

Representation of the Turkish immigrant in cultural
Products in Germany

DILEK ATABEY

104611036

İSTANBUL BİLGİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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FERHAT KENTEL

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(Almanya'daki kültürel ürünlerde Türk göçmen imgesi)

DILEK ATABEY

104611036

Doç.Dr.Ferhat Kentel:

Doç.Dr. Ayhan Kaya:

Doç.Dr. Christoph Karl Schroeder:

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the Turkish immigrant's image in cultural productions (films, television serials, novels and music products) in Germany, in which Turkish immigrants are reflected as the main actors of the others story or producing their own history via these cultural products. This study also presents different approaches and inclinations of Turkish first and third generation cultural producers in Germany to the existing intercultural area. One of the questions which are problematized here is how the representations in the cultural productions reproduce and exercise the responds of host and guest culture. Do the actors who represent the immigrant subject position on the cultural field serve to museumisate the discourse or contribute to new hybrid emancipation? This study also intends to understand everyday codes and spatial practices which play a major role in Turkish-German common life. Put another way, what makes "us" different from "our" "other"? In which ways are we creating "our other"?

Özet

Bu çalışma Almanya’da yaşayan Türk göçmen kimliğinin kültürel ürünlerdeki (Film,televizyon dizileri,romanlar ve müzik ürünleri, film) yansımalarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu ürünlerde Türk göçmeni hem ötekinin hikayesinin baş kahramanı olarak öne çıkar hem de bu ürünler vasıtasıyla kendi hikayesin kurgular. Tezde ayrıca Almanya’daki inter kültürel alan içinde üreten birinci ve üçüncü kuşak göçmen sanatçılara yönelik çeşitli yaklaşımlar incelenmektedir. Burada sorunsallaştırılan konulardan bir tanesi medya yolu ile ve kültürel ürünlerde göçmenin, verili göçmen kimliğini ve Alman kimliğini yeniden üretmesidir. Aktör kendi kültürünü müzeleştirmeye mi hizmet etmek üzere kurgulanmıştır, yoksa melezleşmenin özgürleştirici gücüne katkıda bulunmak üzere mi? Ayrıca çalışma Türk-Alman ortak yaşamında önemli yeri olan mekan ve gündelik hayata dair kodları anlamaya odaklanır. Bir başka deyişle, bizi ötekinden farklı kılan nedir? Hangi yollarla kendi ötekimizi yaratıyoruz?

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INTRODUCTION

Foucault's *The Order of Things* opens with a discussion of a painting by the famous Spanish painter, Velasquez, called *Las Meninas*. *Las Meninas* shows the interior of a room—perhaps the painter's studio or some other room in the Spanish Royal Palace, the Escorial. "We are looking at a picture in which the painter is in turn looking out at us", says Foucault¹. In the center of the painting is what tradition recognizes as the little princess, the Infanta Margarita. She is the center of the picture we are looking at, but she is not the "subject" of Velasquez's canvas. The Infanta has with her an "entourage of duennas, maids of honor, courtiers "and dwarfs and her dog. The eyes of many of these figures, like the painter himself, are looking out towards the front of the picture at the sitters. Who are they—the figures to whom everyone is looking but whom we cannot look at and whose portraits on the canvas we are forbidden to see? In fact, at first we cannot see them, the picture tells us who they are because, behind the Infanta's head and a little to the left of the center of the picture, surrounded by a heavy wooden frame, is a mirror, and in the mirror, are reflected the sitters: The King, Philip IV and his wife, Mariana.

When we look at the picture of Turkish immigrant in Germany discourse, "who" is the figure to whom we supposed to identify but whom we are allowed to

¹ Hall, Stuart, *Representation, Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage Publication, 1997, Foucault, *The Order of the Things*, p.4, 1970

disavow or/and lack which is deprived from his “true” reflection in the mirror? What is the subject position of Turkish immigrant in “Turkish immigrant in Germany” discourse? How was Turkish immigrant discourse shaped?

Aims of the Work

My main interest lies upon the image of Turkish immigrant in cultural productions (Films, novels, television serials, music products) which is performed by third generation Turkish immigrants in Germany. By focusing on the self reflection of the ways of Turkishness in media and cultural products, I seek to understand the hidden logic of tactics and strategies which plays a major role in immigrant’s everyday life.

This study emphasizes that the recognition of Turkish immigrant in the discourse is being changed, as well the representations in relevance to the changes of political, social and historical conditions. I try to make hence comparative readings of everyday life practices and its representations in media. In doing so, I seek to describe the differences or the similarities between the recognition/ mis-recognition of the subject position in discourse (the place and the role which is created for him) and circulation of presentations (the place in which the representations circulate). One of the reason that I examine primarily the television images is based on my experiences during my interacting and participant observations and interviews with about 10-15 members of a MOVE class in Kreuzberg, Obentrautstrasse, 72, Berlin. Move is a

Project School of Berlin-Brandenburg Federation which is financed by federal government. It provides additional courses, practical trainings and internship programs for the youngsters with immigration background between 18 and 21 years old and has failed in the high school. In course of the group interviews I did not use any tape or video recorder. Since there are many researchers and journalists visiting this center, the youngsters were reluctant to be recorded. I have visited MOVE two times in March 2006 and investigated primarily television consume habits of the group. The television serials which are examined in this research are reflected their preferences and non- preferences at German television. For example *Was Guckst du* was the most popular television show which was echoing their views on self and German society. However they censured harshly *Türkisch für Anfaenger*. I found very crucial the relationship between self-identification and representations. When we look at the everyday life practices and language, it is to be seen surprisingly that the representations are overlapping with the self-reflections of the youngsters.

On the other side I have opportunity to make informal interviews with the striker in a fabric (CNH, Berlin, Spandau) during 3 months in Berlin and with the people of Berlin in various places and under a variety of circumstances. These interviews have also enabled for me a survey to the logic of immigrant's everyday life.

There is no doubt that with the contribution of third generation of Turkish “immigrants” to media and cultural products comes into being a third, interacted,

crossover field in German society, in which immigrant subject may negotiate and re-defines himself. On the one hand the samples from cultural products and media readings provides us to explicate in which ways immigrants consume the representations in cultural products. So I try to discuss the correlation between the self and representation. In the light of mechanisms and manipulations which are launched to his usage by discourse and consumed by immigrant, I attempt to map the process of creating “other” and its functions.

Before describing the details of the study, let me briefly touch upon some terms I will be using. Since culture is here taken not as a pure structure but as a process, I shall not concern with the problematic terms such “in-between”, ”integrated”, ”degenerated”. In view of the fact that integration can be seen within holistic culture concept which considers culture as a highly integrated and static whole, integration issue is also being disavowed in this research. I rather use the terms such “crossover”, “hybrid”, “native” and “bricoleur” which presumes, unlike hybridity, the individual as a social agent who is capable of making decisions.² A separate note is also needed for pronoun “he”. I use “he” to define the immigrant in this study in many places as pronoun. What I aim with it is not to masculinized the immigrant but to emphasize the masculine character of the immigrant subject in the discourse. Immigrant has been seen mostly in studies and in immigrant’s literature as masculine body of worker. Furthermore this pronoun underlines that this study does not provide information about woman-immigrant’s special character of subject

² Kaya,Ayhan, Sicher in Kreuzberg,Constructing Diasporas:Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin,Transaction Publishers ,2001

position, notwithstanding the conditions and outcomes in the study concern also with feminine subjects. Therefore I have used masculine pronoun only when I speak of the subject position of immigrant, but not talk of Turkish-German second-third generation.

Methodology

In modern social sciences and cultural studies identity issue has been a fruitful and controversial subject and is argued by various scholars; philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and psychoanalysts in a wide perspective. One of the major names is Michel Foucault. I took the Turkish immigrant issue as a picture which can be perceived from a view that the spectator might judge the meaning in the light of pre-given knowledge of the discourse. Inspiring of Foucaultian interpretation of *Las Meninas*, I tried to grasp the inter-relations between discourse and the construed identity in the discourse. What is significant with this analyze is that the ways which the meaning of the picture is produced. The figures in this picture and the spectators out of the picture must locate themselves in the position from which the discourse makes most sense, and thus become its “subjects” by “subjecting” ourselves to its meanings, power and regulation.

However another question for me is how the identity constructs itself in a foreign society. If the subject, as Althusser claims, is interpellated by the ideology and the ideology functions with/in culture, namely via States Ideological Apparatus, in

which ways might the Turkishness be constructed in Germany? Or if we ask another way: Was gives the meaning to this picture? Who says the figures how they must locate themselves and from which perspective the spectators must look at it? I referred at this point Althusser theory about ideology to understand individualities which is one of the crucial places where the ideology stimulates itself. Althusser puts forward that ideology is the place where the individualities are captured by power knowledge. However Althusser's theory has some inconveniences. First he did not speak of how ideology internalizes itself; secondly he defines ideology in his theory, where "men" represent themselves, as simply a false conscious. His misreading of Lacan pursues him during his "misrecognition" formulation. He confronts subject before any identification, any recognition, and any subjectivation. In the Althusserian account of interpellation, the subject is trapped by the Other, before being caught in the identification, in the symbolic recognition / misrecognition.

Other issue has an importance in this thesis. Constructing Other, othernization, totality of identification and locality of culture issues are discussed in terms of Homi Bhabha's theorizations. Bhabha, reading Lacan very correctly, locates other" is the "not-me;" but the "other" becomes "me" in the mirror stage. So I a new question came to being: How creates Turkish immigrant his own Other? And how did he become Other? Bhabha's valuable study concerns mainly post-colonial and colonial subject. Although in this case Turkish immigrant is not captured in his land; he is guest in another sovereign land, I used Bhabha's theory about the relation between self and Other as a standpoint. In this sense mimicry theory enrich the following media

analyzes during the thesis. Mimicry is to be seen as the sign of double articulation; a complex of strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which “appropriates” the Other as it visualizes power.

However in modern times the only factors which build the stranger’s identity are not the awesome interaction between self and other or ideology; but also the interaction between identity and modernization. Following Antony Giddens’s sense of reflexivity of modern identities I perceive today’s strangers as by-products, but also means of production, their process of identity- building is never conclusive. Since the Turkish immigrant does not only share the time-space, also he takes his share from the capitalist market. On the one hand the Turkish immigrant is a labor, on the other he is a consumer. As much as consume he the materials which the others consume as much as legitimize he his equality with the others.

On the one hand Turkish immigrant exercises his identity in everyday life; with everyday practices he exercises also the power. In order to understand how the identities practice the power and how function in everyday life practices I referred to Habitus conception of Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu habitus is structured structures, a second sense or a second nature, an alternative to the solutions offered by subjectivism (consciousness, subject, etc.) of structure. However in his theory the practice is regulated by an explicit principle of administration that is located in a particular space (especially educational sphere) and the habitus becomes a dogmatic place. Moreover de Certeau counters that there is no single logic of practice at work

in contemporary society, but a series of contradictory and multiple logics, some hidden, other explicit. He sees everyday activities where the power and domination exercised and for the very reason, he argues that, has a tactical character. I used de Certeau's concept of tactics and strategies of everyday life in order to analyze the everyday life experiences and space practices in Berlin.

Moreover another de Certeau's concept, which he calls secondary production of consume has helped me to analyze produced strategy which is via media consumed and thus re-produced. According to de Certeau the presence and circulation of presentation (*taught by preachers, educators, and popularizes as the key to socioeconomic advancement*) tell us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we measure the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization.³

Zigmunt Baumann's theoretical work on the consumed difference and heterophilia also paves a way to the following media analyzes in this research.

To recapitulate, I used primarily Lacan's and Bhabha's theoretical works to investigate the notion of subject position in the discourse and secondly de Certeau's notions of tactics in order to explore the everyday life codes and the similarity and difference between the subject in everyday life and its representations in media.

³De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p.xviii, University of California Press, 1984

State of the Art

The main body of the study concerns with the media representations of the third generation Turk-Germans. One of the reasons why I chose the media representations are that the third generations Turk-Germans convey via these cultural products their self-representation; give a kind of self gaze. Another is that to investigate how the Turk-German consumers use or consume these representations. I argue that there is a hidden resistance which is coming out of the representations and its ways of using.

It is evident that the identity is shaped by recognition, non-recognition or mis-recognition. Having a brief overview to the subject position of the immigrant, the representation of mother-land and self has diverged in time. They adopted new identities and representations. However the identities which they brought to Germany; such worker, unemployed, religious, non-religious, peasant, etc., has been vanished not only in social practices but also in media under the representation of “Turkish” identity. In 80’s in the movies and television programs about their immigration, they were seen and showed as docile, muted and submissive. Turkish immigrant issue was to be seen only in German television films as an auxiliary factor.

Nevertheless after 90’s the second and third generation Turks have chance to access as producer in the written and visual media. By pursuing the merit that they

have an external/internal gaze to the old as well as to the new homeland, they are using the taking for granted stereotypes in their productions in an extraordinary way.

“Was guckst du?” is in this sense a very crucial sample. The well-known stereotypes which refer to “Germanness”, “Turkishness” and different other cultures are celebrated in this show. In this ethno-comedy show which is performed by a Turkish-German comedian, Kaya Yanar, we see today how Turkish identity negotiates with the concept “to be Other” and his others. As Turkish subject self-recognized himself and negotiate his re-mis/self recognitions in host culture, in the discourse his image keeps his place. It is promising to see here, how with the birth of third generation of Turkish “immigrants” in Germany a new, third space emerged. Their identity was constructed via “Other” construction and so in an inimitable way being nativized. Nativization presumes here, first to be localized, secondly to take place at every level of the language, so that local users of that language develop, among other things, distinctive accents, grammatical usages, and items of vocabulary.

While “Was guckst du” celebrates double identities in trans-national, global, multi-cultural German society, in media and literature we can encounter the samples which point up the immigrant’s shifting character. The reality shows, for example, which reveal diverse aspects of Turkish immigrant’s everyday life, such religious practices, ceremonies, etc. carry out also all grief and deprivation and feel of Lost. As I mentioned before, Turkish immigrant image is fragmented from its previous representation in Turkey, and therefore I find Emine Sevgi Ozdamar’s literature at

this point vital. In her book “Mother Tongue” she narrates about a woman who lost her mother language in Germany. Ozdamar gives the hint in which ways the language functions as a nation (or not function as before) in a foreigner country. The issue to be lost in another language and to loose one’s self language provides us to discuss self-alienation and self-recognition for foreigner. On the other side in media the Janus face of immigrant is here concerned with understanding of holistic culture, unlike in Yanar’s show. While these television programs are projecting the immigrant’s ambivalent identity, they emphasize nevertheless the cultural difference and interrogate the possibility of living together.

The necessity to live together with the foreigner daily and permanently paves the way for new strategies in German society. In this sense “Türkisch für Anfänger” is analyzed in this study. In contrary to “Was guckst du?” here the stereotype characters of the serial recite “otherness” of Turkish immigrant. By the same token it problematizes the difference in a heterophilic age in which the difference already blurs. I use here heterophilia, as Zygmunt Baumann, to describe the world in which we live today. In this world it is no longer possible to imagine a uniform, monotonous and homogeneous form of life-enhancing values. The only way to cope with this unknown, uncertain and confusing is to recognize this fact. The question is here not how to get rid of foreigners, but how to live with foreigners. In this regard television produces new serials in which Turkish and German representations come across in around this question.

But what if cultural mixings and crossovers become routine? What do we mean by cultural hybridity when identity is built in the face of postmodern uncertainties that render even the notion of strangerhood meaningless? In some television serial, such “Pepperkorn”, which is a child serial, third German-Turkish generation is perceived to bridge between two cultures. This “in-between” assumption leads us once more the hybridity concept of Bhabha. He locates hybridity as not a thing, but a process which does not comprise of two original moments from which the third emerges but gestures to an ambivalent “third space” of cultural production and reproduction. Here what is important is not the culture which emerges in third space, but the third space itself. However two questions rose up here: First a) if hybridization a politically correct solution to an anti-ethnic or nationalist agenda and b) if hybridization is a market product which television market needs. Or are there in reality no mixed cultures in modern nation-states; but only imaginaries of pure or impure cultural horizons? Since hybridization is also a biological term, it can be used here bricolage or glocal (global and local)⁴ cultures in which the individualities position themselves in their relationships. Singer Muhabbet makes his bricolage with music. He writes his songs in German although he makes arabesque music.

The third space where the immigrant practices a new habitus, sweeps away all sorts of nationalistic or racist arguments and his otherness and alienation turns to be a legitimate force of resistance via/in cultural products. On the other hand I think that either a culture or a society can not empower his culture without exchange to other

⁴ Featherstone, M., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalisation and Modernity*, Sage Publications, London, 1990 in Kaya, Ayhan, 2001

cultures. That is to say there is no pure culture. As a conclusion museumisation of ethnic culture and celebration of hybridization comes up as anew tactic of post-modern era. The difference or hybrid situation which is in media exposed serves to marketing strategies and underpins holistic assumptions. In sum media plays as well a role in process to create “other”.

Until here I tried to discuss the functions of representations in media. But what are the immigrants doing with their representations on television? Do they accept their subjection or resist against them? Following de Certeau, they make something else from them; they subvert them from within not rejecting but transforming them. They are not only consuming these representations, they are using them also as tactics. The everyday life stories and myths, for example, at the end of this study explore in which ways they use their media representations.

The stereotypes and representations which are imposed on them, are not the only things which they transform, the but also the city. In this study in Berlin it is indispensable to see the traces of the transformation. Kreuzberg is in this sense the tactic and the strategy itself; inside and outside, an endless process towards the grotesque carnival of cultures where all kinds of privileged stereotypes turn inside out. Space welcomes new ephemeral and eternal myths, new representations, new faces, recognitions and misrecognitions. Kreuzberg, is also the favorite quarter for interviewers which they are searching innumerable statistics about Turkish immigrant

reality in Germany. I assume that Kreuzberg arises upon as a fortress of tactics and it is a blind point at which all kind of pureness theories are to be negated.

To summarize, immigrant's image was analyzed and reproduced on media through this gaze and subjected to the discourse which functions independently from his ambivalent life field. However with/in cultural productions the immigrants use stereotypes and hybrid presentations as a weapon of resistance against cultural polarization and create inter- cultural life spaces. I elude to call this process as hybridization, since every culture is hybrid and hybridization is vulnerable to nationalistic or racist exploitation, but I rather call nativization of culture or cultural bricolage. Another outcome of this dissertation pays attention how immigrants practices the space. By using space they generate tactics against totalitarian assessments of others. In this regard in spatial practices they turn into a voyeuristic-object which is subjected to voyeuristic gaze of others. The space becomes a carnival in which the characters transform each other and make appropriations for each other and selves. These entire examples explicate us that there is a remarkable correlation between the representation and its everyday usages.

Scope of the Study

In first chapter I have exposed various theoretic backgrounds which render me study on given themes. This chapter explicates the debates over the identity and subject position in cultural studies.

The second chapter concerns of a psychoanalytic reading of Turkish immigrant' image on German television. In this chapter what I aimed to problematize is that the ways in which Turkish immigrant's image constructed and functions in discourse. As a theoretical tool I get used of Lacan's conception of mirror-stage and notion of mimicry. In this chapter I have examined a television show which is written and performed by a third generation Turkish-German comedian and a novel which is written by a first generation Turkish-German writer. In this part give a brief history of the immigrant cinema from 80's up today. This comparable reading provides us to perceive the shifting of the representation.

Chapter 3 begins with a question, if we are living in a heterophilic age or as Antony Giddens argues in modern times the opposition between reality and its simulation, truth and its representation collapse and thus blurs the difference. I discussed here where the difference lies in means of a television prime time serial "Turkish for Beginners" which brings up the issue how and of which ways a Turkish family with a German family could possibly live in the same house. Zygmunt

Bauman interrogates if the strangers be fog and eclipse the boundary which ought to be clearly seen, and then each society produces their own strangers. In means of this sample I tried to put forward, how the images of Turkish immigrant could reinforce the clichés via situation comedy's leitmotifs (misunderstandings, phars clichés, etc.) which arises from the sought difference between two different cultures. Another sample in this chapter is a child- serial on television. "Pepperkorn", which is a child serial, third German-Turkish generation is perceived as bridge between two cultures. I have aimed to discuss here the notion of hybridity and the concept of bricolage. In what follows this serial provides us an advance to the secondary production of media as how de Certeau defines.

Chapter 4 concerns with the third space which emancipates and underpins the individualities in terms of performing the space. Taking de Certeau's "Walking in the City" reading, I took Kreuzberg as the city part which welcomes international community, artists and different minorities and by Turks and non-Turks called as "little Istanbul". In this chapter there are some interviews which I have done in a youth center in Kreuzberg. It can be seen here how the city transforms with the new memories of the city.

Finally I conclude, that Turkish immigrant' identity can not be considered separately from "Turkish immigrant" discourse. One of the outcome of the research is that the self of the immigrant can not be identified himself with the given in his Mother-land. When we use Lacan's terminology, he is condemned to be mis-

recognized. Secondly in his journey he constructs new memories and new identities in which he releases himself and positioning himself in his relations and takes his place in this world. Finally he has learnt to produce tactics from his representations .While the image of immigrant is re-produced in media in various ways and purposes, these representations are consumed and so re-produced by the immigrants as a tactic or a mask under it so that they can chuckle to their given “others”.

CHAPTER I

I. FROM IDENTITY TO IDENTIFICATION, WITHIN IDEOLOGY AND DISCOURSE

After the signing, in October 1961, of the temporary labor recruitment agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Turkey, immigrant issue has been concerned to political, sociologic and economical agenda of Turkey and host country, Germany. Economically as work-force; culturally and sociologically in terms of cultural difference and integration; and politically in sense of citizenship and cultural rights and democracy, immigrant issue has been analyzed and itself constructed and construed within “Turkish immigrants in Germany” discourse.

What is the predominant disposition of the formation of “Turkish immigrant” in the discourse? How is the identity of the immigrant put into the discourse? Is it possible to be construed and formatted “Identity” independently from the discourse?

In modern social sciences and cultural studies identity issue has been fruitful and controversial subject and is argued by various scholars; philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and psychoanalysts in a wide perspective. In this chapter I would rather to follow a path from philosophy to post-colonial theory, from postmodernism to political science in a wide range of agenda of cultural studies.

I.I. Discourse

I get used of the Foucaultian interpretation of Las Meninas in the beginning in order to refer Discourse formation in Foucault's theory which entails to the conditions that being formatted "Turkish immigrant in Germany discourse" thus what I aim in this study is to grasp the inter-relations between discourse and the construed identity, in this case Turkish identity in Germany, in the discourse.

The meaning of the picture is produced. Foucault argues, through this complex inter-play between presence (what you see, the visible) and absence (what you cannot see, what has displaced it within the frame).

Foucault argues that it is clear from the way the discourse of representation works in the painting that it must be looked at and made sense of from that one subject-position in front of it from which we, the spectators, are looking. The person whom Velasquez chooses to represent "sitting" in this position is *The Sovereign- "master of all he surveys-who is both the subject of the painting-the one whom the discourse sets in place."*⁵

Foucault, the founder of discursive formation of things, in his discourse construction, gives a special place to subject and subject position in the discourse. Foucault's subject emerges and is produced through discourse in two different senses

⁵ Hall, Stuart, Representation, Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, Sage Publication, 1997

or places. First, the discourse itself produces “subjects-figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which the discourse produces. These subjects have the attributes we would expect as these are defined by the discourse: the madman, the hysterical woman, the homosexual, the individualized criminal, and so on. These figures are specific to specific discursive regimes and historical periods. But the discourse also produces a place for the subject, from which is particular knowledge and meaning most makes sense. It is not inevitable that all individuals in a particular period will become the subjects of a particular discourse in this sense, and thus the bearers of its power/knowledge.

For Foucault, power also involves knowledge, representation, ideas, cultural leadership and authority, as well as economic constrain and physical coercion. He agrees with Gramsci that power cannot be captured by thinking exclusively in terms of force or coercion: power also seduces, solicits, induces, and wins consent. Furthermore, although Gramsci, stresses “between classes”, Foucault refuses to identify any specific subject or subject-group as the source of power, which he said, operates at a local, tactical level. He stresses that power circulates.

On the other hand, Althusser approaches identity, in which individualities that is interpellated by the ideology and become the indicators of power/knowledge which the discourse produces.

I.II. How Ideology interpellates Identities?

Althusser in his essay, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*,⁶ first, states classical Marxist perception in terms of Repressive State Apparatus.

“The Marxist classics have always claimed that (1) the State is the repressive State apparatus, (2) State power and State apparatus must be distinguished (3) the objective of class struggle concerns state power, and in consequence the use of the State apparatus by the classes (or alliance of classes or of fractions of classes) holding State power as a function of their class objectives, and (4) the proletariat must seize State power in order to destroy the existing bourgeois State apparatus and, in a first phase, replace it with a quite different, proletarian, State apparatus, then in later phases set in motion a radical process, that of the destruction of the State. What distinguishes the ISAs from the (Repressive) State Apparatus is the following basic difference: the Repressive State Apparatus functions “by violence”, whereas the Ideological State apparatuses function “by ideology”.”⁷

In his essay, Althusser suggests that in real world “men” “represent to themselves” in ideology, but above all it is their relation to those conditions of existence which is represented to them there. In his approach, this relation contains the “cause” which has to explain the imaginary distortion of the ideological representation of the real world. “What is represented in ideology is therefore not the

⁶ Althusser Louis, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus*, in *Mapping Ideology: A Reader*, Sage Publications, 2000, p. 109-111

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109-111

system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live.”⁸ He argues that individuals are subjected to their own conditions of existence in relation to ideology. The existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individual as subjects is one and the same thing. In his theory there is no practice except by and in an ideology; and no ideology except by the subject and for subjects. In sum, recognition is (ideology = misrecognition / ignorance)⁹. Although in Foucauldian sense of power/knowledge mechanism is reluctant to indicate directly to ideology, according to Althusser, ideology is the place in where individuals are captured by power/knowledge.

Althusser gets used of Lacanian sense of “misrecognition” (identification) in as much as gets used of the Foucaultian means of “power”. To grasp his theory I find useful to recite here Lacanian theoretical approach.

⁸ Althusser Louis, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus, in Mapping Ideology: A Reader, Sage Publications, 2000, p.125

⁹ Ibid, p.109-111

I.III. The Lacanian Mirror phase as Formative of the Function of the I

In the realm of the Real, according to Lacan, there is no language because there is no loss, no lack, and no absence; there is only complete fullness, needs and the satisfaction of needs. Hence the Real is always beyond language, unrepresentable in language (and therefore irretrievably lost when one enters into language).

The Real, and the phase of need, last from birth till somewhere between 6 and 18 months, when the baby blob starts to be able to distinguish between its body and everything else in the world. At this point, the baby shifts from having needs to having DEMANDS. Demands are not satisfiable with objects; a demand is always a demand for recognition from another, for love from another. The process works like this: the baby starts to become aware that it is separate from the mother, and that there exist things that are not part of it; thus the idea of "other" is created. (Note, however, that as yet the binary opposition of "self/other" doesn't yet exist, because the baby still doesn't have a coherent sense of "self"). That awareness of separation, or the fact of otherness, creates an anxiety, a sense of loss. The baby then demands a reunion, a return to that original sense of fullness and non-separation that it had in the Real. But that is impossible, once the baby knows (and this knowing, remember, is all happening on an unconscious level) that the idea of an "other" exists. The baby demands to be filled by the other, to return to the sense of original unity; the baby wants the idea of "other" to disappear. Demand is thus the demand for the fullness,

the completeness, of the other that will stop up the lack the baby is experiencing. But of course this is impossible, because that lack, or absence, the sense of "otherness, is the condition for the baby becoming a self/subject, a functioning cultural being.

Because the demand is for recognition from the other, it can't really be satisfied, if only because the 6-to-18 month infant can't SAY what it wants. The baby cries, and the mother gives it a bottle, or a breast, or a pacifier, or something, but no object can satisfy the demand--the demand is for a response on a different level. The baby can't recognize the ways the mother does respond to it, and recognize it, because it doesn't yet have a conception of itself as a thing--it only knows that this idea of "other" exists, and that it is separate from the "other", but it doesn't yet have an idea of what its "self" is.

This is where Lacan's MIRROR STAGE happens. At this age--between 6 and 18 months--the baby or child hasn't yet mastered its own body; it doesn't have control over its own movements, and it doesn't have a sense of its body as a whole. Rather, the baby experiences its body as fragmented, or in pieces--whatever part is within its field of vision is there as long as the baby can see it, but gone when the baby can't see it. It may see its own hand, but it doesn't know that that hand belongs to it--the hand could belong to anyone, or no one. However, the child in this stage can imagine itself as whole--because it has seen other people, and perceived them as whole beings.

Lacan says that at some point in this period, the baby will see itself in a mirror. It will look at its reflection, and then look back at a real person--its mother, or some other person--then look again at the mirror image. The child moves "from insufficiency to anticipation" in this action; the mirror, and the moving back and forth from mirror image to other people, gives it a sense that it, too, is an integrated being, a whole person. The child, still unable to be whole, and hence separate from others (though it has this notion of separation), in the mirror stage begins to anticipate being whole. It moves from a "fragmented body" to an "orthopedic vision of its totality", to a vision of itself as whole and integrated, which is "orthopedic" because it serves as a crutch, a corrective instrument, an aid to help the child achieve the status of wholeness.

What the child anticipates is a sense of self as a unified separate whole; the child sees that it looks like what "others" look like. Eventually, this entity the child sees in the mirror, this whole being, will be a "self," the entity designated by the word "I." What is really happening, however, is an identification that is MISRECOGNITION. The child sees an image in the mirror; it thinks that image is "ME". But it's NOT the child; it's only an image. But another person (usually the mother) is there to reinforce the misrecognition. The baby looks in the mirror, and looks back at mother, and the mother says, "Yes, it's you!" She guarantees the "reality" of the connection between the child and its image, and the idea of the integrated whole body the child is seeing and identifying with.

The child takes that image in the mirror as the summation of its entire being, its "self." This process, of misrecognizing one's self in the image in the mirror, creates the EGO, the thing that says "I." In Lacan's terms, this misrecognition creates the "armor" of the subject, an illusion or misperception of wholeness, integration, and totality that surrounds and protects the fragmented body. To Lacan, ego, or self, or "I"ntity, is always on some level a FANTASY, identification with an external image, and not an internal sense of separate whole identity.

This is why Lacan calls the phase of demand, and the mirror stage, the realm of the IMAGINARY. The idea of a self is created through an Imaginary identification with the image in the mirror. The realm of the Imaginary is where the alienated relation of self to its own image is created and maintained. The Imaginary is a realm of images, whether conscious or unconscious. It's prelinguistic, and preoedipal, but very much based in visual perception, or what Lacan calls *specular* imaging.

The mirror image, the whole person the baby mistakes as itself, is known in psychoanalytic terminology as an "ideal ego," a perfect whole self who has no insufficiency. This "ideal ego" becomes internalized; we build our sense of "self," our "I"ntity, by (mis)identifying with this ideal ego. By doing this, according to Lacan, we imagine a self that has no lack, no notion of absence or incompleteness. The fiction of the stable, whole, unified self that we see in the mirror becomes a compensation for having lost the original oneness with the mother's body. In short, according to Lacan, we lose our unity with the mother's body, the state of "nature," in

order to enter culture, but we protect ourselves from the knowledge of that loss by misperceiving ourselves as not lacking anything--as being complete unto ourselves.

Lacan says that the child's self-concept (its ego or "I" identity) will never match up to its own being. Its IMAGO in the mirror is both smaller and more stable than the child, and is always "other" than the child--something outside it. The child, for the rest of its life, will misrecognize itself as "other, as the image in the mirror that provides an illusion of self and of mastery.

The Imaginary is the psychic place, or phase, where the child projects its ideas of "self" onto the mirror image it sees. The mirror stage cements a self/other dichotomy, where previously the child had known only "other," but not "self." For Lacan the identification of "self" is always in terms of "other." This is not the same as a binary opposition, where "self" = what is not "other," and "other" = what is not "self." Rather, "self" IS "other", in Lacan's view; the idea of the self, that inner being we designate by "I," is based on an image, an other. The concept of self relies on one's misidentification with this image of an other.

Lacan uses the term "other" in a number of ways, which make it even harder to grasp. First, and perhaps the easiest, is in the sense of self/other, where "other" is the "not-me;" but, as we have seen, the "other" becomes "me" in the mirror stage. Lacan also uses an idea of Other, with a capital "O", to distinguish between the concept of the other and actual others. The image the child sees in the mirror is an other, and it

gives the child the idea of Other as a structural possibility, one which makes possible the structural possibility of "I" or self. In other words, the child encounters actual others--its own image, other people--and understands the idea of "Otherness," things that are not itself. According to Lacan, the notion of Otherness, encountered in the Imaginary phase (and associated with demand), comes before the sense of "self," which is built on the idea of Otherness.

When the child has formulated some idea of Otherness, and of a self identified with its own "other," its own mirror image, then the child begins to enter the Symbolic realm. The Symbolic and the Imaginary are overlapping, unlike Freud's phases of development; there's no clear marker or division between the two, and in some respects they always coexist. The Symbolic order is the structure of language itself; we have to enter it in order to become speaking subjects, and to designate ourselves by "I." The foundation for having a self lies in the Imaginary projection of the self onto the specular image, the other in the mirror, and having a self is expressed in saying "I," which can only occur within the Symbolic, which is why the two coexist.

The fort/da game¹⁰ that the nephew played, in Freud's account, is in Lacan's view a marker of the entry into the Symbolic, because Hans is using language to negotiate the idea of absence and the idea of Otherness as a category or structural possibility. The spool, according to Lacan, serves as an "objet petit a," or "objet petit

¹⁰ Freud's famous analyse which he made with his eighteenmonth-old nephew Hans, who threw a reel away from himself, crying in pleasure, "fort" (over there! gone! no more!) and then pull it back with the piece of string attached to it with "da" (here! back again!)

autre"--an object which is a little "other," a small-o other. In throwing it away, the child recognizes that others can disappear; in pulling it back, the child recognizes that others can return. Lacan emphasizes the former, insisting that Little Hans is primarily concerned with the idea of lack or absence of the "objet petit autre."

The "little other" illustrates for the child the idea of lack, of loss, of absence, showing the child that it isn't complete in and of itself. It is also the gateway to the Symbolic order, to language, since language itself is premised on the idea of lack or absence.

Lacan says these ideas--of other and Other, of lack and absence, of the (mis)identification of self with o/Other--are all worked out on an individual level, with each child, but they form the basic structures of the Symbolic order, of language, which the child must enter in order to become an adult member of culture. Thus the otherness acted out in the fort/da game (as well as by the distinctions made in the Mirror Phase between self and other, mother and child) become categorical or structural ideas. So, in the Symbolic, there is a structure (or structuring principle) of Otherness, and a structuring principle of Lack.

I.IV. After Althusser

If we return to Althusser's theory, we come upon various critiques to his theory by a range of Marxists and psychoanalysts. Terry Eagleton is one of those who raise questions concerning his identification understanding.

Eagleton condemns Althusser to oscillate between a rationalist and positivist view of ideology. According to him, for rationalists, ideology signifies error, as opposed to the truth of science or reason; for the positivist, only certain sorts of statements (scientific, empirical) are verifiable, and others, moral descriptions.

Eagleton states that in Althusser's mind what is misrecognized in ideology is not primarily the world, since ideology is not a matter of knowing or failing to know reality at all. The misrecognition is essentially a self recognition, and Imaginary" here means not "unreal" but "pertaining to an image": Eagleton, at this point, indicates Lacan's essay *The Mirror-phase as Formative of the Function of the I*, and argues that Althusser's Lacan reading is a misreading and distorted in the construction of his theory: *"the allusion is to Jaques Lacan's essay, in which he argues that the small infant, confronted with its own image in a mirror, has a moment of state, imagining its body to be more unified than it real is. "Ideology can thus be summarized as a "representation of the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions*

*of existence.”*¹¹[...]Through ideology, Althusser remarks, society “*interpellates*” or “*hails*” us, *appears to single us out as uniquely valuable and addresses us by name.*”¹²

For Eagleton, Althusser’s theory of ideology involves at least two crucial misreading of Jacques Lacan. Althusser’s imaginary subject really corresponds to the Lacanian ego, which for psychoanalytic theory is merely the tip of the iceberg of the self. It is the ego, for Lacan, which is constituted in the imaginary as a unified entity; “the subject” as a whole is the split, lacking, desiring effect of the unconscious, which for Lacan belongs to the “symbolic” as well as the imaginary order. The outcome of this misreading, then, according to Eagleton, is to render Althusser’s subject a good deal more stable and coherent than Lacan’s, since the buttoned-down ego is standing in here for the disheveled unconscious. Eagleton deposits in Althusser’s reading the subject more or less equivalent place to the Freudian superego, the censorious power which keeps us obediently in our places; since in Lacan’s work, this role is played by the Other, which means something like the whole field of language and the unconscious.

“How does the individual human being recognize and respond to the “haling” which makes it a subject if it is not a subject already?.....How can the subject recognize its image in the mirror as itself, if it does not somehow recognize itself already?.....Would there not seem a need here for a third, higher subject, who could

¹¹ Eagleton Terry, *Ideology and its Vicissitudes in Western Marxism, From Adorno to Bourdieu* ed. Zizek Slavoj, Verso, 2000, p.214-215

¹² *Ibid*, p.214-215

*compare the real subject with its reflection and establish than the one was truly identical with the other? And how did this higher subject come to identify itself? How can I know for sure what is being demanded of me, that is I who am being hailed, whether the Subject has identified me aright? And since, for Lacan, I can never be fully present as a “whole subject” in any of my responses, how can my accessions to being interpellated is taken as “authentic”?*¹³

Eagleton stresses his assess critically on Lacanian subject identification in the symbolic recognition/misrecognition which is interpreted in Althusser’s theory. However his approach bears merely hallmarks of traditional Marxism which pertains to the Freudian sense of “unconsciousness”.

I.V. Psychoanalyst Approach

Slavoj Zizek, in his essay,¹⁴ points to Marx’s Freud interpretation in terms of the correlation between the notion of dreams and form of commodity. Zizek, attests in his essay how Marx analyzed the form of commodity via Freudian sense of unconsciousness. Moreover, ideology is not simply a “false consciousness, it is rather the reproduction of which implies that the individuals do not know what they are doing. Ideology is not the “false consciousness of a social being but this being itself in so far as it is supported by “false consciousness”.

¹³ Eagleton Terry, Ideology and its Vicissitudes in Western Marxism, From Adorno to Bourdieu, ed. Mapping Ideology, edited by Zizek Slavoj, Verso, 2000, p. 217

¹⁴ Zizek, Slavoj, How did Marx Invent the Symptom?, Mapping Ideology, ed. Zizek Slavoj, Verso, 2000

Furthermore, Žižek's approach to Althusser's theory attests another facade of which Althusser emphasizes in the construction of interpellation of individuals. He states that Althusser gave an unelaborated version of Pascalian "machine"¹⁵; moreover the weak point of his theory is that he does not succeed in thinking out the link between Ideological State Apparatuses and ideological interpellation: "How does this machine internalize itself? How does it produce the effect of ideological belief in a Cause and the interconnecting effect of subjectivation, or recognition or one's ideological position?"¹⁶ Althusser, in his theory speaks the process of ideological interpellation through it is experienced. Akin to Eagleton's critique, Žižek locates Althusser's theory in the midst of the Lacanian Real. According to Žižek, Althusser confronts subject before any identification, any recognition, and any subjectivation. In the Althusserian account of interpellation, before being caught in the identification, in the symbolic recognition / misrecognition, the subject is trapped by the Other. Lacanian formula of fantasy might be recapitulated namely so and following the Lacanian notion of the opposition between dream and fantasy, Althusser constructs his theory controversially.

Žižek, following Lacan's interpretation of the well-known dream about the "burning child"¹⁷, attests that in Lacan, reality is a fantasy-construction which enables us to mask the Real of desire.¹⁸ Ideology is not a dreamlike illusion that we build to

¹⁵ Pascalian machine: According to Pascal, the interiority of our reasoning is determined by the external, nonsensical "machine"-automatism of the signifier, of the symbolic network in which the subjects are caught.

¹⁶ Žižek, Slavoj, *How did Marx Invent the Symptom?*, Mapping Ideology, edited by Žižek Slavoj, Verso, 2000, p.321

¹⁷ Lacan, Jacques, *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, Harmondsworth 1979

¹⁸ *Ibid*, chs 5,5

escape insupportable reality; in its basic dimension it is a fantasy construction which serves as a support for our “reality” itself. And the fantasy is on the side of reality. At this point Eagleton’s critique to Althusser’s evaluation of Lacan which Althusser reduces the ideology merely misrecognition and the subject in his theory is located unified entity reaches to another fertile discussion. If reality is a fantasy-construction which enables us support our “reality”, where is the place where the ideology stimulates itself? Is ideology is false consciousness or simply a lie which is experienced a truth as a manipulation? According to Žižek, illusion can not be symmetrical; consciousness needs to experience the ideology which is not something which subject says it is a lie and I am dreaming now; when I wake up I get out of this. To get out it, consciousness needs to experience it. And each experience is individual.

If every experience is individual in experiencing ideology, and if ideology is not a fantasy construction as Lacan argues, then how does “man” construct his identity/individuality in relation to the Reality and how does “identity” functions in relation to Other?

I.VI. The Post-Colonial Theory and Lacan

“Self and Other”

Turning to Lacanian theory, I shall suggest the totality of the “image” in the process of identification, in what follows I would rather to bring up here the post-colonial theory in terms of psychoanalytic approach to the “Other”. Franz Fanon, states in his works the doubling of identity. Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* reveals the doubling of identity: the difference between personal identity as an intimation of reality, or an instinct of being, and the psychoanalytic problem of identification that, in a sense, always begs the question of subject:” What does a man want?”

Such binary, two parts, for Fanon, identities function in a kind of narcissistic reflection of the One in the Other that is confronted in the language of desire by the psychoanalytic process of identification. According to Fanon, for identification, identity is never a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality. Its representation is always spatially split- it makes present something that is absent – and temporally deferred: it is the representation of a time that is always elsewhere, a repetition.

Here, we can remember Foucauldian discursive formation in terms of representations which has repetitive dispositions. Fanon, at this point also approaches to Lacanian sense of identity which is always lack and partial. Other in his theoretical

approach, is confronted in a place in which identity/self completes itself by reflecting its total Other.

*“I occupied space. I moved towards the Other....and the evanescent other, hostile, but not opaque, transparent, not there, disappeared. Nausea.”*¹⁹

On the other hand, Homi Bhabha’s approach to Other tresses on the difference between Self and the Other. Bhabha, in his essay, *Interrogating Identity: The Post Colonial Prerogative* argues that the disturbance of the voyeuristic look enacts the complexity and contradictions of the desire to see, to fix cultural difference in a containable, visible object, or as a fact of nature, *“when it can only be articulated in the uncertainty or undecidability that circulates through the process of language and identification. The desire for the Other is doubled by the desire in language, which splits the difference between Self and Other so that both positions are partial; neither is sufficient unto itself.”*²⁰

Spatial split and to be other and to move toward the other²¹, also, are one of the subjects of de Certeau. Spatiality and experiencing the everyday life practices will be the studied at the following chapters. Before moving forward I want to indicate the inter-relation between the language and identifications and critiques to Fanon’s “native construction”.

¹⁹ Ibid,p.218

²⁰ Bhabha Homi, *Interrogating Identity: The Post Colonial Prerogative*, ed.Mapping Ideology, edited Zizek Slavoj,Verso,2000,p.99

²¹ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*,University of California Press,1984,p.110

I.VII. Towards cultural identity

Rey Chow, in his essay, *Writing Diaspora, The Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*, defines Fanon's construction of native Oedipal. Freud's question was "what does woman want?" Fanon, elaborating on the necessity of violence in the native's formation, asks "what does the black man want?" The native (black man) is thus imagined to be an angry son who wants to display the white man, the father. His argument is that the native is someone from whom something stolen. The native, then, is also lack.

Chow points out the Freud's woman here whom will even though never have a penis, she will for the rest of her life be trapped within the longing for it and its substitutes. Alike Žižek, his conceptualization of identification overlaps on the identification of native with the other in Fanon's theorization. For him, Other functions as an apparatus that we identify ourselves with in symbolic level. In imaginary identification we imitate the other at the level of resemblance—we identify ourselves with the image of the other inasmuch as we are "like him", while in symbolic identification we identify ourselves with the other precisely at a point at which he is inimitable, at the point which eludes resemblance. At this point he rises up a question:

“Is there a way of “finding” the native without simply ignoring the image, or substituting a “correct” image of the ethnic specimen for an “incorrect” one, or giving the native a “true” voice “behind” her “false” image?”²²

I.VIII. Totality of Identification/Locality of Culture

Chow attests that the language functions as a “nation” and the identification in diaspora with the “other” confronts totality of “native” culture. The cultural identity in diaspora has a melancholic character. He points forward to the Freudian sense of melancholy in order to grasp the “phantomization“ of native culture.

“For Freud, the melancholic is a person who can not get over the loss of a precious, loved object and who ultimately introjects this loss into his ego. In his essay, Freud is concerned with the relationship between the self and the lost loved object. What Freud sees as “self” directed denigration now finds a concrete realization in the denigration of others.”²³

Chow, in his essay, analyzes the subject position of intellectual in diaspora and suggests that the intellectuals who write about “cultural identity” and Heimat culture recite melancholic relation between self and lost loved object which refers here the local culture which is incarcerated within language.

²² Chow, Rey, *The Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*, Indiana University Press, 1993, p.29

²³ *Ibid.*, p.5

Moreover for Bhabha, “the “locality” of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as “other” in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the problem of outside/inside must always itself be a process of hybridity, incorporating new “people” in relation to the body politic, generating other sites of meaning and inevitably, in the political process, produced unnamed sites of political antagonism and unpredictable forces for political representation. “What emerges as an effect of such “incomplete signification” is a turning of boundaries and limits into the in-between spaces through which the meanings of cultural and political authority are negotiated. It is from such narrative positions between cultures and nations, theories and texts, the political, the poetic and painterly, the past and the present as Fanon states, give a way to international dimension to it. What is the “figure” of cultural difference whereby the anti-nationalist, ambivalent national space becomes the cross-roads to a new transnational culture? The other is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse, when we think we speak most intimately and indigenously” between ourselves”²⁴.

Bhabha carries the issue of totality of national cultural to the agenda of history and gives a raise the issue a political dimension. “*To encounter the nation as it is written displays a temporality of culture and social consciousness more in tune with the partial, overdetermined process by which textual meaning is produced through*

²⁴ Bhabha, Homi, Nation and Narration, p.4, Routledge, 1990

the articulation of difference in language; more in keeping with the problem of closure which plays enigmatically in the discourse of the sign.”²⁵

He puts forward the understanding of nationalism and nation states which is given an account in Benedict Anderson’s book, *Imagined Communities*. *”The century of enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness....If nation states are widely considered to be “new” and “historical”, the nation states to which they give political always loom out of an immemorial past and....glide into a limitless future...Nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with large cultural systems that proceeded it, out of which-as well as against which-it came into being.”²⁶*

In the 20th century modern nation-state, the national culture is confronted by the totality of ideology. However, in which ways does national culture function within/beyond inter-cultural field? How does cultural difference function in the host or adopted culture (diaspora)?

²⁵ Bhabha, Homi, , *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, 1990,p.2

²⁶ *Ibid*,p.19

I.IX. Who needs Identity?

In his essay, *Who needs identity?*,²⁷ Stuart Hall argues that the identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity-an “identity” in its traditional meaning. He suggests that totality of national identification gives a way to subjected resemblances of identity to the discursive formation.

I.X. Cultural Difference in Modern Nation

Bhabha, in his essay, *DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and The Margins of the Modern Nation*, argues that cultural difference must not be understood as the free play of polarities and pluralities in the homogenous empty time of the national community. *“Cultural difference as a form of intervention, participate in a supplementary logic of secondariness similar to the strategies of minority discourse. The aim of cultural difference is to re-articulate the sum of knowledge from the perspective of the signifying singularity of the “other” that resists totalisation-the repetition that will not return as the same, the minus-in origin that results in political and discursive*

²⁷ Hall ,Stuart, *Who Needs Identity*, *Identity: A Reader*, Sage Publications,1996

strategies where adding to-does not add-up but serves to disturb the calculation of power and knowledge, producing other spaces of subaltern signification.”²⁸

Cultural difference, for him, emerges from the borderline moment of translation in the “foreignness of languages”. Cultural difference may not be deleted, it is, itself, is condemned to be a strategy of minority discourse. Inasmuch as immigrant subject resists the totalisation of “national culture”, incites the ambiguity of the form of secondariness. On the one hand national culture ceases the promise to negotiate to the Other, on the other hand it captures the immigrant within an arrested, docile, fantasy world. If we remember Lacan, immigrant is never come into being as total; he is condemned to be lack.

Moreover, Bhabha says that “The migrant’s silence elicits racist fantasies of purity and persecution that must always return from the Outside, to estrange the present of the life of the metropolis; to make it strangely familiar.”²⁹ He suggests as a way of surviving, immigrant desires to mimic his Other.

In his theoretical approach, citing Lacan, suggests that “mimicry reveals something in so far as it is distinct from what might be called on itself that is behind. The effect of mimicry is camouflage. It is not a question of harmonizing with the

²⁸ Bhabha,Homi, Nation and Narration, Routledge, 1990,p.312

²⁹ Ibid,p.317

background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled-exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare”.³⁰

Mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal.

Mimicry is, thus the sign of double articulation; a complex of strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which “appropriates” the Other as it visualizes power.³¹

Between mimicry and mockery, the reforming, civilizing mission is vulnerable by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double. The ambivalence of mimicry (almost the same, but not quite) does not merely split the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a “partial” presence. Partial refers here to something incomplete and virtual.

Bhabha, by using mimicry concept also problematizes the signs of racial and cultural priority, so that “national” is no longer naturalizable. What emerges between mimicry and mimesis is a “writing”, a mode of representation that marginalizes the monumantarity of history. Mimicry, thus, repeats rather than re-presents.

However in Turkish immigrant experience in Germany mimicry is operated in a way in which immigrant’s individuality is performed within modern social practices

³⁰ Lacan, *The Line and Light, Of the Gaze*, ed. Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture*, London; New York: Routledge, 1994, p.86

³¹ Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture*, London; New York: Routledge, 1994,p.86

such consumption habits, life styles and everyday life practices. He solely does not imitate the Other, also endeavors to survive without being Other.

Up to here I tried to make an outline the ideas on identity and national identity, and the approaches in the cultural studies to the emergence of immigrant subject in discourse. In the next chapter I shall focus on modernity, modern society and consumption habits which are interacted to immigrant position in modern German society.

II. SPATIALITY AND THIRD PLACE AS AN ENDEAVOR OF TACTIC AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION

II.I. Modernity welcomes Turkish Gastarbeiter

Turkish “Gastarbeiter” have been for 45 years living in Germany and participated to all aspects of social life. By experiencing German host culture, their “nativity” during that time constructs an inter-cultural disposition to the “adopted” country way of life. In the midst of 60’s, economical and socio-political conditions in Anatolia from where had mostly numbers of immigration to Germany, relatively unlike big cities of Turkey, namely, deprived of “modern” social aspects of economic and social conditions.

How is the new world,” modern” social life that welcomed them in Germany?
This encounter is not only an encounter of native and modern man, but also a new path to open to new inter-active and collective life spaces.

At this point I suggest having a look at the sociological perspective about modern social life and self identity. In next chapter following Anthony Giddens, Michel De Certeau and Bourdiue, I will try to grasp the logic of modern social everyday life, experiencing the space, and the correlation between everyday practices and tactics.

II.II. Modernity and Modern Social Life?

Modern social life, for Giddens,³² is characterized by profound processes of the reorganization of time and space, coupled to the expansion of disembedding mechanisms which price social relations free from the hold of specific locales, recombining them across wide time-space distances. The reorganization of time and space, plus the disembedding mechanisms, radicalize and globalize pre-established institutional character of modernity; and they act or transform the content and nature of day-to-day social life. According to him, modernity is a risk culture and post traditional order which has a reflexive character. In the settings of “high” or “late”

³² Giddens ,Anthony, *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Stanford University Press, Stanford,California,1991 p.2,

modernity the self, like the broader institutional contexts in which it exists, has to be reflexively made.

The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choices as filtered through abstract systems. Self identity becomes a reflexively organized endeavor in modern social life, the notion of lifestyle takes on a particular significance.

According to Giddens, a lifestyle can be defined as a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfill utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity. Lifestyles are routinised practices, the routines incorporated into habits of dress, eating, modes of acting and favored milieu for encountering others; but the routines followed are reflexively open to change in the light of the mobile nature of self-identity. Each small decision a person makes every day-what to wear, what to eat, how to conduct himself at work, whom to meet with later in the evening-contributes to such routines. All such choices are decisions not only about how to act but who to be.³³

³³ Giddens ,Anthony, *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Stanford University Press, Stanford,California,1991 p.81,

The everyday social practices which give a material form to narration of identity shall be analyzed in the third chapter. Since the Turkish immigrant does not only share the time-space, also he takes his share from the capitalist market. On the one hand the Turkish immigrant is a labor producer, on the other he is a consumer. As much as consume he the materials which the others consume as much as legitimize he his equality with the other.

II.III. The Field of Cultural Production

Analyzing the reflexive-image of the Turkish identity on television cultural products is mainly into the agenda of this study. The narrative of Turkish self-identity in German cultural products renders to cross-cultural social analyses in terms of grasping the hybrid spaces within host/adopted/German/Turkish life field. Here, I rather to refer to the Bourdiuen term of “field “. According to his theoretical model, any social formation is structured by a way of a hierarchically organized series of fields (economical field, the educational field, the political field, the cultural field, etc) each defined as a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and the economy, except, obviously in cases of the economic and political fields.

Two forms of capital are particularly important in the field of cultural production. Symbolic capital refers to degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity,

consecration or honor and is founded on dialectic of knowledge (connaissance³⁴) and recognition (reconnaissance).³⁵ Cultural capital concerns forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions. He suggests that “a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence that is the code, into which it is encoded.” The possession of this code, or cultural capital, is accumulated through a long process of acquisition which includes the pedagogical action of the family or group members, (family education), educated members of the social formation (diffuse education) and social institutionalized education).³⁶

He also suggests that schooling serves to reinforce, rather than diminish, social differences. The educational system transforms social hierarchies into academic hierarchies and, by extension, into hierarchies of “merit”.

At this point I would like to refer one of the main problematic of this thesis: If as Althusser suggest subjectivity shaped within/by ideological state apparatus and education is one those, how immigrant subjectivity constructed in the adopted culture? Persistent images which find place to grow, develop and ascertain into everyday life practices, on media and cultural productions restrain the arching structure of cultural identity of the immigrant.

³⁴ fr. Idee, perception

³⁵ Savage Mike and Longhurst Brian, Social Class, Consumption and the Influence of Bourdiue: Some Critical Issues, Edgel, Hetvarington, Worde, Consumption Matters, Sociological Review Monograph 1996, pp.278/ In Other Words, p.22, 111

³⁶ Ibid, p.278/ Distinction, p.2

In Bourdieu's terminology, the notion of habitus was conceived as an alternative to the solutions offered by subjectivism (consciousness, subject, etc.) and a reaction against structuralism's "odd philosophy of action" which reduced the agent to a mere "bearer" (Träger: for the Althusserians) or "unconsciousness" expression (for Levi-Strauss) of structure. Bourdieu formally defines habitus as the system of "durable, transposable disposition, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principle which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends" or "an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them". Objectively "regulated" and "regular" without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor.³⁷

"The habitus sometimes described as a "feel for the game", a "practical sense" (sens pratique) that inclines agents to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated and that is not simply a question of conscious obedience to rules. Rather, it is a set of dispositions which generates practices and perceptions. The habitus is the result of a long process of inculcation, beginning in early childhood, which becomes a "second sense" or a second nature. The dispositions represented by the habitus are "durable" in that they last throughout an agent's life time. They are "transposable" in that they may generate practices in multiple and

³⁷ Bourdieu Pierre, *The Logic of Practice*, p.53, Stanford University Press, 1990/*Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge University Press, 1977 p.72,

diverse fields of activity, and they are “structured structures” in that they inevitably incorporate the objective social conditions of their inculcation. “³⁸

In sum, the idea of cultural practice is an essential feature of Bourdieu’s perspective on distinctions and status may be conceptualized therefore as lifestyle; that is, as the totality of cultural practices such as dress, speech, outlook and bodily dispositions. We can refer to the life-world as a habitus, which is structured and constituted by the whole practices, dispositions and tastes which organize an individual’s perception of social space.

II.IV. After Bourdieu

Bourdieu has stimulated many sociology scholars those study on culture and open a new debate also in cultural studies. On the one hand, some critiques to his arguments raises upon such Calhoun critically argue that Bourdieu is actually rather weak in recognizing historical variability and temporal change, noting that relations of “power” are remarkably stable.³⁹

On the other, Featherstone used his ideas to develop three distinct themes which were not fully worked out in earlier views concerning consumer culture; that people were not passive consumers but were actively engaged in consumer practices;

³⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp.5, *Essays on Art and Literature*, Polity Press, 1993

³⁹ Savage Mike and Longhurst Brian, *Social Class, Consumption and the Influence of Bourdieu: Some Critical Issues*, Edgel, Hetvarington, Worde, *Consumption Matters*, 1996, p.278/ Calhoun, 1993, p.83

that such forms of activism could be seen as related to class strategies and habituses and that the term “lifestyle” could be used to understand the dynamics of consumer cultures.”⁴⁰

Michel De Certeau, referring to Bourdieu's Works, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique. Précédée de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*, 1972, argues that Bourdieu's works to have full of contrast. "Bourdieu's argument is concerned less to indicate that reality then to show its necessity and the advantages of hypothesis for the theory. Thus the habitus becomes a dogmatic place, if one takes dogma to mean the affirmation of a “reality” which the discourse needs in order to be totalizing. Bourdieu's texts are fascinating in their analyses and aggressive in their theory. In reading them, I feel captive to a passion that they simultaneously exacerbate and excite. They are full of contrasts.”⁴¹

Certeau argues that, although the cultural activity of the non-producers of culture is largely unsigned, unreadable, and unsymbolized” because it is not governed by formalized logic and escapes the gaze of official power”, it is nonetheless present. This is where Certeau differs considerably from Bourdieu. Bourdieu suggests that practice is regulated by an explicit principle of administration located in a particular space(especially educational sphere), however Certeau counters that there is no single

⁴⁰ Savage Mike and Longhurst Brian, *Social Class, Consumption and the Influence of Bourdieu: Some Critical Issues*, Edgel, Hetvarington, Worde, Consumption Matters, 1996, p.278

⁴¹ De Certeau, Michel, "Foucauld and Bourdieu", ed. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Univ. of California Press, 1984, p.60

logic of practice at work in contemporary society, but a series of contradictory and multiple logics, some hidden, other explicit.

III. CONSUMPTION AND TACTICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

*The tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in which the weak makes use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices.*⁴²

In essence, Certeau's central presumption is that most everyday activities of consumption are "tactical" in character; like the trickster of premodern mythology, they incorporate cunning, maneuvers, clever tricks, simulations, feints of weakness, and poetic as well as warlike elements. For Certeau, tactics are to be sharply contrasted with strategies. Strategies seek to colonize a visible, specific space that will serve as a "home base" for the exercise of power and domination, in order "to delimit one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other".⁴³ On the other hand he slap on the wrist about the possibility of altering tactics into the strategies.

In his work, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, in contrast to Bourdieu's understanding argues that, work and leisure, these two areas of activity flow together. They repeat and reinforce each other. Cultural techniques that camouflage economic

⁴² De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p. xvii

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 36

reproduction with fictions of surprise (the event), of truth (information) or communication (promotion) spread through the workplace.⁴⁴

Certeau characterizes the consumption as a fragmented, poached and tireless activity; entirely different kind of production. “In reality, a rationalized, expansionist, centralized, spectacular and clamorous production is confronted by an entirely different kind of production, called “consumption” and characterized by its ruses, its fragmentation, (the result of the circumstances), its poaching, its clandestine nature, its tireless but quite activity, in short by its quasi-invisibility, since it shows itself not in its own products (where would it place them?) but in an art of using those imposed on it.”.⁴⁵

He seemingly puts the consumption of culture into the everyday life activities where the power and domination are exercised; therefore it is the field which has dominantly tactical character. He defines a “strategy” the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an “environment”. He calls a “tactic” on the other hand, “a calculus which can not count on a proper (a spatial or institutional localization) nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic depends on time;

⁴⁴ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p.29

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.31

it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized on the wing. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn to them into opportunities.”⁴⁶

Moreover strategies are actions which, recognition to the establishment of a place of power (the property of a proper); highly structured theoretical places (systems and totalizing discourses) capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed. Strategies fasten their hopes on the resistance that the establishment of a place offers to the erosion of time; “tactics on a clever utilization of time, of the opportunities it presents and also of the play that it introduces into the foundation of power.”⁴⁷

In the analyses of the given samples in this thesis, following the Certeau sense of everyday life practices and their tactical characters, I shall explore the tactical and strategically dimensions of the immigrant Turk images which come up on the television productions. Not only the cultural practices in immigrant’s everyday life has tactical character, but also consuming images in cultural productions, such television productions and literature and in music industry have traces from such structures. De Certeau points out the television as one of the place where the immigrants as consumers produce tactics. He calls attention to the relation between consumption and utilization of media products. The consumers of media; newspapers, televisions and etc. consume in a different way these products.

⁴⁶ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p.xix

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.38-39

“They subverted them from within, not by rejecting or by transforming them (though that occurred as well) but by many different ways of using them in the service of rules, customs or convictions foreign to the colonization which they could not escape. They metaphorized the dominant order: they made it function in another register. They remained other within the system which they assimilated and which assimilated them externally. They diverted it without leaving it. Procedures of consumption maintained their difference in the very space that the occupier was organizing.”⁴⁸

De Certeau calls this process “secondary production” in the process of the utilization of the production. In this regard the consumer cannot be identified or qualified by the newspapers or commercial products he assimilates: between the person (who uses them) and these products, there is a gap of varying proportions opened by the use that he makes of them.⁴⁹

In the next chapters I shall seek to answer following questions which they are helpful to map out my field. If the place of a tactic belongs to the other, how is the visible totality of Turkishness in German culture exercised and in which conditions tactics emancipate his subjectivity? Which tactics remain as an apparatus of emancipatory endeavor of subjectivity and in which conditions involves the field of strategy? What is the relation between the presence and the circulation of representation?

⁴⁸ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p.32

⁴⁹ Ibid

CHAPTER II

I.SUBJECT POSITION IN “GURBETCI” DISCOURSE

A psychoanalytic Reading

Gucken as verb in German language means “to look” also “to watch”.

Colloquial saying “to watch television”. Was guckst du? can be translated as “What are you looking at?” or “What are you watching?” But, this simple question as well refers to a cultural distinction in Germany. By the language (Hoch Deutsch) which is belongs to the dominant static space, belongs to the hegemonic relations, this form of usage is disregarded, in other saying, which is in immigrant’s imagination “gucken” is “to look at” and “to watch”. In German’s world –“in their world” in immigrants saying-this word is used during infant period as “to look at” and it bears astonishment, an immature enthusiasm. ”Mama, gucks du! Mama, guck mal!!”

What is the one what makes immigrant astonished/enthusiastic in his seeing?

Following Lacanian notion of mirror stage, it can be said that immigrant in his first far-away-from Heimat- experience, recognize his image separated from his mother-Heimat image. His desire to re-unite with this image and to be recognized as whole body never comes true. His fragmented image presents him new and different recognitions, and ambivalent identities thus he is subjected to these recognitions. In his early periods he was an invited, expected “guest” by this country (Germany), after

passing numerous tests and bureaucratic processes he is accepted to the country in order to help improvement of German economy. During his presence as “Gastarbeiter”, “Turkish worker”, “foreign worker” in Germany and as “Almançı”, “Gurbetçi” in Turkey, he negotiates his ambivalence identities.

His otherness is remembered by his host Heimat. Otherness functions in both ways: In Turkey, in his Heimat he is the scape-goat for all misrecognitions of national pure culture in Western modern eyes, on the other hand he condemns to underpin the stereotyped, naturalized “uncivilized, eastern foreigner” image. Although all of his attempts, he stays lacked. When he sees his own image which is “gucken” to him in his other’s mirror, he feels himself completed. In the mirror, his image is united with his mother-Heimat (anavatan). This new identity is indisputably and as taken for granted practiced and re-produced within immigrant discourse. By practicing this identity he is aware of his functioning and disguises his otherness by replacing his other. By imitating or using his weakness as a weapon against his other.

From this point I would like to mention Foucaultian sense of subject position. Foucault’s subject is produced through discourse in two different senses or places. First, the discourse itself produces “subjects-figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which the discourse produces. These subjects have the attributes we would expect as these are defined by the discourse: the madman, the hysterical woman, the homosexual, the individualized criminal, foreigner, foreigner worker, and so on. But the discourse also produces a place for the subject from which is particular

knowledge and meaning most makes sense. It is not inevitable that all individuals in a particular period will become the subjects of a particular discourse in this sense, and thus the bearers of its power/knowledge. But for them-us-to do so, they-we-must locate themselves in the position from which the discourse makes most sense, and thus become its “subjects” by “subjecting” ourselves to its meanings, power and regulation. All discourses, then, construct subject-positions, from which alone they make sense.

In the immigrant worker discourse, subject position of the immigrant has been subjected to the power/knowledge relations of the regime. His limited image recites discursive myths whereas it inflows to new, third spaces. Their absence as their existence is shaped within the discourse and his invisible existence become his power.

It is evident that one of the fields which their power comes up is cultural field. Exercising their roles in everyday practices which are imposed on them by the discourse, their representations in media bring forth another discourse for themselves. In the 70's and 80's the cinema have brought in overlapping figures with the role of immigrant in the discourse and actual discussions. Before mentioning the today's media representations let me give a brief overview about the “immigrant cinema” in Germany. Thus, we can perceive the correlation between the self and representation and the function of the representation in a historical perspective.

I.I. *Gurbetci* in the Medium

Since the signing, in October 1961, of the temporary labor recruitment agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Turkey, immigrant issue has been concerned to political, sociologic and economical agenda of Turkey and host country Germany. Economically as work-force; culturally and sociologically in terms of cultural difference and integration; and politically in sense of citizenship and cultural rights and democracy, immigrant issue has been analyzed and itself constructed and construed within “Turkish immigrants in Germany” discourse.

“His migration is like an event in a dream dreamt by another. The migrant’s intentionality is permeated by historical necessities of which neither he nor anybody he meets is aware. That is why it is as if his life were dreamt by another.....they watch the gestures made and learn to imitate them....the repetition by which gesture is laid upon gesture, precisely but inexorably, the pickle of gestures being stacked minute by minute, hour by hour is exhausting. The rate of work allows no time to prepare for the gesture. The body loses its mind in the gesture. How opaque the disguise of words.....”⁵⁰

Berger’s valuable work about migrant culture on foreign workers in Germany draws the subject position of immigrant by these words. His immigration is dreamt by

⁵⁰ Berger, John, *A Seventh Man*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975

another, thus after they moved to host country they were analyzed and interpreted in relation with the official doctrine of Turkish republic; they were allocated to represent the Turkish westernization project of Turkey. The desire of being a part of westernized, civilized world would be his task and night mare of his opaque consciousness. By western oriented official utterance his westernized and civilized existence in Europe encounters another “Europe” in which his “civilized” manners are not accepted as “enough civilized”.

“Ne bicim Almanya bu dedim kendi kendime.Bir ev gösterdiler bize.Tuvalet dırsarda.(I said to myself:What kind of Germany is it!They showed us a house.Toilets were out of the house.) “⁵¹

They carry the desire and the dreams to experience in Europe of all others which they left in their Heimat. Their integration finds a national meaning in the discourse. Integration to Europe is to be “alike” Europe, to imitate Europe in his previous civilization experience.

Homi Bhabha, in his essay, analyzed the immigrants whom “loses the body in the gesture”, and grasp his otherness in relation to narcissistic love object. While he loses his mind, his consciousness passes away behind the clouds, his language fails to identify him, and he evokes his former life in his former Heimat. What he lost and never substitutes recreate, construes and open new opaque, ambivalent, third spaces. His former identity which was shaped in relevant to existing ISA’s in Althusserian

⁵¹ Akın,Fatih, Immigration and my Family; documentary film

sense, is to become a desire, an ideal, an illusion that he can only reach and re-experience by practicing given cultural codes in recommendation dates and practices within his host-community or imitating the images which is presented to him via daily life practices or visual mediums.

In the repetition of gesture after gesture, the dream dreamt by another, the mythical return, it is not simply the figure of repetition that is *unheimlich*⁵², but the Turk's desire to survive, to name, to fix which is unnamed by the gesture itself....It is not the struggle of master and slave, but in the mechanical reproduction of gestures a mere imitation of life and labor...The opacity of language fails to translate or break through his silence and "the body loses its mind in the gesture"....The silent Other of gesture and failed speech becomes what Freud calls that "haphazard member of the herd", the Stranger, whose languageless presence evokes an archaic anxiety and aggressivity by impeding the search for narcissistic love-object can rediscover himself, and upon which the group's amour proper is based.⁵³

Their lackness comes to being completed by the images of subject position in the discourse. They were measured, classified and photographed. They were the indispensable element of the "horror" stories, "they will come and invade our country like they invade other countries: Turks are coming!" Muted, docile, compliant, submissive and subordinate immigrant woman are on the other side re-constructed by

⁵² insecure

⁵³ Bhabha Homi , *Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation*, ed. Nation and Narration, London; New York: Routledge, 1990 p.316

visual media and film industry: Turkish and German cultural area. Goodbye to Wrong Paradise (directed by Tevfik Başer, 1988), 40 m2 Germany (Başer, 1991) and Yasemin (Hark Bohm, 1988); narrated victimization of particularly migrant woman, indifference, otherness and exclusion. On the other hand German-Turk director Fatih Akin's movies opens a new phase from "cinema of duty" towards "the pleasure of hybridity"⁵⁴ which challenges to orientalist perceptions of the West. Given movies of 80's and in the midst of 90's, directed by Turkish filmmakers even Yasemin made by a German filmmaker, operate within western centered discourse; problematized from within Turkish patriarchal community.

By these cinema samples can be seen that the image of the immigrant on visual media serves and incites the neutralization of the native culture and maintains the social control. That kind of social structure reminds us *doxa* which Bourdieu calls kind of stable, tradition bound social order in which power is fully naturalized and unquestionable. Not only by given movies but also TV productions on German TV has the social structure of Turkish immigrant produced very structure of field. They could be and were measured, and classified.

Today, on German television in reality shows and cultural documentations, on the live-shows about Turkish wedding ceremonies or religious practices in Ramadan are watched as natural, ethnic cultural representations of immigrant culture. On the

54 Malik, Sarita, Beyond the Cinema of Duty? The pleasure of Hybridity: Black British Film of the 1980's and 1990's, p.202-205, ed. "Turkish delight -- German fright: Migrant identities in transnational cinema." Mediated Identities, ed. by Deniz Derman, Karen Ross and Nevena Dakovic. Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2001: 131-149.

other hand, he is a blue print character in his narration. Here I would like to recall Wittgenstein and his model of knowledge and ordinary language. In Wittgensteinian model of knowledge and ordinary language; which has also includes critique of the expert suggest the fact of being a foreigner at home and foreigner away from home; we are foreigners on the inside but there is no outside. Turkish immigrant is not anymore immigrant and in which ways is he inside and in which/by which cases is he outside? That is to say, is he still immigrant? On the television his visual image is hailed as docile and self oriented subject. On the one hand he is friendly immigrant living in his imbiss caravan and serves döner and börek to German people in children shows, on the hand he is one of the most popular showman who plays Indian migrants and Bavarian people in his sketches which these cultures in Germany are vulnerable to dominant cultural regime.

Accordingly, such television productions raise and actualize new stereotypes and roles and so give the immigrants a sense of belonging by means of multi-culturalism. In the following analyzes I seek to bring up how the previous stereotypes are re-transferred to today's German television.

I.II. Towards a new ethno comedy or mockery?

In one of the routines on his weekly TV comedy show, which can be defined as a new style of ethno comedy, Kaya Yanar⁵⁵, plays a Turkish driver who has a quarrel with the German traffic police. He misunderstands or behaves as if he doesn't speak German well and plays with the words discriminatively and resists not showing his driving license.



Führerschein, bitte?(Driving licence, please)

Haaa? Führer?(Führer refers to Hitler)??

“Nein, Führer! Führerschein!

“Nein Führer, nein führer!”(With horror)

At the end of the conversation police officer has to give up.

⁵⁵ The third-generation grandson of Turkish-Syrian immigrants, Yanar says his caricatures are based on the pals he used to impersonate growing up in Frankfurt's multiethnic Konstabler Wache section. After he dropped out of philosophy studies at Frankfurt University, they encouraged him to perform his stand-up routines at local fairs for \$25 a gig. After two TV producers caught his act at the 1999 Kuppers Beer Comedy Competition in Cologne.

After the police officer leaves with a frightful face, he turns to his wife and with a fluent German. "Oh, wieter "

Clannish, noisy Turks? Oafish Germans? Was guckst du?--Whaddaya looking at?--practically celebrates stereotypes. On the other hand this small parody conveys that immigrant subject denies reciting the docile recognition in "immigrant discourse".

Mockery functions in terms of rejecting all prejudices about recognition of the Turkish immigrant in host society. To be "other" in this case points to practical weapon against host culture. In German society Hitler and his connotations (such racism, radical nationalism) keep their sensibility to day. Whereas the word game (with Führer and Führerschein) evokes the old nightmare of German psyche, indicates that immigrant knows that he is not "immigrant" anymore. He is not outside of host culture; he grasps the all details of German culture.

In the understanding of "German", in immigrant's gaze, immigrant is automaton. In of the parody we can observe that this time automaton gastarbeiter displays with the white color labor but, the gaze keeps its place.

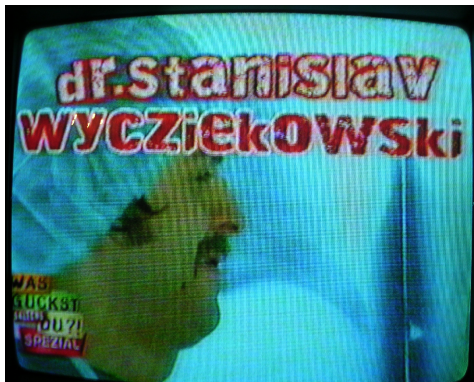
Asian info-tech specialists to immigrate to Germany, Ranjit, a character with the face and attire of an Indian appear before a German immigration official to plead for political asylum.

"Rejected!" barks the official.

"But my house was burned down and my family displaced ..."

"Rejected!"

"Oh, but I forgot to tell you, I'm fluent in Java and HTML." At that, the official thrusts a bouquet of flowers at Ranjit and declares worshipfully, *"Welcome to Germany!"*



While Turkish subject self-recognized himself and negotiate his re-mis-self recognitions in host culture, in the discourse his image keeps his place. Homi K. Bhabha argues that in the wake of mass migrations the modern nation "fills the void left in the uprooting of communities and kin and turns that loss into the language of metaphor," Bhabha then turns "to the desolate silences of the wandering people; to that 'oral void' that emerges when the Turk abandons the metaphor of heimlich national culture." For Bhabha, this Turkish migrant marks "the void that at once prefigures and pre-emptly the 'unisonant'." The postcolonial critic admittedly borrows

rather from John Berger's more varied references to migrant laborers in Europe in 1975 in order to assert in 1990, "The Turk leads the life of the double, the automaton." This figural Turk is not incapable of speech, as Deniz Gokturk has criticized that "[e]ven Homi Bhabha, the great propagator of hybridity, [...], imagines the Turkish migrant worker in Germany as an incommensurable, alienated, speechless victim without any voice." Following recent scholarship on Black British cinema's move away from "the social realism of a 'cinema of duty' towards 'the pleasures of hybridity'," Gokturk decries the paradigms of victimology and authenticity that continue to inform cultural discourses of migration and diaspora. The "social worker's perspective" that she associates with this generally is one that she also ascribes to Bhabha's dire portrait of a Turkish Gastarbeiter as adapted from Berger. From this perspective, it can be said that Turks in Germany are seen to embody Turkish culture as an intact national phenomenon, which is configured only as a foreign body. Or foreign is only a body. A picture that is vulnerable to watch by all eyes and to all construes.



In Yıldırım family's portrait, Father Yıldırım is characterized with clannish, nervous manners to other members of the family. All women in this picture wears headscarf –wife(s) it is not possible to recognize from the picture, grandmother, daughters- it shows the unchanged character of Turkish traditional family. Father is dominant figure of this picture.





A number of Muslims called the network, Germany's private SAT 1, and complained that Yanar had offended Islam when he spoofed Madonna's American Pie video using a huge Turkish flag and a stand-in woman wearing a hijab. Yanar apologized. Greeks, on the other hand, grumbled about being left out and demanded that Yanar make fun of them too. He obliged with a gig about a Hellenic astronaut named Costas with a big Zorba mustache and a sheepskin vest over his spacesuit. Ah, these intolerant American astronauts, gripes Costas from his weightless perch in the International Space Station, they keep making him go outside to smoke.

In his volume of essays exploring film culture, Frederic Jameson writes that”
The visual is essentially pornographic. Pornographic films are....only the potentiation of films in general, which ask us to stare at the world as though it were a naked body.....The activity of watching is linked by projection to physical nakedness. Watching is theoretically defined as the primary agency of violence, an act that pierces the other, who inhabits the place of the passive victim on display. The image,

then, is an aggressive sight that reveals itself in the other; it is the site of aggressed.”⁵⁶

Following Chow who investigates “subjectivity” of the other-as-oppressed-victim, in his essay⁵⁷, it can be put forward that the image is implicitly the place where battles are fought and strategies of resistance negotiated. However is there a way of “finding” the native without simply ignoring the image, or substituting a “correct” image of the ethnic example for an “incorrect” one?

In his ethno comedy the caricatures of Yanar, ignores the defiled, degraded image of foreigner by repeating and mocking present stereotypes. It is obvious that Yanar’s mimicry pertains to what de Certeau calls, producing power from one’s own weakness. According to de Certeau, “What is called “popularization” or “degradation” of a culture is a partial and caricatural aspect of the revenge that utilizing tactics take on the power that dominates production”⁵⁸. In this respect Yanar’s figures subvert themselves from within and transform previous figures in “immigrant cinema”.

Not forgetting that television is the most effective means of communication and mass media reflect, reveal, and shape aspects of the society. Television makes thousands of “images” every day for its consumers. In the following analyze I aim to

⁵⁶ Hall,Stuart, Representation, Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, Sage Publication,1997

⁵⁷ Chow,Rey,The Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies,Indiana University Press,1993

⁵⁸ De Certeau, Michel,The Practice of Everyday Life, University of California Press,1984 p.32,

discuss the reflections of media representations at the everyday life field. In this regard we can see first how the immigrants consume and re-produce the representations and then re-present their opaque self-recognition by means of melancholia. As I mentioned before the way of practicing their home-land (such traditions, religion, local and national cultural practices) pave the way for an imaginary home-land construction.

I.III. Stolen Past

Language and identity (The anxiety of beloved loss)

For Freud, the melancholic is a person who can not get over the loss of a precious, loved object and who ultimately introjects this loss into his ego. [...] In his essay, Freud is concerned with the relationship between the self and the lost loved object. What Freud sees as “self” directed denigration now finds a concrete realization in the denigration of others.

Before entering the denigration of the other and resistance strategies, I would like to evoke Fanon’s construe which is that the native is someone from whom something stolen. The native, here the foreigner, and then is lack.

In NDR, in German television channel, displays also different types of life practices in Germany. In one of them, the subject is wedding business of Turkish people in Germany. It is about how they organize a wedding and over wedding and

marriage institutions a blink to Turkish traditional culture. At the end of the wedding fest (düğün) a big Turkish flag to be seen and a song is song: “Ölürüm T ürkiyem): “I die for you, my Turkey (Heimat)” Suddenly fest turns to a funeral. Tears dovetail with the lyrics.

Immigrant subject knows that he is deprived his all properties which pertain to national life field. He is the one who knows very well that he has been dead and thus feels grief and degradation. His image in television functions on the one hand two different ways: First he is enabling himself to recognize his difference and thus resist against assimilation. Second, he solicits a place in the society via his difference. On the other hand this difference is his cultural capital.

Turk-German author Emine Sevgi Özdamar mourns for her lost in her novel. Özdamar narrates in her book, *Mutterzunge*⁵⁹ how she lost her mother tongue. Turkish language is a foreign language that she knows well.

“In my language, "tongue" means "language. 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. A café for foreigners, with Arabs as customers, the stools too high, feet dangling. A stale croissant sits wearily on the plate. I give bakhshish right away, otherwise the waiter might feel ashamed. If only I knew when I had lost my mother tongue. My mother and I sometimes spoke in our mother tongue. My mother said to me, "You know what? You just keep on talking; you think you're saying everything, but suddenly you jump over unspoken words and you just keep talking. And I, I jump

⁵⁹ Özdamar, Emine Sevgi, *Mutterzunge*, p.9-14, Hamburg: Rotbuch Verlag, 1990

with you and breathe easily." Then she said: "You left half your hair back in Alamania." "I can remember sentences now, sentences she uttered in her mother tongue, except that when I imagine her voice, the sentences themselves sound in my ears like a foreign language I know well. When I asked her once why Istanbul had become so dark, she said, "Istanbul has always been this dark, it's your eyes that have grown used to Alamanian lights."

She tries to remember along the story how she lost the mother tongue. The protagonist has with the loss of her native language in the foreign environment also been alienated emotionally and physically from part of herself. Remembering the strikes in Turkey or injustice arrestments in East of Turkey by voice of a mother whose son is arrested by Turkish police without any reason, she draws a melancholic picture of her country. All references which she mentioned put forward to the era 1980-1990 in Turkey which remarks the Turkish discriminative politics against minorities and marginalized groups that is to say especially that located to the south east of Turkey. Özdamar as an intellectual put herself into subject position which is subjected by nationalist ideology even though she narrates counter stories.

In Freudian sense, loss of previous loved object, here the mother tongue, functions as a bridge which tied the writer and the Turkishness with its all connotations. She writes in German language because she lost her mother language in-between somewhere during her journey from Turkey to Germany. All what she remember is that mothers' words in her mother tongue with a bitter taste. If she

remembers where she lost her mother tongue she could be inside and interfere the culture. However she is outside and marginalized by a foreigner language: Her own mother language. Language functions here as nation, as Rey Chow suggests in his essay *Writing Diaspora*. Language here is the solely indication which signs her cultural identity.

In her text she puts forward, according to an auto-orientalist approach, her native culture versus taken for granted German national identity. Accordingly, the immigrant subject differs from the national cultural identity by his native references. Representation of the self as powerless leads to another identical recognition for the immigrant self: To have power from his own powerless. Poverty and anti democratic processes, upheaval and arbitrary practices are the identical signs of the East from the gaze of the West. Explicitly and implicitly narrating/repeating the signs which subjected by Other's gaze reinforce the other's subjection. Self-reflection of the Other self duplicates itself in the native gaze.

Another notably aspect is that Özdamar offers a picture of the oppression of the immigrant, and she does not contradict neither the stereotype of Turkish immigrant as victims. Indeed her narrative style helps to perpetuate it, since her narratives show individual strategies of identity formation against melancholia, but rather unite separate identities into one single pattern, thereby supporting generalization.

Moreover, it is evident that generalities and stereotypes are actualized by means of media and incarnated in popular commercial products, such television series and soap operas. Indeed the stereotypes are created which combines gender (oppressed woman), tradition (the socialization in underdeveloped rural areas) and cultural background (Islam's oppressive backwardness). The following chapter concerns of reciprocal respect of media representations and social-political status of the era following the fall of Berlin Wall up to the present.

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS A HETEROPHILIC AGE

Towards a Socio-politic Reading

*All societies produce strangers,
but each kind of society produces its own strangers,
and produces them in its own inimitable way.⁶⁰*

Germany has experienced large scale of immigration since the end of World War II. German refugees, foreign workers and their families, asylum seekers and refugees, EU immigrants and ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are among the largest group.⁶¹ Definition of the immigration situation was articulated and construed in the relation with the given facts in sense of nationhood. Nationhood is one of the important concepts in Germany. Notwithstanding the ethnic nation state concept in Germany till the end of 1990's had a tendency excluding legal integration, in 1990 after the breakdown of Iron Curtain, with the immigration of ethnic Germans (Spätaussiedler) to their father land, immigration took new meanings and since then, integration discussions are taken place into the political and everyday life agenda.

⁶⁰ Bauman Zygmunt, The making and unmaking of Strangers, in Debating Cultural Hybridity, Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism, Edited by Pina Werber & Tariq Modood, Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1997

⁶¹ see Appendix I

Not the EU migrants and ethnic Germans, another saying the Spätaussiedler⁶² but the guest workers coming from non-EU countries, such Yugoslavia, Turkey, Middle East and Far East countries and Africa, are the new objects of German integration politics. Since mid of 70's in Germany existence of guest workers are considered temporary and partial. However since the high cost of training and socializing the new guest workers, the employers wanted to keep the workers permanently. In 2000 they were trained, socialized and self- employed guest workers, guest workers families, second and furthermore the third generation is not guest worker anymore. Germany has not denied as in 1970's that Germany is not an immigration country. In 1999 the coalition between CDU and CSU announced that "We recognize that an irreversible immigration process has taken place and we support the integration of migrants." ⁶³

In regarding to integration politics, Germany deals with the question "Who is foreigner?" as well "Who are we?" and at the end main question lingered on the air: "How can we live together?" What were the conditions renders possible to live together? Is it possible to grasp a kind of understanding? What can be done to integrate immigrants to German society? Is it possible for such ethnicities, for example some non-Christian ethnicities to integrate into German social system? Alike questions give a raise gradually. Henceforth whatever religious, ethnic and cultural differences they have, the migrants are considered to integrate into the system.

⁶² Spätaussiedler: emigrant; refugee. This term refers to Ethnic Germans who lived in former communist Soviet lands

⁶³ Heckmann Friedrich, From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany, in The Integration of Immigrants in European Society, Stuttgart, Lucius&Lucius, 2003

As I state above, it has been a different process to integrate into the social system in Germany for EU immigrants and ethnic Germans (Spätaussiedler). They are taken into consideration as an indispensable element of European common culture. But the non-EU, non-Christian members of immigrant society, in these thesis Turkish immigrants, are to be seen in another perspective. Second and third generation of Turkish immigrants, those who can not be called anymore as guest workers, have a particular importance in general immigrant discourse. Since they entered to the central schooling system and employed themselves and had partially German citizenship, it might be difficult to put them into the “immigrant” category. Then in statistics a new concept came up: “Ausländische Herkunft”⁶⁴ Originally Foreigner.

In this chapter, accordingly, I shall try to focus on the question cultural heterophilia and controversially celebration of hybridity. Zygmunt Baumann defines today’s world as *heterophilic*. “For sensation-gatherers or experience-collectors that we are, concerned (or, more exactly, forced to be concerned) with flexibility and openness rather than fixity and self-closure, difference comes at a premium”.⁶⁵ In this world it is no longer possible to imagine a uniform, monotonous and homogeneous form of life-enhancing values. To cope with this unknown, uncertain and confusing reality is the only way to recognize it. Baumann puts the question which is not how to

⁶⁴ See App. I: Herkunft: (Gr.) ,Statistische Ämter der Länder, Forschungsdatumzentrum, Wanderungstatistics 0.10.2005, www.forschungsdatumzentrum.de

⁶⁵ Bauman Zygmunt, The making and unmaking of Strangers, in Debating Cultural Hybridity, Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism, Edited ny Pina Werber&Tariq Modood,Zed Books,London&New Jersey,1997 p.55

get rid of foreigners, but how to live with foreigners. Hence, I try to discuss the image of the Turk-Germans on German television programs whose German and Turk protagonists are disposed to live together. The television serial “Türkisch für Anfänger” (Turkish for Beginners) that broadcasts every weekday in primetime, offers a picture of a Turk and a German family living in the same house.

The second sample is another television serial, but in this case it is a children serial which broadcasts on ARD television channel every weekday: Pfefferkörner (Peppercorn). By means of this reading I seek to touch on the possibility of hybridity. As I mentioned before the subject position of the immigrant in the discourse can not be disposed so far on the previous self-recognition in homeland. The identities and thereby the re-representations have floated in a third space and bearing a crossover, native, bricoleur character. Since in postmodern times in which we are living, the individualities and individual life choices come at a premium. Thus the question is here whether only hybridity can fulfill the requirements of social, psychological and liminal space.

Not forgetting that the samples which are concerned with in this work have aimed to catch the Turkish audiences, since they watch mostly Turkish television at home. The representations or their functions gain here not only socio-politic, but also a commercial aspect.

I.I.Türkisch für Anfänger

Turkish for New Beginners

One German and one Turkish immigrant are in the same house. How might a common life be? How can it be possible living with an *auslander*? Is it possible to eclipse the difference or does all what is done to erase the difference serve to reinforce the difference? Or as Baumann puts forward, are we living in a heterophilic age? In this chapter I shall aim to discuss these problems and in what follows I shall problematize how the subjects of cultural industry and sheer efflorescence of cultural products, ethnicities and identities in cultural market and in post modern nation-states.

Turkish for New Beginners is a serial which is displayed on ARD television channel in Germany. The relation between the main characters of this serial renders to grasp the Turkish immigrant image in German media, in terms of integration and cross-cultural ground. Metin, police Commissar (40's) lives in Berlin with his son; Cem(17-18) and daughter; Yagmur(16-17). Psychotherapist Doris (40's) lives with her daughter Lena (same age with Yagmur), and her small son (10) Nile. When Doris falls in love with Metin, their world changes crucially. The two families begin to live in the same House. Misunderstandings, phars clichés which arises from difference between two different cultures are the main leitmotiv of the serial. The serial is considered as "Patchwork Family" story in the media. Disjointed, incoherent members of two families seem to affirm the (a) potential interrelation between two

cultures. The main characters are put into the picture as symbolic clichés of their mother communities. Cem is as most Turkish youngster as macho and Yagmur is as most young Turkish girl as radical Muslim and with headscarf characterized. Psychotherapist Doris is always ready to help people and his favorite saying is:” "Wir holen tief Luft und atmen alle unsere Aggressionen aus"(we breath deeply in and breath all our aggressions out” Police commissar Metin is a turbulent type and plays a mediator role between his family and Dora’s.

In this work alike “Was guckst du?” the prejudices are taken up evenly however not only on one side, but from both culture areas. The serial sets out a simple question: How may two different cultures live together? Before concerning with this question, let me introduce some sample scenes from the serial which highlight the differences and similarities of both families in everyday discourse.



Respekt!(Show some respect!)

It is evident that, as one can see above, Lena and Yagmur share the same room but not the same lifestyle. Yagmur is considered to be foreign to German way of life. She has no boy friend, she does not eat pork because of her religious belief, and she

doesn't get along with Lena. The scenes in which Lena talks to his boyfriend on the phone along night or spend time with him in her/their common room with Yagmur underpin the border lines of young girls.



“Gott spricht mit mir“ (God is talking to me)

The relation between Lena and Yagmur reminds the relation between foreigner and host culture. They have to live together but they have fear from each other. When the difference between foreigner and host culture is so immense, there is no big problem. They can simply ignore each other. But when the difference is ambiguous and befog, they should have new instruments in order to redefine each other. Going back to term “*Gastarbeiter*”, “Turkish guest workers” is not adequate any more to articulate the new circumstances of Turkish immigrants in Germany. On the other hand the new Turk-German generations reject “*Gastarbeiter*” label and resist playing the role of spokesman for particular ethnic groups or cultural traditions.

In German language “auslander” (out of the land) is used in two different meanings; “fremde” (foreigner; stranger; the people that speak another language) and einwanderer (immigrant). In immigrant discourse in Germany these two words,

auslander and fremde; foreigner and stranger, render to seize immigrant's subject position in the same pot. An auslander in German understanding should be the person who does not speak natively German language. Notwithstanding Turkish immigrants and their families speak German though in different levels, they convey "otherness" to the word "auslander". Moreover, "foreigner" evokes sense of strangeness, of what is bizarre, peculiar and out of order. Those bizarre strangers who in the beginning were welcomed, in time become the targets of the "auslander prototype" in German imaginary. They are excluded and their culture is being ethicized and thus, depriving the culture its own historical, social, geographical environment, stuck into the already-made packages.



Yagmur is cleaning the picture of her mother.

By the same token, foreigner has crucial ties with the past and is unchangeable. His origin assigns a border between himself and the host culture. If the strangers do not fit the cognitive, Bauman, argues that moral or aesthetic map(s) of host culture, if they befog and eclipse the boundary which ought to be clearly seen then each society produces their own strangers which they render to draw their borders of their moral, aesthetic and cognitive maps. In Post-modern times –contrary to modernist,

pluralistic, liberal, multiculturalistic strategy- in host society, uncertainty of difference is conceived as a threat to the sheer presence of nation. So how differentiates one from another in post modern times? In which ways do societies create *difference* in order to protect and re-gain their pure culture, as it was pure before? Moreover, in regard to postmodernism, Baumann differentiates the post-modern strangers and modern strangers. The essential difference is that, while modern strangers are allocated for annihilation and served as borderlines for the advancing boundary of the order-under-construction, the postmodern ones are by joyful or reluctant, but common, consent here to stay. Baumann paraphrase Voltaire's comment on God: if they did not exist, they would have to be invented.⁶⁶ They are indeed invented in token of love for strangerhood and thereby their strangerhood is to be protected.



Leaving aside the serial for a while, let me briefly discuss the reciprocal aspect of consumption of the difference here. It is obvious that cultural difference and the elements which differs one culture from the other are packed into the same

⁶⁶ *ibid*,p.54

consumption packages. Giving a short overview of postmodern economy, on the one hand fantasy world of consumption leads to a false egalitarianism, in which mass consumption disguises the continuities of major economic differences and political inequalities⁶⁷. On the other hand the playful character of post modern culture which transformed the modern divisions between high and low culture; and cultural differences such education, language, etc. play a major role for the development of mass consumption and cultural mosaic. Instead of class differences in modernism, ethnic and traditional cultural identities in postmodernism perform the difference in culture. Going back to “Turkish for Beginners”, the stereotypes and clichés offers a secondary production of difference and present them to the usage of consumers.



Students in the Turkish Quran School in Berlin

As we see above, Turkish culture is defined with, if we speak Bourdieu's terminology Turkish cultural capital; “*döner*” and in the eye of German imaginary Turkish way of education is defined with the uniform students in so-called Islamic style schooling system. Another aspect to assume here is what the consumption of representations on television brings to the consumers. Assuming the multicultural,

⁶⁷ Turner, Bryan; *Mass Culture, Distinction and Lifestyle*, ed. Status, University of Minnesota Press, 1988, p.74,

transnational structure of today's German society as a mosaic, this cultural mosaic ignores all the economical and class divisions; each marble in this mosaic is unique and incoherent. Each ethnicity in the mosaic is to be consumed by the out of this mosaic and consume the mosaic. Mosaic is itself a product in the market any more.

Indeed in postmodern times what severe is to recognize the difference. In a heterophilic age the difference is not recognized by race or blood ties (*jus sanguinis*), but as Pierre-Andre Taguieff⁶⁸ argues, the postmodern rearticulation of the racist discourse is in his coining of the term "differentialist racism". According to him for example in Italia, new fascist movement recognizes the difference and wants difference. Because cultural difference is produced by human and this is "good". In addition, in heterophilic societies cultural difference is a necessity and by means of consumption the cultural product is itself a good.

Looking back to migration history in Germany; it is clear that after the Berlin Wall falls, with the re-unification of East German citizens to the sheer presence of German nation, like Spätaussiedler 69 after 1987 mainly from Russia, Poland and Romania, definition of *auslander* is changed. Amalgamation of this new Germanness is confronted via blood and cultural segregation. Former European citizen *gastarbeiters* take a place in this new German society as new European Union citizens. Henceforth non-European and non-Christian members of immigrant societies (such those from Arabic countries, Africa, and Turkey) are exposed to German

⁶⁸Taguieff, Pierre-Andre, 1988, ed. *La Force du Prejuge: Esai sur le racisme et ses doubles*, Paris: La Decouverte ed. Bauman 1997

integration policies and partially heterophilic projects of right wings. Questions of national identity revive. Born-again ethnicity is celebrated and invented tribal traditions are embedded to totalisation of German culture. Difference is nevertheless holy. And it sells good.

However in this serial the difference is even for the strangers befog and blurred. Turkish characters in the serial invoke plastic flowers in the vase. They are decorative, full-functioned and look nice and even when they are displaced and relocated neither changes neither their look nor their recognition. They do not feel wind or sun; either storm or thunder. They seem to lose the sense the difference. In the post modern world, identities are palimpsest, rootless and in constant flux.⁷⁰ It is unable to live with strangers; the present efflorescence of cultural and subcultural differences has made difference the very organizing principle of postmodern existence. The talk of strangers no longer makes sense.

⁷⁰ Bauman, Zygmunt, *The Making and Unmaking of Strangers*, ed. Debating Cultural Hybridity, *Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, Edited by Pina Werber & Tariq Modood, Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1997, p.17



Yagmur is eating secretly cake in Ramadan.

In Ramadan Yagmur can not stop herself to finger her Mother-in laws cake. In this scene and in the followings also it is seen that although Yagmur's all endeavors to practice the Islamic rules, she stumbles each time. Alike in the scene in which she eats pork-meat in the fridge without knowing it was her stepmother's dinner menu.

Although each person who is raised according to Islamic rules is able to discern the difference between beef and pork, and although she was born and raised in Germany and lived under her Muslim identity, she behaves to see German way of life first time. To taste pork is akin to touch German way of life for her. And she likes the pork meat balls very much. It can be said that Yagmur does not see German way of life first time in her lifetime but first time she is sharing the same space with them and this was not as different as she had thought. The question is; so what the difference makes.



When her friends from the Islamic school find out by chance that she ate pork, they protest her and take her scarf away. She does not merit the House of Allah.

At first sight this serial seems to present a confirmation of a cultural exclusion or a qualified acceptance, but the characters here offers a complex identity-building which is characteristic for postmodernism. Since individual choices and decisions in everyday life discourse come at premium. Giddens touches on as well the process of identity- building in post modernism, stressing on heterophilic nature of the postmodernism. Moreover, he states, in the postmodern world the dominant sentiment is the feeling of uncertainty which is permanent and irreducible in this new world (dis)order. Alongside in this new order, the opposition between reality and its simulation, truth and its representation collapse; thus blurs the difference. In Gidden's sense, today's strangers are by-products, but also means of production, their process of identity- building is never conclusive.

In a cultural package, in Gidden's terminology, difference re-produced and put on the market. Thereby cultural products via medium underpin to institute the ethnic difference. However ethnicity does not refer or include the cultural differences which

are squeezed into the nationalism package, rather tribal or primitive borders. Thus ethnicity turns to be a legitimate force of resistance via/in cultural products. On the other side by means of media representations this complex structure offers also a commercial aspect.

Noting that one of the target audiences are German spectators. The reciprocal stereotypes get cross with another and offer a joyful experience and in-look to the present society for the audience. Notwithstanding the laugh-effects and clichés there are no break points in what in this serial happens. The serial represents neither transnational confrontation nor cultural interchange. Since scenarist Bora Dagtekin seems to seek an intersection between two cultures. It is also noteworthy that the only difference between the families is set up with the religion and Turkish culture is characterized and represented only by religious aspects. This is the very point that immigrant criticizes in everyday life, namely to be recognized under homogenous labels. In sum, the artificial representations in the serial underpin the impossibility to live together for both sides.

Homogeneity is not the only matter on television. The serials and television movies narrate what atypical about new cross-cultural situations. Stories about cultural intersections, and hybrid generations are to be narrated a different façade of immigrant reality. These TV products have a different character than the former ones which those represented immigrant culture as “*homogenous*” and recite the speechless, muted, docile, compliant, and submissive and subordinate immigrant

stories. What they depict is a portrait of “*new immigrant*” which is to be perceived to be endowed with unique powers, hybrid moments.

Indeed, the so-called magical, ritual moments and hybrid constructions are mostly what television needs to market. In these television productions the storyboards are quite the same; by means of the intercultural marriages, the difference between Germans and Turkish immigrants is eclipsed and takes new perspectives. New born Turkish-German generation is perceived to bridge between two cultures. German fathers and mothers attended to Turkish language and cooking courses in order to better communicate to their hybrid children and new foreigner relatives. In the following reading I seek to discuss the term *hybridity* in compare to the concepts *nativity* and *bricolage*.

I.II. Holy Hybridity or Bricolage

Postmodernism has brought trans-national and cross-cultural situations and its fertile terminology along in which cultural plurality are celebrated in token of a resistance versus modernist cultural concepts. But what if cultural mixings and crossovers become routine in the context of globalizing trends? Does that prevent the hybrid’s transgressiv power? What do we mean by cultural hybridity when identity is built in the face of postmodern uncertainties that render even the notion of strangerhood meaningless? Employing such questions, I shall seek first to discuss

how the individualities position itself in the postmodern nation-state and then which role the terms “*nativity*” and “*hybridity*” play.

It is evident that cultural mixings and crossovers today seem to become “routine” in the context of postmodern global trends. Living under conditions of overwhelming and self-perpetuating uncertainty is thus an experience for postmodern strangers as well not-strangers altogether to have the task of identity-building. In this regard, the heroes of another Television-serial “Pfefferkörner” (Peppercorn) which broadcasts in KIKA (Children Channel) Cem and his German-Turk friends Jana, Natasha and Fiete are characterized as members of the multicultural society in Germany. One of the episodes of this serial in which Cem’s grandmother comes from Istanbul to visit her grandson. Contrary to all Cem’s and his friend’s expectations, she does not have headscarf, she is not gray haired old illiterate woman. Cem’s German stepmother and father welcome her. She aims to bring Cem to Turkey where his mother’s family already lives and to introduce Turkish culture to her grandson.” What kind of child is he! If my daughter is still alive, she does not let it happen. He is like a German boy. I looked at the books in his room and Cd’s on his shelves, almost everything is in German.”



Cem, on clockwise, first

This speech leads to an identity discussion in Cem's mind. He discusses with his friend Elif on his identity.

"Do you think sometimes who you are?"

"Yes. I know the answer. My name is Elif Toprak. I am 8 years old and I am living here."

Hybridity theory offers, akin to the concept stranger, a modernist and postmodernist statement and differentiates old and new hybrids. Modernist hybridity theory looked to sites of resistance and exclusion, (Foucault, Bourdieu, Bakhtin, Hebdige) and analyzed popular mass culture and carnival culture as subversive and revitalizing inversions of official discourses and hybrid was in this sense (Hebdige in his analyses of bricolage of youth cultures) that they juxtapose and fuse objects, language and signifies practices from different and challenge an official, puritanical

public order.⁷¹ From a postmodern perspective, since the definition of racism changed (as well as all homogenous modern definitions, such as definitions of essentialism and nationalism), the cross-cultural definitions turned out as well to be fraught with difficulties that produce the present dual forces of hybridity and essentialism. Therefore, identities seem to resist hybridization, rather than being open and subject to fusion.

The scene, in which Elif defined her identity, therefore opens up a new room for a new identity politics. This new politics can be considered with the terminology of postmodern hybridity or as Baumann states, as the notion of responsibility to and for others and the world, by “positioning myself in my relations with others and by taking my place in the world”⁷². Werbner calls this politics as cyborg politics. This concept of cyborg theory comes from the idea of bricolage of Levi Strauss. The *bricoleur* is,

someone who uses “the means at hand”, that is, the instruments he finds at his dispositions around him, those which are already there, which had not been especially conceived with the eye to the operation for which they are to be used and to which one tries by trial and error to adopt them, not hesitating to change them whenever it appears necessary, or try to several of them at once, even if their form and their origin are heterogeneous, and so forth. (Derrida, 964)

Cyborg politics is conceived by many scholars (Yuval-Davis, Fisher, Bauman, and Werbner) as a dialog across differences and ideology, culture, identity and social

⁷¹ Werbner, Pnina, *Debating Cultural Hybridity Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, Ed. Pnina Werbner, Tariq Modood, Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1997

⁷² Werbner, Pnina, *Debating Cultural Hybridity Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, Edited Pnina Werbner, Tariq Modood, Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1997, p.9

positioning. Back to the serial, the relationship between Elif and Cem and the present conditions of elements which create and support the difference and social positioning of the actor has a *bricoleur* character. These characters display a sole subjectivity, a third position in a third space. A third space, which is what Bhabha called a “differential communality”, emerges within the third culture. The third culture, as Kaya⁷³ defines, is a bricolage in which elements from different cultural traditions, sources and discourses are constantly intermingled with and juxtaposed to each other.

Moreover, the characters in this serial represent the fact that the third generation Turk-Germans in Germany displays third space by means of their *bricoleur* identity. Identity is not perceived as an obstacle to communicate here, but a means of dialog. Indeed this is a quite different situation in compare to the representation of the immigrant in media which are concerned with previously in the study. At the end of the episode Cem’s friends make a speech at which they tell that Cem is a good student in the school and he is also at the school team, writing at the school newspaper and above all as a friend they needed him.” *Yes, actually without Cem’s will I would not take him to Istanbul. I see that he does not want it and I am happy that he has such friends here.*”

Note that, there are also two crucial points here to be highlighted. First, the image of Turk-Germans should be changed in the eye of Turks in Turkey. The terms such” in-between”, “lost generation” degenerated” “identity crisis”” problematic” in

⁷³ Kaya,Ayhan, Sicher in Kreuzberg,Constructing Diasporas:Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin,Transaction Publishers ,2001

order to identify the Turk-Germans by Turks in Turkey and as well by Germans in Germany must be negotiated with *bricoleur* character of new Turk-German identity and they must accept that the demands of nationalist or culturalist paradigms will not be accomplished. The second theme is that normalization of difference by means of media. It is evident that the themes and the characters in this serial overlap the everyday life discourse of Turk-German new generation. However the way which the representations display on television exposes another crucial aspect. Everything that makes “other” is normalized, by making it familiar or exoticized, by making it strange and romanticized that it becomes an unthreatening fascination. The serial thus meets the demotic requirements of German spectators, offering a so-called “hybrid” “integrated”, “successful” model for immigrant youngsters. On the other side this serial is significant, since it is one of the first television products which affirm the transnational identity of new Turk-German generation.

In everyday life discourse negating the so-called state of “inbetweenness” these youngsters display their bricoleur identity and articulate their competence by means of cultural products. Rap, soul, hip-hop music is one of the free spaces where one expresses own multi-cultural capital. Muhabbet is one of those, who vocalize own story in German arabesque music.

I.III. Double Identities

Muhabbet, his real name Çetin Çetinkaya, is making music in Germany for 5 years. He sings German and his music style is “arabesque”; which is known mainly to be listening by the lower-class, land people in Turkey. His song “Sie liegt in meinem Armen” (She is lying in my arm) has reached number one on the German Pop Top-10 in 2005. “I want to sing in German because for example a German girl and Turkish boy. Imagine a couple like that. They fall apart and they are going home. They are suffering. They want to listen to music. I want them listen to the same song. Music is music but why is the language different? They are both speaking even German.” He explains with these words the reason why he sings German. (App. II)

The complexity of living in a heterophilic era in which the modernist terminology, (such definition of nation, race, culture and what modernity proposed), grand narratives and its counter narratives are already distorted and misplaced, whilst elements from different cultural traditions are continually blend together and juxtaposed to each other, “foreigner” acquires a sort of local, native character. The individualities position themselves in accordance with the cultural and spatial environments. Indeed one can speak of here a state of Turkishness from Berlin, from Düsseldorf or Munich, carrying the local understandings in social practices and as well local dialects in language. Submitting nativization, I aim to mention first local aspect of their trans-national subject position and afterward their contribution to the language by use of individual accents, grammatical usages, and items of vocabulary.

Back to hybridization theory in postmodern discourse, it is obvious that today's strangers acquire a hybrid form, not because they resist to nationalistic hegemonies or discriminative cultural politics just as before, but because their so-called "roots", "mother cultures" are no more lucid. Therefore, hybridity can not alone fulfill the requirements of today's strangers' demands or identity strategies. The terms such "crossover", "cross-cultural", "trans-national", "multi-cultural", "native", "bricoleur" offer a new open room to understand different logics of identity process. Since the celebration of hybridity - not as an identity process but as an identity politics-, can be problematized not only, as Bhabha suggests, as a form of moral self-congratulation of new diasporic intellectuals. But it functions also as a new post-modern package that serves as a mediator between consume -capitalism and the new blossomed of new grand narratives of hybridization.

Locating hybridity as not a thing, but a process, finally let me emphasize the importance of third place. This process does not comprise of two original moments from which the third emerges but gestures to an ambivalent "third space" of cultural production and reproduction. Here what is important is not the culture which emerges in third space, but the third space itself. This space displaces constituent histories, allows other positions to emerge, and establishes new structures of authority and political initiatives. In addition, hybridity of modern times as well cyborg politics in postmodern age seem to be experienced as an empowering, dangerous and transformative force.

In conclusion, in everyday life discourse multi-cultural mixtures constantly circulate, whilst in German television the “hybrids” represent negative and positive representations in token of “integration” in a sense of cultural essentialism. To put another way, but there is no culture in and of itself. *“In reality there are no mixed cultures in modern nation-states; only imaginaries of pure or impure cultural horizons”*.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Werber, Pina, *Debating Cultural Hybridity, Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1997, p.23

CHAPTER IV

PERFORMING THE SPACE

“Memories tie us to the place...there is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits hidden there in the silence, spirits one can “invoke” or not.[.....]These “spirits “themselves broken into pieces in like manner, do not speak anymore than they see. This is a sort of knowledge that remains silent. Only hints of what is known but unrevealed are passed on “just between you and me”. Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed reading, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or the pleasure of the body. ”I feel good here”. The well-being under-expressed in the language it appears in like a fleeting glimmer is a spatial practice.”⁷⁵

The city provides a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a number of stable, isolatable and organized properties. The city serves as well as a totalizing and mythical landmark for socio-economic and political strategies. The following reading concerns with the inversion of the city-concept by various real subjects, groups, associations, or individuals. This is the story of a place which produces new memories and thus has to renovate its strategies continually under the attack of transgressiv power of its inhabitants. Previous chapters concerned with migrant tactics in everyday life discourse and their reflections on mass culture or in reverse, tactics on mass culture and their re-usages in everyday life. Inspired of *Spatial Practices* readings of de Certeau let me here pertain to ephemeral strategies of Kreuzberg and its inhabitant subjects.

⁷⁵ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p.108

I. Walking In the City

Kreuzberg, is one of the quarters in Berlin on which innumerable stories and social studies have been written. This place is the favorite quarter for interviewers which they are searching innumerable statistics about Turkish immigrant reality in Germany. The people are tired of being a part of statistics but nevertheless nice to answer the questions. They know the answers and they are anymore one part of this discourse. They know whatever they say or they practice; the discourse is out of them and they are stocked in it. They are outside and inside. They are looking at the spectators like the figures in Velasquez's picture. The meaning of this picture is produced, drawing on Foucault, presence (what you see, the visible) and absence (what you cannot see, what has displaced it within the frame).

"You don't have to interview with me. I am cold turkey. They come here to ask the same questions. Are we feeling like a Turk or rather a German? I am drug addict. I am always saying some friends of me are saying don't do that. You are humiliating yourself, but this is the fact. Last month I went to doctor. I had pain in my back. He said because you are addict. But I said no, this is normal pain. I don't use drugs anymore. I do not go to doctor whatever I have. Diagnose is the same, because I am addict. I want to tell you first of all. I am addict. There is no use of me for your study. I am useless for you. You can make interview with others."

As Foucault argues that it is clear from the way the discourse of representation works in the painting that it must be looked at and made sense of one subject-position in front of it from which we, the spectators, are looking. I suggest here referring to him, the persons which is addressed by numbers of scientific and artistic works have the similar subject positions as the person whom Velasquez chooses to represent “sitting” in this position is The Sovereign-“*master of all he surveys-who is both the subject of the painting-the one whom the discourse sets in place.*”⁷⁶

Kreuzberg turns out to be a habitus itself. This simulated quarter represents Turkey in their imaginary but also in German tourist guide books it takes a place between Istanbul and Germany.⁷⁷ Kreuzberg arises upon as a fortress of tactics which the immigrant has developed in his imaginary; this decked picture is consumed as a concrete reality of pure national culture. But what makes fairy tale of Kreuzberg so striking?

II. Watching Kreuzberg

Line U-2, the subway from Uhland to Pankow makes an exception when it passes over Hallesches Tor; unlike all other U_Bahn subways which travel under the city, it travels over the city only for two stations in order to show this “privileged” part of the city to the travelers. The train destructs its route, like the trains in fairy tales, interrupts its underground, dark and unknown journey, flees to the air and joins the carnival in this part of the city. The passengers are vulnerable to be a spectator of

⁷⁶Hall,Stuart,Who Needs Identity,A Reader,Sage Publications,1996

⁷⁷ Klein Istanbul:Kreuzberg(Kreuzberg, Little Istanbul),Berlin, Reiseführer, Adac,1999

this colorful, diverse performance, the heads looking out of the windows grasp already the fact that what they see is not a part of an orientalist, ethnic exhibition, in which these scenes which seems taken from a orientalist postcard is not stable, stationary, unknown space, instead what they can intervene and experience. Spatial and temporal ambivalence surround the passengers. U-Bahn never travels over the city. "Are we in S-Bahn?" "Where is it?" The names of the streets are still in German but the names of the stores are in a foreign language. A foreign fragrance fills the wagons in. This is different than curry-wurst fragrance. The bodily gestures and the language of the new passengers change. Veiled women and over make-up youngsters appear on the walkway. Blond colored-hair girls mixed up to curled black hair that is wrought in the coiffure; long beard men to punk youngsters. The new comers take the seats of the former passengers. The cell phones ring with a different melody. A different language sounds in the train. "Are we on vacation in another country?" Foreignness there displays itself according to time and space. It is contagious. Only one station before, they are here (here) but now they are there (da). "Wo sind wir? Sind wir da?"(Where are we? Are we there?)"Nein,wir sind da"(No, we are here) Wir sind in Kreuzberg.(We are in Kreuzberg.)

It is obvious that whilst *foreigner* practices the space, breaks the spatial habits and rules of totalizing appropriations and inverts the part of the city. Constructing and performing new memories of the city (changing the language of the shop signs, strange goods at shops and at market and in usual architecture unusual usages i.e. apartment mosques etc.) cause mythfication of the practices. Hence, between the

post-modern cosmopolitan inhabitants of the city and the hero of modernism, namely the city begins seemingly a power struggle. Employing the city concept of de Certeau let me briefly touch on the function of the city today and the past.

De Certeau defines *Concept city* as a mythification process in strategic discourses, which are calculations based on the hypothesis or the necessity of its destruction in order to arrive at a final decision. Finally this functionalist organization, by privileging progress (i.e., time), causes the condition of its own possibility-space itself-to be forgotten; space thus becomes the blind spot in a scientific and political technology. This is the way in which the Concept-city functions; a place of transformations and appropriations, the object of various kinds of interference but also a subject that is constantly enriched by new attributes, it is simultaneously the machinery and the hero of modernity. Today, in postmodernity, the language of power is in itself “urbanizing”, but the city is left victim to contradictory movements that counterbalance and combine themselves outside the reach of panoptic power.”⁷⁸

To recapitulate, what are to be practices as every day life in Kreuzberg is a sort of transformation and appropriation; if I put another way, a kind of misappropriation of cultural interferences. Kreuzberg is a blind point at which all kind of holistic, hegemonic theories are to be refuted. It is the tactic and the strategy itself; inside and outside, an endless process towards the grotesque carnival of cultures.

⁷⁸ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p.95

III. Kreuzberg, the carnival

On Thursdays and Fridays there is open-air Turkish market in Kreuzberg. For the passengers in U-Bahn, over the air, it seems an exhibition which they can see “diverse” cultural and ethnic cultural indicators in the same place. The action of watching according to Frederic Jameson is an act that pierces the other, who inhabits the place of the passive victim of display. “The image, then, is an aggressive sight that reveals itself in the other; it is the site of aggressed.”

Who are the new passengers? Gastarbeiters? This old term does not indicate anymore to the cultural-social situation of Turkish people. Is it possible to remark the action “to be surveilled “what makes Turks in Germany “other”? The tourists all over the world come and watch here not only the immigrants but also the Germans in/with negotiated cross-cultural representations. The ambivalent image of Turks in Germany which incites the prejudiced cultural determinations is reproduced and preserved in Kreuzberg. This part of the city turns to a museum where all taken-for granted ideas and forms can be seized and exercised again and again. On the other hand it is a piece of art which is shaped and construed continually in minds. Ethnic and national, modern and antique meets in Kreuzberg Carnival which represents “life turned inside out”: ⁷⁹ Incompleteness becomes ambiguity and indefinability welcomes to non-canonicalism.

71Gardiner,Michael e.,Bahktin’s Prosaic Imagination,ed. Critiques of Everyday Life,Routledge,2000,p.67

IV. Getaway from Kreuzberg

Blind point of the City

Why do strangers continue to pose a threat, despite that fact that the very meaning of strangerhood might seem to be elusive and meaningless in what Zygmunt Bauman defines as an age of “heterophilia”? In heterophilia to re-draw the borderline paves the way for cultural racism which is, in Bauman’s words, “essentialism not yet unmasked”.

“I have been working for 25 years in Germany. I was living for last 10 years in Kreuzberg. This year I decided to renounce Turkish citizenship and take German passport. Although I gave my Turkish passport back; I couldn’t get my German passport until now. Anyway; recently we had moved away from Kreuzberg. I bought a house in Tempelhof. (South of Berlin) First time I thought there is no one living in the building. Whenever I go out or my wife or as family we open our door; the other doors are shut down. First month we didn’t see any of our neighbors. Then I said to my wife;” make some lahmacun” I want to invite our neighbors dinner.” She got shocked. Normally we don’t eat such things, I have already diabetes, and my wife had not done this before. We had to buy special pan for this. And I invited all my neighbors. Since then I don’t have any problem with them.”

Menderes, as his friend calls Mendi, gets out of his habitual environment after his 25th year in Germany. At the first sight his endeavor in Kreuzberg as a Turkish

guest worker was in order to delimit, in de Certeau's conception, his own cultural place in his bewitched world by the invisible powers of the Other. But finally he had to fulfill the requirements to be "*Turk*" in Germany. Indeed his strategies to emancipate his existence turn out tactics and are slapped on about the possibility of changing tactics into the strategies.

One the other hand the question in Kreuzberg is not the percentage of pureness or impureness of the cultures which are intersected through the everyday life spaces but the possibility and potential of this spatial and cultural space to transform each other in order to render each cultural and social life space to practice its own tactics and strategies. The question is not nor who the stranger is neither who is entitled to decide who the stranger is, but the question which I tackled with here is the ways in which the process to the foreignness and the existential conditions of Otherness. Remembering Bhabha's arguments about hybrid cultures; privileging of the performative and the interruptive articulation creates a "double consciousness", a split subject, and a fractured reality.

By the same token Mendi's story offers us a not only a performative identity strategy, but also the fact that every culture creates its own "other" in its own ways. Indeed, the "origin" or "guest culture" re-assumes its cultural roots and traditions in relevance to its representation in host culture. Hence, the culturalist and essentialist identity politics which assumes migrant's culture as an absolute mirror image of Turkish culture in Turkey – as if the Turkish culture in Turkey is homogenous- are

overwhelmed. Moreover as we have seen the cross-cultural practices and unwritten agreements takes place in Kreuzberg.

There is no doubt that culture as an analytic concept is always hybrid. Since cultures transgress the holy boundaries of national borders and fertilize each other with the mystified hybridity. In this respect, if one assumes that every culture is hybrid, hybridization as a post-modern identity politic is derived from and underpinned ideological illusion of nationalism.

*“Ideology is not a dreamlike illusion that we build to escape insupportable reality; in its basic dimension it is a fantasy-construction which serves as a support for our “reality” itself: an “illusion” which structures our effective, real social relations and thereby masks some insupportable, real, impossible kernel.”*⁸⁰(Zizek)

Insupportable, masked reality (that other is not foreigner any more) reflects distorted images foreigner in culturalist identity politics which are determined by the Other. While the illusion of pure or impure nationalities circulates in everyday life discourse, performing the space becomes a joyful play; a repetition of silent experience of childhood; it is, in a place, *to be other and to move toward the other.*⁸¹

“1.May protest begins always in front of our house in Kreuzberg. Germans and police are always at they day fighting and we are throwing them tomatoes from the window. This is very funny!”

⁸⁰ Zizek Slavoj, How Marx Invent the Symptom? in *Identity: A Reader*, Sage Publications, 2000, p.323

⁸¹ De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1984, p.110

To the police?

“No, but to the Germans!”

All kinds of privileged stereotypes turn inside out at the atmosphere of cultural carnival. Space welcomes new ephemeral and eternal myths, new representations, new faces, recognitions and misrecognitions, new strategies in terms of new habituses and a new skin on which he can make his multi-colored make-up to make his spectators bewitched. Before come to conclusion, I would like to touch in brief on the everyday life myths from which the bricoleur identity of migrant produces one's own strategies.

I.V. The Myths

The myths, prejudices, perceptions and (mis)recognitions construct frontiers and borders of national fictions. These create an anti-static and ambivalent space in where immigrant subject can realize his own identity integrated and disintegrated to the adopted culture. Myths function as tactics in following samples which they enable migrants strength versus strategies of the dominant one. Cross cultural myths creates an in-between space where the hybrid one emerges and survives. Everyday prejudices replacing with foundational myths bear an ambivalent signification.

“When we speak they are surprised and they say “oh, but you speak well German! I am saying, yes, this is my mother language.”

Such this sentence I was told various discomforts by the young Turk-Germans during my one year residence in Berlin. I had opportunities to speak about everyday life issues, from politics to leisure habits, with also Turkish migrants from various age and class in various places, such schools, fabrics, bus stations and as well during my daily subway journeys. What I aimed is to generate some questions about the issue of Turkish immigrants in Germany. Concerning with these participant observations, let me put some cross-cultural myths and judgments into words which is told to me during daily conversations and in my readings of daily media and dissertations which is made by German and Turkish scholars on Turkish discourse in Germany.

Germans are.....

“Germans do not have sea in their country.”

“Germans do not have bath; they do not often clean their bodies.”

“Germans use their shoes in their houses so that their houses are always dirty.”

“Germans do not have good appetite; they did not know even what watermelon is, and they are cooking watermelon now. They have learnt cooking from us.”

“Germans do not know how to wear elegant.”

“German family ties are very weak; German youth is reckless and German parents are careless.”

“If Germans says something, it is true.”

“You should believe German laws; it is a law country here.”

“Here, in Germany no one is vulnerable.”

“Germans respect human rights and they

Turks are.....

“Turkish immigrants speak loudly, in the bus, on the street even at their houses.”

“Turkish immigrant women walk behind the man; they do not walk on the street together. When you see a woman with heavy shopping bags walking in front of a man, she is a Turkish woman.”

“Turkish immigrant women are subjected by their husbands, their brothers or/and other men in their family.”

“Turkish houses are dirty and untidy; like a bomb blasted in the house.”

“Turkish immigrant children are beaten by their parents.”

“Turkish immigrant youngsters speak Turkish-German which has a different logic and pronunciation than German language.”

“German language is for them particularly very hard. They are not able to speak good German.”

“Turkish women are not allowed to go out without their husbands.”

“Turkish girls are not allowed to have boy friend and they are not allowed to have friendship with German men.”

“They are always following Islamic way of life;

respect people.”

“Time is very important for Germans, they are always punctual, I wish we, and Turks can be like them.”

there are no difference between Muslims and Turks.”

“We, Turks, should take Germans as models; they are hard-working and tidy people.”

In everyday life discourse new myths and new identity fragments are constructed in terms of recognition/ misrecognition, in the third space. Totalisation of national culture leaves its place to the partial one, narration of the nation replaces with the experience of hybrid. The myths which are created in everyday language belong to the everyday practices are anymore deprived meta- narratives of nation.

In this chapter, I claimed that the migrant’s subject recreates new memories and re-form the concept of the city via performing the space outside the reaches of panoptic power of the city. Migrant subjects invert the modern city from inside and thus break the spatial habits whilst they give the space *another* face pregnant with numerous ambivalent, opaque senses. On the one hand the grand narratives of nation replace with the new essentialist narratives of postmodernism, namely cultural prejudices and myths as the hero of modernism, the city, has new multi-functional spatialities. On the other, the myths and prejudices function in a different way in postmodern era than in modern times. Postmodernity marginalizes the verbal articulations of modernism which created fictional “others”.

CONCLUSION

This study has explored mainly two inter-related subjects: first the subject position of immigrants in the “Gastarbeiter” discourse and secondly the everyday tactics of Turkish immigrants via the representations in mass culture. This work primarily suggests that the concept of self relies on one's misidentification with the image of an “other”.

In this regard the Turkish immigrant' identity can not be considered separately from the representation of immigrant in “Gastarbeiter” discourse. Since the image of immigrant was already analyzed and subjected his preserved place which is reserved for him in the discourse. The “immigrant cinema” or “immigrant literature” of 70-80's gives us clues about the clichés and stereotypes of modern Turkish immigrant's image in Germany. However with/in cultural productions the immigrants use stereotypes and hybrid presentations as a weapon of resistance against culturalist, holistic, essentialist politics. The television serial which I have deal with at the first part of the work displayed the inter-relation of re-using clichés and stereotypes by third generation Turk-Germans.

The second issue at this work was the function of television representations of Turkish immigrant and their reflections in everyday life practices. Indeed, there are certain differences between modern and postmodern representations of immigrant and their functioning. After the fall of Berlin Wall it has opened a new room for

globalized and postmodern cosmopolitan societies. The subject position of immigrant in immigrant discourse has lost its upholding definitions. In this heterophilic era the definition of citizenship, *Heimat*, race, nation, as well “foreigner” changed. The cultural and national border of modern structures, such nations and cities has blurred and intermingled. Individual life choices have come at premium. New identity politics, such cyborg politics (Werbner) highlighted the bricoleur aspect of transnational identities.

One of the fields where the individualities display against essentialist politics are mass cultural products such television serials and music. Nevertheless remembering that television is itself a commercial product, the television representations plays here a strategic role. The hybrids Turk-Germans were represented here with respect to integration problematic in Germany. Thus, hybrid, cross-national structure of migrant’s identity process was disavowed, in a sense, by holistic, hegemonic, static approach of culturalist regimes.

In addition to this, the difference between the mass cultural products, at this work mainly television serial, modern and postmodern displays essentially in two ways: First, the postmodern representations do recite the old clichés and emphasize the cultural difference as in modern ones, but do not maintain the assumption of “back to roots” or “caught in-between” or “lost generation”. They highlighted the cosmopolitan, transnational third culture. Secondly, they make mockery from the clichés and seek an answer of that question: “How can we live together?”

Looking back to everyday life field, the way which the television representations were consumed and re-utilize has a tactical character. Repeating the representations in media gives a survival advantage to “foreigner”. The given life stories and interviews have shown that “foreigners” taking power while they consuming the ready-made representations and clichés and thus re-produce them. This endless process, to invert the discourse from inside, without leaving it and taking power from exclusion without excluded oneself has opened a free space, to put another way a third space.

This study also examined how immigrant practices the space. In space and time they generate tactics against totalitarian assessments of host culture and their “others”. In modern times the migrant was in spatial practices an object which was only subjected to voyeuristic gaze of others, but today, beside that, they perform the city in regard to other faculties. They invert the city and practice the space in other ways than which in modernism. Kreuzberg, is at this work, a space of representations at which, homogenized and fragmented representations experience their power and reconstruct their partial and persistence identities. Thus the space becomes a carnival in which the characters transform each other and make appropriations for each other and selves. In this regard, the modern prejudices and verbal myths as well become a part of the play in these newly emerging cosmopolitan and transnational “third space”.

In the final analysis, in post-modern times multi-cultural and pluralistic liberal approaches and heterophilic threads underpin the security needs of the immigrants in the community atmosphere. Therefore the tactics given in this analysis play a survival role in everyday life of immigrant. Furthermore it is indispensable taking into account the economical, social and environment conditions such unemployment, class conflicts, poverty, isolation, distrust to the future, racism, Islam- phobia and xenophobia, in order to examine Turkish immigrants portrait in Germany. The given elements make Turkish immigrants in German gaze as the perpetual “other”.

Hence, the new subject position of the Turkish immigrant in Germany can be analyzed in a new perception which takes into consideration the new identity politics, from “immigrants” to “citizens”. It is essential that this newly emerging cosmopolitan and trans-national Turkish-German identity should be respected with tactical nature of identity process. In the future, as in the past, new generation Turk-Germans continue to build new identities, hybridities, bricolages and spatialities. ”Third cultures” regenerate new tactics against culturalism and essentialism which offer daily new dominant regimes for new representations.

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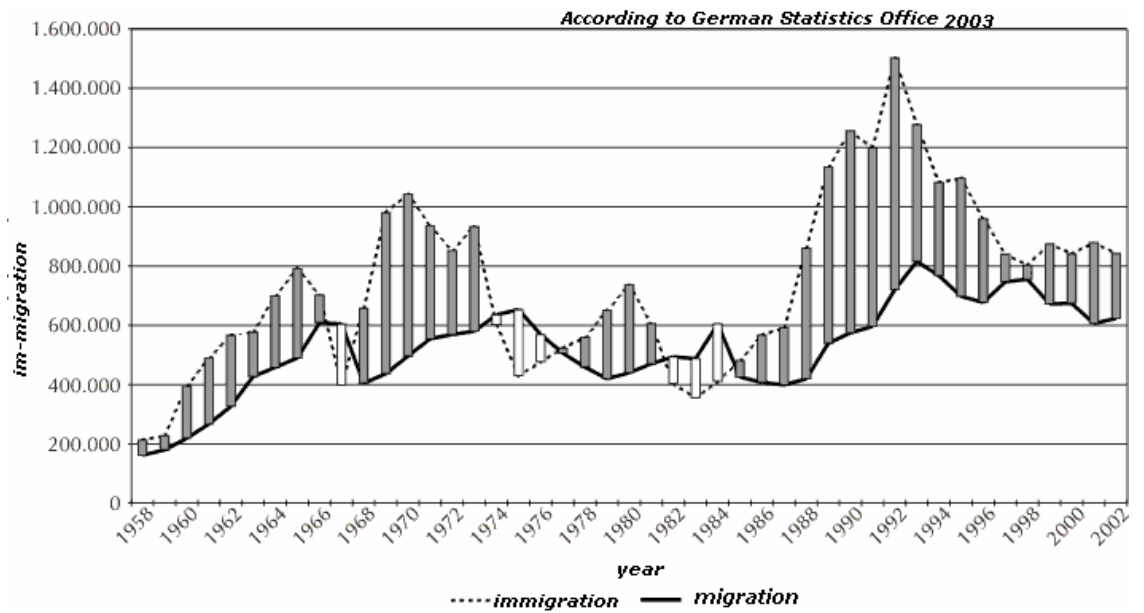
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Appendix I

Immigration Graph⁸²



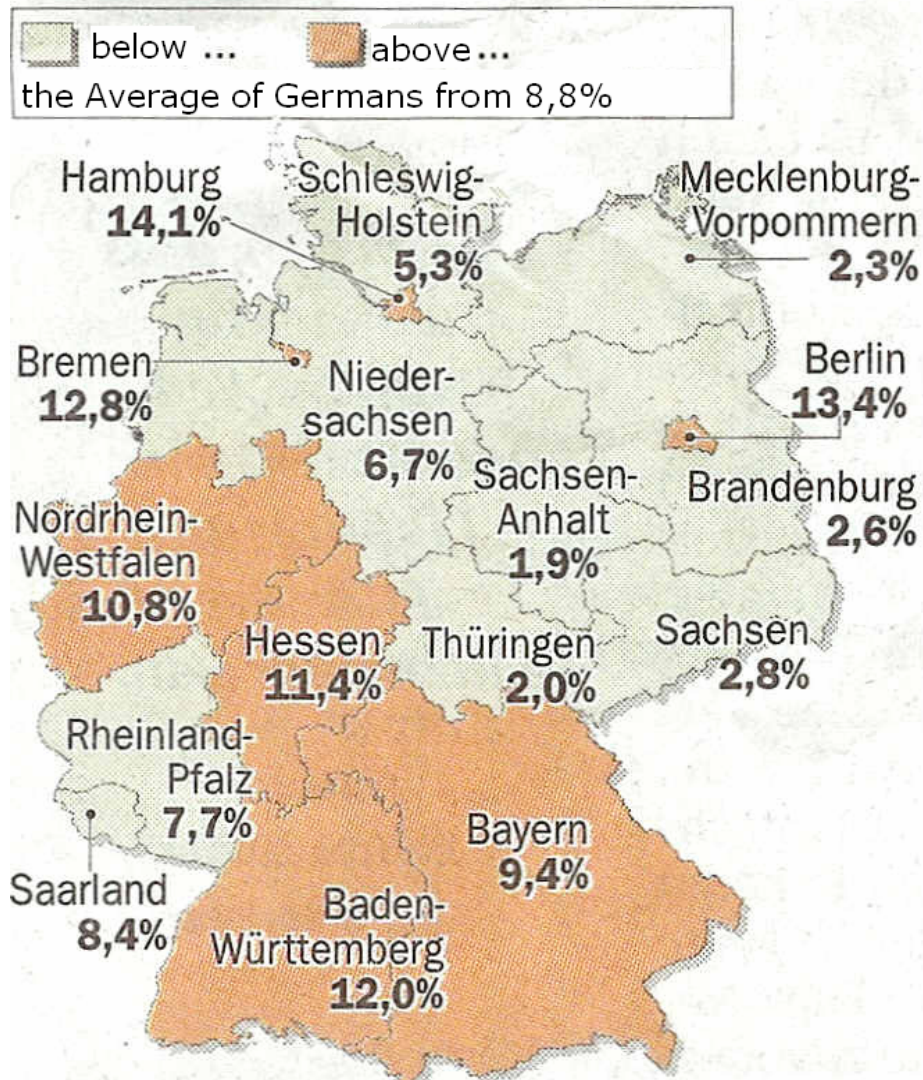
⁸² www.forschungsdatumzentrum.de

Appendix II

Foreigner Population Graph⁸³

Foreign Population

Proportion of the Entire Population



⁸³ www.forschungsdatumzentrum.de

Appendix III.

SIE LIEGT IN MEINEM ARMEN

part 1

es war unser erster streit
ein stich in meinem herz, dann war sie weg
war sie weg
diesmal ging ich viel zu weit
ohne sie, dachte ich, es würde gehn
doch ich blieb so stur, denn ich war enttäuscht
unser liebesschwur
doch ich brauche dich, denn ich brauche dich
denn ich liebe dich

refrain

sie liegt in meinen armen
ich kann es nicht ertragen
es war ihr allerletztes wort
„ich liebe dich“, dann ging sie fort
dann ging sie fort

part 2

wir wollten uns sehn
darüber reden, warum wir uns nicht verstehn
nicht verstehn
was müssten wir ändern
wir wollten etwas finden
damit wir uns wieder binden
doch es wurde zum Streit
wir warn nicht bereit
du rastest aus und ranntest raus
du schriest „es ist endgültig aus“
du standst einfach auf
du liefst einfach los
und ich sah es nicht
und in deinem lauf war ich daran schuld
dass du es nicht mehr sahst

refrain

sie liegt in meinen armen
ich kann es nicht ertragen
es war ihr allerletztes wort
„ich liebe dich“, dann ging sie fort

Part 3 (2x)

und ich bete zum Herrn
dass er mich zu sich nimmt
damit ich bei dir bin
damit wir wieder vereint sind

refrain

sie liegt in meinen armen
ich kann es nicht ertragen
es war ihr allerletztes Wort

„ich liebe dich“, dann ging sie fort⁸⁴

English Version:⁸⁵

part 1

it was our first quarrel,
a stab into my heart, then she gone away
she was away, this time I went too far ,
without her,I thought it would go
I gave an inch nevertheless, because I was disappointed
our love oath, I still need you, because I need you
because I love you
refrain
she is lying in my arm
I can't bear it
it was her last word
"I love you", then she went away
then she went away

part 2

we wanted to meet,we wanted to talk about it,
why we don't understand each other,why don't we
we have to change, come together again
but it was again quarrel, we were not ready
you stopped and run away,and cried" it was over"
you stood up simply,and you walked away simply
and I didn't see it ,and I am guilty for your going
and you didn't see it any more
refrain
she is lying in my arm
I cant bear it
it was her last word
"I love you", then she went away

part 3 (2x)

and I pray to God
that it takes me to you
so that I am with you
and we are united again
refrain
she is lying in my arm
I cant bear it
it was her last word
"I love you", then she went away

⁸⁴ [www.muhabbet-music.de /http://www.muhabbet.de/stuff/sieliegtinmeinenarmen.pdf](http://www.muhabbet-music.de/http://www.muhabbet.de/stuff/sieliegtinmeinenarmen.pdf)

⁸⁵ translated by Atabey,Dilek;für Türkisch translation see.

<http://www.garaj.org/parca/5v8/cetin-cetinkaya-sie-liegt-in-meinen-armen-turkce-ceviri.htm>