participants live on social welfare or belong to the group of lower income workers.

TPE: From 2010 until 2013, 75 information events were realized in 18 cantons of Switzerland. These events aimed to increase knowledge about the hazards of smoking, to encourage situational prevention (i.e. in clubhouses), to strengthen the intention to stop smoking, to change the smoking behavior at home and to promote smoking cessation. A total of 2799 person took part, the number of participants in an event ranged from 7 to 350 persons.

About 500 participants at the first 21 events were tested before and 1 year after the event. Their knowledge about the hazards of smoking and their critical attitude toward smoking increased significantly. Most of them already knew about the hazards of passive smoking. At home the smoking places changed: The participants reported that they increasingly smoked on the balcony and stopped smoking in the living room or in the kitchen. The number of persons in the family or circle of friends who smoked decreased significantly from t1 to t2. Among the participants the proportion of smokers fell from 50.1% (t1) to 40.3% (t2).

We therefore suggest that the tobacco prevention events contributed to a normative change in the Turkish and Kurdish communities. In addition, they were essential for recruiting the participants in the TSCP. Participants in 21 out of 37 TSCPs, were recruited through these outreach-events within the communities.

TSCP: The success rate of the sample at the final follow-up stage was surprisingly high. This result is particularly remarkable because our sample was characterized by strong disadvantage and psychosocial vulnerability (e.g., because of prior political persecution, incarceration, torture, invalidity, low socioeconomic status etc.) as well as a high mean number of cigarettes smoked per day.

TPE: The TPEs, effective in increasing knowledge and a critical attitude towards smoking, were also crucial for recruiting participants in the TSCP. Therefore the two interventions (TSCP and TPE) should be combined.

Overall, the present study results lead to the conclusion that, although vulnerable groups in the migrant population in Switzerland seem to be difficult to reach and treat, the outreach strategy for recruitment and integration of social, cultural, socioeconomic and migration-specific aspects into the smoking cessation programs and prevention activities produce effective results. Thus, combined interventions are planned to being introduced to other migrant groups.

Chapter 11: "Rewriting" Turkish-German cinema from the bottom-up: Turkish emigration cinema

Ömer Alkin

Introduction

Films from Germany dealing with any aspect of Turkish-German migration, such as the box-office successes *Fack Ju Göhte* (2014) and *Almanya – Welcome to Germany* (2011) are often considered as *"Turkish-German cinema"*. Nevertheless, what first comes to mind with this problematic term of "transnationalism" in the field of film (Higbee & Hwee, 2010) are the internationally celebrated films *Head On* (2004) and *Edge of Heaven* (2007) by Turkish-German director Fatih Akin. However, the term is to be questioned. Which parameters determine the belonging of a film to Turkish-German cinema? Is a film by a German director with Turkish migration background already a Turkish-German film due to the transcultural biographical reference of the director, even if the film does not contain any references to the social reality of Turkish migration, as it is the case in the Hollywood mystery film *Premonition* (2007) by director Mennan Yapo – which would be an essentialist and biologistic understanding of national cinema? For a discussion of the term it is crucial to analyse comprehensively the historical context. The fact that this does not happen becomes apparent in the marginal position of the Turkish films in the discourse regarding Turkish-German cinema. The Turkish films about emigration from the 1970's and 80's by Turkish directors like Serif Gören or Yavuz Figenli are not considered as a part of this transnational film history. But 'Turkish-German film' history has already attracted a considerable amount of academic interest (e. g. Burns, 2006, 2007, 2013, Göktürk, 2000a, 2000b, Ezli, 2009, 2010, Halft, 2011, Hake & Mennel, 2012) without really considering what the term actually refers to. I want to critique such writing because I will argue that it reproduces Eurocentrism and an epistemological one-sided-ness. Before giving arguments for a more comprehensive understanding of Turkish-German cinema, which includes Turkish emigration cinema, it is useful to understand the discussions surrounding the academic writing of the history of Turkish-German cinema first. It offers an insight into film history that can be read as a two stage process of the appropriate representations of Turkish emigrants in Germany.

Precursors of Turkish-German cinema? Fassbinder's *"enlightened victimology"*

Several decades have passed since Turkey and Germany signed a labour recruitment treaty and the first Turkish emigrants arrived in Germany. Nevertheless, even after the fourth generation of emigrants growing up in Germany the relation between Turkish migrants and the German population is characterised by constructions of alterity with which cultural differences still persist (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). This problem of perceiving people with Turkish migration background as 'foreigners' or 'others' due to differences in religion, language and visuality (headscarf and ethnic differences like black, dark-brown hair etc.) characterises the thematical orientation of Turkish-German cinema in its beginnings. The films focused on the problematisation of the economic and social situation of the emigrants – but also on the difference between Turkish and German culture. One of the first directors dealing with such issues of otherness was Rainer Werner Fassbinder. *Katzelmacher* (1969) and *Ali: Fear Eats Soul* (1974) were the first films, which addressed labour migration to Germany. In both films Fassbinder refuses what Özkan Ezli identifies as *"the logic of representation"* for later Turkish-German films: a strategy to present characters of the films as representatives of the specific cultural and national belonging through film-aesthetical and narrative means (Ezli, 2009: 213). *Katzelmacher* tells the story of four Bavarian pairs that project their sexual, social and psychological fears onto the Greek migrant worker Jorgos and Fassbinder's reknowned film *Ali: Fear Eats Soul* confronts the viewer with the duble tabooed and socially ostracised love between the old German widow *Emmi* and the black Moroccan labour migrant *Ali*. The inventive constellation of the relations between the characters unveil an interest in the processes of contructions of otherness and not in a presentation of *the* social reality. Fassbinder reflects the stereotyping and racialisation of the presented migrants – e.g. Fassbinder changed the national background of the protagonist in his *Ali: Fear Eats Soul* from a Turkish emigrant to a Moroccan one, as this prevents general prospositions about Turkish social reality in Germany that could derive or be received by the viewer.

The concept *"logic of representation"* helps to understand the constructivist feature of filmic strategies. It hints at the dangerous understanding of film makers and spectators to perceive films as media which mirror social reality. Such understanding is insofar dangerous as that it neglects the "contructivist" (cf. Hall, p. 25) and performative feature of media. Films as images do not only represent a given social and cultural reality, but as *"acteurs within the social field"* (cf. Holert, 2005: 234) they co-construct it.

Fassbinder focusses on *"fragile characters from the social periphery, whose social fragility (a widow, a Greek labour migrant, a black Moroccan migrant) and multipositionality still shows contact to the social centrum. This avoids that the characters are positioned as victims"* (cf. Ezli, 2012: 94). And this refusal to show his characters as pure victims refuses to insist in a presentation of social reality which could reproduce the victimisation of these outsiders not only on a level of fictional representation, but – due to the effect of representations to have impact on and to create social realities (cf. Schaffer, 77) – on a level of social reality.

Yet, the later films dealing with the issue of Turkish-German emigration walk right into this trap of the *"logic of representation"* and present migrants as almost mute victims.

First stage of Turkish-German cinema: The *"logic of representation"*

As one of the first directors, Helma Sanders-Brahms tells the story of a Turkish emigrant: *Shirin's Wedding* (1976) is about a woman of the same name, who flees from her village in Turkey to Cologne, after her family married her off against her own will to a custodian. Shirin's aim is to find her childhood love Mahmut in Cologne and to marry him. However, tragic events, e.g. the loss of her employment in the factory and rape, force her right into the arms of a pimp. Helma Sanders-Brahms feminist film presents a narration which characterises the work of several other Turkish-German films of the next ten years and further: the emigrant is a victim, suffering from his situation in a foreign land, kept in between two incommensurable cultures, of which the German one is modern and enlightened whereas the other is patriarchic, traditional and archaic. In the mid-1980s, Turkish director Tevfik Baser filmed *40 Square Meters of Germany* (1985) which illustrates what Özkan Ezli called the *"logic of representation"*. The protagonists of the film are the newly married Turkish couple Turna and Dursun. After their marriage in Turkey, Dursun takes his wife Turna who has only lived in her Anatolian village to Germany. What Turna does not realise is that Dursun will not let her leave their 40 square meters apartment there. He fears that the naive Turna could be spoiled in the German city. He considers to be permeated by sexual and other temptations threatening Turna and thus his honour and cultural identity. In one of the most important scenes of the film, Turna notices that Dursun forgot to lock the door. Turna ventures to leave the apartment and goes downstairs in her gaudy clothes. When she is confronted with a German couple at the stairs, she is terrified and tries to go back to her 40 square meters. More neighbors come out of their apartments, all of them old and looking strangely at Turna. The film demonstrates a *"logic of representation"* by the

extreme contrast of the gray-brown clothes of all of the German neighbours and Turna's garish clothes, the organisation of the characters in the filmic space, which divides their bodies and their gazes, but also through the positioning of the viewer due to the camera strategy. The film refuses vehemently to take over a subjective position, which would mean an identification with Turna and her subjectivity, but keeps the viewer in distance to the characters, a distance that does not offer a query into the cultural constructions being shown. Such space and *"costume dramaturgy"* (Ezli, 2009: 212) and other filmic strategies which phase visible elements of characters with their cultural or ethnical belonging offer a reading of the film with which Turna and the neighbours are contructed as representatives of the culture they are identified with.

Such culturalistic view that focuses on the insisted differences of Turkish culture as a foreign culture of the minority can also be found in films like Hark Bohm's *Yasemin* (1988) and Tevfik Baser's second film *Farewell to False Paradise* (1989), to name the ones that appear continuously in academical discussion about Turkish-German cinema (e.g. Göktürk, 2000a; Ezli, 2009; Halft, 2010; 2012; Yaren, 2013; Burns, 2006; 2007; 2013). In all of the films mentioned above there is a position of pity held ready for the viewer by the depiction of mostly female emigrants as mute and exploited victims who try to cope with their precarious situation in the patriarchal Turkish system they are born into. As modernity is associated with German culture and archaic tradition with Turkey, the narration often tells the salvation of these mute victims from the patriarchalTurkish social and familial structure as an act of emancipation of the oppressed subjects supported by the German lover. This is also the case in the films *Yara* (1998), *When We Leave (2010)*, *Aufbrüche* (1987) and *Dügün* (1992), which could be added to the group of films mentioned above. Especially the more recent production date of the films *Yara* and *When We Leave* show that the narrations about migrants as victims cannot be ascribed to the early era of Turkish-German cinema as topical academical discussions suggested. In fact they continue if not persist as the *"logic of representation"*.

Rob Burns sums up films that depict the emigrant as a victim not only of a patriarchal culture, but as ones of the economic system, with the term *"Cinema of the Affected"*. He derives it from the term *"Literature of the Affected"/"Betroffenheitsliteratur"* (Burns, 2007: 375) which was used for guest-worker literature that also dealt with the economic, social, cultural and psychological difficulties for the first emigrants and their families in Germany. The problem which is identified with this kind of representation of Turkish emigrants is that the images deriving from these films produce and reproduce the stereotype in social imagination and manifest the social

positions of the represented. The 'pitier' (in the case of the films, the German viewer) strengthens his own hegemonic position as pity can only be developed from a position of superiority and at the same time s/he ascribes and manifests the minoritarian position of the pitied (which is that of the Turkish):

> *"In return, Germanness is produced as modern, enlightened, urban, and especially anti-sexist or as a scope for girls and women. [...] The results of the examination of the genre of 'female migrant drama' demonstrate the possibility that even affirmative images of minoritarian subject positions reproduce their minoritisation." (Schaffer, 2008, pp. 66, 71)*

Second stage and a neverending story: "transcultural cinema", "pleasures of hybridity", "cinéma du métissage"

In later years, some Turkish filmmakers, mainly from Germany, started to tell different stories about people with a Turkish migration background in Germany. What was fascinating about some of these films from the late 1980s and the 90s is the implicitness of the depicted lives of the migrants and the playfulness with issues of cultural identity and belonging. The narration in films like *Aprilkinder* (1998), *Karamuk* (2003), *Anam* (2001), and *Almanya* (2011) did not depict the Turkish migrant kept in between two cultures and struggling for social recognition and fighting against processes of alienation in a foreign land, as it was in the earlier films. The migrant becomes a self confident personality for whom issues of home and national identity as well as cultural identity are not a restrictive issue any more, but rather an open and positive question or what Rob Burns calls according to Homi K. Bhabha, negotiations through a *"third space"* (Burns 2012: 371): The third space is a space of outsourcing which is the necessity for a negotiation for ongoing and neverending processes of identification (cf. Rutherford, 2003: 211).

Deniz Göktürk identifies the film *Berlin in Berlin* (1993) by Turkish director Sinan Cetin as one of the earliest examples for the change of the representations of Turkish-German migrants in cinema (Göktürk, 2000a: 337-339). What Göktürk analyses in the film is the character of performativity which has the merit of the ironic way of dealing with issues of Turkish-German integration: by showing the efforts of a German photographer to integrate into a Turkish family in Germany, the film reverts the gaze possibilities for the viewer and makes it harder for the audience to consider characters of the movie and situations as representations of social reality.

> *[...] Berlin in Berlin shows more potential in exploring the pleasures of hybridity than previous attempts to portray German-Turkish encounters. The reversal of the asylum situation and the resulting symbiosis open up possibilities of mutual humor and reflection, of traffic in both directions*

- aspects which seemed to be absent from earlier examples of a 'cinema of duty'." (Göktürk, 2000b, para. 5)

Rob Burns considers Thomas Arslan's trilogy *Brothers and Sisters* (1997), *Dealer* (1999) and *A Fine Day* (2001) also as undermining such former representations, which portray the emigrants as static and victimised individuals (Burns, 2013: 75-84). The first film tells the story of two Turkish brothers and a sister who try to cope with their everyday problems and situations in Berlin, whereas the second film depicts a Turkish young man's indecisiveness in leaving his old life behind as a drug dealer. *"A Fine Day follows one day in Deniz's life, a day that begins with her decision to break off the unsatisfactory liasion with her boyfriend, Jan"* (Burns 2013, p. 82). Referring to the aesthetic and reflective dealing with stereotypical characters Burns identifies a break with the *"Cinema of the Affected"* and calls these films of the third generation of emigrants *"Cinema du Métissage"*, a "cinema of in-between". Burns attributes Arslan's films with the capability to reject stereotype allocation of social characters and environments by aesthetic strategies (Burns, 2013, p. 79). In all of the three films, we see one minute tracking shots following the Turkish young protagonists without much story relevant action. Although the protagonist in *Brothers and Sisters* and in *Dealer* is a criminal Turkish young man who could be treated as the stereotypical Turkish small-time crook, Burns insists that such aestheticand reflected dealing with the created and filmed reality destroys a naturalistic realism, which is fundamental for the pity of the viewer as is the case with the *"Cinema of the Affected"*. On the contrary, the long shots, following the protagonist for almost more than a minute in all of the films, would create a distance for the viewer that disturbed the production of stereotypes or an emotional relation to the filmed characters (Burns, 2013: 81).

These two examples (Burns and Göktürk) of the defining of a change in Turkish-German cinema can be extended by more academic discussions. What all these observations have in common is that stereotypes of the mute migrant image is finally overcome by the time of the millennium, and that essentialistic concepts of cultural and ethnic identities are undermined by current Turkish-German cinema.

> *"Gone were the exploited guestworkers and their suffering wives and oppressed daughters. [...] The films offer self-confident responses to lived experiences often in conflict with the parent generation and open to other minoritarian positionalities be they other immigrant or refuge groups or gays and transgender people. In the process, they leave behind old dogmas of privileging politics over aesthetics, realism over fantasy, suffering over pleasure, and aesthetic of estrangement over emotional engagement."* (Hake & Mennel, 2012, 6 7)

Özkan Ezli moves further with such evaluation as he considers Fatih Akin's cinema *"[...] disengaged from its Turkish-German connex and has to be treated as an international and global cinema. Cultural competence which does not tell Turkish-German stories, but at the same time transnational and transcultural ones, takes the place of intercultural competence"* (Ezli 2009, p. 211).

As will be shown in conclusions that celebrate overcoming the *"Cinema of the Affected"* can be overhasty, Eurocentric and at the same time epistemologically one-sided.

Turkish emigration cinema

Movies that deal with Turkish emigration and that were produced in Turkey mainly with Turkish resources by Turkish directors and Turkish production companies are considered as Turkish Emigration Cinema (Turkish: *Türk Dış Göç Sineması*) (Makal, 1994; Piskin, 2010; Anik, 2012). They do not form a coherent genre, but there are a remarkable amount of films from the 1960s to the present that deal with emigration to Germany or other European countries as the main or sub-plot.

The discourse about these films emphasises external migration within the context of internal migration in 20th century Turkey in general, which began from the 1950s onwards. Partly due to the US Marshall Plan that was introduced in Turkey after World War II, there was a spurt in urban industrialisation, and strong growth of the market economy in the rural areas. As agriculture was the main resource of income in rural Anatolian, the consequence of this rapid development was farm mechanization which displaced rural labour and encouraged urban migration seeking a better life. Entire families migrated to the newly industrialisuing cities in search of jobs and other opportunities (Icduygu et al., 1998). The consequences of these enormous migrations were extensively dealt within the Turkish cinema of the time (Piskin, 2010: 51-52). One of the best known examples is Halit Refig's *Gurbet Kuslari* (1962), which depicts the migration of a family from Anatolian Kahramanmaras to Istanbul and their social and cultural problems between their affiliation to Anatolian tradition and the modernity in the cities with which they are confronted. A more epic involvement was realised in Ömer Lütfi Akad's trilogy *Gelin* (1973), *Düğün* (1973), *Diyet* (1974). These three melodramatic films, each standing alone in terms of their narration, thematise the downfall of an Anatolian family as a result of life in the challenging modern metropolis Istanbul, which is constructed as a cultural counter space to their Anatolian home.

A second figuration: External migration to Germany

The October 1961 labour agreement between Turkey and Germany offered a multiplicity of economic migration possibilities to the Turkish population. These motives for emigration were used in Turkish cinema for the construction of further narrative figurations as an instrument of dramatisation (Kayaoglu, 2012: 86). Due to the reduction of sales taxes for film makers (Arslan, 2009: 64) a rapid growth of Turkish cinema took place. This period which is labelled as the Yesilcam era (English: *Green Pine*), named after an eponymic street in the district Beyoglu, Istanbul's leisure and shopping district, lead to the production of a volume of popular films, which were developed for a national Turkish audience. With over 300 films per year it was one of the most productive studio systems of its time, although it was not an organised, institutionalised and centrally controlled studio system, but rather a specific style of production with a coherent group of actors, character roles and staff (Arslan, 2009: 232-233). The open-air cinemas were established in rural parts of the country and were responsible for most of the income of the films doing the national circuit (Arslan, 2009: 107). Because of this, the producers had to rely on specific thematic choices. The quick and cheap production of films, mainly in popular genres such as melodrama, comedy and action, was dependant on the conflictual character of the narration and the social reality of emigration offered it. Thus, besides internal migration from rural areas to the urban cities, emigration often became a fundamental element in the fictional productions of Yesilcam cinema. These constellations of migration were a well-known issue, which incorporated the viewers emotionally and affectively into the narrations as the viewers were involved in such processes of "*deplacement*" and "*belonging*" themselves or were concerned indirectly (cf. Kayaoglu, 2012: 86). Generally, migration often became an integral part in a majority of the productions.

The event of emigration as narrative dramatisation in Yeşilçam cinema

One of the earliest films about Turkish-German emigration which dates back to 1966 is Hulki Saner's comedy *Turist Ömer Almanya'da* (1966). The film is one episode of the "Turist Ömer" series that shows the adventures of the tramp Ömer and orients itself indubitably by the Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis comedies of the 1940s and 50s. Although the film is considered to be lost, the narration is known as that Ömer migrates to Germany to work there and falls in love with German woman Helga (Kayaoğlu 2012:84). In later years, a more sociocritical perspective was established in the films that advised the consequences of migration for the migrants in society and which

were centered around "the Seventh Man", a term shaped by the empirical fact that Jean Mohr and John Berger mentioned in their illustrated book *Labour Emigrants* (Berger & Mohr, 1976): every seventh worker in Germany and Great Britain is an emigrant (Göktürk, 2000a: 330). The most famous representatives of these sociocritical films were Şerif Gören's *Almanya Acı Vatan* (1978) and *Polizei* (1988), Tunç Okan's films *Otobüs* (1974) and *Mercedes Mon Amour* (1987). However, even in this period of sociocritical cinema, comedies, love films and melodramas (e.g. *Almanyalı Yarim* (1974) and *Almanyada Bir Türk Kızı* (1974)) were produced extensively as the involved filmmakers from Yeşilçam relied on the emotional and dramaturgic power of the event of emigration. *Bir Umut Uğruna* (1991) and *Deliler Almanya'da* (1980), just to name two, can be considered as two less known examples. The first, an Arabesque melodrama, shows the sufferings of an emigrant Turkish father who marries a German woman in Germany and recognises the incommensurability of the Turkish culture of his own and the German culture of his wife. The second example is a comedy produced in Germany about a singer and his double, who get involved into turbulent adventures with Turkish mafia in Germany.

One has to consider other films in which emigration is not a central topic, but a periphery part of the narration. Most of these films were produced in the wake of Yeşilçam: in *Yıkılış* (1978) by Natuk Baytan a Turkish family, which travels back to Turkey after having lived there for years, is terrorised by a violent motorbike gang. In Yilmaz Güney's *Baba* (1971) a family father desires to migrate to Germany to save his family from economical ruin. However, he is discharged so that rape, prostitution and drug trade destroys his family. Halit Refiğ's *Acı Zafer* (1974) presents the bloody revenge of an emigrant homecomer on Turkish villagers, which rape his German wife. In *El Kapısı* (1974) the wife of a farmer is forced to travel to Germany to secure the money for the leg operation of her husband whose injury is the result of an intrigue of the landlord who has fallen in love with the wife. However, the image of the emigrant shifts between such stereotypes to more complex representations.

Shift of representations in Turkish emigration cinema: a poorly investigated phenomenon

Yavrularım (1984) tells the story of a Turkish mother of a family of seven who develops lung cancer after the definite return from Germany to Turkey. The film does not refer to the repertoires of stereotypical representations of emigrants as it focusses on the fate of the family and uses the issue of homecoming for the production of a complex atmosphere of hopelessness. Another example of a more complex strategy of representation is *Amansız Yol*

(1985). The road movie refers casually to the issue of emigration. The protagonist is a truck driver from Germany who returns to Turkey and gets involved into the intrigues of his former friend who married his childhood love. In contrast to former films the fact of emigration does not turn the emigrant into a visually different person as it was in a lot of other Turkish emigration films before. By contrast, films like Ertem Egilmez's *Banker Bilo* (1980) or Temel Gürsu's *Baldız* (1975), made the emigrants visible through things, which could be characterized as visual agents of modernity: a hat with a feather, a radio, ties, wristwatches and German cars. The number of films referring to this visual stereotype is high (*Dönüş* (1973), *Davaro* (1981), *Gurbetçi Şaban* (1985) etc.). It becomes obvious that the Turkish emigration films as ensembles draw their own history of representation whose analysis is a desideratum to this day. Such analysis would work out that the emigrant is socio-visually constructed as reality by the images the films produced.

Crisis in Turkish film history: the dissolution of Turkish emigration cinema

A crisis was identified in Turkish cinema in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Behlil, 2010: 2). Furthermorethere are no film historical analyses on the issue of emigration in Turkish films of these years so far. The research is problematic as the crisis of Turkish cinema is caused by political events, as the military coup d'état of 1980 and the political repression which followed, and the media technical development of TV broadcasting. Television was introduced rather belatedly into Turkey in the late 1960s and really took off from the mid-1970s. The rise of the number of TVs in households led to the declining function and popularity of the once popular open-air cinemas and thus the market for films in general. Despite the large amount of TV films that can be found in the archives of television broadcasters, if at all possible, the object of analysis had to extend its area of research from cinema films to TV films. Such research is still outstanding to this day. The most successful attempt of the film industry aiming to overcome the crisis of Turkish cinema is Yavuz Turgul's blockbuster *Eşkıya – The Bandit* (1996) (Behlil, 2010: 3).

> *"[Surprisingly] the intense production environment brought about by the proliferation of private television channels in the 1990s laid the foundations for this brisk activity in the Turkish film industry" (ebd., p. 3). Since then [after Eşkiya was released] 34 local films have sold over a million tickets. While the market share of Turkish films does fluctuate, there has been a steady overall increase since 2002. More importantly, the overall number for movie-going audiences showed an increase of over 50%" (ebd. p. 3).*

As can be seen, television did not only take part in the crisis of Turkish cinema, but contributed to its *"renaissance"* (Behlil, p. 3). In the wake of this renaissance some films showed interest in the issue of emigration. *Made in Europe* (2007) by İnan Temelkuran is an episodic film that shows four more or less common, but different situations of emigrants, which occur around the same time in four different cities in Europe, but are not connected from the logic of happenings. The film intends to present four differentiated experiences of emigrants and highlights the globalised moment of emigration due to the unity of time of the actions that take place (Alkin, 2013).

A more stereotypical construction of an emigrant is the comedy *Berlin Kaplanı* (2012). The protagonist of the mainstream comedy is Ayhan Kaplan, a Turkish boxer living in Germany who is involved in the Turkish mafia and tries to save himself and his trainer from them by selling his uncle's landed property in Turkey. Ersel Kayaoğlu considers the Turkish-German protagonist as *"a character which does not have any problems with his positiong within German society any more"* (cf. Kayaoğlu, 2012: 99). One further Turkish film about emigration in 2012 is Ali Levent Üngör's *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı* (2012). The narration turns its concentration on Turkish womenhood in Germany and draws from a narration, which we know from the German "Cinema of the Affected" very well: the oppression of a Turkish woman by Turkish patriarchy.

Eurocentrism in the discourse about Turkish-German cinema

The ascription of the victim position for female emigrants in the *"Cinema of the Affected"* was realised in a Turkish film in 2012. From this constellation, it is obvious that what was considered to be issues of feminity and individual oppression is not a German, but rather a modern question which does not lose its fascination for narrative figurations in both Turkey and in Germany.

Young woman Mevsim and her daughter Cicek are in the centre of Ali Levent Üngör's *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı* (2012). Mevsim's alcoholic husband Nazmi beats her almost to death. This was surely not the life Mevsim imagined when he brought her from Turkey to Germany. She and her daughter Cicek see themselves forced to leave him and to flee to a women's refuge. There she meets new friends, e. g. fun-loving flatmate Esra, taxi driver Asaf, and his mentor Musa who take care of the women and spend time with them amicably, though Asaf displays affection for Mevsim. Mevsim's father-in-law renounces his violent son and, as a believing Muslim, tries to find his daughter-in-law and his granddaughter in order to take care of them. The film tells Mevsim's fate as an anthology film view into the lives of the presented characters. Social spaces of masculinity, e. g. clubs and bars of the men which

Nazmi is surrounded by, are counteracted by images of a social peaceful living together of the women and both women-friendly men, Musa and Asaf. Thus, the film constructs different images of men in different social constellations and spaces and weaves scenes around the main plot of Mevsim which characterise the different male characters.

Feo Aladags honour killing drama *When We Leave* (2010) is inspired by the honour killing of the Kurdish woman Hatun Sürücü in Berlin. The film tells the story of Umay who grew up in Germany and lives in Turkey together with her son, her husband and his family. She decides to return to her family in Germany as she cannot bear her husband's violence and the life there. When Umay arrives in Germany her family however wants to send her back as all of her family members consider the honour of the family as being in danger due to Umay's emancipatory aims, to study and not to return to her husband: a married woman living separated from her husband is a threat to social order as she can commit fornication. When Umay's father Kader and both of her brothers try to send her to Turkey by force Umay flees with her son Cem to a women's refuge. *When We Leave* gets in line with other films of the *"Cinema of the Affected"*. On the level of content the film ist kept in a culturalistic view (Yaren, 2010), but for David Gramling it stands out from these films by a complex semiotic potential and strategies which lead to a mythological meaning of the film in a Barthesian sense. For Gramling the film must be considered in the Turkish-German cinema's bi-polarity between a *"Cinema of the Affected"* and the "pleasures of hybridity" as a *"struggle between hybridities and mythologies, a struggle in which* When We Leave *has staked an unequivocal claim"* (Gramling, 2012: 43).

Images of men in *"Mevsim Çiçek Açtı"* (2012) and *"When We Leave"* (2010): epistemological one-sided-ness

Whereas *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı* creates different images of men – reaching from patriarchal and demonising depictions of husbands to the pious and indulgent configuration of the father-in-law to the brotherly-modern attitude of the taxi driver Asaf and his wise friend Musa –, *When We Leave* creates a simplicistic functioning of the images of men through ethnicity. Umay falls in love with her German colleague Stipe with whom she works at a catering company. He constitutes a counter-image to the emotional fragile and tragical Turkish male characters in the film who internalised the patriarchal honour code. Stipe is child-friendly, courteous, humorous, romantic and is open to her wishes: He makes her son Cem laugh, helps Umay with her work and aspirations, he treats Umay's wound after her argument with her brother Mehmet and does not restrict her freedom, but tolerates and appreciates her display of wilfulness. Indeed, in moments of intimacy, when the Turkish men

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start to think abot Umay and the problems with her, they are shown as characters being at odds with themselves and revealed as victims of their restrictive social codex. We see Umays's father Kader smoking his cigarettes under the stress of the night Umay cut off her arteries. Her harsh and violent brother Mehmet is shown in a scene where he is crying on the sofa holding a picture probably of Umay the day before the attempt of the honour killing. However the men's social role as defenders of the familial honour seems not to be negotiable and their mental situation is that of the melancholy of the inevitable. Umay's persistence in not returning, the tragedies arising and in relevance of the very positive image of Stipe and the image of her Turkish husband being violent, the ethnicisation of good/bad images of men leads directly to the *"logic of representation"* which is known from the former *"Cinema of the Affected"*. From such a view, the film's semiotic energy as a kind of Barthesian mythological reality (Gramling, 2012) does not avoid the film's potential power of offering a representation of ethnicised and thus essentialised cultural differences for the viewer.

What becomes obvious with the comparison of both movies is the difference between the cultural milieus and the presented characters: emancipated young Umay vs. needy Mevsim, patriarchal, honour codex driven father Kader vs. pious and righteous father-in-law in *Mevsim Cicek Acti*. Such important cultural figurations as in *Mevsim Cicek Acti* are blocked out by the lack of consideration for Turkish films in the discourse about Turkish-German cinema. However these are necessary in order to understand the complexity of Turkish-German emigration as a visually constructed event. The grid or raster of the 'nation' seems not to be adequate for the nowadays transcultural films of Turkish-German cinema. In moments in which the basis for a Turkish-German visual epistemology is constructed only in a one-sided way, namely from a perspective of German films, the national perspective in the context of transnational questions can help make visible the blocked out fields of knowledges and constructions as it is suggested here for the case of Turkish Emigration Cinema in Turkish-German film discourse.

(Re-)writing Turkish-German cinema from the bottom up: A Plea

The topical academical view on Turkish-German cinema keeps one-sided as the Turkish films about emigration are not considered as a part of its history. Such perspective is Eurocentric. *"Home and the feeling for it"*, Edgar Reitz said analogously on the Turkish-German film festival in 2014 in Nuremberg, *"arise only there and then, where and when the stories of the people living there are known."* In the case of a "German" interest in Turkish stories which are told in Turkish film culture the result is sobering. Although there were four film festivals in Germany in 2014 (Essen, Nuremberg,

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Frankfurt on the Main, Mannheim and Turkish Film Days in cities like Munih and Berlin) the academic interest in Turkish film culture as a whole could be characterised as "not existant" if one has a look at German literature about the general history of Turkish film.

One has to ask the question why the Turkish films and the perspective of the land of emigration are excluded from Turkish-German film discourse. Even if not considered as a fundamental part of what is tried to be defined as Turkish-German cinema, the comparison between *When We Leave* and *Mevsim Cicek Acti* on a level of the analysis of representations of men and women showed that a more or less unintended exclusion of films produced in Turkey produces an epistemological one-sided-ness. Only an interest in historical competences in transnational, but also national film cultures like the one of the home of the emigrants legitimises the use of discourses about transculturality and hybridity. What happens at the moment with the increasing academic discussions about Turkish-German cinema as "Transcultural Cinema" tends to be a kind of *"conceptual, theoretical and aesthetical (ab)use of postcolonial theory for the sake of academic complecance in respect of poststructuralist and postmodern celebration"* (cf. Steyerl, 2012: 47). The discourse about transculturality in the films seems to be the discussion about the appropriate representations of emigrants, but is rather a leveling and harmonious incorporation of the hybrid potentials of the Turkish-German emigrants in which the emigrants themselves are excluded from the discourse about them. Or to put it with Spivak's famous question: can the emigrant speak or are the intellectuals speaking with such films for them of which is thought that they represent and speak for them best (Spivak, 2007 [1985])?

Filmography

Akad, Ö. L. (1973). *Düğün [Wedding]*. Erman Film. Turkey. 84 min.

Akad, Ö. L. (1973). *Gelin [Bride]*. Erman Film. Turkey. 93 min.

Akad, Ö. L. (1974). *Diyet [Diet]*. Erman Film. Turkey, 90 min.

Akin, F. (2004). *Head On [Gegen die Wand]*. Germany. Wüste Filmproduktion. 116 min.

Aksoy, O. (1974). *Almanyalı Yarim [My German Love]*. Erler Film. Turkey, 82 min.

Aladağ, F. (2010). *When We Leave [Die Fremde]*. Independent Artists Filmproduktion. Germany, Turkey, 119 min.

Alakuş, B. (2001). *Anam [My Mother]*. Wüste Filmproduktion, ZDF. Germany. 86 min.

Algül, H. (2012). *Berlin Kaplanı [The Berlin Tiger]*. BKM Film, Acar Entertainment. Turkey, 102 min.

Arslan, T. (1997). *Brothers and Sisters [Geschwister]*. Germany. 84 min.

Arslan, T. (1999). *Dealer*. Germany. 80 min.

Arslan, T. (2001). *A Fine Day [Original: Der schöne Tag]*. FBB, Pickpocket Productions, Zero Film GmbH, ZDF. Germany. 74 min.

Arslan, Y. (1998). *Yara [Wound]*. Yılmaz Arslan Filmproduktion. Germany, Turkey. 99 min.

Ataman, K. (1999). *Lola und Bilidikid*. WDR, Boja Buck Filmproduktion, Zero Film GmbH, Germany. 90 min.

Baser, T. (1986). *40 Square Meters of Germany [40 m² Deutschland]*. Tevfik Baser Filmproduktion; Studio Hamburg Filmproduktion. Germany, Turkey. 80 min.

Baser, T. (1989). *Farewell to False Paradise [Abschied vom falschen Paradies]*. Ottokar Runze Produktion, ZDF. Germany. 92 min.

Baytan, N. (1978). *Yıkılış [Downfall]*. Sezer Film. Turkey. 72 min.

Bohm, H. (1988). *Yasemin*. Hamburger Kino Kompanie, ZDF. Germany. 83 min.

Çetin, S. (1993). *Berlin in Berlin*. Plato Film. Turkey, Germany. 117 min.

Dağtekin, B. (2013). *Fack Ju Göhte*. Germany. Constantin Film. 118 min.

Eğilmez, E. (1980). *Banker Bilo*. Arzu Film. Turkey. 95 min.

Elçi, I. (1990). *Düğün [Wedding]*. Wolfgang Krenz Filmproduktion. Germany. 90 min.

Elmas, O. (1974). *El Kapısı [Foreign Doors]*. Umut Film. Turkey. 73 min.

Fassbinder, R. W. (1969). *Katzelmacher*. antitheater-X-Film. Germany. 85 min.

Fassbinder, R. W. (1974). *Ali: Fear Eats Soul [Angst essen Seele auf]*. Tango-Film Germany. 89 min.

Figenli, Y. (1980). *Deliler Almanya'da [The Crazies in Germany]*. Yavuz Film Turkey. 80 min.

Gören, S. (1979). *Almanya Acı Vatan [Germany Bitter Home]*. Fatoş Film. Turkey 90 min.

Gören, S. (1988). *Polizei [Police]*. Penta Films. Turkey. 90 min.

Günar, Sülbiye [aka Freytag, Verena S.] (2003). *Karamuk [Black Muk]*. WDR Germany. 97 min.

Güney, G. (1991). *Bir Umut Uğruna [For a Hope]*. Em-Ra Film. Turkey. 76 min.

Güney, Y. (1971). *Baba [Father]*. Akün Film. Turkey, 96 min.

Gürsu, T. (1975). *Baldız [Sister-in-Law]*. Olgun Film. Turkey. 84 min.

Horst, H. (1987). *Aufbrüche [Awakenings]*. MedienOperative Berlin e. V. Germany. 90 min.

Kavur, Ö. *Amansız Yol [Unforgiven Way]*. Delta Film. Turkey. 87 min.

Kutlucan, H. (1998). *Ich Chef, du Turnschuh [I Chief, You Sneakers]*. ZDF. Germany 95 min.

Okan, T. (1974). *Otobüs [Bus]*. Pan Film. Turkey, Switzerland. 75 min.

Okan, T. (1987). *Mercedes Mon Amour*. [Original: Sarı Mercedes/ Fikrimin İnce Gülü]. Promete Film, Odak Film. Turkey, Germany, Switzerland, France. 90 min.

Olgaç, B. (1984). *Yavrularım [My Children]*. Gülsah Film. Turkey. 83 min.

Pekmezoğlu, O. (1974). *Umanya'da Bir Türk Kızı [A Turkish Girl in Germany]*. Saner Film. Turkey. 94 min.

Refiğ, H. (1962). *Gurbet Kuşları [Birds of Exile]*. Artist Film. Turkey. 102 min.

Refiğ, H. (1972). *Acı Zafer [Bitter Glory]*. Turkey. 80 min.

Samdereli, Y. (2001). *Almanya – Welcome to Germany [Almanya - Willkommen in Deutschland]*. Roxy Film. Germany. 101 min.

Sanders-Brahms, H. (1976). *Shirin's Wedding [Shirins Hochzeit]*. WDR. Germany. 120 min.

Saner, H. (1966). *Turist Ömer Almanya'da [The Tourist Ömer in Germany]*. Turkey. 82 min.

Şoray, T. (1972). *Dönüş [Return]*. Akün Film. Turkey. 96 min.

Temelkuran, I. (2007). *Made in Europe*. Özen Film. Turkey. 85 min.

Tibet, K. (1981). *Davaro*. Basaran Film. Turkey. 80 min.

Tibet, K. (1985). *Gurbetçi Şaban [Foreign Saban]*. Uğur Film. Turkey. 88 min.

Turgul, Y. (1996). *Eşkiya - The Bandit*. Filma Cass. Turkey. 122 min.

Ucanoğlu, Y. (1984). *Gurbet [Foreign Country]*. Sine Ay Film. Turkey. 92 min.

Üngör, A. L. (2012). *Mevsim Çiçek Açtı [Blossom Season]*. Yalınayak Film. Turkey. 110 min.

Yapo, M. (2007). *Premonition*. Sony Pictures. USA. 96 min.

Yavuz, Y. (1998). *Aprilkinder [Children of April]*. Zero Film GmbH, ZDF. Germany, 85 min.

Chapter 12: Grounded theory and transnational audience reception

Deniz Özalpman

Introduction

The aim of this study is to shed new light on debates about Turkish migration studies using a grounded theory (GT) method. My case study for this research is *Magnificent Century*, an internationally viewed and acclaimed popular television series that refers to the sixteenth century Ottoman Sultan *Suleiman the Magnificent* associated with the pinnacle of Ottoman power in the world. The series dramatize the intrigues of his harem and court and most of the incidents and actions are based on real events and fictionalised subplots.

The series has received considerable attention after being targeted by Prime Minister Erdogan's critics as representing 'a distorted view of Ottoman history and blaspheming Turkish ancestors' and triggered considerable discussion not only in Turkey but outside as well in the global public sphere. In this sense the series became a 'reference point' (Koçak & Koçak, 2013:77) in public and political discussions in Turkey and abroad.

Magnificent Century has numerous symbols and elements historically related to Alevi culture and religion. These include, the depiction of Janissary corps and their rituals related to the Bektashi order, Şehzades' (Ottoman princes) oath-taking ceremony, the twelve Imams' scene and so forth. From this perspective, an analysis of an Alevi audience, positioned as genre-based interpretive communities, may ascertain sensibilities, desires and aspirations within their transnational positioning.

This study provides an important opportunity to advance our understanding of GT, specifically constructivist GT and to consider theoretical differences in its conceptualizations as the debate continues about the best strategies for the management of GT. The *traditional* version of GT is the Glaserian GT (Glaser, 1978: 1992: 1998) and the Straussian GT which in large part is developed by Strauss and Corbin as the *evolved* version (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 1998).

Constructivist grounded theory

A third version called constructivist GT was developed by Charmaz (2000: 2006: 2008: and 2009) and others (Bryant, 2003; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). Sharing the same conceptual framework, Thornberg (2012) calls it *informed* GT and Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) *multi GT*. These

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