are changing the landscape with their clothing and their mosques in ways that symbolize a different gender understanding due to the spatial separation of men and women. The separation of men and women – as well as the

wearing of headscarves<sup>30</sup> – has led to questions about the position of women in Islam in general. Several journalists criticize Islam as a religion that undermines notions of gender equality in Germany. Jörg Lau, for example, expresses that the debate about the headscarf and the mosque protests somewhat discloses how far the general debate has already moved: “The one who believes the prohibition to wear the headscarf is not compatible [ist nicht zu vereinbaren] with an understanding of a free state [mit dem freiheitlichen Staatsverständnis] can still position himself against the wearing of a headscarf as a sign of discrimination against women [Benachteiligung der Frau]” (36). He attests to freedom of speech rules that allow citizens to voice their moral or ethical concern about gender equality beyond an understanding of the law. Lau does not mention any concerns in regard to the actual way in which gender equality is lived in Germany today, such as the income gap for women in similar positions.<sup>31</sup> Wellershoff’s comment is even stronger when he sides with Ralph Giordano, who declared immigration as failed due to the “in our eyes scandalous suppression of women in Islam, which violates the basic right for gender equality in a provocative, highly visible conspicuousness” (62). He goes even further and suggests this inequality is made visible via honor killings within the Muslim community. Although Wellershoff does not mention the spatial separation of men and women in the planned Cologne mosque,

<sup>30</sup> For studies of the wearing of the headscarf and a “European Muslim Identity” see Sigrid Nökel, “Islam, Gender and Dialogue: on Body Politics and Bio-Politics.” For Muslim Perspectives on Gender see Schirin Amir-Moazami, “Reaffirming and Shifting Boundaries: Muslim Perspectives on Gender and Citizenship.”

<sup>31</sup> For further information about the income gap see *Facts about Germany*

he states that this mosque building holds its believers in an immobile, traditional configuration, which also infers the unchanged position of the genders (65).

From an architectural perspective, Paul Böhm, Cologne architect and designer of sacral buildings including the Cologne mega mosque, proclaims during a discussion among mosque architects in Berlin that architecture is always political (Knöfel). He provides further interesting insight when asked during an interview with Christian Hümmeler, if one is allowed to compromise in the matter of gender equality, specifically if the public should have a say as to whether or not there should be a spatial separation of men and women in mosques (Böhm 158). Böhm responds to this question with a brief reference to the sacral architecture of other religions in Germany: "In the synagogue that is partially no different. Recently, I [also] saw in the Eiffel [Region] a small village church, where on the benches it said 'men' on the right side, and 'women' on the left side" (Böhm 158-159). The interviewer, nevertheless, does not appear to believe that a side-by-side of men and women is as much of a marker of the equality of the sexes and comments that they are "at least on one level" (Böhm 159). Nevertheless, Böhm remarks that this also existed in the Christian sacral architectural tradition until about eighty years ago. "Gender equality is a development which took several centuries here. We must give the Muslims time, and I as an architect can give the opportunity to develop in that direction" (Böhm 159). Böhm appears to be asserting a certain sense of superiority when he discloses that he views his role as an architect to be that of a mentor. Through his architectural design, he suggests, Muslims can, in time, achieve gender equality like their German brethren. Despite having just stated that it



took Christianity in Germany many centuries to arrive at this “modern point of view” that is mirrored in sacral architecture, he does not mention that he would want this development to come from within the Muslim community itself, but instead establishes himself as the Western savior or guide. Nevertheless, Böhm’s references to the architectural development or situation in churches or synagogues places the construction of mosques in a historical perspective and allows for the potential of growth or change within the Muslim community, which may then find an expression in mosque architecture. However, beyond the spatial separation of men and women, another recurring image that provokes fear is that of masses of bodies in prayer.

*Masses of Bodies/Suicide Bombings/Terrorism*

Many Muslims are viewed as potential idealistic supporters of suicide bombings. Furthermore, the media is not very interested in them as individuals, but rather as part of the masses of those “threatening” people who are dressed differently. Ethnic Germans now believe that their bodies are in harm’s way without ever questioning cause and effect and without analyzing the likelihood of such bombings being initiated by their neighborhood mosque. By keeping such patterns of fear alive through a consumerism of dangerous bodies mediated to the public by popular media, the subjectivizing process, which ensures political domination by an established group, continues. At the same time, the nation state represents its utopia of a homogeneous society in which equal opportunities exist for all of its disembodied members, excluding those whose access to the wage relation is limited, or in other words, the underclass. Due to the described coverage by the media, fear of Muslims who abide by the dress

rules of their community is provoked, because they cannot be distinguished from a potential suicide bomber and because they represent the physical disciplining of the body which is rendered archaic.

Further articles feature mosques with large amounts of believers. Especially provocative is the article “Verse für Krieg und Frieden” (“Verses for War and Peace”), found both in the print magazine, *Der Spiegel*, and its online version, *SpiegelOnline*. Here, *Der Spiegel* uses an authoritative voice and shows the readers where and how the Koran is read and Islam is practiced. Among the many large and colorful pictures are several which show many men in Mekka or in a mosque in a praying position, as well as women wearing Burkas in Pakistan. These pictures are juxtaposed with Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden and therefore invite a visual connection to radical leaders who either terrorize their own people or who pose a threat of terror to the West.

Although the latter images of masses and the provoked fear of close proximity serve a more heightened stimulation of fright, pictures of the mosques themselves still hold the key to fear of the change of one’s landscape or cityscape. The validity of this argument can be exemplified by the recent “mock mosque sign”, which appeared as a construction sign at the Leipsuasch mosque in Hannover. Leipsuasch read backwards is “Schauspiel”, or “play/theater”, and the construction site itself is going to house the reconstructed Kröpcke-Center, an office building in the city center. Despite the sign exemplifying a public relations stunt for the theater, opponents showed up during the five hours it was hung. In an interview with the newspaper *taz*, Kolja Mensing and Robert Thalheim, the organizers of the advertisement, stated that they wanted to show

“how easy it is to set such a conflict in motion”. Citizens will have an especially hard time acclimating to changes in the landscape – in regard to the architecture as well as the physical mosque buildings containing bodies – specifically in city centers that hold historical sentiment, as is the case in Hannover. Furthermore, using such prime property also indicates an infringement on economic power once enjoyed by the mainstream majority.

That this fear is still at work also becomes visible in the newest debate, which arose in Völklingen-Wehrden, a little town in the small state of Saarland. In January 2010, using the editorial pages of the *Saarbrücker Zeitung* as a platform, local newspaper journalist Alexander Will opposed the construction of a minaret as an addition to a mosque housed in a former movie house. Even though no call for prayer would ever come from this minaret, Will warned of the minaret as a symbol of “Islam’s quest for power.” The author claims that the threat is still alive, referring to the militaristic rhetoric employed by Turkey’s current Prime Minister, Erdogan, during a 1998 speech when he quoted an Islamic poem: “The mosques are our casernes, the minarets our bayonets, the domes our helmets and the believers our soldiers.”<sup>32</sup> Erdogan was imprisoned for this. Local right-wing extremists in Völklingen reiterated these sentences in connection with Erdogan. The war images in this expression fall on fertile ground with people who fear for their physical well-being. Erdogan’s 2008 speech in

<sup>32</sup> For more information on this speech and its consequences see “Turkey’s Charismatic Pro-Islamic Leader.” and for more information of the current usage see “Far-Right Rhetoric: Germany’s Very Own Minaret Debate Turns Nasty.”

Cologne, during which he called against assimilation, appears in the press connected with his prior words. The journalist Will, along with many others, emphasize the connection between the Turkish state, German mosques, and a violent, bodily threat for Germans. Such concerns are due, in part, to the role the DITIB plays in financing the new mosque domes and its minaret.

Franz Sommerfeld,<sup>33</sup> has published widely in the newspapers on the mosque debate. Sommerfeld argues that terrorism is at the core of fear about Islam in Germany. He claims that fear of terrorism has only really been on the rise since the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks against the USA. Supposedly these attacks alerted people to a worldwide network of Islamic terrorists on the brink of becoming the most dangerous totalitarian threat, preceded only by Communism and National Socialism (21). Due to this heightened awareness, only now is the general public interested in the value system of Islam because they feel threatened by Muslims and their beliefs. Nevertheless, print media and public broadcasting station reports about honor killings, youth violence, and the headscarf debate have been circulating in the German media for at least two decades.<sup>34</sup> The attacks, which occurred on September 11<sup>th</sup>, did not initiate a cultural

<sup>33</sup> Franz Sommerfeld is editor-in-chief for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (KSTA) (Cologne City Newspaper), editor of the book *Der Moschee-Streit* (The Mosque Debate), and a former student of Protestant Theology.

<sup>34</sup> For a critical review of statistics of criminal acts of foreigners and honor killings see: The website of the Federal Center of Political Education [Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung]: "Ausländerkriminalität;" Werner Schiffauer, *Die Gewalt der Ehre. Kulturelle Charakteristika als Bedingungen interkultureller Kommunikation*, Interview with Schiffauer, "Schlachtfeld Frau." For an investigation of the perception of Islam see Dirk Halm, *Zur Wahrnehmung des Islam und zur sozio-kulturellen Teilhabe der Muslime in Deutschland*. For an analysis of the headscarf debate in Germany's print media see Beverly M. Weber, *Headscarves and Miniskirts*.

difference awareness, especially in Europe. Rather, what appears to have changed is the perception of a more organized attack on the state.

Since the aforementioned totalitarian political systems are compared to Islam, one has to again see the fear of a religious ideological system which has the capability to govern and which does not allow its members rational thought. Thus, the evoked fear via terrorist attacks is linked to a religious governmental system. This connection between state and violence in the name of religion becomes even more obvious in Sommerfeld's remarks concerning the DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs), when Sommerfeld hints at terror acts and remarks that members of DITIB will have to deal with charges brought against them like any other ideology or religion, whether there is any direct involvement or not (Sommerfeld 22).

The most obvious representation of notions of fear lies with the journalist Henryk M. Broder. In a 2007 interview with Tobias Kaufmann, Broder says that people are afraid of change and, in regard to Islam, they are afraid of the potential for totalitarianism, with a leaning toward violence, and suitcase bombs (Broder 55). Broder, a well-known opponent of Islam, would supposedly not mind the building of a mosque in Cologne, but only if Christians were permitted to build a church in Turkey in return (Broder 54). An interesting comparison since the Christian minority in Turkey, which makes up about one to two percent of the Turkish population, is a lot smaller than the Turkish-German community and the laws in both countries are different. Most of the Christian community in Turkey resides in Istanbul and consists of, among others,

an Italian-Catholic, an Armenian-Orthodox, a Greek-Orthodox, and an Anglican congregation, all who already have church buildings of their own.<sup>35</sup>

All three authors mention the possible link to totalitarianism in connection with violence, particularly acts of terrorism such as suicide bombings. By allowing mosques to have masses of men “led” by Imams with terrorist ideas, as mentioned by Wellershoff, bomb attacks become a possibility “even if this is not to be expected here [in Cologne] but [it is] still little trust provoking” (Wellershoff 62). For some, the building of mosques not only leads to issues of distrust, but the sheer number of people that could be accommodated within the confines of the mosques provokes a fear of possible suicide attacks.

As mentioned above, Asad argues that the affect of horror at the sight of suicide bombings in the Western world is based upon the Christian assumption that the suicide bomber sacrifices himself or herself. This assumption is accompanied by the post-Christian secular need to psychoanalyze Muslims’ actions, resulting in an interest in YouTube testimonials of suicide bombers, which are then dissected until they fit into a Western understanding of community or religion versus secular. That the act of suicide is a secularized action in an Islamic tradition is never mentioned in the texts written by Westerners.

<sup>35</sup> For further information see *Geography of Religion: Where God Lives, Where Pilgrims Walk*. Eds. John Esposito et al.

Beyond the often misinterpreted motivation for suicide bombings, the effect of horror as an affect that has been evoked in the Western observer or reader of Western news needs to be problematized. When soldiers are being killed in war, the Western viewer sees this as tragic but does not necessarily experience horror. When the body is fragmented and shattered, however, then the viewer feels horror. A certain proximity causes the horror. "Horror is the total loss of practical and mental control" and it occurs when the dead body is dealt with by the living in an inappropriate manner (Asad 78). Asad goes even further when he explains that

In the suicide bomber's act, perhaps what horrifies is not just dying and killing (or killing by dying) by the violent appearance of something that is normally disregarded in secular modernity: the limitless pursuit of freedom, the illusion of an uncoerced interiority that can withstand the force of institutional disciplines. Liberalism, of course, disapproves of the violent exercise of freedom outside of the frame of law. But the law itself is founded by and continuously depends on coercive violence. (91-92)

This violence of the law, nevertheless, is being denied, and the Western viewer perceives himself or herself to be in a safe environment, one that is threatened by the unexpected attack of a suicide bomber. The assumed accompanying freedom in the Western world is not questioned either, as it should be, especially in regard to Muslims who live in the West. The question arises: How do we fit Muslims into a liberal modern framework? Although most Westerners believe that a liberal framework provides structure and strictures that allow for absolute freedom, the way in which Muslims may

participate in liberal Western society is very restricted. This idea about Muslims as the other in an overdetermined framework in Western society, who need to be viewed with fear or even horror, sheds light on the ways in which fear functions in Western societies. The above-mentioned texts by Giordano, Sommerfeld and Broder seem to connect general fear of change in society with extreme forms of fear, namely the “horror” of suicidal terror attacks. Unfortunately, particularly Giordano, Broder, and Kelek have dominated the discussion in newspaper, although critical voices, such as the historian and head of the center of anti-Semitism at the TU in Berlin, Wolfgang Benz illuminate the dangers of a discourse of fear and here particularly the parallels between anti-Semitic slogans and the “enemies of Islam.” Despite the widespread negative press, a lot of politicians have supported mosque projects and some, such as North-Rhine Westphalian minister of integration, Armin Laschet (CDU) have also used the media attempting to mitigate between worried ethnic German citizens and their minority counterparts (Greven, “Der Islam gehört zu uns” [“Islam Belongs to us”]). Furthermore, this fear of change or “the foreign element” in one’s backyard, many politicians argue, can be counteracted by an increase in transparency within mosque communities and Muslim or Islamic Organizations.

### **Modernity as Transparency and The Cure for Fear**

In an interview with Christian Hümmerler, Paul Böhm discloses that there was a phase during the planning of this mosque where DITIB, as the builder, had to succumb to building something “modern, something local and not – like usually – something with reminiscence to the old country” (153). He adds that the overall goal in erecting sacral



constructions is to give the building “a form which reveals what is contained on the inside” and that the stylistic element in this project was the minaret (156). It appears that the architects were aiming at building something which would integrate into the local landscape while simultaneously not losing sight of the building’s function as a mosque. Nevertheless, Paul Böhm is aware that for some people this aim is not sufficient and they still fear for the well-known cityscape. In response, he offers that 150 years ago, when the first Protestant church was built in Cologne, there also was a major uprising, but today, this is no longer important (155). This modern mosque faces similar opposition as did non-Catholic church buildings two centuries ago, but very few people consider the Ehrenfeld Mosque in this context.

A more modern design and transparency are the factors that architects and builders are trying to use to better integrate the mosque into the new environment. Accordingly, Mehmet Yildirim, the general secretary of the financing source DITIB, calls the Cologne Mosque an “open mosque as part of a contribution toward integration” (Yildirim 66). He further states that DITIB has proven their organization’s openness with their architecture competition, where the goal was “to create a dignified community center which blends into the Cologne cityscape and the local housing development” (67). The new building is supposed to be “representative” and calls for “acceptance” as part of the integration process. Yildirim believes that the open mosque “will make visible [that] which has been existing in Cologne for many years: we Muslims are a part of Cologne society” (67). His hopes are to create a feeling of belonging, because Muslims will feel “visible, accepted and welcome” (68).

The need to understand and psychoanalyze the other is also portrayed in the request for transparency of activities at the mosques. The Central Council of Muslims is very aware of this request and its general secretary, Aiman A. Mazyek, says that “in Sunday sermons the visible, transparent Islam is demanded” and that he not only wants a mosque in Cologne and the option of listening to a muezzin, but also expects “in the future that not just in some, but in all mosques [in Germany] German will be spoken” and that this will be needed to increase transparency (58). The needed visibility also found its way into the architecture itself, in the open and airy model designed by the architects Prof. Gottfried Böhm and his son, Paul Böhm, which won first prize for the Cologne mega mosque.<sup>36</sup>

But just this visibility, the size, and the change of the cityscape in Cologne-Ehrenfeld are part of the problems which many others are voicing. Among those voicing concern is Cologne-based writer Dieter Wellershoff. Wellershoff preferred the smaller mosque locations, such as in a corner building in southern Cologne. He evokes an intimate and peaceful picture of the men who would often stand smoking outside their small old building and juxtaposes this with televised images of “Muslim major events in which masses of similarly-dressed men were lying closely crowded together with their forehead on the ground”, an image, he states, that has always “alienated and

<sup>36</sup> Although the mosque is under construction, DITIB gave Böhm notice in 2011 that he will be replaced as the main architect, because he supposedly made 2000 mistakes during the project. He now only has an advisory function. The Turkish architect Orhan Gökkuş will be overseeing the rest of the construction, which is now supposed to open in 2013. When the press secretary of DITIB is questioned if the reasons behind the change of architects might be that the mosque has become too modern, she evades an answer (Buß, “Kölle Allah!”).

disgusted” him (60-61). The fear evoked here, which even has the ability to disgust, is a direct response to the visibility of many differently dressed men participating in unfamiliar bodily rituals. Such an image is precisely what a demand for transparency will give rise to. Wellershoff elaborates on the effect of this physical accumulation by saying “I felt that these outstretched human bodies were a critical mass of incalculable energy, which was controlled by the loudspeaker-intensified voice of the Imam and melted together to parts of a powerful overall will” (61). According to Wellershoff, the big mosque becomes a vessel for controlling masses of energy from many controlled bodies. Therefore, the physical body itself, left under the direction of the Imam, is a threat. Wellershoff also draws on images of suicide bombings, discussing young men who lack economic opportunities and who are guided into committing such bombings where “they themselves with their nameless victims fly through the air as dismembered bodies” (62).

Wellershoff describes how he cultivates friendships with Turkish women who are well educated and integrated. He is also very aware of the complexity and different levels of integration and how such is dependent upon economic factors. Nevertheless, even Wellershoff expresses that the qualified minority which achieves upward mobility “most likely distances itself from their traditions” (61). He seems to be suggesting that only well-educated Turks who are able to leave their Islamic faith behind, can refuse religious violence, and are therefore acceptable. Accordingly, mosques should primarily be tourist attractions or centers for education, integrating women into the community via languages classes, thereby adhering to a Western understanding of

equality.<sup>37</sup> Without a more neutral reception of masses of bodies moving together during their mosque prayer, extreme voices will always revert to a connection to violence. Here is a real chance for educated mainstream Germans, religious studies programs in schools and the media to allow for the recognition of such religious bodily practices without being interpreted as dangerous.

### **Conclusion:**

Mosques might be tolerated as long as the ceremonies are being held in German so that there is an ample amount of transparency to decrease the fear that something anti-nation state is growing in our German backyards. Whenever these mosques want to trump the size and appearance of neighboring churches, or set a new landmark for influence, recognition, economics, and power the discussion about rights for immigrants recedes right back to the incompatibility of religion and state in modernity. Therefore, as long as Muslims are declared incapable of rational thought and expected to practice their religion in private to avoid questioning the “clear” separation of church and state in Western secular society, any kind of project, such as the building of a mosque, will bring up discussions of immigration and the ability to integrate. The increased level of fear of Muslims as terrorists is all but an indicator for the need of a post-Christian secular idea of tolerance from a position of power that calls for control at

<sup>37</sup> For a representation of mosques as cultural centers which help women integrate see especially page 10 of the 2009-flyer by the Coordinating Council for the annual open house of mosques in Germany which is sponsored by DITIB, IRD, VIKZ, and ZMD: “KRM Pressemitteilung 2009.” For a possible recommendation on turning mosques into tourist attractions see: Johannes Nitschmann, “Großer Krach um Großmoschee.”

the same time, and which demonstrates that no real state of acceptance or recognition has yet been accomplished. Transparency of the mosques cannot be the only answer to achieve more recognition and acceptance either, because such transparency leads to greater visibility of bodies which perform unfamiliar rituals, which, in reality, are at the very root of such fear. What must be achieved is a realization that Muslims can be integrated into German society regardless of their willingness to become less religious, leave their religion behind, or move their bodies in unfamiliar ways. Instead, one needs to realize that at the forefront of these discussions are shifting relationships to religion, and that the role of the German public media in portraying bodies and themes in a negative fashion greatly influences any chances of recognition. Furthermore, voices, such as Bax, Greven, or Benz who try to expose the complexity of the issues surrounding the mosque debate in an attempt to reduce or impede the generally mounting fear need to receive more attention in the media.

#### IV. The Films of Fatih Akin: The Fast Track to Recognition after the *Wende*

Germany is proud of its long-standing theater and film history. With a particularly strong film tradition, one of the largest film markets in Europe, and as one of the world leaders in film production (Halle 7), Germany more recently has regained its status in the world market and among film critics worldwide by producing films that have earned a number of international prizes. The State often relies on this success in marketing contemporary German culture abroad; the website of the foreign ministry, *Facts about Germany*,<sup>38</sup> proclaims: “German films are once again a great success at home and abroad,” while the State institution responsible for promoting German culture internationally, the Goethe Institute, relies heavily on film promotion. New institutions have also been formed, following models that draw on Hollywood or European structures (Fisher 164). This includes the establishment of the German Film Academy in 2003, which awards “Lolas,” a name that refers both to a film by the celebrated New German Cinema auteur Rainer Werner Fassbinder as well as a film credited with rejuvenating the German film industry, *Lola rennt* (*Run Lola Run*, 1998) (Halle 55).

While the internationally acclaimed and prize-winning New German Cinema of the 1960s and 1970s was never particularly popular in German theaters, after New German

<sup>38</sup> The website *Facts about Germany* is a service by Frankfurter Societäts-Medien GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, in cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin. This is a widely promoted website based on a publication that was widely distributed internationally by the West German government throughout the Cold War. A current version of the publication by the same name is also distributed in book form. With its editor-in-chief, Peter Hintereder, and its editors Janet Schayan and Dr. Sabine Giehle, it is conceptualized as a reference source for history as well as political, societal and economic trends in Germany. This website is available in 17 languages including Arabic, Farsi, Japanese, and Turkish.

Cinema (and after the radical changes in the state funding structures for German cinema that sought to fund more profitable productions) (Halle 30-32), German film was often declared “dead” until its revival in the 1990s.

The more recent comeback of German cinema is often connected to a streak of internationally successful comedies such as *Lola rennt* and *Good-Bye Lenin!* (2003), created after a rather dismal run of comedies that were tremendously popular at home but failures abroad (often satirically termed New German Comedies). Like the popular film genres of the 1950s, particularly Heimatfilms<sup>39</sup> such as Hans Deppe’s *Grün ist die Heide* (*Green is the Heather*) which was viewed by 20 million people in Germany, the “New German Comedies” of the early 1990s were failures abroad (Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat* 15). Beginning with *Lola rennt* in the late 1990s, however, German films not only did well at the box office in and beyond Germany, but have also gained many international awards. *Lola rennt*, for example, won among others: The Independent Spirit Award IFP/Los Angeles (2000), The German Film Prize in 8 categories (1999), The Golden Space Needle Award for Best Film IFF Seattle (1999), The Audience Award Sundance Film Festival (1999), Bambi (1998), and The Great Prize of the City of Genf (1998). *Good-Bye Lenin!* secured similarly impressive prizes, such as: César Awards (2004), Directors Guild of Great Britain (2004), European Film Awards in 6 categories (2003), Bambi (2003), and Blue Angel Berlin International Film Festival (2003). During

<sup>39</sup> Homeland Films. The Heimatfilms show “imaginary spaces, pure movie lives and a strong moral undercurrent” (Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat* 15). These films were criticized in the 1980s for promoting a focus on West German fantasies about a reconstructed Germany and its continuities with a romanticized past, rather than promoting a critical citizenry (Göttler, “Westdeutscher Nachkriegsfilm”).

the twentieth century, Germany only won one Oscar in the foreign-film category with Volker Schlöndorff's *Die Blechtrommel* (*The Tin Drum*) in 1979. In contrast, the twenty-first century has been a time of much improved success for the German film industry at the Academy Awards as well. In 2003, an Oscar went to *Nirgendwo in Afrika* (*Nowhere in Africa*, 2001) directed by Caroline Link. The second Oscar to be awarded within five years for a German production was given to director Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck in 2007 for *Das Leben der Anderen* (*The Lives of Others*, 2006); Fatih Akin's *Gegen die Wand* (*Head-On*, 2004) was a close contender for the German nomination that year. German films were Oscar finalists in six of the years from 2000-2011, and piggybacking on the popularity of the German film industry, the Austrian/German coproduction *The Counterfeiters* earned Austria its first Oscar in 2007.

While the end of the period of New German Cinema, the changing funding structures, and the transnational success of the more popular cinema of the late 90s and 2000s often have been mourned by film scholars (see, for example, Rentschler, "Cinema of Consensus"), more recent scholars are cautious about the nostalgia for past "political" films. Randall Halle suggests that the limitations imposed by a capitalist industry focused on marketability do not necessarily translate to apolitical film, and vice versa (192). By the same token, the global focus of new film funding structures participate in a "transnational aesthetic;" transnationalism "entails a reimagining of community. While it affords new possibilities of belonging, it also entails new techniques of exclusion; it is a redefinition of borders, not a removal of them" (Halle 10;



further see Halle 129 – 167). New trends in film funding, then, have enabled new possibilities and new regimes of exclusion for Turkish German film.

In 2000, Eric Rentschler only mentions Turkish German directors Thomas Arslan and Fatih Akin as “pliers of a liminal cinema” (“Cinema of Consensus” 275). Nevertheless, a decade later, Daniela Berghahn sees the true “revival of German cinema” at the hands of the “invigorating creative force of the Young Turks” like star director Akin (“Seeing” 239). Similarly, Thomas Elsaesser views Akin among the “second and third-generation directors from ‘minority’ ethnic backgrounds” who have enabled a “veritable filmmaking renaissance” in Britain, France, and Germany (*European Cinema* 27). Akin heads the newest wave of prize-winning filmmakers in Germany with his productions, which touch on some political themes, such as Turkey’s potential to join the European Union.

In this chapter, I analyze Turkish German films to explore how Akin claims recognition as a member of a local and transnational film community. Akin’s films depict bodies that elicit visceral responses from the audience that have allowed him to be viewed beyond a mere “representative of Turkish German film.” His intertextual references to Fassbinder films also rely on Fassbinder’s gaze at the body. He further plays with expectations around raced and gendered bodies particularly with his casting choices. I examine these representations in relationship to successful recognition claimed through national reception and transnational market success. In order to explore the influence of artists with a migration background, like Akin, I will first give a brief overview of themes and approaches in the history of such productions, which will

include a short analogy with literature. I will then consider the work of Akin in more detail. Finally, I will take a closer look at his films in the context of his market success and changing funding structures. I argue that understanding Akin's representations of immigrant bodies in the context of the changing film landscape reveal changing possibilities for claiming recognition as an immigrant in Germany: they are no longer claims to national recognition, but claims to citizenship in community defined by locality (Hamburg), and a transnational artistic community, not ethnic or national identity.

### **Turkish German Cinema: From Cinema of Migration to Transnational Cinema**

Akin's success reflects the shifts in German cinema, from films first by German, then by Turkish German directors, that portray migrants and their lives, to Turkish German participation in transnational cinema that in turn depicts a multicultural German society. This change was first recognized, however, in literary production. Over the last few decades, the awareness of Turkish German sociocultural relations in the so-called *Gastarbeiterliteratur* has shifted focus from a *Literatur der Betroffenheit*<sup>40</sup> to Turkish German literature with multiple layers. As Tom Cheesman explains in *Novels of Turkish Settlement*, "Turkish-German novels appear in many varieties including popular fantasy potboilers, challenging modernist and postmodernist experiments, fictionalized autobiographies, feminist tracts, historical detective novels, workerist realist narratives, and spiritual journeys spiced with drink, drugs, and sex" (13). He furthermore remarks

<sup>40</sup> For more information on the *Literatur der Betroffenheit*, see Heidrun Suhr's "Ausländerliteratur."

that it is absurd to even attempt to keep track of all the publications by authors who are “ancestrally and ethnically not German” (vii). The sheer volume of reading material speaks to a thirst for the exotic by the public.

Similarly, one can now see an increase in interest in Turkish German films and a shift away from movies that show victimization and patriarchal systems to comedy and the more complex productions of the last five to ten years (Göktürk, “Beyond Paternalism” 255). German immigrant cinema of the 1970s and 1980s, whether directed by Turkish German or ethnic German directors, is marked by protagonists who are isolated, alienated and “trapped in claustrophobic spaces and scenarios of imprisonment” (Göktürk, “Turkish Women” 64). For example, *Shirins Hochzeit* (*Shirin's Wedding*), written and directed by Helma Sanders-Brahms in collaboration with Aras Ören (1975), portrays a migrant worker, or so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker), who loses her job, becomes a prostitute and is ultimately killed by her pimp. The best-known film in this category is Tevfik Başar's *40m² Deutschland* (*40m² Germany*, 1986). This movie features a young woman named Turna (Özay Fecht) whose husband Dursun (Yaman Okay) imprisons her in their small apartment while he goes to work or meets with his friends in Hamburg. When Dursun dies, Turna is unable to cope with her foreign surroundings, regardless of her newly gained access, because of her inability to communicate. Another film, *Yasemin* (1988), is one of the most popular movies in the Turkish-German realm and is also worth mentioning, despite its Hamburg-based German director Hark Bohm. In this Romeo and Juliet story between a German boy and a Turkish girl, the protagonist Yasemin is portrayed as a good high

school student who is encouraged by her teachers to prepare for the university. Her father's threat to return Yasemin to Turkey to force her to abide by traditional Turkish values turns this film into a vessel for stereotypes of the general German view about a Turkish society, which is portrayed as incompatible with enlightened German ideals and values. This is especially true when it comes to gender roles and the need of German society to protect victimized and isolated women from an outdated patriarchal system. This film's acceptance is further underscored by its worldwide availability at the Goethe Institute's film libraries, as well as by its funding sources. In the 1990s, "it features on almost every German-Turkish film programme and is circulated by the Goethe Institutes even in Thailand and India" (Göktürk, "Turkish Women" 68). A large audience in Germany had access to this film when it was first released due to the production assistance of the ZDF public broadcasting station.

After the "victimization of women" phase, several filmmakers turned to humor as a technique to engage the German audience. One of the earliest examples of humorous Turkish-German encounters is staged in Şerif Gören's 1988 production *Polizei (Police)*. In this Berlin-based film the likable but naïve street sweeper Ali Ekber (Kemal Sunal) takes up a side job at a community theater portraying a policeman. He starts to wear his uniform in his spare time and directs traffic. Göktürk remarks, "In Gören's hands, ...[i]ronic role-play throughout opens perspectives which reach beyond the social realism of migrant films of previous years and carnivalistically subvert clear categorizations of ethnic and cultural identity" ("Beyond Paternalism" 252). *Berlin in Berlin* (1993), a comedy with a mixture of thriller and melodrama, plays in post-Wall

Berlin. In this movie, the gaze is reversed from the Turkish community onto a German photographer, Thomas (Armin Block). At the beginning of the movie, Thomas had taken pictures of his Turkish co-worker's wife without permission and posts her pictures in his office. Provoked by the pictures, the husband confronts his wife because he assumes that she posed willingly. Thomas then accidentally kills the husband. Surprisingly, he finds asylum among the Turkish family of the accidental victim and ultimately becomes a major attraction for visitors to their household. At this moment the direction of gaze is reversed to a Turkish German perspective with Thomas as the new "object of study." Worth mentioning are also *Ich Chef, Du Turnschuh* (*Me Boss, You Running Shoe*, Hussi Kutlucan, 1998), and *Im Juli* (*In July*, Fatih Akin, 2000). In *In July* the schoolteacher Daniel Bannier (Moritz Bleibtreu) buys a ring with a sun emblem that will supposedly guide him to the love of his life. At a party he meets the enchanting Melek (Idil Üner), wearing a T-Shirt with a sun imprint, who entices him to follow her from Hamburg to Istanbul. Director Akin appears as a corrupt customs officer during one of the border crossings of this multi-national journey. In this movie, the female protagonist is allowed to try a new role within the Turkish German context as she drives the drama and is not imprisoned or abused in a patriarchal system as was so often seen in Turkish-themed movies of the 1970s and 1980s. It is refreshing to see a German man who appears at times quite naïve and out of control attracted to a Turkish woman who is searching for meaning in her life as much as he is.

The change from victimization to comedy and then to a more complex genre – which includes drama, action movies and thrillers – shows new space for immigrant

filmmakers in Germany, who are no longer confined to exclusively representing immigrants (and their victimization) in Germany. Nevertheless, a complete rupture with this subject matter is not yet in sight. The prize-winning and popular 2010 production dealing with honor killings, *Die Fremde (When We Leave)*, was produced, written, and directed by Feo Aladağ and is but one example of the attractiveness of perpetuating the perceived domestic abuse problems of Turkish immigrants.

### **Germany's Favorite "New" Filmmaker - Fatih Akin**

Akin is by far Germany's most successful filmmakers since 2000, with frequent, well-received feature films alternated with lesser known documentaries and short films. In two collections of European shorts, *New York I Love You* and *Visions of Europe*, Akin represents Germany. Not only does Akin receive the most space of any filmmaker on the *Facts about Germany* page; he is distinguished as a "Hamburg citizen," and therefore as a local who identifies, or is identified with, a specific city, and with "Turkish roots." Nevertheless, despite his migration "roots," he appears to be an insider, because Akin is credited with describing "the story of life in Germany." If Akin is someone who is capable of giving his audience a glimpse into present life in Germany, there are wider implications for artists with migration heritage having a particular view of German society and the ways in which those writers or directors make claims to recognition. This particular representation of his work reflects the realities of contemporary German artists and contemporary film, both located between the local and the global (Halle 56) rather than as part of a national community, seeking to avoid the taboo and essentializing characteristics of the nation that have also troubled film studies

scholarship (26). National identity and cinemas defined through the nation state no longer reflect the realities of film production and circulation (Berghahn, "Seeing" 241; Elsaesser, *European Cinema* 27). Marketing Akin as somebody with "Turkish roots" speaks to the importance of the transnational for film funding and market success (Halle 145-46), even if it also participates in an "alterity industry" in which marginality becomes a valued commodity (Berghahn, "Seeing" 241; Erdoğan 27). His films thus participate in a "transnational normalcy" (Halle 167); following the argumentation of Halle, Akin's films "imagine the possibility of life as a transnational inhabitant" (164).

Goethe Institute's "Getürkt" series in the early 2000s also relied heavily on Akin's films to promote Germany abroad. The 2006 official website of the Goethe Institute further reprints a *tageszeitung* article entitled "Film and Migration," in which respected film critics, Markus Metz and Georg Seeßlen, claim that a third generation of filmmakers in the late eighties consisting of "authors, directors, actors with their own tales to tell, and those of their friends and families, were coming primarily from families with a Turkish background." The first individual named is Fatih Akin with his "vital milieu realism," followed by Thomas Arslan and Ayşe Pollat. The authors of the article argue that

[w]hat started as a biographical gesture turned into a new realism in German film: the film-makers of the third immigrant generation successfully managed to link the dissident view with a storyteller's art. This saved, as it were, German film from ultimately disintegrating into

films that were no longer capable of being dissident and films that were no longer capable of telling a story.

Interestingly, this savior function is then attributed to films portraying “people who could not cope in the radically foreign environment, for whom the way back did not remain even as a dream, people who have to live now and here.” Despite the authors’ attempt to stage the third generation of filmmakers as a new and different group, one cannot escape some memory of earlier victimization-driven portrayals of immigrants in Germany. Metz and Seeßlen then continue to describe this generation’s change by producing “post-migrant biographies” which often were presented by Turkish comedy stars. However, there is no mention of any particular film. The first and only reference to a movie by Fatih Akin is to the film *Gegen die Wand*, seeing it as representing the failure of multiculturalism. The film demonstrates, in their eyes, how Turkish Germans now exist in a “polymigrant” environment. Despite the article’s praise of a new “polymigrant” community, the article does revert to old emphases on violence against women by showcasing Akin based on *Gegen die Wand*, ignoring his films focusing on Greek and Italian immigrant communities, as well as on other topics.

After winning the Golden Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival for *Gegen die Wand*, Akin received tremendous press, not always favorable. For example, the film critic Fritz Göttler from the newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* labeled the movie overrated and called the director, slightly ironically, “Das neue Wunder von Berlin”<sup>41</sup> presumably

<sup>41</sup> “The New Miracle from Berlin.”



alluding to the film *Das Wunder von Bern*.<sup>42</sup> However, most praised Akin's film and its win. Stefan Grund from *Die Welt* questions whether this award was really such a surprise. He places Akin next to two other Hamburg directors without a migration background: Florian Baxmeyer and Katja Esson, who have both achieved Oscar nominations for short films, with the comment that Hamburg film has attained world status again. Grund's remark shows German newspaper critics' and the public's affinity for Oscars as a measurement of success in film,<sup>43</sup> but also foregrounds the importance of a local belonging.

### ***Kebab Connection*, Kung-fu as Transnational Film**

The comedy production *Kebab Connection* (2005), as a less successful film heavily influenced by Fatih Akin, provides interesting insight into the representation of bodies and claims to recognition. Casting choices and the depiction of especially male characters' physicality challenge identification with a national or ethnic community. Furthermore, the film is decidedly local, relying on Hamburg's landscape as an important backdrop. This provides an interesting contrast to the internationally

<sup>42</sup> *Das Wunder von Bern* (*The Miracle of Bern*) (2003), which deals with the national German soccer team that won the 1954 World Championship in Soccer and the effects of homecoming soldiers after WWII on their families and here especially on their sons. This movie has also been linked to the aforementioned genre of Heimatfilm.

<sup>43</sup> For more examples on German newspaper writers' favoritism of Oscars as the standard-setting award also see:

*Süddeutsche Zeitung's* "Europäischer Oscar" für Fatih Akin referring to the European Parliament's LUX film prize; the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* "Von Anfang an dabei: Deutsche Oscar-Preisträger" which calls the Oscar the "most sought-after award;" Oscar nominations guarantee films additional funding, such as for subtitling or dubbing.

successful films *Gegen die Wand* and *Auf der anderen Seite des Lebens* (*The Edge of Heaven*, 2007).

Fatih Akin was part of a team of screenwriters including Ruth Toma, Jan Berger and Anno Saul, while the film was directed by Anno Saul. *Kebab Connection* is a humorous story that explores new roles for transnational male figures in Germany. By challenging stereotypical expectations that the viewer might have in regard to clothing, food, language, behaviors and making references to successful transnational film traditions such as New German Cinema and Kung-fu film, the film locates itself in transnational cinema traditions and a local setting. At the same time, the humorous depictions of characters, who often come from different ethnic backgrounds than the actors that portray them, allow the film to move into a mainstream entertainment-based German film market, while undermining expectations around the ethnic origin of the actor as a source of “authenticity.”

The film features young Ibo or Ibrahim Secmez (Denis Moschitto) who wants to produce the first German Kung-fu movie. He gets his start by directing advertisements for his uncle’s döner fast food joint. His uncle strongly dislikes the ad at first, but when it becomes a huge hit in the local movie theater and draws in a large crowd, Ibo becomes the new local hit. The setting is urban Hamburg, which next to Berlin, has evolved into one of the two main production sites for Turkish German movies. The characters with immigrant heritage in the film are portrayed as modern metropolitan figures. While the viewer at first gets a glimpse of local surroundings from a car driven by an ethnic German woman, Ibo is portrayed in even closer physical proximity to the

city by riding around Hamburg on his skateboard, wearing a baseball cap and a bomber jacket. He blends in with most other young males of his generation and has transgressed stereotypically expected “Turkish” clothes and hairstyles, like a mustache, to a “German” style. Ibo represents a globalized youth culture through his clothing and style choices. In addition, Ibo shows other signs of participation in urban Hamburg culture while mocking popular conceptions of “Turkish” behavior like the perceived notion of poor parental involvement.

Ibo’s participation in a globalized community in *Kebab Connection* is not only represented by an affinity with skateboarder culture, but also by his interest in transnational film traditions. His pitch to a German film producer, ending with kicking the television, where his foot gets stuck, demonstrates an idealization of Bruce Lee and Kung-fu films.<sup>44</sup> This is a reference to the famous scene of the appearance of a “No Chinese or Dogs Allowed” sign, which is followed by a Kung-fu fight in Bruce Lee’s *Fist of Fury* (1972). In this setting Bruce Lee ridicules the inappropriateness of racial discrimination. The protagonist Tang Lung, played by Lee, is denied entrance into a park with the comment that “he has the wrong color,” while a white woman with a dog is allowed to pass. Another character offers Tang Lung the solution of accompanying him as his dog. The reference to this scene allows *Kebab Connection* to participate in a popular film tradition that has long challenged ethnic and national boundaries

<sup>44</sup> This scene is also reminiscent of the Thomas Arslan’s film *Geschwister* (*Siblings*, 1997) in which the eldest boy, a school drop-out, is also a Bruce Lee fan, and of Rainer Werner Fassbinder’s *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1973) in which Bruno, the main female character’s son kicks in her TV set.

(Prashad). Lee, who was born in San Francisco, but spent his childhood in Hong Kong and re-entered the United States as a teenager of Chinese and German heritage, created a transnational film genre of martial arts films and often spoke of his experiences of racial discrimination as an actor. The indirect reference to Lee, a successful, deliberately transnational filmmaker with a multiracial background locates *Kebab Connection* outside of “ethnic” cinema, and as part of transnational film traditions. By alluding to other well-known and popular film genres, Akin participates in transnational film traditions that challenge notions of race and ethnicity. At the same time, the martial arts portrayal foregrounds physicality, not to confirm the mainstream German viewer’s stereotypical expectation of violence in connection with male immigrants, but to question such beliefs via a humorous, even parodic, presentation.

The references to Kung-fu structure a number of discussions around gender roles in the film. Ibo is viewed as irresponsible, even slightly crazy, for his chosen profession as filmmaker and chosen genre of Kung-fu. In turn, his desire to become a successful filmmaker leaves him ambivalent about becoming a father. Mehmet disowns Ibo because he has gotten Titzi, a German woman, pregnant – but ultimately the family conflict turns on Ibo taking responsibility. After Ibo’s mother insists on supporting the family, Mehmet seeks to re-establish a relationship with Titzi, and admonishes Ibo to do the same. Ibo cannot follow this logic and makes fun of the Turks by complaining: “Die

spinnen, die Türken.”<sup>45</sup> He thus mocks the “patriarchal” structure by showcasing its occasional illogicality in regard to family relations and by speaking up and keeping the upper hand in this discussion. The viewer already knows, however, that “honor” is no longer in play; Ibo’s mother has earlier already insisted that “Turkish” families take care of each other, rejecting Mehmet’s desire to save face, thus claiming Titzi as one of “their own.”

*Kebab Connection*’s humor is rooted in its play on stereotypes of Turks/Greeks/Germans, but also such binary oppositions as men/women, black/white, traditional/modern and old/young. This occurs in part through a displacement of the “Turkish/German” binary to a “Turkish/Greek” tension. The rivalry between the Turkish and the Greek restaurants is exaggerated at all times. Uncle Ahmet (Hasan Ali Mete), the owner of a kebab restaurant, is shown in many close-up shots with an entertainingly “evil” look on his face, which is always directed at his neighbor across the street, the Greek restaurant owner Kirianis (Adnan Maral). His neighbor is stuck in his traditional world of Greek music, patriarchy and food, which is not so different from the Turkish vine leaves, as becomes obvious at the end of the movie, therefore foregrounding the absurdity of immigrant rivalry, not Turkish German conflicts.

What is notable here is the restaurant setting – the stereotypical employment option for immigrants and their families – in combination with the harassment of the

<sup>45</sup> “They are crazy, those Turks.” This also may be a reference to an oft-quoted phrase of the beloved children’s comic, *Asterix und Obelix*, “Die spinnen, die Römer” (They are crazy, those Romans).

“mafia” that requests money for “protection” from Ahmet. This gang-tie-in that is played out in the restaurant reminds of Bruce Lee’s *The Way of the Dragon* (also called *Return of the Dragon*) (1972), in which Lee (as Tang Lung, or China Dragon) fulfills the ultimate stereotype of an immigrant by serving in the restaurant, but also contradicts this idea of servility by training the waiters in martial arts to fight off some thugs, who harass the restaurant (Prashad 63). The swordfighters who are of different skin colors and ethnicities, and who perform in the opening part of the first advertisement for Ahmet’s restaurant, parallel the Bruce Lee character. Although the swordfight does not represent Kung-fu, the portrayal of elegant martial arts in the “typical Turkish” restaurant environment create a similar contrast to Lee’s juxtaposition of stereotype and glamorous physicality in *The Way of the Dragon*.

*Kebab Connection* depicts several minority cultures mixed together and even sets the Turkish culture within a Chinese context in the second advertisement campaign in which a character, Ibo Secmez, plays the role of Shanghai Joe. Chinese lanterns, automatic guns and black and white suits create the illusion that the Kebab restaurant is either set in a 1920s Hollywood movie scene in Chinatown or reflect the style of Hong Kong cinema by John Woo, coupled with the special effects of such movies as *The Matrix* (1999) for the actual fighting scene. Since the viewer is already familiar with Ibo’s Turkish family, the additional Chinese identity prevents a one-dimensional understanding of the character and instead opens up new avenues of multiple layers of identity. Despite showing blood, the fighting scene itself once more puts forth a very

elegant and sophisticated appearance, which reminds of the grace of the swordfighting, as well as Kung-fu.

The viewer of *Kebab Connection* may not even be aware that the Cape-Verdean actor who plays the character Sifu, Emanuel Bettencourt, is actually a martial arts studio owner of foreign origin, as stereotypically visible clues are absent. Here one sees a positive representation of a strong, dominant, athletic figure that can be admired by the youth similar to Tang Lung. In *Kebab Connection*, it is mainly the youth who watch the advertisement clip at the local movie theater; whereas in reality, it is largely the German public who can look up to these elegant fighters while viewing *Kebab Connection*. The other swordfighter, Numan Açar, does not appear in any other part of the movie. On his resume, Açar lists his mother tongues as German and Turkish, hereby depicting a hybrid-identity immigrant playing another strong immigrant.

However, contrary to the restaurant in Bruce Lee's films, the portrayal of eateries in *Kebab Connection* serves as a vehicle for comparison for generational as well as inter-immigrant conflict. The Greek and Turkish restaurants facing off across a street evoke the recent ethnicizations of Turkish and Greek during conflicts over Cypress. Kirianis's Greek restaurant, with the traditional décor and music, is shown as being stuck in the "old ways" and attracts only a minimal amount of customers. Quite the opposite, his son Lefty's vegetarian falafel joint is not only a statement against the supposedly dominant Greek meat culture, but also a great success. The "King of Kebab," with the help of Ibo's modern advertisement, is filled with people of different nationalities, but mostly young Germans. Here it becomes clear that modern global trends encourage the

acceptance of migrants within mainstream German culture. Not only does this advertisement spot bring many new customers into the Kebab restaurant, it also incorporates a diverse group of actors, which does not appear to create any kind of identification problem for the cinemagoers.

### **Fatih Akin and New German Cinema as Transnational Film Tradition**

Akin's films particularly play on intertextualities with the films of New German cinema auteur Rainer Werner Fassbinder. Thomas Elsaesser insinuates that Akin's ambition was "to be the German – excuse me – Turkish Rainer Werner Fassbinder" in his review of Akin's film *Auf der anderen Seite* (*The Edge of Heaven*, 2007), arguing that Akin and Fassbinder share a preference for "perversely improbable love stories, sadistic scapegoating, and suicidal sacrifices" ("Ethical Calculus"). Hanna Schygulla, Fassbinder's muse and frequent leading actress, who also plays in *Auf der anderen Seite* explained during an interview with Bettina Aust that both directors have their "youthful, non-complicated creative urge in common" ("Mit 64 ist man kein Sexsymbol mehr.") In popular reception, although there are newspaper articles that describe Fassbinder's influence on Akin's other movies, there is only a very general mentioning of *Kebab Connection*, as this film did not attract much scholarly attention, and the discussions in the press focus rather on Nora Tschirner or Sibel Kekilli.<sup>46</sup> Author and public intellectual Peter Schneider mentions *Kebab Connection* as one brilliant result next

<sup>46</sup> "Die schöne leichte Schwere" by Sascha Lehnartz for example describes Tschirner as a desirable actress; "Es ist mein Leben" is an interview with Johanna Ardojan which briefly touches on Kekilli portraying an Italian in this movie, but focuses primarily on Kekilli's past as a porn star.



to many German movies that lately addressed problems of integration and connects it with Fassbinder's *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1973), which "gave foreign citizens a face and voice in Germany." However, beyond sheer referencing of the films to address issues of foreigner integration, and popular press references connecting Akin and Fassbinder, there is no scholarly work done on the affinities between the directors in terms of casting choices and representations of the body.

Fassbinder's *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*), filmed under the working title of "Alle Türken heißen Ali" ("All Turks are Called Ali"), tells the story of a black man (played by Fassbinder's lover at the time, Ben Hedi El-Saalem) from North Africa and a significantly older cleaning woman, Emmi Kurowski (Brigitte Mira). Despite the working title, Ali is a Moroccan, rather than Turkish, guestworker who becomes the object of desire within the film as well as for the spectator via the camera's gaze. Therefore, Fassbinder had already questioned expectations of race and nationality with his portrayal of foreigners and casting choice, which Akin picks up on.

#### *Musical Intertextualities*

While scholars have written about the connection between Fassbinder and Akin in regard to a similar use of sound and music to stage the stories and to heighten the effect of the scenes with the help of the soundtrack,<sup>47</sup> I would like to add only one short part to this discussion by pointing toward the anchoring of *Kebab Connection* in the local, urban as well as transnational realm. The film achieves this by ridiculing the different

<sup>47</sup> For sound and music in a comparison of Fassbinder and Akin please see: Asuman Suner, "Dark Passion;" Senta Siewert, *Entgrenzungsfilme* and "Soundtracks of Double Occupancy."

cultures or “foreignness” via traditional Turkish and Greek music, which is juxtaposed to the modern Turkish music that is played when Hamburg’s landscape becomes foregrounded. As Göktürk notes, “[M]usic is instrumental in configuring space and in establishing a feel of urban circulation” (“Turkish Women on German Streets” 64). This effect is brought about not only by the use of a foreign language, which makes Hamburg appear more international, combined with images of Titz’s picture of “her” Hamburg when driving through it, but also by the Turkish hip-hop song playing in the background, “Kucu Kalkmaz”, by the US and Turkey-based artist Sultana. This title literally means “His Bird Can’t Fly” and can loosely be translated as “Can’t Get it Up.” This mixture of classical Turkish elements, combined with modern hip-hop and the lyrics, which criticize men for neglecting and bullying their wives while getting satisfaction from hookers, puts this song in a social and political or urban international sphere.<sup>48</sup>

Fassbinder uses traditional German popular music in *Angst essen Seele auf* also in a restaurant, when Ali and Emmi dance. However, the contrast to outside scenes, which are very rare in this film, is created for example by birds chirping, not modern German music. Petra Fachinger briefly describes how *Gegen die Wand* uses “distancing devices through its documentary style, soundtrack, and the intermittent cutaways to a Turkish band” to evoke Brechtian aesthetics in a similar fashion to Fassbinder (258).

<sup>48</sup> The Turkish Supreme Board of Radio and Television (RTUK) banned the accompanying video for being too sexually explicit.

While one can argue for a certain Brechtian aesthetic influence, I am not comparing *Gegen die Wand* to *Angst essen Seele auf*'s scenes as single, autonomous tableaux, which are meant to provoke a Brechtian critical reflection on political events (Fachinger 258). Rather, I am interested in the similarity of the directors in portraying and aestheticizing human bodies, and the framing devices, such as living rooms, mirrors and door frames that both filmmakers utilize to challenge concepts of race, gender, and nation.

### *Bodies and Framing*

The similarities between Fassbinder and Akin (and Akin/Saul) in staging bodies are threefold: they share an aestheticization of the bodies, present similar techniques in choosing the environments in which the bodies are displayed, as well as deliberately make casting choices which provoke reflections about stereotypes of race and ethnicity. *Kebab Connection* shows the advertisement clip's fighting scene as a very physical endeavor with the camera focusing on the body of the swordfighters. Their bodies are aestheticized through the choreography of their swordfight. Fassbinder, alternatively, aestheticized the musculature of the partially naked and sexualized For example, Emmi, his elderly wife, puts Ali's upper-body musculature on show when he poses like a bodybuilder to her girlfriends. The viewer's visceral reactions to this "show" are exacerbated when Emmi invites the women to touch her much younger husband Ali. in Emmi's living room, a bland backdrop that allows for an even sharper contrast between the characters. Emmi's living room is also the environment in which her son Bruno later kicks in the television set (in the presence of his brother, played by Fassbinder), again creating disparity by showing one of her grown children who stand in for

mainstream views and supposed “normalcy,” becoming physically violent and destroying the TV in a rather ridiculous manner. Here, the focus is not on Ali, but on ethnic Germans and the stereotypes they perpetrate.<sup>49</sup> The grey living room background intensifies the absurdity of the situation.

Akin also uses “typical working-class living rooms” as a backdrop for his characters, but to normalize Turkish German workers – and their living rooms – as a part of shared experiences of the working class. In *Kebab Connection*, Mehmet and his wife, Hatice (Nursel Köse), dressed in a headscarf and a long skirt are supposed to give the impression of everyday, stereotypical, patriarchal Turkish dialogue. Yet within their slightly heated conversation, Mehmet admits the pride that Titzi displays is not that different from that of a girl in Trabzon, a city on the Eastern Black Sea in Turkey. Germany and Turkey become one for a short moment, until Mehmet mentions that Titzi is pretty “für eine Deutsche,”<sup>50</sup> putting his own stereotypes on display, which his wife does not seem to share. When Mehmet feels pressured by his wife to accept Titzi as a family member, he responds: “Sag’ du mir nicht, was ich tun soll!”<sup>51</sup> We witness the more expected struggle between husband and wife in which Mehmet should keep the upper hand, but does not really win the confrontation. Nevertheless, Hatice Secmez represents a woman who does not belong to a sphere outside of the home, therefore adhering to gender expectations despite her outspokenness in the home. At the same

<sup>49</sup> A few side references in the film also make it clear that Emmi’s late husband, the father of her children, also experienced discrimination as a Polish guestworker.

<sup>50</sup> For a German woman.

<sup>51</sup> Don’t tell me what to do!

time, however, she shifts the discussion away from questions of honor and shame, instead focusing on supporting Titzi as a family member.

The visual cues are supposed to tell the viewer that they are in a traditional Turkish living room in Germany, but there are no Turkish memorabilia displayed anywhere and the curtains might just as well be hanging in a working-class German living room in a small apartment. The room is void of flags or colorful knitted decorations, which mimic established traditions typically expected in Turkish living rooms. Throughout the entire movie, the gaze into this Turkish or Greek space is very limited and never completely convincingly “Turkish.” This is similarly the case in Lefty’s apartment. In contrast to Lefty’s “expected” hookah usage, his wall displays photographic wallpaper with a mountain motif, which alludes to the typically mocked German working-class taste.<sup>52</sup> It appears as if the private lives of these migrant workers is of no concern or is only needed to support an initial impression of “foreignness.”

Fassbinder and Akin furthermore share the usage of mirrors and doorframes to intensify the gaze at their characters. Fassbinder used mirroring devices in particular in *Effi Briest* (1974). His main character, Effi’s (Schygulla), constricted life is demonstrated through the framing of a mirror in many scenes, quite famously when Effi sits at the piano next her mother, Luise von Briest, who was played by Fassbinder’s mother, Lilo Pempeit. In this film the camera framing itself is dramatically focused on headshots.

<sup>52</sup> Fassbinder has also used photographic forest wallpaper in his TV-film *Ich will doch nur, dass ihr mich liebt* (*I Only Want You to Love Me*, 1976). In both films this is a reference and pun on the aforementioned *Heimatfilme*.

Akin's work with mirrors is particularly interesting in *Gegen die Wand*. This melodrama portrays the relationship between two second-generation Turkish Germans who meet in the psychiatric ward of a clinic in Hamburg after having committed suicide attempts. Cahit (Birol Ünel), a mid-forties alcoholic and cocaine addict, agrees to a marriage of convenience to the attractive twenty-something Sibel (Sibel Kekilli), who had tried to slit her wrists to escape her patriarchal Turkish family. Although the movie depicts Cahit as the failed immigrant outcast of society and Sibel as the victim of traditional Turkish family rules, which do not comply with a German understanding of the equality of women, the film also counters such stereotypes, for example, through Sibel's marriage proposal to Cahit. The mirror scenes showcase Cahit's change into a groom, beauty parlor shots, and Sibel's transformation, including her pierced navel and the cut hair. Whereas in Fassbinder mirrors, as well as, frames create and critique societal limitations in terms of gender (*Effi Briest*), race and age or the exoticization of the Other body (*Angst essen Seele auf*), Akin utilizes mirrors and frames to portray character development. Sibel rejects and challenges gender roles, which the film documents by drawing attention to such physical changes as her pierced navel that appears at first in a mirror before the viewer gets to look directly at the character. Later the mirror shots heighten the transformation of Sibel's character from adventure-seeking young woman to family-oriented mother.

In *Auf der anderen Seite des Lebens*, Akin creates a special environment for his characters by using framing devices such as windows, doorframes, and the interior of public transportation with its poles and seats. The film features six individuals,

beginning with Nejat (Baki Davrak), a German professor with Turkish roots whose widowed father, Ali (Tuncel Kurtiz), marries the prostitute Yeter (Nursel Köse). After Yeter is accidentally killed, Nejat travels to Istanbul to find Yeter's daughter, Ayten (Nurgül Yesilcay). But Ayten, who is pleading for asylum in Germany as a Kurdish political activist, is rejected and deported back to Turkey where she is imprisoned. Another circular storyline is the romance between Ayten and Lotte (Patrycia Ziolkowska), a young German woman who invites Ayten to stay with her and her conservative mother, Susanne (Schygulla). After Ayten's deportation, Lotte goes to Turkey in an attempt to free Ayten, but Lotte is killed. Susanne, after learning of her daughter's death, travels to Turkey to retrace her steps. While in Turkey, she stays in her daughter's old room, which happens to be in Nejat's apartment. Nejat had decided to stay in Turkey after trading places with the owner of a German bookstore in Istanbul, which is where Nejat and Susanne meet.

The frames allow the director to stage his actors similar to Fassbinder in *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant*, 1972). In *Petra*, Fassbinder uses support beams to frame Petra with her wig and fashionable robes or the naked mannequins in bed, as well as to divide the room in which Karin (Schygulla) dances and the secretary is split off typing in the background, watching but disconnected. Akin creates a similar sensation of close contact or division via the camera's gaze through frames in *Auf der anderen Seite*, for example, when Yeter appears at close reach in her red dress, high black boots and a blonde wig in a doorframe talking to Ali and in a window frame when he leaves the brothel after their first

encounter, the frames and colors allow a gaze that heightens Yeter's sexuality and tactility. She is later staged in a subway car with two other minor characters, as well as with Nejat. Here the staging devices are grey and bland similar to the aforementioned living rooms, which allows the viewer to more closely listen to the conversation that switches between German and Turkish whereas the characters' bodies are less aestheticized, but carry more emotional messages, such as fear, hurt, caring, or shame.

Another dividing framing device is the wooden structure in Susanne's house, which very much reminds of the beams in *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant*. When Lotte introduces Ayten, the two young women appear in a doorframe, whereas Susanne is split off in a window frame structure to the left by herself foreshadowing the split between mother and daughter on one hand, as well as the bond between Lotte and Ayten, on the other hand.

### **Bodies, Casting, and Challenging Expectations of Ethnicity**

Furthermore, Fassbinder and Akin like to heighten the sense of physicality by presenting close-ups of bodies in sharp contrast to the chosen often dark and grey background, such as the Secmez flat in *Kebab Connection* or the darkened, simple Döner Restaurant in *Kebab Connection*. What the Moroccan character was in Fassbinder's film, namely an embodiment of a generic Ali, the nameless swordfighter played by Numan Açar becomes in *Kebab Connection*. Ironically, the actor himself plays on this connection – in promotional materials and a CV Açar cites his character name for his role in *Kebab Connection* as "Ali," which, in Germany, is the quintessential, stereotypical Turkish name for men ("Numan Açar"). While Fassbinder's Ali rarely speaks, the swordfighter



is not only mute, but also is never directly addressed in the movie. As Göktürk appropriately notes, Bhabha saw the mute Turk as an “emblem of displacement and incompatibility, which stands somewhat at odds with his theoretical explorations of hybridity and liminality” (“Beyond Paternalism” 248). Bhabha positioned post-structuralism as the alternative to nationalism in *Nation and Narration*:

My intention was that we should develop, in a nice collaborative tension, a range of readings that engaged the insights of poststructuralist theories of narrative knowledge. [...] The marginal or “minority” is not the space of a celebratory, or utopian, self-marginalization. It is a much more substantial intervention into those justifications of modernity – progress, homogeneity, cultural organicism, the deep nation, the long past – that rationalize the authoritarian, “normalizing” tendencies within cultures in the name of national interest [...]. (4)

Nevertheless, the mute Turk also becomes “normalized” as a figure of otherness; as “Ali,” he marks stereotypes. *Kebab Connection* parodies these stereotypes, which allows for a broader understanding of hybridity and shows a new trend of mutual mirroring and border crossing. The film itself becomes a poststructuralist reading of culture (or culture industry) by “reading” other film traditions as well as ethnic portrayals.

Similar to the casting of Tunisian-born Ben Salem for whom Fassbinder wrote the role of the Moroccan Ali for a film initially titled *All Turks are Called Ali*, Akin and Saul play on stereotypes in *Kebab Connection* by casting actors who have appeared as a different ethnicity in another productions. Both Ahmet and Kirianis speak with a

“Turkish or Greek-sounding accent,” which might be hard for the mainstream German viewer to distinguish, but the differences in background music further strengthen the viewer’s identification of one character as Turkish. Despite the “Greek” accent, Kirianis is a native speaker of German. He is well known to German viewers as an actor who plays Turkish characters from his appearance in *Berlin in Berlin* (1993) and some television series. His portrayal of “Greekness” here is over the top with the help of clothing, music, ambience, and some verbal utterances. This exaggeration parodies past portrayals of “otherness,” which were expressed through music, dark hair and skin, and traditions.

Sibel Kekelli, who would be widely recognized as the actress who had played the Turkish German main character in the popular *Gegen die Wand* only months before, makes a cameo appearance as an Italian mother whose baby is accidentally stolen by Ibo. This scene has a double function. Turkish German Kekilli plays an Italian with a progressive relationship in which her boyfriend takes supposedly equal share in childrearing, thus parodying expectations of southern European gender roles. Furthermore, the stolen baby carriage scene involves the carriage falling down a long flight of public stairs, thus referencing Sergei Eisenstein’s classic film *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), and the popular movie *The Untouchables* (1987). The film questions racialized assumptions about race and ethnicity while participating in both art and popular film traditions.

*Auf der anderen Seite* brings other casting choices that question nationality, ethnicity, gender, and race. Similarly, as in *Kebab Connection*, Akin uses the famous

Turkish actress Nurgül Yesilcay to play a Kurdish activist. Furthermore, Ayten embodies masculine attitudes like a verbally aggressive demeanor toward Susanne, as well as harsh and masculine gestures in her relationship with Lotte. Even though Ayten plays a masculine role it equates more a parody of such role understandings, which is an “internal subversion in which the binary is both presupposed and proliferated to the point where it makes no sense,” as Judith Butler writes in *Gender Trouble* (173). Despite Ayten’s performed masculinity, she wears long hair as a female identifier and is by no means in a superior hierarchical position as an asylum seeker in Germany or as an inmate in a Turkish prison. The character trying to rescue this victimized Kurdish woman is not a Western man, but a female. Akin, therefore, blurs constructed gender roles as well as cultural expectations via the actors’ bodies and their performance, reveals the ambivalent character of such roles and thus subverts the presuppositions that identify the gender and cultural binary. At the same time, by adding the “Kurdish” element to the script, Akin has also hinted at minority problems in Turkey.

Fassbinder’s portrayal of lesbian homosexuality in such films as *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* was an important precursor that paved the way for film relationships like Ayten and Lotte’s in *Auf der anderen Seite*. What Fassbinder and Akin have in common is the way the women’s bodies appear with a certain naturalness on screen – they are portrayed in a way that normalizes their characters in the film, even as the rest of the film is often highly stylized. This technique foregrounds the women’s emotions and struggles and never places the center of attention on the fact that here are

two women in love. When questioned about the lesbian relationship, Akin responds in rather crude terms in a *Spiegel* interview with Lars-Olaf Beier and Matthias Mattusek. He claims that he needed two women in this relationship, to avoid a “King Kong and blond woman”-like cliché, and in order to make the story “sexy” (“Erst zwei Frauen machen die Geschichte sexy.”) There is no mentioning of a political agenda.

Interestingly, Schygulla, who plays Karin, a young woman who aspires a career in modeling and becomes the arrogant fashion designer, Petra’s lover in *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant*, (as well as twenty other characters in Fassbinder films), portrays Lotte’s conservative mother in *Auf der anderen Seite*. However, when Beier and Mattusek question Akin about being the “new Fassbinder,” the director replies that his working style is quite different in that Fassbinder had his actors stick to the script according to Schygulla, whereas he, Akin, likes to have the actors bring their own ideas into their roles. In regard to *Angst essen Seele auf*, Akin just shows how the guestworker status is part of history and that now Turkish German filmmakers tell their stories from the center of society (“Erst zwei Frauen machen die Geschichte sexy”). Therefore, Akin acknowledges his respect for the great auteur, Fassbinder, but he also distances himself from comparisons. Similarly, he hired Schygulla, because he met her in Belgrade and both felt like they had known each other for a long time, but Akin never mentions the importance of the connection to Fassbinder (Hentschel, Wittmann).

Rather, the writer/director leads conversations about *Auf der anderen Seite* to his minority status and an initial reluctance to write roles for “white Germans” (Chhabra). In an interview with *rediff.com*’s Aseem Chhabra, he claimed that he “settle[s] the heroes

closer to [his] world and to [his] biography, than [sic] to show lives of white Germans.” When asked whether he identifies as “brown,” given that he is of Turkish heritage but living in Germany, he laughingly responded that his skin is “red.” Even though this statement is given in jest, Akin portrays himself as different, not only due to his upbringing, but he describes his body as a visible marker of a minority. He draws from his own experiences of living in a “body of color” for his writing and portrays his familiarity with the life of a minority figure in his characters. At the same time, the writer/director sees himself as a storyteller and auteur filmmaker who is starting to work his way into writing dialogue for characters and actors from backgrounds different than his own, like for the German veteran actress Schygulla in *Auf der anderen Seite* while basing the role on his high school German teacher, Dr. Susanne Staub. Therefore, Akin draws the attention away from his casting choice of Schygulla as Fassbinder’s muse, while at the same time voicing that he intended the character to have seen Fassbinder movies (“Ich wollte die Frauen entdecken”), which makes the theory that this film in particular is an homage to Fassbinder all the more likely. Certainly Akin is very aware that Schygulla not only stands in for New German Cinema, but also is known as an outspoken actress, who once herself was compared to the sex symbol Marlene Dietrich. The association with Fassbinder and the roles in which she appeared under Fassbinder’s direction make the interesting twist in the character’s behavior in *Auf der anderen Seite* from conservative mother to a strong woman who takes risks by moving to Istanbul in order to help Ayten, much more believable. Susanne’s character starts to question assumptions of particularly gender

and nationality. As with Schygulla, Akin's casting choices carry political messages about nation, gender, and race. Nevertheless, such critique only becomes meaningful if the film reaches its audience. In order to evaluate the level of recognition for the examined movies, it becomes important to take a closer look at their awards and commercial success.

### **Recognition via Film Awards and Box Office Performance**

As described in the analysis of *Kebab Connection*, *Gegen die Wand*, and *Auf der anderen Seite*, Akin likes to confuse viewers' expectations and undermine stereotypes about nation, race, and gender via the script of a film or casting choices and attention to the physical body. Nevertheless, I argue that the actor/writer/director chose his cast, as well as the genre of his movies particularly during the earlier phase of his career not solely due to artistic merits or political messages, but based upon experiences of funding and marketability. Despite the film's nomination for the German Camera Award as a "Feature Film" and for the "Editing of a Feature Film" and the Audience Award at the Ljubljana International Film Festival, *Kebab Connection* (2004) only made it to position 80 on the 2005 German FFA film hit list and was viewed by just under 200,000 cinema visitors.<sup>53</sup> Critics and viewers alike determine a movie's value bound to the actors who portray certain characters, as well as the sub-genre. Accordingly, to achieve a more favorable reception for his next productions, Akin strategically used

<sup>53</sup> The German Federal Film Board (FilmFörderungsanstalt or FFA) keeps an archive in which it lists the success of films in Germany. This information includes the amount of viewers and the popularity position on its hit list according to the number of viewers by calendar year in Germany.

popular actors and popular topics for his film, *Im Juli* (2000), which represents Akin's commercial breakthrough. This film was awarded the German Film Prize in 2001 for Moritz Bleibtreu as Best Actor and the Tromsø International Film Festival People's Choice Award for Fatih Akin as Best Director. Featuring well-known German actors, such as Moritz Bleibtreu and Christiane Paul, the movie was able to lure over half a million viewers into movie houses. The film landed at position 75 on the FFA list in 2000.

Thereafter, Akin was more at liberty to concentrate on his showcasing of physicality and drawing on visceral reactions of the viewers again while still challenging notions of nation, race, and gender and this time with commercial success and many critics' approval. *Gegen die Wand* was not only the first Berlinale Golden Bear-winner for Germany since 1986 and winner of the German and European Film Awards, but was also viewed by more than 760,000 people in Germany alone, achieving position 49 on the 2004 FFA film hit list, which has made this Fatih Akin's most successful film thus far.

*Gegen die Wand* still fulfills the public's thirst for blood and violence – Cahit kills Niko, Sibel slits her wrists, both protagonists are beaten up, and Sibel is raped. One could interpret Sibel's drive to expose herself to danger as a sort of self-mutilation as well, since the character seemingly constantly provokes injury, either to prove to herself how bad this world is or in order to "feel" her body more intensely and moments when her emotions have been numbed. Feridun Zaimoğlu talks about "a tradition of self-mutilation" in the Orient, which is often connected to an "addiction to catastrophe"

(Turkish, *kara sevda*: literally dark passion) (“Lebenswut Herzhitze”). Berghahn picks up on this theme when she mentions that the protagonists “slit their wrists or hands, walk about or even dance and rejoice covered in blood – as long as they live in Germany” (“No Place Like Home” 155). But the portrayal of bloody and violent situations in this movie seems to go beyond a need to overcome their *kara sevda* while in a foreign country. Sibel’s rape while in Turkey is neither a marker of “what happens in Turkey,” nor a juxtaposition between Turkish and German experience. Instead, the scene emphasizes the embodied nature of her feeling of outsidership, as well as illustrating the last manifestation of a self-destructive streak she must overcome as part of her coming of age.

In a 2005 interview with *indieWire*’s Wendy Mitchell, Fatih Akin was asked about how difficult it was to shoot the scene in which Sibel was attacked in the streets of Istanbul:

To be honest it's really not that difficult to film. You have to choreograph it carefully. But I don't like violence in movies, I'm not a kind of Tarantino fan. But sometimes it's necessary. Maybe it's too violent, but I needed this kind of shock for the audience. I wanted everyone to understand that when she was in that scene, it was her way of committing suicide. But to shoot that you need humor... otherwise you'd go crazy.

Akin links the violence again to a kind of self-mutilation or suicide in this scene, but there is no statement of a necessity for violence that is limited to German streets like Berghahn seems to indicate in the citation mentioned above. The director is, however,



aiming to shock the audience. The film uses violence to the body to achieve a visceral or tactile quality of sensation. Whether it is the poorly lit street in Istanbul where Sibel is attacked or the noisy and darkly-lit disco where she gets raped, Sibel's "oriental" body covered in blood is a marker that the audience perceives viscerally as a sign of the female immigrant who is pushing her body to the limit in order to find her own place. As Martine Beugnet argues in her book *Cinema and Sensation*, these effects emphasize the materiality of bodies on screen by stimulating the viewer's senses (3). Therefore, Akin appears more in-line with other directors to appeal to the masses by portraying his actors in a very bodily fashion. Nevertheless, Akin demonstrates his awareness of different audiences, which this movie attracted:

When I wrote the film, I kept in my mind that I have three audiences – obviously there are more, but these are three big ones -- German, Turkish, German-Turkish (people like me). They are all different from each other. The Turkish people were really positive. The biggest compliment I got is that the Turkish film world saw it as part of Turkish cinema. The German-Turkish audience was very divided. Half of the reactions were very positive. Some people say, "We can identify with that. It's my story." But we had a lot of people who were really angry about it, saying, "Why do you just show the bad attitudes of our society? Or how can you show Turkish women naked in the film?" It was every extreme. (Mitchell)

Surprisingly, Akin does not mention any reaction from his German audience here. He addresses his expectations for the German public in a 2004 *artechock* film interview with

Rüdiger Suchsland “Ich bin wirklich davon ausgegangen...” where Akin describes himself as a German film producer and answers a question about his wishes for the German audience to forget about some talk concerning his protagonists and voices his impression that “der Film und seine Hauptdarsteller sind stark genug, um das vergessen zu machen. Sie werden den Zuschauer in den Bann zu ziehen” (Suchsland 4).<sup>54</sup> Accordingly, Akin wants his work and the performance of his actors to speak for themselves and by doing so, he expects to receive recognition in the form of fascination and large numbers of viewers.

Despite his availability for interviews, Akin is trying to redirect interviewers away from a constant need to have him produce films about Turkish German connections and his origin. He already tried to break away from this expectation with *In July*, but “this fixation [on the side of the interviewers] was always there. And when I did nothing about Turks, the question arose: “Warum nichts über Türken?” (Suchsland 4).<sup>55</sup> Rüdiger Suchsland, although he has just shown awareness of the problem, asks, “Woher kommt es, dass du immer wieder von Reisen erzählst, die in Ursprüngen enden?” Akin answers, “Weil die Herkunft gar nicht die Herkunft ist. Die Türkei ist eben nicht die Herkunft der Figuren meiner Filme. Sie kommen aus Deutschland. Die Türkei ist etwas Fremdes” (Suchsland 4).<sup>56</sup> This demonstrates Akin’s attempt to

<sup>54</sup> “the protagonists are strong enough to make people forget. They will fascinate the audience” (my translation).

<sup>55</sup> “Why nothing about Turks?” (my translation).

<sup>56</sup> “Why do you always talk about travel, which ends in its origins?” Akin answers, “Because the origin is not the origin. Turkey is exactly not the origin of the characters in my films. They come from Germany. Turkey is something foreign” (my translation).

redirect once more. Rüdiger Suchsland comments further, “[a]ber Sibel kommt dort an, wovor sie eigentlich immer weggelaufen ist” (Suchsland 4),<sup>57</sup> to which Akin answers, “[g]enau. Aber mich interessiert nicht der Ort, sondern der Zustand: Sie hat nen Typen und sie hat ein Kind. ... Alle meine Figuren sind auf der Suche. Auf der Suche nach einem besseren Leben. ... Und im Ursprungsland suchen sie Erlösung. Aber die Erlösung finden sie nicht” (Suchsland 4).<sup>58</sup> Even though Suchsland apparently is aware of the kind of questioning Akin has to endure, he himself seems unable to let go of reiterating the same interview topics, which demonstrates expectations that only insiders are able to write, produce, portray, or direct from within their “authentic” experiences.

The state-owned media outlet, *dw-world* (Deutsche Welle), goes even further in a 2004 interview with Eleonora Volodina. Volodina already assumes that one best be an “insider” of the immigrant community when she asks: “Your film [*Head-On*] is about Turkish immigrants in Germany. Do you think you have to be Turkish to deal with the subject in such a blunt manner?” Having to be Turkish to deal with this subject matter at all seems to be a prerequisite in order to achieve authenticity. The question is only about the “manner” in which the content was portrayed, which might necessitate a particular origin on the side of the director. When the director answers that he did not want the characters to represent the whole Turkish minority in Germany, Volodina still

<sup>57</sup> “[b]ut Sibel only arrives at the place which she has always tried to run away from” (my translation.)

<sup>58</sup> “[e]xactly. But I am not interested in the location, but the condition: She has a guy and a child. ... All of my characters are on a search. On a search for a better life. ... And they look for redemption in the country of origin. But they do not find redemption” (my translation).

chooses to return to the “typical” victimization of women, which the viewer expects, wanting to read into the movie a poor girl who “has to fight her conservative Muslim heritage” alone.

The aforementioned Wendy Mitchell from *indieWire* is one of the few interviewers who have been able to accept Akin’s attempt to direct a commercially successful film, which deals with his heritage but also breaks with some stereotypes:

iW: Do you think this is a realistic depiction of the Turkish immigrant experience abroad? Akin: Like you mentioned, those characters aren't typical. They aren't representative of the general Turkish minority in Germany. But the conflict is representative. . . . For me actually it is about generation conflict – my parents have another attitude, another education, another background than I have. And that's the same whether you are Muslim or Catholic, this generational difference.

Akin’s desire to portray a more universal generational conflict instead of a “typical”, possibly even religious, Turkish immigrant issue, is only accepted with great difficulty by most media. Wendy Mitchell is one of the few interviewers who allows Akin space to present this message without having to engage again and again in questions that demonstrate disbelief or an unsatisfied urge to ascribe a Turkish immigrant message to the aspects of the movie, which are supposed to demonstrate the writer/director’s intent.

*Auf der anderen Seite* received undoubtedly the most rewards, such as: Best Screenplay Cannes 2007, Lux Award 2007 of the European Parliament, Jury Award,

Best Direction, Best Editing, Best Supporting Actor (Tuncel Kurtiz), Best Supporting Actress (Nursel Koeşe), Award of Honor (Schygulla) Antalya 2007, Canvas Audience Award Ghent 2007, European Film Award: Best Screenplay 2007, Premio de la Critica Seville 2007, Bavarian Film Award 2007 (Best Director), German Film Award 2008 (Best Film, Best Direction, Best Screenplay, Best Editing). Roughly half a million people in Germany alone viewed this film. This film is important in my discussion, because, as aforementioned, it features Fassbinder's star actress, Schygulla, and Akin once more utilizes physicality of his actors to parody expectations of representation of nationality and gender roles. In addition, it marks a change in Akin's work as the film carries a more outward political message, because it raises questions about the discussion of Turkey's "readiness" to join the European Union.

Not only was this the most awarded movie that Akin has written, directed and produced so far, but it was also the film that depicted the discussion of Europe's reluctance to welcome Turkey into the European Union as Akin mentions in the accompanying press book:

As Germans, Susanne and Lotte represent the European Union, while Ayten and Yeter represent Turkey. Everything that happens between them in *THE EDGE OF HEAVEN* is representative of the relationship of those systems. I had some fun with the argument between Susanne and Ayten regarding the European Union. But where I stand is not the point. I wrote this dialogue based on what I have often heard from real people around me. By the end of the film, German Susanne and Turkish Ayten

both experience a profound change in how they see and feel about things (8).

*Auf der anderen Seite* moved into the center of attention at many festivals, because the film touches on the readiness of Turkey to join the European union. Especially the very positive representation of incarceration via the women's prison in this movie presents a challenge to critics who believe the Turkish government and legal system often violate human rights versus the expectation that European countries treat their inmates humanely. At the same time that Akin plays out the binary of Europe versus Turkey, he also uses the physicality of his actors to parody expectations of representation of nationality and gender roles as aforementioned and always draws attention to the body.

In order to achieve this concentration on physicality, Akin places the body at the center of his film again by repeating the theme of "the dead body." Similar to *In July*, where a corpse is transported across borders in the trunk of a car, in *The Edge of Heaven* Yeter's dead body is alluded to by showing her casket as it arrives in Istanbul on a Turkish Airlines flight. *Auf der anderen Seite* does not only depict one dead woman's body, which is the result of a violent encounter with a drunken Ali, who exhibits sexist behavior that coincides with old-fashioned patriarchal traditions. Young boys are responsible for Lotte's death in Istanbul with a gun that they did not expect to be loaded. Even though those killings are portrayed as accidental, they represent conflict between genders and cultures via the film's materialization of the physical body. These accidental acts of violence are juxtaposed with the deliberate violence that Ayten engages in as a member of the Kurdish worker's party. Ayten's imprisonment is

another strategy of depicting bodily limitations and vulnerabilities. Akin's depiction of a well-run Turkish prison not only reminds the viewer of physical limitations. On the contrary, the film uses the void that is created by harm to the body via death and imprisonment as a catalyst for the forming of new and unexpected relationships between characters like Ayten and Susanne, Lotte's mother. This relationship breaks with any traditional expectations that would have fit the stereotypical portrayal of characters with a migration background and how they relate to the wider German public, which Susanne represents. Hence, the film uses cyclical stories that intersect and are driven by changes in physical conditions.

Akin's sixth feature fiction film, *Soul Kitchen* (2009), strays away from a Turkish immigrant milieu. This film features the Greek restaurant owner, Zinos, who has difficulties with his "Soul Kitchen" customers after he hires a new gourmet chef and travels to China to reunite with his girlfriend Nadine. Unfortunately, Nadine has already found a new lover and Illias, Zinos' unreliable ex-con brother, has gambled the restaurant away to a real estate agent while Zinos was in Shanghai. On Zinos' return to Germany, Zinos and Illias will have to learn to work together in order to save the restaurant. Akin admits that he was looking for commercial success with this movie in a 2010 A.V. Club interview with Sam Adams:

It was a challenge. I was asking myself, "Can I be commercial without selling my soul? What is the most commercial I can be?" That was one of my targets. I really worked very hard, not just making the film, but also doing all the advertising. We were analyzing how Obama won the

election, and we tried to copy his Internet system; we tried to work a lot with Twitter and blogs and Facebook. I'm not really into that world. I'm collecting vinyl, so I had to learn to use these tools, in a way. It became a success in that way. It was not just a bit better than the other films, it almost doubled it[s amount of viewers]. To get all the respect for your work is one thing, but you really want them to be seen. I have a certain amount of people who are watching my films in Germany, but now with *Soul Kitchen*, it's almost 1.3 million, something like that.

Beyond the director bluntly admitting his hopes for commercial success among the masses and not just among the critics, this movie also represents a return to featuring the city of Hamburg. By setting significant portions of the film in Hamburg, Akin could have been certain about receiving more financial support from the regional film supporters like the Film Förderung Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein or Nordmedia. At the same time, Hamburg again features the local point of view, which is important in transnational film traditions.

### **Trapped in the Net of Funding**

Germany's laws pertaining to the funding of movies, along with its official "German Federal Film Board" (FFA)<sup>59</sup>, including regional offspring on state levels like FilmFörderung Hamburg, all play a major role in supporting Germany's film scene.

<sup>59</sup> For more information about Germany's federal film funding board please see: "Information on the German Federal Film Board."



Another source of funding for many film-makers are co-operations with public television stations, specifically “Das kleine Fernsehspiel” (The little TV Play) of the stations ZDF, NDR and WDR, which are interested in supporting projects about minorities and societal problems. NDR and WDR both regionally produce movies that showcase their regions and can also be used as advertisement. Deniz Göktürk remarked in her article “Minderheitenkino im Gefängnis der Förderung” (Minority Cinema in the Prison of Funding) that funding has been used to introduce a kind of “reservation culture which propagated integration, but which rarely achieved great popularity and a good impression with the audience” (333). In the twenty-first century, on the other hand, German Turkish cinema has been “en vogue,” especially after Akin’s “Golden Bear” Award for *Gegen die Wand*, but even before and without this award in 2004. However, has it truly been able to “free itself from the “fetters of its separatist beginnings” and been “discovered by an open-minded, mainstream audience” as film journalist Margaret Köhler wants to make us believe in her article “Drive not Drabness” on the Goethe Institute’s website? Köhler argues in regard to Züli Aladag’s movie *Elephant Heart* (*Elefantenherz*, 2002), in which only one Turkish side character appears, “[t]he fact that young German-Turks make films that have nothing to do with their immediate reality, or what we think their reality is, is not only interesting, but also to be seen as a sign of them being integrated.” Nevertheless, *Elephant Heart* only received funding from Film- und Medienstiftung NRW and won the Bavarian Film Award 2003 for Best New Producer and Best Cinematography, and the German Film

Award for Best Leading Actor. Therefore, this movie might better reflect earlier movies directed by filmmakers with a heritage background.

In contrast, Fatih Akin has solicited more funding sources for his movies, from the German Federal Film Board (FFA), BKM, FilmFörderung Hamburg, Filmstiftung NRW, Nordmedia, to Kulturelle Filmförderung Schleswig-Holstein. What consequences does this have for Akin's films as the leading director in the Turkish-German film scene? As Deniz Göktürk remarks, "In order to receive funding, filmmakers were expected to make films about the problems of their people and represent the "other" culture in terms of common assumptions and popular misconceptions. In consequence, a kind of ghetto culture emerged which was at great pains to promote politics of integration, but rarely achieved much popularity" ("Turkish Delight – German Fright" 182-183). Akin has certainly achieved popularity, but without straying far from immigration or integration themes. Akin has shifted away from entirely stereotypical presentations of immigrant subject matters by utilizing mockery and focusing differently on the body, which is often combined with violence, imprisonment, or a change of physical state.

## **Conclusion**

A very interesting pattern emerges in the films discussed in this chapter starting with Fassbinder's *Angst essen Seele auf* to all of the movies that Akin directed or was involved in, which foregrounds bodies and draws attention to the absurdity of concepts of nation, race, and particularly ethnicity. For example, showcasing actors whose ethnic heritage does not match that of the characters they portray and who are potentially

already known to the public, via previous projects, as portraying a different ethnic heritage. This element appears deliberate and adds to the challenge of clearly defined cultural boundaries. Deniz Göktürk has raised the question of “national” cinema:

Welche Nationalität hat beispielsweise ein Film, der in Hamburg spielt und dort unter deutscher Regie produziert ist, in dem jedoch türkische Schauspieler türkisch-deutsche Dialoge sprechen und türkische Milieus darstellen? Ist ein solcher Film dem deutschen oder dem türkischen Kino zuzurechnen?<sup>60</sup> (*Migration und Kino* 331).

The answer to Göktürk’s rhetorical question is really, neither. As these movies makes claims to transnationality, they already divert from some of these aspects alluded to by Göktürk by mixing actors of different ethnic backgrounds.

At the same time, allusions to Hollywood locate the films in another transnational tradition, as I established earlier through Ibo’s clothing and the thematization of Hollywood cinema within *Kebab Connection*. As Göktürk and Anton Kaes point out, “representations of immigration and multiculturalism in Germany are always already mediated by fantasies about the USA” (2). This representation marks Ibo as the modern man, the forward thinker who knows his ways around modern media and their capitalistic potential in the market place. Ibo appears just as aware of the influence of this industry as he is a part of it. The figure of Ibo both parodies and

<sup>60</sup> Which nationality does a movie have, for example, that plays in Hamburg and has been produced there under a German director, but in which Turkish actors play Turkish German dialogues and enact a Turkish environment? Is such a movie to be counted within the realm of German or Turkish cinema? (my translation).

challenges the notion of “Kulturindustrie.” Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer’s influential essay “Kulturindustrie – Aufklärung als Massenbetrug” depicts the decline of high culture and the negative influence of the mass media on Western society as an expression of capitalism. They created the term “culture industry” to describe the agency which produces mass culture (121-126; 161-167). This notion about the production of a culture industry has been superseded. One can now look more positively at the emerging transnational or “accented” films, as Hamid Naficy refers to them, in a new light:

Accented films are interstitial for they are created astride and in the interstices of social formations and cinematic practices. Consequently, accented films are simultaneously local and global and they resonate against the prevailing cinematic production practices, at the same time that they benefit from them. As such, the best of the accented film not only signify and signify upon the conditions of exile and diaspora – and deterritorialization in general – but also upon cinema itself. They signify and signify upon exile and diaspora by expressing, allegorizing, commenting upon, and critiquing the home and host societies and cultures as well as the deterritorialized conditions of artisanal and collective production modes, their aesthetics and politics of smallness and imperfection, and their narrative strategies that cross generic boundaries and undermine cinematic realism. (134)

Naficy's perception of a broadening understanding of both, the home, as well as the host community that allow for criticism from the outside and, at the same time from within is especially helpful for my discussion. It demonstrates that accented film has the ability to view life at a local level with a "foreign" eye, but as this "outsider perspective" is not truly that of a foreigner any more for second or third generation filmmakers, accented films also deterritorialize the environment in which they are produced and invite viewers to identify the film with a local, as well as transnational film tradition. At the same token, such films illuminate the absurdity of such concepts as nation, race, or gender. *Kebab Connection* depicts the home and host community for multiple ethnicities and expresses this newer understanding of transnational influence in film in a humorous fashion building on the trends of the early 2000s. Film continues to be produced within the demands of contemporary markets, but shows definite commenting upon and critiquing of home and host societies and cultures. However, as movies have evolved, films from the mid 2000s on demonstrate more drama as a conveying vehicle for their commenting and criticism. Thus, as Stuart Hall explains, there "is no fixed and unalterable relation between what the market is, and how it is construed within an ideological or explanatory framework" (36).

*Gegen die Wand* and particularly *Auf der anderen Seite* bring Istanbul to the center of the film, juxtaposing the Turkish city with local Hamburg and undermining and infiltrating widely accepted concepts of nation and race in particular, thereby questioning them. By placing his movies into a transnational or global context and

criticizing questionable concepts, Akin claims recognition as a filmmaker with a critical eye towards Western societies who use film as a medium for political messages.

As I have demonstrated in my discussion of various films by Fatih Akin, the writer/director/producer frequently engages in a discussion of travel to origins or portrays some kind of immigrant environment. Despite Akin's declared intentions of featuring generational conflicts, media interviewers seldom leave this subject matter alone and always attempt to return to Akin's immigrant heritage. Akin voices that he uses immigrant or multicultural settings because they are familiar to him and it is harder for him to write dialogues for "white German" characters. Nevertheless, one has to wonder if the portrayal of immigrant figures also assists Akin in securing various amounts of funding from national as well as regional sources. Despite his mixing of different immigrant groups in Germany, Akin has yet to produce a movie completely void of anything that could be ascribed to "accented cinema." Rather, what sets Akin apart from earlier filmmakers is his usage of the body and humor to allow for a blurring of gender and cultural expectations, which emphasize the absurdity of mainstream expectations. Akin uses humor to ridicule expected behavior or dress codes of characters with immigrant heritage and "white Germans" alike, especially in films such as *Kebab Connection* or *The Edge of Heaven*. But he also implements a strategy of showcasing the physical body, either to lead the viewer astray or to reach them viscerally through physical markers, such as the design of a sun on a T-shirt which alludes to a tattoo on Melek's dead body in the trunk in the film *In July*; the violence that leads to Yeter's and Lotte's deaths in *The Edge of Heaven*; or the violence to the

female body via naval piercing, a short hair cut, new glasses and a tattoo for Sibel in *Head-On*. The director intensifies the viewer's visceral reaction by utilizing the camera's gaze – which reminds of, but does not just copy Fassbinder – with framing devices such as mirrors, beams, windows, living rooms, or public transportation. In this way, the entire body, a body part, or a physically tight piece of clothing are used as a marker to indicate a desire or change, allowing Akin to focus on this theme of physicality as the driving force for his stories.

Additionally, the most radical change of a physical state – death – takes on the role as catalyst in bringing together unexpected characters, which transcends cultural expectations. By utilizing well-known actors who impersonate characters of different national origins and a mixing of gender and cultural performances, Akin has found his own style that gives him claim to recognition within the new group of nationally and internationally acclaimed German directors. Funding allocations, awards and viewer numbers become instruments of measuring his level of success and recognition. Since it appears, however, that Akin has to keep his immigrant dialogue with a certain amount of “exoticism” alive, he fits into the group of film in a globalized market where “exoticism is at a premium,” as Tom Cheesman put it (182). Akin has found a way to match the desire for such exoticism by depicting especially female bodies at the crossroads of otherness and integration in Germany, while utilizing violence and changing physical markers, on the one hand. On the other hand, he successfully uses the physical body and its manifestations to give the plot in his stories unexpected, non-

stereotypical twists that are able to permeate borders, and make local, as well as transnational claims to recognition.



## V. FROM FAIRYTALE TO HOT SAUCE: HOW TURKISH GERMAN WRITERS HAVE CARVED OUT A NICHE FOR RECOGNITION

Emine Sevgi Özdamar is by now one of the best-recognized figures of Turkish German writers. Next to Özdamar, popular fiction writers such as Lale Akgün and Hatice Akyün provide examples of other very successful Turkish German women. All three create embodied representations of Turkish German women that insist on their recognition in contemporary Germany, but in significantly different ways: Özdamar locates her writing in a German artistic community, while writers of popular culture, like Akgün and Akyün, represent themselves as participants in popular culture in order to gain recognition as citizens and members of the middle class. The importance of literary representations of Turkish German women and the body within such claims is a special focus of this chapter. I will begin with a discussion of the historical framework in which writers with a heritage background had to operate, followed by an analysis of the contemporary writing scene, including popular culture. Özdamar portrays embodied performance in order to claim membership in the European art and theater tradition, whereas Akgün claims Turkish upper-middle-class, or upper-class belonging, and Akgün and Akyün ask for recognition of German notions of Europeanness.

In the past century, many Turkish German film directors and some writers have presented Muslim women as victims of a patriarchal system based on a backward Islam. The trend of women portrayed as isolated and victimized in the realm of film is slowly changing with new productions of a more humorous or even parodistic nature

(Göktürk, "Beyond Paternalism" 255). However, unlike the film industry, literature that dealt with conditions of migration, often referred to as minority literature, *Migrantenliteratur*<sup>61</sup> or *Literatur der Betroffenheit*,<sup>62</sup> addressed victimization of women as only one minor aspect, despite the many examples of ill-treatment in popular memoirs. Popular examples of the persecution of Muslim women in literature in Germany were the bestselling translation of *Not Without My Daughter* (*Nicht ohne meine Tochter*) (1987) by Betty Mahmoody and *Women Who Die Without Having Lived* (*Frauen, die sterben, ohne dass sie gelebt hätten*) by Saliha Scheinhardt (1983). Although only Scheinhardt's book was based on an immigrant in Germany, whereas Mahmoody was describing her experiences as an American citizen, married to an Iranian, very few readers made distinctions about the writers' origins. Comedy plays a much larger role in minority literature, and the aforementioned books, which focus on victimization, represent more of an exception despite their bestseller status (Cheesman 13). From the beginning this literature has thematized gender differently and perhaps more "distantly."

Özdamar, as the representative of the first generation of Turkish German literature, has often portrayed women as independent workers, artists, and intellectuals (Weber, "Work, Sex, and Socialism" 52-53). Popular literature in particular utilizes comedy, which is more appealing to a wider audience. Using humor decreases feelings of resistance, allowing one to view one's culture as well as that of the Other without

<sup>61</sup> For an analysis of the problematic term *Migrantenliteratur* see Gerd Bayer, "Theory as Hierarchy."

<sup>62</sup> For more information on the *Literatur der Betroffenheit*, see Heidrun Suhr's "Ausländerliteratur: Minority Literature in the Federal Republic of Germany."

feeling offended when one's own culture is criticized. I will take a closer look at this shift from victimization to humorous portrayal, the language and physical representation used in such texts, and its effects and possible claims to recognition by focusing on work by three Turkish German women writers: Emine Sevgi Özdamar's *Mother Tongue* (*Mutterzunge*), *The Bridge of the Golden Horn* (*Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*), and *The Courtyard in the Mirror* (*Der Hof im Spiegel*); Hatice Akyün's *One Order of Hans with Hot Sauce* (*Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*) and *Ali for Desert* (*Ali zum Dessert*); and Lale Akgün's *Aunt Semra in the Land of Livercheese* (*Tante Semra im Leberkäse-land*).

There has been significant critical scholarly work done on Özdamar's texts. Much research on her work focuses on her challenges to patriarchy, her discussion of gender and sexuality, humor, hybrid or diasporic identity, memory, the bridge motif, as well as her use of language.<sup>63</sup> Very little scholarship is available regarding Akyün or Akgün, because the aforementioned books were published in the twenty-first century and belong to the realm of popular literature. Despite the somewhat autobiographical aspects of each book, all of the authors' work belongs in different genres. Özdamar represents sophisticated writing that draws intertextually from German and Turkish drama, while Akyün and Akgün write entertainment-oriented autobiographical novels categorized as popular fiction. Özdamar uses the body as part of her writing as

<sup>63</sup> On gender and sexuality see: Mani 95; Littler 225-227; Bird 169; Weber, "Work, Sex, and Socialism." On humor see: Moray McGowan. "Turkish-German fiction since the mid 1990s." 205; Şölçün, "Gespielte Naivität und ernsthafte Sinnlichkeit der Selbstbegegnung." On hybrid or diasporic identity see: Capano 252; Littler 227; Boa; Milz; Matthes. On memory see: Brandt; Seyhan 144. On the bridge motif see: McGowan, "Turkish-German fiction since the mid 1990s." 208-209; Mandel, *Cosmopolitan Anxieties* 1-2. On language see: Boa; Brandt; Capano; Simpson; Hakkarainen.

performance<sup>64</sup> and to shed a critical light on expectations of East and West. Akgün also exposes both Eastern and Western stereotypes, but she appears more interested in showing how class difference leads to different fashion statements like the wearing or omittance of the headscarf, and to the diversity of people with a migration background. Akyün exploits the exoticized female body to market her work. I will show how Özdamar uses language to distance the reader from the text and how Akgün and Akyün employ humor to play with and draw the reader in but also question stereotypes and contemporary German identity. Özdamar claims recognition from the artistic world of German literature and theater, whereas Akgün and Akyün are more interested in recognition as citizens. In this context, I will demonstrate how recognition, the body, and language are connected.

I use exoticism here as defined by Roger Célestin in his comparative work on Western exoticism, where “exotic” implies the existence of cultures understood as different to each other, and “exoticism” signals a subjective distancing that reflects tension between self and Other, home and exotic locale (2). Like Akin, these women writers share elements with Célestin’s understanding of the exotic in his analysis of

<sup>64</sup> I use “performance” here borrowing from Judith Butler who says that “[o]ne is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, one does one's body and, indeed, one does one's body differently from one's contemporaries and from one's embodied predecessors and successors as well” (“Performative Acts and Gender Constitution” 272). Furthermore, Butler’s explanation of gender performance via practices of parody, which “can serve to reengage and reconsolidate the very distinction between a privileged and naturalized gender configuration,” becomes useful to evaluate Özdamar’s writing style (*Gender Trouble* 186). Claudia Breger believes that we can use “the parodistic staging of incoherence” in order to shed light on “conditions and modalities through which concrete practices of hybridity win their radical or normalizing character. ... In their concrete articulation these ‘hybridities’ show the complexity of historical discourses and practices” (“Feminine Masculinities” 94). Butler’s interpretation of performance starts to make sense here when one goes beyond this explanation for gender and applies the term to any form of performance and especially embodied performance.

Vidiadhar Surajprasad Naipaul's work. Although Turkish Germans are not postcolonial writers like Naipaul, they "know the 'exotic' and [they have] already, at this stage, relinquished the 'alien vision' that is essential to the traditional exoticizing gaze. Again [they] may be reiterating aspects of this alien vision, but they are filtered through the demands of [their own] identity[es]" (197). Similar to Naipaul, this director and these writers are "outside, different" and for all of them "travel becomes a way of life, the means of oscillating between one and the other [Center or Periphery]" (198). Yet, for Akin and for the writers of this chapter, this is complicated by the fact that "home" is Hamburg, and the "other place" is Turkey, the homeland of his ancestors and the place assigned to him as "home" by mainstream German culture.

In order to show how these artists work to overcome the stereotypes of foreigners or immigrants and to appreciate the contribution of Turkish German writers, I will return to the idea of the hybrid national space or narrative, which, according to Homi Bhabha, is sometimes also called a minority narrative. Bhabha writes about the effects that a minority narrative can have for a nation. If one imagines "dissemination" to be a distribution, spreading, or propagation of territory, language, peoples, or performances, it also characterizes for him the idea of crossing boundaries and margins and recognizing the shifting and overlapping orders of community, society, or nation. Bhabha views the nation as a "cultural force" that operates with "discursive liminality" in which the people are being constructed within a whole range of discourses as a) historical "objects" of a nationalist pedagogy and, at the same time, as b) "subjects" of a performative strategy. Bhabha's formulations insist on the ambivalence of the nation-

space represented by a sort of double-writing (297-299). Minority discourse “contests genealogies of ‘origin’ that lead to claims for cultural supremacy and historical propriety. Minority discourse acknowledges the status of national culture – and the people – as a contentious, performative space of the perplexity of the living in the midst of the pedagogical representations of the fullness of life” (307). This opens up the option for recognizing the constructed nature of the homogenized nation.

DissemiNation, then, also stands for the “hybrid national narrative,” while writers such as Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Hatice Akyün, and Lale Akgün provide a “hybrid national narrative” with a special focus on gendered bodies, which allows the German reader in particular to develop a richer understanding of what it means to be German, as well as how one is recognized in a modern “multicultural” nation state. People’s dress and the movement of their bodies becomes part of such recognition. All three of the discussed authors use, and at times challenge, mainstream ideas about Muslim women’s bodies. Özdamar is probably the most interesting author here insofar as she goes beyond merely questioning stereotypes and uses the body as performer to find recognition in the world of artistic performance in Germany. But even Akgün, with her resumption of the headscarf debate, brings forth an interesting point by illuminating class differences. Nevertheless, Akgün and Akyün often reiterate stereotypes through their usage of the body as foreign or even exotic. What connects all three authors is that they draw on the body to claim recognition.

### **Reception of Turkish German Writers**

The ways in which the body is used and a supposedly inferior language, that is to say, a writing style that draws too much on direct translation from Turkish to German, have been linked to comments on Turkish German authors' reception. Despite the receipt of the Ingeborg Bachmann Prize (1991), Adelbert von Chamisso Prize (1999), Kleist Prize (2004), and the Carl Zuckmayer Medal (2010), to name a few, and Özdamar's acceptance into the German Writers Guild (2007) as the first Turkish German writer, the author has often faced diverse reactions. Some conservative critics construed the organization's awarding of the Ingeborg Bachmann Prize in 1991 to her, the first non-native speaker of German to receive the award, as the organization's submission to the pressures of the politics of recognition and multiculturalism.<sup>65</sup> Despite widespread recognition, Özdamar and other Turkish German authors continued to face expectations of merely representing romantic ideas of the "Orient" or representing immigrant (or even guest worker) populations. Marcel Reich-Reinicki, on his television show *The Literary Quartet* (*Das Literarische Quartett*), has labeled her language as sheer translation with an "exotic appeal."<sup>66</sup> Özdamar has often been "reduced to an Oriental spinner of fairy tales," according to B. Venkat Mani (95). Seen most narrowly, Özdamar is often viewed merely as a Turkish German woman writer, despite her success. As Mani points out, female authors are especially pigeon-holed into one of three categories

<sup>65</sup> For an in-depth analysis, please see Karen Jankowsky, "'German Literature Contested.'"

<sup>66</sup> Marcel Reich-Reinicki discussed Özdamar's novel *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn* in his TV program *Das Literarische Quartett*, which aired on 6.6.1998 on ZDF. During this book review, Reich-Reinicki compares Özdamar to the Hungarian author Arthur Koestler who, in his autobiography, wrote about the reactions from editors in Germany who suggested that he wrote literal translations from Hungarian, which appeared fairy-tale like to Germans. Reich-Reinicki then says: "Es hat einen exotischen Reiz, diese Sprache." (It has an exotic appeal, this language.)

as either authentic subjects of patriarchal subjugation, native informants of their own stories, or they are “aptly criticized for self-exoticization and self-promotion, in that they confirm and reinforce prejudgments, stereotypes about their cultures – often perceived as part of the abstract oriental monolith – or their status as women: subjugated, colonized, eternal victims of oriental patriarchal malevolence with no agency for resistance” (95). Özdamar belongs to this group who is, at times, accused of exoticism. The author plays with this expectation of exotic nuances, however, by humorously connecting physical appearance to German language performance, which I will discuss later in this chapter in connection with her book *Mother Tongue* (*Mutterzunge*).

Even though Özdamar might use the German language to distance herself from traumatic experiences in Turkey, such as her friends’ various incarcerations, as well as her own three-week imprisonment<sup>67</sup> in Turkey, her creativity and playfulness go far beyond a language of survival. Azade Seyhan describes Özdamar’s treatment of language as “rite, ritual, mode of survival and a zone of comfort in an inhospitable environment” (143). Seyhan further notes the “linguistic novelty” that Özdamar adds to the German language (Seyhan 142). As I show in this chapter, Özdamar’s dramaturgical language can be added to this account of her writing. Kader Konuk has

<sup>67</sup> During her acceptance speech for the Adelbert von Chamisso Prize in 1999, entitled “Meine deutschen Wörter haben keine Kindheit,” Özdamar said: “Während des Militärputschs in der Türkei wurde ich 3 Wochen festgenommen, weil ich Reportagen gemacht hatte. ... Damals bedeutete in der Türkei Wort gleich Mord. Man konnte wegen Wörtern erschossen, gefoltert, aufgehängt werden.” (“During the military coup in Turkey I was imprisoned for three weeks as well, because I had produced reports. ... At that time words meant murder in Turkey. One could get shot, tortured, or hung due to words.”) (*Der Hof im Spiegel* 127-128) (my translation).



also referred to Özdamar's playfully emancipatory (*spielerisch befreiendes*) potential in her novel *Karawanserei* (67). Not only mainstream German reviewers and culture-program television hosts, but also other Turkish German authors and critics such as Deniz Göktürk or Zafer Şenocak<sup>68</sup> accuse Özdamar of exoticism when using Turkish vocabulary and semantics, which brings up doubts about the degree of recognition that the author should receive. Özdamar uses this change of language as one tool of artistic expression – next to, for example, allusions to German theater in the style of Bertolt Brecht and Georg Büchner or Turkish puppet theater, to name just a few – to receive recognition from the performing arts community, which I will further discuss in the theater section. As Özdamar said in “Manche denken, Türken können nicht schreiben,” an interview with the German-Turkish branch of the German Press Association (dpa) upon her nomination for the Carl Zuckmayer Medal in 2010, “Natürlich muss eine Erzählung über eine Kindheit in der Türkei auch türkische Sprichwörter und türkisches

<sup>68</sup> Deniz Göktürk criticizes her with “Kennzeichnend für Özdamars Texte ist ihr oszillierendes Spiel zwischen den Sprachen und die eigenwillige Verdeutschung türkischer Redewendungen. ... setzt sie das “Türkendeutsche” als Stilmittel ein und erzielt damit grotesk-komische Effekte. ... Der exotische Reiz beruht in erster Linie darauf, dass die Leser des Türkischen nicht mächtig sind und dem Text einverleibtes Fremdmaterial nicht erkennen können, wie beispielsweise wörtlich übertragene idiomatische Wendungen oder – nicht immer gelungene – Übersetzungen aus dem Koran oder der türkischen Lyrik” (“Kennzeichen: weiblich/türkisch/deutsch.” 528). (“Characteristic for Özdamar’s texts is her oscillating play between languages and her willful Germanization of Turkish idioms. ... [S]he uses her “Turkish-German” as a stylistic method and achieves a grotesque comical effect. ... The exotic appeal is primarily based upon the reader’s inability of understanding Turkish and identifying when foreign material is inserted into the text, like, for example – not always successful – translations from the Koran or Turkish lyric.” (my translation)

Zafer Şenocak’s critique is presented in the form of a poem. “Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei: Ein Gedichtessay.” (“Life is a Caravansary: A Poetic Essay.”)

Volkstum enthalten. Das ist ein Teil der Identität.”<sup>69</sup> In the same interview, Özdamar expresses her irritation with both the Turkish media and some German scholars who proclaim that her reason for success is her transfer of the Turkish way of thinking into German. When asked if she agrees with this view she says “Nein, ich finde, das ist eine Unverschämtheit. Das haben einige Germanisten über mich geschrieben, die mich nicht kennen.”<sup>70</sup> When asked about her encounters in Germany, Özdamar says:

Auch in Deutschland haben ein paar beschränkte Germanisten versucht, mich so zu beschreiben. Beispielsweise haben sie, obwohl sie kein Wort Türkisch sprechen, geschrieben, meine Bücher verkauften sich vermutlich deswegen so gut, weil Türkisch eine schöne Sprache sei. Das klingt so, als ob wir Türken nicht in der Lage seien zu schreiben und sich die Bücher nur gut verkauften, weil Türkisch so schön ist. Man unterstellt uns doch, dass es keine fähigen türkischen Schriftsteller gibt.<sup>71</sup>

These expressions demonstrate that Özdamar views herself as a Turkish author who is upset about the misrecognition based upon a misreading of language usage. At the same time, she shows in this interview that these prizes have opened a door for her claim to become a recognized author of German literature, when colleagues such as

<sup>69</sup> “Of course, a story about childhood in Turkey must contain Turkish proverbs and Turkish folklore. That is part of the identity” (my translation).

<sup>70</sup> “No, I believe this to be impudence. Some German scholars [in Turkey] who do not know me wrote that about me” (my translation).

<sup>71</sup> “Some German scholars with a limited perspective have tried to describe me that way in Germany too. Even though they do not speak one word of Turkish, they have, for example, written that my books probably only sell so well because Turkish is such a beautiful language. That sounds as if we Turks are unable to write and the books only sell well because Turkish is beautiful. One implies that there are no capable Turkish authors.” (my translation)

Ingo Schulze and Thomas Rosenlöcher, whom Özdamar believes to be authors of high standards, validated her work. Referring back to Honneth's model for a theory of recognition, "[p]ersons can feel themselves to be 'valuable' only when they know themselves to be recognized for accomplishments that they precisely do not share in an undifferentiated manner with others" (125). Not only is she the first author not writing in her native tongue to receive the Carl Zuckmayer Prize in 2010, but the accomplishment only bears special merit if the recipient values the level of accreditation by the members of the jury that bestowed such a prize on her ("Emine Sevgi Özdamar erhält Carl Zuckmayer-Medaille"). That is to say, these German colleagues –versus merely literature critics– clearly anchor Özdamar in German literature.

### **Özdamar and Creativity in Language**

Özdamar herself is an immigrant who was born in Turkey in 1946 and who migrated to Berlin, Germany at nineteen as a factory worker, where she was introduced to the work of Bertolt Brecht. On returning to Turkey in 1967, she started studying drama in Istanbul and then went to the Volksbühne in East Berlin in 1976 to perform under and direct with Brecht's student, Benno Besson and the director Matthias Langhoff. In 1978, she went to Paris to present one of Besson's adaptations of Brecht's "Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis" ("The Caucasian Chalk Circle"). During this time, Özdamar was also enrolled as a doctoral student at the Parisian Vincennes University. While at the Schauspielhaus in Bochum from 1979-1984 as an actress, Özdamar wrote her first play, *Karagöz in Alemania*, that had been ordered by the Schauspielhaus Bochum, but was first put on stage at the Schauspielhaus Frankfurt under her direction in 1986. This was the

first Turkish German play to be staged at a renowned German theater. Özdamar herself was able to use acting and writing as a way out of her “subaltern” position, which is also reflected in the characters in her books. In order to examine the importance of such a move, one needs to evaluate the general position of German Turkish women in the labor space.<sup>72</sup>

While taking a closer look at the situation of immigrants and their children in Germany, one might turn attention to the educational achievements and consequent labor-market positions this demographic group holds. In this chapter, I am specifically interested in Turkish German women and their achievements as authors in relationship to the larger landscape of employment for female students with a migration background. As a study by the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB)) from 2011 shows, 12 months after finishing secondary schools only 44.1 percent of female students with a migration background were able to capture a job or apprenticeship in comparison to 49.3 percent of their male counterparts, despite better grades in school and active job searches. Nevertheless, this is an improvement over the 2003 numbers of 34 percent for women and 44 percent for men. Women without a migration background were successful at 63 percent and men without a migration background at 69.8 percent (Beicht and Granato 38). This statistic includes all migrant students; Turkish students perform on average even more poorly.

<sup>72</sup> For more information about Özdamar’s biography please see: “Rezensionsforum Literaturkritik;” Wierschke; Horrocks and Kolinsky.

One can characterize these female students as “subaltern,” if we understand this term as the perspective of the person outside of the hegemonic system who is bound by limited upward class-mobility, which is one of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s possible definitions of the “subaltern” (*A Critique* 310). Thus, the fields of literature and film provide a special niche in which members of the subaltern group can achieve upward mobility and recognition. Nevertheless, not all of the women writers discussed here are subaltern. The fashion in which Özdamar uses language performance that is often associated with the subaltern for one of her characters becomes an interesting example of subaltern literary characters “that can speak.” The author has given her characters voice. As Spivak correctly mentions in her article “A Note on the New International,” “the persuasive force of mere attention is disarming for the subaltern. It is an instrument of accelerated upward class-mobility for the exceptional subaltern” (15). This is how I would view Özdamar as an author (not to be conflated with her characters). One should not overlook in this context that one aspect of Özdamar’s upward class-mobility is rooted in her education as an actress in Istanbul and later in Paris, which adds to her access to Western society’s stepping stones of success.

Since winning the Ingeborg Bachmann Prize and being admitted to the German Writers Guild in May of 2007, Özdamar, now the most recognized Turkish German writer, has lost the status of a subaltern. As Spivak comments “[w]hen a line of communication is established between a member of the subaltern groups and the circuits of citizenship or institutionality, the subaltern has been inserted into the long road of hegemony” (*A Critique* 310). This is not to say that the subaltern has become

hegemonic, but that she has entered into a space where upward mobility has become possible. Despite this insertion into hegemony, traces of the subaltern can still be seen in her texts. One of those traces is Özdamar's incorporation of "stumbling" German writing, which one might misrecognize as a form of underprivileged expression or as exoticization, but which the author uses to distance the reader. This tool will be addressed in the film and theater portion of this section. I will now take a closer look at the different stages of (re)discovery of a mother tongue in a hybrid national space, specifically the city of Berlin that was still divided in Özdamar's Cold War setting of *Mother Tongue* (*Mutterzunge*) and *The Bridge of the Golden Horn* (*Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*).

### **Language as a Tool for Recognition**

In her short story collection *Mother Tongue* (*Mutterzunge*), Özdamar writes about a young Turkish immigrant who tries to find her roots while living in Berlin, Germany. During her pursuit of her ancestors' languages, the protagonist enters into what seems to be an uneven power relationship with Ibni Abdullah, a teacher of Arabic. During the opening chapter, the first person narrator introduces the reader to her search for her mother's language and memories of her "Mother Tongue." She later explains that Atatürk prohibited Arabic writing symbols in 1927 and she feels compelled to study those in an attempt to connect to her heritage (MZ 14). In order to study Arabic, the protagonist calls on Ibni Abdullah, who invites her into his apartment, confining her to the writing room: "Ibni Abdullah warf sich auf meinen Schoß, zwei Tage blieben wir so. Wir sprachen nicht, aßen nicht, ... das ist die Liebe, du wirst bei mir bleiben,

widerspricht nicht ... Ibni Abdullah teilte das Schriftzimmer mit einem Vorhang. Ich saß in einer Hälfte, in der anderen Hälfte unterrichtete er Orientalisten" (MZ 25).<sup>73</sup> Ibni appears to decide what shape love takes, chooses when she studies, demands the protagonist's stay in an authoritative voice and divides the room with a curtain, which veils her from his students. The teacher, however, who has access to this space, in addition to her body, comes to the other half of the room between the lessons and "schaute mich an, als ob ich eine seltene Blume wäre" (MZ 25).<sup>74</sup> Here is a young woman who enters into a love relationship where she literally makes herself a prisoner, as well as a rare, yet delicate object of desire, and who appears stranded between three different traditions. Özdamar shows the reader the scholar, the free-spirited woman, who makes her own decisions and searches for her roots, only to find out that those are much more complexly constructed and impossible to define when she actually starts to recognize her connection with German-speaking literary traditions.

The same free-spirited woman who actively searches for acceptance and recognition by studying her ancestry is also a young woman who enters into a love relationship, who "konnte aus diesem Schriftzimmer nicht mehr raus" (MZ 26).<sup>75</sup>

Özdamar plays with the idea of a protagonist who has a very independent life and talks freely with Ibni about her first sexual experiences, yet is willing to serve Ibni in order to attain her goal of finding the words which reconnect her with her heritage, but who

<sup>73</sup> "Ibni Abdullah threw himself onto my lap, for two days we remained like this, we didn't speak, didn't eat, ... This now is love. You'll stay with me, don't contradict me ... Ibni Abdullah divided the study with a curtain. I sat in one half, in the other Orientalists he taught" (MT 28-29).

<sup>74</sup> "looked at me as though I were a rare flower" (MT 29).

<sup>75</sup> "could no longer leave the study" (MT 30).

learns the Arabic text only poorly, because “ich immer mit dem Ibni Abdullah, der in meinem Körper war, mit anderen Wörtern sprach ... Ich bin die Sklavin deines Antlitzes” (MZ 30-31).<sup>76</sup> At first, the reader is confused by not knowing if this relationship is based on submission or not, as the narrator describes herself as Ibni’s slave, who is unable to leave his writing room and who did not take up veiling on her own accord. Nevertheless, Ibni Abdullah displays his scholarly abilities when he helps the narrator trace Arabic words that have survived in Turkish, such as “*Leb – Mund*,” which also presents a bodily reference (MZ 29). Özdamar adds to this confusion with the mixture of wordplay in German, Arabic, and Turkish. However, the ambiguities in this text open up a new way for the reader to question her or his ideas about this “group” of people, who in this case become the teachers of Orientalists, as in Ibni or who are women like the protagonist, who talk about Atatürk’s politics and sexuality as aforementioned. The reader can find ironic statements about the general German attitude from earlier times toward immigrants and at the same time try to evaluate, consciously or sub-consciously, if these ideas still hold true for herself or himself.

In *Mutterzunge* the protagonist expresses that it is “eine Gemeinschaft, mit einer Orientalin in Deutsch zu reden, aber momentan haben wir ja nur diese Sprache” (MZ 15).<sup>77</sup> Despite the protagonist’s impossible wish to research her language roots by comparing Turkish and Arabic, the first bridging entity becomes German. In the

<sup>76</sup> “I didn’t learn the text properly, because I kept talking with other words to the Ibni Abdullah who was within me ... I’m the slave girl of your eyes” (MT 36-37).

<sup>77</sup> “It is rude to speak to an Eastern woman in German but for the moment we, of course, only have that language” (*Mother Tongue* 17).



original German text, the searching scholar is not introduced as an Eastern woman, but rather as the “Orientalin,” which indicates a Western notion of the “Orient.”

Furthermore, Özdamar introduces the “Orientalists” whom Ibni Abdullah teaches (MZ 25). Edward W. Said, who says that the “Orient” “was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (1), not only criticizes such conceptions of the “Orient,” but also the entire discipline of “Orientalism” in universities. I believe that Özdamar purposefully introduces such problematic terms as “Orientals,” who are the objects of study, and white “Orientalists” who study them. She does so to undermine the alleged supremacy of the Orientalist scholar, who here is being taught by Ibni, who is another “Oriental” in this story and, therefore, a supposed object of study. At the same time, the “Orientalin” herself, as a scholar, is used to indicate further play with ideas of the exotic beings and their physicality, which is especially fitting for women. The Western reader is drawn into the text by this mixture of language and associations. The author claims recognition for her performative and embodied usage of such language and challenges, rather than reiterates, ideas of the exoticism of women.

### **Language as Embodiment, Performer, and Metaphor for Movement**

Özdamar exhibits how much physicality language can carry by utilizing metaphors as well as by referring to body parts, physical abilities, or associations with movement or travel. Lucia Capano voices that “every movement reveals an intimate nexus with the body and speaks of an internal movement toward the external” in *Mutterzunge* (253). This is reminiscent of Elizabeth Grosz’s idea of the body that “provides a point of

mediation of what is perceived as purely internal and accessible only to the subject and what is external and publicly observable" (20). One example of this movement that happens on the inside but is only visible to the reader via the description of the author is the scene where the protagonist is unable to leave the writing room:

Ibni Abdullah ging nach seinen Schriftunterrichten abends weg, ich zog den Vorhang zur Seite, saß mit Schriften in dieser Moschee, die Schriften lagen auf dem Teppich, ich legte mich neben sie, die Schriften sprachen miteinander ohne Pause mit verschiedenen Stimmen, weckten die eingeschlafenen Tiere in meinem Körper, ich schließe Augen ... mein Körper geht auf wie ein Granatapfel, in Blut und Schmutz kam ein Tier raus. Ich schaue auf meinen offenen Körper, das Tier faßt meinen offenen Körper, leckt meine Wunden mit seiner Spucke ... Ich sah, wie das Meer aus dem Mund dieses Tieres rauskam ... ich lag da, über dem Körper vom Wasser schlief ich ein ... Ich war wie ein neugeborener nasser Vogel, der sehr große Geduld haben musste. (MZ 26-27)<sup>78</sup>

The external stillness allows for her close proximity with the texts. Character and reader reach a close encounter with the writing that is audible and tactile. The vivid transcription of her body that opens up like a fruit and bears an animal in blood and

<sup>78</sup> Ibni Abdullah always left in the evenings after his writing classes and I would pull the curtain to one side, sit in this mosque with the texts laid out on carpet, I'd lay myself down beside them, while the texts spoke to each other without pause in their different voices, woke the sleeping animals in my body ... my body opens like a pomegranate cut open in the middle, an animal comes out from the blood and dirt. I look at my open body, the animal grabs hold of my open body, licks my wounds with its spittle ... I lie there, with water over my body. I fall asleep ... I'm like a newborn wet bird that must show a great deal of patience. (MT 30-31)

dirt, which then licks her body to heal it, demonstrates the intensity of the narrator's thought processes that manifest in a very physical day dream. The young woman's body creates the junction between her dreamlike reconnection with her past and her rebirth which the reader witnesses. Özdamar's special gift in regard to her language is that her language materializes in the text and makes experiences and thought external and tangible. She therefore forces the reader to confront a very physical experience. Capano centers her investigation in regard to this language phenomenon around the area of music. I will analyze works by Özdamar concerning physiological aspects of her language and their effects.

The author achieves special effects when words themselves become active and perform movements. In her novel *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*, verbs take on an unusually dynamic role when the protagonist, a young woman who has moved for the second time from Istanbul to Berlin to work as a guest worker at the Siemens factory, employs at the same time the role of a translator who remarks as a response to her need to translate behavioral problems among Turkish workers that "[n]iemand ging in die Türkei zurück, und ich trug die Sätze von einem zum anderen. Später, als ich Shakespeare-Stücke las, sah ich, dass dort oft die Boten getötet wurden" (BGH 117).<sup>79</sup> This "carrying or bearing of sentences" from one worker to another is a heavy task which calls for strength and often puts the messenger into dangerous situations as the interpreter learns from one of literature's greatest. Here, Özdamar shows that even

<sup>79</sup> No one went back to Turkey, and I bore the sentences from one to the other. Later, when I read Shakespeare plays, I saw that there the messengers often get killed (*Bridge* 85).

within the same language words can take on a physical burden. The translator or interpreter in this factory needs to play the role of a social worker when she “takes her sentences from one person to another.” This very physical and dangerous task requires a more intense understanding of what lies between the lines than a grasp of literal translation from one language into another. The connection to Western literature via Shakespeare’s warning about the difficult role of messengers is a well-chosen anchoring point for the language performance, which her verbs like “bore” engage (*BGH* 117).

The potentially hazardous aspect of spoken language is challenged in an earlier scene, where words can “be thrown” to establish connection. In this incident, which occurs during her first residency as a guest worker, the protagonist has gone out to a pub with three other young women, the communist warden of the hostel where they all stayed, and his friend, Ataman. While the three other girls are looking at the two Turkish men’s mouths or faces, the main character looked at four young German men who asked “Istanbul, Istanbul?” in her direction. After she replies with “Istanbul, Istanbul” there is a ten-minute break. “Nach zehn Minuten warfen sie wieder ihre Wörter zu unserem Tisch” (*BGH* 75).<sup>80</sup> The word choice “thrown” emphasizes the force with which these words are passed between the two tables, allowing the language to assume the form of a ball being tossed back and forth. Even though this is the friendly invitation to establish relations between the two cultures, Ataman sees this “throwing” of words as another possibly dangerous situation and shouts back “danger virgin”

<sup>80</sup> “After ten minutes they threw their words across to our table again” (*Bridge* 53).

(*Bridge* 53). The words and their moving, even perilous, aspect are bound to the physical body of a virgin, which creates allusions to a potentially frightening sexuality, as this friendly banter stands in as a form of foreplay, which may indicate her wish to actively pursue losing her virginity. The “thrown language” functions as a further layer of community building and communication. It hints toward the young German men’s desires which the girls get a glimpse of via body and spoken language. Ataman assumes a cautionary role when he informs the young German men that the Turkish woman is a virgin and warns the narrator that she might lose her virginity (*BGH* 75). Nevertheless, Ataman “says,” but the four young German men “throw” their words across the tables like in a ball game.

In addition to embodying verbs, Özdamar uses very somatic language when describing the speech organs and their role in the production of language. In her short story collection *Mutterzunge*, Özdamar describes the tongue not only as a producer of speech, but also as a very concrete body part: “Zunge hat keine Knochen, wohin man sie dreht, dreht sie sich dorthin. Ich sass mit meiner gedrehten Zunge in dieser Stadt Berlin” (*MZ* 9).<sup>81</sup> The tongue, flexible, lacking bones, and a muscle that is related to coordination, is not just relegated to one’s mouth, but is connected to her physical environment, which, as so often is in Özdamar’s stories, the city of Berlin. The tongue’s lack of coordination makes the book’s character identifiable as foreign in terms of an accent, as musical, as pleasing or displeasing to the ear, as part of the audible sound that

<sup>81</sup> “A tongue has no bones: twist it in any direction and it will turn that way. I sat with my twisted tongue in this city, Berlin” (*Mother Tongue* 9).

the city of Berlin produces. Language comes alive here with this organ that represents physical concreteness. It becomes a part of the dramaturgical set-up and performance of the entire book. The reader might have an intensified physical sensation of her or his own tongue and what movements it might be able to perform, of other languages she or he might speak, of the “taste of language.”

In *Mutterzunge*, Özdamar undertakes this description of the tongue as a speech organ when she investigates the mother tongue’s importance. The first person narrator has lost her mother tongue and sets out to find words that will reconnect her to her roots, a highly physical reunion with her own origin. The protagonist lives in Berlin at the beginning of the story and introduces the reader to her first short story, which bears a similar title to that of the book, with “In meiner Sprache heißt Zunge: Sprache” (MZ 9).<sup>82</sup> As a logical consequence, “Mutterzunge” would mean “Muttersprache” in German and can be translated as mother tongue, native tongue or native language. Interestingly, English allows for a usage of both words “tongue” and “language” to express the same idea, and all three languages (German, English, and Turkish) gender this first-spoken language as female and connect it to the mother. Özdamar furthermore engages the reader in her playful writing style with the tongue, which having no bones can not only turn in any direction that the speaker turns herself or himself (MZ 9), but can also be seen as lacking a backbone, which renders it somewhat unstable but, nevertheless, a very physical performer with the ability to move. The

<sup>82</sup> “In my language, “tongue” means “language” (MT 9).

expression “wohin man sie dreht, dreht sie sich dorthin”<sup>83</sup> evokes an old German children’s rhyme: “Wie das Fähnchen auf dem Turme, sich kann drehn bei Wind und Sturme, so kann meine Hand sich drehn.”<sup>84</sup> Similarly, German views people who turn like “a little flag in the wind” as individuals who can easily be persuaded to change their opinion. Thus, the tongue’s flexibility and lack of a backbone can represent an artistic ability to form new sounds, while at the same time showing an easily manipulated body part that can get lost in environments with multiple languages, customs, and systems of thinking. Furthermore, this tongue is twisted, which could refer to the saying “Ich habe einen Knoten in der Zunge,”<sup>85</sup> which relates the difficulty of articulating or enunciating something appropriately. Still, if twisted, flexible, artistic, or manipulated, the tongue is connected to us physically and can therefore also become the root of our claim for recognition. The environment in this scene is also worth further exploration. The protagonist sits with her twisted tongue in “this city, Berlin” (MZ 9). “This city” might at first evoke some sense of distance. To show her closeness, she could have otherwise said “my city” or “my Berlin” or, to keep it more neutral, just “Berlin.” Not only does she sit in this city, she is also in a “Negercafé,”<sup>86</sup> which shows up in the translation as “a café for foreigners” (MZ and MT 9). It seems likely that Özdamar chose such a derogative term on purpose to draw more attention to the physical body and the inability of a person to escape visibility as a marker of a minority.

<sup>83</sup> “twist it in any direction, and it will turn that way” (MT 9).

<sup>84</sup> “Like the little flag on the tower, can turn itself in wind and storm, is the way my hand can turn” (my translation).

<sup>85</sup> “I am tongue-tied” (my translation).

<sup>86</sup> “Negro café” (my translation).

Furthermore, café culture is a vital part of Berlin life, and the hint toward people of color, looked-down-upon foreigners, which “Negercafé” signifies, places the young woman in a diverse locality. In addition, there are Arabs here as customers, or as the German original could also say “as guests,” which points at the guest worker status that many foreigners of Arabian or Turkish origin who lived in Germany exemplified. Simultaneously, the author hints at the paradox of this term itself: why would a guest be working? And at the problematic that despite the outdated terminology, many mainstream Germans still view Turkish Germans as guest workers, despite language skills, citizenship, location of birth, etc., although they might never have been such. Additionally, the guests are unable to truly connect with the ground or to grow roots, because their café stools are too high, their feet dangling like those of little kids. Nevertheless, this “rootlessness” and child-like position also allows for creativity, reminding one of the impossibility for the main figure finding language roots and a physical experience of home in an enclosed room. This strategy of a search for roots is not viable and rather leads to imprisoning or entrapment.

Again, the word choice used to describe the café house scene directs the readers’ attention toward physical markers as well as the corporeal capabilities, or the lack thereof, of the parts of the body. If we assume that Anna Triandafyllidou’s concept of a shared public culture, which includes language and ethnic ties, is necessary for one’s formation of a national identity, the hybrid space described here, which consists of German, Turkish and Arab components and emphasizes café culture in Berlin, might function as a bridge linking a mixture of cultures, where no true national location of



culture is possible. The increasingly complex incorporation of language itself, which Özdamar portrays on the same page, leads to an even better understanding of the cultural amalgamation she is describing. Most importantly though, this mother tongue becomes a profoundly tangible object when it is tied to the corporeal object that produces language: the tongue. Not only does Özdamar experience German words in a very somatic way, her texts also allow her readers to recognize physical connections between the body and language. The words on the page paint a picture that produces a visceral sensation of language production; one cannot escape having an increased sensual awareness of one's own tongue while reading this text. Language and its performing tools become a recognizable entity that connect one to the body or help one to distance oneself from it and certain traumatic events that might have left emotional or physical scars.

Özdamar's fascination with the physicality of language also becomes visible in her collection *Der Hof im Spiegel* (*The Courtyard in the Mirror*). In the first story with the same title as the book, the protagonist has dreams and fantasies about her mother. In one of these, she reads her mother's lips rather than hearing her voice "Ich hörte nicht ihre Stimme, aber las hinter dem Zugfenster an ihren Lippen diese Worte [Wenn du wüsstest, wie ich dich liebe.]. Seit diesem Traum sprach ich im Spiegel stumm mit mir, nur mit Lippenbewegungen" (*Hof* 32).<sup>87</sup> The initial lip reading might not be surprising since the mother sits in a train, but it has extraordinary consequences, because after this

<sup>87</sup> "I didn't hear her voice, but through the window of the train I read these words on her lips. Since I had that dream, I talk to myself in the mirror without sound, moving only my lips" (*Courtyard* 13).

dream the daughter continues with this purely physical language performance to communicate with herself in the mirror.

After paying closer attention to such organs as the tongue and lips, Özdamar also points toward teeth in a following passage in *Der Hof im Spiegel*. In this scene the protagonist describes how she invented a twin sister and staged herself as the other to get rid of the Jehovah's Witnesses who kept bothering her at her door. Not only does the character switch bodies here by pretending to be a twin, but the Jehovah's Witnesses, who have to abandon converting her, lose the laughter with which they had approached her door. Instead, they go down the stairs "als ob sie ihre Gebisse rausgenommen hätten" (*Hof* 33).<sup>88</sup> This reference to facial expressions is embedded in a conversation about language, because the character tries at first to derail the couple by pointing out that she speaks Turkish, but they also carried a Turkish version of their bible. Therefore, body language, passing for someone else by "switching bodies," and the speaking of a foreign language all get mingled in this one scene. Language and body language materialize as actors themselves by being connected to body parts in an unconventional fashion.

Another unusual connection of body, speech organs, and language occurs in the novel *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*. The protagonist and her two young female friends, who have all taken residence in a hostel for guest workers in Berlin, go to the Turkish Workers' Association to meet fellow Turkish men. While watching these men, the girls

<sup>88</sup> "After this they went down the stairs looking as if they had taken their false teeth out" (*Courtyard* 14).

make a curious observation: “In manchen türkischen Arbeitern fanden wir drei Mädchen unsere Mütter wieder. ... Wenn diese Männer sprachen, kamen die Stimmen ihrer Mütter aus ihren Mündern. ... Es war schön, den Körper eines Mannes zu sehen, in dem viele Frauen wohnten” (BGH 51).<sup>89</sup> The men do not only speak with other voices, they also incorporate their mothers’ bodies in a very concrete way. Özdamar plays with gender expectations when she has the men also embody their mothers’ female physical traits. The mouth continues in another way to play a somatic role in this performance, for these men also speak loudly while they walk from the guest worker hostel through the rainy or snowy streets of Berlin to the Turkish Workers’ Association or other parts of town. This way of walking is in a way, “als ob sie hinter ihren Wörtern hergingen, die sie laut sprachen, als ob ihre laute Sprache ihnen den Weg freimachte” (BGH 45).<sup>90</sup> The loudness of their voices functions like a snow plough, which guards them. Language turns into a space-transforming entity, which protects the body from the environment.

### **Film/Theater as the Ultimate Stages for Language**

The most performative function of Özdamar’s language becomes visible in her writing about theater. The characters in the collection *Mother Tongue* and in the works of her trilogy, *Life is a Caravansary* (*Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei*) (1992), *Bridge of the Golden Horn* (*Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*) (1998), and *Strange Stars Turn to Earth* (*Seltame*

<sup>89</sup> “In some Turkish workers we three girls found our mothers again. ... When these men spoke, the voices of their mothers came out of their mouths. ... It was nice to see the body of a man in which many women lived” (*Bridge* 34).

<sup>90</sup> “It looked as if they were walking along behind their words, which they spoke loudly, as if their loud language cleared the way for them” (*Bridge* 30).

*Sterne starren zur Erde*) (2003) talk frequently about the theater and especially the Brechtian Theater, but also Turkish drama. The centrality of the theater's role for the books becomes apparent on the second page of *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*. Here, the protagonist explains that she has joined the work force in Germany so as to become an actress, to be recognized in the theater, via the superiority of performance over everyday life: "Texte vergessen – das war, als ob eine Trapezartistin in der Luft nicht die Hand ihres Partners erreicht und herunterfällt. Die Menschen aber liebten die, die zwischen Tod und Leben ihre Berufe ausübten. Ich bekam Applaus am Theater, aber nicht zu Hause von meiner Mutter" (BGH 12).<sup>91</sup> While still in Turkey, this character already lived for the applause she receives, which moves the disapproval her mother had felt for her into the background. To have such a reference occur already on the second page of the novel illustrates the author's admiration of theater. The first reference to Brecht occurs a bit later within the same chapter (35). Leslie A. Adelson argues that "Özdamar's fascination with Bertolt Brecht is well known, and many of her texts explicitly conjure the legendary German and Marxist playwright as a kind of Turkish muse" (*The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature* 153). Her intertextual allusions to Brecht, Turkish Shadow Theater with "Karagöz," or the circus traditions of trapeze artists, among others, demonstrate her interest in and reliance on

<sup>91</sup> "To forget one's lines – that was as if in mid-air a trapeze artist doesn't reach her partner's hand and falls down. But people loved those who carried out their professions between death and life. I got applause in the theatre, but not at home from my mother" (*Bridge* 4).

multiple theater traditions. At the same time, Özdamar claims recognition as a member of the globally relevant German theater community as an actor and a writer.

Patricia Anne Simpson has confirmed that Brecht plays a central role in Özdamar's books. Basing her analysis in part on Özdamar's comment during a reading in Berlin in 2005 that "Jedes Land braucht Brecht," Simpson is concerned with the way in which "Özdamar's creative reception of Brecht holds up a beacon of leftist culture that would effect political change [and that] Özdamar affirms at least the transferability of European cultural practices to transnational contexts" (389).<sup>92</sup> In a closer analysis of *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn* and *Seltsame Sterne starren zur Erde*, Simpson goes beyond the notion that Brechtian guidance has generally influenced the characters' political lives when she takes a special interest in how the author uses Brecht's words. In *Seltsame Sterne starren zur Erde*, "Özdamar's central figure finds her own identity, one word at a time, in a new vocabulary for which Brecht provides the dictionary" (392). In *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*, "Özdamar's characters clearly draw spiritual, if not actual, warmth from the relationship mediated by Brechtian citation. [The director of the protagonist's dorm and his friend Ataman] follow the words; the protagonist follows this path as well" (392). Simpson refers here to the aforementioned scene where the girls walk behind the backs of the director of the hostel and his friend Ataman. "Draußen schneite es, sie schlugen ihre Jackenkragen hoch. Die Hände in den Taschen, gingen sie, Brecht sagend, hinter ihren Brecht-Wörtern her, als ob diese Wörter sie

<sup>92</sup> "Each country needs Brecht" (my translation).

wärmten" (BGH 71).<sup>93</sup> The protagonist only follows the path, as Simpson describes, because she is doubly shielded by the words of this central German and Marxist playwright and by the backs of these two men. Therefore, language and body blend together as protection in this scene.

Simpson mentions in her essay that "Brechtian citation provides a political and aesthetic structure in which to understand one's own subjective experience in the context of larger historical events," but she never expands on the aesthetic aspect (393). Instead, Simpson declares that

the narrator's love of Brecht [...] functions as a passport, a credential that both transforms and transcends local cultural practices with an urgency we perhaps relegated (in the US in any case) to a nostalgia for political activism. It is precisely the articulation of female Turkish identity with Brechtian political and dramaturgical practice that propels the protagonist across national borders and reiterates the transnational, even transhistorical potential of Brecht's legacy. (393)

While Simpson provides a rare analysis linking language and political practice, she does not address the claim to recognition that Özdamar makes via Brechtian aesthetics as described in his essay "The Modern Theatre is the Epic Theatre." Specifically this epic theater uses the *Verfremdungseffekt* (often translated as "distancing effect," or "alienation effect"), which was intended to "estrangle" or "distance" the spectator and

<sup>93</sup> "It was snowing outside, they bend up the collars on their coats. With the hands in their pockets, they went behind their Brecht words while saying them, as if these words were warming them" (*Bridge* 50).

thus prevent empathy and identification with the situation and characters. Part of this *Verfremdungseffekt* is a “montage of images” with a juxtaposition of, for example, music or placards and plot or dialogue, a “historicization” which estranges the viewer by showing emotions, ideas, and behavior as products of, or responses to, specific social situations. This prevents viewer identification with protagonists on stage. An unclear relationship between scenes, which can best be described as “each scene for itself,” is one Brechtian dramaturgical method where the reader is never quite sure how the scenes connect and, therefore, has to pay closer attention to the plot (37). Özdamar follows this dramaturgical technique throughout her work, so that the reader needs more time to figure out, for example, when the protagonist in the *Mother Tongue* stories is in Germany or in Turkey, which part of the story refers to her or her mother’s or even grandfather’s life. Another example is in *Der Hof im Spiegel*, when the narrator calls her mother (20), after the reader has been told that the mother has passed away (12). A reader expecting a chronological plot may be surprised by this interaction. This non-chronological presentation of material shows her-- as an artist in the performance realm--identifying with and claiming recognition from a deeply complex German theater tradition. In addition, Özdamar juxtaposes languages, physical environments, and bodily experiences and ties all of the above in with the set or city in which the stories are playing.

Furthermore, Özdamar’s sophisticated knowledge of the German language juxtaposed to her “stumbling” writing style and her fractured scenes create a mixture of oral and written traditions. This method also evokes a Brechtian *Verfremdungseffekt*,

which alienates the reader in order to enable reflection upon the text and its national or transnational expectations and presentations. Sabine Milz has pointed out that “[t]he *Mutterzunge* stories abound with Turkish and Arabic words, phrases, proverbs (worldly wisdoms), folklore, songs, and fragments of Islamic religious texts. With the help of these insertions, Özdamar creates her own polyvalent space of textual and cultural hybridity” (no page number). However, Özdamar not only uses her Turkish and Arabic insertions to this end, but also the underlying German stories and stereotypes. Walter Rankin comments that “[u]ltimately, Özdamar has created a text in which perhaps the most extreme of minorities – her cleaning lady is a minority figure based upon her race, gender, and class – is allowed to reign over the majorities. She reveals herself to be an actress as much as an author” (5). Not only does Ophelia reign over the majorities at times, but she also represents a lower-class migrant woman, who was able to have a voice for once.

Interestingly, this voicing happens, in her case, consistently in the German language. In a 1996 interview with David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky regarding her predominant usage of the German language in her writings, Özdamar commented that she

[...] was also attracted to German as a new language. You see, at that time, I often traveled back to Turkey by train, finding myself together with ... migrant workers. Their common language was German [and] ...they struggled to express the images of their mother tongue in this new



language. And this, as I now realized, was the language of some five million Gastarbeiter (guest workers). (47)

Her choice of the image of the train within the stories of *Mother Tongue* functions as a symbol for movement and unstable borders between the German and the Turkish cultures. During her reception speech for the Adelbert von Chamisso Prize in 1999, Özdamar said:

Meine deutschen Wörter haben keine Kindheit, aber meine Erfahrung mit deutschen Wörtern ist ganz körperlich. Die deutschen Wörter haben Körper für mich. Ich bin ihnen im wunderbaren deutschen Theater begegnet. Das Theater ist ein Dialog zwischen Körpern, nicht zwischen Köpfen, auch die Wörter werden zu Körpern. ... Seit 22 Jahren habe ich in Deutschland in vielen Theatergarderoben meine deutschen Wörter liegengelassen und sie am nächsten Abend wiedergefunden. Mein Lektor Helge Malchow sagte mir einmal: „Vielleicht schreibst du in Deutsch, weil du in der deutschen Sprache glücklich geworden bist.“ (*Der Hof im Spiegel* 131-132).<sup>94</sup>

Consequently, language and the play with language represent a form of identity and an emotional state, but they also become a physical part of her performance that can be

<sup>94</sup> My German words do not have a childhood but my experience with German words is entirely physical. German words have bodies for me. I met them in the wonderful German theater. Theater is a dialogue between bodies, not between heads; words also become bodies. ... For 22 years I have left my words in the checkrooms of many theaters and found them again the next night. My editor Helge Malchow once said to me: “Maybe you write in German, because you became happy in the German language.” (My translation.)

“placed down or picked up” at any given time. Again, very important here is her reference to the theater and her desire for recognition from the theater world.

Furthermore, Özdamar’s writing is characterized by words that take on a performing character themselves, like props or objects. Her written and often spoken language is vibrantly alive, encouraging readers to trace and grasp both figuratively and literally the tactile aspect or feeling she conveys. As Rankin has commented, the cleaning lady becomes an actor and a writer; resembling, I would add, Özdamar, the brilliant actor and writer who herself took on cleaning jobs to support herself. The performative character of Özdamar’s texts is one very important aspect that has allowed her recognition as a German writer within the cultural landscape of Germany, which she aimed primarily at the literary and theater community. As someone who used to be part of the subaltern, Özdamar and her characters have moved into the recognizable space receiving prizes and selling books with a unique style, very physical performance and a voice that asks for recognition.

### **Akyün and Akgün: Claiming a Space in Pop Culture**

While Özdamar’s books are semi-autobiographical, Akyün and Akgün specifically make autobiographical claims for their books. Akyün is a Turkish German female author and journalist with residence in Hamburg (after residing in Duisburg and Berlin). In *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* (*One Order of Hans with Hot Sauce*, 2005), a novel that belongs in the realm of popular fiction, Akyün describes positively her life in Germany as a Turkish woman with a German passport. Moray McGowan mentions in “Turkish-German fiction since the mid 1990s” that although Özdamar’s work still

represents the most emphatic rejection of women in a victim's role, "popular literature is beginning also to embrace counter-voices to this persistent tradition of representing Muslim woman as victim, such as *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* by Hatice Akyün" (199). Like Özdamar, Akyün writes in German, but she cannot be counted as and never did identify as "subaltern." Yet her mother, who is unable to read or write, according to the author, might be counted that way. Akyün gives us a popular voice, which humorously points out how one might live with one's hybrid national identity and what claims to recognition one might make. This text is worth studying because, as popular literature, it reaches a large number of readers and it shows claims to recognition that differ from Özdamar's requests. Akyün creates a space for other voices to be heard by writing about an entire family. By representing differences in language style and clothing, Akyün is asking for recognition of a differentiated and versatile group of German Turkish peoples. Similar to Özdamar, this author uses the body and especially clothing and food to position women with a migration background.

Like Akyün, Akgün was born in Istanbul in 1953 and immigrated to Germany as a young child in 1962. She also cannot be counted as part of the "subaltern," because she comes from a family of academics and studied medicine and psychology in Germany. She served in Cologne's city administration in juvenile welfare services/family consultation as the deputy agency chief and then became the chief of the North Rhine-Westphalian Center for Immigration. A politician and member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) of Germany who has held a seat in the Bundestag, the German Federal Parliament, since 2002, Akgün received her German citizenship in 1980

and lives in Cologne. As her biography reveals, she is now adding a literary career after previously writing and publishing from a political or pedagogical angle.

Akgün tries to get the reader to internalize a more differentiated picture of the Turkish German community. In order to achieve this level of recognition as a member of a diverse group and an academic family, the author plays with words such as “Parallelgesellschaft,”<sup>95</sup> which is usually used to describe mainstream German society versus immigrant groups in Germany. In contrast, she uses this word during a wedding reception to describe the class division between her own family and that of her cousin Nihal’s new in-laws. The distinction is made visible by the clothing that the groom’s family wears, which the main character’s mother refers to as “einfach geschmacklos”<sup>96</sup> (*Tante Semra* 190). Further differences between these groups are tied to the women wearing headscarves and the men’s mustaches, as well as the number of children they have. “Integration hin, Integration her: Nihal hatte klugerweise (das konnte nur sie gewesen sein) die Tischordnung so gestaltet, dass die beiden Gruppen jeweils unter sich bleiben konnten. Parallelgesellschaften in einem Saal sozusagen” (*Tante Semra* 191).<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, the author also applies the word “integration,” which is usually associated with immigrants integration into mainstream Germany in this context to differentiate between these unconnected classes, thus showing the absurdity of such allocations of terminology.

<sup>95</sup> “parallel society” (my translation)

<sup>96</sup> “simply distasteful” (my translation)

<sup>97</sup> “Integration or no integration: Nihal had configured the seating (it could only have been her) so that both groups could stay among themselves. Quasi parallel societies in one hall” (translation mine).

In particular, much of the media discussion about Turkish Germans has described failed integration, depicting immigrants living side-by-side with their mainstream German neighbors and yet having very little contact between them, forming, that is, two so-called parallel societies. However, the parallel worlds described here have nothing to do with Germans versus immigrants, but represent two groups among immigrants living in Germany whose shared heritage is Turkish. Akgün's mentioning of integration, which is normally associated with integrating into mainstream Germany, is used to display class distinction among people with Turkish heritage. Akgün distinguishes herself from subaltern immigrants as an academic by using governmental and media lingo. By applying such terminology in a new and original way she allows the German reader to appreciate more variance in the Turkish immigrant population in Germany.

Akgün also plays with the German readership's expectations of physical appearance. She showcases preconceptions and prejudices and how these are tied to the body as markers of misrecognition, coupled with low expectations regarding education and earning power. The author makes claims to recognition as an individual from a diverse group that is not necessarily bound to a subaltern societal position. The first person narrator and her family represent a small cluster of people with a migration background that surprises the reader; that is, because she does not fit the stereotypical lower class guest worker, she offers mainstream Germans a new perspective. Important is Akgün's emphasis on clothing and facial hairstyles to demonstrate the class difference. By using physical markers as symbols of a different class, Akgün lets her

characters perform the stereotypical guest worker family. However, she also emphasizes her own embodied performance as an urban, well-educated and globalized woman and her understanding of “Germanness” and how this is expressed behaviorally on a physical level. The author asks for recognition as a middle or upper class academic woman with Turkish heritage who knows how to perform as a German academic of the middle or upper class. Her body, as well as the bodies of her family, become tools for this performance with claims to recognition.

### **The Importance of a Mother Tongue in a Hybrid Space**

Akyün was born in Akapinar Köyü in the central part of Anatolia in 1969 and moved to Germany in 1972. She learned to speak German as a child and nowadays considers it her first language (Ali 173), in contrast to Özdamar who had to master this skill as an adult and who is part of a different generation. I found Akyün’s own explanations in regard to her emotional relationship to both countries connected to her usage of language. As Akyün states, she used books as her teacher of a higher level of language and remarks

Vielleicht ist das auch der Grund, warum sie [meine Geschwister] bis heute ein umgangssprachlicheres Deutsch sprechen als ich. Durch die Bücher habe ich ein Sprachgefühl für die deutsche Sprache entwickelt, das ihnen, obwohl sie akzentfrei [D]eutsch sprechen, fehlt (69).<sup>98</sup>

<sup>98</sup> “Maybe that is the reason why they [my siblings] still, to this day, speak a more colloquial German than I. I learned my feeling for the German language through books, which they lack despite being able to speak German without an accent” (translation mine).

Not only did she acquire a feeling for the language, but also a connection with the culture. Interesting here is the fact that although her siblings speak without an accent, this is insufficient for passing as German, since they lack more variety and sophistication in their vocabulary, which she gained from German literature. In addition, Akyün claims that this literary connection has given her a “feeling” for the language, which is then mirrored in her claim to a feeling of “Germanness” for which she wants to be recognized as a peer citizen. In a 2006 interview at the Goethe Institute, Nina Rothenberg asked Akyün whether or not she could envision herself living in Turkey, to which Akyün responded by posing the same question to the interviewer, explaining that she

verbinde[t] viele Kindheitserinnerungen mit der Türkei, weil ich jedes Jahr die Sommerferien in unserem anatolischen Dorf verbracht habe. Aber geprägt hat mich Deutschland. Es gibt ein türkisches Sprichwort, das besagt: „Nicht wo ich geboren wurde, sondern wo ich satt werde, ist meine Heimat.“ Ich werde in Deutschland nicht nur satt, sondern bin auch sehr glücklich hier. Und ich wünsche mir so sehr, dass Deutschland in diesem Jahr Weltmeister wird. Mehr Heimatverbundenheit ist fast nicht mehr möglich, oder?<sup>99</sup>

<sup>99</sup> My childhood memories connect me to Turkey, because I spent each summer break in our village in Anatolia. But Germany shaped me. There is a Turkish saying that states: “My home is where I become full, not where I am born.” I become not only full in Germany, but I am also very happy here. And I wish very much that Germany will be world champion [in soccer] this year. There cannot be much more solidarity to one’s homeland, right? (my translation)

This demonstrates Akyün's affective attachment to home, language, and sports as a claim to recognition of "Germanness." This connection to Germany as a homeland makes this book remarkable, as does the author's humorous and pedagogical way in which she tries to introduce Turkish cuisine and passion to her German audience. By selecting personality traits, cuisine and "other passions," Akyün allows the German reader entry into the fantasy world of the Orient, while at the same time relying upon it (Yeşilada 136).

Akgün's autobiographical novel *Tante Semra im Leberkäseland* carries the subtitle "Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie."<sup>100</sup> Not only does Akgün list her Turkish heritage first, she also writes on the back jacket of her book "Türken sind anders, Deutsche aber auch: Mein Leben zwischen Minarett und Dom."<sup>101</sup> Pointing out a difference between mainstream and Turkish Germans and using religious symbols to situate herself show Akgün's awareness of the representation of immigrant women as Muslims. With sayings like "Andere haben eine reiche Tante in Amerika, wir eben in Istanbul,"<sup>102</sup> Akgün tries to bridge cultural understanding and challenges expectations, since most do not perceive Turkish people as part of the upper middle class or upper class. Although this qualifies as a form of counter discourse, the author appears to be more interested in presenting her own feeling of belonging to a superior class. A third

<sup>100</sup> "Stories from my Turkish-German Family" (my translation).

<sup>101</sup> "Turks are different, but Germans too: My life between minaret and dome" (my translation).

<sup>102</sup> "Others have a rich aunt in America, but we have one in Istanbul" (my translation).



edition of this humorous novel was released in 2008, a statistic demonstrating the demand for Turkish German popular literature belonging to the genre of comedy.

### **Language and Claims for Recognition as a Global Citizen and Modern Woman**

Germany is marketed as a “modern, cosmopolitan country” (“Facts about Germany”), taking pride in knowledge of the world and other cultures, knowledge acquired through frequent travel (“Germans Continue to be in Holiday Mood”) and avid reading (“Facts About Germany.”) Code mixing, a modern phenomenon that signifies a speaker’s abilities to perform well in at least two languages, is also an important element in this cosmopolitan understanding of one’s self. In Germany, Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms such as “Handy,” a synonym for the mobile phone, have been gaining popularity. They signify a speaker’s wish for a cosmopolitan and modern lifestyle, although most speakers are unaware if the word actually exists in the target language (Krischke 245). It is more important to “perform English” in order to achieve a feeling of membership in a globalized world than to actually know whether or not the word is simply a pseudo-Anglicism like “Handy.” In their books, Turkish German authors show that code mixing can also include languages other than English, pointing out that the mastery and physical performance of any second language shows cosmopolitanism and bridges cultural understanding. Akyün aims for a transcultural explanation of food and behaviors in particular, tying the usage of Turkish to the juxtaposition of cuisine and love life, giving both a very physical presence, for example, with the account of a compliment:

“Canım” heißt “meine Seele.” Wenn ein türkischer Mann “hayatım” zu mir sagt, bedeutet das, ich bin nicht nur der Grund, warum er morgens aufsteht, ..., sondern dass sein Leben ohne mich nicht denkbar ist, dass ich sein ganzes Leben bin. Auch “şekerim” höre ich gerne, das bedeutet “meine Süße,” und wenn man bedenkt, welche köstlichen Süßspeisen die Türkische Küche hervorgebracht hat, dann kann man den unaussprechlichen Genuss, der in diesem Wort mitschwingt, zumindest einigermaßen ermessen. (81)<sup>103</sup>

The author does not simply want to exemplify Turkish words here. Instead, Akyün tries to connect the reasons for liking both German and Turkish men into one sentence and then finishes it all off like a good chef by alluding to the Turkish cuisine. Here, she only hints at the fact that “meine Süße” is the only given translation, because it does exist in both languages, but the other two expressions do not. The author does not explicitly reveal that not only Turkish romantic relationships have associations with the digestive system. Nevertheless, German readers are likely to think of the proverb “Liebe geht durch den Magen,” which literally translates as “love goes through the stomach” and is equivalent to the English saying “the way to a man’s heart is through his stomach.” Beyond these parallels to the digestive system, the author demonstrates

<sup>103</sup> “Canım” means “my soul.” When a Turkish man says “hayatım” to me, not only does that mean that I am the reason for him to rise in the morning, ..., but that his entire life is unimaginable without me, that I am his entire life. I also like to hear “şekerim” which means “my sweetie,” and if one considers which tasty sweets the Turkish kitchen has generated, then one can at least begin to imagine the unspeakable indulgence (my translation).

her preference for Turkish terms of endearment and the Turkish kitchen as a point of contact between the two cultures. She uses foreign foods to find a way into Germans' hearts. Akyün does not subscribe to the traditional advertising of Turkish cookery by limiting references to the proverbial rugs and gold-rimmed tea glasses. On the contrary, she gives the reader a more modern glimpse of Turkish customs for food and affections, which still have their value in the modern, urban life of a German woman with Turkish heritage.

Lale Akgün uses Turkish words much more sparingly. Interestingly though, she brings such words into play to draw special attention to highly political and publicized issues such as the headscarf debate and therefore again to a physical marker. Here she cites her father, a dentist, when he saw a female patient: "Jetzt nehmen Sie endlich das Kopftuch ab! Das ist doch wohl typisch für euch 'kapali' (übersetzt heißt das 'bedeckt' und meint Frauen, die Kopftuch, einen langen Mantel oder Tschador tragen)" (23).<sup>104</sup> This example points toward the perceived difference between highly educated and possibly non-practicing Muslims,<sup>105</sup> such as the protagonist's father, and the more traditional female who chooses to cover her body. This is a typical divide in Turkey that does not represent the reality of many women who cover in Germany, as there is a large group of educated women who choose the headscarf.<sup>106</sup> Beyond using the technique of code mixing, Akgün brings in what could be interpreted as code switching by inserting

<sup>104</sup> "Now finally take your head scarf off! That is so typically 'kapali' (translated that means 'covered' and means women who wear a headscarf, a long coat or a chador)" (my translation)

<sup>105</sup> On page 17, Akgün writes that her father is an atheist.

<sup>106</sup> For more information see Sigrid Nökel's interviews with Muslim women.

the word “Tschador.” In German this is a loanword which is described in *Duden: The Loanword Dictionary* as “(von persischen Frauen getragener) langer, den Kopf u. teilweise das Gesicht u. den Körper bedeckender Schleier” (1060).<sup>107</sup> Although Akgün includes the length of the chador in her description, the lack of a detailed description suggests she expects the reader to have some idea of this clothing item. Nevertheless, there has been widespread misrecognition of diverse types of headscarves, their different lengths, and which body parts they cover. This was often perpetuated by the media’s misrepresentation of women in such magazines as *Der Spiegel* (Weber, *Headscarves and Miniskirts* 86-87; 123).

Akgün does not limit herself to loanwords from Turkish. She also inserts English and French into the text and expressions such as “Parvenü,” a term her mother occasionally assigns to her father that does not have a German translation (*Semra* 53). Her mother confirms that she uses “Parvenü,” even though her father does not have “einen aufwendigen Lebensstil noch irgendwie mit seinem Geld angab” (*Semra* 53).<sup>108</sup> French is her mother’s second language and it shows her upper-class upbringing. Such code switching evokes a cosmopolitan, well-educated atmosphere that the book carries throughout, despite its overall humorous popular fiction style.

Karin E. Yeşilada questions whether Turkish German “Chick-Lit” is harmless or subversive. “Sie sind ‘nette Tüorkinnen’ von nebenan, die nicht stören, sondern den

<sup>107</sup> “(worn by Persian women) long veil which covers the head and parts of the face and body” (my translation).

<sup>108</sup> “a costly lifestyle, nor did he brag with his money” (my translation).

neugierigen deutschen Nachbarn bereitwillig die Tür öffnen. ... Die bedrohliche türkische Parallelgesellschaft wirkt da auf eine sonderbare Weise putzig und harmlos" (134).<sup>109</sup> This goes beyond the obvious connection to Chick Lit in general, which deals with the urban single woman who is interested in fashion, cosmetics, movies, parties, and gossip similar to *Sex in the City* in the United States. Yeşilada also argues that this genre constitutes a counter discourse to the media-staged German ideas about Turkish mothers in headscarves, and that these Turkish German female writers, who are mostly journalists living in two worlds, free themselves from their "Schattendasein,"<sup>110</sup> which was not only prescribed to the "Oriental" woman but also to the average, well-integrated migrant female (137). Chick Lit authors offer an insight into their Turkish German world, which is sometimes not that different from German middle-class families, but the stepping out of a shadowy existence is something they have already achieved in their positions as journalists and politicians. These women have become part of public awareness, and by writing bestselling books<sup>111</sup> these female Turkish German authors were able to target a market gap and receive recognition from an even wider public.

<sup>109</sup> They are nice Turkish women from next door, who do not bother, but willingly open the door for their curious German neighbors. ... The ominous Turkish parallel society appears in a peculiar way cute and harmless (my translation).

<sup>110</sup> "shadowy existence" (my translation)

<sup>111</sup> According to *buchreport's* online bestseller archive, all three books have been bestsellers. *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* was the most successful by being on the bestseller lists for 5 years. The highest ranking this book achieved was number 24 in 2005. Germany's *Amazon.de* reports its overall seller placement as 78,847. *Ali zum Dessert* achieved position 29 in *buchreport's* bestseller archive and *Amazon.de* places it even higher at 71,664, which makes Hatice Akyün the most successful German Turkish female author according to seller numbers. *Tante Semra im Leberkäse-land* was able to land position 36 on *buchreport's* bestseller list and placed 91,517 on Germany's *Amazon.de* website.

That these authors appreciate this recognition can be inferred from a 2008 interview with Maria Hinz, which Hatice Akyün gave at the Frankfurt Book Exhibition. Akyün sees herself as a negotiator between the Turkish and German culture when she describes her experiences of meeting her readers at public readings:

Bei den Lesungen lerne ich die anderen türkischen Familien kennen und die türkischen Frauen sagen "danke, dass du das mal aufgeschrieben hast. Du hast ja genau mein Leben beschrieben." ...es ist auch die Geschichte von vielen anderen türkischen Frauen der zweiten Generation, die hier in Deutschland ganz selbstverständlich leben. Und auf der anderen Seite die deutschen Leser, die sagen: vielen Dank, dass Sie uns mal das türkische Leben so näher gebracht haben. "Wir hören ja immer nur die negativen Geschichten von türkischen Familien und für mich war es so eine Art Bildungsreise." Und das freut einen Autor natürlich ungemein, dass man auf so eine humorvolle Weise, dazu beitragen konnte, dass beide Welten, beide Gesellschaften sich vielleicht ein Stückchen näher gekommen sind.

She prides herself in her appeal to this range of Turkish readers, even if it occurs through a position as a writer and a mediator of a less negative "Turkish" culture to an ethnic German audience.

Akyün's recognition as a German author parallels her desire to be seen as a German with Turkish heritage. In her second novel *Ali zum Dessert*, she writes:

Deutschland ist meine Heimat. Die Türkei ist die Heimat meiner Eltern.  
... Bei Menschen, denen ein Ausruf des Erstaunens entwischt, wenn sie

mein akzentfreies Deutsch hören, gehe ich davon aus, dass sie wissen möchten, woher ich ursprünglich stamme.... Gleichzeitig versuch ich, meinen Gesprächspartnern zu bedeuten: Keine Sorge, ich habe mich von meiner traditionellen Familie abgenabelt... Jeden Morgen, wenn ich in den Spiegel schaue, weiß ich, dass es eine Wunschvorstellung bleiben wird, mit diesen dunklen Haaren, den dunklen Augen und einem türkischen Namen als eine Deutsche zu gelten. (210-11)<sup>112</sup>

It is not so much a wish for recognition as a writer, but more so a hope for recognition as a German citizen without having to constantly justify why she is German or how she fits into a German society. Thus linguistic and physical markers partially determine one's ability to belong and be accepted or recognized as part of German society, revealing the ongoing racialization of Turkish German bodies. Her vehement denial of a traditional Turkish life style, including refusing to wear a headscarf for herself and her daughter and calling herself a non-practicing Muslima (*Ali* 220), show Akyün's desire to blend into mainstream German society and counter the representations of Turkish women as Muslim mothers wearing a headscarf that have long dominated German media. Nevertheless, this desire reveals her stereotypical idea that German Muslim women frequently expose their bodies. Yeşilada questions such a counter

<sup>112</sup> *Germany is my home. Turkey is the home country of my parents. ... When people show surprise when they hear my accent-free German, I assume that they would like to know where I originally come from.... At the same time, I try to explain to my conversation partners: Don't worry; I distanced myself from my traditional family. ... Each morning, when I look in the mirror, I know that it will stay a wish to pass as a German with my dark hair, dark eyes and a Turkish name.*

discourse due to Akyün's favoring of a blonde, blue-eyed Hans whom she was looking for in her first book. In her second novel, Akyün reveals that she was looking for a man with a Turkish soul and a German heart. She wanted a man who was just like her (*Ali* 75). Her second book recognizes how she had internalized German prejudices toward Turkish men, which had led her to insist on dating German men. Akyün further speaks of her struggle with people reacting to her German as something exceptional in her books. "Schon damals hörte ich den Satz: 'Sie sprechen aber gut Deutsch.' ... , 'Danke, Sie aber auch!' War einer meiner bevorzugten Abwehrmechanismen. Oder wenn ich schlechte Laune hatte, sagte ich zynisch: 'Wahnsinn, was das deutsche Bildungssystem doch alles hervorbringt.'" (*Hans* 171).<sup>113</sup> The physical mastery of her spoken German becomes something controversial and complex. Although Akyün wants to show off this ability, she also hopes to get mainstream Germans to recognize this embodied performance as a result of her German schooling, which would have been the same for any other person growing up bilingually and taking advantage of a good educational system.

Lale Akgün, as a politician, is surely being recognized on a national level as a representative of the people. She points toward the necessity of a proficient usage of German in the prologue to her book, when she describes an interaction with two elderly voters:

<sup>113</sup> "Even at that time I heard the sentence: 'But, you speak German well.' ... , 'Thank you, you too!' Or if I was in a bad mood, I said cynically: 'Incredible, what the German educational system can produce'" (my translation).



Aber immerhin sprechen Sie ganz ordentlich Deutsch, Liebchen. ... Sie sind doch Türkin und kommen jetzt als Abgeordnete in den Bundestag. ...Wenn der Bundestag im Fernsehen übertragen wird, und Sie sind zu sehen und reden kein ordentliches Deutsch, das wäre doch eine Blamage für uns alle!" Ich war erleichtert, dass ich diesen netten alten Damen keinen Anlass zur Blamage bieten müsste, wusste ich doch, dass mein Deutsch in Ordnung war. (10)<sup>114</sup>

Although the first person narrator intends to be ironic with these words, the elderly ladies take her at face value. By mentioning the two old ladies again on the last page of her book, Akgün implies how important it is for her to be recognized as a German politician with a migration background who is well versed in German and other languages and who knows how to "dress appropriately" and, therefore, to perform as a German academic and politician. The author has just retold the story of her first speech in the German Parliament in 2003 and her inability, due to nervousness, to properly adjust the lectern according to her height. She allows these two elderly voters another voice when they suggest "Lass mal gut sein, es hätte schlimmer sein können. Immerhin kann sie ordentlich Deutsch. Und sie trägt kein Kopftuch" (*Semra* 256).<sup>115</sup> Akgün displays her irritation over the headscarf issue here by remarking "Immer dieses

<sup>114</sup> "'But you speak German quite well, darling. ... You are Turkish and going to go to the Bundestag now. ... If the Bundestag were being televised and you could be seen, but do not speak proper German, that would be a disgrace,' I was relieved to hear that I did not have to worry about being a disgrace." (my translation).

<sup>115</sup> "Let it go, it could have been worse. At least she can speak German properly. And she does not wear a headscarf" (my translation).

Kopftuch.“ (Always this headscarf.) She appears proud to represent her voters and pays tribute to her aunt who wore the headscarf as a fashion statement. Nevertheless, by concluding the text with the references to physical appearance and linguistic abilities, Akgün suggests that the struggle to be validated as an active public and political figure continues. Akgün’s first person narrator is, acutely aware that “eine Anerkennung als Deutsche, die über das Formale hinausgeht – bleibt einem ja lebenslang verwehrt, weil man – ich weiß nicht recht – wahrscheinlich anders aussieht“ (*Semra* 149).<sup>116</sup> Again, despite recognition for achievements and for the performance of language and customs such as dress code, full recognition as a German is denied due to physical markers, harkening back to Akyün’s sensitivity to her dark eyes and hair, which continue to mark her as a foreigner. At the same time, she positions herself as a modern Turkish German daughter who does not fulfill her family’s role expectations for marriage and grandchildren.

### **Language as Embodiment, Performer, and Metaphor for Movement**

Hatice Akyün is one of the few Chick-Lit authors who strongly utilizes physicality, or as Yeşilada puts it, who “stylizes herself explicitly as an alluring vamp” (132). The way Akyün presents herself on the cover of both books dressed in black and red wearing deeply red lipstick points toward her allusions to passion and sexuality in both books. Similarly to the women in *Sex in the City*, Akyün likes to focus on fashion and which effect she wants to achieve with men. Unfortunately, despite dressing to provoke

<sup>116</sup> “Recognition as a German, which goes beyond formalities – will always be denied, because one – I don’t quite know – probably looks different” (my translation).

passionate feelings, her German dates have often disappointed her. In one scene a skin-tight dress she wore did not elicit more than “nice” as a response from her counterpart: “Einmal trug ich ein Kleid, in dem ich aussah, als sei ich reingeschossen worden, ... ‘Gib mir Leidenschaft verdammt, ich will Leidenschaft’” (*Hans* 79-80).<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, Akyün makes her body available to the reader by letting her first person narrator describe how she lies completely naked in her bathtub (*Hans* 88). This allusion to Cleopatra in the bath evokes the image of an “Oriental” woman and fantasies of forbidden female sensuality, and therefore falls into the trap of confirming stereotypes.

When she writes about her childhood memories in Akpınar Köyü, the little village in Turkey where she was born, she states that her “Erinnerungen verbinde ich es stets mit Wärme auf der Haut” (*Ali* 14).<sup>118</sup> This physical sensation of warmth goes beyond the actual skin though, because Akyün’s relationship to language and physical contact with children is deeply impregnated by this experience. She explains through her first person narrator that despite the fact that German is her first language, it is easier for her to cuddle in Turkish. Because of her unfamiliarity with the sound of some German terms of endearment, she has a different physical reaction to them. Not that Akyün’s first person narrator has not heard such terms, they just sound “strange” to her and she prefers Turkish, because “Türken werden bei der Bekundung ihrer Zuneigung

<sup>117</sup> “Once I wore a dress in which I looked as if I had been shot into it ... ‘Give me passion, damn it, ... I want passion” (my translation).

<sup>118</sup> “Memories, I always associate it with warmth on my skin” (my translation).

eher zu Kannibalen,”<sup>119</sup> who figuratively dissect their little ones and devour them:

“meine Einzige, erst werde ich dich in Scheiben schneiden und anschließend ham ham essen” (*Ali* 173).<sup>120</sup> Thus, Akyün alludes to the cliché of the oriental who turns into some form of cannibal during the contact with their children.

### **Film and Theater as Participation in National and Global Communities**

For both authors, film becomes an overarching theme that demonstrates participation in both global and national communities. Akyün, for example, includes in her childhood memories the movie *Ein Schatz im Silbersee* (*A Treasure in the Silver Lake*), which is based on a novel by the extremely popular German author Karl May (*Hans* 52), a notorious participant in Orientalist discourses in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The young protagonist has associations with the film while travelling from Germany to Turkey via the Balkans, where the movie was made. She is familiar with the filming location, but she cannot recall the same kind of beautiful landscapes where they are traveling. Nevertheless, by simply mentioning the film that was popular in Germany, the protagonist gains access to a German socialization system, allowing her to connect with readers in her age group and claim a similar recognition .

Hatice Akyün not only references movies, but TV series and German music as well. The title of chapter five, “Duisburg, ich häng an dir,”<sup>121</sup> refers to a song by the famous singer Herbert Grönemeyer, who wrote the text in reference to his hometown of

<sup>119</sup> “Turks rather turn into cannibals with their exhibition of affections”

<sup>120</sup> “my only one, I will first slice you up then yum, yum eat you” (my translation).

<sup>121</sup> “Duisburg, I am attached to you” (my translation).

Bochum, located in the industrial area of Germany, just as Duisburg. Grönemeyer has been seen as one of the first artists to enable people from this region, which was shaped by coal mine pollution, high unemployment, and deterioration, to feel some pride in their home. The artist Klaus Lage also perpetuates this pride by alluding to the police detective “Schimanski” in his 1985 hit song “Faust auf Faust.”<sup>122</sup> Both songs reflect the very physical side of living in this area by touching on emotional themes. The popular crime series *Tatort* filmed many episodes in Duisburg, showing not only the drastic, harsh side of this area, but also the people. “Das Haus, in dem ich aufgewachsen bin, war nicht weit weg von den Tatort-Drehorten, es stand in Duisburg-Marxloh. ... Es war ein eigenartiges Gefühl, zu wissen, dass die Wohnung des berühmten Kommissars nur ein paar Straßen entfernt lag”<sup>123</sup> (*Hans* 63). The author clearly experiences these examples of German popular culture as a Duisburg resident. Her emotional ties to the region and her feelings regarding *Tatort* position her as a local informant who can write about life behind the scenes.

Film also becomes part of young Lale’s upbringing, who loves to listen to her Aunt Semra sing Marlene Dietrich songs from *Der blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*), which her aunt combines with teachings about men and worldly wisdom (*Semra* 53). Dietrich symbolizes a seductive, glamorous sex symbol, who left the Berlin of the 1930s and became a big star in Hollywood. As such, she represents an embodied performance of

<sup>122</sup> “Fist on top of Fist” (my translation).

<sup>123</sup> “The house in which I grew up was not far from the *Tatort* film locations, it was located in Duisburg-Marxloh... It was a weird feeling to know that the house of the famous police detective was only a few streets away” (my translation).

the hypersexualized “Germanness” now expected of Turkish German women. Also intriguing in this chapter is their search for movie houses where they could watch French movies with subtitles, coupled with the comment that Berlin had significantly fewer cinemas than Istanbul: “Die Deutschen – möglicherweise genauso verrückt nach Kinos wie die Türken – zeigten diese Liebe nicht ganz so offen. Hier waren viel weniger Kinos als in Istanbul” (*Semra* 55).<sup>124</sup> Again, as with the code switching into French, this might be another hint toward the modern and cosmopolitan lifestyle of a family that does not fit most German stereotypes about Turks. Although the author does not showcase her own body in an overly revealing manner, as Akyün did, the allusions to Akgün’s aunt’s sexual fantasies, “heavy eyelid lifting” (*Semra* 53), and other sexualized behaviors still display a need to present expectations of sexuality for urban German women in the style of *Sex in the City*.

### **“Orient” versus “Occident” or Fear of the Fertile Female Body**

Neither Akyün nor Akgün introduce the East-West division of Germany as a country in the way that Özdamar does. This is not so much a sign of serious versus popular fiction, but rather a product of two different generations writing about their experiences in Germany. Germany was still a divided nation when the younger authors moved there, but they do not portray the importance of this political split in their books. Nevertheless, both authors are invested in writing about Europe versus Asia or the

<sup>124</sup> “Germans – possibly just as crazy about movie theaters as the Turks – did not show this love as openly. There were a lot fewer cinemas here than in Istanbul” (my translation).

perceived “Orient” versus “Occident” division. They assume a light-hearted tone when approaching this problematic.

That Akyün is a writer who touches on serious issues and stereotypes of modernity and what this might mean for a Turkish German woman becomes obvious on the first page of *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*. She titles her first chapter “Neulich in der Parallelwelt,”<sup>125</sup> which hints toward a political and media discussion of Turks living in a world parallel to mainstream Germans, something which is often cited as the reason for the failures of integration and occurrence of crime. By calling herself a forbidden, exotic fruit, who could advertise herself in a lonely-hearts ad as a “rassige Südländerin mit feurigem Temperament und einem gebärfreudigen Becken,”<sup>126</sup> Akyün performs the perception of the “Orient” and draws attention to her physicality (*Einmal Hans* 7). In addition to describing herself as such an “oriental woman,” she brings up that she does not wear a headscarf nor is she part of a forced marriage, two stereotypical ideas that many Germans have. Another feared subject is the perceived tendency of women having many children, which would upset the population ratio in favor of foreigners and threaten the German populous with “foreignization” or alienation. In addition to the political and societal potential for conflict, the mentioning of a fertile body that could bear many children is a physical marker and functions much

<sup>125</sup> “The other day in the parallel world” (my translation).

<sup>126</sup> “hot-blodded Southerner with a fiery temperament and a pelvis that will bear children easily” (my translation).

in the same way as a headscarf. Therefore, a woman's body represents a threat to mainstream society.

Similar to a general fright of fertile Turkish women, mainstream Germans often believe that Turkish women are forced into marriages and do not have any control over their sexuality. Lale Akgün counters such stereotypes by writing about an open discussion about sexuality between the female members of the family. Even though the protagonist's mother is not very fond of a conversation about libido that Aunt Semra has brought up, the mother voices

“Ich kann mich dieser Ansicht nicht anschließen,” sagte sie jetzt sanft.

“Der Motor der Menschheit ist selbstverständlich der Geist, nicht der Geschlechtsverkehr hat die Menschheit weitergebracht, sondern die geistigen und künstlerischen Werke großer Menschen.” “Sublimierung,” entgegnete Tantchen, “die geistigen Werke entstehen, wenn Menschen – ihr wisst schon was – nicht dürfen,” dabei zwinkerte sie vielsagend mit den Augen, “und dann die ganze Kraft in Bücher, Bilder und solches Zeugs stecken.” (*Tante Semra* 134)<sup>127</sup>

The text displays conversations about physical subjects, such as sexuality, to demonstrate an educated and different, unexpected encounter with Turkish culture. The reader can form a new opinion about people with a migration background and

<sup>127</sup> “I cannot agree with this,” she said softly. “Of course, the motor of humanity is the intellect. It is not intercourse that advanced humanity, but the intellectual and artistic works of great people.” “Sublimation,” responded my aunt, “intellectual works are the result of people not being allowed to do – you know what – and then they put all that power into books, pictures and such stuff,” she said while winking with her eyes in a meaningful way (my translation).



might be surprised by the openness in which sexuality is addressed here. Nevertheless, this citation also shows anew Akgün's awareness of class differences, which is based upon an urban Turkish understanding of class. She exhibits a sense of superiority in regard to other people with a Turkish migration background while demanding recognition as a German citizen with claims to the educated upper middle class. Akyün offers a different picture of sexuality that should be a taboo subject for the veiled guest worker mother, at least according to stereotypes. However, Akyün's performance of the Orient, which presents her claim to a hypersexualized notion of "Germanness," and her portrayal of her family's discussions of sexuality are both part of a claim to recognition as a European woman who can deal with open discussions of sexuality. Beyond the embodied claim to recognition as German women who reveal their bodies past the projected expectations of mainstream Germans in order to undermine the headscarf image, both popular fiction authors also make claims to the middle or upper middle class. Their requests are aimed at an acknowledgement as idealized, middle-class German women and as citizens. Since both women already have German citizenship, this claim does not simply address rights, as outlined in the second category of Honneth's theory. Instead, they are using their physical experience to demonstrate and demand the acceptance of a feeling of belonging.

## **Conclusion**

Akyün and Akgün display their own bodies and bodily performances, as well as those of their relatives and acquaintances, in their books to resonate with their understanding of "Germanness" or to distance themselves from lower class members of the Turkish

immigrant community. They appear to be interested in reaching a broad public and raise issues, such as the headscarf debate and differences in dress code, that have broad resonance, but are responded to differently depending on ethnic and class background. Both are accomplished journalists and are not as attached to recognition as artists as other writers of literature, such as Özdamar. Rather, they wish to be recognized as citizens and Turkish German women, a recognition earned in part by laying claim to a perceived urban German sexuality. Akyün especially uses the female body to showcase the exotic, non-traditional woman with a migration background as a marketing strategy, but also to break with conventions and expectations. Akgün, on the other hand, is more attached to raising awareness for the multitude of immigrants. Nevertheless, even Akgün's descriptions of her Aunt Semra bear sexual references that illustrate the author's need to open up about sexuality in families with Turkish heritage, thus allowing German readers to feel some connection based on her understanding or expectation of German women's sexuality. This includes the notion that sexuality is a subject matter that is openly discussed. Both authors seem to fight for recognition as part of popular fiction, as Turkish German women and as German citizens.

While Akyün might have been even more successful than Özdamar based on individual book sales and rankings on bestseller lists and online sales record lists,<sup>128</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Özdamar's books do not appear on the electronic *buchreport* list because the electronic archive only covers bestsellers after 2001 and *Seltsame Sterne Starren zur Erde* did not make this list. Nevertheless, *buchreport* did assemble lists in print form for *Spiegel*, dating back to 1971, which are available on *Spiegel's* website. I evaluated the yearly lists between 1990 and 2001, as well as individual lists during the years of publication for the author's books, without any positive results for bestsellers. Therefore, I am referring to the rankings on the German *Amazon.de* website where the author's books achieved the following

Özdamar has received far more recognition in the form of book reviews, scholarly interest, and prizes. Both groups strive for a very different kind of recognition in regard to their books. Özdamar is claiming recognition as a member of the German Writers Guild and values positive feedback that comes from other German writers, whom she herself admires. Özdamar's sophisticated style uses language that showcases the female body and physicality of language itself to produce a counter discourse that makes the reader reevaluate common expectations, such as the victimization of women. The popular fiction writers are much more interested in volume of sales. Although one might perceive Akgün and Akyün's writing as a counter discourse as well, their usage of the body is much more connected to marketing strategies or to display class superiority, thus lacking both the breadth and depth that Özdamar is able to achieve.

rankings: *Mutterzunge* 170,399; *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn* 186,725; *Der Hof im Spiegel* 90,833; *Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei* 84,923. These numbers do not include in-store book sales and therefore are only part of the picture.





## VI. CONCLUSION

Mosque community members, writers, and filmmakers represent a publicly visible segment of Turkish Germans, whose striving for recognition provides an interesting ground on which to analyze how successfully immigrants have integrated into German culture. The terms on which such recognition is sought and awarded by and for different parts of the Turkish German community illustrate the multitude of strategies through which cultural recognition is sought. Similarly, the conditions under which recognition is bestowed show various societal markers of progress in the realm of integrating immigrants, their children and grandchildren, in addition to the continuous existence of stereotypes. I hope to have demonstrated in the preceding chapters that the embodied ways by which one claims recognition become an important part of identity formation and ultimately the creation of a feeling of belonging. Embodied claims to recognition function alongside the building of self-esteem, which is achieved when recognition is bestowed for special achievements, according to Alex Honneth. Parity of participation, self-respect, and self-esteem are partially achieved through the claims to artistic and political community I have addressed.

In the realm of architecture the groups seeking recognition were the community members of mosques, and especially of those communities thriving enough to build a new mosque. Muslims who wish to construct new buildings of worship seek equal rights as citizens, including the right to practice their religion in an embodied fashion in public. The right to build a mosque falls within Honneth's understanding of self-

respect (the second column in Figure 1). Honneth notes that rights represent the form of recognition of legal relations, and that the denial of such rights is a form of misrecognition (129). These rights are necessary for the practical relation with oneself to build up self-respect and to allow for social integrity (129). One should assume that German law guarantees such rights and that there is not much need for discussion or cause of problems. Nevertheless, the mosque debate has brought up insights into the fear which the physical body of those mosques themselves provokes as they change the German landscape, the fear of the closeness to Muslims who might be viewed as possible suicide bombers, and the fear of an inability to understand what is going on behind the walls of such mosques. Therefore, much of the discussion in the media has been about a need for transparency on the part of the mosque communities. But, in addition to a need to understand the language better or to have mosque services in German, one of the largest factors that raises the need for tolerance of mainstream German society is that within and around mosque buildings, Muslims will be wearing unfamiliar clothing and moving their bodies in ways perceived as foreign. As long as the media concentrates on heavily veiled women or on large numbers of men performing prayer positions which embody unfamiliar motions under the control of a leader in a negative fashion, the resistance to recognition of unfamiliar bodily motions and dress code will remain and therefore deny Muslims a feeling of belonging based upon embodied claims to recognition and parity of participation in public life.

Film has become a fast track to recognition for artists who write, produce, or direct. Fatih Akin as the most successful writer/director/producer, nevertheless,

showcases the trap that the German funding system creates by forcing artists with a migration background to adhere to immigrant themes for their movies. Although this background does also represent the artist's personal realm of experience, the rarity of funded films that do not portray immigrants demonstrate the difficulties artists face when they try to avoid immigrant subject matters.

However, despite his adherence to such themes, what sets Akin apart from earlier filmmakers with a migration background is his usage of the body and humor to allow for a blurring of gender and cultural expectations, which emphasize the absurdity of mainstream expectations. With the help of such framing devices as beams, windows, doors, public transportation, mirrors, etc., the director heightens the viewers' access and visceral reaction to the portrayed physical bodies. Although his technique reminds in some ways of Fassbinder, Akin's focus is not the aesthetization of the body, but character development. Furthermore, by portraying violence to the entire body or a body part, or by showcasing a physically tight piece of clothing, he makes bodily representations one of the key aspects of his films. Via a casting of well-known actors who impersonate characters of different national origins and a mixing of gender and cultural performances, Akin has located his own style that gives him claim to recognition within the new group of nationally and internationally acclaimed German directors. The director/screenwriter has found a way to match the desire for exoticism by depicting especially female bodies at the crossroads of otherness and integration in Germany, while utilizing violence and changing physical markers, on the one hand. On the other hand, he successfully depicts the body so as to provide unexpected, non-



stereotypical plots that are able to defy national borders. Akin's sponsoring sources, awards, invitations to serve as a juror himself, and mentions on governmentally sponsored websites, as well as in the press, demonstrate the recognition he has received from German and European societies, as well as the film community at large. The embodied performance of his characters demonstrate an overlap of his claims to recognition and the recognition which has been bestowed upon him by viewers, critics, funding sources, and the film community. Therefore, for Akin recognition via film has created a basis of success and a source for a feeling of belonging as a citizen and artist.

Writers and especially women writers with a migration background have also found a special niche that allows them to gain economic success and recognition. However, as Hatice Akyün and Lale Akgün demonstrate, commercial success in the realm of popular fiction also dictates the necessity to emphasize themes perceived important to successful "integration." Furthermore, especially Akyün's exotic and revealing presentation of her own body echoes claims to recognition of a German middle-class citizen and woman with hypersexual expectations of Germanness. Although Akyün is more interested in recognition as a German citizen and modern woman with ties to the upper middle class, she additionally also falls into the trap of exploiting women's sexuality and bodies to distance herself from stereotypical expectations of Turkish German women and to raise the circulation of her books.

Nevertheless, as Emine Sevgi Özdamar illustrates, authors of literature with a migration background are able to produce a counter discourse that questions mainstream expectations of immigrants. The author also utilizes the body, for example

with her connection of speech organs and how they are literally, as well as figuratively connected to the body, or the performing character of verbs in particular. However, Özdamar ridicules stereotypes and the degree of embodied performance reaches way beyond showcasing one's body for the reader's consumption. The performative character of Özdamar's texts has allowed her recognition within the cultural landscape of Germany, although this recognition is sometimes based on a misrecognition of her engagement with stereotypes. Özdamar has moved into a recognizable space, receiving prizes and gaining a significant readership that appreciates her characters' performance of multiculturalism. Her unique use of transnational language, literary, and theater traditions has earned her significant visibility, even as she insists on her participation in specifically German artistic traditions. The recognition that the author seeks is as a German writer and actor or performer, and is clearly aimed at the literary and theater community.

Theories of recognition have gained increased importance in the field of political theory and especially Honneth's and Fraser's dialogues or discussion have been extremely fruitful in deepening an understanding of necessary conditions for immigrants' or peoples' with migration backgrounds and their integration. It is important that future theories of recognition allow for considerations of the body or embodiment within such theories to achieve a fuller understanding of how claims to recognition function. By the same token, I hope that future studies might recognize the issues that arise when certain expectations are placed on particularly Muslim bodies by discussions of integration, because these bodies are often racialized due to the

unfamiliarity of looks, movement, or fashion. This gains in importance when political policies that address Muslims' integration are implemented. When such policies do not consider the importance of the need for embodied claims to recognition in the process of identity formation, or the limiting effects of some representations of bodies, they are likely ineffectual at best, and potentially denigrating in such a way that excludes Muslims from participation in local and national communities. If secular governments like Germany's declare the increased need for integration mainly of their Muslim community with a migration background, those governments also need to provide a space that allows for a public, embodied performance of religion for Muslims. I hope that this project will give some vocabulary to better talk about the conditions immigrants face in Germany today, and the conditions under which a multicultural society is able to develop niches for embodied recognition that allow for parity of participation, and a development of self-esteem that will ultimately lead to an improved feeling of belonging.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 40 Quadratmeter Deutschland. [40 m<sup>2</sup> Germany.] Screenplay by Tevfik Başar. Dir. Tevfik Başar. 1986. ZDF, 31 July 1986 and 3 March 1988. Television.
- Adams, Sam. "Interview: Director Fatih Akin." *AVClub.com*. 20 Aug. 2010. Web. 23 Nov. 2011.
- Adelson, Leslie A. *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005. Print.
- Adelson, Leslie A. "Opposing Oppositions: Turkish-German Questions in Contemporary German Studies." *German Studies Review* 17.2 (1994): 305–330. *MLA Bibliography*. Web. 15 Aug. 2007.
- "Adnan Maral." *Adnan Maral*, 2008. Web. 10 Oct. 2009.
- Akgün, Lale. *Tante Semra im Leberkäse-land: Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2008. Print.
- Akin, Fatih. "Interview with Fatih Akin." Interviewed by Eleonora Volodina. *dw-world.de*. 14 Feb. 2004. Web. 10 Oct. 2011.
- . "Spiegel Interview with Director Fatih Akin: From Istanbul to New York." Interviewed by Lars-Olav Beier and Matthias Matussek. *SPIEGEL online*. 28 Sep. 2007. Web. 13 Oct. 2011.
- Akyün, Hatice. *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße: Leben in zwei Welten*. Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 2007. Print.
- Alder, Yasin. "Endlich Durchbruch erzielt." *Islamische Zeitung*. 25 Feb. 2011. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.
- Allah in Ehrenfeld*. Dir. Birgit Schulz and Gerhard Schick. WDR. 3 Jul. 2012. Television. Web. 5 Sep. 2012.
- Amir-Moazami, Schirin. "Reaffirming and Shifting Boundaries: Muslim Perspectives on Gender and Citizenship." *Islam and the New Europe*. Ed. Sigrid Nökel. Bielefeld: Transaction Publisher, 2005. 209–233. Print.
- Angst essen Seele auf*. [Fear Eats the Soul.] Screenplay by Rainer Werner Fassbinder. Dir. Rainer Werner Fassbinder. Perf. Brigitte Mira, El Hedi Ben Salem, Irm Hermann, Barbara Valentin, Marquard Böhm, Peter Gauke, Karl Scheydt, Rainer Werner Fassbinder. 1973. ZDF, 3 Mar. 1974 and 25 July 1977. Television.
- "Anteil der Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund leicht gestiegen." Pressemitteilung Nr. 033 vom 26.01.2010. *Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland*. Web. 02 Feb. 2012.
- Asad, Talal. "Europe against Islam: Islam in Europe." *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*. Ed. Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 303 – 312. Print.
- . *On Suicide Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. Print.
- . *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003. Print.
- Auf der anderen Seite des Lebens*. [The Edge of Heaven.] Screenplay by Fatih Akin. Prod. Andreas Thiel, Klaus Maeck, Fatih Akin. Dir. Fatih Akin. Perf. Nurgül Yeşilçay,

- Baki Davrak, Patrycia Ziolkowska, Nursel Köse, Tuncel Kurtiz, Hanna Schygulla. 2007. Strand Releasing, 2008. DVD.
- Auslandstournee*. [Tour Abroad]. Dir. Ayşe Polat. ZDF, 2008. Television.
- Aust, Bettina. "Mit 64 ist man kein Sexsymbol mehr." Interview with Hanna Schygulla. *Die Welt*. 25. Sep. 2007. Web. 4 Sep. 2012.
- Bartsch, Matthias, et al. "Gebetsruf überm Gewerbegebiet." *Spiegel Online*. 10 Dec. 2009. Web. 4 Mar. 2010.
- Bax, Daniel. "Die Moschee im Dorf lassen." *Taz.de*. 5 Feb. 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2010.
- . "Unter Hasspredigern." *Taz.de*. 4 Feb. 2010. Web. 3 Mar. 2010.
- Bayer, Gerd. "Theory as Hierarchy: Positioning German 'Migrantenliteratur.'" *Monatshefte* 96.1 (2004): 1-19. JSTOR. Web. 13 Mar. 2012.
- Bednarz, Dieter and Daniel Steinvorth. "Verse für Krieg und Frieden." *Der Spiegel*. 52 (22 Dec. 2007). Web. 04 Mar. 2010. 18 – 35.
- Beicht, Ursula and Mona Granato. "Prekäre Übergänge vermeiden - Potenziale nutzen." Federal Institute for Vocational Training. BIBB (Bildungsinstitut für Berufsbildung.) Jul. 2011. Web. 3 Feb. 2012.
- Beier, Lars-Olaf and Matthias Matussek. "Erst mit zwei Frauen wurde die Geschichte sexy." Interview with Fatih Akin. *Spiegel Online*. 26 Sep. 2007. Web. 9 Aug. 2012.
- Beinhauer-Köhler, Bärbel, Claus Leggewie, and Alen Jasarevic. *Moscheen in Deutschland: Religiöse Heimat und gesellschaftliche Herausforderung*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009. Print.
- Benhabib, Seyla. "Citizens, Residents, and Aliens in a Changing World: Political Membership in the Global Era." *Social Research* 65 (1999): 709-44. *Business Source Complete*. Web. 23 Apr. 2012.
- Benz, Wolfgang. "Antisemiten und Islamfeinde: Hetzer mit Parallelen." *Süddeutsche Zeitung.de*. 4 Jan. 2010. Web. 9 Feb. 2010.
- Berghahn, Daniela. "No Place like Home? Or Impossible Homecomings in the Films of Fatih Akin." *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 4.3 (2006): 141-157. *Communication and Mass Media Complete*. 10 December 2008.
- . "'Seeing Everything with Different Eyes': The Diasporic Optic of Fatih Akin's *Head-On*." *New Directions in German Cinema*. Eds. Paul Cooke and Chris Homewood. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011. 239-256. Print.
- Berlant, Lauren. "National Brands/National Body: Imitation of Life." *The Phantom Public Sphere*. Ed. Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993. 173-208. Print.
- . *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne Utopia and Everyday Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Print.
- Berlin in Berlin*. Dir. Sinan Cetin. PFA Films, 1993. DVD.
- Berman, Nina. "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's Orientzyklus." *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy*. Eds. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantrop. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998. 51-68. Print.

- Bernstein, Jay M. "Recognition and Embodiment: Fichte's Materialism." *The Philosophy of Recognition: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Eds. Hans-Christoph Schmidt am Busch and Christopher F. Zurn. Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2010. 47-87. Print.
- . "Suffering Injustice: Misrecognition as Moral Injury in Critical Theory." *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 13.3 (2005): 303-324. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 20 Jul. 2008.
- . "Torture and Dignity." *School of Criticism and Theory*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Summer 2008. Seminar.
- Beugnet, Martine. *Cinema and Sensation: French Film and the Art of Transgression*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. Print.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge, 1990. Print.
- . *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- "BMI-Home of the Bundesministerium des Innern." [Federal Ministry of the Interior.] Trans. Translation Service of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. *Bundesministerium des Innern*. Berlin. Web. 2 Dec. 2011.
- Boa, Elizabeth. "Özdamar's Autobiographical Fiction: Trans-National Identity and Literary Form." *German Life and Letters* 59.4 (2006): 526-539. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 13 May 2007.
- Böckenförde, Ernst-Wolfgang. "Säkularer Staat und Religion." *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 130 - 146. Print.
- Bodenstein, Mark Chalil. "Muslimische Verbände: neue Zahlen, aber kein Ende der Diskussion." *Deutsche Islam Konferenz*. 2 Oct. 2009. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.
- Böhm, Paul. "Auf dem gesellschaftlichen Parkett angekommen." Interview with Christian Hümmeler. *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 153 -160. Print.
- Brandt, Bettina. "Collecting Childhood Memories of the Future: Arabic as Mediator Between Turkish and German in Emine Sevgi Özdamar's Mutterzunge." *Germanic Review* 79.4 (2005): 295-315. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 27 Apr. 2009.
- Broder, Henryk M. "Eine Moschee für eine Kirche." *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 52 - 55. Print.
- Brown, Stephen. "Churches and Religion." *Routledge Encyclopedia of Contemporary German Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Brown, Wendy. *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. Print.
- Burns, Rob. "On the Street and on the Road: Identity in Transit in Turkish-German Travelogues on Screen." *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 7.1 (2009): 11-26. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 8. Nov. 2010.

- . "Towards a Cinema of Cultural Hybridity: Turkish-German Filmmakers and the Representation of Alterity." *Debatte* 15.1 (2007): 3-22. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 12 Oct. 2009.
- Buß, Christian. "Kölle Allah!" *Spiegel Online*. 10 Jul. 2012. Web. 3 Aug. 2012.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999. Print.
- Caldwell, Peter C. "The Cross and German Constitutional Culture." *Cultural Anthropology* 11.2 (1996): 259-273.
- Capano, Lucia. "Sprachfremde and Fremderfahrung as Acoustic and Visual Experience in Works by Yoko Tawada and Emine Sevgi Özdamar." *Finding the Foreign*. Eds. Robert Schechtman and Suin Roberts. Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars, 2007. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 4 Mar. 2007.
- Célestin, Roger. *From Cannibals to Radicals*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Print.
- Cheesman, Tom. "Akçam - Zaimoglu - 'Kanak Attak': Turkish Lives and Letters in German." *German Life and Letters* 55.2(2002): 180-95. *Wiley Online Library*. Web. 9 Sep. 2011.
- . *Novels of Turkish German Settlement: Cosmopolite Fictions*. Rochester, NY: Camden, 2007. Print.
- Chhabra, Aseem. "Dev D Brought me Closer to India." *Rediff.com*. 20 Aug. 2010. Web. 7 Oct. 2011.
- Chin, Rita C.-K. "Imagining a German Multiculturalism: Aras Ören and the Contested Meanings of the 'Guest Worker,' 1955-1980." *Radical History Review* 83 (2002): 44-72. Print.
- Cooke, Paul and Chris Homewood, eds. *New Directions in German Cinema*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011. Print.
- Das Literarische Quartett*. [*The Literary Quartet*.] Marcel Reich-Reinicki. 6 Jun. 1998. ZDF. TV.
- De Kock, Leon. "Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa." *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*. 23.3 (1992): 29 - 47.
- Das Wunder von Bern*. [*The Miracle of Bern*.] Screenplay and Dir. Sönke Wortmann. 2003. Universal Studios, 2008. DVD.
- Die Fremde*. [*When We Leave*.] Dir. Feo Aladağ. Perf. Tamer Yigit, Florian Lukas, Serhad Can, Almila Bagriacik, Nursel Koese, Alwara Höfels, Ufuk Bayraktar, Blanca Apilánez, Derya Alabora, Settar Tanrioegen, Nizam Schiller, Sibel Kekilli. 2010. Olive Films, 2011. DVD.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Literature/Identity: Transnationalism, Narrative and Representation." *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*. 29 Oct. 2010. Web. 15 Feb. 2012.
- Elefantenherz* [*Elephant Heart*]. Screenplay: Zueli Aladag, Jörg Tensing, Marija Erceg. Dir. Zueli Aladag. 2002. Indigo, 2009. DVD.

- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Ethical Calculus: The Cross-Cultural Dilemmas and Moral Burdens of Fatih Akin's *The Edge of Heaven*." *Filmcomment* May/Jun. 2008. Web. 30. Aug. 2012.
- . *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005. Print.
- . *New German Cinema: A History*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989. Print.
- Elsner, Eva-Maria, and Lothar Elsner. *Zwischen Nationalismus und Internationalismus: über Ausländer und Ausländerpolitik in der DDR, 1949-1990*. Rostock: Norddeutsche Hochschulschriften, 1994. Print.
- "Emine Sevgi Özdamar erhält Carl-Zuckmayer-Medaille." Kiepenheuer und Witsch Verlag Newsletter. 1 Feb. 2010. Web. 2 Jan. 2012.
- Esposito, John et al., eds. *Geography of Religion: Where God Lives, Where Pilgrims Walk*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2004. 265-320.
- "'Europäischer Oscar' für Fatih Akin." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. 1 Dec. 2007. Web. 3 Oct. 2012.
- Fachinger, Petra. "A New Kind of Creative Energy: Yadé Kara's *Selam Berlin* and Fatih Akin's *Kurz und Schmerzlos* and *Gegen die Wand*." *German Life and Letters* 60.2 (2007): 243- 260.
- Facts about Germany*. Frankfurter Societäts-Medien GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, in cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin. Web. 6 Mar. 2009.
- "Far-Right Rhetoric: Germany's Very Own Minaret Debate Turns Nasty." *Spiegel Online*. 2 May 2010. Web. 7 Jun. 2010
- "Film Hitlist 2005." FFA (Filmförderungsanstalt – German Federal Film Board). Web. 10 Oct. 2011.
- Fortier, Anne-Marie. "Pride Politics and Multiculturalist Citizenship." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 28.4 (2005): 559-578. Print.
- Fraser, Nancy and Axel Honneth. *Redistribution or Recognition?: A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso, 2003. Print.
- Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking Recognition." *The Philosophy of Recognition: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Eds. Hans-Christoph Schmidt am Busch and Christopher F. Zurn. Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2010. 211-222. Print.
- Gallagher, Jessica. "The Limitation of Urban Space in Thomas Arslan's *Berlin Trilogy*." *Gegen die Wand*. [Head-On.] Screenplay by Fatih Akin. Dir. Fatih Akin. Perf. Birol Ünel, Sibel Kekilli, Catrin Striebeck. 2003. Strand Releasing, 2004. DVD.
- Gerber, Bernhard. "Erst Kuppel, dann Minarett?" *Saarbrücker Zeitung*. 23 Jan. 2010. Web. 10 Feb. 2012.
- Gibbons, Luke. *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, politics, and the colonial sublime*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Print.
- Gilliat-Ray, Sophie. *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Print.
- Giordano, Ralph. "Nicht die Moschee, der Islam ist das Problem." *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 37 – 51.



- Glombitza, Birgit. "Ich wollte die Frauen entdecken." Interview with Fatih Akin. *Tageszeitung*. 25 Sep. 2007. Web. 4. Jul. 2012.
- Göktürk, Deniz. "Beyond Paternalism: Turkish German Traffic in Cinema." *The German Cinema Book*. Eds. Tim Bergfelder, Erica Carter and Deniz Göktürk. London: British Film Institute, 2002. Print.
- . "Kennzeichen: weiblich/türkisch/deutsch. Beruf: Sozialarbeiterin/ Schriftstellerin/ Schauspieler." ("Identification Symbol: female/Turkish/German. Profession: Social Worker/ Author/ Actor."). *Frauen Literatur Geschichte*. (Women Literature History.) Eds. Hiltrud Gnüg and Renate Möhrmann. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 1999. 516-32.
- . "Migration und Kino – Subnationale Mitleidskultur oder transnationale Rollenspiele?" *Interkulturelle Literatur in Deutschland*. Ed. Carmine Chiellino. Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler (2000): 329-347. Print.
- . "Turkish Delight – German Fright: Unsettling Oppositions in Transnational Cinema." *Mapping the Margins: Identity Politics and the Media*. Eds. Karen Ross, Deniz Derman. Creskill, NJ : Hampton Press, 2003. EIPCP Web. 19 Dec. 2009.
- . "Turkish Women on German Streets: Closure and Exposure in Transnational Cinema." *Spaces in European Cinema*. Myrto Konstantarakos (ed.) Exeter, UK: Intellect Books, 2000. 64-76. Print.
- Göktürk, Deniz and Anton Kaes. "Migration, Culture, and the Nation-State." *Transit* 1.1 (2005): 1-3. Web. 5 Mar. 2006.
- Göttler, Fritz. "Im Profil: Fatih Akin. "Goldener Bär"-Gewinner auf der Suche nach Identität." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Feb. 16 2004. Web. Sep. 1 2012.
- . "Westdeutscher Nachkriegsfilm: Land der Väter." *Geschichte des deutschen Films*. Eds. Wolfgang Jacobsen, Anton Kaes, and Hans Helmut. Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1993. 171-210. Print.
- Greven, Ludwig. "Der Islam gehört zu uns." *Zeit Online.de*. 30 Nov. 2009. Web. 4 Feb. 2010.
- Grosz, Elizabeth. *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994. Print.
- Hakkarainen, Marja-Leena. "'Mutterzunge': Zur Funktion der Sprache in der Deutsch-Türkischen Migrantenliteratur." *Zur Rolle der Sprache im Wandel der Gesellschaft*. (The Role of Language in Changes of Society.) Eds. Matti Luukkainen and Riitta Pyykkö. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters with Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 2002. 70-77. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 23 Apr. 2009.
- Hall, Stuart, David Morley, and Kuan-Hsing Chen. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Halle, Randall. *German Film After Germany: Toward a Transnational Aesthetic*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008. Print.
- Halm, Dirk. *Zur Wahrnehmung des Islam und zur sozio-kulturellen Teilhabe der Muslime in Deutschland*. Essen: Zentrum für Türkeistudien, 2006. Web. 2 Nov. 2008.
- Haruna, Hadija. "Neue Moschee in Kreuzberg: Unter der gläsernen Kuppel." *Der Tagesspiegel*. 18 May 2010. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.

- Hentschel, Stefanie and Angela Wittmann. "Großes Kino: Fatih Akin and Hanna Schygulla." Interview with Fatih Akin and Hanna Schygulla. *Brigitte.de* 2007. Web. 5. Sep. 2012. First printed in *Brigitte* 21/2007.
- Herbert, Ulrich. *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge*. München: Beck, 2001. Print.
- Hintereder, Peter, Janet Schayan, and Sabine Giese, eds. *Facts about Germany*. Trans. Dr. Jeremy Gaines. Frankfurter Societäts-Medien GmbH in cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin. Web. 15 Aug. 2010.
- Hinz, Maria. "Hatice Akyün: Preis für Toleranz und Zivilcourage." *Türkei Hotline*. Web. 9 Dec. 2011.
- Honneth, Axel. *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Trans. Joel Anderson. Cambridge and Malden Massachusetts: Polity Press, 1995. Print.
- . "Work and Recognition: A Redefinition." *The Philosophy of Recognition: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Eds. Hans-Christoph Schmidt am Busch and Christopher F. Zurn. Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2010. 223-239. Print.
- Horrocks, David and Eva Kolinsky, eds. *Turkish Culture in German Society Today*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996. Print.
- Hunt, Lynn. *Inventing Human Rights*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007. Print.
- Ich Chef, Du Turnschuh!* [Me Boss, You Running Shoe!]. Screenplay by Hussi Kutlucan. Dir. Hussi Kutlucan. ZDF. 1998. Television.
- Im Juli* [In July]. Screenplay by Pierre Aim. Dir. Fatih Akin. Perf. Moritz Bleibtreu, Christiane Paul, Mehmet Kurtulus. 2000. Koch Lorber Films, 2004. DVD.
- Ingram, James D. and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. "Rights, Norms, and Politics: The Case of German Citizenship Reform." *Social Research* 77.1 (2010): 351-382. *Business Source Complete*. Web. 23 Apr. 2012.
- "Integrations-Debatte - Merkel: Multikulti ist absolut gescheitert." *Süddeutsche.de*. 16 Oct. 2010. Web. 21 May 2012.
- "Islamischer Religionsunterricht in Nordrhein-Westfalen mit dem KRM." *Religion & Recht*. 22 Feb. 2011. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.
- James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. *German Architecture for a Mass Audience*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.
- Jankowsky, Karen. "'German' literature contested: the 1991 Ingeborg-Bachmann-Prize debate, 'cultural diversity,' and Emine Sevgi Özdamar." *German Quarterly* 70.3 (1997): 261-276. *JSTOR*. Web. 4 Sep. 2011.
- Kaes, Anton. *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989. Print.
- Kaya, Ayhan and Ayşegül Kayaoğlu. "Is National Citizenship Withering Away?: Social Affiliations and Labor Market Integration of Turkish-Origin Immigrants in Germany and France." *German Studies Review* 35.1 (2012): 113-134. Print.
- Kebab Connection*. Screenplay by Fatih Akin, Ruth Toma, Jan Berger, Anno Saul. Dir. Anno Saul. 2004. Lifesize Ent., 2006. DVD.
- Kelek, Necla. "Bist du nicht von uns, dann bist du des Teufels." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. (FAZ). 25 Apr. 2007. Web. 8 Nov. 2009.

- . "Das Minarett als Herrschaftssymbol." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. (FAZ.) 128. 5 Jun. 2007: 33. Web. 3 Nov. 2009.
- Knipper, Michael and Yasan Bilgin. *Migration und Gesundheit*. Berlin: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2009. Web. 2 Feb. 2010.
- Knöfel, Ulrike. "Steine des Anstoßes." *Der Spiegel*. 41. 06 Oct. 2008. 174 – 177. Web. 4 Sep. 2009.
- Köhler, Margret. "Drive not Drabness." *Goethe.de*. July 2008. Web. 4 Sep. 2009.
- Kojève, Alexandre. *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980. Print.
- Konuk, Kader. "'Identitätssuche ist ein [sic] private archäologische Graberei': Emine Sevgi Özdamar's inszeniertes Sprechen." *AufBrüche: Kulturelle Produktionen von Migrantinnen, Schwarzen und jüdischen Frauen in Deutschland*. Eds. Cathy S. Gelbin, Kader Konuk and Peggy Piesche. Königstein/Taunus: Ulrike Helmer, 1999. 60 - 74. Print.
- Koyman, Jaap, Patricia Pisters and Wanda Strauven, eds. *Mind the Screen: Media Concepts According to Thomas Elsaesser*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008. Print.
- Krischke, Wolfgang. *Was heißt hier Deutsch?: Kleine Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Munich: Beck Verlag, 2009. Print.
- "KRM Pressemitteilung 2009." DITIB, IRD, VIKZ, and ZMD. 2009. Web. 22 Jan. 2010.
- Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 2007. Print.
- . "Evolving Basis of European Norms of Minority Rights: Rights to Culture, Participation and Autonomy." *European Integration and the Nationalities Question*. Eds. John McGarry and Michael Keating. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Lau, Jörg. "Laut Ruft der Muezzin." *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 33 - 36.
- Littler, Margaret. "Diasporic Identity in Emine Sevgi Özdamar's Mutterzunge." *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics, and Literature in the Berlin Republic*. Eds. Stuart Taberner and Frank Finlay. Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2002. 219-234. Print.
- Macey, Marie. *Multiculturalism, Religion, and Women: Doing Harm by Doing Good?* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Print.
- Mandel, Ruth. *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany*. Durham: Duke University Press: 2008. Print.
- Mani, B. Venkat. *Cosmopolitical Claims: Turkish-German Literatures from Nadolny to Pamuk*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007. Print.
- Maron, Monika. "Die Besserfundis." *Der Spiegel*. 4 (2010): 106-107. Web. 7 Sep. 2010.
- Martin, Philip L. "Germany: Reluctant Land of Immigration." *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Eds. Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield. San Diego: Stanford University Press, 1994. 189-225. Print.

- Massumi, Brian. "Everywhere You Want to Be: Introduction to Fear." *The Politics of Everyday Fear*. Ed. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993. Print.
- Matthes, Frauke. "Beyond Boundaries? Emine Sevgi Özdamar's *Mutterzunge* and V.S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* as Creative Processes of Arrival." *eSharp: Electronic Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts*. Review for Postgraduates, 5 (2005): 1-14. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 3 Nov. 2006.
- McGowan, Moray. "Turkish-German Fiction since the Mid 1990s." *Contemporary German Fiction: Writing in the Berlin Republic*. Ed. Stuart Taberner. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 196-214. Print.
- Meer, Nasar, Claire Dwyer and Tariq Modood. "Embodying Nationhood?: Conceptions of British National Identity, Citizenship and Gender in the 'Veil Affair.'" *The Sociological Review* 58.1 (2010): 84-111. Print.
- Meer, Nasar and Tariq Modood. "How does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism?" *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 33.2 (2012): 175-196. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 15 May 2012.
- Mehta, Uday Singh. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999. Print.
- Metz, Markus and Georg Seeßlen. "Fucking Identity." Trans. Jo Beckett. *Taz*. 7 Jan. 2006: 21-22. Reprinted in English. *Goethe.de*. Goethe Institut, Online-Redaktion, March 2006. Web. 16 Nov. 2006.
- "Migration and Migrant Population Statistics." *Eurostat: European Commission*. Oct. 2011. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- "Migration Info." Netzwerk Migration in Europa in coordination with the Federal Center for Political Education. *Migration and Population Newsletter*. May 2007. Web. 2 Jan. 2012.
- Milz, Sabine. "Comparative Cultural Studies and Ethnic Minority Writing Today: The Hybridities of Marlene Nourbese Philip and Emine Sevgi Özdamar." *Comparative Literature and Culture* 2.2 (2000): n. pg. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 15. Oct. 2009.
- Mitchell, Wendy. "Going to Extremes: Fatih Akin on His Turkish-German Love Story *Head-On*." *indieWIRE.com*. 19 Jan. 2005. Web. 2 Nov. 2011.
- Modood, Tariq. *Multiculturalism*. Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2007. Print.
- . *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity, and Muslims in Britain*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. Print.
- "Moschee-Bau: Ein Symbol für Toleranz." *Frankfurter Rundschau*. 25 Apr. 2012. Web. 14 May 2012.
- "Multilingualism and the Arts." *Goethe Institut*. "An Unmistakable Intercultural Diversity: Migrant Literature in Germany." Ed. Dr. Klaus Hübner. Trans. Moira Davidson-Seger. March 2008. Web. 9 April, 2012.
- Naficy, Hamid. *An Accented Cinema*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. Print.
- Nancy, Jean-Luc. "Shattered Love." *The Inoperative Community*. Ed. Peter Connor. Trans. Peter Connor. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991. Print.

- . "Love and Community: A Round-table Discussion with Jean-Luc Nancy, Avital Ronell and Wolfgang Schirmacher." *European Graduate School Faculty*. August 2001. Web. 17 Nov. 2008.
- Nitschmann, Johannes. "Großer Krach um Großmoschee." *Süddeutsche Online*. 30 May 2007. Web. 5 Apr. 2008.
- Nökel, Sigrid and Tezcan, Levent, eds. *Islam and the new Europe: Continuities, Changes, Confrontations*. London: Transaction Publishers, 2005. Print.
- Nökel, Sigrid. "Islam, Gender and Dialogue: on Body Politics and Bio-Politics." *Islam and the New Europe*. Ed. Sigrid Nökel. Bielefeld: Transaction Publisher, 2005. 178-208. Print.
- "Numan Acar." Numan Acar, Vita. *CastingDB*. Web. 10 Oct. 2009.
- "Number of Muslims in Germany." *Deutsche Islam Konferenz*. 2011. Web. 14 Apr. 2012.
- Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. "Manche denken, Türken können nicht schreiben." Interview. *Berliner Literaturkritik*. 4 Dec. 2009. Web. 10 Oct. 2010.
- . *Mother Tongue*. Trans. Thomas Craig. Toronto: Coach House, 1994. Print.
- . "The Courtyard in the Mirror." Trans. Leslie A. Adelson. *Transit* 2.1 (2005). Web. 26 Jan. 2012.
- . *Der Hof im Spiegel*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2001. Print.
- . *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1998. Print.
- . "Meine deutschen Wörter haben keine Kindheit." Dankrede zur Verleihung des Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preises, München, 1999. *Der Hof im Spiegel*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2001. 125-132. Print.
- . *Mutterzunge*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1998. Print.
- . *The Bridge of the Golden Horn*. Trans. Martin Chalmers. London: Serpent's Tail, 2007. Print.
- Polizei [Police]*. Dir. Şerif Gören. Perf. Kemal Sunal. 1988. ZDF, 18 Nov. 1995. Television.
- Prashad, Vijay. "Bruce Lee and the Anti-Imperialism of Kung-Fu: A Polycultural Adventure." *East Asia Cultural Critique* 11.1 (2003): 51-90. *Project Muse*. Web. 24 January, 2012.
- Rai, Amit, S. *Rule of Sympathy: Sentiment, Race, and Power 1750-1850*. New York: Palgrave, 2002. Print.
- Rankin, Walter. "Subverting Literary Allusions in Elliot and Özdamar." *Comparative Literature and Culture* 8.3 (2006): [no pagination]. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 9 Oct. 2009.
- Rentschler, Eric. "From New German Cinema to the Post-Wall Cinema of Consensus." *Cinema and Nation*. Eds. Mette Hjort and Scot Mackenzie. London: Routledge, 2000. 260-277. Print.
- "Rezensionsforum Literaturkritik." *Online Lexikon Literaturwissenschaft Autoren*. *Literaturkritik.de*. Kiepenheuer & Witsch. Jun 2008. Web. 23 Apr. 2012.
- Riley, Denise. *Impersonal Passion: Language as Affect*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. Print.
- Rommelspacher, Birgit. *Anerkennung und Ausgrenzung: Deutschland als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2002. Print.

- Rothenberg, Nina. Interview with Hatice Akyün. *Goethe Institut Rom*. 2006. Web. 7 Nov. 2007.
- Rothschild, Emma. "Economic Dispositions." *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Print.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, 1978. Print.
- Safransky, Rüdiger. "Heisse und kalte Religionen: Der Islam verkündet Erlösung, die Christen haben den Glauben ans Jenseits verloren." *Der Spiegel* 3 (2010): 119-121. Web. 2 Feb. 2011.
- Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. Print.
- Schellen, Petra. "Der Ressentiment-Test." *Taz.de*. 12 Feb. 2010. Web. 10 Jan. 2012.
- Schiffauer, Werner. "From Exile to Diaspora: The Development of Transnational Islam in Europe." *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity, and Influence*. Eds. Azim Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 68-95. Print.
- . *Die Gewalt der Ehre*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983. Print.
- . Interview with Schiffauer. "Schlachtfeld Frau." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*. 25 Feb. 2005. Web. 2 Oct. 2009.
- . *Parallelwelten: Wie viel Wertekonsens braucht unsere Gesellschaft? Für eine kluge Politik der Differenz*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008. Print.
- . *Kulturelle Charakteristika als Bedingungen interkultureller Kommunikation*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1986. Print.
- . "From Exile to Diaspora: The Development of Transnational Islam in Europe." *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity, and Influence*. Eds. Aziz al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.
- . *Fremde in der Stadt: zehn Essays über Kultur und Differenz*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997. Print.
- Schiffauer, Werner, ed. *Civil Enculturation: Nation-state, Schools and Ethnic Difference in Four European Countries*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004. Print.
- . *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 42.3 (2006): 337-352. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 9 Nov. 2008.
- Schiffauer, Werner and Marianne Krüger-Potratz. *Migrationsreport 2010: Fakten – Analysen – Perspektiven*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2010. Print.
- Schneider, Peter. "Selim blieb ein Einzelkind." *Die Zeit*. 4 May 2006. Web. 20. Sep. 2012.
- Şenocak, Zafer. "Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei: Ein Gedichtessay." ("Life is a Caravansary: A Poetic Essay.") *War Hitler Araber?: Irreführungen an den Rand Europas*. [Was Hitler an Arab? Deceptions to the Edge of Europe.] Berlin: Babel Verlag, 1994. 55-58. Print.
- . "Wann ist der Fremde zu Hause? Betrachtungen zur Kunst und Kultur von Minderheiten in Deutschland." *Atlas des tropischen Deutschland: Essays*. Berlin: Babel Verlag 1993: 64-75. Print.

- Seyhan, Azade. *Writing Outside the Nation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001. Print.
- Shafi, Monika. "Joint Ventures: Identity Politics and Travel in Novels by Emine Sevgi Özdamar Zafer Şenocak." *Comparative Literature Studies*. 40.2 (2003): 193-214. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 7 Nov. 2009.
- Shirins Hochzeit*. [Shirin's Wedding.] Dir. Helma Sanders-Brahms in collaboration with Aras Ören. 1975. ARD, 20 Jan. 1976. Television.
- Siewert, Senta. *Entgrenzungsfilme : Jugend, Musik, Affekt, Gedächtnis : eine pragmatische Poetik zeitgenössischer europäischer Filme*.
- Simpson, Patricia Anne. "Brechtian Specters in Contemporary Fiction: Emine Sevgi Özdamar and Rohinton Mistry." *Brecht Yearbook/Das Brecht-Jahrbuch* 32 (2007): 388-404. *MLA Bibliography*. Web. 21 Mar. 2009.
- Şölçün, Sargut. "Gespielte Naivität und ernsthafte Sinnlichkeit der Selbstbegegnung – Inszenierungen des Unterwegsseins in Emine Sevgi Özdamars Roman *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn*." Ed. A. Blioumi. *Migration und Interkulturalität in neueren literarischen Texten*. München: Iudicium, 2002. 92-112. Print.
- Sommerfeld, Franz. "Vorwort. Der Kölner Moscheestreit – ein Lehrstück über Demokratie." *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. Print.
- Soul Kitchen*. Screenplay by Fatih Akin. Dir. Fatih Akin. 2009. Ifc Independent Film, 2010. DVD.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "A Note on the New International." *Parallax* 7.3 (2001): 12-16. *JSTOR*. Web. 3 Feb. 2009.
- . *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999. Print.
- Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland. "Anteil der Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund leicht gestiegen." 26 Jan. 2010. Web. 2 February 2011.
- Steinborn, Katrin. "Meine deutschen Wörter haben keine Kindheit: Emine Sevgi Özdamar's Erzählungen 'Der Hof im Spiegel.'" *Literaturkritik*. 1 Nov. 2001. Web. 7 Oct. 2008.
- "Structuring Immigration – Fostering Integration." Independent Commission on Migration to Germany. BMI. 4 Jul. 2001. Web. 12 Apr. 2012.
- Suchsland, Rüdiger. "Ich bin wirklich davon ausgegangen: Ok, das könnte mein letzter Film sein ..." Interview with Fatih Akin. *Artechock.de*. 11 Mar. 2004. Web. 27 Sep. 2011.
- Suhr, Heidrun. "Ausländerliteratur: Minority Literature in the Federal Republic of Germany." *New German Critique* 46 (1989): 71-103. Print.
- Taylor, Charles. *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition:" an Essay*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992. Print.
- "Turkey's Charismatic Pro-Islamic Leader." *BBC News World Edition*. 04 Nov. 2002. Web. 10 Feb. 2010.
- Thompson, Simon. *The Political Theory of Recognition*. Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2006. Print.

- Triandafyllidou, Anna. *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.
- "Turkey's Charismatic Pro-Islamic Leader." *BBC News*. 4 Nov. 2002. Web. 4 Mar. 2010.
- Vees-Gulani, Susanne. "From Frankfurt's Goethehaus to Dresden's Frauenkirche: Architecture, German Identity, and Historical Memory after 1945." *The Germanic Review* 80.2 (2005): 143-163. Print.
- "Von Anfang an dabei: Deutsche Oscar-Preisträger." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 26. Feb. 2005. Web. 19. Aug. 2012.
- Walter, Ulla, et al. "Gesundheit und gesundheitliche Versorgung von Migranten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Sucht." *Der Nervenarzt* 78 (2007): 1058-1061. Web. 2 Nov. 2011.
- Weber, Beverly M. "Beyond the Culture Trap: Immigrant Women in Germany, Planet-Talk, and a Politics of Listening." *Women in German. Yearbook* 21, (2005): 16-38. Print.
- . "Cloth on her Head, Constitution in Hand." *German Politics & Society* 22.3 (2004): 33-64. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 15 Apr. 2009.
- . "Freedom from Violence, Freedom to Make the World: Muslim Women's Memoirs, Gendered Violence, and Voices for Change in Germany." *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature and Culture* 25 (2009): 199-222. Print.
- . *Headscarves and Miniskirts: Germanness, Islam, and the Politics of Cultural Difference*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2006. Print.
- . "Hijab Martyrdom, Headscarf Debates: Rethinking Violence, Secularism, and Islam." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 32.1 (2012): 102-115. Print.
- . "Work, Sex, and Socialism: Reading Beyond Cultural Hybridity in Emine Sevgi Özdamar's 'Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn.'" *German Life and Letters* 63.1 (2010): 37- 53. *MLA Bibliography*. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.
- Wellershoff, Dieter. "Wofür steht die Kölner Moschee?" *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 59-65. Print.
- Wierschke, Annette. *Schreiben als Selbstbehauptung: Kulturkonflikt und Identität in den Werken von Aysel Özakın, Alev Tekinay und Emine Sevgi Özdamar. Mit Interviews*. Frankfurt: IKO-Verlag für interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1996. Print.
- Winnicott, Donald W. *The Family and Individual Development*. London: Tavistock, 1965. Print.
- Yasemin*. Screenplay by Hark Bohm. Dir. Hark Bohm. Perf. Ayşe Romey, Uwe Bohm, Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Şener Şen. 5 May 1988. Television.
- Yeşilada, Karin E. "'Nette Türcinnen von nebenan' – Die neue deutsch-türkische Harmlosigkeit als literarischer Trend." *Von der Nationalen zur internationalen Literatur: Transkulturelle Literatur und Kultur im Zeitalter globaler Migration*. Ed. Helmut Schmitz. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009. 117-142. *MLA Bibliography*. Web. 26 Feb. 2012.



- Yildirim, Mehmet. "Die Kölner DITIB-Moschee – eine offene Moschee als Integrationsbeitrag." *Der Moschee-Streit: Eine exemplarische Debatte über Einwanderung und Integration*. Ed. Franz Sommerfeld. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008. 66-71. Print.
- Yıldız, Yasemin. "Turkish Girls, Allah's Daughters, and the Contemporary German Subject: Itinerary of a Figure." *German Life and Letters* 62.4 (2009): 465–481. Print.
- Zaimoğlu, Feridun. "Lebenswut, Herzhitze." *Der Tagesspiegel*. 10 Mar. 2004. Web. 10 Oct. 2011.
- "Zentralmoschee Köln." [Central Mosque Cologne.] *Wettbewerbe Aktuell*. 36.4 (2006): 47-60. Print.
- "Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland." [Central Council of Jews in Germany.] *Zentralrat der Juden*. Web. 4 Nov. 2010.
- "Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland." [Central Council of Muslims in Germany.] *ZMD*. Web. 4 Nov. 2010.
- "Zuwanderungsmisere: Nur 142 Hochqualifizierte zogen 2009 nach Deutschland." *Spiegel Online*. 4 Aug. 2010. Web. 10 Apr. 2010.