The fields of women and gender studies have produced a significant body of invaluable research findings related to the construction of femininities, gender relations and relationships. Regarding men and masculinities within a similar framework and methodology has been a relatively new approach. One may refer here to studies conducted by Klaus Theweleit and Lothar Böhnisch, for example. These studies, however, are centred exclusively on German men. In *Männerphantasien* (1980), Theweleit attempts a psychoanalysis of Nazi males, uncovering desires, truths and secrets which remain deeply hidden in and oppressed by the pursuit of glory for the „Vaterland“ while Böhnisch adopts a sociological approach in his examination of the construction of male gender identity in *Männliche Sozialisation* (2004). The aim of this research is to examine the representation of the construction of Turkish-German masculinity as it is revealed in selected examples of Turkish-German literature and film. This examination is based on the hypothesis that Turkish-German masculinity is constructed and mediated by certain factors which reveal themselves acutely in the cultural media of literature and film. To this end the research includes an examination of literature and works of film by Turkish-born writers and directors respectively in order to establish which factors have not only constructed, but also mediated the perceptions and representations of Turkish-German masculinities.

The research will attempt to establish the extent to which traditionally accepted roles and stereotypical expectations regarding masculine identity and sexuality have been explored, accepted, integrated and altered in the portrayals of late 20th and early 21st Century Turkish-German men in literature and film. The title of the research, “Cultural Constructions of Turkish-German Masculinities”, refers to the two cultural poles between which these stereotypical expectations of masculinity and the performance of gender
identity are suspended, thus spanning an intangible, yet palpable and, as yet, unnamed Turkish-German masculine identity.

This research was inspired by an educational and sensitizing campaign run in Berlin, and launched by the Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Berlin-Brandenburg (LSVD) in connection with their Centre for Migrants, Gays and Lesbians (MILES) in June 2004 (see Figure 1).

![Figure 1.](image-url)

The campaign took the form of posters and billboards, depicting five attractive young men (five attractive young women were featured in the corresponding lesbian campaign) in a posed group photograph. At first glance it becomes clear that the young men in the photograph either have different nationalities, or come from different cultural backgrounds. This suspicion is then confirmed by the caption of the photograph, which
reads: ‘Kai ist Schwul. Murat auch! Sie gehören zu uns. Jederzeit.’¹ Kai is a typical German name, while Murat is a typical Turkish name. The use of these names was therefore clearly intended to reinforce the fact that the young men in the image are representative of various nationalities. In addition, the names are also meant to be culturally specific in that they appeal to the two main cultural groups in Germany, namely Germans and Turks. Initially the posters and billboards were located in areas of the city populated by large or significant concentrations of inhabitants with Turkish (or migrant) backgrounds. The campaign was aimed at addressing the issues of discrimination and violence against gays and lesbians within these communities, in view of sporadic incidents of violence perpetrated against their members. In addition, it was also intended to address overt as well as covert attitudes and beliefs resulting in actions limiting the rights and quality of life of the victims. On the other hand, and a more positive note, the campaign was directed towards highlighting the corresponding movements of tolerance and acceptance, as was encapsulated by the slogan employed in the photographic campaign. The young men in the photograph, as well as (the names) Kai and Murat, become emblematic and representative of the concepts of tolerance and acceptance, not only in terms of its general relevance to minority groups within any given community, but particularly within the context of groups which are identified as minorities on the basis of nationality and cultural heritage (such as, for example, the Turkish migrant community, within the German host community). Ultimately, this raised interesting questions. How exactly would individuals go about “dealing” with their alternative sexual identities if they came from a background of migration? This process would surely be particularly problematic if the migration resulted in a distinct cultural opposition between a familial culture characterised by tradition and patriarchy, and a host country which is considered theoretically more liberal. Simply stated, if one assumes an almost inherently problematic dynamic at work in being Turkish (or of Turkish origin) in Germany, how much more problematic would it be if one were Turkish and gay in Germany? The final point of interest is clearly the manner in which these dynamics are interpreted and represented in works of literature and film as the creative (literary and cinematic) products of individuals with such backgrounds.

¹ Directly translated: Kai is gay. Murat too! They belong to us. Always.
The decision to focus exclusively on works produced by (male) Turkish-born and Turkish-German film-makers such as Fatih Akin and Kutluğ Ataman, and writers such as Zafer Şenocak and Orhan Pamuk, was made precisely because examples of their works were until very recently little known to a wider public. Fatih Akin, for example, only received public recognition for his film work in 2004, while Kutluğ Ataman received recognition for his work in 1999. Zafer Şenocak and Orhan Pamuk were selected because they had established themselves in somewhat exemplary positions within literary circles in both Turkey and Germany. In addition, Orhan Pamuk was not generally received to any great extent by the general reading public, outside a group of literary enthusiasts, prior to being awarded the Nobel Prize, which catapulted him into prominence. Zafer Şenocak, a Turkish-German author, was selected because of the subject matter explored in a wide range of his texts, namely the tensions emanating from the Orient-Occident dynamic (as conceptualized by Edward Said) as demonstrated for example by the overt and appropriating sexuality determining the central characters in several of his texts. Although Orhan Pamuk is not Turkish-German, but Turkish, his novel, Snow (2004) was selected because of the fact that he as an author has an internationally established reputation as a writer, with a considerable following in Germany and that the main character in the text spent a considerable amount of time in political exile in Germany, and as a consequence demonstrated a sufficient awareness of the tensions which arise when an individual is forced to negotiate his way between two cultures. What makes this text particularly relevant to this study is located in the fact that Pamuk is not Turkish-German, but Turkish. The result of this is that Pamuk provides an imaginative exploration of the Turkish-German phenomenon, through the figure of his protagonist. This exploration establishes several parallels and similarities to those demonstrated by the protagonists of the others works examined in this study.

The film Gegen die Wand (directed by Fatih Akin) was selected because of the narrative explored in the film, the film’s popularity, and the position of the director as Turkish-German. In addition, the principal characters are Turks who are located in a German
environment. One would assume that the characters display varying degrees of Turkishness as demonstrated in the portrayal of their respective lifestyles, as well as their interactions with each other, other Turks, as well as other Germans. Cahit, the male protagonist, is more assimilated into German society and culture than Sibel, the female protagonist, who is forced into marriage because she is Turkish. This of course implies that had she become an assimilated German, marriage would not have been necessary. In addition to being the creative product of a Turkish-born director and artist, Lola und Bilidikid, by Kutluğ Ataman was also selected because it provided a rare example of a representation of homosexuality in a Turkish-German context. The rarity of this representation is accentuated through the dynamic of drag in that one of the principal characters performs as part of a drag troupe which goes by the name of Die Gastarbeiterinnen (the (female) guest-workers).

Thematically the chapters which follow will explore the notions of masculinity, sexuality and violence within Turkish-German literature and film of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Violence is intended to include amongst others, the notions of self-inflicted violence, as demonstrated by the protagonists in Gegen die Wand, as well as the notion of trauma, particularly as it relates to the protagonists of Lola und Bilidikid, in which the notion of trauma is associated with the removal or the threat of the removal of the male reproductive organs. Bili, for example, expects Lola to undergo a sex-change operation in order to fulfill realize his ideal of leading a heteronormative lifestyle, and threatens to castrate Lola if he does not comply. The castration is carried out on a different character toward the end of the film. In addition, the various tensions involved in Turkish-German personal and inter-personal relationships will be analyzed. Furthermore, 21st century or contemporary inversions of the masculine stereotype in Turkish-German literature and film will be explored, in an attempt to explain their significance within the framework of this thesis. These inversions include for example, attempts at re-creating a masculinity or masculine identity which is intended to be located in one specific cultural site, but which draws extensively from two opposing cultural poles.
The site of this investigation into gender and masculinity, therefore, will be located within a study of works by Turkish-German and Turkish-born authors and filmmakers about Turkish-German masculinity and culture. Gender and masculinity will primarily be regarded in the light of, or in relation to, the concepts of performance (Butler) and masquerade (Bakhtin). In terms of the performance of Turkish-German masculinity, the research will attempt to establish the implications and possibilities involved in the construction and perpetuation of this masculinity. The notion of the performance of gender, as well as the performativity of gender will be used to form the basis of the present investigation into the specific performance of masculinity and the construction of masculine or male sexuality within the hyphenated space or dynamic of the Turkish-German male.

The investigation is divided into six chapters or areas of discussion. In Chapter one the principal tenets of the hypothesis are identified. Central to this discussion regarding (representations of) third generation or contemporary Turkish-German masculinities are the following considerations:

1. Specific factors mediate and influence the construction and representation of Turkish-German men and masculinities as demonstrated in the selected examples of literature and film. These factors include:
   - Culture, in this case both Turkish and German, and the role of culture in the assimilation and/or rejection of tradition and traditional values and practices.
   - Religion, specifically the capacity of religion to be used as a political tool or as a participant in political discourse.
   - Sexuality, particularly the sexuality which occurs as a result of having to negotiate between two often conflicting cultural contexts and by extension, cultural contexts which offer two conflicting views on (the nature of) sexuality.

2. Patriarchy affords men in positions of power the freedom or license to engage in practices which would ordinarily be considered insufficiently masculine within
Turkish or Turkish-German societies as active assumptions and demonstrations of masculine power.

3. The hyphenated construct of Turkish-German is precisely what makes it possible for these men to be neither Turkish nor German, but simultaneously both Turkish and German or alternatively able to occupy a liminal space as yet undesignated but not a terra nullius.

In addition, this chapter also contains information pertaining to the principal texts and films, in an attempt to highlight and clarify the reasons for their selection, as well as information related to the respective authors and directors.

Turkish-German masculinity as a concept implies the necessity of considering a range of available theories to assist the analysis. Chapter two explores the main theories drawn on not only in the construction of the notions of gender and sexuality, as well as masculinity, but more specifically the theory of the performance of gender. A brief history of masculinity is also included. This sections takes into account the historic origins and development of both Turkish as well as German masculinity, in order to appropriately contextualize the Turkish-German predicament. This chapter also explores the history of Turkish migration into Germany, as well as the history of the artistic - in this case the cinematic and literary – production which emanated from this migration.

In the remaining chapters the principal texts and films are discussed. Chapter three examines the work by author Zafer Şenocak entitled Die Prärie (1997), while chapter four explores the work by Turkish author and Nobel laureate, Orhan Pamuk, entitled Snow (2004). This text was originally released in Turkish as Kar in 2002. Chapter five examines the film, Lola und Bilidikid, by Turkish-born director and artist, Kutluğ Ataman and the final work (chapter six) examined in this study is devoted to the film entitled Gegen die Wand by director Fatih Akin.
Through an analysis of the selected examples of literary and cinematic works, this study will prove that what previous research has named and defined as Turkish-German lies in the in-between spaces. These spaces are neither Turkish nor German but liminal and unnamed – ultimately defying concrete definition by virtue of occupying two notions of cultural identities simultaneously, and thereby creating this “third space”. This is a space which is intangible but nevertheless existent and palpable; a space of freedom from labelling, which “is” and can be psychologically inhabited. Paradoxically, this space owes its existence to the dichotomies created by the tension of being both Turkish and German, or Oriental and Occidental.
CHAPTER ONE

Emergent and Emerging Themes in Turkish-German Cultural Production

This thesis concerns itself with the representations of the construction of Turkish-German masculinities as they are revealed in the selection of texts and films chosen for this study. The works selected were produced within the period dating from 1997 to 2004 and can therefore be seen as indexical of the larger social reality in which the Turkish-German phenomenon is located. The timeframe covering the works selected for this research coincides with a greater visibility of migrant communities in general and Turks especially in this case, as film-makers and authors and ultimately the producers of cultural products that are acknowledged and acclaimed in German (for example) society by accolades such as the Goldener Bär Award. Furthermore, an examination of these works which are the creative products of Turkish and Turkish-German authors and directors respectively will reveal that specific factors demonstrated in literature and film strongly influence the construction of this identity. These factors include the roles of culture, religion and sexuality respectively in the mediation and ultimate production of migrant national identity. This is based on the assumption that, since the concept of Turkish-German addresses a consequence of the Turkish migration to Germany, that both the country of origin, and the host country would then be in a position to influence the resultant construction of masculine identity. The fact that the term “Turkish” itself is tension-laden construct\textsuperscript{2}, adds a further complicating factor to this equation. The research will attempt to establish the extent to which traditionally accepted roles and expectations regarding masculine identity and sexuality have been explored, accepted, integrated and mutated in late 20\textsuperscript{th} and early 21\textsuperscript{st} Century Turkish-German men.

\textsuperscript{2} The Ottoman Empire (Ottoman referring to the dynasty of Osman or Othman I – his branch of the Turks or those ruled by his descendants) collapsed on October 30, 1918, with the signing of the Mondros Armistice. Turkey was declared a Republic on October 29, 1923, soon after which the Caliphate was officially abolished, effectively ending more than 600 years of Ottoman rule in the world. “Turkish Embassy.org – Republic of Turkey”: http://www.washington.emb.mfa.gov.tr/AboutTurkey.aspx - Accessed 2010/04/19
Furthermore, the research will attempt to uncover to what extent - within the context of a patriarchal society or societies where men are traditionally afforded positions of power – it could be said that the men in these contexts and consequently these positions of power are afforded the liberty and license to indulge in practices as far-ranging and extensive as the recent phenomenon of the so-called metro-sexual man to the behavioural practices of men in Harems. This type of behaviour could potentially be considered un-masculine - even feminine or effeminate – by society at large. Examples of this behaviour include the highly contentious reports of sanctioned or legal transvestitism in various parts of the Arabic world including Persia and the Ottoman Empire in the 1800s, which although controversial in nature, nonetheless support the central argument in this study. In these instances, many of which are recorded and documented in tapestries and paintings and other examples of artistic production, Sultans would commission, as it were, beautiful young boys to dress as women and perform traditional dances. In many cases these dancers were meant to imitate female dancers. Today, common sights in Islamic countries include two men walking hand-in-hand down the street or in Tunisia for example to see men wearing bundles of jasmine behind their ears as a symbol of their virility. In Morocco, for example, effeminacy is regarded as a sign of possession by a (feminine) spirit and, for two weeks a year, effeminate homosexuals and transvestites are given leave (with the permission of the family) to give free expression to their sexuality by dressing up in jewels and make-up. However, this “effeminate” pampering reveals itself not to be weak or submissive, but rather as an active and intentional demonstration of masculine power and domination, that permits such men to behave in any manner they choose, simply because they are men and can, therefore, do as they please with impunity.

Two seemingly simple questions arise from this hypothesis and provide the impetus for this investigation, namely: What exactly is a Turkish-German Man? What exactly is

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5 Ibid. 281
Turkish-German Masculinity? What kind of man, and by extension, what kind of masculinity is created when masculinities from two different cultures meet and intersect, creating a unique, hybrid and apparently “double-barrelled” cultural construct or product? Gender theorists such as Judith Butler for example, identify ‘man’ and ‘woman’ as two separate sex categories, and ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ as the qualities and practices (and the effects of those practices) traditionally associated with either category and assumed to be demonstrative of either ideal manhood or womanhood respectively. Concerning culture on the other hand, Homi Bhabha refers to the spaces in between cultures and entities as spaces which facilitates the creation of hybridity, which ultimately mediates significant cultural production:

“… in-between the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. … The interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy.”

In light of this it becomes necessary to establish how these Turkish-German men negotiate their respective masculine identities within a hybrid environment, given that a hybrid environment indicates a context which is more than merely a mixture of two separate entities, but rather a complete and seemingly inseparable new strain or identity. Though it may appear so (inseparable) initially, this research demonstrates that when placed under stress, the base culture (the Turkish culture) ultimately reasserts itself. Concerning the subject of the research namely Turkish-German men and masculinity, a new strain or identity implies an attempt to graft Turkish culture onto German culture. This research demonstrates that based on the examples examined, these attempts have all failed. Germany remains, in the works examined, merely a coincidental background for the enactment and re-enactment of essentially Turkish lives and problems. In Gegen die Wand (2004), for example, the protagonists ultimately resort to Turkey and by extension

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Turkishness following what could be described as their respective emotional and physical (and psychological) breakdowns. For Sibel, Germany represents the ideal opportunity and location to exercise her sexual freedom, and the same could be said about Cahit, whereas once in Turkey, Sibel leads an almost exemplary life as a responsible parent.

Given that very little is known about the Turkish-German man beyond demographic or ethnographic studies\(^7\), it becomes necessary to turn to literature and films for current and reliable demonstrations of this masculinity. Using the principal characters in the texts and films it will be demonstrated that the very concept of Turkish-German as an indicator of culture and nationality is what facilitates the difficulty in answering or addressing the questions posed previously (What is a Turkish-German Man? What is Turkish-German Masculinity?). Through an examination of the characters it will be established that the fact that these men are not regarded (by themselves or others) as either Turkish or German, but rather as a hyphenated combination of both means that they can also effectively be *neither* Turkish *nor* German. They can essentially occupy an intangible space in-between these relatively fixed identities.

Considered geographically the concepts of Turkish-German and the Turkish-German man then imply that these individuals are not located in either Turkey or Germany but rather in an unnamed psychological or sociological place, which exists as a consequence or product of the deep and complex relationship between Turkey and Germany, and which ultimately facilitates the creation of a hyphenated national product (as will be discussed later regarding the subject of duel nationality)\(^8\). Ultimately then, the fact that

\(^7\) One such study, *Turkish Power Boys. Ethnographie einer Jugendbande* (1996), was conducted between 1990-1992 by Hermann Tertilt. Tertilt spent two years documenting the lives and interactions of a gang of young Turkish men, the majority of whom had been born in Germany, and who now live in Frankfurt am Main.

\(^8\) Additional perspectives on whether or not Turkey could justifiably be regarded or described as a secular state for example, are provided, amongst others, by Andrew Davison who, in his essay, “Turkey, a “Secular” State? The Challenge of Description” disputes the (use of the) term secularism when allied to Turkey, and suggests that “The so-called modernization of Turkey, therefore, evidenced a hybrid, alterantive arrangement in the politics of secularization at its founding, and it has taken many of us in social
the individuals are not psychologically located in either Turkey or Germany means that they are not located psychologically within an identifiable topography. Of course, the works to be discussed are placed within a known environment, for example Berlin or Kars, but this is merely the outer shell and generally not of much importance beyond reassuring the reader or viewer of the plausibility of the plot. The individuals or rather the characters in question are the respective creations of four Turkish-born men; writers Zafer Şenocak and Orhan Pamuk, and film directors Fatih Akin and Kutluğ Ataman. Zafer Şenocak was born in Ankara in 1961, as the only child in his middle-class Turkish family. Şenocak grew up in Istanbul and moved to Munich at the age of eight. In 1989, shortly before the fall of the Berlin wall, he relocated to Berlin after having been awarded a scholarship for young authors. He currently lives in Berlin and works as a journalist, but has also published novels, collections of essays and poetry. Şenocak claims that despite the similarities to his own biography, that his novels are not autobiographical at all, but refers to the parallels to his own story, as it were, as the ‘personal background’ present in literature, which serves as the motivation to write a particular text or story. His novel *Die Prärie* (1997) narrates the story of 35-year-old Sascha, who in turn narrates his own story. Sascha regards himself as an aspirant novelist and sets out to write his life story, focusing on the various (and, we are led to believe, numerous) encounters and successes with women. The concept of multiple-authorship appears to be perpetuated science a long time to catch up.”

• Davison, Andrew. 2003. „Turkey, a „Secular State? The Challenge of Description”. South Atlantic Quarterly. Vol. 102:2/3. 346. Additional perspectives related to the problems involved in identifying Turkey as a “secular” state, and by extension, as an Islamic state as well, are explored by Haldun Gülap in his essay, “Whatever Happened to Secularization? Multiple Islams in Turkey” in the same volume, see page 119).

9 Zafer Şenocak - Online Interview:
Having come from a middle-class family and environment in Turkey and settling in a middle-class area in Munich, Şenocak highlights the important distinction this makes in terms of comparing his story of migration with that of the majority of Turkish migrants to Germany who were located in largely working class contexts in that it implies problems of a different nature.


11 Ibid. Online interview.
Şenocak forms part of the so-called second generation Turks in Germany, that is, those who were born in Turkey but raised in Germany. Regarding his opinions on the category (and categorization) of Turkish-German, the author claims that although it was initially useful to publishers (similar to the description ‘writer of Turkish origin’), that it could harm an author in the long run.
in the text as it becomes clear that Sascha and his story had been narrated (and created) by a ghost writer.

The novel has been selected for this research because of the degree of complicity evidenced in the relationship between author, authorship and the construction of this example of Turkish-German masculinity. The nature of Sascha’s relationship with the women he chooses to write about is interesting. Sascha chooses to write a novel inspired by a previous and significant relationship with a woman named Veronika. Veronika is a prostitute and after handing Sascha a notebook she challenges him to write as many pages a day as she has clients. Sascha chooses to write the story of his life paying particular attention to his female conquests. What is interesting to observe is that very little immediate information is available about Sascha and his biography. Further information pertaining to Sascha’s biography is available in Gefährliche Verwandtschaft (Dangerous Relationship), which was published a year after Die Prärie, in 1998. In this novel, Sascha has left the American prairie, together with Marie (Marianne), whom he had met toward the end of his stay there, to return to Berlin. As something of a sequel to Die Prärie, the reader is able to establish that Sascha had been born in Bavaria, Germany, to Turkish parents, in a largely Turkish family. His paternal grandparents were Turkish, and his maternal grandparents were German-Jews who settled in Turkey, returning to Germany after the war. In view of future research this could provide an interesting point of departure as Sascha could technically be considered Jewish. In Die Prärie, the reader learns about him only through the women he chooses to write about. Sascha believes that women exist merely as reflections in his mirror. He then “mirrors” or reflects them into being, and writes meaning and significance into their lives (significance which they are only able to sustain for as long as they remain characters in his text).

12 This would then elevate the problem of Sascha’s alienation to a different level. This alienation would be more multi-faceted than it appears in Die Prärie as it would also necessitate an examination of the concept of post-war German-Jewish alienation as well. For the purposes of this research the decision was made to focus on Die Prärie, because it fits into the specified time period. Significant reference is, however, also made to Gefährliche Verwandtschaft as it illuminates areas that are unclear regarding Sascha’s subsequent development.
Sascha soon finds himself entertaining thoughts of leaving Berlin and eventually takes up the position of writer in residence at a college in the American prairie. He continues his attempts at writing his novel, and indulges the appearances of a few women in his ‘mirror’. Soon it becomes clear that an additional voice, namely that of the American ghost-writer, had not only been responsible for writing Sascha’s novel, but had, more importantly, been creating Sascha as a character. This dynamic of multiple-authorship is interesting in that it implies a deliberate construction of an almost vague and intangible character and by extension masculinity. Sascha identifies himself, on an instinctual level, largely with his biological sex. Indeed it would also seem initially that he identifies with himself largely on the level of his biological sex. Consequently, in his interaction with women, he uses his exotic background as leverage as it were, relating to women on the level of physicality as biological beings.

Orhan Pamuk was born in Istanbul in 1952. His writing career started in the early 1970’s and his reputation as one of the world’s leading voices in contemporary fiction was confirmed when he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 2006. One of his most recent novels, Kar (2002) was translated into English and released as Snow in 2004. Snow was selected for this research because it too, demonstrates the somewhat indiscernible presence of the vague and intangible Turkish-German man in the form of its main character, Ka. The time spent in exile was significant enough – in terms of its duration and the nature of Ka’s life in Germany – to compel Ka to actively question his personal sense of national identity, a quest which is similar to that pursued in the other works examined in this study. Though this is initially particularly evident on a cultural and intellectual level, the level of complexity is heightened when, on his return to Turkey, Ka is forced to address the question of the construction of his national and cultural identity on the added level of religion and religious affiliation as well. It is this demonstration of the complex process involved in the quest for the definition of a personal, national and cultural identity, which forms the basis of the selection of the text for this investigation.
After spending several years in political exile in Germany, Ka travels to Turkey to attend his mother’s funeral and investigate reports of suicides committed by young Turkish girls in a remote town on the Armenian border.13 There he finds himself caught in the turmoil of a revolution which is as much political as it is religious. Ka is confronted by the extent to which not only the duration of but also the nature of his exile in Germany have effectively alienated him from his countrymen and from the woman he loves. Ka then attempts to re-negotiate his personal and political belief systems in the hope that it would facilitate a stronger sense of identification with his countrymen.

The respective cinematic works by the directors Fatih Akin and Kutluğ Ataman were selected because of the necessity to examine the cinematic construction and representation of Turkish-German masculinities. Fatih Akin was born in Hamburg in 1973 and has been working in the film industry since 1993. His film Gegen die Wand was released in 2004 to much acclaim and was awarded the prestigious Goldener Bär Award at the 2004 Berlin International Film Festival.

13 All evidence suggests that this site was not chosen by chance. Just as snow covers footsteps and leaves everything pure and clean, it also covers memories; in this case the memory of the Armenian Genocide. Controversy has always surrounded the case of the Armenian Genocide. In 2005 a law was passed in Turkey making it illegal to publicly insult Turkey or Turkishness or the Turkish nation. This included associating Turkey with the Armenian Genocide. Charges were brought in many cases including against Orhan Pamuk who blamed Turkey for the Armenian Genocide in an interview with a Swiss publication. These charges were later dropped although Pamuk was expected to pay a fine. Recently, France had destabilized its relations with Turkey by passing a law making the denial of officially recognized genocides a crime, and this included the Armenian Genocide. “The bill does not make specific reference to the estimated 1.5 million Armenians slaughtered under the Ottoman Turks, but France recognizes only those deaths and the Holocaust as genocides and already specifically bans Holocaust denial.”

Genocide Bill Angers Turks as It Passes in France:
http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/24/world/europe/french-senate-passes-genocide-bill-angering-turks.html?_r=1
Accessed: 14 February 2012

Article 301 of Turkish Penal Code:
Accessed: 14 February 2012

Article 301 (Turkish Penal Code)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Article_301_(Turkish_Penal_Code)
Accessed: 14 February 2012
*Gegen die Wand* stars Birol Ünel as Cahit, the disillusioned alcoholic and Sibel Kekilli as Sibel, the young Turkish woman desperate to escape the confines of her traditional Turkish home and family. The two meet in the psychiatric division of a hospital after their failed respective suicide attempts. Sibel sees in Cahit the ideal opportunity to liberate herself from her family and proposes marriage to him. After much consideration Cahit agrees and the two enter a marriage of convenience constructed around the intention to live together as roommates and friends. Yet, as time passes, the two characters find themselves not only falling in love with each other, but also conforming to the very tradition and culture which they consciously sought to escape from and avoid initially.

Cahit is sentenced to a period of imprisonment after murdering a man who had insulted his wife, Sibel. Sibel is disowned by her family once they learn that Sibel had had an affair with this man. Promising to wait for Cahit to be released from prison, she travels to Istanbul where she is forced to confront, re-evaluate and change her personal belief system. Cahit is eventually released from prison, a new man with a renewed faith not only in his Turkish culture and tradition, but also in himself. Though Cahit and Sibel do meet again in Istanbul, it becomes clear that it would be impossible for them to construct a life as husband and wife given their initial starting point and their subsequent life experiences. During her time in Istanbul (while Cahit was in prison) Sibel experiences a complete physical, emotional and to a certain extent psychological breakdown, culminating in a scene in which she is brutally attacked by a group of young men. Immediately after the attack, Sibel is rescued by a young (male) taxi driver. Part of Cahit’s breakdown occurs during his time spent in prison. Upon his release, he travels to Istanbul to find Sibel, who, at that stage in the film lives with the young taxi driver (the couple also have a daughter). Sibel is unable to leave the life she has built for herself in Istanbul, and for Cahit it too becomes clear that having emerged from prison a new man that he is then required to establish a new and independent life for himself.
*Gegen die Wand* was selected for the research because it has, since its release in 2004, become almost synonymous with the notion of the ‘Turkish-German’. In his portrayal of the protagonist, Cahit, Birol Ünel more than convincingly demonstrates the intense conflict at the heart of the quest for cultural, religious and traditional identification and affiliation characterizing an existence which is negotiated between two conflicting cultures. On a somewhat superficial level the film also explores the perceived fundamental cultural differences (or rather, the consequences of the negotiation of the space between them) associated with the practice and demonstration of inter-personal and intimate relationships. On closer examination it becomes clear that this is demonstrated particularly by and through the character of Sibel. An examination of the film ultimately reveals that Sibel does not want to become German, as it were; what she wants is the qualities of (sexual and personal) freedom which she associates with German culture, and for which she consequently seeks to exploit the German environment. Ultimately then, the question is not so much about culture, as it is about certain aspects of (one) culture and the consequent manner in which they are perceived by members of different cultures or cultural backgrounds.

Kutluğ Ataman’s *Lola und Bilidikid* explores amongst others, the theme of (Turkish-German) homosexuality through the main characters Lola and Bili, played by Gandi Mukli and Erdal Yıldız respectively. Lola performs as part of a dance troupe by the name of *Die Gastarbeiterinnen* (The Female Guest-Workers) and his partner Bili is a hustler. While Bili is unable to come to terms with his homosexuality and is intent on leaving Berlin and heading back to Turkey to lead a “normal” life with Lola as his wife, Lola is perfectly content wearing a wig and make-up for the rest of his life.

One such wig is delivered by Murat (Baki Davrak), whom we learn is Lola’s brother. Lola was rejected by his family and thrown out of the familial home when he revealed his homosexuality to them. Murat was conceived in an attempt to literally replace one son with another. Osman, played by Hasan Ali Mete, is the first-born son and the head of the
household. Osman too, is gay, and fundamentally incapable of reconciling the expectations of his culture with his sexuality as tragically transpires.

*Lola und Bilidikid* was selected for the research because it presents a complex and highly nuanced exploration of homosexuality within the Turkish-German community and context. In addition, the work also examines qualities inherent to the notion of a marginalized group; in this case a group marginalized not only on the grounds of cultural background or affiliation or national identity, but also on the basis of sexual identity. For example, the film explores various demonstrations of, and responses to homosexuality as a sub-culture within a patriarchal, migrant, and therefore already marginalized group. Additional aspects associated in particular with the homosexual sub-culture, as explored in the work, include the notions of drag and performance, ultimately concretizing its suitability for this research.\(^{14}\)

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\(^{14}\) Works produced by the openly gay Turkish author, Murathan Mungan, were also considered due to the exploration of homosexual relationships within the texts. These works were, however, considered unsuitable for the research due to the fact that homosexuality was explored strictly within a Turkish context and did therefore not comply with the criteria of the research. Mungan’s work has recently been released in German translation (see for example: Mungan, Murathan. *Palast des Ostens*. 2006. Zürich: Unionsverlag). Within another context the work of this author could be revisited. Future research could, for example include an examination of homosexuality in a Turkish context, as revealed in the works of Murathan Mungan, and cinematic works, such as *Zenne Dancer* (2012), produced by (also openly gay) Mehmet Binay and Caner Alper.
CHAPTER TWO

“The Man in the Middle”: The (Masculine) Turkish-German Element in Literature and Film

2.1. Judith Butler, Gender Performativity and Gender Hegemony

Attempting to establish, as the title of this chapter suggests, the nature of Turkish-German masculinity as represented in works of literature and film, necessitates the exploration of various concepts of which gender is a fundamental example. Gender is also associated with the concepts of gender hegemony and performativity. An attempt at a definition or understanding of gender hegemony is provided by Judith Butler, who limits her definition of gender to the level of ‘symbolic meaning’, allowing for a clearer articulation of the relation between masculinity and femininity. According to Butler\(^{15}\), gender is a socially constructed binary in which ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are defined as two distinct kinds of people or categories. Furthermore, within the context of gender meanings and discourse, there are not only specific characteristics, bodies and desires associated with ‘man’ and ‘woman’ respectively, but these characteristics, bodies and desires exist in a ‘symbolic relation to each other as complimentary opposites’. In light of this, women and men are not only defined in terms of their differences from each other, but also the relationship between them. Butler refers to gender relations not only as the relationship between men and women, but also the relationship or interaction of the specific characteristics and qualities associated with each category. In this manner the relationship between men and women is then constructed by the very differences between them.

This is expanded to the notion, or level, as it were, of symbolic meanings which facilitate an understanding of the nature of the relationship between gender categories, and which

therefore come to represent a fundamental aspect of hegemonic gender relations\textsuperscript{16}. It is within this system of symbolic meanings that the assumptions and beliefs regarding the qualities, traits and characteristics of each category are located and according to Mimi Schippers, it is through this that one is given an indication as to what man/woman is and should be like and how the two categories should relate to each other\textsuperscript{17}. Ultimately, it is within this context that the notions of masculinity and femininity are located.

Today, the concepts of masculine and feminine refer to qualities which are regarded by members of a group as ideal traits for the gender categories of man and woman respectively. Schippers argues that this represents the first and significant point of conceptual departure from Connell, who posits that masculinity and femininity refer to ‘positions in social relations and configurations of practice and their effects’\textsuperscript{18}. When limited to the context or the level of symbolic meanings, ‘man’ and ‘woman’ remain categories or positions. Masculinity and femininity then refer to qualities of people who occupy these respective positions.

Butler substantiates this view by arguing that that these qualities are inherently mediated by factors such as culture and history:

“If one ‘is’ a woman, then that is surely not all one is; the term fails to be exhaustive, not because a pregendered ‘person’ transcends the specific paraphernalia of its gender, but because gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out ‘gender’ from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained.”\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.13.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. 4.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid. 3.
In this manner, that which is considered masculine or feminine in one culture may not be in another culture. By extension, that which is considered masculine in one culture may be considered feminine in another, and vice versa. The various qualities of gender difference are therefore subject to debate which often necessitates (culturally and historically specific) re-negotiation and definition. Therefore, conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity do change, and have changed throughout history. For example, in 18th century France it was considered ‘normal’ if not appropriate for aristocratic men to wear wigs and extravagant dress. Today however, outside of certain legal systems, the wearing of wigs and extravagant dress are considered feminine traits. This indicates that in some cases, qualities considered masculine have later been regarded as feminine and vice versa, and in some cases certain qualities no longer come to represent either gender category at all.

However, one of the principal features or qualities common to both masculinity and femininity which has remained relatively unchanged is that of heterosexual desire. One of the qualities assumed to be inherently male is an almost perpetual ‘erotic desire for the feminine object’. Women, by extension, are assumed to have an equal and correspondingly ‘passive desire to be the object of masculine desire’. This, according to Butler, represents one of the key and defining aspects of the ‘heterosexual matrix’, which defines the relationship between the categories of man and woman and, by extension, between masculinity and femininity. Butler regards heterosexual desire as an ‘erotic attachment to difference’. This desire serves as the element which binds or connects masculinity (or the masculine) and femininity (or the feminine) as complimentary opposites. Within this heterosexual matrix, the assumption is therefore that men have a natural attraction to women, and that women have a natural attraction to men. It is this element or dynamic of heterosexual, erotic desire which principally defines the relationship between masculinity and femininity. Therefore, regardless of the specific sex category, the possession of erotic desire for the feminine object comes to be regarded as what Schippers refers to as ‘masculinizing’ or masculine, and by extension, being the object of masculine desire comes to be regarded as ‘feminizing’ or feminine.

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20 Ibid. 14.
Due to the fact that the different and complimentary nature of femininity and masculinity is located in heterosexual desire, it therefore remains a fundamental component of gender hegemony. In this manner the nature of desire between masculinity and femininity as erotic ultimately establishes heterosexuality as a norm. Specifically, it establishes the relationship between masculinity and femininity as that of a natural and normal heterosexuality with the consequence that all non-heterosexual desire is categorized as abnormal or deviant.

It is important, however, to remember that hegemony is not merely identified or constructed through difference. Within culture, hegemony (or hegemonic traits) refers to those features which are regarded as normative and commonplace and which maintain and perpetuate the (concept of) dominance, specifically the dominance of a ruling group or community. In this way, hegemonic features encourage the members of a group or community to conform to the functioning of a culture according to the dynamic of domination and subordination. Schippers suggests that, by extension, when considered in the context of heterosexual desire, it becomes clear that hegemony then refers not only to difference and complementarity, but also to hierarchy.

In order to clarify her definition and use of the term hierarchy, Schippers ‘reduces’ it to (general) domination and suggests that:

“…symbolic constructions of heterosexual sex still reduce it to penetrating and being penetrated, and that relation is consistently constructed as one of intrusion, “taking”, dominating.”

Therefore dominance and submission become defining features of the relationship between the sex categories and man and woman, and by extension between masculinity

21 Ibid.
and femininity. This is consolidated through the assumption of ‘masculine authority and physical strength and female compliance and physical weakness’. In this way, physical strength and weakness and authority and compliance also become central defining features categorizing the relationship between masculinity and femininity.

The performativity of gender on the other hand, needs to be understood within the context of the organization of social relations and the institutionalization of heterosexuality. In light of this, masculinity and femininity, or rather, the ideals represented by the two, provide the basis for the ‘organization of social relations’ — specifically on the level of gender difference. In other words, the organization of social relations is based on these assumed differences and the relationship between them.

When regarded from a different angle, heterosexuality is institutionalized through the connection between masculinity and femininity. Masculinity and femininity are connected through heterosexual desire, and this connection encourages, if not necessitates, almost perpetual heterosexual practice — thereby institutionalizing heterosexuality. Furthermore, these assumed differences become vital in facilitating ‘self-understanding, interaction with others, and the organization of large-scale social institutions’. The (behavioural) content prescribed by masculinity and femininity facilitates the position we assume as members of the respective sex categories in defining and locating ourselves as individuals and within a group. Therefore, when one refers to masculinity, one assumes traits regarded as ideal and natural for the sex category of men. In this manner, particularly in social interaction with others, we are required to ‘do’ gender, to perform it, as it were, presenting ourselves and the manner in (and extent to) which we comply with the respective categories, based on the criteria prescribed by the traits associated with masculinity and femininity respectively.

Schippers explains this further by arguing that:

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22 The notion or act of penetration will be examined later, in greater detail, in light of an ethnographic study conducted amongst a gang of young Turkish men in the early nineties, and its relevance in the examination of the film *Lola und Bilidikid*.

23 Ibid. 15.
“When an individual displays or enacts a feminine characteristic with some consistency over time or across contexts, or if a person is perceived to have predominantly or exclusively feminine characteristics, she or he might be labelled “feminine”.”\textsuperscript{24}

Though Schippers uses femininity as an example, this statement could clearly be used in reference to masculinity as well. Schippers stresses the intentional use of both pronouns in order to emphasize the separation of gender categories as social positions, practices in social interaction, and the ideals of masculinity and femininity respectively. This separation allows for the theoretical possibility of women to be regarded, perceived or described as masculine, and men to be feminine. The resultant categorization would then be determined by whether or not the performance complies with the prescriptions of masculinity and femininity and whether or not the individual or performer is a man or a woman. An evaluation of the performances within the context of social interaction would elicit a response indicating that an individual is or is being either masculine or feminine, not that the individual is doing either masculinity or femininity.

The performance of gender refers to an enactment of a pre-scripted role or inherent identity. As a result, the verb “to be” is used in connection with masculinity and femininity as descriptive tags or categories. However, references to acting are used when one’s performance does not correspond to one’s gender category. In other words, a man could be “acting feminine” although a woman would rarely be described in this way. Likewise, a woman could be seen as “acting masculine” although a man would rarely be referred to in this way. Therefore, the verbs, “to be”, “to do” and “to act” refer to a performance which is enacted according to an inherent, script; a performance which, according to Schippers, masks “an internal, gender essence.”\textsuperscript{25} So, if a behaviour, or set of actions is regarded as being consistent with the ideals of masculinity, the response would be that ‘that behaviour is masculine’, as opposed to the behaviour (demonstrating

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid. 18.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
or representing) being masculinity. This ultimately supports the necessity to limit our definitions of masculinity and femininity to the level or context of symbolic meaning. In short, “feminine and masculine practices are ones that are consistent with those believed to be the essential characteristics of women and men; they are not masculinity and femininity.”

Butler’s theory of performative gender provides an extension to Foucault and Bourdieu’s view of gender as socio-historical constructs, and argues that gender, though historically constructed, be regarded as an act or performance. Butler suggests that the relationship between gender and performance is such that gender is performance, and by extension, a performance based on a prior act of imitation. The enactment of gender is centred around, and implies the notion of preconceived norms. These norms are effectively constructed through a system of influence generated by society, psychology, culture and history.

Butler’s theory of the performativity of gender is centred on an investigation into the relationship between sexuality and materiality. Butler traces materiality back to its origins, and argues ultimately that if the body is matter, then the manner, in which the body comes to materialize, to mean, or to possess any significance, is directly related to its origin, transformation and potentiality. The body’s capacity for intelligibility then, is, ultimately, something which is produced and the production of this intelligible body is identified at the site of performativity, which she regards as a “specific modality of power as discourse.” For Butler, performativity could be understood in terms of the suggestion that:

“For discourse to materialize a set of effects, “discourse” itself must be understood as complex and convergent chains in which “effects” are vectors of power. In this sense, what is constituted in discourse is not fixed in or by discourse, but becomes the condition or occasion for further action. This does not mean that any action is possible on the basis of a discursive effect. On the

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26 Ibid.19.
contrary, certain reiterative chains of discursive production are barely legible as reiterations, for the effects they have materialized are those without which no bearing in discourse can be taken.”27

Butler further suggests that performativity be regarded as the potential to facilitate a more coherent and plausible (political) construction of identity in its capacity to serve as the:

“… pre-condition of the subject, the discursive vehicle through which ontological effects are produced. There is not first an ‘I’ who performs, rather, the ‘I’ is constituted in and through performative processes.”28

As mentioned, masculinity and femininity form the basis for the organization of social institutions, but more specifically, the gendered organization. The principle example of this in recent history has been the family. The heterosexual relationship between masculinity and femininity determines or prescribes normative parenting roles namely, that within the within the traditional family model there are two parental units. These positions are occupied by a ‘masculine person (a man) and a feminine person (a woman)’. Furthermore, within this family model these two units are in a constant sexual relationship with each other as per the requirements of heterosexual desire. According to the gendered division of domestic roles, the quality of masculine authority would lead to the assumption of a male head of household or breadwinner; a position characterized by, amongst others, physical strength. Correspondingly, feminine compliance leads to the assumption of a female subordinate role. Schippers suggests that in this way masculinity and femininity provide the frame of reference against which male and female individuals occupy their respective roles within the family. Mothers and fathers should, ideally, embody and comply with the qualities of masculinity and femininity respectively.


Butler suggests that gender performance implies a repetition of an original idea. By extension, the original idea is then reinforced through repetition. Masculinity and femininity, as well as the relationship between them, are representative of the original ideas. By locating this idea of repetition within the continuing process of recurring social patterns of social practice, such as, for example, demonstrated by the gendered division of domestic labour within the family, the original idea then leads to collective repetition exemplified in social structure and social organization. According to Schippers, heterosexuality, or the heterosexual matrix, is institutionalized through this repetition; that is, through recurring social practice\(^{29}\). The extent to which we have perpetuated this repetition, or more specifically, the extent to which we have used masculinity and femininity as frames of reference against which we do gender in various contexts, has resulted in gender difference being taken for granted in culture and society. Ultimately then, gender difference becomes hegemonic. Most social relations have an inherent gender structure, and our participation in these relations should then not only serve as an example of the extent to which gender difference has become a normative aspect of our culture, but also of the extent to which the distribution of goods has been affected along the lines of gender difference\(^{30}\).

In our various social interactions we are able to observe men and women whose performance of their respective roles complies with the assumptions or criteria established by masculinity and femininity and the relationship between them. In this manner ‘masculinity and femininity come to organize material relations of social life through social practice’. Unlike Connell’s suggestion that practice forms the substance of masculinity and femininity, practice then becomes the ‘mechanism through which masculinity and femininity organize social life’. Whereas Connell locates the definition of masculinity and femininity in practice and the effects of practice, this

\(^{29}\) Ibid.18.
\(^{30}\) Ibid.19.
conceptualization (masculinity and femininity as mechanism) allows for the separation of masculinity and femininity from practice and the effects of practice.

Therefore, continued practice reinforces or substantiates the qualities of masculinity and femininity. At the level of symbolic meaning, masculinity and femininity then exist as a frame of reference for social practice, which ultimately becomes social structure. The necessity for limiting the definition of masculinity and femininity to the level or realm of symbolic meaning is located in the fact that as descriptive tags or categories, masculinity and femininity are used to describe a range of things (that is, more than simply individuals). These things include everything from occupations to music genres and the categorization is made on the basis of the extent to which the activity corresponds to the qualities assumed to be ideal for men respectively. In other words, based on an assumption of what men and women are and are meant to be like. Ultimately then, masculinity and femininity provide the frame of reference for the (unequal) distribution of goods and resources on the basis of gender difference.

2.2. R. Connell and Hegemonic Masculinities

According to R. Connell, multiple facts, including politics, violence and mass culture, amongst others, are interconnected to form a pattern which could be referred to as society’s ‘gender order’. Connell consequently defines gender as:

“… the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes.”

It is not only this gender order that informs the roles assumed and performed by the respective genders, but it is also the system through which gender is largely taken for granted in day-to-day life.

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Gender should consequently be regarded in light of its relation to the concept of gender difference, which occurs as a result of the perpetuation of what would sometimes be considered as ideal or exemplary demonstrations of masculinity and femininity. It is, however, precisely this notion of the demonstration of masculinity or femininity which facilitates the consideration of gender as a fluid and constantly-changing construct or product.

“So we cannot think of womanhood or manhood as being fixed by nature. But neither should we think of them as simply imposed from outside, by social norms or pressure from authorities. People construct themselves as masculine or feminine. We claim a place in the gender order – or respond to the place we have been given – by the way we conduct ourselves in everyday life.”

It is important to make the distinction that although men generally benefit within the parameters of the gender order, they do not all benefit equally. As previously mentioned, there are demonstrations or examples of masculinity and femininity which are regarded as ideal. Consequently, demonstrations of masculinity which indicate a divergence from this ideal, such as, for example can be found in the context of homosexuality, are then regarded as inferior and unequal masculinities. This marginalization could then be extended to include the concepts of race and class, amongst others, in which case it would then be clear that representations of masculinities within different ethnic and racial groups correspond to the same unequal distribution of power.

Connell suggests that gender be regarded as a specific kind of ‘social structure’ in terms of the capacity of a society to confront reproductive difference. In this way bodies are located within specific social processes in which the resultant social conduct or behaviour is then able to influence reproductive difference. This takes place within what Connell

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32 Ibid. 3.
33 Ibid. 4.
refers to as the ‘reproductive arena’ producing patterns of gender which are fundamentally culturally specific and socially malleable.\textsuperscript{34}

Gender then, according to Connell, is defined as the relationship or interaction between ‘human societies and human bodies’. Attempting a definition of masculinity is less likely to be as ‘concrete’ as that of gender, since masculinities (and femininities) are multiple and continuously evolving. In light of this, the ‘safest’ definition of masculinity according to Connell is that:

“This masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine.”\textsuperscript{35}

Connell expands this gender theory to include the concepts of ‘hegemonic’ and ‘multiple masculinities’. According to the resultant model, and located within the context of social structures and processes, masculinities are then regarded as social sites which individuals are able to move into. These masculine sites or positions require the performance of practices which are considered masculine in order for the individual to occupy this position. According to this model, masculinities would also then be regarded as the resultant effects of the occupation of the ‘masculine social position’ and the performance of the associated masculine practices. Although these effects can be individual, it is important to note that masculinity and femininity cannot be reduced to the level of individual experience. Instead, Connell regards masculinities and femininities as ‘projects’,

“…to use a term suggested by the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1968). They are patterns of a life-course projected from the present into the future, bringing new conditions or events into existence, which were not there before.”\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid. 10.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid. 81.
In other words individuals then ‘move through and ultimately produce masculinity’ by carrying out masculine practices. In this manner, masculinity then comes to be regarded as a set of practices enacted by individuals over a period of time. Due to the fact that these practices are located within social processes or structures, their continued practice would ultimately then influence social life and organizations. Masculinity, which is a performed process, when performed repeatedly and within different cultures, enables structures and processes which would then consequently have effects which are cultural and structural as well.

It is also important to note that Connell identifies and distinguishes between multiple masculinities, or practices of masculinity. Multiple masculine positions are in effect and occupied simultaneously in various sites. Each of these positions are characterized and exemplified by their own respective masculine practices. Connell identifies one of these positions or practices as hegemonic masculinity, which occurs as a result of the relationship between different masculinities or masculine practices, through which the dominant position of men over the consequently subordinate position of women is validated\(^{37}\).

Therefore, hegemonic masculinity, as a social position, occurs as a set of practices which, when enacted, allows men to assume a dominant position over women. As previously stated, masculinity cannot be reduced to the level of personal or individual experience, and in this light hegemonic masculinity then could be regarded as a set of practices, which when enacted over a period of time, ensures the ‘dominance of men as a group over women as a group’. Furthermore, as mentioned, since not all men benefit equally from the social practice of masculinity, additional types or practices of masculinity come to be identified, namely ‘complicit’, ‘subordinate’ and ‘marginalized’ masculinities.

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Complicit masculinities are identified as such because of their nature as a set of masculine practices which, when enacted, ensure the perception of hegemonic masculinity as an ideal. In other words, they are complicit in (ensuring the hegemony of) hegemonic masculinity. Though complicit masculinities are themselves not regarded as ideal, their enactment ensures, when juxtaposed with hegemonic masculinities that hegemonic masculinities continue to be regarded as ideal. Therefore, in order to sustain the dominant masculine position, practices of masculinity must be maintained as different from and superior to femininity or practices of femininity. Subordinate masculinities however, although they too perpetuate the notion of hegemonic masculinity as the ideal, do so through their position of an inferior practice of masculinity. Connell uses the example of homosexuality to demonstrate the concept of subordinate masculinity:

“Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole. Within that overall framework there are specific gender relations dominance and subordination between groups of men. The most important case in contemporary European/American society is the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men. Oppression positions homosexual masculinities at the bottom of a gender hierarchy among men.”

Connell’s model locates marginalized masculinities within the context of the intersection of class and race and refers to practices of masculinity of subordinate classes of racial and ethnic groups. This is enabled by the position of superiority of hegemonic masculinity and its association with white, middle-class society. Marginalized masculinities are associated with subordinated classes of racial, ethnic and social groups. In this manner, as Schippers notes, a relationship is established ‘between authorization and marginalization’ because of the supposition that hegemonic masculinity is indeed that of white, middle class masculinity.

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39 Ibid. 78.
Though it has become clear thus far that gender is essentially a variable construct of history and society, it is important to establish the elements or nature of its construction. Homosexuality, for example, was classified first in the late 19th century as a social, medical and ontological category with specific reference to its nature as a sexual practice which was “non-reproductive.” Similarly, sexuality, in the sense of Foucault, and subsequently elaborated on by Bourdieu, reveals a myriad of contradictory and yet useful insights into the nature of masculinity (and, by extension, studies of masculinity):

“The division between the sexes appears to be ‘in the order of things’, as people sometimes say to refer to what is normal, natural, to the point of being inevitable…
Male privilege is also a trap, and it has its negative side in the permanent tension and contention, sometimes verging on the absurd, imposed in every man by the duty to assert his manliness in all circumstances.”

This is particularly interesting for, if sexuality exists as an historical and social construct, then it follows that, despite its seeming stability it is prone to time-related and induced mutations and changes as Bourdieu also indicates:

“… in order to escape completely from essentialism, … one must reconstruct … the history of the continuous (re)creation of the objective and subjective structures of masculine domination, which has gone on permanently so long as there have been men and women, and through which the masculine order has continuously been reproduced from age to age.”

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42 Ibid. 82-83.
The sexuality at question, namely the masculinity of the 2nd and 3rd generation Turkish-German male, stands as an example of a mutated and mutable sexuality and sexual identity; constructed through specific historical processes. It is therefore necessary to determine if a stable core of “masculinity” still determines male sexuality in the target group or if mutated forms have completely replaced historical models, simultaneously functioning as structures of masculinity, which will determine “strategies of knowledge” (Foucault) and power relationships in male-dominated social structures and substructures which find expression in literary and visual cultural products. Bourdieu, for example, identifies numerous and often controversial sites in his efforts to contribute to the understanding of existing norms of discourses surrounding the norms of male domination:

“The strength of the masculine order is seen in the fact that it dispenses with justification. … The *biological* difference between the *sexes*, i.e. between the male and female bodies, … can thus appear as the natural justification of the socially constructed difference between the *genders*, and in particular of the social division of labour.”

Although it is unclear as to how Connell’s model addresses the gendered and social division of labour and goods (which occurs as a result of this particular model of gender hegemony), it remains interesting and useful when considered in light of the aspects of race and class. However, it appears as though Connell blends actual groups of men with the conceptual sites of masculinity (or the sites of social practice as initially defined), effectively pitting white, middle class men and non-white, essentially poor men against each other. This then contradicts the original assertion that gender (masculinity) be defined as the site of social practice and the effects of those practices, as well as the relationship between them. At this juncture, Schippers argues that it therefore becomes necessary to theorize gender hegemony in a way which allows for the examination of the

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43 Ibid. 9-10.
relationship between domination and subordination of men and women along the lines of race and class. Schippers argues that:

“Hegemony in Connell’s model has been conflated with superiority or ideal, and thus, the notion of hegemonic femininity comes across as a contradiction in terms. Surely femininity is implicated in hegemonic gender relations in that there are characteristics and practices expected of women that are deemed more acceptable or desirable than other practices and that, through their recurring enactment, situate women as subordinate to men as a group.”

In addition, Connell’s model of multiple masculinities does not allow for any means of distinguishing these masculinities from each other or being able to identify them by means of specific practices or traits. Furthermore, the model falls short of providing what Schippers refers to as a ‘definitive theoretical framework for femininity’ since it locates and essentially locks the definition of masculinity as a social position in practices and the effects of these practices. Applying the same model to an analysis of femininity would still make it impossible to distinguish masculinity from femininity. One of the reasons for this is because the model fails to provide a clear indication of the relationship between masculinity and femininity. Although Connell places the definition of masculinity in terms of its difference to femininity, there is no exploration of this in the model. This ultimately makes it difficult to gauge the extent to which femininity has been and is involved and implicated (if at all in this case) in this notion of gender hegemony since hegemony is in this case strongly associated with masculinity, and masculine qualities of superiority and ideal manhood.

2.3. Responses to the work of Judith Butler

Examples of responses to the theories of Judith Butler are located in the work of Kaja Silverman and Inge Stephan respectively. In *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (1992),

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44 Ibid. 11.
Silverman examines various perverse masculinities in light of the hypothesis that, although sexuality and a reading of it needs to be located within the context of a larger social context, that:

“unconscious desire and identification do not always follow the same trajectory delineated for them in advance, and that they sometimes assume forms which are profoundly antipathetic to the existing social formation.”

Silverman uses a historically located study of French art in order to demonstrate her argument that a crisis in masculinity could be located specifically at the end of the nineteenth century. Abigail Solomon-Godeau argues however, that nineteenth century French art provides limited and limiting vantage point from which to assess the scope of the so-called “crisis”:

“In taking as her subject a series of “perverse,” “deviant,” and variously nonphallic masculinities, Silverman counterpoises them against a putative masculine form she terms “classical (that is, phallic, virile, martial, intensely Oedipalized). But again, from the admittedly limited perspective of late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French painting, sculpture and print culture, this norm is far from evident. Thus, what may once have appeared retrospectively as a kind of classical masculine paradigm … looks from another optic virtually pathological…”

*Gender @ Wissen: Ein Handbuch der Gender Theorien* (2005) provides insight into the reception of Butler’s theory of gender as performative act in Germany. In this study Inge Stephan considers Butler’s theory in her suggestion that masculinity and gender be regarded in light of the concept of the masquerade. In *Männlichkeit als Maskerade*

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(2003), Stephan adopts a historical approach and explores the masquerade of masculinity by examining the various stagings or performances from the Middle Ages to the present.

The concepts of the enacted or performative gender and performativity, as, for example, expanded by Inge Stephan in her lucid study *Männlichkeit als Maskerade: Kulturelle Inszenierungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (2003), are associated with the notion of the masquerade or carnival. Similarly, Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of the “carnivalesque” provides a further platform from which to view inter-racial and cross-cultural relations in terms of its capacity to and practice of magnifying and mirroring racial relations in society. Carnival then, according to Bakhtin (and examined by Inge Stephan), could be viewed as both a concept as well as a cultural practice which includes a combination of costumes, masquerade and parade, amongst others. These factors contribute to the construction of carnival as an ambiguous and unsettling space in which spectators and participants alike are able – though not necessarily by choice - to assume several racial, class and gender positions. In and through carnival, the subjects are also provided with an opportunity in which to negotiate and consent to specific and also varying power relations through the practice of psychic and social forms of masquerade. These practices are not limited to the carnival period, but also to the various other “carnivalisms” present and enacted in inter-cultural and inter-racial relations and performances of everyday life.

Bakhtin extends his notion of the carnivalesque to include the notion and analysis of parody, which he argues fundamentally operates or functions in the form of a disguise, by virtue of its dialogic exchanges which parade as versions of the “same”, but which contain a host of implications and double-meanings. For Bakhtin, the “carnivalesque” exists as a means of displacing hierarchies and subverting dominant socio-political order through a cultural formation of complex polyphonic narratives. These insights further reflect the concept of performative masquerade inherent in the literary and cinematic representation of the concept of masculinity such as can be found in the work of Turkish-born director, Kutluğ Ataman’s film entitled *Lola und Bilidikid* (1998), where “drag” is central to the notions of gendered behaviour. This could, by extension, be regarded in light of Butler’s argument that when considering masculinity and femininity on the level
of symbolic meaning, it becomes possible to identify feminine men and masculine women.

Butler posits that drag enables a subversion of an expressive model of gender and the idea or possibility of a true gender identity in that “in imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself – as well as its contingency”\(^{47}\). Gender then, according to Butler, can be regarded as a parody, because drag is suggestive of a dissonance between sex and performance, sex and gender, and gender and performance – the sex of the performer is not the same as the gender being performed. Specifically, gender is a parody not of an original, but of the idea of an original, suggesting that the original being performed, is an entity without origins\(^{48}\) in light of the fact that gender is itself a display of actions without an identifiably explicit origin. Parody then, according to Butler, can be regarded as fundamentally subversive in its capacity to demonstrate the artificiality of identity.

### 2.4. A Brief History of (Male Relationships and) Masculinity

“…the homosexual love of the Greeks does not indicate a decline but an advance of their civilization, in that it created for them intellectual values which last beyond all ages and ever provoke us anew to amazing astonishment.”\(^{49}\)

In his examination of Greek art, society and morality, Dover attempts to shed some clarifying light on what he refers to as “those phenomena of homosexual behaviour and sentiment which are to be found in Greek art and literature between the eighth and second centuries B.C.”\(^{50}\). Dover raises and examines several points crucial in the understanding


\(^{48}\) Ibid. 138.


\(^{50}\) Dover, K. J. *Greek Homosexuality*. 1978. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd. vii
of the relationship, as it were, between Greek society and (what would today be described as) homosexuality or bisexuality. One of these points indicates that one of the fundamental differences in Greek culture (as opposed to contemporary Western culture) was located in its undisputed or unquestioned practice, tolerance and encouragement of homosexual behaviour. The term homosexual is used specifically for the purposes of his research because, as he indicates:

“The Greeks were aware that individuals differ in their sexual preferences, but their language has no nouns corresponding to the English nouns ‘a homosexual’ and ‘a heterosexual’, since they assumed that (a) virtually everyone responds at different times both to homosexual and heterosexual stimuli, and (b) virtually no male both penetrates other males and submits to penetration by other males at the same stage of his life.”

Not only did the Greek tolerance of homosexuality lie in a reason as elementary as the absence of the categories of homosexual and heterosexual from the vernacular of the society, but as Dover indicates, an additional reason was located in the effects of conditioning and history. On an almost superficial level, the Greeks tolerated and encouraged homosexuality because that was what they were taught and born into:

“Why the Athenians of the fourth century B.C. accepted homosexuality so readily and conformed so happily to the homosexual ethos…: they accepted it because it was acceptable to their fathers and uncles and grandfathers.”

The extent to which homosexual practice had become almost etched as it were into the fabric of Greek society was represented in the (frequent) references made to it in works of literature produced by writers such as Plato, for example, in his Symposium and Phaedrus and in visual depictions made in various artworks, including vases and tablets. The scenes presented in these works would often include scenarios ranging from

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51 Ibid. 1.
52 Ibid. 2.
53 Ibid. 12.
mere genital exposure, to masturbation. Furthermore, homosexuality had been incorporated extensively into various narratives from Greek mythology, including many tales of gods who fall in love with beautiful young boys, or a god who becomes enamoured of the beauty of a young boy.

Here it is important to stress that a fundamental characteristic of Greek homosexual practice was its stipulation of the active and passive roles within the relationships, implying a hierarchical relationship or juxtaposition between a dominant and a passive partner similar to the model of hegemonic masculinity outlined by Butler. Generally, homosexual relationships referred to the admiration/love of an older man for younger man or boy, although boy in this case refers to a young man who has reached sexual maturity. Furthermore, according to David Cohen, males were prohibited from adopting a submissive role in homosexual relationships because it was considered unworthy of free citizenry.

However, in an attempt to counter what they refer to as a “Eurocentric model of gay/lesbian history” Stephen Murray and Will Roscoe chart and examine patterns and demonstrations of Islamic homosexualities over the course of several centuries.

According to the authors:

“To say that male homosexuality flourished in Islamic societies would be an overstatement typical of orientalist discourse, but it would be no exaggeration to say that, before the twentieth century, the region of the world with the most visible and diverse homosexualities was not north-western Europe but northern Africa and south-western Asia.”

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56 Ibid.
Murray argues that what is viewed today in Western discourse as Islamic conservatism actually has its origins in Victorian puritanism. He makes a distinction between Arab society and Islam, and suggests that applying Islam as a general and almost generic label is indeed misinformed and inaccurate in that the rules governing and controlling sexual conduct in the Arab world cannot necessarily be attributed to Islam. Initially, according to Murray, Islam did not have the same judgement of homosexuality as Christianity. Murray argues that homophobia exists as a product of the Christian West, and that homophobic tendencies in Arabic cultures were indeed the results of Western sources. Vincenzo Patanè clarifies this by suggesting that the advent of Islam in the Arabic world signalled the end of the “homosexual acts, which seem to have been widely practised in the nomadic and polytheistic societies of the Arabian Peninsula where the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (570-632 CE) developed”\(^57\).

Similar to the ancient Greeks, medieval Persian and Turkish poetry contains several references to the love of a beautiful boy. In addition, it is important to note that at that stage all genres of literature were written or produced by men, about men, and for an exclusively male audience. Variations on the theme of the love for a young boy included the conflation of the love of the boy, with the love of the Creator (especially in Sufi poetry). According to Murray, several texts include the deification of the youth because of his beauty. What is however, interesting to note is that the beauty of the young boy, and the divine perfection it connotes and suggests is fundamentally dependent on the admirer (traditionally represented in the figure of the older, more powerful and wiser man) for its existence: “Beauty, though basically a static concept, has no full meaning without admiration and love, and the beloved needs the lover for his perfection.”\(^58\)

In Ottoman Turkey young boys and men aged between eight to twenty years were selected as slaves of the Sultan\(^59\). These boys were selected on the basis of their “bodily


\(^{58}\) Ibid. 132.

\(^{59}\) Ibid. 174.
perfection, muscular strength and intellectual ability” and were trained to administer and defend the empire. According to Murray, the boys who were considered the most beautiful were dispatched to the palaces of the sultans. In the highly patriarchal Ottoman society the sexual domination of a young boy by an older man was considered normal and, by extension, being sexually dominated was actually thought to increase the chances for the young boy to progress or elevate his status within Ottoman hierarchy: “Favourite boys grew up to marry their masters’ daughters, to take over management of businesses, properties etc. The Sultan’s favourite boys often grew up to be generals, governors and high court officials.”

Not only does this relationship indicate a similar hierarchical structure, but in this case, submission to the dominance of the Sultan carried benefits and advantages for the young boys involved. They would then grow up to assume influential and powerful positions within the society, and one would assume that once in those positions, that they would then engage in the same relationships with younger boys in their favour, ultimately perpetuating a cycle of dominance and submission, as it were.

As has been established, masculinity (and by extension masculine identity) is a created, mutable, mutating concept and phenomenon. The principle ingredient responsible for the unidentifiable aspect of masculinity (in terms of seeking to impose an almost tangible quality to it – which fails) is history. History is always changing, and so too are our perceptions and constructions of power, race, class, gender, sexuality (the permeability of sexuality and sexual orientation) and finally also of masculinity and femininity. Perhaps then, the relevant question to ask would be what this masculinity (or what this type of man) is, today? (Alternatively, which (historical) factors influenced and determined the current construction of masculinity?)

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60 Ibid. 178.
According to Vincenzo Patanè, the period of the ‘multicultural and tolerant Arab empire lasted only three centuries’.\(^{61}\) The symbols of the once tolerant and advanced society were attacked and replaced under a rigid system of censorship and control. It is important and interesting to note that Islam literally means submission (to God), and in the late Ottoman Empire, this driving force behind the censorship of cultural symbols found its way into legislation which forced women to wear headscarves. In addition it was (and is, in orthodox Islam) forbidden to depict or display images of humans. It is then not surprising that homosexuality was ‘viewed with hostility’. Patanè echoes Murray’s previous argument by indicating that ‘the moralism and hypocrisy of bourgeois Europe (the Victorians in particular) contributed to the homophobia of the Ottomans during the 19\(^{th}\) century’.\(^{62}\)

The Koran and other sacred Islamic texts such as the hadīth\(^{63}\) prescribe moral and gender-specific dress, which ultimately contribute to informing ideal male and female behaviour. The headscarf and in particular the full body covering worn by orthodox Islamic women, ultimately reinforces and perpetuates the invisibility of women by rendering them almost invisible to anyone other than their husbands. However, by extension, the same Islamic religious legislation also actively renders men and women of minority groups invisible due to the fact that Islamic culture is inherently ‘masculinist and strongly hierarchical’. The categorical separation of genders is a fundamental aspect of daily Islamic life. Indeed, as Patanè suggests, this gender separation not only motivates the male wearing of beards and moustaches as symbols of manhood and masculinity, but also the cultural prescriptions of ideal masculinity in that ‘all other beings that are ‘not-man’ are subject to him: women, concubines, boys, slaves, servants, eunuchs, transvestites, hermaphrodites and even infidels’\(^{64}\).

\(^{61}\) Ibid. . 277. Patanè cites the end of the period as marked by the fall of Baghdad at the hands of the Mongols in 1258.

\(^{62}\) Ibid.

\(^{63}\) Although one of the major Islamic texts, Patanè identifies it as a text containing sayings which are attributed to the Prophet, although not always reliably.

\(^{64}\) Ibid. 278.
As mentioned, Turkish history, more specifically early Ottoman history, is rife with reports of homosexual acts or the tolerance of liberal sexual lifestyle choices. Sultans and other influential individuals kept young slave boys for various purposes and these boys would ultimately grow up to be equally influential men who also kept young slave boys for various purposes. However, the secularization of Turkey effectively closed access to the history of the Ottomans, encouraging a heterosexual norm and forcing all minorities underground. However, Patanè suggests that although nominally Islamic, Turkish society appears to be demonstrating a resurgence of tolerance of minorities and minority lifestyles, although this would certainly more likely be the case in major cities such as Istanbul, for example. Regarding homosexuality specifically, the same preference for dominant homosexual men (as cited as characteristic of Arabic and Greek practice) appears to mark public perception and response to homosexuality: the dominant partner is preferred because his very dominance is regarded as testament to his masculinity. Patanè argues that:

“In theory, the Islamic man does not have any problems of identity when he has sex with a man, woman or adolescent – provided that he adopts the active role proper to a man. On a physical level, this is sealed by penetration, the crucial act around which Arab eroticism revolves.”

This effectively places all (interpersonal and intimate) relationships in traditional Islamic culture on a clearly imbalanced axis of power in which the heterosexual man is and assumes the only significant role in the relationship on the basis of the dominance assumed to be an ideal trait of his masculinity, as opposed to the weak, submissive and effectively non-existent and invisible presence and role of the other partner (man or woman).

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65 Ibid. 284.
66 Ibid. 278.
Modern Western masculinity on the other hand, particularly German masculinity, has its origins in the 18th century which signalled the beginnings of bourgeois society. This period saw a focus on the regulation of family development and the active pursuit of capital and property. Identifying men in the 18th century (Europe) as producers-protectors-providers, Klaus-Michael Bogdal suggests that the ‘body, which the heroes of antiquity and the Middle Ages were continually required to expose to deadly risks in order to be “manly,” was now martyred in other ways’. Male productivity, and by extension, the use of the male body was directed towards work, which was considered ‘appropriate and useful’. Consequently, the image of man as warrior was replaced by that of the bourgeois man who fights for his country in other ways. Clearly then, because these regulations were ordained and regulated by the state, this resulted in the establishment of distinctly heteronormative standards and expectations, as well as diversions from this norm. The focus on the family placed emphasis and ultimately strain on gender relations. Relations and relationships between men and women were maintained through and along the distinct separation of masculine and feminine positions and roles.

“The situation of the man is in this respect thus: he, who can admit within himself all that is in humankind, and thus finds the entire fullness of humanity within himself, can have an overview of the entire relations in a way that the woman will never be able to have.”

Ultimately though, because these positions and roles had been centred essentially on the family, it became necessary to universalize these respective roles and positions, with the result that the different gender-specific roles adopted and prescribed within the family were regarded as universal truths which were relevant in every aspect of community life.

68 Ibid. 29.
69 Ibid. 32. In tracing the history of (the representation of ) German masculinity in literature, Bogdal cites examples of literary works to substantiate his argument. Here, he cites Fichte’s Grundrißdes Familienrechts.
Up to the period of Naturalism, the image of man had persisted as one which encompassed ‘all of humanity (or more precisely, the civilised, technological “man of culture,” who was at the same time constructed on racial and class terms)’\(^\text{70}\). Bogdal asserts that the role, position and significance of family continued and was strongly associated with the institution of marriage and Bogdal then identifies a new male image recognised from the middle of the 19\(^{th}\) century as that of the officer-entrepreneur-engineer\(^\text{71}\). In the 19\(^{th}\) century, prior to the emergence of mass media, images of men were visible and prevalent in public and social contexts such as ‘military processions, student parades and ceremonial appearances’\(^\text{72}\). This effectively concretised the masculinist and patriarchal culture and ideology of the prevailing culture due to the association made between the various contexts and male institutions and arenas such as ‘the military, the economy and technology’. However, the advent of Modernisation presented new challenges to (the perception of) gender relations. The inclusion and participation of women in the processes of modernisation and industrialisation became regarded as a ‘threat to masculine identity’ in that it challenged the very essential masculine and feminine dichotomy which had shaped the gender roles adopted by that society (gender roles which facilitated the gendered division of labour and the distribution of goods).

Of course it is also important to mention that since the masculinity in question is that of a contemporary or post-war (German) masculinity, it necessitates a discussion of Fascism, particularly in relation to its production of culturally acceptable norms or models of masculinity including the image of the hero and the warrior\(^\text{73}\). Fascism, according to Bogdal, saw something of a return to the male warrior image which pre-dated the 18\(^{th}\) century. This was marked by a (slight) variation in the traditional gender roles which consequently saw men and women reverting to roles as binary opposites and gave rise to

\(^{70}\) Ibid.
\(^{71}\) Ibid. 33.
\(^{72}\) Ibid. 34.
\(^{73}\) Ibid.35.
the image of the racist fascist male\textsuperscript{74}. Even though their association with National Socialism soon led to the discreditation of these images, Bogdal suggests that the images which originated as a result of this period continue to be visible in products of artistic and literary expression\textsuperscript{75}.

Ultimately then, the question to be asked would be what kind of image of masculinity would one expect to encounter when, after having lost a war, one is forced to turn to the “other” for help in rebuilding one’s country? Post 1945 masculinity was seen to be facing yet another crisis in that men were left emasculated by the war and were forced to question their purpose since the roles which they had adopted up till that point, namely the roles of the warrior, protector and provider, were rendered obsolete by the war. This in turn led to a particular strain on the (nature of the) relationship between fathers and their sons. Initially the war - and by extension Fascism - had facilitated and encouraged the positions of fathers as role models of exemplary and ideal masculinity to their sons. After the war, however, (German) fathers had been reduced to:

“…weak men who have collapsed under the pressure of the heroic masculine image and who retain only the function of provider; despite the Economic Miracle and rearmament, they can no longer regain their credibility as producers and protectors.”\textsuperscript{76}

Images of weak fathers were ultimately replaced by or juxtaposed with images of rebellious sons characteristic of the so-called ’68 generation\textsuperscript{77}.

Bogdal asserts that, by the 1980s, images of masculinity had included fewer ‘phallic symbols and penetrating action’ and instead made way for ‘narcissistic self-portrayal’.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid. 35.  
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid. 35.  
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid. 36. As mentioned, Bogdal locates his research primarily in works of German literature.  
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid. 35.
The ideal masculine image then became that of Man as Provider which translates today, into the image of the powerful, muscular and ultimately straight (straight-acting in the homosexual context) man. Though ideal masculine roles have changed, male bodies continue to be modelled on the image of the Herculean ideal. Today, the somewhat Herculean images still exist, but the process required to become Herculean has been silenced. The role of the (German) man is now different to that of the initial producer-protector-provider which consequently means that male body is no longer obliged to be subjected to strict regime and discipline which was characteristic and vital to previous models. However, the bodies of men in their capacity to address and comply with the demands of the Herculean ideal do clearly indicate a measure of discipline. As a consequence, The Herculean man has become an ideal, in that he represents, bluntly stated, an object of desire for women, and of narcissistic body-complexes for men.\(^\text{78}\)

Considering the concept of Turkish-German men necessitates an examination of a space in which men (in this case Turkish men in Germany) find and ultimately are forced to negotiate their masculinity within a context in which Turkish, German, and ultimately Turkish-German practices and explorations of masculinities meet, clash and converge (essentially because in this particular instance the concepts of migration and minority experience need to be considered).

As a secular state in a culturally Islamic country, it then becomes important to ask which historical and cultural factors mediate the construction of this specific kind of masculinity. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider, in light of the designation of “Turkish-German”, which factors specific to Turkey, have aided the mediation of this masculinity. Islamic values still strongly influence methods and patterns of upbringing and the consequent establishment of gender roles in Turkey. Indeed Turkish male identity still continues to be decidedly influenced by Islamic notions of patriarchal honour (the same system which sees the man as the head of the household – replaced by the eldest

\(^{78}\) Ibid. 30.
son in the event of his death). An additional influence on Turkish masculinities is that of military service, a space in which homosociality and patriarchal masculinity converge (as is the case in most armies). What is interesting to note here however, is that the military, or military service also provides men (specifically those from Anatolian villages) an opportunity to develop skills such as literacy, for example which could possibly see them migrating.

The most notable secular influences on the construction of Turkish identity have been those which resulted from the state reforms instituted by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Turkey was declared a Republic in 1923. This coincided with the forced use of the Latin alphabet and the use of the Turkish language in the traditional call to prayer. According to Ayse Kadioğlu, Atatürk’s reforms had two notable effects on the citizens of the Republic. Firstly, the conversion to the Latin alphabet effectively denied a large portion of them access to the literary history and heritage of their country. By extension, this also meant a denial of access to individual histories and the consequent construction of identity:

“These reforms constituted an onslaught on the existing cultural practices. They opted for a general state of amnesia which would lead to a process of estrangement of the people from some of their own cultural practices.”

Secondly, Kadioğlu suggests that the attempts made by the Turkish Republic to distinguish itself from the Ottoman Empire had resulted in a Turkish national identity which was and is distinctly manufactured in nature. This propensity for continual change and re-invention addresses a fundamental instability in and of the identity – both official Turkish national identity as well as individual identity. This instability is reflected in and demonstrated by the characters examined in the research. For example, Ka, the

81 Ibid.
protagonist in Orhan Pamuk’s novel, *Snow*, leaves his native Turkey under the guise of seeking political asylum in Germany. In Germany, Ka is unable to identify or perceive himself as either Turkish or German and a consequence is unable to identify with the Turks or the Germans he encounters in Frankfurt. Ka’s sense of alienation is highlighted on his return to Turkey when he is accused of not being ‘Turkish enough’ on the grounds that he is originally from Istanbul, a city which wavers in between the sites of Turkish tradition and traditionalism, and Western modernity.

2.5. **Turkish Migration into Germany and its Consequences**

Turkish migration into Germany took place after the post-war-boom, during the ensuing Cold War, when fewer East-Germans moved to West Germany. In an attempt to ensure the successful rebuilding of their infrastructure, the West German government recruited migrants from Southern Europe – from Turkey and (then) Yugoslavia, amongst others – as “Gastarbeiter” or guest-workers, on the premise that as guests, they were not meant to stay. Although applications were received from several countries, Germany received the most applications from (the then) Yugoslavia and Turkey. Between 1961 and 1973 the number of Turkish applicants was recorded as being four times larger than the number of Turks sent to work in Germany. This allowed German employers and employment agencies the opportunity or liberty to employ and promote individuals at whim as it were, and gave way to several incidents of bribery and corruption. In 1971, a law was passed which allowed or granted foreign workers who had been living and working in Germany for an uninterrupted period of five years a special work permit, which was independent of the employer, the location or the nature of the occupation.

Problems soon arose however. Because employers were particularly interested in keeping individuals in their employment who were familiar with the work and the environment, they encouraged foreign employees to train other foreign employees and

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83 Ibid. 4.
their friends and families. This saw a constant influx of migrant workers (friends and family members of individuals already living and working there) into Germany which became known as “Kettenmigration”\textsuperscript{84}. The ultimate result of this rapid and constant influx of migrants (and by extension migrant workers) into Germany was a correspondingly rapid increase in the fears and concerns of the German public that the foreign ‘element’ in Germany was too large. The German government responded by launching the “Aktionsprogramm für Ausländerbeschäftigung” in June, 1973, which was aimed at reducing the number of foreign, specifically migrant workers in Germany.

The political and bureaucratic complications associated with the fact that Turkey was not (and is still not\textsuperscript{85}) a part of the European Union, meant that for the majority of these workers, the prospect of settling in Germany offered a greater amount of security than the possibility of return to Turkey\textsuperscript{86}. An important distinction needs to be made, however, in that not all of the migrants to Germany were “Gastarbeiter” and that many were, in fact, intellectuals, academics, artists and similar individuals who merely sought to be free from oppression and to escape the limitations of a dictatorial regime. Furthermore, the “typical” Gastarbeiter, were recruited for economic reasons, and were subjected to the demands of menial labour, with a barely sufficient wage benefit. These oppressive conditions were assured by virtue of the fact that as guest-workers, the Turks were denied the full benefit of legal employment rights.

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid. 5.

\textsuperscript{85} Turkey’s entry into the European Union is not just criticized and objected to on a European level, but in Turkey too, as exemplified in the cartoon strips produced by artist Behiç Ak in the popular Turkish daily newspaper, Cumhuriyet. Ak, Behiç. 2003. “Humoring the State”. South Atlantic Quarterly. Vol. 102:2/3.

\textsuperscript{86} It is important to mention that Turks recently (as in during the second half of 2010) took to the polls to vote in a referendum on constitutional reform. The results of the referendum indicate that the majority of the voting public (approximately 58%) is in favour of major constitutional reforms. Although these reforms will effectively bring Turkey closer to the norms stipulated by the EU, Turkey still does not meet all the requirements for EU consideration. The reforms will include legislation which will make the military more accountable in civilian courts, and ban the military trials of civilians. In addition, the reforms will also grant and guarantee more rights to minorities including women and children. It is at this point not certain which minority groups are included in the reform.
The term, “Gastarbeiter” – a fundamentally derogatory term – was followed by that of “Gastarbeiterliteratur” – an equally derogatory term - in order to classify the literature produced by the immigrant workers in Germany. This literature sought essentially to interrogate the dynamics of the Turkish condition in Germany, examining factors such as isolation and displacement experienced not only the workers themselves, but also by their respective families. The significant portion of contemporary literary and filmic works produced by Turkish-German authors and filmmakers, or dealing with the Turkish-German phenomenon serves to examine the Turkish condition in Germany, more than four decades after the initial wave of migration.

The Turkish condition is one which as discussed, involves a specific construction of gender. The period spanning more than four decades has seen the emergence of an ostensibly new masculinity (and femininity). As mentioned, insufficient literary and film research exists which explores the negotiation of masculinity within a space which is not just Turkish or German, but Turkish-German. With specific emphasis on the second and third generation (second generation identified as Turks who came to Germany as youths, and those born in Germany identified as third generation), it is important to consider the means by which masculinity is structured and mediated within a hyphenated dynamic.

The current debate in Germany surrounding the issue of dual-citizenship is heated and contentious. According to Anglo-American ideology, one is a citizen of the country in which one is born. German legislation, however, has been subject to various changes over the years, and the exact nature of Germany’s position on dual citizenship is somewhat context specific. Both Germany and the United States, for example, recognize multiple nationalities\(^\text{87}\). A child born in Germany to two American parents is automatically granted dual citizenship, but is forced to choose a nationality at the age of 23. A child

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\(^{87}\) Dual Citizenship in Germany and the US. http://www.howtogermany.com/pages/dualcitizen.html Accessed: 21 September 2010
born to both an American as well as a German parent, has both nationalities for life\textsuperscript{88}. In 1998, two kinds of naturalization were possible in Germany, namely discretionary naturalization, and naturalization by right, the latter referring to (for example) ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union who are considered German immediately upon entry into Germany\textsuperscript{89}. In order for an individual to acquire the status of discretionary naturalization, he or she must have lived in Germany for at least 15 years and must demonstrate a sufficient or adequate degree of naturalization. In order for Turks living in Germany to acquire this status, it is necessary that they give up their Turkish nationality\textsuperscript{90}.

The German position on dual citizenship has recently been amended due to changes made to Germany’s immigration laws\textsuperscript{91}. Under the current reform, dual membership is granted on the basis that the other country is a member of the EU or Switzerland. Previously, dual citizenship had only been granted on the basis that one parental unit had lived in Germany for at least eight years. A child with dual citizenship was forced to choose one nationality at the age of 23. Germans applying for citizenship of other EU countries were also forced to give up their German citizenship. The amendments made to Germany’s immigration laws make it possible for individuals (namely EU citizens) to retain dual citizenship.

It is therefore not only interesting, but also crucial to establish how masculinity is constructed and influenced when an individual is born in Germany, and (according to many involved in the current dual-citizenship debate such as Turkey, for example) by rights therefore, German, and perhaps only Turkish by default. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that Turkey is as yet still not a member of the EU. This of course

\textsuperscript{88} In Germany the individual with dual citizenship is regarded as German for all intents and purposes.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Germany: Dual Citizenship, Asylum, Enforcement} (January 1998): http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/comments.php?id=1430\_0\_4\_0 Accessed: 21 September 2010
\textsuperscript{90} Turks who give up their Turkish nationality for discretionary German nationality are still allowed to own property in Turkey, but are no longer allowed to vote or stand for elections.
\textsuperscript{91} Deutsche Welle. Immigration (31.08.2007), \textit{Germany Allows More People to Hold Dual Citizenship}: http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,2760125,00.html Accessed: 21 September 2010
means that Turkey is in no position to benefit from the recent reforms made to Germany’s immigration laws. Furthermore, it still makes it impossible for Turkish individuals to join their naturalized German spouses in Germany. In a recent statement made to the press, Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, criticized Germany for failing to make the same allowances for Turks and Turkey, as Turkey makes (given the nature of the relationship between the two countries). Erdogan cited German high schools in Turkey and the plans to construct a German university in Turkey as examples of Turkey’s commitment to addressing the close ties between both countries.

Furthermore, it is important to establish the extent to which the hyphenated construct of the Turkish-German exists merely as a compromise between the legal rights associated with one’s nationality or birth country and an attempt to foster and maintain a sense of ethnic or cultural or religious solidarity or community. The hyphenated nationality is certainly not a new phenomenon, and is principally associated with the United States of America and the “melting pot” phenomenon, which saw the emergence of several hyphenated derivatives of the American nationality, for example the “African-American” and the “Italian-American.” Although the melting pot phenomenon was initially intended to blur the boundaries between nationality and (country of) origin so that everyone would come to see themselves and others as essentially American, the resultant emergence of the various hyphenated variations on the theme of American national identity indicated its failure.

2.6. Migration and Literary Production

A literary movement which originates within specific socio-cultural, economic and political processes ultimately serves as the origin for the exploration of particular themes

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and the particular themes explored within Turkish-German literary production have been identified as:

- The personal history or events which collectively led to instances of migration, exile and repatriation
- The foreign experience, which includes the encounter with the new/foreign culture, community and language
- The ‘project’ of establish a new identity, not only for the migrating minority, but also for the majority at home in, or native to the host country
- Integration into the working environment of the host country
- Political developments in the country of origin
- Gender-specific perception of life and participation in a different ethnic system

Specifically in terms of the literature produced by the Turkish minority in Germany, Sargut Şölçün states that the development of the so-called “Migrantenliteratur” (migrant literature) of Turkish origin is generally connected to the social and political events in Turkey. This includes the question of identity which is so closely associated with the current discrepancy in Turkey, and which marks the conflict between the ongoing debate between traditionalism and Westernisation/modernisation. Şölçün suggests that the several components of “Migrantenliteratur” have been in a contradictory relationship with each other since the 1980s and states that:

“Die türkischen Autor/innen wollen vor allem als Künstler/innen anerkannt werden, während die multikulturelle Industriegesellschaft in ihnen genuine Kulturvermittler sieht. Sie wollen sich doch schon lange von den eigenen Landsleuten, den ehemaligen ‚Gastarbeitern‘, emanzipiert haben, die ihresseits

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94 Migrant writing is of course not primarily the subject of this research per se, but a brief evaluation of the historical development of literary production within the Turkish migrant community in Germany is useful in establishing a context and perspective in which to locate the works examined in this study.
95 Ibid. 136.
Şölçün states that the beginning of literary competence is always located in the question of one’s own identity; work was produced by the author who was also a worker. One such example is that of Bekir Yıldız (1933-1977) who worked in Heidelberg in the 1960’s and published his work on his return to Istanbul. In *Alman Ekmeği* (“Das deutsche Brot”) (1977), the author portrays Germany in a decidedly negative light as a nation driven by decadence, while the Turkish worker is representative of the embodiment of purity and revolutionary ideas. Due to the fact that the German language was initially essentially a foreign language, the early phase of “Migrantenliteratur was strongly characterised by translations. Work was produced primarily in Turkish because of the necessity to establish and maintain a collective and class-conscious identity. Authors produced work which was characterised by an attempt to distance themselves from their working reality, which consequently made the essential ‘foreignness’ of (life in) Germany easier to deal or come to terms with. An author who exemplifies this is Fethi Savaşçı (1930-1989), who worked in Munich and after 1970, published almost every year. Savaşçı wrote and published almost exclusively in Turkish, with the exception of his bilingual narratives or stories, *Bei laufenden Maschinen* (1983), and the collection of short stories and poetry, *München in Frühlingsregen* (1987).

Of course it is important to note that not all writers produced work from the perspective of guest workers. Yüksel Pazarkaya, for example, had lived and studied in Germany before the first phase of migration, and produced work as an active and engaged intellectual. Thematically Pazarkaya’s work was focused, amongst others, on the almost inherent naïveté of the Anatolian construction workers, the severely limiting nature of

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96 Ibid. 135.
97 Ibid. 136. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent references to and discussion of authors and their respective works will be sourced from Sargut Şölçün’s discussion in *Interkulturelle Literatur in Deutschland. Ein Handbuch.*, 2000. Chiellino, Carmine (ed.). Stuttgart & Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler. 135-152
their awkwardness in the face of the technologically advanced factories in which they were forced to work and their almost mute state in the face of the foreign communities. Published between 1960 and 1968 his texts were collected in a bilingual volume entitled *Irrwege/Koka Sapmalar* in 1985, which has been regarded as the first literary exploration of the Turkish migration in Germany. Together with Pazarkaya, Aras Ören and Güney Dal are regarded as three of the most important authors who attempted to identify and define the boundaries of the migrant experience. While Dal’s work perpetuated an ironic distance from the (working) reality, Aras Ören attempted to find a new language which would be better suited to a discussion of both the Turkish as well as the German community. One of his notable contributions came of in the form of his “Berlin Trilogie” which was composed of the volumes *Was will Niyazi in der Naunynstraße?* (1973), *Der Kurze Trauma aus Kagithane* (1974) and *Die Fremde ist auch ein Haus* (1980). These volumes contained characters who were representative of different social and personal phases, and who were searching for a better life. Some examples of Güney Dal’s most significant literary contributions include his first novel, *İs Sürgünleri* (1976), which was released as *Wenn Ali die Glocken läuten hört* in 1979, and *Europastraße 5* which was published in 1981.

The next phase in the development of “Migrantenliteratur” occurred in the 1980’s, and was marked by, amongst other, work produced by political exiles and literary representatives of young Turks in Germany. The work produced by political exiles was focused primarily on an evaluation of the country of origin and was marked as almost proselytizing in nature, which the younger generation had in turn understood as demonstrative of the search for a new and individual identity. Political upheaval and violence in Turkey at the end of the 1970s forced many writers to flee Turkey and settle in Germany. These writers became representative of so-called “Dorfliteratur” and were already known in Turkey for their political activism and inspiration for their characters was drawn from Anatolians with whom they were familiar. Some of these writers and their respective works include Fakir Baykurt (1929-1999), who published *Die Friedenstorte* (1980) and *Nachtschicht* (1984), and Dursun Akçam (1930- ) who was
known especially for *Deutsches Heim, Glück allein*, which he published in 1982. Ören, Pazarkaya and Dal continued to produce work in the 1980’s. Ören released not only poetry anthologies such as *Mitten in der Odyssee* (1980) and *Der Gastkonsument* (1982), but also his first novel entitled *Eine verspätete Abrechnung oder Der Aufstieg der Gündogdus* (1988). Dal continued his focus on prose, and released *Die Vögel des falschen Paradieses* in 1985, and a particularly notable novel, *Der enthaarte Affe* in 1988.

The 80s also saw the emergence of a new generation of writers. Younger than their counterparts, they were mostly born in Germany, or raised there, and wrote in German, demonstrating highly laudable competence with the German language. Thematically their works were focused on questions of identity, home and homelessness and indecision, amongst others. These writers included Zafer Şenocak, who produced *Flammentropfen* in 1985, Kemal Kurt, who published *Scheingedichte* in 1986, Levent Aktoprak who produced *Ein Stein, der blühen kann* in 1985, Zehra Çırak who released *Flugfänger* in 1987 and Alev Tekinay, who produced *Die Deutschprüfung* in 1989. An increasing number of female authors also emerged during this phase – the fact that female authors made a later appearance than their male counterparts should be regarded as a gendered consequence of migration. Aysel Özakın (1942-) was a well-known and highly respected author in Turkey before her migration to Germany. Within the first few years after relocating to Germany, she published *Soll ich hier alt werden?* (1982) and *Die Leidenschaft der Anderen* (1983). Unlike Özakın, Saliha Scheinhardt (1950-) made her entrance into the literary scene after completing her studies in Germany. Her works include *Frauen, die sterben, ohne daß sie gelebt hätten* (1983) and *Drei Zypressen* (1984), and while Scheinhardt was known for the diversity of her work and the richness of her biography, Özakın was known for her position as a feminist.

The 90s saw authors exploring the contradiction between assimilation and integration, and the search for an individual form of existence. Within the older as well as the younger generation it was clear that no one wished to be regarded as the spokesperson for
their minority or merely as an integrated foreigner within a cultural system. Authors whose works demonstrate this motive include Şenocak with his volume entitled Das senkrechte Meer (1991), Ören and his work Wie die Spree in den Bosporus fließt (1991, in collaboration with Peter Schneider) and Levent Aktoprak with Das Meer im Kopf (1991). Authors who attempted to combine the search for an identity with the search for the corresponding language include Zafer Şenocak in Fernwehanstalten (1994), Çırak in Fremde Flügel auf eigener Schulter (1994) and Bektaş in Zaghaft meine Sehnsucht (1997). A focus on prose, in particular the novel was evident in the 90s. Zafer Şenocak released his first novel, Die Prärie in 1997. Aras Ören published Berlin Savignyplatz in 1995 and Unerwarteter Besuch in 1997, and explored the political history and everyday life of his city, while his novel Granatapfelblüte (1998) explored this history of his country of origin from the perspective of a fictional migrant poet. Significant literary contributions were also made by female authors such as Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Renan Demirkan and Saliha Scheinhardt. Emine Sevgi Özdamar published her first novel, Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei, hat zwei Türen, aus einer kam ich rein, aus der anderen ging ich raus in 1992 in which she explored the potential limits of bilinguality, and her second novel, Die Brücke vom goldenen Horn in 1998, a somewhat autobiographical novel set in Istanbul and Berlin. Renan Demirkan was known as an actress as well as an author, and published Schwarzer Tee mit drei Stück Zucker (1991) and Die Frau mit Bart (1994). Saliha Scheinhardt published Die Stadt und das Mädchen in 1993 and Mondscheinspiele in 1996.

The extent to which Turks have been integrated into German society and culture is also reflected in language, particularly in the emergence of the concept of “Kanak” (a derogatory - term for which the closest English equivalent would be “Spik”), which is a term used to designate Turkish-German individuals. Further to this is also the concept of “Kanak Sprak” or “Pidgin German” which is spoken amongst younger individuals – for example on school playgrounds - as well as by members of specific sub-cultures or groups, such as gangs. “Kanak Sprak” is the language of the Kanak ghetto. This variation of the German language can also be regarded as an attempt to facilitate a sense of ethnic
or cultural solidarity and community as demonstrated in 1995, by Feridun Zaimoglu (born in 1964 in Anatolia), in his novel entitled *Kanak Sprak: 24 Mißtöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft*. In a manner resembling interview transcripts, the author recorded the testimonies and stories of 24 young men of Turkish origin, effectively translating it from “Kanak Sprak”, which is a combination of various Turkish dialects and colloquial German, into the closest variety of legible and coherent German. In this manner, the author and this text effectively facilitated a more intensive dialogue with young men generally considered to remain on the margins of German society. This text only contained interviews (or transcripts) with men. Zaimoglu justifies his decision to exclude women from this text by explaining that women have no acknowledged place in the public life of the Kanak ghetto and are therefore off limits to any stranger (particularly any male), including himself:

“Am öffentlichen Leben in den Szenen der Kanaken-Ghettos nimmt hauptsächlich der Mann teil, der Frau dagegen wird bedeutet, sie habe sich aus der männlichen Welt herauszuhalten. Sie steht unter Hausarrest, von der Außenwelt abgeschnitten und für jeden Fremden, somit auch für mich, unerreichbar.”

These stereotyped re-presentations of gender roles in working class Turkish-German society (or rather, the working class Turkish community in Germany), encouraged the production of the female version of “Kanak Sprak”. *“Koppstoff”* (“Headstuff”) was released in 1998 and is composed of the transcripts of conversations and interviews conducted with a range of Turkish-German women. Zaimoglu’s approach to this text was slightly different in that not only is the range of women (in terms of their ages and occupations) interviewed in this text wider than its male counterpart in *Kanak Sprak*, but the narratives are themselves far more varied in style, ranging from “Kanak Sprak” to standard German as well as broken German. Unlike *Kanak Sprak*, each narrative or testimonial is prefaced with a brief explanation of how he, Zaimoglu, had gone about

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obtaining it. Interesting to note is that several of the narratives contain criticisms of Kanak Sprak. Some additional texts by Zaimoglu include Leinwand (2003) and Zwölf Gramm Glück (2004).

Contemporary literature produced in Turkey which has gained international acclaim has most notably been demonstrated by the work of Turkish Nobel laureate, Orhan Pamuk. Pamuk was born in 1952 in the “wealthy westernized district of Nisantasi”¹ in Istanbul, an area which has been described in some of his novels as well, including, for example, Cevdet Bey and His Sons. Pamuk had been interested in the visual arts as a youth and had intentions of becoming an artist. He attended (the secular and American) Robert College and studied architecture at Istanbul University for three years before abandoning the course, and consequently his artistic aspirations. Ultimately he studied, and graduated in journalism, although he never worked as a journalist (driven as he was then to pursue his new dream of becoming a writer). He published his first novel, Cevdet Bey and His Sons in 1982, a strongly autobiographical novel dealing with multiple generations of a wealthy family living in the Nisantasi district of Istanbul. This novel was awarded the Orhan Kemal and the Milliyet literary prizes. In 1983 he published The Silent House, the French translation of which was awarded the Prix de la Découverte Européene in 1991. Subsequent novels include The White Castle (1985), which explores the relationship between a Venetian slave and an Ottoman scholar, The Black Book (1990) in which the character of Istanbul serves as the backdrop for a lawyer’s search for his wife, and The New Life (1994). Pamuk continued to garner international acclaim and awards for his work, demonstrated for example by the work My Name is Red (1998) in which perspectives on the non-western world are shared through the narratives of Persian and Ottoman artists. This novel was awarded the French Prix du Meilleur Livre Étranger, the Italian Grinzane Cavour and the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award.

¹ Orhan Pamuk/Iletişim Publishing: www.orhanpamuk.net - Accessed: 30 June 2010. Unless otherwise indicated, all details related to Orhan Pamuk’s biography, including in particular his works and the numerous awards he has achieved, have been sourced from his official website.
Pamuk’s novel, *Snow* was published in 2002. Distinctly political in nature, the novel explores the religious and political tensions between Turkish and Kurdish nationalists and secularists amongst others. The novel is set in Kars; a small town located on the (northwestern) Armenian border and is centred on the protagonist, K who, after spending 12 years as a political exile in Frankfurt, Germany, returns to Turkey to attend the funeral of his mother. In Turkey also attempts to reconnect with an old romantic interest. In many ways K embodies the tensions explored in the warring groups of Islamic fundamentalists, Turkish and Kurdish nationalists and secularists alike. *Snow* received almost unprecedented international success and acclaim. The novel was voted one of the top 100 books of 2004 by *The New York Times*. It was awarded the Le Prix Médicis Étranger for the best foreign novel in France, as well as the Richarda Huck Prize. The novel was also awarded the Le Prix Méditerranée Étranger. Ultimately, the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Orhan Pamuk, “who in the quest for the melancholic soul of his native city has discovered new symbols for the clash and interlacing of cultures”.


### 2.7. Migration and Cinematic Production

The representation of migrants and migration in Germany and in German cinema developed as a response to the initial migration to Germany which took place in the 1960s. According to Deniz Göktürk, the initial thematic development of migrant cinema was centred on the representation of migrants as ‘victims on the margins of society’ and that “only recently, films have begun to challenge the parameters of a paternalist discourse and started exploring more playful and less miserabilist scenarios of contact

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101 The Richarda Huck Prize is awarded every three years since 1978 to personalities who “think independently and act bravely.”
and mutual mimicry\textsuperscript{103}. Göktürk argues that the figure of the Turkish guest worker had initially, and for a considerable length of time, been represented as somewhat pathetic in terms of its inability to communicate and integrate\textsuperscript{104}, remaining an essentially under-developed and one-sided character.

Cultural affiliation and national identity become problematic concepts when considered in the light of the representation of migrants in cinema, given the inherent (and necessary) mobility of the migrant, versus the assumption of culture as a homogeneous “locally rooted, self-contained system of shared practices, rituals and beliefs”\textsuperscript{105}. Government initiatives directed toward the encouragement of multi-culturalism, although well-intended, have essentially done just the opposite in that they inevitably result in the construction of a binary opposition between ‘Turkish culture’ and ‘German culture’\textsuperscript{106}. Therefore, while the concept of the national still plays an important role in establishing, defining and representing ethnic identity and culture, the migrant is ultimately regarded as something of a deviation from a (cultural and national) norm, which is of course, further complicated when weighed against the ‘myth of the homogeneous host nation’. Consequently, this has not only made the reception, identification and critique of cultural and artistic production by migrants problematic, but has also resulted in various attempts at defining the actual cinematic genre itself, ranging from ‘independent transnational cinema’ to ‘postcolonial hybrid films’:

“Of what nationality, for example, is a film which is set in Hamburg and German-produced, but in which Turkish actors speak Turkish and German and enact Turkish milieus? Is it to be attributed to Turkish or German cinema? Does it make


\textsuperscript{104} Ibid. p. 248. Göktürk elaborates briefly on this point and states that Homi Bhabha had resurrected this figure of the essentially mute Turk as emblematic of ‘displacement and incompatibility’, which effectively contradicted his previous theoretical assertions of liminality and hybridity.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid. 249.
a statement about German culture, Turkish culture, or both? Does it make any
difference if the director is a Turk living in Germany who works under the same
production conditions as his/her German colleagues? Is classification easier or
more difficult in this case?“107

For many years the nature of themes explored in the ‘cinema of migration’ was
determined by funding, or rather, by funders and donors. What became known as New
German Cinema emerged during the 1960s at a time which saw the decline in popular
European cinema, and through a combination of public financial subsidy and social
consciousness, was afforded the opportunity to explore the representation of minority
groups, including women and ethnic minorities. One of the filmmakers or directors who
focused largely on the representation of minorities without relying on ‘exclusionary
empathy’,108 was Rainer Werner Fassbinder. Among his numerous works are included
Katzelmacher (1969) in which he himself portrays the role of a ‘Greek from Greece’ and
tries to explore the dynamics (the possibilities and restrictions) of a ‘petit bourgeois
life’, and Angst essen Seele auf (Fear Eats the Soul, 1973). The original working title for
this film was “All Turks are named Ali” and centres on the relationship between an old
woman and an attractive Arab man (played by Fassbinder’s partner Ben Hedi El-
Saalem)109.

Not only did the initial funding for the New German Cinema determine the nature of the
representation of migrants, but more specifically, the tone adopted in the majority of the
initial cinematic releases was distinctly pejorative, and tended to concentrate on the
portrayal of foreigners and migrants caught and ultimately lost in between two worlds
and cultures. One such example was the film, Shirins Hochzeit (1975), directed by Helma

107 Ibid.
108 Ibid. unless otherwise indicated, all information related to director and their respective works have been
sourced from Deniz Göktürk’s evaluation in “Beyond Paternalism: Turkish German Traffic in Cinema” in
British Film Institute. 248-256.
109 The original choice for the working title of the film is interesting given especially that no Turks actually
appear in the film.
Sanders, which tells the story of poor Anatolian Shirin who finds herself in Cologne searching for her fiancé Mahmut (played by the poet Aras Ören) before being forced to turn to prostitution and being killed by a pimp. An additional theme explored in films was that of patriarchal tyranny and the oppression of Turkish women by Turkish men. An ideal example of this is 40 Quadratmeter Deutschland by Tevfik Başer (1986) in which a young Turkish woman is literally imprisoned in the 40 square meters of her apartment by her husband who claims to want to protect her from the unsavoury influences and elements of Germany. When the husband unexpectedly dies, the women is forced to leave the apartment for the first time since her arrival in Germany and the film ends at the point at which she crosses the threshold. Başer continues the theme of captivity in his second film, Abschied vom falschen Paradies (1988) which tells the story of a young woman whose detention in a German prison is represented as liberating in that it affords her the chance to learn fluent German, for example, thus completing her integration into German society. Before her release from prison, however, the woman slits her wrists. Başer attempted explore the (more positive) theme of a German-Turkish love story in his third film, Lebewohl, Fremde (1993) but this was not at all as successful as his previous (more negatively themed) work.

Comedy also found its way into the cinema of migration and one of the few examples of this is Şerif Gören’s Polizei (1988), an adaptation of Carl Zuckmayer’s 1931 satire, Der Hauptmann von Köpenick, in which comedian Kemal Sunal plays the role of Ali Ekber, a street sweeper who causes great confusion by wearing a police uniform in public. Another example of the use of humour to depict the encounters between Turks and Germans is that of Hussi Kutlucan’s second film, Ich Chef, Du Turnschuh (1998). In the film, the director himself plays the lead role of Dudie, the Armenian refugee who finds work on a construction site in Berlin along with other illegal immigrants. Dudie is ultimately deported in a particularly ironic note especially given that a German child

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10 It is of course important to mention that immigrant authors and directors living in Germany at the time were also subjected to the same constraints in that, according to Göktürk only projects 'depicting the repression of backward, rural people attracted monies'.

11 It should be mentioned that this occurs at the beginning of the film and that the events leading up to that point are then told or recalled in flashbacks.
disguised as a Turkish child is deported with him. A film which uses a combination of dialogue, music and images to (humorously) explore and expose the treatment of foreign and immigrant workers in Germany is Günther Wallraff’s *Ganz Unten* (1985). Regularly screened festivals and on television, the film confronts various aspects of the migratory experience and was awarded the Grimme Prize in 2000, by the Institute of Journalism in Cologne.

Toward the end of the 1990s a new dynamic was evident in the cinema of migration. Located mainly in Hamburg and Berlin a new wave of directors and actors sought to produce work against the political backdrop of debates regarding dual citizenship. In 1999 two particularly significant films were screened at the Berlin Film Festival to hugely successful acclaim. The first film, *Dealer*, the newest production by director, Thomas Arslan, was set in Kreuzberg, Berlin, and explores Berlin and life in Berlin through a particularly minimalistic point of view which was meant to address and reflect on the apparent decay in this part of the city. The second film was *Lola und Bilidikid* by director Kutluğ Ataman. Unlike the other directors mentioned here, although Ataman was born and raised in Turkey, he did not live in Germany prior to producing *Lola und Bilidikid*.112 Ataman studied film in California and has written, directed and produced several films and short films. In addition, he has also concentrated on the artistic side of his career and has produced or created several multimedia and video installations which have been exhibited internationally. This film opened the Panorama Section of the festival and was awarded the Goldener Bär Award. The film explores the transvestite scene in Berlin through its eponymous main characters and was lauded for its identification and representation of a Turkish-German gay identity113.

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113 Distribution rights for the film were subsequently acquired by the New York-based firm, Good Machine International, who are also responsible for the distribution of Ang Lee’s *The Wedding Banquet*, a popular gay comedy.
Hamburg was also the location for or origin of several films including those by director Fatih Akin. Akin was born in Hamburg and his debut film, *Kurz und schmerzlos* (1998) was produced and set in Hamburg and deals with the lives of three friends (three young men, a Greek, a Serb and a Turk) in the city’s gang milieu. Akin has had a prolific career as an actor as well as a director and another example of the range of his cinematic work was the film *Im Juli* (2000) in which the development of the main character is delivered in a manner similar to a road movie. The viewer encounters the main character, Daniel, as a teacher in Hamburg, who travels across the Balkans to Istanbul in search of a beautiful woman who has incited his interest. Another, particularly significant example of the young director’s work is *Gegen die Wand* (2004), which chronicles the tragic love story of a destitute, alcoholic and suicidal Turkish man and a young Turkish woman desperate to escape the confines of her repressive family life in Germany. The development of the main characters is charted from the film’s beginning in Hamburg, to its conclusion in Istanbul. *Gegen die Wand* was awarded Goldener Bär Award at the 2004 Berlin Film Festival. *Aprilkinder* (1998) by director Yüksel Yavuz and *Kanak Attack!* (2000) by director Lars Becker are two additional examples of films which explore the lives of men on the margins of society. Although representations of men are relatively diverse, representations of women appeared, at that time, to be limited to the portrayal of the lost and oppressed foreigner or immigrant similar to that of the young woman in *40 Quadratmeter Deutschland*. Another film by director Thomas Arslan however, appears to attempt to break this cycle. *Der schöne Tag* (2000) attempts to reflect on a day in the life of a young woman in Berlin, an actress, without any particular focus on her Turkishness. The film follows the young actress as she leaves her apartment in the morning and as she proceeds to make her way through her day as a confident young urban woman and was screened at the 2000 Berlin Film Festival.\(^{114}\)

Locating the “man in the middle” then, as he happens to be represented in works of literature and film, requires that one bears in mind the various dynamics involved in the

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\(^{114}\) However, despite the film’s attempts at “simply reflecting on the life on a confident young woman”, the film was met with criticism for its apparent inability to ‘to engage in established ways with the social problems of Turkish women’. 

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construction of gender and by extension, of masculinity, as well as migration and its effects. The experience of migration as presented in works of literature offers an exploration of several central themes such as loneliness, isolation, displacement, integration, cultural assimilation, masculinity and emasculation and alienation.

Significant texts exploring the themes of literature and migration include *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration* (1995) and, more recently, *Conceptions of Post War German Masculinity* (2001). Moray McGowan’s essay in the second publication, on migrant writing in the German Federal Republic explores various examples of writing by migrants to Germany, tracing themes inherent to this genre of literature, for example, isolation and loneliness in an attempt to identify what she argues as “multiple masculinities in Turkish-German men’s writing.”

McGowan’s exploration alludes to a relationship between the generation of the writer, and the nature of the masculinity represented in the text. This relationship is such that earlier generations of writers depicted a masculinity marked starkly by the effects of alienation, emasculation and displacement as well as the difficulties involved in the process of cultural assimilation. Subsequent generations however, represent a masculinity which, although rooted in Turkish tradition and culture, displays signs of confidence and development. The present study will draw on these insights in discussing the selected literary texts and films by Şenocak, Pamuk, Ataman and Akin.

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Zafer Şenocak was born in Ankara in 1961, grew up in Istanbul and Munich, and is currently living in Berlin. As a writer he works not only as a journalist, but has also published novels, collections of poetry, as well as essays. In general, his academic writing, such as his essays, is located theoretically in an examination of the Orient-Occident concept, while his novels offer an exploration of the relationship between religion and sexuality. This chapter will be focused primarily on the novel entitled “Die Prärie” (1997), though reference will also be made to other novels, namely “Der Mann im Unterhemd” (1995), Gefährliche Verwandtschaft (1998) and “Der Erottomane” (1999) released immediately prior to and after the publication of “Die Prärie” for additional insights as “Die Prärie” is, as will be discussed, an essentially amorphous text.

In “Die Prärie”, the principal character is a 35 year old male, proud of the fact that at that stage in his in his life, he has “...keine Schulden, keinen Beruf und keine Frau”. Intent on pursuing a career as an author, he decides to write a novel about his experiences with women (though the text is apparently inspired by one particular woman) with the

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Şenocak, Zafer. Der Mann im Unterhemd. 1995. Frankfurt: Babel Verlag Hund & van Uffelen


Ibid. 37.
express intention of manipulating the curiosity of the reader and leading him/her into confusion as will be further discussed below\textsuperscript{121}.

It is important to note that this research will not be engaging in a study of Şenocak and his body of work generally, and that “\textit{Die Prärie}” will be regarded primarily as a stand-alone text in this study. It is of course clear that other interpretations would be possible if this text were to be viewed within the context of Şenocak’s œuvre where the character of Sascha evolves, particularly, for example, \textit{Gefährliche Verwandtschaft} (1998), released in English translation as \textit{Perilous Kinship} in 2001. “\textit{Die Prärie}” will in a sense be decontextualized from the greater body of Şenocak’s work because an examination of the narratives and characters portrayed in the aforementioned works will distract attention from the problems posed by the figure of Sascha in this particular novel. For the purposes of this thesis, the character of Sasha is viewed almost entirely as a construct within this single novel, which places the spotlight on his lack of definition, ultimately making it a particularly useful text within my argument for the presence of a hyphenated Turkish-German masculine existence

A somewhat restless character, Sascha finds himself, following the end of one of the first significant relationships in his life, entertaining thoughts of leaving Berlin. Ultimately this restlessness (and the pursuit of his intentions of establishing himself as a novelist) leads him to the vast, open space and associated isolation of the American prairie. This restlessness also adds to the impression of Sascha as a “drifter”.

“How melancholy Berlin was, compared to this gay city in the south. Childhood feelings welled up. This was the city where my mother had given birth to me. Though I had been conceived somewhere quite different. In a far bigger and older city, in the south east, on the edge of Europe.

\textsuperscript{121} See note 125
… My granddad claimed that a branch of our family had set out for Turkey from Regensburg in the sixteenth century. There were records of their departure, but none of their arrival and further existence in Turkey.”

Born into a family with a history of migration, Sascha is portrayed as perpetually searching for something, which remains elusive despite his efforts, “Ich ahnte, dass irgend etwas in meinem Leben fehlte…” The reader is left asking whether Sascha is himself certain or even aware of what it is that he is looking for, be it an insight into his familial past, or perhaps his cultural location. It is also worth considering to what extent it could be said that Sascha demonstrates a certain degree of a kind of nomadic behaviour not merely by virtue of his family history, but also because of his almost incessant restlessness, mobility, and the constant impression that he is looking for something.

Within the genre of the novel, the conventional (pre-modernist) expectation of any reader is to identify development in the protagonist. Sascha, however, does not develop, but demonstrates instead a kind of dynamic stasis in that he remains consistently intangible and fragmented throughout the novel, despite demonstrating continual restlessness. There exists a double-sided dynamic to Sascha’s status as principal character in that, since the novel concerns itself partly with the process of writing a novel as a means of ultimately writing about oneself, Sascha then effectively becomes not only the principal character in “Die Prärie”, but also in the text which he himself writes.

“… daß ich Geschichten über Leute schreibe, die auch Geschichten schreiben. So brauche ich mich auch in diesen Fällen nicht weit von mir selbst zu entfernen. Ich schreibe sowieso ausschließlich über mich.”

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124 As mentioned, however, Sascha as a composite or construction of migrancy is only more readily comprehensible when referring to other texts. If one reads “Die Prärie” as a stand-alone text, only certain conclusions can be drawn.
125 Ibid. 37.
As a character, Sascha is flat and one-dimensional, with the effect that the reader is unable to identify or empathize with him as a human being. Sascha remains an overt construct – a means to an end – and is received by the reader as such. One is only really able to establish remotely substantial elements related to his character, based on his insights regarding women – insights which he provides. Effectively then, and ironically so, one is only really able to establish more about the “man” behind Sascha, through the women who, according to Sascha, are merely granted (temporary) substance and presence, through their inclusion in the text, that is, his text. In light of this one is able to think of Sascha as an allegorical figure in that he comes to represent and demonstrate the (overwhelming) extent to which (the construction of) individual identity not only impinges on, but is also significantly affected by an interaction with others. Individual identity is based in part, on group or social identity.

One woman through whom one is able to learn more about Sascha is Veronika. The relationship between Sascha and Veronika appears to have been one of the most significant relationships mentioned in the text, if not merely for the reason that Sascha had been inspired or motivated to write his first novel about it. There are, however, interesting and sometimes contradicting implications to be read “between the lines” of this story, as it were. Sascha believes that all women – and consequently the relationships he has with them – exist merely as fragmented and sporadic encounters within his space. He claims that Veronika – and by extension their relationship – was different, but only by

126 “… the flat/round distinction has to do not with the richness of detail, but with the traits these details express. … Nor is the flat/round distinction a matter of the number of traits. It is true that round characters will have to exhibit more than one trait, it is also true that flat characters are often possessed of a multiplicity of distinguishable traits. The key point in the flat/round distinction, however, has to do with the kind of relation a character's traits bear to one another.”

127 Additional information regarding Sascha’s personal biography is only available in subsequent novels by the same author. Sascha once again assumes the role of the central character, though one who is intent on uncovering the details of his past. See: Şenocak, Zafer. Gefährliche Verwandtschaft. 1998. Munich: Babel Verlag. Released as Perilous Kinship. Translated by Tom Cheesman. 2001, Swansea
virtue of the fact that Veronika had somehow been aware of, and understood his principle:

“The Veronika aber war anders. Irgendwie hat sie es verstanden, sich in meinem Spiegel niederzulassen. Immer wenn ich glaubte, der Spiegel sei leer und frei für eine andere Frau, tauchte sie auf, drehte sich zur Seite, wippte mit einem Fuß oder hob ein Glas Cognac.”128

Though the relationship (from Sascha’s perspective) or rather, the encounter, was only intended to last one night129, Veronika had made an unexpectedly extended appearance in Sascha’s mirror, due, potentially, to her ability to “decipher” him130, drawing attention to the nature of Sascha’s character as fragmented, isolated and incomplete (and in so doing referring to the image or the concept of the mirror as the surface for the reflection of this image) alongside his own image.

What the reader is also led to understand as being significant about Veronika, is that she had remained in the relationship with Sascha, overlooking the problem of his small penis size. Indeed, according to Sascha, the size of his penis seemed to concern him more than it did her. Sascha seems surprised at her reaction, and the reader is led to assume that this could have been the first such reaction or response to his “problem”. Sascha “sells himself” largely on his sexuality and sexual prowess; as the exotic man who almost typically bedded countless women. However, Sascha also appears to be overcompensating for the diminutive size of his penis, by exaggerating the details of his sex life. The size of his penis was indeed a problem and refreshingly, Veronika’s capacity to overlook it, encouraged him not so much to forget it, but rather to stop seeing it as a problem – at least as long as he was with her:

128 Ibid. 6.
129 Ibid. 25.
130 Ibid. 23.
“Bei Veronika vergaß ich alle meine Gebrechen, die mickrige Größe meine Männlichkeit, ein ererbtes Problem, das schon meine Vorfahren geplagt haben muß.”131

This statement has interesting implications in that it contradicts the stereotypical construct associated with the image of the “exotic” or “foreign” man as being a physically well-endowed and sexually insatiable individual:

“Fantasies of the black man’s inexhaustible and insatiable sexual potency have ruled the minds of heterosexual as well as homosexual men (and women) from the colonization of Africa through the present day – even if the attitudes towards black and dark-skinned people often carry racist traits in the everyday social reality of European societies today.”132

Furthermore, Sascha appears to not merely admit to the “problem”, but also justifies it as a hereditary problem, in an attempt to excuse himself, as it were.

The initial encounter between Veronika and Sascha was one which addressed several gender-specific clichés and stereotypes:

“Ich will nicht deinen Kopf. Mir genügt der Rest.

*Der Mann stand auf und sprang ins Wasser. Dabei wirkte sein Körper trainiert und dynamisch. ... Er hatte eine kräftige Brust, die nur an wenigen Stellen behaart war.*

Du hast einen muskulösen Körper.
Glaubst du, dass ich zu stark für dich bin? Ich kann auch sehr zärtlich sein.

131 Ibid. 7.
These excerpts from the chapter entitled “Veronika” could also be read as extracts from the novel which Sascha had written. The characters, addressed as, or named merely “The Man” and “The Woman”, meet at the poolside one day. “The Man” is 12 years older than “The Woman”, trains regularly (because it is regarded as a good context in which to meet people), and has a well-built body. The text is presented in a manner resembling transcripts of a conversation, but also potentially a film script, with the inclusion of scene directions. These directions, along with the dialogue, are presented in an obviously biased manner, intentionally drawing attention to the physical presence of the male character, by mentioning his well-built body both in and out of the water. The female character, on the other hand, caters to the perpetuation of this stereotype by mentioning the fact that as a well-built, older man, he would be the ideal source of domestic help, thereby calling attention to her inherent (clichéd) weakness as a female.

Sascha’s approach to or conceptualising of relationships could be understood in terms of the association made between notions of invisibility, intangibility and superficiality. In Şenocak’s 1997 novel, Der Mann im Unterhemd, the protagonist identifies and defines invisibility by associating it with the capacity or phenomenon of being in two places simultaneously (existing in two places simultaneously is equated with not existing at all, which is also identified as a kind of invisibility), “Dann gibt es noch dieses Phänomen des gleichzeitigen Erscheinen an mehreren Orten. Eine andere Art der Unsichtbarkeit”134. In the texts, Şenocak’s characters draw several associations and parallels between the concept of invisibility and the Turkish-German cultural phenomenon. In Die Präräie, the idea of invisibility, specifically the invisibility of borders assumes the function of a trope. These metaphorical borders, though fixed, also remain fundamentally intangible. Furthermore, because of the fact that the borders between Turkey and Germany have become so blurred, it is impossible to tell where one country

133 Ibid.33-34.
134 Ibid. 7.
ends and the other begins. This blurring of the borders results in an inability to identify the shape of the respective countries. Turkey and Germany then cease to exist as independent countries, but rather as one amorphous space, “Täglich werden die Grenzen zwischen der Türkei und Deutschland von Tausenden von Menschen aufgehoben. Bei diesen Aktivitäten zwischen zwei Ländern verlängern sich die Grenzen nach innen”¹³⁵. If invisibility is understood as the capacity to be in two places simultaneously, and nowhere essentially, then the Turkish-German cultural phenomenon and national identity, can be understood as being both Turkish and German simultaneously, and effectively, perpetually trapped in a space which is also ‘liminal’ or ‘interstitial’. By extension, the question of the Turkish-German cultural and national identity could then be regarded as something which is neither Turkish nor German, or of course, both Turkish and German. This then, by extension, could be applied to an understanding of the concepts of relationships as seen from Sascha’s perspective.

Sascha perpetuates this idea of invisibility and intangibility throughout the text, and ultimately takes it to the American prairie, a space which is vast and empty, lacking a sense of tangibility – a space which is almost invisible in terms of its overwhelming emptiness and therefore an ideal space for him to simply be alone:

“Für meine Flucht habe ich nicht irgendeine Provinz gewählt, sondern die Prärie. Hier kann man sich nicht nur allein fühlen wie in jedem anderen Winkel der Erde, man kann sich einbilden, wirklich allein zu sein.”¹³⁶

Throughout the novel, it is clear that Sascha spends his life floating around on his luck¹³⁷. This is evident in is relationships as well, which is ultimately why he can, when he writes about these relationships, and the people involved in them, reduce them simply to “The Man” and “The Woman”. In this manner they then reflect the characterlessness which so distinctly categorises not only his character, but his life as well. “The Man” is simply a

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¹³⁵ Ibid.73.
¹³⁶ Ibid.75.
¹³⁷ It eventually becomes clear that Sascha receives a substantial monthly allowance from his family’s estate, which makes it possible for him to not have to work.
shell; a good looking body, which is only capable of reacting and interacting on a superficially physical level, that is, on the level of a reflection. Likewise, “The Woman” (as well as the man) becomes what Zygmunt Baumann refers to as “the player”, remaining relatively innocuous, and like all the women he’s been with, their interaction is just as characterless as they themselves are because, at the end of the day “‘this is but a game’”\textsuperscript{138}.

What is, however, interesting to note is that a different reading of the interaction between “The Man” and “The Woman” is also possible. “The Man” initiates the interaction, “Glaubst du, es ist leicht, mich zu lieben?”\textsuperscript{139} based on past experiences and what he has consequently assumed would work. Because this approach has worked for him before, namely using sport as a means of meeting people, “Ich mache viel Sport. Dabei lernt man viele Leute kennen,” he focuses on the immediate and the physical, effectively perpetuating the superficial quality of his character and his interactions with people. “The Woman”, however, rejects this approach and directs the interaction on a more functional level, “So meine ich das nicht. Ich muß einen Schrank aufbauen, du könntest mir dabei helfen”\textsuperscript{140}. “The Man” has a well-built body and looks strong, and could therefore be useful in and around the house when it becomes necessary to lift and move heavy objects. In light of the fact that we are only able to learn about Sascha through the women he writes about it becomes interesting to consider Sascha from the perspective of “The Woman” whom we can assume to be Veronika. Although the reader is left to question the reason as to why it was specifically his relationship to Veronika that was the most significant, it is clear that there are indeed significant similarities between the two characters. Veronika, as a prostitute, has the same kind of life and interaction with men that he has with women. The men in her life make only brief appearances, never staying around for too long. The interactions which Veronika has with her clients exist on a purely physical – and therefore essentially superficial – level. Veronika in this case, could be seen as the female reflection of Sascha’s character. Veronica, although clearly

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid. 33.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid. 34.
for different reasons has the same kind of relationship with men that he has with women – they are merely reflections in her mirror.


With these thoughts, the reader is provided with an indication as to the motives behind Sascha’s intended text, dedicated to an individual known initially only as V (later Veronika). Furthermore the reader is allowed insight into the nature of his interaction and relationship, with women. Sascha’s intentions and motives for writing the text are not only in order to provide him with the opportunity to narrate, somewhat arrogantly, his experiences with women, but in doing so, he intends to feed on, and manipulate, the curiosity inherent to human nature as mentioned in the quotation above. What is of course important to highlight at this juncture, is that this passage also has several implications within the context of multiple authorship employed within the text. Sascha claims to write in order to lead people, presumably the reader, astray through his or her own curiosity. Furthermore, he claims to write stories about people who also write stories, and in this way, succeeds in occupying two narrative stances; namely one which is authorial, as well as one which is (auto)biographical. These narrational stances are essentially fictional, and are intended as ways of allowing Sascha to keep writing about himself, even though he remains a fictional character created by Şenocak. This of course,

141 Ibid. 37.
perfectly encapsulates what happens with Sascha when considered from the perspective of Şenocak as the author. In this light, Şenocak then, feeding on or manipulating our curiosity, writes stories about people, or Sascha, in this case, who also writes stories, ultimately managing to keep the stories about himself. Perhaps more importantly, Sascha claims that by writing about women and his experiences with them, he still remains at the centre of the novel, since women in his opinion have no presence or significance until such point as they become the subject in a fictional text (and this only for as long as they remain in the text).


Sascha’s reference to the image of the mirror, and the associated connotation of “what is reflected“ are interesting when considered in light of his statement that women exist merely as reflections in the mirror of a man. The identity and essential existence of women, and subsequently of identity in general, becomes inextricably linked with the mirror, and its capacity to reflect and transmit this identity. Sascha’s identity then too, remains nothing other than a series of reflections, perceptions and constructions without any substantial tangibility. Drawing perhaps superficially on the Lacanian implementation of the mirror and its function in the child’s first introduction to the “I” it becomes clear that what Sascha lacks, in terms of what would make him a complete character, for example, is an identity, or at the very least, a basic knowledge and grasp of

\[142\] Ibid. 6.
\[143\] Oliver, Kelly. Reading Kristeva: Unraveling the Double-bind. 1993. USA: Indiana University Press. 24. - According to Lacan, the child enters the Symbolic by means of the “mirror stage” where it is provided with the first recognition of the “I”. During this stage the child is held up in front of the mirror by an adult, facilitating a recognition of the “I”. Prior to this the child has no conception of the self, of its self, as a unified whole, and paradoxically, it is the fragmented image of the child’s physical form and its reflection, which construct this whole. Ultimately, the child realizes that the mirror image is indeed not real.
his identity. This is perhaps what eludes Sascha, the search for an identity, or history, or knowledge of his origins, as he indicates in a statement connecting concepts of land and identity:

“Ich habe es längst aufgegeben, einen Verantwortlichen für die Fremde zu suchen, die ich empfinde. Die Fremde ist zu einem abgeschmackten Rätsel geworden, an dem sich jeder ergötzt, der sich einem Fremden als Vertrauter angedient hat. Arm dran ist, wer nur sein eigenes Land hat, denn niemand kennt sein eigenes Land wirklich.”

Seen from this perspective, the question of identity, and the extent to which one is aware of the multiple – and often overlapping - facets at work in the construction of identity, becomes associated with the concept of the familiar and its relation to the foreign. Since (knowledge of) one’s cultural and even geographical heritage or background features so prominently in the manner in which identity is perceived and represented, Sascha’s statement has very specific implications for not only (the perception of) migrant identity, but more specifically, his own identity in as far as it is influenced by a history of migration.

Here the relationship between identity and reflection (as facilitated by the presence of the mirror) calls to mind the question of whether or not Sascha really knows who he is. However, although this may be the only possible conclusion to draw when viewing Die Prärie in isolation from Şenocak’s other works, and without detracting from the stated intention to deal with Die Prärie on its own merits, a brief digression at this juncture reveals interesting and relevant insights into the problem of an individual’s point of origin. Expressed geographically and within the present Turkish-German context, Istanbul is identified as a point of origin in each of the respective texts. In Gefährliche

144 Ibid. 5.
Verwandtschaft\textsuperscript{145}, for example, Sascha explains that following his parents’ divorce his father had travelled extensively for a while, before ultimately returning to Istanbul “Finally he landed in Istanbul. Aimless drifters always end up in their home town one day”\textsuperscript{146}. In Die Prärie, Turkey is identified as a visual point of origin through the image employed in the cover illustration depicting an Ottoman hunting scene, which not only merely alludes to a Turkish origin, but contains several significant parallels to the narrative of Die Prärie and to Sascha in particular, as will be discussed later. Istanbul as a point of origin (or generic point of Turkish origin) appears in “Der Mann im Unterhemd” (1995) in a personal and subjective sentiment regarding the concept of home and origin as echoed in the words of the narrator:

“Istanbul ist meine Geburtsstadt, aber nicht meine Heimat. Meine Heimat ist nirgendwo. Ich habe nur meinen Kopf, den kann mir keiner wegnahmen, auch kein Schnaps.“\textsuperscript{147}

In this way the mind becomes a kind of replacement home. This replacement home is also significantly a kind of portable homeland, which is not tied to any conventional ideas of time and place in the novel. As will be discussed later, Sascha similarly is only to be found in his thoughts, although he claims that the world he inhabits in his mind does not belong to him. Sascha was born in Bavaria, Germany, to Turkish parents\textsuperscript{148}. Sascha’s parents (particularly his mother) had intentionally planned that he born in Germany. Furthermore, once he was born, Turkish was no longer spoken in the family home, as his mother had intentions of making Sascha as “German as possible”:

“My mother had wanted me to be born in Germany. She set great store by me becoming a German. Thus, after my birth, Turkish was no longer spoken at home, though surely it must have been earlier now and then. When I grilled her with my

\textsuperscript{145} As mentioned on page 14, although Die Prärie will be the principal text (produced by Şenocak) considered for this research, reference will also be made to Gefährliche Verwandtschaft for example, as it contains illuminating insights into Sascha’s development subsequent to Die Prärie.

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid. 10.

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.15.

\textsuperscript{148} Şenocak, Zafer. Gefährliche Verwandtschaft. 1998. Munich: Babel Verlag
questions, she explained these decisions in terms of wishing to spare me an uncomfortable life between two stools.”

This effectively alienates Sascha from his Turkish culture and, contrary to what his mother had intended, sets the tone for the Sascha’s alienation from his German culture. Although Sascha was born into a German culture, he was born from a Turkish cultural background. His access to this cultural background was denied him through his inability to speak Turkish. In *Atlas des tropischen Deutschland* (1993), Şenocak identifies an incriminating relatiionship between bilingualism and cultural commitment:

“When a person cheats on his mother tongue he becomes bilingual. On one side he is seen as disloyal, as betraying the heritage of the ancestors, as making common cause with *Fremde* [sic] (foreigners/strangers/outsiders). On the other side he is viewed as a trouble maker determined to alter the familiar landscape, taking his place uninvited at the table of the *Heimat*, deliberately violating the limits of his status as a guest and seeking a share in the natives’ rights.”

He goes on further to say that:

“In Germany, Turkish is the mother tongue of 1.7 million people. Thus Turkish is the second most widely spoken language of this country. Turks of the second generation here are usually bilingual, especially if they have succeeded in gaining good educational qualifications and a place in society. But this will change. For Germany’s refusal to accept that it is a country of immigration, despite the massive immigration which has taken place, results in its fear of bilingualism.”

By essentially giving him no choice but to speak only German at home, Sascha’s parents have effectively not only cheated on their Turkish culture themselves, but have, perhaps

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149 Ibid. 30.
151 Ibid.
inadvertently, made the unwitting Sascha complicit in this betrayal of Turkish culture as well. Migration implies a relationship (specifically between a guest culture and a host culture). Cheating, by extension, when considered in light of the context of a relationship, involves more than one party. This then means that cheating in a relationship will find more than party complicit. Şenocak also identifies Germany as being complicit in the betrayal of Turkish culture through its refusal to acknowledge its identity as an immigrant country, and its inability (or perhaps refusal) to assist in the preservation and development of the Turkish language and culture. Effectively then, this leads to something of a mass alienation which has seen, and continues to see entire generations of immigrants and descendants of immigrants alienated from their culture of origin. This is of course analogous to Kristeva’s analysis of the position of the foreigner in Western tradition in Strangers to Ourselves. In her study, Kristeva interrogates the reasons behind the anxiety, fear and hostility which the figure of the foreigner incites and provokes within the borders of a nation and posits that the foreigner exists within all of us: “And when we flee from or struggle against the foreigner, we are fighting our unconscious – that “improper” facet of our impossible “own and proper”.” And so, once again, it is only by accepting itself as an immigrant country, that Germany would be able to address the other immigrant communities within its borders.

As a consequence, the inability to fully access either the Turkish or the German culture, leads to an inability to identify with either one, facilitating an alienation which is affected on several levels. Alienation from Turkish culture occurs as a result of the loss of language, or rather the inability to access the culture through its language, while alienation from German culture occurs as a result of the German reluctance to embrace those of other origins, particularly within the context of its status as a country of migration. Because within a context of migration, a relationship is established between the culture of the migrant community and that of the host country, a failure to acknowledge the culture of the migrant community will result in an inability to recognize or appreciate, and ultimately access, the culture of the host country. This inability to


153 Ibid. 191.
identify and identify with, a country of origin, is further complicated when the country itself evades categorization or definition. Still referring to Istanbul, the central character in Der Mann im Unterhemd goes on to say:

“Sie werden sich schwer tun, wenn Sie das Geschlecht Istanbul feststellen wollen. Diese Stadt ist schon seit Ewigkeiten ein Transvestit. Die Formen ihres Körpers sind weiblich, der Ton ihrer Stimme männlich, ihre Triebe grenzenlos und unentschieden. Männer mit kaskadigen Schnurrbärten, in weißen Schuhen mit plattgetretenen Fersen prägen das Straßenbild, doch die Angst, die sie gegenüber ihren geheimen Wünschen und Begierden empfinden, prägt die Sexualität der Stadt, lädt sie soweit auf, dass sie jederzeit ihre Form sprengen kann. Sie rächen sich an der Stadt, indem sie Passanten anrempeln, verfaultes Obst verkaufen und kaputte Uhren an Ahnungslose Grünschnäbel aus der Provinz.”

Here a relationship is established between the concepts of city, nation, nationality and gender, and the question is ultimately asked, whether it is possible to determine the gender of a city. According to the narrator, Istanbul embodies aspects which are both masculine, as well as feminine. Physically the city retains a male form, but when considered in a psycho-analytical light, with reference to the men who inhabit and supposedly govern the city, their mannerisms, body-language, and their deepest insecurities, the city is identified as characteristically female or feminine. Though childhood socialization conventionally encourages the belief that fear should be regarded as intrinsically feminine, it is highly likely that this statement is located within the presumption that all “weak” character traits (of which fear is an example) are inherently feminine qualities.

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154 Ibid. 17.
155 The concept of the city as a body is not new. In Death in Venice, Thomas Mann refers to Venice as the “fallen queen of the seas” and later alludes to its nature as a prostitute, drawing attention to the capacity of the city to embody physical, human traits, ultimately making it occasionally possible to view the city as an additional character in the novel. See Mann, Thomas. Death in Venice. 1955. England: Penguin Books. 37, 59.
On the other hand, it could be said, that Istanbul exists not so much as a male city in terms of its form, but rather, as something of an emasculated male. Interestingly, certain parallels could be drawn between the image of the city of Istanbul as an emasculated male, and that of the character of Sascha, or more specifically in terms of what Sascha refers to as “die mickrige Größe meiner Männlichkeit”\textsuperscript{156}. The small size of Sascha’s penis, which he refers to as one of his defects (“Gebrechen”) has left him feeling not as masculine as he would have liked to have been, particularly given the fact that Sascha, like the Prophets, has been especially proud of his numerous sexual exploits and conquests. One of the few references to religion in “Die Prärie” is made through the image of the Prophet and concerns sexuality which, when viewed in the light of ideological constructs indicates the necessity of not entirely dismissing religion as a significant source of influence of and on Turkish-German male identity as more directly expressed in Der Mann im Unterhemd:

“Irgendwie hängen Religion und Geschlechtsteile immer zusammen. Entweder kastriert die Religion das Geschlecht, oder sie entfesselt es. So wie die Frau in mancher Augen nur Hure oder Heilige sein kann, ist der Gläubige nur Mönch oder Lüstling. Die Muslime jedenfalls sind seit Jahrhunderten stolz auf die Leistungsfähigkeit des Geschlechtsteils ihres Propheten.”\textsuperscript{157}

Here the reader is provided with the first indication of the narrator’s views regarding the relationship between religion and gender. This is identified as a relationship of extremes, in which no concept of “the normal” exists. According to the narrator, religion can be regarded not only as the entrenchment of sex and gender, but also as the origin of its sometimes extremist nature. If religious ideological constructs exist as a set of fundamentally masculine determined and orientated principles, then men, in this case Turkish, Turkish-German, and Muslim men, are responsible for fashioning themselves as either targets or subjects of emasculation or empowerment. By extension then, it could also be suggested that men are seen as determining the nature of the impact of religion on

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid. 7.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid. 11.
their society. These men then so do so, through their overt preoccupation with sex and their association of sex and the (image of) the Prophet. A preoccupation grounded in extremes and which does not allow for the identification of a ‘normal’ middle ground. The city of Istanbul, in this case becomes regarded as a male which can be identified as such merely by virtue of its physical nature, but when considered in other contexts is almost quintessentially female. Furthermore, the men who inhabit and govern the city, are presumably aware of this emasculation, and have internalized it to such an extent that they then project their dissatisfaction onto a public which consists not only of Turkish women, but also of other Turkish men, as well as foreigners. In this light, Moray McGowan poses the question, as to:

“What factors within Turkey influence Turkish-German cultural identities, specifically masculinities? Turkey is at once European and Asian, grounded in Islamic culture yet constitutionally secular, heir to numerous ancient indigenous cultures, yet also a product of historical migrations.”

In this manner, an appeal is made to notions of fluidity and hybridity inherent to a discussion regarding migration and its effects (and inherent to a discussion of Turkish history, culture, society and migration), and explores, through the figure of Sascha, for example, a variety of (migrant) masculinity which not only challenges concepts of psychological loss and emasculation (traditionally associated with migration), but simultaneously reflects its location within the possibility of flexibility of (sexual) identity and orientation. In the same way his characters regard Istanbul as a city with an unidentifiable gender, so too do the male characters demonstrate cultural and sexual identities which are fluid, and difficult to define.

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159 Ibid. 17.
The city’s capacity to evade successful identification on the basis of its androgynous, Oriental, Occidental and transcultural character, and its consequent imposition of this absence of identity onto its inhabitants (as well as the descendants of the inhabitants), are also reflected in a slightly different metaphorical variation of the same theme, namely that of invisibility, since a lack of identity is consequently also an inability to exist in a named form, or be visible:


In this text, Şenocak is writing from the perspective of an investigator who, at the beginning of the narrative, is setting off to Turkey in order to investigate the disappearance and potential death of a young Turkish woman.

What is interesting to note, is the mention of the concept of invisibility, with particular reference to the kind of invisibility which stems from the ‘ability’ to be in more than one place simultaneously. This is particularly relevant when considered in light of the hypothesis denoting Turkish-German masculine and national identity as one which excludes concrete definition by virtue of it being “two things at the same time”. The hybridity and fluidity of migrant identity is located within the fact that individuals identify themselves rarely as being “one or the other”, in this case Turkish or German. Şenocak identifies it as being something other than hybrid or fluid, but rather like “another kind of invisibility”. The ability of the Turkish-German individual to locate him- or herself within both the Turkish as well as the German culture simultaneously, effectively makes it impossible for one to categorize or identify these individuals as

160 Ibid. 7.
161 It is interesting to note that this strongly resembles the narrative in the text by Orhan Pamuk, entitled Snow (2004) to be discussed in the next chapter. In this text, the protagonist, Ka., travels to Turkey ostensibly to attend his mother’s funeral, but also to investigate a potential “suicide epidemic” among young Turkish women in a remote town on the Armenian border.
belonging to a particular culture or national identity. For the migrant, or the descendent of the migrant, this simultaneous existence in several places, is also then, a kind of “non-existence”\(^{162}\).

This is essentially how Sascha is presented in “Die Prärie” where efforts are made to constantly erase national and cultural borders. Sascha states that the borders between Turkey and Germany are blurred and hard to indicate, and it does become clear that this becomes complicit in his ability or rather, inability to define and identify his cultural origins and identity\(^{163}\). Sascha is incapable of locating his identity within any specific national or geographic context which translates into an element of intangibility or a lack of visibility. In “Die Prärie”, Sascha exercises his own kind of invisibility by closing his eyes, and consequently immersing himself in a world, which, though it might exist within him, does not belong to him:


\(^{163}\) The concept of national identity is also referred to in “Der Mann im Unterhemd”, in relation to, amongst others, the passport, as an object which mediates and influences the construction and perception of national identity. According to the narrator, national identity is not simply located in a passport, but the concept of (national) identity becomes harder to define once one includes a name, or the act of naming, or re-naming. When one considers that our very capacity to bring “things” into existence is facilitated through our ability to assign a name or identity to these elements, it is interesting to consider to what extent the concept, and by extension the construction and perception of, cultural and national identity, is inherently dependent on our ability to define and identify our origins.

\(^{164}\) Ibid. 57-58.
Although on the surface it may not seem entirely possible to say whether the world Sascha enters when he closes his eyes, has any relation to Turkey, it becomes clearer after closer examination, that he does in fact, and somewhat unwittingly in two places simultaneously. This then, relates to the statement uttered by the narrator in “Der Mann im Unterhemd”, and effectively addresses Sascha’s very own non-existence or invisibility. Significantly however, Sascha makes reference to a particular kind of world, “eine in mir verschollene Welt”, referring to a world which has disappeared inside him. This of course implies that this world had existed before, and that a connection to this world had been also been present. The use of “verschollen”, however, implies that the world had disappeared and was never heard of or seen again. This world had disappeared in Sascha. It remains hidden from him – invisible and ultimately lost forever. Echoing Sascha’s inherent alienation from both the Turkish as well as German cultures, he describes the world as one which, although it is located deep inside of him, does indeed not belong to him. This is a world in which foreigners and strangers enter and exit continually. Sascha attempts to avoid them by keeping his eyes shut, but is ultimately addressed by them, by his name. These strangers, who represent (aspects of) both the Turkish as well the German cultures, know Sascha, “rufen von allen Seiten her meinen Namen“, but he does not know them. He does not have any connection to these strangers or consequently to these cultures. These strangers and foreigners know Sascha because they see and recognize the stereotype in him; that is, they see and recognize the Turk in him. Essentially, although Sascha’s cultural points of origin then clearly do exist (and exist in him), they remain hidden from him, and inaccessible to him; they remain invisible to him but are visible to others (such as the German community, for example).

Sascha however, also offers his perception regarding the existence of a particular and gender-specific type of invisibility, when he shares further opinions regarding the difference between the sexes:

“Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass Veronikas Haut durchsichtig war. Durch die Haut einer Frau schimmert ihr Inneres. Das ist es, was die Frauen von den Männern
Though Sascha’s statement makes transparency of character and gender an essentially female problem, it could be said that he has, perhaps somewhat unwittingly, implicated his own sex, through his earlier statement involving the image of the mirror. It could then be argued that, if women, who exist merely in the mirror of men, are transparent, and transparency is a consequence or product of reflection, then female transparency exists merely as a consequence of male transparency, or as a reflection of male transparency. Transparency then, by extension, considering its associations to concepts of invisibility, and “non-existence”, could then be traced back to men. Sascha then, is transparent, and as non-existent as the narrator in the earlier “Der Mann im Unterhemd”, prefiguring, once again, Sascha’s capacity to demonstrate inherent nomadic tendencies.

According to Moray McGowan, the central facets of Şenocak’s work include:

“… an experientially liberating journey through fluid ethnicities and sexual orientations. … the Turkish-German man becomes postmodern, polymorphous and androgynous, a Turkish Tannhäuser challenging the normative masculinity that would exile him from Venusberg, affirming and exploring the dissolution of boundaries”

Though it could certainly be said that Şenocak explores through his characters, the possibilities and limitations of gender, he does so by incorporating images and a language, which are not only sensual, but also very often, sexual. In light of this it is therefore clear that Sascha – as the particular Turkish-German man in question – addresses additional implications inherent in the representations of migrant masculinities.

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165 Ibid. 7.
This becomes particularly evident once he (Sascha) has completed what could be seen as his own migration to the American prairie.

“Ich wechselte weder meine Identität noch mein Geschlecht. Ich wechselte einfach nur meinen Wohnort…. Ich war an einem Ort, der fern von allen Plätzen war, die ich kannte. Ich wohnte an einer Straße, die aussah, als hörte sie erst am Ende der Welt auf…. Ich lebte nun in einer künstlichen Welt, in der alles in Ordnung war. Die restliche Welt konnte von hier aus nur noch in Kategorien des Bösen wahrgenommen werden.”\footnote{Ibid. 68-69.}

Sascha had decided on the Prairie as his choice of destination not only because the nature of the space itself would facilitate his desire to be alone, but also because it exists as part of a country with a history in which he is not involved or implicated in any significant way. America, specifically the prairie, becomes an essentially amorphous and simultaneously utopian space. The inherent artificiality of this space is ideal for Sascha in that it affords him the opportunity to get away from the blurred borders between Turkey and Germany. Sascha is unaware, clearly, that he has internalized these blurred borders, and believes that the American prairie is therefore the perfect space in which to be alone. Everything that exists beyond this space can only be considered in terms of varying degrees of evil, “Kategorien des Bösen”\footnote{Ibid.}. He refers once again to a blurring of borders which has ultimately transported Turkey into Germany and shares this perspective through (several) statements related to the relationship between Turkey and Germany:

“In der Türkei, …, war mir die Flucht mißlungen, da die Türkei, wie Italien, ein unbedeutender Ort in Deutschland ist. Täglich werden die Grenzen zwischen der Türkei und Deutschland von Tausenden von Menschen aufgehoben. Bei diesen Aktivitäten zwischen zwei Ländern verlagern sich die Grenzen nach innen. In jedem Menschlichen Körper gibt es einen Grenzverlauf, der mit den

\footnote{Ibid. 68-69.}
Staatsgrenzen korrespondiert. Wenn Sie Deutschland meiden wollen, müssen Sie die Türkei loswerden und umgekehrt."\(^{169}\)

Whereas actual geographical borders have become redundant and invisible, the idea of borders goes underground and permeates the internal existence of the affected individual. Given not only the existing history and (essentially co-dependent) relationship between Turkey and Germany, but also his own personal and familial connection with Turkey, Sascha is of the opinion that a migration to Turkey would essentially have amounted to a kind of migration to a different part of Germany, as it were. Raised in Germany, but with a migrant-background, Sascha appears to have no tangible connection to his family’s past. This connection would have been made possible had he been exposed to, and taught the Turkish language at home. However, since he had been intentionally raised speaking only German, which was not the mother-tongue of his parents, he had effectively been denied a connection with his family’s past. His corresponding perception or self-construction of his identity is based solely on the fragment of his life spent in Germany. Sascha has no idea what is place is in his family’s history, because a very active attempt was made to restart this history following his birth. Though it could also clearly, on the other hand be argued that Sascha’s statement that the borders between Turkey and Germany have become blurred (and that these borders correspond to borders within individuals) indicates that he has himself internalized these borders, he nonetheless demonstrates no indication that he has integrated the extent to which this has facilitated the construction and perception of his identity\(^{170}\).

\(^{169}\) Ibid. 73.

\(^{170}\) A slightly different variation on the theme is provided by the narrator in “Der Mann im Unterhemd”.
The narrator, an investigator, indicates that he works together with individuals from several nationalities, among them, German, and makes a clear and deliberate attempt to differentiate between “Us Turks” and “The Germans” in an attempt to explain some fundamental differences in character:

ds. Wir Türken sind ungeduldige, etwas voreilige Menschen. Deshalb können wir unser Leben niemals im Voraus, in Ruhe planen. Die Deutschen aber planen mit Sorgfalt ihr Unglück, unterstreichen die Trauer mit einem Lineal.”

Şenocak, Zafer. Der Mann im Unterhemd. 1995. Frankfurt: Babel Verlag Hund & van Uffelen. 9
The narrator elaborates on his views regarding differences inherent in the perceptions and representations of national identities by including the dynamics of race and ethnicity:

ds. Dunkel ist dort nicht nur die Haut der Menschen, sondern auch ihre Geschäfte. Beginnt nicht jeder Verdacht mit der dunklen Haut? Mit der nicht abwaschbaren, nicht abdeckbaren dunklen Haut?”
Although the problem of ethnicity does not overtly feature in “Die Prärie” as is the case, for example, in “Der Mann im Unterhemd”, the propensity for “othering” (without the racial reference) is complicated however, when it is practiced by the author, on a character, as is the case when the reader is made aware of an additional authorial presence in Die Prärie:


This tendency towards “othering” exists as an almost necessary consequence of the migratory process and operates on the level of a constantly evolving exchange of power in terms of its role in identity formation: “Like ethnicity in general, racialized identity is constructed and reconstructed as a dominant group defines the subordinated as outsiders, the foreigners as strangers, and the content of these definitions changes with various global, national and regional frames.”


On a few occasions in the novel, Sascha is referred to in the third person, and the reader is made aware of the presence of what could potentially be a new character, or narrating voice within the text. This presence or voice, is subsequently identified as that of the author of the texts which Sascha had written while in America. This not only makes him Sascha’s ghost-writer, but also the third author mentioned in the text. Based on the statements made by this author, the reader is lead to deduce that Sascha had, through the American author, been involved in a strange interaction blending elements of a game, and a performance, or puppet show. Sascha, it would seem, had merely been lead to thinking that he could in any way write (again), for as it turns out, the American author has not only been writing for Sascha, but more importantly, ghost-writer appears to have been writing Sascha. Sascha, effectively, does not write, Sascha is written and has no existence of language and the written word.

Sascha was merely a character in “his own novel” and indeed in every other novel in which he appears. Given the ironic paradox inherent to the construction of masculinity and identity in general, as highlighted in *Die Prärrie*, it is clear (ultimately) that Sascha had merely assumed his sexual prowess to be as significant as it was, since, though men and masculinity are presumed superior, it is precisely in the context of sexual and intimate relations where men forfeit (perhaps unknowingly) this (supposed) superiority,

172 Although it may seem far-fetched and demonstrate a distinct cultural leap, the figure of Sascha could be regarded as analogous to the character portrayed by Jim Carrey in Peter Weir’s 1998 film, “The Truman Show”; that is, a character who for a while is led to believe that what he perceives as normality in the context of his life, and his family, and his home, and ultimately his very character and identity, has not only been constructed and pre-determined including every detail, but that he had merely been re-enacting what it was that he had assumed was “reality”. What makes Sascha slightly different though, is that although someone else, and not he, was writing the novel, and that ultimately he had merely been a character in this novel, he does not aear to be aware of it at all. A fundamental similarity between the characters of Truman and Sascha is that they both exit their existing narratives (for Truman it is the production set for the “Truman Show” and for Sascha it is the Prairie) to become autonomous characters. When Truman uncovers the artificiality of what what he had assumed was his reality, he literally exits the set or stage, and reconciliation with an old love interest is implied. Sascha, however, becomes an autonomous character, not only because his author grows tired of him, but because his author finds the autonomy which he develops to be inconvenient and at variance with his original plan for Sascha. *The Truman Show* was directed by Peter Weir in 1998. Further details regarding this film can be found at: http://www.trumanshow.com
since the factual (fundamental) truth about such relationships, is that they are based on a principle of psycho-emotional co-dependence:

“‘Sexual relations are perhaps the most fraught and troubling of all social relations precisely because, especially when heterosexual, they so often threaten rather than confirm gender polarity.’ For instance, it is precisely in sex that heterosexual men are most likely to experience dependence, uncertainty, passivity and – quite simply – shared experience with women.”\textsuperscript{173}

Sascha is then mistaken when he thinks that he is a self-sufficient person in as far as he can claim not to need anyone, or to be happy being without a woman in his life, since these encounters, clearly demonstrate the opposite. Ultimately, since gender, according to Butler, is performed\textsuperscript{174}, it becomes particularly interesting when the performance itself is deliberately controlled and orchestrated, as in Sascha’s case when one learns about the ghost writer. Considering the notion of performance according to a series of cultural, historical and social scripts, this is particularly both insightful, and confusing, with reference to Sascha as a construct.

Given Sascha’s nature as it appears in “Die Prärie”, the question arises as what could possibly be Sascha’s trajectory. Given the fact that all religions concern themselves in part with regulating human sexuality, and that Islam as one of the inherent cultural factors determining Turkish (male) identity is no exception it, therefore, appears apt that Sascha should be shown as a sexual being. The prominence of the image of the bed also inverts the Kafkaesque notion of the bed as the site of intimate existential processes, by turning it into the site of survival through induced oblivion:

\textsuperscript{174} Ibid.

An additional dynamic is introduced to the notion of intangibility and invisibility, namely memory, or more specifically, the absence of memory or forgetting. According to Sascha, sex weakens the memory and leads to “forgetting”. Of course this leads the reader to question just what exactly is forgotten with the act of sex since Sascha does not make this clear. A possible interpretation or answer is that one forgets the act of sex itself, as well as the person, and the intimacy – a possible conflation of these would be that one forgets the person one is or becomes during an intimate act. Finally, sex also allows one to forget the memory of the act, the person and the intimacy. In light of the emotional complicity of men during (heterosexual) sex, it is clear that men too, are lead to forget as a result of sex. Sascha’s intangibility then comes to refer to his memory and his past as well since he effectively erases his memory and parts of his past with every sexual encounter perpetuating, as a consequence, his invisibility. This invisibility and intangibility (and superficiality) become evident in the nature of the relationships he chooses to pursue, as well as those he chooses to write about. For Sascha, even friendships and friendly interactions with and between men function on the same level of superficiality. According to Sascha, men will interact with each other only for as long as they have adventures to recount to one another176.

175 Ibid. 39-40.
176 Ibid. 25.
Sascha’s inherent intangibility and his overwhelming “incompleteness” indeed become too “much” for his creator. And yet, even though his writer is unable to finish him, Sascha still appears to be drifting in search of something. This clearly begs the question as to what exactly Sascha is looking for, and the reader is left merely to speculate that this is indeed a conflation of various things, such as, for example, a more concrete and definitive identity, as well as a firmer grasp on his cultural heritage. He heads to the prairie on a whim as his nature, and perpetuates exactly the same kind of lifestyle there as he did in Germany. At this juncture it becomes important to mention that in the other works examined within this research, a return to Turkey seems like the most logical conclusion (and potential solution) to the problems faced by the characters. This, however, is not entirely the case with Sascha. Because *Die Prärie* is viewed as a standalone text for the purposes of this work, it is difficult to speculate on the likelihood of Sascha returning to Turkey. It is indeed even difficult to speculate based on what one knows from having read the additional texts in which Sascha returns as a character.

As mentioned, Sascha drifts throughout the novel, and if one were to remove one self as a reader and observe Sascha from the outside. It would appear as though the author had allowed Sascha to drift not only because it is in his nature, but because he too, might have been curious to see where Sascha ended up. Sascha moves himself to the periphery and ceases to be a central character:

“Sascha hat sich selbständig gemacht. Er hat sich davongeschlichen, ungefragt, ohne ein Wort zu hinterlassen. Er war eine Figur im Zentrum. Jetzt ist er an der Peripherie. Er teilt sich regelmäßig mit. Aber wen interessiert das schon. Der Leser fühlt sich genarrt, im Stich gelassen.”177

Sascha becomes an autonomous character, and his writer is unable to finish him. Sascha however, cannot end, because did not start properly. For a character as vague as Sascha, a “wispy” ending seems appropriate. By extension, even the prairie seems to be an appropriately amorphous setting. In terms of its vast, open and almost endless space it

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177 Ibid. 98.
seems like the ideal location for someone, or a character to disappear in, and this is precisely what Sascha appears to do be doing.

However, it is important to remember that Sascha, as the creative product of Şenocak’s imagination (and even as the creative product of the American author’s imagination, who is, of course, himself also a product of Şenocak’s imagination), cannot be considered as an entirely autonomous character. Sascha’s destiny has been predetermined and the very first clue we are provided with is located in the cover image of the novel itself.

Although we are led to believe that Sascha is meant to be an amorphous character (which he indeed is to an undeniably large extent) with no proper grasp on his cultural heritage and identity, the cover illustration is a clearly and overtly Turkish, or more appropriately Ottoman image which adds a distinct historical dimension to Sascha’s narrative. When

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178 Scan: Cover Illustration.
one encounters the novel visually for the first time, one is led to expect something Turkish or of even vaguely Turkish origin. In the absence of other indicators, expectations of “Turkishness” are firstly based on the cover illustration. This illustration, which could be used as an additional aid, establishes the novel as one which is culturally rooted in an Ottoman or a Turkish past (see Fig. 2). Though this is of course merely speculative, it is indeed likely that the choice of this specific image for the dust jacket was more than just a matter of chance given the extensive associations that can be made between the image and distinct elements contained in the narrative. In this manner, it does, therefore, become likely that the choice of image was in fact a deliberate marketing strategy (and, indeed, and aid to interpretation, as just mentioned) by the publishers as is often the case. Istanbul in this manner, becomes a point of origin as the cover image comes to represent a visual frame of reference; a sentiment of the period regarded as the pinnacle of Ottoman culture. The image, which depicts Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent observing a hunt, echoes the plot of the novel, and by extension, Sascha’s narrative or a segment thereof, on various levels. Firstly, the hunt takes place in an open field which immediately echoes the prairie which Sascha migrates to in the novel. Secondly, the aspect of the hunt itself is also echoed throughout the novel, particularly in the portion of the novel which records Sascha’s arrival and life in the prairie.

Once in the prairie Sascha is exposed to the numerous customs and traditions of the community, including those associated with hunting season:


179 Ibid. 83-85.
The only “animals” Sascha has ever hunted have been the women he has pursued, “Sie waren für mich lange Zeit die Tiere”\textsuperscript{180}. By transferring or projecting his hunting instincts onto women, woman have always been reduced to the status of the animals he now encounters as the hunted in the prairie. In the prairie, Sascha learns that every individual in the community is involved in hunting season. Although he is able to miss being involved in his first hunting season, he is told that as a member of the community, it will be expected of him to participate in the following hunting season because a man who does not hunt is regarded as a man whose life is essentially unlivable, or as a man who is essentially a failure at living life. In the prairie, hunting is a male activity (although a process in which the entire community participates) and failure to hunt would consequently make one less of a man. Similarly, the hunting depicted in the cover illustration is carried out by a (male) elite, namely the Sultan and his sons, and echoes, on the cover of the novel itself, the hunting which is to take place not only in the prairie, but also in Germany, where Sascha has spent his life (prior to his arrival in America) pursuing and hunting women.

Finally, upon investigation, several interesting parallels are available between the figures of Sascha and of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Suleiman I was the tenth and longest-running Sultan of the Ottoman Empire\textsuperscript{181}. Famed for his radical remodelling of the Ottoman legal system, Suleiman led the Ottoman Empire to the height of its military and economic power. Suleiman the Magnificent was also, however, a generous patron of the arts and has been credited with leading the Ottoman Empire to its golden age of cultural and artistic production. The Sultan was himself also a poet and goldsmith, and produced poetry under the pseudonym, \textit{Muhibbi} (Lover). In an unprecedented break from tradition, the Sultan married a harem girl, Roxelana, who was of Slavic origin and the daughter of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[Ibid.]
\item[Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suleiman_the_Magnificent
Accessed: 18 October 2011
The Age of Süleyman “the Magnificent” (r. 1520-1566) - http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/suly/hd_suly.htm
Accessed: 18 October 2011
Suleiman the Magnificent - http://www.nndb.com/people/916/000092640/
Accessed: 18 October 2011
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
an Orthodox priest. Roxelana became Hürrem Sultan. After his death in 1566, Suleiman I was succeeded by his son, Selim II. Taking all this into consideration, it becomes clear that the cover illustration does more than merely allude to a story of Turkish or Ottoman origin within the covers of the novel. Closer investigation reveals the choice of the Sultan observing the hunt to be deliberate, as it is the figure of the Sultan himself, the poet, the lover, the man who loved and married a woman who was not of his class, or shared his cultural background, that mirrors the figure of Sascha, the financially independent young man of Turkish origin, the writer and importantly, the lover, who ultimately chooses to settle down with a young woman who does not share the same cultural background.

While in America, Sascha perpetuates essentially the same lifestyle and pursues the same kinds of relationships, until he meets Marianne, with whom he ultimately returns to Germany (much to the annoyance of his author and creator). In Germany, Sascha and Marianne set up a life together which is adult, and stable and “real” and therefore completely different to the relationships he had pursued up to that point. It is not only from within this context that he finds himself pursuing a deeper understanding of his family history and culture, but it is also at this juncture that distinct similarities can be detected with the other works examined within this research, particularly Fatih Akin’s *Gegen die Wand* (2004) as will be discussed shortly as well as in the conclusion.

The reader is given the impression that the author seems to have relinquished control over Sascha, and Sascha leaves, just as a child would on an adventure:

“Ich, als Urheber aller Szenen dieses Textes, möchte betonen, daß ich für jene Zeit, in der sich meine Figur sich selbständig gemacht hat, also für alle Amerika-Kapitel, keinerlei Verantwortung übernehme. Ich kenne diese Kapitel genau wie der Leser nur von der Lektüre her. Im übrigen kommt es durchaus vor, daß sich Figuren verselbständigen, dem Autor die Geschichte entreißen und ihre Geschichte selbst zu Ende schreiben. Fahnenflucht ist das. Es rächt sich. Kaum eine diese Figuren hat die Literaturgeschichte überlebt.”

182 Ibid. 98.
Sacha writes his own ending, just like Cahit. Şenocak, like a puppet master, directs and orchestrates everything, knowing that Sascha will ultimately head off in search of an identity, in the same manner Cahit does in *Gegen die Wand*, for example. For both Sascha and Cahit, sexual relations effectively mark them as being male beings. In Sascha’s case, however, the concept of multiple-authorship highlights the concept of predestination. Just like Cahit, Sascha was created as a character who would drift but who ultimately returns to his origins (or at the very least attempt to find his origins). Finally, referring to the concepts of masks and masquerades, it becomes clear that the characters are themselves sent off in order to masquerade for the author. In doing so, they take on different forms in order to explore points of interest for the author. In other words, characters are created and exist as a way of plausibly exploring various aspects of diverse situations. Sascha and the protagonists examined in the subsequent chapters of this research are liberated characters presented to us as they appear to be experimenting with finding themselves in a multicultural environment. These experiments fail and ultimately all characters return to a monocultural environment.

Although the respective works are so very different from each other, they each, as will be demonstrated, have or make reference to the same vague cultural point of origin. This point of origin is identified as vague insofar as it can be said to exist and be in the past, but a point which acts as a pivotal point of reference nonetheless. In the case of Sascha and *Die Prärie*, for example, this point of origin is alluded to from the outset through the use of the cover illustration which, on closer examination, reveals several, deeper-lying and more significant parallels to the narrative explored within the covers of the book. For Sascha, this point of origin, this cultural heritage is closely tied into sex and his perceptions of sex. This is ultimately located in the religious preoccupation with sex. Sascha and Marianne return to Germany and one is led to ask whether this could be regarded as a return home. Since the borders between Turkey and Germany are, according to Sascha, blurred and fluid, Sascha and Marianne return to a place where Germany and Turkey are themselves interchangeable. It is, within this context, almost impossible to think of the one without the other. This space marks something of a limited
form of “transcultural exchange”. In Germany you will not avoid the Turkishness, as residual Turkishness as it were, is located everywhere, especially in certain attributes of and references to, Islam. Şenocak then roots this in something of a preoccupation with sex, as demonstrated, for example, by and through the character of Sascha. Sascha exists or can be read as an attempt to write someone without an identity. In this way the figure of Sascha comes to resemble that of a modern-day Kaspar Hauser\textsuperscript{183}. It is clear, however, that is an experiment which has not worked as one is able to identify too many significant points of connection which direct the reader and the characters to a monocultural point of origin.

An element of interconnectedness is evident between the texts examined in this research. This is not obvious from the outset but does in fact become clearer later. This interconnectedness is evident, for example, when considered in light of the concept of alienation. Sascha, as discussed, demonstrates a distinct alienation from both the Turkish as well as the German cultures. This alienation stems from the fact that he incongruously grew up speaking only German in a fundamentally Turkish household, effectively facilitating his inability to connect with both cultures. Similarly, in Kutluğ Ataman’s \textit{Lola und Bilidikid}, the phenomenon of alienation is explored from the dynamic of sexuality and the consequences of one’s alienation from one’s sexuality, as evidenced in the protagonists. Cultural alienation is explored in Fatih Akin’s \textit{Gegen die Wand}, as well as

\textsuperscript{183} The young man who went by the name of Kaspar Hauser made an appearance in Nuremberg, Germany, in the early nineteenth century, claiming to have been raised in the isolation of a darkened cell: “According to this story, for as long as he could remember he spent his life totally alone in a darkened cell about two metres long, one metre wide and one and a half high with only a straw bed to sleep on and a horse carved out of wood for a toy. He claimed that he found bread and water next to his bed each morning. Periodically the water would taste bitter and drinking it would cause him to sleep more heavily than usual. On such occasions, when he awakened, his straw was changed and his hair and nails were cut. Hauser claimed that the first human being with whom he ever had contact was a mysterious man who visited him not long before his release, always taking great care not to reveal his face to him. This man, Hauser said, taught him to write his name by leading his hand. After learning to stand and walk, he was brought to Nuremberg.” Kaspar Hauser stands as one of the first examples from German (literary) history, of the attempt, and the failure of the attempt, at creating and sustaining an existence without an identity, or more specifically, without any tangible historical, social and cultural framework in which to locate an identity. Kaspar Hauser reportedly died of a stab wound.

Accessed: 23 November 2011
Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow*, the latter also examining the notion of artistic alienation as well, though the figure of the protagonist. In addition, Pamuk’s work also explores the notion of existential alienation through the strong parallels which can be drawn between Franz Kafka’s *K.*, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Although the concept of alienation addresses, on the one hand, issues of integration and assimilation, it also speaks to the idea of cultural commitment, and by extension, cultural betrayal. While on the one hand Turkish society is critiqued for its inadequate assimilation and integration into German culture and society, German culture and society is indicted in terms of what Şenocak refers to as “the lack of commitment to Turkish language and culture”\(^\text{184}\). This then, according to Şenocak, encourages or rather perpetuates a multiculturalism which is ultimately “hollow” and insubstantial. This “hollow” and insubstantial multiculturalism enables the construction of characters such as the main characters explored within this research, which are effectively the products of a failed multiculturalism.

\(^{184}\) Ibid.
CHAPTER FOUR

Tracking Lost Masculinities in *Snow*, by Orhan Pamuk (2004)

Orhan Pamuk was born in 1952 in Nisantasi, Istanbul, a wealthy area or district which had been described in, for example, his first novel *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* (1982). He initially studied architecture, but left this course of study after three years in order to pursue his intentions of becoming a writer. He subsequently studied journalism, though never worked as a journalist. Pamuk’s prolific writing career effectively started in the early 1970’s, and currently, more than three decades later, his work has been translated extensively, confirming and supporting his reputation as one of the leading voices in contemporary fiction, not only in his native Turkey, but also within the international literary community. He published his first novel, *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* in 1982, a strongly autobiographical novel dealing with multiple generations of a wealthy family living in the Nisantasi district of Istanbul. This was followed by, amongst others, *The Silent House* (1983), *The White Castle* (1985), *The Black Book* (1990), *The New Life* (1994) and *My Name is Red* (1998). Orhan Pamuk has been awarded numerous literary prizes and accolades, culminating in the Nobel Prize for Literature, which he was awarded in 2006, making him the first Turkish writer to become a Nobel Laureate.

Pamuk released his novel, *Kar*, in 2002, which was released in the English translation, *Snow* in 2004. Although essentially a work of fiction, it has established itself as his first political novel due to the nature of the various tensions explored within the text,

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185 Orhan Pamuk/Iletişim Publishing: www.orhanpamuk.net - Accessed: 30 June 2010. Unless otherwise indicated, all details related to Orhan Pamuk’s biography, including in particular his works and the numerous awards he has achieved, have been sourced from his official website.
including the conflict between traditional and fundamental Islamists, religion and tradition, and the conflict with secularism, as well as the violence and tension between Turkish and Kurdish nationals. In many ways the protagonist could be said to embody the tensions explored in the warring groups of Islamic fundamentalists, Turkish and Kurdish nationalists and secularists alike. Notwithstanding the evident political nature of the narrative, it is important to note that the text also contains and explores elements of a love story. *Snow* was voted one of the top 100 books of 2004 by *The New York Times* and garnered numerous prestigious awards including the Le Prix Médicis Étranger for the best foreign novel in France, as well as the Ricarda Huch Prize and the Le Prix Méditerranée Étranger. Other works by the author include *Other Colours* (1999), a collection of his articles on literature and culture as well as writings from his private notebooks, *İstanbul. Memories and the City* (2004), *My Father’s Suitcase* (2006), *Museum of Innocence* (2009) and his most recent novel, *Fragments of the Landscape* (2010).

Set within this context is the story of the main character, Ka (given the Occidental undertone of this work, the name Ka can be read as an allusion to K. in Kafka’s novel, *The Castle*, written in 1922 (1977)), who travels to Turkey after many years spent in exile in Germany, ostensibly in order to attend his mother’s funeral. Ka is also intent on not only investigating the reports of suicides committed by young Turkish girls in a remote town on the Armenian border (paralleling the narrative of Şenocak’s *Der Mann im Unterhemd*), but also intent on restoring contact with an old love, who had recently become divorced. Here again (as is also the case in the Şenocak texts) we see the main character, guided by a narrator, in his search for something which remains elusive for the greater part of the narrative:

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188 The Ricarda Huch Prize is awarded every three years since 1978 to personalities who “think independently and act bravely.”
“… let me add these words: ‘May your road be open, dear Ka…’ But I don’t wish to deceive you: I’m an old friend of Ka’s and I begin this story knowing everything that will happen to him during his time in Kars.”

The narrator, later identified by the name of Orhan, discloses the end of the novel, telling the reader what will happen, before it happens, as it were; effectively eliminating the element of surprise, and encouraging the reader instead, to focus on alternative, yet equally significant arguments and “questions” presented in the novel. These questions include for example, the role of religion in a community as well as the often conflated roles of religion and politics in the construction of individual as well as social identity.

Orhan, the narrator, provides the reader with a basic introductory character-sketch (with some additional biographical information) of Ka, as the reader encounters him in a bus, headed toward Kars, a small town on the Armenian border:

“Although he’d spent twelve years in political exile in Germany, our traveler had never been much of an activist. His real passion, his only thought, was for poetry. He was forty-two years old, single, and never married. Although it might be hard to tell with him curled up in his seat, he was tall for a Turk, and had brown hair and a pallid complexion that had become even paler during this journey. He was shy, and enjoyed being alone. … For the traveler we see (leaning on his neighbour) is an honest and well-meaning man, and – like those Chekhovian characters so laden with virtues that they never know success in life – full of melancholy.

189 Ibid.5.

Interestingly, in terms of the numerous parallels which can be identified in the Şenocak texts, the author mentions (in Perilous Kinship, 2002) that Sascha’s grand-father had spent time as a young man in Kars as part of military service. In fact, the military service saw him working as a spy because of his linguistic abilities. The fact that he spoke more than one language effectively made it possible for him to be more than one person.
… the traveler’s name is Kerim Alakuşoğlu; that he doesn’t like that name, preferring to be known by his initials, as Ka, and that I’ll be complying with his wishes in this book.”

Pamuk’s text contains several similarities and allusions to Kafka’s *The Castle* (1997). Notwithstanding the similarities in the names of the respective protagonists, the element of snow features strongly in both texts. In *The Castle*, the protagonist, K., arrives in a village obscured by heavy snow fall. This obscurity will effectively permeate the rest of the plot:


In *The Castle*, the protagonist, K., arrives at a village claiming to be a land surveyor. K. has never visited this village and knows no one there. K. is an outsider and soon finds his right to be there challenged (he responds to this challenge by claiming to be a land surveyor) just as Pamuk’s Ka finds his right to be in the village of Kars challenged by the inhabitants of the village. In his response to this challenge, K. sets off on a decidedly fruitless search for the Castle Supervisor who goes by the name of Klamm. This pursuit of Klamm does nothing except exhaust him and appears to be more of a war of attrition in which he gradually grows tired of his quest. The reader is, however still lead to ask why he pursues his quest so single-mindedly, if he ultimately is not really interested in the Castle or in being a land surveyor and in light of this it is clear that it is perhaps the very inaccessibility of Klamm which makes him so important to K.

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190 Ibid. 4.
Furthermore, if K. were indeed a land surveyor he would talk more about his work and what he needed in order to do it, and would perhaps even set to work on his own account. This, however, he does not do, because he is ultimately looking for something else out of the village, something which he is unable to articulate. This is also the case for Pamuk’s Ka, who though claiming to be a poet, not only does not speak about his poetry, but also does not appear to be working on any during his time in the village even when he finds himself coerced into reciting one of his poems at a theatrical event (he claims to hear the call of his muse one evening and rushes home to write although the fruits of his creative labour are never seen or read). For Kafka, K.’s presence in the village makes him aware of a lack, and this lack, as it becomes clear, is centred on the idea of integration and acceptance. K. does not feel integrated into the village and appears to use his interest in the Castle as a means of making his way around this village. His interest in the Castle then becomes even more unclear and in this way the Castle ultimately becomes merely a pretext in that the only thing that appears to really interest him is the achievement of having reached the Castle. This would then explain why he appears to use the Castle as a response to feeling excluded from the village. Although Kars could similarly be regarded as being merely a pretext for Ka, a slight difference is evident in that Ka initially addressed his feelings of alienation and exclusion by leaving not only the village and Istanbul, but also the country, only to return later, attempting re-integration into the village and the community.

As suggested (though not only) by the title of the novel, snow is an essential feature in the construction of the landscape of the text. By extension, snow is also a fundamental element in the construction of Ka’s particular context (the context in which the reader is first introduced to him), or his personal landscape, as it were. The presence, and very concept of snow, could (and should) be analysed on both a physical as well as a metaphorical level.

“It was heavier and thicker than the snow he’d seen between Istanbul and Erzurum. If he hadn’t been so tired, if he’d paid more attention to the snow swirling out of the sky like feathers, he might have realized that he was travelling
straight into a blizzard; he might have seen from the start that he had set out on a
journey that would change his life for ever, he might have turned back.”\textsuperscript{192}

Ka enters Kars in a blizzard, a veritable blaze of blinding white, effectively setting the
stage not only for the time he is to spend in Kars, but also for the period following his
departure from Kars.

Superficially, snow is suggestive of a perhaps child-like innocence; its whiteness
indicative of something pure and clean – the magical landscape of a fairytale where evil
or unhappiness do not exist, but instead, the eternal promise of a new start.

“In the snowflakes whirling ever more wildly in the wind he saw nothing of the
impending blizzard, but rather a promise, a sign pointing back to the happiness
and purity he had once known as a child.”\textsuperscript{193}

These superficial, and even naïve suggestions, are echoed in Ka’s initial sentiments as he
enters Kars. These sentiments are, however, at least in the context of the text, fleeting and
temporary, for it is precisely the superficial quality of snow, that is, its nature as
something which covers the surface, which calls to mind further, more problematic
associations. The snow white landscape is a landscape which effectively has yet to begin
“being” anything. This landscape, which is associated with the concepts of the fresh,
clean and pure, could by extension be regarded in the light of that which does not exist
yet; that is, with the intangible, the hidden and that which is kept concealed or secret.
Considered in this light, snow becomes a symbol of purity and cleanliness, but
simultaneously snow becomes a veil; which, although on the one hand a symbol of
purity, is also a symbol of secrecy. The narrator addresses the portentous quality of the
snow which marks Ka’s arrival in Kars, and draws the attention of the reader, to its
significance as something which does more than merely veil the surface:

\textsuperscript{192} Ibid.3-4.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid. 4.
“If he hadn’t been so tired, if he’d paid more attention to the snowflakes swirling out of the sky like feathers, he might have realized that he was traveling straight into a blizzard; he might have seen from the start that he had set out on a journey that would change his life forever; he might have turned back. …”

The snow then, not only effectively seals Ka’s fate in Kars, but also hides it and keeps it a secret. This secret is known only to Orhan the narrator.

“Veiling as it did the dirt, the mud and the darkness, the snow would continue to speak to Ka of purity, but after his first day in Kars it no longer promised innocence. The snow here was tiring, irritating, terrorizing. It had snowed all night. It continued snowing all morning, … But it no longer took him back to the snowy streets of his childhood, no longer made him think, as he had done as a child standing at the windows of the sturdy houses of Nişantaş, that he was peering into a fairy tale, no longer returned him to a place where he could enjoy the middle-class life he missed too much even to visit in his dreams. Instead, it spoke to him of hopelessness and misery.”

It is interesting to note then, how the veil of superficiality demonstrates itself not only in the snow which covers the physical landscape in the text, but also in the qualities of purity and innocence. The snowfall is aggressive and blinding, and obscures our “view” of Ka. The snowfall ultimately becomes, or provides the veil through which the reader is forced to approach the text, Kars, and Ka. Without the information and insights provided by the narrator, Ka as a figure would be hard to “read” or discern. He, his identity, his character and his presence, would remain perpetually blurred by the veil of snow, and consequently, of superficiality. This aggressive superficiality could be traced, by extension, to the notions of purity and innocence. The snow falls ceaselessly and in this

194 Ibid.
195 Ibid. 9.
manner continues to perpetuate its superficiality. By extension, purity and innocence also remain essentially superficial; a quality which remains, or continues to exist only for as long as the snow itself remains fresh and white. As mentioned, Ka’s view of and approach to the snow, and the constant snowfall had drifted, as it were, from enjoying it as a means to relive the innocent joys of his childhood, to fearing it as an impenetrable blanket of secrecy. What had started off as a mysterious veil of almost fairy-tale-like charm, had hardened with the ceaseless snowfall, and now becomes something which is capable of hiding even death, or perhaps more accurately, hiding even the memory of life:

“… Ka was considering that, were he to be shot dead here, his body would probably lie undiscovered till the spring…”

“Months later, when most of the snow had melted, the remains of a number of others similarly murdered that night were discovered…”

This is particularly interesting when considered in the light of Bakthin’s theory of the poetic, autotelic function of a word, versus its rhetorical function in narrative prose. In his interrogation, Bakhtin argues that in the discourse of poetry, the (poetic) word remains “autotelic”, or fundamentally self-reflective. As a word, it exists and functions purely on an aesthetic level, and carries no significance or meaning outside that which it signifies:

“As treated by traditional stylistic thought, the word acknowledges only itself (that is, only its own context), its own object, its own direct expression and its own unitary and singular language. … The direct word, as traditional stylistics understands it, encounters in its orientation toward the object only the resistance of the object itself (the impossibility of its being exhausted by a word, the

196 Ibid. 70, 174, 175.
198 Ibid. 277.
impossibility of saying it all), but it does not encounter in its path toward the
object the fundamental and richly varied opposition of another’s word.”

Bakhtin further posits that the rhetoric function of a word can only be exercised in
literature, or fiction, in a dialogue involving what has been uttered and its response, since
it is this interaction which allows further implications of the word to become available.
According to Bakhtin, the rhetorical word:

“encounters an alien word not only in the object itself: every word is directed
toward an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering
word that it anticipates.”

And so it is precisely in light of this that the text is able to demonstrate the ability of the
word “snow” to function on both an aesthetic and autotelic level, as well as on the level
of rhetoric. Snow, firstly, refers to the title of the text. Notwithstanding its immediate
associations with the weather and climactic conditions, and the constant background
element of snow in the text, the word also generates connotations of purity, secrecy and
innocence. Finally, “Snow” is also identified as the title of a poem written by Ka, and
consequently as the (initially forced) re-affirmation of Ka’s identity and sense of purpose
as a poet. In the bus en route to Kars, Ka’s observations and thoughts provide a distinct
association between the snow and the idea of silence: “If this were the beginning of a
poem, he would have called what he felt inside him ‘the silence of snow’.”

“I needed noise. It was only by shutting out noise that I was able to write
poetry,’ said Ka. ‘But now I lived in utter silence. I wasn’t speaking with any
Germans. And my relations with the Turks weren’t good either – they dismissed
me as a half-crazed, effete intellectual. I wasn’t seeing anyone, I wasn’t talking to
anyone, and I wasn’t writing poems.”

199 Ibid. 276.
200 Ibid. 280.
201 Ibid.3.
202 Ibid. 34.
Prior to his arrival in Turkey, Ka had spent 12 years of political exile in Frankfurt am Main. Though the narrator states that his first and only passion was for poetry, Ka had been unable to produce any poetry during his time spent in Germany, due in part, to his self-imposed isolation and alienation from both the Turkish as well as the German communities in Germany. Ka had lived his life in silence, surrounded by ‘the silence of snow’; both in terms of his contact with Turks and Germans, as well as in terms of the contact with his creative voice or muse. Ka’s silence while in Germany had been so overwhelming that he had been unable to produce any poetry. The silence which marks Ka’s life in Germany occurs as a result of his self-imposed alienation from both the Turkish as well as the German community. He intentionally avoids contact with members of both communities, choosing instead to (attempt to) live a life which is somehow neither Turkish nor German. This life is his, and is silent. Ultimately though, this attempt can be seen as a result of exile; as a consequence of his migration to Germany. Several consequences and implications for the construction of identity occur as a result of migration and include:

“… attempts to re-create elements of former lives (…); attempts to integrate or assimilate completely (which may be blocked by a number of mechanisms within the ‘host’ society); or the creation of a new identity which is characterized by a feeling of independence from both the society of origin and the social structures of the destination.”

In light of this it is clear that Ka had attempted to fashion for himself an identity independent from both the Turkish as well as the German communities in Germany. Though this would ordinarily have been justified and potentially successful, Ka’s attempts were largely fruitless because he had tried to forge an independent and self-sustaining identity and existence through self-alienation from both the migrant as well as

the host communities in Germany effectively shutting himself off from the benefits of the support networks both these communities would have to offer.

Shortly after his arrival in Kars, Ka meets with the editor of a local newspaper. As is the case with the narrator of the text, the editor of this publication writes and prints the news in advance, informing the public of what has happened, before it has happened. In this meeting Ka is informed of a theatrical event reported to have taken place at the local theatre, but which was, in effect, still meant to take place. Furthermore, Ka learns that as part of this event, he had not only written, but will also be reading/reciting, his new poem entitled “Snow”:

“‘I don’t have a poem called “Snow”, and I’m not going to the theatre this evening. Your newspaper will look like it’s made a mistake.’
‘Don’t be so sure. There are those who despise us for writing the news before it happens; they fear us not because we are journalists but because we can predict the future. You should see how amazed they are when things turn out exactly as we’ve written them. This is what modern journalism is all about. I know you don’t want to stand in the way of our being modern – you don’t want to break our hearts – and that us why I am sure that you will write a poem called “Snow”, and then come to the theatre to read it.’”

And so it happens that Ka is granted the re-affirmation of his (sense of) function, purpose and identity as a poet, through “snow”, and on the level of a prediction. During his time spent in Kars, Ka writes nineteen poems in total, which based on his correspondence with Orhan the narrator; Ka had intended publishing as an anthology. Just as “Snow” is forced, or encouraged into existence, as it were, this then sets the standard for the manner in which the remaining eighteen poems are created. Ka, who, during his years spent in exile

204 Ibid. 29-30.
in Germany, had been unable to write poetry, claims to hear the long-lost voice of his muse:

“And so it was that Ka heard the call from deep inside him, the call he heard at moments of inspiration, the only sound that could ever make him happy: the sound of his muse. … Although he had yet to hear the words, he knew that it was already written. Even as it lurked in its hiding-place, it radiated the power and beauty of destiny. Ka’s heart rejoiced. … He hurried through the snow, thinking all the while of the poem he would write when he was back in the hotel.”

Ka answers the voice of his muse (in a manner similar to divine intervention), and pens what he envisions to be his new anthology, in a little green notebook. Throughout the course of the text the reader is provided with nothing other than the nineteen titles of the poems. Similarly, Orhan the narrator is unable to locate the notebook containing the poems, when he searches Ka’s apartment in Frankfurt after his assassination.

That Ka’s identity is as evidently associated with his creative capacity as a poet, becomes decidedly problematic then. As mentioned, Ka’s singular passion in life was for poetry. By extension then, if his identity (or the re-affirmation of his poetic and creative prowess) happen to be located in the nineteen poems, he remains, ultimately, as obscure and indefinable as a poet, as he was as the man who entered Kars in the midst of a blizzard at the beginning of the text. Ultimately, it is presumed (or feared by the narrator) that the poems themselves (that is, the little notebook) have somehow been lost. The reader never sees the poems, and the only evidence or trace of their existence, is located in their nineteen respective titles. These then, collectively demonstrate themselves as nothing other than a collection of nineteen autotelic references and concepts, bearing no external meaning, significance or concrete reference to his personal or creative identity. Without any poems a poet remains merely a man, and in the case of Ka, a man who seeks to perpetuate a silent, almost non-existent or invisible existence.

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205 Ibid. 88.
Ka’s obscurity becomes somehow concretized when one considers the rhetorical function of “Snow” in terms of its capacity as a work of fiction. In the language of fiction then, snow, with its capacity to veil and hide, serves to add an element of reality to Ka’s absence or lack of reality. Whether considered in terms of narrative or rhetorical discourse, or the language of fiction, Ka remains obscure, indecipherable and almost intangible. The snow encountered at the beginning of the text has melted, exposing mud, which conceals just as effectively as snow. Mud, however, contains no trace or promise of purity.

The notion of the divine is generally associated with concepts such as purity and innocence. By extension then, within the context of the text, snow itself becomes associated with the concept of God on the one hand, and with the creative process on the other. In Kars, Ka is led to believe that his capacity as a poet, and specifically his capacity to create or write poetry, is testament to the existence of God. For Ka then, God demonstrates itself not only in the divine quality of the voice which provides his poetic inspiration, but also in the snow:

“The snow reminded me of God,” said Ka. ‘The snow reminded me of the beauty and mystery of creation, of the essential joy that is life. …”

For Ka, a self-confessed atheist (although technically, his tendency to believe in the notion of the divine as he demonstrates while in Kars, would qualify Ka more as an agnostic), who is alienated from the community in Kars on the one level because of his upbringing in Istanbul, and on an additional level because of the significant amount of time which he had spent voluntarily in Germany, his awareness of what he perceives of as God, also provides an opportunity to identify with, and ultimately belong to, the community in Kars. Ka remains, however, confronted with, and aware of the futility of

206 Ibid. 98.
his attempts to identify with the community in Kars, particularly on the level of the belief in God. For Ka, the belief in the existence of a God-like being would be a way-in to identifying with the community, a chance to gain their respect and acceptance. Ka’s problem is of course further complicated in that the Turkish state does not recognize atheism as an official belief system. Ka however, does not believe the same way they do, and his God, more importantly, is not the same God believed in by the members of the community in Kars:

“‘I’ve always wanted this country to prosper, to modernize … I’ve wanted freedom for its people,’ said Ka. ‘But it seemed that our religion was always against all this. Maybe I’m mistaken.’ …

‘I grew up in Istanbul, in Nişantaş, among society people. I wanted to be like the Europeans. Because I couldn’t see how I could reconcile my becoming a European with a God that required women to wrap themselves up in scarves, I kept religion out of my life. But when I went to Europe, I realized there could be a God who was different from the God of the bearded provincial reactionaries.’ …

‘I want a God who doesn’t ask me to take off my shoes in His presence, and who doesn’t make me fall to my knees to kiss people’s hands. I want a God who understands my need for solitude.’ …

‘I felt guilty about having refused all my life to believe in the same God as the uneducated, as the aunties with their heads wrapped in scarves, as the uncles with prayer beads in their hands. There’s a lot of pride involved in my refusal to

207 According to Haldun Gülalp, being Muslim in Turkey is almost meaningless as a form of cultural identity:

“Unless declared otherwise, every child born in Turkey is registered as Muslim and this is clearly indicated in every person’s government-issued identity card. Moreover, there is a limit to the choice of religions that could legally be stated in a person’s identity card – only those religions officially recognised by the state are acceptable, identifying oneself as “atheist” or even just leaving that box blank is not. “Muslim” is evidently a social identity conferred upon the Turkish people by the “secular” state.”


Additional perspectives regarding the problems that can be identified in labelling Turkey a “secular” state are raised by Andrew Davison in his essay, “Turkey, a “Secular” State? The Challenge of Description” in the same volume (see page 13).
believe in God. But now I want to believe in that God who is making this beautiful snow fall from the sky. There’s a God who pays careful attention to the world’s hidden symmetry, a God who will make us all more civilized and refined.’

‘But that God is not among you. He’s outside, in the empty night, in the darkness, in the snow that falls inside the hearts of outcasts.’

When Ka identifies what he believes to be God, he does so from the perspective of a westernized, western-thinking artist. Ka then refers to the spiritual, and therefore by extension almost fundamentally aesthetic and less practical aspects of a religious construct or divine entity. Ka’s God is the divine being, like a muse, who makes snow fall magically from the sky, and who inspires him to write and create poetry. Ka’s God then, has ultimately, nothing to do with religion or with the God of the community in Kars.

It is interesting to note the manner in which an association is made between the strength and conviction of one’s religious beliefs, and the particular socio-cultural, political and economic background which informs the context in which one’s perspective is located. On numerous occasions throughout the course of the text, Ka is forced to confront the extent to which his personal conception of God influences and ultimately perpetuates his alienation from the Turkish society in Kars as well as in Germany:

“‘If God does not exist, then that means that heaven does not exist, either. And that means that the world’s poor, those millions who live in poverty and oppression, will never go to Heaven. And if that is so, then how do you explain all the suffering the poor have to endure? What are we here for, and why do we put up with so much suffering, if it’s all for nothing?’

‘God exists. So does Heaven.’

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208 Ibid. 98-99.
‘… As soon as you’re back in Germany, you’ll start thinking that God doesn’t exist – just as you did before.’

‘Because you belong to high society,’ said Necip. ‘People in high society never believe in God. They believe in what Europeans do, so they think they’re better than ordinary people.’

‘I may belong to high society,’ said Ka. ‘But in Germany I’m a worthless nobody. I was falling apart there.’”

In this encounter with the young student, Necip, the “eternal” question is posed, relating the (non-) existence of God, to the (mis-) fortunes which plague society. Necip is at odds trying to establish a coherent pattern in his belief system, one in which the aspects and tenets of his personal religious beliefs are able to correspond to the often unpleasant reality with which he finds himself confronted. Ka is in a similar position. He too, is a relatively young man re-addressing and re-assessing his personal belief system. Notwithstanding his self-identification as an atheist, Ka’s position is also tied to the notion of community and the ability to identify with (and be accepted by) a group. Ka appears to suggest that by claiming an affinity to a particular belief system or ideology, he would be provided with a greater sense of cultural and social belonging. Furthermore, he believes that the avenues for identification would be more accessible in Kars, than in Germany. In Germany Ka was made aware of the discrepancy between being a high society Turk in Istanbul, but a worthless nobody in Germany. Therefore, affecting a level of identification as a Turk would be more effective, and more “real” if he were able to identify with the inhabitants of Kars whom he regarded as embodying a more legitimate sense of Turkishness than Turks in Istanbul.

“‘I think I may be starting to believe in God here,’ said Ka with a smile. ‘It’s something I may be hiding even from myself.’

‘You’re deceiving yourself! Even if you did believe in God, it would make no sense to believe alone. You’d have to believe in Him as the poor do; you’d have

209 Ibíd. 104-105.
to become one of them. It’s only by eating what they eat, living where they live, laughing at the same jokes and getting angry whenever they do that you can believe in their God. If you’re leading an utterly different life, you can’t be worshipping the same God as they are. God is just enough to know that it’s not a question of reason or logic, but how you live your life.”

This encounter with Sunay at the military headquarters continues to draw on the relationship between religion and group-identity. In this case, religion is further associated with an individual’s or community’s particular socio-economic status quo. Suppositionally, the suggestion is thus, that the financial reality of one’s life is somehow an indication not only of one’s belief in God, but also of the validity and sincerity of one’s belief, and that the state of poverty during one’s life on earth be regarded as a means of preparing for an eternity of divine rewards and wealth in heaven. The only reason life on earth could be as miserable and unfortunate for some is because they have ahead of them an eternity of happiness and good fortune.

This in turn, is based on, or rather, firmly associated with the idea of the collective. The people, who live in poverty in Kars, and by extension in Turkey, collectively believe in this. According to the adage: “There’s strength in numbers”, it would therefore be easier, as it were, to deal with poverty, if it is considered on the level of a collective condition, and by extension one which facilitates a sense of collective identification. When considering the capacity of a belief system to serve as an anchor for the construction of a (group) identity, the implications for those identified as atheists are clear. As individuals who do not believe in or subscribe to the notion of a divine or supernatural being, atheists are often relegated to the status of those who, because they believe in nothing, are consequently regarded as nothing – that is, as inconsequential individuals. In a community of believers, atheists remain isolated, and effectively, alone. In the case of the community in Kars, group or community cohesion and identity is facilitated significantly by a shared belief system. People – in this case the members of the community of Kars -

\[\text{\textsuperscript{210}}\text{Ibid. 208.}\]
identify with and relate to each other because they believe in the same things. Ka, as an atheist, had experienced this within the Turkish communities in Turkey as well as Germany, and attempts to rectify this, and achieve what he believes would be the consequent identification with the community in Kars on his return to Turkey. One of the primary problems however, is that Ka’s self-imposed alienation and isolation (from the Turks in Turkey, as well as from the Turks and Germans in Germany), that is, the ‘silence of snow’ that had characterised his life in both countries, effectively means that on a basic level Ka lacks even the language necessary to effect identification with, and integration into the group or community (in both Turkey as well as Germany). It is not just on the level of a belief system or political views that Ka differs from the people of Kars. Growing up in a wealthy Westernized district in Istanbul effectively means that Ka differs - or is regarded as different – from the people of Kars on a social and economic level, as well as culturally and politically.

By leaving Turkey for Germany voluntarily Ka, analogous to Kafka’s K., made himself existentially vulnerable to a variety of changes associated with migration, and which ultimately provide the platform for the re-assessment of personal and individual identity:

“This is probably most significant in terms of ethnic identities, where many migrants may not have held a particularly strong view of their own ethnicity prior to movement, but where they may find themselves in situations where they are confronted by an alternative ethnic awareness that labels them and confines them to a stereotyped ‘otherness’ from which there appears little chance of escape, although a number of differently constrained responses are possible.”

In this manner it becomes clear not only that Ka had experienced multiple layers or dimensions of ‘otherness’, but, and perhaps, more importantly, that he had been responsible for them. Ka had intentionally left Turkey, denying himself any opportunity

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for self-identification as a Turk. Moreover, he had then alienated himself from not only the Turkish, but also the German community, facilitating the creation of an ‘otherness’ in both the migrant as well as the host context. Ka had perpetuated his alienation in that the silence which had marked his life in Turkey had become an equally pivotal feature of his life in exile in Germany.

Ka, on this basis, is denied any level of identification with the inhabitants of Kars because of his “status” (and consequently the stereotypes associated with it) as a wealthy intellectual from Istanbul. In the eyes of the members of the community of Kars, Ka is simply not Turkish enough, or rather, not as Turkish as they are. He is denied further identification because he left Istanbul, which although regarded as western, afforded him a rudimentary level of identification as a Turk, to live in Germany. Ka’s choice to leave Turkey and live as a political exile in Germany has implications on numerous levels. Not only does it signify an admission on his part that he does not share the same political belief system, but perhaps more importantly, it is an admission (or regarded as an admission) of social, cultural, religious and traditional difference. This ultimately seals his fate as an outsider in the Turkish community, especially the community in Kars, in that it clearly brands Ka as an outsider in the community, and a traitor to the general code and belief system. In Germany (and Europe, by extension), regarded as the epicentre of westernization from this particular Turkish perspective, Ka’s isolation and alienation continued to the extent to which he considered himself almost fundamentally non-existent, a “nobody”.

“Here, perhaps, we have arrived at the heart of our story. How much can we ever know about the love and pain in another’s heart? How much can we hope to understand those who have suffered deeper anguish, greater deprivation and more crushing disappointments than we ourselves have known? Even if the world’s rich and powerful should ever try to put themselves in the shoes of the rest, how much would they understand the wretched millions suffering around them? So it is
when Orhan the novelist peers into the dark corners of his poet friend’s difficult and painful life: how much can he really see?”

Essentially then, the God of the wealthy, and the intellectual, is not the same as the God of the poor and uneducated. The wealthy cannot imagine what poverty would be like, and likewise can the poor not imagine wealth. In effect the two Gods then, become almost mutually exclusive, based on the differences inherent in their respective constructions and perceptions.

“All my life, I’ve felt as lost and lonely as a wounded animal,’ wrote Ka. ‘Perhaps if I hadn’t embraced you with such violence, I wouldn’t have angered you so much, and I might not have undone the work of twelve years, ending up exactly where I started. But here I am, abandoned and wasting away. I carry the scars of my unbearable suffering on every inch of my body. Sometimes I believe it’s not just you I’ve lost, but everything in the world.’ Now, could the mere act of reading these words ensure that I understood them?”

In as much as it could be considered a question of identification, the fact that Ka was born and raised in Istanbul denies him identification with the inhabitants in Kars, and effectively also with İpek. And, as mentioned, the voluntary exile in Germany, denied Ka any identification with Turkey, for in Germany, Ka becomes a part of a minority to which he is also not granted significant access. In Frankfurt, Ka develops something of an obsession with a porn star by the (stage) name of Melinda and actively goes out in search of her films. In Germany, Ka is nothing but a Turk by default, as it were, and in Frankfurt he leads a life devoid of any distinction as he spends his time floating, ghost-like, through the streets and porn cinemas in the hope of catching even a glimpse of Melinda:

“I know I risk offending those poor souls who insist on seeing poets as saintly or metaphysical when I suggest that my friend spent the last four years of his life

212 Ibid. 266.
213 Ibid.
engrossed by this sort of adult entertainment. But as I wondered around the World Sex Centre hunting for videos of Melinda, it seemed to me that Ka had just one thing in common with the hordes of miserable men, lonely as ghosts, who were my fellow customers. They all answered their guilt by retreating into the shadows to watch these films. In the cinemas around New York’s 42nd Street, Frankfurt’s Kaiserstrasse and the backstreets of Beyoğlu, the lonely, lost men who watch the films with shame and self-loathing, struggling to avoid one another’s eye at the intermission, and in defiance of all national stereotypes and anthropological distinctions, all look exactly the same.”

In a twist of rather melancholic irony, Ka is ultimately afforded a rudimentary and pathetic level of identification, and this, according to the narrator, on a somewhat international level. Ka projects his love and elements of his sexual desire for İpek, onto a star of the pornographic cinema, known by her screen name as Melinda. Ultimately, though he does find a group with which he is afforded (albeit unwillingly) some level of identification, it is, as noted by the narrator, nonetheless a group characterized on one level by its inherent lack of character. More importantly, on an additional level, this identification is afforded Ka on the level of silence. For this group of men (including Ka) darkness becomes a space of and for silence. “Retreating into the shadows to watch these films” these men envelope themselves in and effectively perpetuate a very distinct kind of silence. Although members of the same group, this silence – this darkness – makes them indistinguishable not only from the other members of the group, but also from the other members of the community. This is of course, not because they blend into the community, but precisely because they do not do so. The shadowy darkness which marks their lives – the silence – is indeed so pervasive that it renders them almost invisible and intangible. Though he may be like these men, the fact is that there remains very little that is particularly resonant or defining about them. In this manner Ka – just like the other men in this group - remains innocuous and “ghost-like”.

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214 Ibid. 267.
“During Ka’s early years in Germany, he had worked as a porter, a removal man, and a house painter, and he’d given English lessons to Turks. But once he was officially declared a ‘political exile’ and granted asylum benefits, he cut his links with the Turkish communists who ran the neighbourhood centres and who had, until then, made sure he was gainfully employed. His fellow exiles found Ka too remote, and too bourgeois.”215

As mentioned, Ka severed his ties with the members of the Turkish exile groups in Frankfurt as soon as he was able to, thereby perpetuating and continuing the sense of alienation he claimed to feel while living in Istanbul. Ka, as Turk in Germany, experiences alienation affected on the level of his otherness – his minority status. His political exile in Germany denies him identification as a Turk in Turkey, exacerbated by his origins in Istanbul, which is viewed by Turkish traditionalists as being insufficiently Turkish by reason of the city’s divided character. His eventual return to Turkey sees him as being perceived as being too Western and by extension therefore, insufficiently Turkish:

“I don’t want to destroy your illusions, but your love for God comes out of Western romantic novels,’ said Blue. ‘In a place like this, if you worship God as a European, you’re bound to be a laughing stock. Then you cannot even believe you believe. You don’t belong to this country; you’re not even a Turk any more. First try to be like everyone else, then try to believe in God.’”216

Ka is caught in a liminal space between Turkey and Germany, or more specifically, between “Turkishness” and “Germanness”, as it were. And although it may seem that Ka finds himself unable to reconcile himself with these equally influential aspects of his life, it could be suggested, on the other hand, that what Ka seeks is, in effect, not a sense of identification on the level of national identity. Ka seeks merely to be able to believe in what “they” – the Turks with whom he finds himself confronted – believe in. Throughout

215 Ibid. 262.
216 Ibid. 284.
a significant part of his life, Ka has sought to intentionally and consciously detach himself from any association made on the level of national identity, culminating in a period of voluntary political exile in Germany. And although – when considered in the light of his need to identify with a belief system as opposed to a national identity – this testifies to the fact that Ka does not perceive any immediate and exclusive relationship between the two concepts, it is precisely this perspective, which denies him what he seeks. Ka wants to believe in what “they” believe in, without being what “they” are. Ka then, like Kafka’s “K.” is eternally alienated, is doomed to wander the labyrinth alone forever. It is his lot however, to negotiate the endless web of bureaucracy. It is the perhaps eternally superficial purity of snow that finally appears to erase all contradictions, essentially creating a palimpsest – a surface ready for constant reinscription.

This concept of alienation is intrinsic to an understanding of not only Pamuk’s Ka, as well as Kafka’s K., but also to that of the characters examined in the other chapters of this research, as has been, and will be demonstrated. While fundamentally referring to estrangement, a merely superficial examination of the concept reveals that the nature of this estrangement differs slightly when applied to different contexts. In law, for example, alienation refers to the transfer of a title, while in medicine it refers to a splitting apart of the faculties of the mind, and in sociology it refers to the estrangement of an individual from the traditional community and others in general. The Encyclopædia Bitannica defines the concept of Alienation as:

“… the estrangement of a persons or his affections. In philosophy, theology, psychology and the social sciences, the term has been used variously but usually

Accessed: 23 November 2011:

“In the context of individual-society relation, alienation means the unresponsiveness of the society as a whole, to the individuality of each member of the society. In the context of human-world relation, alienation means the misfit of human being to the world. When one uses his/her reason or logos, it typically makes the relation that if subject-object, and as the subject of perception, s/he is distanciated from the world (the object) rather than living within it.”
with emphasis on either personal powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, cultural estrangement, social isolation, or self-estrangement.»

In the case of K., certain aspects of nearly all of these contexts are applicable; from his pursuit of recognition as a land surveyor, to his clearly fruitless pursuit of integration into the community.

And so, while K. realizes that he may indeed be free to act (or not), that his detachment from the world and his responsibility to it, seem to afford him the opportunity to do whatever he may choose, this realization nonetheless fails to give him the satisfaction or pleasure that he perhaps expected it to. While he has what appears to be freedom, and can stand alone, unconnected, answering to no one, K. has no power in this world, no control, and no comprehension even of a sense of belonging. K. is lost; set entirely adrift. Furthermore it becomes clear that he has merely the appearance of choices; shadowy, snow-covered, winding paths that he may follow, none of them leading (he ultimately realizes) to happiness, to warmth or society (and by extension, to the Castle), which are, really, the only things he ever truly craves or attempts to obtain. These paths, no matter at which point one sets off on them or how far one travels, all lead in the same direction: nowhere. It is of course also clear that both K. as well as Ka, want not only freedom, but simultaneously want to belong to a community, on their own terms. For both characters one is led to conclude that perhaps freedom, contrary to what we (may like to) think or believe, is nothing other than senseless, hopeless waiting, an endless inviolability. Both characters have nothing, it would seem, that is, no connections or restraints and so desire places in society and the community, even as the characters (as well as the readers of these texts) come to the realization that there is no happiness to be found even there, and that this acquiescence to society is itself a restraint. One can be totally alone even when one is surrounded. The Castle then, just like the heart of the village of Kars, and whatever messages or secrets or wealth of knowledge and understanding one might believe wait inside, remains forever elusive, hidden at the end of darkened roads that do not end, but

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are merely blanketed by fast-approaching night and oppressive snowfall that leave one (in this case K. and Ka) disoriented, weak and blinded like an old man, clutching to whomever might be able to lead the way to warmth and safety. The Castle, just like Kars, represents that freedom of which K. and Ka can only find a simulacrum as they stand later, in the snow, and that is effectively rendered meaningless for both characters, as they cannot have it without also being alone.

Just like Şenocak’s Sascha, Ka feels so alienated from his community (although clearly approaching this from a different perspective and for different reasons) that he too, chooses to leave his home country for a period of time. Furthermore, while Sascha had migrated to the American prairie ostensibly in order to pursue a career as a writer, Ka, although seeking political asylum in Germany, had hoped to pursue his passion for poetry. Both characters display a distinct detachment from their social, cultural and historical heritage. In addition, both characters clearly perpetuate their alienation from the Turkish community. Ultimately, the elusive nature of Ka’s character is all-pervasive and constantly erased and reinscribed, applying not only to his identity as a poet, as a Turk, but indeed also to his identity as a man. Apart from the fleeting affair with İpek, and a predilection for Melinda in the pornographic videos with which he occupies himself in Frankfurt, Ka does not demonstrate any characteristically masculine traits – other than a gesture toward a heterosexual orientation as just indicated. Ka, therefore, not being an overtly sexual character, elevates his identity crisis to a more cerebral level, while nevertheless confronting the same problems of “Turkishness” and “Germanness” affecting the other characters in the present work. This idea of being sufficiently or insufficiently Turkish is explored in greater detail in the following chapter in which the protagonists in Kutluğ Ataman’s Lola und Bilidikid demonstrate varying degrees of Turkishness and Germanness, particularly in relation to (their) sexuality.
Kutluğ Ataman was born in Istanbul in 1961. He studied film in Los Angeles and at the Sorbonne, and has established himself today as an accomplished filmmaker and contemporary artist. The film, *Lola und Bilidikid*, was released in 1999 (released in the USA as *Lola and Bili the Kid*), and stars, amongst others, Baki Davrak, as the 17 year-old Murat, whom we, the viewers, meet at the onset of his “coming-out” in Berlin. According to Barbara Mennel, despite the fact the film had been lauded for its identification and portrayal of a “Turkish-German gay identity”, it received limited academic response and criticism beyond an exploration of the concept of performativity and its relation to drag
The film opened the Panorama Section of the 49th International Berlin Film Festival in 1999, and won the prestigious Teddy Award granted to gay and lesbian films. This does not however, mean that Lola und Bilidikid could or should be viewed as a distinctly gay film. Although homosexuality is certainly one of the themes explored within the work, the film also explores various aspects, degrees, implications and consequences of marginalization; namely marginalization experienced by being a Turk in Germany, as well as the marginalization and alienation experienced by being part of a sub-culture within a marginalized group, for example, being a homosexual Turk. Mennel suggests that:

“Lola, Bilidikid, Iskender, Murat, Shehrazade and Kalipso are not marginal because they are gay, but because their ethnic and economic marginality positions them in a gay subculture defined by violence, poverty, prostitution and cross-dressing.”

The characters in the film (principally the Turkish characters) are marginalized firstly on the level of their ethnicity as Turks in Germany, and secondly on an economic level in terms of their portrayal as impoverished (drag) artists and hustlers. Mennel initiates her argument in a discussion of the city of Berlin as a scene or location which enables an anonymous interaction of people, bodies and desires. Berlin, in this manner, as a decontextualized location, facilitates “pleasure in camp as a form of resistance without losing sight of the material conditions from which marginalized minority subjects create camp in the first place.” Due not only to size and the anonymity it offers, but also its peculiar history, Berlin becomes invested with unlimited potential. Initially, the film

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221 Ibid. 289.
222 Ibid. 287. Mennel suggests that some of the sites featured in the film “signify gayness” – these sites include the Siegessäule, which has become a symbol of the gay movement on Berlin (the main gay newspaper/magazine in Berlin is called the Siegessäule), and Tiergarten, which is a popular gay cruising location in the city. In addition, other sites featured in the city address the significance of the city and its history and its importance in the film. A principal example of this is the Olympic Stadium (Olympiastadion) which is located in the west of Berlin and is the stadium “Hitler built for the 1936 Olympic games.
might appear somewhat disjointed in terms of the numerous scene changes. These scene changes collectively form the first part of the film. The opening sequence in particular, provides the viewer with an introduction to the individual characters and their respective narratives within the film. We meet Murat in a park on a stormy night in Berlin. Berlin is identified as the location of the film through the symbolic, but detached image of the Siegessäule in the opening sequence of the film. Mennel suggests that the Siegessäule is decontextualized as a signifier of Berlin through the darkness that surrounds it in the opening shot and posits that:

“It is in the shadow of that symbol that the different spaces, through which the characters move, are mapped out. Thus, the film claims that the subculture emerges from Berlin, while it shows the characters’ displacement and alienation from the official signifiers of Berlin.”

With each flash of lightning the viewer (and Murat) is provided with a glimpse into the activities taking place within the park. Murat’s evidently nervous and hesitant demeanour suggests that this is perhaps the first time he has tried this. Scenes of Murat’s first cruising experience are crosscut by scenes of the drag performance and a sexual encounter (which subsequently leads to an act of violence) in the cubicle of a men’s room. When he finds himself unexpectedly confronted by one of the anonymous men in the park, Murat turns around and runs away.

On his way back from the park, Murat encounters Osman (Hasan Ali Mete). Osman, who works as a taxi driver, is Murat’s older brother, and, following the death of their father, has become the head of the household. While Murat appears eager and curious to explore the various aspects of this recently discovered side of his identity, Osman is presented as the polar-opposite character construct. Osman offers a demonstration of masculinity.

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223 Parks generally regarded as so-called “cruising areas” within the homosexual milieu; that is, spaces where individuals have access to anonymous and immediate sex. Further sites include public restrooms as for example demonstrated in the scenes including Bili, Iskender and later Murat as well.

224 Ibid. 295.
which is crude, abrupt and aggressive, in contrast to that of Murat, who is gentle, soft-natured and shy. In addition, Osman is eager to make a man out of his younger brother and demonstrates this by suggesting that they visit a strip show or solicit sex from a prostitute. His apparent need to deliver this hyper-male image suggests that Osman over-compensates for what he perceives as a lack or deficiency in his masculinity. This becomes clearer much later in the film when Osman’s (own and repressed) homosexuality is revealed.  

In a club, in a different part of Berlin, the viewer is introduced to Lola (Gandi Mukli) and Bilidikid (Erdal Yildiz). Lola performs in drag, along with Scheherazade (Celal Perk) and Calypso (Mesut Özdemir), as part of a troupe calling themselves Die Gastarbeiterinnen (the Female Guest-Workers). While Lola performs, the viewer is provided with isolated shots of her partner, Bili (figure 5). Lola’s name refers to a character portrayed by Marlene Dietrich, named Lola Lola, in Josef von Sternberg’s film, The Blue Angel (1930); “a character who connotes feminine seduction and spectacle and the impossibility of a bourgeois life”.  

Mennel suggests that Osman’s presence in the vicinity of the park should be taken as the first piece of evidence pointing to his homosexuality. Mennel describes the character Lola Lola as one which evaded a concrete definition of sexual identity due to her portrayal of roles which addressed multiple desires.
American Western Cinema, “Billy the Kid”, an individual “whose biography is elusive and contested, the material of myths and legends”.

Bili assaults a man in the men’s room, after the unfortunate individual misinterprets their encounter in the bathroom as amorous – while Bili regards it as a commercial transaction – and Lola and her troupe find themselves thrown out of the establishment because of Bili’s violent behaviour. On their way home, Lola and Bili are harassed by three young German men, classmates of Murat. Their harassment is enacted on the level of competition – Walter (Jan Andres), presumably a new-comer to the group, has to prove that he is “as good as” Rudi (Willi Herren). When Walter is instructed to snatch Lola’s wig as a demonstration of his capabilities, his evident fear and anxiety betray his age, and perhaps also his reluctance to be part of the group, or of the action.)

Returning to the park, as it were, the viewer is introduced to Iskender (Murat Yilmaz) and Friedrich von Seekt (Michael Gerber). Iskender is also a hustler and Friedrich, who stems from an aristocratic family, works as an architect. On leaving the park, Iskender finds himself entranced by Friedrich’s car, a vintage Daimler, and shortly thereafter, the unlikely couple find themselves in a Chinese restaurant. It is not only here where they introduce themselves to each other, but also where the viewer is provided with insight into their respective natures. Friedrich’s refined and gentle nature sharply contradicts Iskender’s unrefined, sarcastic and often aggressive character. (Iskender claims not to smoke or fall in love, but has allowed Friedrich to take him to an expensive Chinese restaurant simply because he “liked” his car.)

227 Ibid.
The first scene in the next sequence of the film finds Lola and Bili in their apartment (figure 6). Lola, who claims not to have any problems wearing a wig for the rest of his life, defends Germany’s tolerance towards homosexuality, “Nobody cares what we do with each other.” Bili, on the other hand, claims that his family finds their relationship problematic, and that he feels embarrassed when with his friends. With his arms around Lola, in a manner which seems more possessive than protective, and enveloping of Lola, who looks ready to run away, he provides insight into his concept of “normality” by sharing his vision or intentions for their collective future. Bili suggests that they move back to Turkey and settle down at the coast, where they, specifically Bili, will open up a bar. Lola would, logically, according to Bili, undergo a sex-change operation in order for them to then live as a “normal” couple. According to Bili’s plan, this operation would be financed through Lola’s share of his inheritance.

Bili and Lola then set off for the apartment of Lola’s estranged family, in order to claim this inheritance. Lola had been disowned by his family when he came out to them, disclosing his homosexuality or “ibne” status, as will be discussed later in terms of Hermann Tertilt’s study.
Interestingly, the scene depicted in the apartment corresponds significantly to Bili’s perception of a “normal” family (figure 7). The scene is suggestive of a particular kind of domesticity and the room appears to be split into both a masculine and feminine zone. In the masculine zone Osman, the older brother and head of the household (and by extension representative of the father figure), lounges in front of the television, while the mother spends her time sewing (in the corresponding feminine zone). Murat is seated next to his mother, helping her with the sewing. The feminine zone appears intimate and comfortable, unlike the masculine zone in which Osman appears to perpetuate the same kind of masculine self-alienation demonstrated by Bili in the bar in the one of the opening scenes of the film (see figure 5). A distinct sense of artificiality marks this scene as the viewer already suspects that Osman himself is gay. This ultimately contributes to making Osman’s hyper-masculine performance that much more of a farce. One is encouraged to ask whether Osman sees himself as gay, or, in light of Tertilt’s study, as “erek”, or if he is quite simply incapable of reconciling himself to his sexuality.

On the one hand, this particular constellation appears to comply with the expectations of a traditional or patriarchal (Turkish) household. However, the viewer’s awareness of Murat’s homosexuality makes a different interpretation possible; namely that Murat’s position alongside his mother simultaneously inverts this traditional family structure through an apparent commentary on certain stereotypes depicting or representing
homosexual men as being inherently inclined to feminine activities such as sewing. Though Lola’s intention was to confront his family, particularly Osman, about his inheritance, his encounter with Murat inspires him to get to know his younger brother.

Murat joins a class trip to the Olympia Stadium, and through his lingering glances in Walter’s direction one is able to assume that he is somewhat enamoured of Walter. Clearly, Murat is unaware that Walter is involved in the trio responsible for harassing Lola and Bili. On their arrival at the stadium the boys demonstrate typical juvenile behaviour. Walter perpetuates this behaviour in his continued attempts to identify with the group. However, it soon becomes clear that Walter too, is attracted to Murat when the two boys exchange kisses and engage in oral sex in the men’s room. Though this comes to a rather abrupt and violent end, it is clear that Walter’s actions (specifically his involvement with Rudi and Hendryk) indicate that he too, like Bili and Osman, is unable to come to terms with his sexuality, and seeks then to overcompensate for this through his involvement in the group. This ultimately demonstrates that the denial of one’s sexual orientation can be a matter of self-preservation within a macho-culture, regardless of whether it is in a traditional Turkish milieu or an ostensibly liberal environment.

When a battered and humiliated Murat returns home, he is given a ritual bath by his mother. In the ensuing conversation, Murat is able to establish the details surrounding Lola’s expulsion from the family. When Lola had come out to his family, wearing a red wig and make up, their father had ordered every trace and memory of him to be erased. Claiming that he had lost a son and that he therefore required a new son, Murat was born shortly after that. As a character, Murat’s mother remains reticent and subservient, almost stereotypically so, in light of the limitations imposed on women in traditional Turkish society. Appearing as an almost voiceless entity responsible only for feeding her sons, and maintaining the apartment, the mother had exercised the same silence in response to Lola’s expulsion from the family, claiming that as an uneducated woman, she had no right to (voice) her opinion – even if it had to do with the loss of her own son. Given that
she had until then been denied the opportunity to exercise her freedom of opinion, she remains silently resolute in her defence of her husband and Osman.

Violence and trauma indeed mark the tragic end of Lola and Bilidikid. Lola’s body is found floating in the river the morning after his birthday. Bili suspects that the young men in Murat’s class are responsible for Lola’s death and devises a plan to exact revenge – this plan involves Murat disguising himself as Lola, wearing the same ill-fated red wig, and luring the young men into a deserted factory. In the end Bili, violently castrates Rudy, one of the young men, and kills another young man named Hendryk, before being killed himself. During this time Murat and Walter hide in a different part of the building. Walter admits to regretting his actions, and while Murat initially suspects this has to do with Lola’s death, he ultimately realizes that the young men were indeed not responsible for Lola’s death at all. Murat is led to suspect that Osman was in fact responsible for Lola’s death. He is able to confirm this suspicion when he returns home, still wearing the wig and costume he wore the night before. At home, he confronts Osman not only about Lola’s murder, but also about his own homosexuality. Osman has now been disgraced. At this point the mother enters the kitchen, having overheard the entire confrontation. When Osman tries to approach her, she slaps him and storms out of the apartment with Murat following her. In a final dramatic cinematic gesture, her headscarf blows off her head. She does not stop and continues walking while Murat picks up the headscarf.

Mennel suggests that Bili’s masculinity “rearticulates his marginality by mirroring it in the outlaw figure,” effectively queering masculinity. Interestingly though, Bili’s image mirrors the traditional image of James Dean (figure 4). Similarly shrouded in mystery, Dean’s cinematic roles echoed the idea of the outlaw figure. This idea of the outlaw figure is, by extension, particularly relevant when considered as a figure which queers masculinity; a figure which is queer. Furthermore, just like James Dean, Bili would tragically also die a young man. Bili is a hustler and, like Murat’s brother, Osman, is

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228 Ibid.
presented as something of a *hyper-male* character, perched at the end of the bar, dressed in a pair of dark jeans, a white t-shirt, and a leather jacket, an image which strongly echoes that of the famous James dean image (see Figure 3). What is interesting to note, is that is precisely the combination of these factors – his position at the end of the bar, his wardrobe, and his attempts at demonstrating solely the macho side of his character – which collectively draw attention to him. Within the context of the club the men, like Lola and the members of his troupe, disguised in wigs, make-up and costumes, effectively appear more “normal” than Bili, whose idea of “normal” is an essentially heteronormative ideal based on the nuances of an image generated by a screen star – ironically of course, the screen star in question was also homosexual. Likewise, the members of the audience appear to belong to, or rather to fit in to, the context of the club. Bili ultimately, despite (or perhaps because of) his attempts to project a sense of “normality” akin to heterosexuality, is, and remains, the outsider. Citing Claudia Breger’s analysis of the film, Mennel posits that Bili, through the combination of factors such as his wardrobe and body language, delivers a masculinity which is not only a masquerade or performance, but also fundamentally a defence mechanism:

“Bilidikid’s machismo is a masquerade, which serves as defence against stereotypes of non-masculinity, a strategy of the creation of status and power from the threatening “nothing” coded as feminine. *Lola and Billy the Kid* accentuates not only the performativity but also the theatricality of his hypermasculinity.”

In this manner, Bili seeks to defend himself against masculinities which are coded as feminine and inferior; paradoxically, masculinities with which he should theoretically be able to identify on the basis of his sexual orientation, but which he actively rejects due to the influence of his Turkish culture. This is also, however, intentional, to a degree. In a posed, studied and almost rehearsed manner, Bili seems to *want* to project the image of the angry young man, a type of latter-day James Dean (figure 3). His body language suggests that Bili, cool, casual and aloof, is ready to leave at will. Interestingly though, it

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is clear that he belongs there by default as it were, through his relationship with Lola, although he places himself deliberately on the periphery. Ultimately then, the calculated nature of Bili’s appearance at the club remains nothing more than an act, as costumed and rehearsed as Lola’s performance on stage. Furthermore, this calculated and rehearsed act also echoes the performance carried out by Lola’s brother, Osman, who also go to great lengths to project a very particular image of masculinity.

As a “normal” (that is, heterosexual) couple, Bili and Lola would then be married. According to Bili, it would not be possible for them to continue living together, as two men “like these German fags” and that they should live together as husband and wife. As husband and wife they would then comply with all expected (conventional) gender roles; by day Bili would work at the bar, while Lola stays at home, running the household (while never being the head of the household). Bili would come home to Lola, who would be waiting for him, having spent the day baking, cooking and being, essentially, a home-bound wife. What is interesting to note is the fact that it is Bili who appears to invest more time thinking about this (his) domestic utopia. Bili further attempts to market the idea of marriage to Lola, by claiming that as a married couple (with specific reference to Lola as Bili’s wife) Lola would then be the envy of everyone. Importantly, of course, this dream takes place in Turkey, and strongly contradicts the image Lola projects when he is with Bili on the streets of Berlin, particularly Kreuzberg, which is often an image of embarrassment. Justifying his need for (and potential preoccupation with) family on the basis of his gender, Bili claims that he thinks about, and wants a family, because he is a man and wishes to conform to the patriarchal norm. According to Bili, Lola is not a man, and therefore is not capable of (rational) thought. Following the death of his father, Lola had been entitled to a portion of the inheritance. As mentioned, this money would

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230 This sentiment is echoed in Islamic Sharia law which dictates essentially that women have no voice or credibility particularly in relation to men. Women are considered fundamentally inferior to men and consequently have fewer rights and responsibilities. Due to their inferiority, women are also considered irrational and in need of male protection. Their weakness also serves as a justification for abuse and punishment. Since Sharia law makes no allowance for the equality of the sexes, a woman is considered to count as half a man in a court of law and concerning matters of inheritance. Women’s Rights and the Sharia: http://www.ntpi.org/html/womensrights.html. Accessed: 25 November 2010
then be used to finance Lola’s sex change operation. Lola remains silent while Bili speaks, but his silence, however, does not signify assent (see figure 5). Bili’s inability to identify and accept himself as a homosexual man is rooted in the influence of his Turkish culture. This assertion is supported in an ethnographic study conducted by Hermann Tertilt in the early 1990s of a group of young German men of mostly Turkish origin living in Frankfurt, and collectively forming the gang, the Turkish Power Boys. At this juncture it is of course important to note that although Tertilt’s study is rooted in the extra-literary domain of day-to-day Turkish-German interaction, as opposed to the filmic world segment portrayed in Lola und Bilidikid, that there are, nevertheless insights shedding light on aspects of the film referring or alluding to the world outside the film story. These insights can be utilized to explain attitudes to masculinity studied by Tertilt and appearing as part of the world view of the film’s characters, such as Bili, for example. During the time spent with the members of the group, Tertilt established that what is regarded and defined as homosexuality in a German context is, in the Turkish context, classified according to the role played or assumed during sexual intercourse:

Was nach der deutschen Klassifizierung Homosexualität meint, wird in der türkischen Klassifizierung durch die Unterscheidung zwischen aktiver und passiver Rolle anders gewichtet und beurteilt. Nur der Mann, der sich in die passive Rolle begibt und sich penetrieren läßt, gilt als “ibne” im wörtlichen Sinn. Wer in einer sexuellen Beziehung zwischen Männern die aktive Rolle ausübt, heißt im Türkischen einfach „erek“ (Mann) oder auch „kulampara“ („Ficker“).

Bili uses the fact that he is the active or dominant partner in the relationship to substantiate not only the claims that he makes against Lola (that Lola is not a man), but also his wishes for a normal (to be understood in this sense as heterosexual) life; a life which he wishes to lead in Turkey with Lola as a woman. As the dominant partner in the relationship, Bili’s involvement in a homosexual relationship does not in any way affect

232 Ibid. 197.
his position as a “real” man. Bili remains a man or “erek”, because he is the dominant partner.

However, the passive partner (or the penetrated partner) is often subjected to public abuse. As this is a position associated with weakness, this partner is therefore considered insufficiently masculine or manly\(^{233}\). Citing Werner Schiffauer, Hermann Tertilt asserts that:

“Der passive Homosexuelle (’ibne’) wird in der Rolle der Frau gezwungen, er wird gleichsam zur Frau gemacht, er wird kastriert. Er ist damit nicht mehr in der Lage, die Aufgaben zu übernehmen, die das Konzept der Ehre den Männern zuweist. Der passive Homozexuelle hat seinen Personenstatus verwirkt und damit sein Recht auf eine würdevolle und angesehene Existenz.”\(^{234}\)

In light of this it becomes clear that just as Bili simply does not see or regard himself as gay, he sees or regards Lola, although biologically a man, as a woman, because Lola is the passive partner in the relationship. Bili feels justified in his pursuit of a heterosexual relationship with Lola, which would require Lola undergoing sex-change surgery because Lola has already been castrated metaphorically and is in his eyes, therefore not a man.

Bili’s opinions demonstrate an obvious conflation of the concepts of sex and gender, specifically the associations made with the respective concepts. Bili has a very specific idea of what it means (to him) to be a man, and it is through and because of this perception that he feels justified in accusing Lola, as it were, of not being a man. Bili’s perceptions of (his) masculinity are the result of his Turkish cultural influence and background, and this could be extended to include his perception of (his) sexual orientation. Bili simply does not see or think of himself as gay and a reason for this is located in his Turkish background. Insights into this are provided in Tertilt’s study, in

\(^{233}\) Ibid.
which he was able to establish that the group identified and defined masculinity and by extension homosexuality in very particular ways. By inadvertently demonstrating behaviour which the group had identified as “gay”, Tertilt established that the Turkish word/concept “ibne” (“gay”) was the preferred term used to designate unmanly behaviour, and was particularly useful for the group in defining masculinity as can be seen in how Bili views Lola in the film.\(^\text{235}\)

According to Tertilt, “gay” or homosexuality has direct associations with (the act of) penetration. Gay men are those who are penetrated, as this signals submission and an inferior masculinity. Homosexual men, according to the logic of the group are not considered “real” men, and by extension, “proper” (again, to be understood in this case as heterosexual) men and masculinity is associated with dominance and power.

> “Was nach deutschem Verständnis eine homosexuelle Handlung darstellte, galt … für die anderen Gruppenmitglieder als besonderer Ausdruck ihrer Männlichkeit. „Schwul“ war nur derjenige, der einem anderen unterlegen war und – um die Formulierung der Jugendlichen zu übernehmen – „gefickt wurde“. Das „Geficktwerden“ signalisiert schon sprachlich die passive Rolle, die der „Schwule“ in den Augen der Jugendlichen einnahm. Männlichkeit dagegen war mit der Dominanz des Penetrierens assoziiert und ein Synonym für Aktivität, für Überlegenheit, für ein „Sich-anderer-bedienen“. “\(^\text{236}\)

A masculine man is he who penetrates, and in this manner exercises a dominant and active position over the passive partner. This echoes and ultimately confirms Mimi Schippers’ assertion that masculinity, within the masculine/feminine binary, could

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\(^\text{235}\) Ibid. 193.

\(^\text{236}\) Ibid.195-196. Tertilt then indicates that penetrating, or “fucking” is used in several other contexts by the members of the group in order to indicate, establish or assert their (dominant) masculine position, not only over other people, but also over objects, concepts and situations: ““Gefickt” wurde alles, was üblicherweise Respekt verlangte, aber der Verwirklichung eigener Interessen im Wege stand. Dabei war es gleichgültig, ob es sich um Personen wie die Hausmeister des Bürgerhauses, die Lehrer in der Schule oder Polizisten handelte (“Ich fick die Hausmeister, die Lehrer, die Bullen etc.”) oder aber um Gegenstände mit Symbolwert wie etwa eine Fahne (“Ich fick die deutsche Fahne”). Für die Jugendliche war es ein Zeichen männlicher Potenz, sich zu widersetzen, sich gegen etwas aufzulehnen.“
effectively be reduced to penetration and dominance in an attempt to define and understand gender hierarchy.\textsuperscript{237} In her attempt to define the concept of hierarchy, Schippers associates it with the concept of domination:

“…symbolic constructions of heterosexual sex still reduce it to penetrating and being penetrated, and that relation is consistently constructed as one of intrusion, “taking”, dominating.”\textsuperscript{238}

In this manner, dominance and submission become key features of the relationship between the sex categories of male and female, and by extension between masculinity and femininity, which is then supported by the assumption of ‘masculine authority and physical strength and female compliance and physical weakness’. In this way, physical strength and weakness and authority and compliance also become central defining features categorizing the relationship between masculinity and femininity, and ultimately between various categories or demonstrations of masculinity.

Bili’s macho image is encouraged and supported by his heterosexual friends who believe that homosexual Turks, or specifically Turks like Lola, give the rest a bad reputation. Bili is unable to acknowledge Lola as his partner when he finds himself with other, heterosexual Turks. He does, however, revert to referring to Lola as his wife when he is with Iskender and the rest of the \textit{Gastarbeiterinnen}. This addresses the assertion made by Stephen Murray regarding the behaviour and interaction of men in Islamic countries.\textsuperscript{239} Whereas Murray indicates that apparent intimacy can be observed in the interaction of men (including, for example, the sight of two men walking down the road holding hands), Tetilt demonstrates that it is indeed commonplace to observe similar acts of intimacy between Turkish youths in Germany:

\textsuperscript{237} Ibid. 14.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{239} Ibid. 24.

Through his observations Tertilt was able to establish that Turkish men, youth and boys interact intimately with each other all the time. This behaviour is however, never considered homosexual in light of the fact that the Turkish youth in this case regard and understand masculinity and homosexuality in a manner different to their German counterparts. In Turkish culture (and broadly speaking in Mediterranean culture for example), it is a common occurrence to observe men engaging in friendly, almost intimate behavior. In public men are observed hugging and kissing each other. In fact, in Turkish culture, men, among friends, greet each other with a kiss on both cheeks. This of course, differs somewhat to the image one encounters in “Western” cultures, such as German culture, for example. Marked by Anglo frigidity, the sight of two men engaging in an act as innocuous as holding hands, would lead one to automatically assume that these men are in a homosexual relationship with each other. This is due what Tertilt identifies as the Western definition of homosexuality as being one which almost fundamentally revolves around intimate bodily contact. Bili’s inability to acknowledge Lola in front of his heterosexual friends is then, the result of curious combination of various factors. Firstly, Bili does not think of himself as gay at all, in light of the fact that he is the dominant partner in the relationship and, according to the logic demonstrated in Tertilt’s observations still a man. Secondly, it could be inferred that Bili practices this logic, as it were, in his life as a hustler. Bili never allows himself to be penetrated, thereby maintaining a dominant role in his encounters and relationships. He remains a “man”, in the heterosexual sense of the term, despite having engaged in a homosexual encounter. Indeed he encourages this ethic in Murat, who resorts to hustling after running

240 Ibid. 194. Tertilt observes that when greeting each other, the young men embrace and kiss each other. Furthermore, when they meet to listen to music, for example, it was and is perfectly normal, to observe young men laying in each other's arms, to see a man stroking the hair of another young man, or simply for them to hold hands while listening to music.
away from his family („Sei kein Loch. Ein Mann ist ein Mann, und ein Loch ist ein Loch“). Bili encourages Murat to take and maintain the active role in his sexual encounters, particularly when he learns that Murat is gay. To illustrate his point to Murat, Bili associates the active and passive roles assumed during homosexual encounters, with being a „man“ and being a „hole“ respectively; a „man“ is the active and dominant partner, while the passive and submissive partner is essentially reduced to a „hole“, a receptacle for penetration.

In addition, Lola, as the passive partner in the relationship, is not a man. In fact, Lola has already been metaphorically castrated and is regarded as more of a woman than a man. Bili is embarrassed and does not want to be associated with Lola in public because this would make him (Bili) less of a “man”. However, an important distinction has to be made here; a distinction which is located primarily in cultural difference. If Lola and Bili were simply to leave the Turkish ghetto, they would be able to lead a “perfectly normal” homosexual life together in Germany. The problem, however, is that although Lola, perfectly happy to wear a wig for the rest of his life, would essentially be more amenable to this idea, it is Bili, who identifies himself principally as Turkish, who would object to this. This is of course, because Bili consciously tries to reject not only what he considers being the label of homosexuality, but also the implications of the sexual orientation itself, within both Turkish as well as German culture.

In this manner Bili demonstrates that he is simply incapable of reconciling his love for another man with the expectations determined and enforced by his patriarchal and heteronormative culture. Bili seems convinced that Lola’s sex change operation would somehow afford him the opportunity to indulge his dreams and wishes for a “normal” heterosexual family, while simultaneously allowing him to continue loving and being with Lola. Lola, as the passive partner in the relationship is, for all intents and purposes, already a woman, and the sex-change operation would simply bring about closure in this regard. Lola, on the other hand, is attracted to the idea of getting to know Murat as his brother, providing an extension of the idea of family. Though he does not appear to agree entirely with Bili’s ideas or wishes regarding marriage and family (particularly insofar as
they require him to undergo reconstructive surgery), befriending and getting to know Murat provides a more realistic and feasible approach to the concept of “family”.

Bili is not only convinced of the validity of his plans for their (his and Lola’s) future, but he also expresses intentions of resorting to violence in order to realize these plans, threatening to castrate Lola, should he be unwilling to go through with the operation. Mennel suggests that:

“The expressed violence is an extension of Bilidikid’s masculinity, which he repeatedly asserts throughout the film. Bilidikid threatens to match the roles that they have signified with their names – seductive femininity and hypermasculinity – through biology in which Lola would not only be a biological woman but would also experience the wound and mutilation of becoming a woman at the hands of his lover. Bilidikid projects a role of sacrificial femininity onto Lola and a violently sadistic role for himself as constitutive of their ideal relationship.”

This could be taken even further to address Bili’s propensity for overcompensation within the context of his expressed intentions of having Lola undergo a sex-change operation. When regarded in this light, it could be argued that Bili does not seek only to project a violently sadistic role for himself, but, moreover, that he wants to subject Lola to the physical trauma of removing his manhood, in order to compensate for his (Bili’s) perceived loss of manhood brought about by his homosexuality. In short, Bili wants Lola to cease being a man (biologically), because loving a man makes him (Bili) feel like less of a man. This is supported by Roy Jerome’s assertion that:

“Paradoxically, however, the experience of trauma destroys the potential for building a mature erotic relationship. Trauma extinguishes any real opportunity for mature erotic contact and replaces it with an axis of power relations – characterized by a rigid, extreme polarity – around which interactions turn.”

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241 Ibid. 300.
Sexualisation becomes a means of keeping the self alive while also providing an agency for controlling the Other – an Other who might remind the subject of his traumatization, his lack of manliness.”

Bili is unable to reconcile his homosexuality with his desire for a family, although it would seem as though he clings to the idea simply because he has not been conditioned to regard any other relationship structure as “normal”. Phrased differently then, Bilidikid is unable to reconcile his love for a man with the fact that he thinks he should desire a family. Since this familial structure of normality is geographically located in Turkey, this is where Bili feels he (they) should relocate. This raises the question as to whether the greater German tolerance of homosexuality and the general openness toward alternative lifestyle practices is actually an affront to what Billy is accustomed to as demonstrated for example, by the fact that he refers to German homosexuals as “German faggots”.

Lola appears to be aware of the impossibility of Bili’s plans for and dreams of their future. On the night of his (Lola’s) birthday, he narrates their story, including Bili’s version of the ending, in the manner of a fairy tale (see figure 8):

Figure 8 (screen shot).

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“Lola: Once upon a time there was a man called Lola and a man named Bilidikid. In the beginning they were very happy. They were crazy in love. But because Bili was such a macho guy, soon he did not want to live as a gay man among gay men. Bilidikid: Shut up!

Lola: So he asked Lola to have his dick cut off and to become a woman and to live like everybody else.

Bilidikid: Shut up, I said.

Lola: Lola did it because she loved him. There she stood with her apron and cleaned the apartment every day and baked cookies. But one day, Bili did not come home. Lola was waiting, the whole night. And the night after that, and the night after that. But Bilidikid did not come. And she was waiting, like the heroine in a romance novel. She was waiting and starting to hate him. But Bilidikid did not come back. Why do you think Bilidikid left Lola? Because the woman whom he had married was not the man who he fell in love with.”

It would seem then, that Bili’s predicament could be viewed in light of the concept of familiarity. That with which he is able to identity and to which he relates, is culturally, ideologically and geographically located in Turkey and not in Germany. He remains seemingly unwilling to even attempt to adjust to life in Germany, and clings to what is only the idealized image he has of what life could be like in Turkey. Bilidikid, in this manner, contradicts what has been identified as a common trait identified within migrant communities, namely that of ambivalence:

“Ambivalence towards the past and the present: as to whether things were better ‘then’ or ‘now’. Ambivalence towards the future: whether to retain a ‘myth of return’ or to design a new project without further expected movement built in.”

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Ambivalence towards the ‘host’ society: feelings of respect, dislike or uncertainty.”

Bilidikid is not so much ambivalent about his feelings toward Germany and Turkey respectively as much as he is rather, naïve. Identifying himself principally as a Turk, he holds a great deal of animosity toward Germany and Germans. He identifies himself culturally as Turkish and lives in an area in Berlin with one of the highest concentrations of Turks outside of Turkey, because it offers him the security of cultural and ethnic solidarity. In Berlin, Bili has the option and indeed the freedom of openly living an alternative lifestyle; of acknowledging his homosexuality, and acknowledging Lola as his partner, and living a life free of tolerance in the German community. However, although he may physically be located in Germany and have at his disposal the tolerance and acceptance of his lifestyle choices and sexuality, his mind is still very much in Turkey; entrenched in a fundamentally heteronormative and patriarchal mind-set and a cultural ideology and philosophy which strongly condemns alternative lifestyle practices. Bili’s naïveté stems from the fact that he is convinced that returning to Turkey, and having Lola undergo the sex-change surgery, would afford him the luxury and benefits of cultural and ethnic identification and solidarity on the one hand, as well as the romantic and intimate advantages of spending the rest of his life with the woman who makes his heterosexual ideal or fantasy complete (and who happens to be the man with whom he had initially fallen in love). Bili then over-compensates for the fundamental flaw in his plan by resorting not only to a charade of hypermasculinity, but also, finally, to violence.

Osman overcompensates for his homosexuality by his crass, violent and vulgar behaviour. Also prone to violence and aggression, he is responsible for Lola’s death. Even though he is forced to confront his homosexuality at the end, it is unlikely that he would be able to pursue this aspect of his life since he has simply not been conditioned

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for it nor would he allow himself such a weakness. Like Bili, his perceptions of (his)
masculinity are motivated and encouraged by his close association with his (Turkish)
cultural background. Specifically, this background which has made him the (perhaps
unwilling) head of the household is what could make him react so violently to what he
considers to be a challenge to conventional masculinity. The head of the household
simply cannot be gay. Subsequently, it is also his violence which facilitates Bilidikid’s
violence. Mennel suggests that:

“As an effect of the narrative, which reveals Osman’s violence and guilt, the neo-
Nazi’s are turned into victims of a misunderstanding and consequently into
victims of Bilidikid’s violence. Thus, Osman’s violence ultimately breeds
Bilidikid’s violence.”

Bili’s violence *does* occur as a result of Osman’s violence, and both by extension address
the concept of honour. Citing Schiffauer, Tertilt suggests that the gender(ed) division
amongst young Turks in Germany, particularly the manner in which they view and define
their own and other masculinities is connected to the gendered division of roles in
Turkey, which is based on the concept of honour. Within this dynamic men are expected
to be perpetually ready to defend not only their honour but also that of their family:

“Die Verteidigung der eigenen wie auch der Familienehre erfordere die ständige
Bereitschaft des Mannes, Provokationen, die an ihn und seinen Haushalt
herangetragen werden, phallisch-aggressiv zu beantworten. Das Spiel von
Herausforderung und Gegenherausforderung, das verbal in einer vulgären
Sexualmetaphorik ausgetragen wird und bis zu physischen Gewalt eskalieren
cann, setzt den aktiven, phallisch-aggressiven Mann voraus, der sich im Kampf
gegen seinen Rivalen notfalls auch körperlich behaupten muß. Wer sich als Mann
jedoch dieser phallischen Aggressivität im sozialen wie auch im sexuellen

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245 Ibid. 306.
Bereich entzieht, kann in der Männerwelt nicht bestehen, vor allem dann nicht, wenn sein unmännliches Verhalten öffentlich wird."\textsuperscript{246}

The violence perpetrated by Osman and Bili addresses not only the concept of honour, but more importantly the corresponding concept of shame. Osman killed Lola because Lola had threatened to destroy the stability of the lie that he had created for himself and for his family. In short, Osman killed Lola not because Lola was gay, but because he was gay, and Lola’s intentions of establishing a relationship with Murat threatened to expose this, and to expose him. Osman, like Bili, was ashamed. After the death of the father, Osman had assumed the role and position of the head of the household, as per the demands of his (Turkish) culture on his gender. As mentioned, the head of a Turkish household cannot be gay, because he is a man, and men are not gay. Osman is, for this reason, completely incapable of reconciling his sexuality with the demands placed on his gender and sexuality by his culture. Therefore, in an attempt to compensate for this inability, Osman repeatedly rapes Lola (after Lola had come out to his family, after which he was forced to leave their home), and in a way, inverts the logic which sees him as the powerful male head of the household, and uses it to address, demonstrate and satisfy his sexual, physical and cultural dominance. By raping Lola, Osman satisfies his need for having sex with a man, and by virtue of his dominant position, stays a man and the head of the household. In addition, by raping Lola, Osman then addresses the jealousy and envy he feels towards Lola, who is able to accept his sexuality in a way which he, Osman, cannot. Lola is effectively left emasculated through the rape, and in this case the rape becomes a symbolic act of castration. Finally, Osman’s rape of Lola also serves as an act of incest, which is considered taboo across all cultures. Osman then not only seeks to hide his deviant sexuality by killing Lola, but also seeks to conceal the transgression of the taboo. Osman had been under the impression that Lola’s expulsion from the family home would be sufficient to maintain the secret. Lola’s unexpected return to the family home, however, threatened to expose Osman and his secret.

\textsuperscript{246} Ibid. 198.
Similarly, there are several levels or dynamics that need to be considered when regarding or examining Bili’s act of violence. In a slight inversion of the concept of the honour killing, Bili kills Rudi and Hendryk in order to avenge the death of Lola. An honour killing would ordinarily involve the murder of an individual (usually) by a member of the family. This murder would be committed in order to address the shame which this individual had allegedly brought on the family. Both Osman and Bili had committed variations on the theme of an honour killing. Osman kills Lola not to protect the family name and reputation, but in order to protect his own reputation and preserve his secret. Bili kills the two young men not only in order to avenge Lola’s death, but more importantly, to address the loss his own masculinity has suffered with Lola’s death. Bili’s castration of Rudi indicates a level of violence which occurs not only as a result of his need for vengeance, but also as a result of his perceived necessity to maintain his masculine integrity. However, Rudi’s castration also serves as a physical demonstration and ultimately projection, of Bili’s earlier threat to Lola. Furthermore, castration is, at its crudest level, a physically violent emasculating act. Bili had threatened to castrate Lola, and after Lola’s death, he then castrates the one of the men he suspects is the killer by effectively taking his manhood. The reason for this is that Lola’s death had robbed Bili of his own manhood. Bili fell in love with a man, and because this man was an effeminate homosexual, Bili was ashamed of him and their relationship. While Bili regarded Lola as a woman, the truth is that Lola was one of the last vestiges of stability and authenticity for Bili’s perception of his own masculinity. The extent to which he was clearly incapable of reconciling himself to loving a man (because a public association with an effeminate man would be regarded as an affront to and indictment of, his own masculinity) was subsequently demonstrated not only in his wish for Lola to have a sex change operation, but also in his threat to castrate Lola himself is he was unwilling to go through with it. Bili’s manhood and perception of his masculinity was ultimately lived vicariously as it were, through Lola. Therefore, with Lola dead, Bili had felt emasculated and attempted to compensate for the loss of his own masculinity by killing the young men he held responsible for Lola’s death, and specifically by castrating Rudi.

247 As suorted, for example, in Tertilt’s observation of the young men who make up the *Turkish Power Boys*. 

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The inability of Osman and Bili to accept their homosexuality could be viewed as a problem specific to a particular generation. In light of this, Murat, as part of a younger, presumably more integrated generation, would be in a position to accept his sexuality more readily than members of an older generation, like Osman and Bili. Murat was born in Germany, and has had his perceptions of personal identity construction moulded by a society which is decidedly different to that with which the rest of his family identify. Ultimately this addresses the question as to whether “third generation” Turks are better equipped, or able to deal with lifestyle choices which oppose those considered acceptable within the parameters of their cultural backgrounds. This becomes then, by extension, a matter of being able to deal with the capacity for, and the necessity for change. Change, by extension, has connotations of conformity and adaptation as well as resistance, all of which are relevant when considered in light of the film’s exploration of the theme of homosexuality.

The film confronts conventional ideas of heterosexuality and homosexuality. Westernized notions of homosexuality, for example, that rely “on the idea of liberated individuals” are collapsed through the use of characters who effectively represent different approaches and responses to not only homosexuality in general, but particularly their own homosexuality. The personal struggle with male-male sexual desire is exemplified and ultimately embodied in the figures of Bili, Murat and Osman to varying degrees. Furthermore, in their attempts to address or come to terms with their sexualities and their sexual desires, in a manner opposing a traditional Western perspective, Mennel suggests that the characters should not be seen as subjects or creations of Western desire, but as “subjects of their desire for each other”.

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248 Ibid. 290
249 Ibid.
250 Ibid. 291

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Lola, as mentioned, is perfectly content and happy with wearing a wig and make up for the rest of his life. When on stage (see figure 9) his demeanour suggests comfort with, and acceptance of himself, his sexuality, his masculinity, and his performance of femininity. In addition, what is interesting to note is the extent to which the image of Lola (particularly in figure 9) appears to mirror that of Liza Minnelli (figure 10) as she appeared in the film, *Cabaret* in 1972. *Cabaret* the film was directed by Bob Fosse, and was based on the less successful theatre piece of the same name, which was directed by Hal Prince in 1966. Both the theatre piece as well as the film refers to the hugely popular cabaret scene in Berlin in the 1920s and 1930s. This was a scene and indeed a period in Berlin which was characterised by overt cosmopolitanism and sexual freedom, all of which occurred against a backdrop of constant Nazi threat. In this manner, the performance of the Gastarbeiterinnen could be seen as an oblique reference to Cabaret. Bili, on the other hand, bases his concept of masculinity on a heteronormative ideal modelled on the image of an American cowboy. Indeed it could be said that Bili projects his expectations of a “normal” life onto the image of Lola as “she” then appears in figure 9 because he is unable to accept his love for Lola the man as he appears in figure 11.

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Citing Werner Schiffauer, Mennel suggests that the inherent anonymity of cities, particularly Berlin in this case, allows for the “articulation of deviant sexualities” (as portrayed in the film) in that:

“…young migrants identify with individual cities instead of the nation because cities create their own complex and heterogeneous cultures that allow migrants to escape the reduction to their ethnicity.”

This argument does not, however, apply to all the (Turkish) characters in the film in equal measure. While Lola identifies with Berlin because of the city’s tolerance of sexual minorities which would allow him to happily live wearing a wig for the rest of his life, Bili rejects Berlin (and Germany, by extension) _because_ of the reduction to his ethnicity and more specifically what this reduction then implies. Berlin reduces Bili to the double-minority status of a gay Turkish hustler, and since Bili identifies himself as Turkish, and in light of the suggestions and insights gleaned from Tertilt’s observations of the _Turkish Power Boys_, this presents itself as something of an oxymoron, since Turkish men (in this case men who, by Western standards would be classified or identified as homosexual) are

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not gay. Bili wishes to return to Turkey because in Turkey he would be able to escape the multiple emasculations as it were, associated with being identified as a gay hustler. Whereas in Turkey (in particular social contexts of course), an examination of his relationship with Lola would still position him as the (and a) man due to his role as the active partner, in Berlin, he is, quite simply, a gay man. This is of course fundamentally problematic since Bili approaches German culture and mentality from a (patriarchal) Turkish perspective, and from this perspective a gay man, is not a real man. Therefore Bili wishes to return to and live in Turkey as a man in a heterosexual relationship with another man.

Iskender, similarly marginalized as a gay Turkish hustler, is in a position to identify with Berlin from a new perspective due to his relationship with Friedrich, who stands as an example of the German homosexual despised by Bili. The binary which facilitates this marginalization positions Iskender in direct relation to the almost extreme opposite end in the figure of a wealthy German (of aristocratic descent). Despite his previous assertion that he does not smoke or fall in love, this relationship then, enables Iskender to identify with Berlin beyond the perspective of an impoverished gay Turkish hustler, or more specifically, beyond the perspective of extreme marginalization. Iskender and Friedrich have been seeing more of each other. Ultimately they are the only couple who demonstrate a significant degree of contentment with their sexuality. Interestingly, Ute, Friedrich’s mother, is one of the most tolerant voices in the film. Despite her attempts to convince Friedrich to return to Wannsee with her, she cites his infatuation with Iskender as perfectly normal (based on what she refers to as that “chauffeur episode” – Friedrich had fallen in love with their previous chauffeur). In fact, her only concern regarding Iskender is that his feelings for Friedrich may not be sincere and that he might then become the heir to their fortune. She tests him, and the sincerity of his feelings, and graciously apologizes when she has been proven wrong. The approach to and acceptance of homosexuality demonstrated by Friedrich and his mother ultimately also addresses the notion of cultural difference, particularly when compared to the approaches demonstrated by the Turkish characters. While the German characters are more tolerant of
homosexuality, and this includes Murat who was born in Germany, the Turkish characters, referring to Bili and Osman in particular, are not.

Like Iskender, Murat is in a similar position to identify positively with Berlin and this is motivated significantly by the by the fact that he represents the so-called “third generation” of immigrants; that is, individuals born in Germany from a migrant background. Murat identifies with Berlin not only because it is the city in which he was born, but also because it is the city in which, because of its tolerance, he is in a position to explore his sexuality. Finally, like Iskender, Murat’s identification with Berlin is also facilitated by his (bourgeoning) relationship with a German man. Osman identifies more with Kreuzberg than he does with Berlin because Kreuzberg has become a city in its own right, with its own heterogeneous culture. This is a pseudo-Turkish culture modelled strongly not only on the interpretations made of Turkish culture as it exists in Turkey, but (because this is also an examination of the consequences of migration as well) it is also a pseudo-Turkish culture modelled on the memory of the/an original Turkish culture. This culture positions Osman as a patriarch, whereas Berlin positions him merely as a Turk. Mennel suggests that the film’s presentation of Osman as Lola’s murderer addresses the concept and problem of “homophobic violence that results from same-sex desire located and repressed in the patriarchal family, the institution that reproduces heterosexuality.”

The film delivers two kinds of homophobia, as it were, one which is Turkish, and one which is German. Although both kinds of homophobia are marked by acts of violence, the German homophobia, demonstrated by the young men in Murat’s class, is located in the public sphere; the Turkish homophobia is demonstrated by Osman and is confined to the privacy of the Turkish home, ultimately addressing and necessitating individual as opposed to political responses to the problem.

Bili, ultimately seeks a heterosexual love – and by association, heterosexuality – which will be affected by the loss of his homosexuality. The loss of his homosexuality would, in turn, be symbolized by Lola’s castration. According to Judith Butler, this loss of

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253 Ibid. 304.
254 Ibid. 304-305.
homosexual attachments is necessary for the development and cultivation of heterosexuality:

“Becoming a “man” within this logic requires a repudiation of femininity, but also a repudiation that becomes a precondition for the heterosexualization of sexual desire and hence, perhaps also, its fundamental ambivalence. If a man becomes heterosexual through the repudiation of the feminine, then where does that repudiation live except in an identification that his heterosexual career seeks to deny? Indeed, the desire for the feminine is marked by that repudiation: he wants the woman he would never be; indeed, he would not be caught dead being her, thus he wants her.”255

Bili’s masculinity is fated to remain unrealized, unfulfilled and incomplete. This is essentially because the masculinity or rather the type of masculinity which he seeks to fulfil is not his own. Not only has he based his personal construct of masculinity and his masculine identity on the unrealistic ideals represented by a character of Western cinema, but the only available means for him to fulfil his personal expectations of masculinity would be the physical (and symbolic) erasure of his lover’s manhood and masculinity. Bili’s life would never have been complete, and Bili as a man, would have been eternally unfulfilled. Bili is thus caught in a double-bind of his own making. The recent heritage of Turkey revolves around creating a new state with minimal dependence on the previous Ottoman state. It was possible to erase the memory of the Ottoman Empire by adopting the Latin alphabet, thus denying subsequent generations of Turks access to an (historic) Ottoman past256. Similarly, Bili and Osman see themselves as the architects of their own masculine potency, and for Bili, this leads him to imagine that he could remake Lola in order to make his reality conform to his desires. However, as Lola sums up at the end of his “fairy tale”: “( … ) The woman whom he had married was not the man he fell in love


This then points to the vicious circle resulting from Bili’s and Osman’s inability to liberate themselves from the Turkish ideals of masculinity into which they have been socialized. This socialization has left Bili and Osman fundamentally alienated from their sexuality. This sense of alienation echoes in part the alienation demonstrated by the other characters examined in this research. While Bili and Osman largely represent an alienation from sexuality, it is of course also clear they demonstrate something of an alienation from a cultural identity which is capable of expressing an inherent individuality despite being located in a context of migration, which would imply assimilation and an erosion of individuality. This is demonstrated, for example, in the figure of Cahit, the protagonist of Fatih Akin’s *Gegen die Wand*, which will be discussed in the next chapter, who literally lives a life marked by a distinct alienation from any discernible national or cultural identity. Similar qualities are demonstrated by Şenocak’s Sascha, who tries to escape this alienation by running to the American prairie. Finally, this idea of running away from alienation is echoed in the figure of Ka., the protagonist of Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow*, whose self-imposed exile and subsequent (brief) return to his country of origin are characterised chiefly by an overwhelming sense of alienation on the level of a cultural, national and religious identity.

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257 Ibid. See page 71.
Postscript: Lola und Bilidikid

“Zenne Dancer” (2012), a film by Mehmet Binay and Caner Alper

The film, “Zenne Dancer” by Mehmet Binay and Caner Alper, was scheduled for international release in January 2012. Despite the topical and relevant nature of the film, “Zenne Dancer” appeared after the research for this dissertation had been concluded. It must be noted that the insights into this film, including its relevance to this dissertation were based entirely on the film’s pre-release publicity, which included the official trailer and various reviews and articles, all of which had been sourced online. Although it was not possible to include a detailed examination of the film in this research, it nevertheless points to the relevance of this research. It is certain that this film and the associated material will provide a useful and insightful line of research for the future.

“Zenne Dancer” was inspired by true events. On 15 July 2008 in Istanbul, Ahmet Yıldız was shot and killed inside his car by his father, Yahya Yıldız. Yıldız, a student at Marmara University, had been studying for a physics examination and had left his apartment for an ice cream break. Yıldız had been living with his boyfriend who had witnessed the murder from the window of their apartment. Yahya Yıldız, who could not accept the fact that his son was gay and living in a homosexual relationship, has been charged in absentia for the murder and is believed to be hiding in Northern Iraq.

The murder of Ahmet Yıldız (a close and personal friend of Binay and Alper, themselves a gay couple of about 14 years) has subsequently been seen as Turkey’s first officially recognised gay honour killing, and has served in part, as the inspiration behind the film, “Zenne Dancer”. Although this is not the first gay-themed film to come out of Turkey, it is the first film that actively seeks to explore the difficulties and problems faced by Turkey’s LGBTI community as well as that of Zenne dancers (colloquially “zenne” refers to a male belly dancer, or simply a dancing male). In addition, the film also explores the
problems faced by Turkey’s gay community in light of the country’s mandatory military service.

The film examines the relationship between three “unlikely” friends; Can (Kerem Can), Daniel (Giovanni Arvaneh) and Ahmet (Erkan Avci). The relationship between these characters alludes to interesting connections which could be made to the works examined in this research. As an example of gay Turkish cinema (in this case, cinema which coincidentally also happens to be produced by gay men who in turn happen to be in a long-term relationship, which adds several interesting dynamics to an examination of the work), several connections could be drawn with the characters in Kutluğ Ataman’s “Lola und Bilidikid”. Can, for example, an out and proud and flamboyant gay man with the love and support of his family who dances in nightclubs as a Zenne, provides interesting parallels to the figures of Lola and Murat, not only on the basis of their homosexuality, but also on the levels of drag and the dynamic of the Turkish family unit. The Turkish-German relationship is enabled by the figure of Daniel, a German photographer with a troubled past (and through whom an outsider’s perspective – a German/Western perspective - on LGBTI life in Istanbul is explored). The character of Daniel strongly resembles that of Friedrich, particularly in terms of providing a liberated, German example of or attitude to homosexuality. In addition, connections could also be made between the characters of Friedrich and Can who both enjoy the love and support of their families.

The character of Ahmet, a university student, is inspired by Ahmet Yıldız. Ahmet, who comes from a conservative upbringing in South-Eastern Turkey, is encouraged to come out to his family by his friends Can and Daniel who are unable to understand his reluctance (Can has the support of his family while Daniel comes from the liberal and more tolerant Germany). Ahmet attempts to explain to them that his honesty would also be (the cause of) his death. This leads one to a discussion of the phenomenon of the honour killing, and specifically its relationship to the works examined in this research.
The concept of the honour killing is generally applied to women who have been killed by a member of their family because it is believed that they have brought shame on the name of the family through, for example, marital infidelity. Though not the result of honour killings, the deaths of young Turkish women forms an important component in the plot of Orhan Pamuk’s novel *Snow*, in which Ka, the protagonist travels to Turkey in order to investigate the suicides of several young Turkish women. In Fatih Akin’s *Gegen die Wand*, Sibel brings shame on the name of her family through marital infidelity. Her affair with Nico incites the anger of her family, particularly her brother and father who disown her and wish to kill her. Interesting to note though, is that they only learn of the affair when they learn that Cahit had killed Nico whilst defending his wife’s name and honour. Cahit’s crime is overlooked and focus is placed instead on Sibel’s dishonour and shame. A different variation on the theme of an honour killing is demonstrated in *Lola und Bilidikid*, in which Osman kills Lola, ostensibly to preserve the family name and honour, but in reality, to preserve the secret of his own repressed homosexuality (amongst other things). Ultimately though, these examples all centre on the concept of human sexuality. It is indeed the expression of this sexuality which serves as the principal means of defining identity, as can also be seen, for example in *Die Prärie* in which Sascha is modelled and models himself around his sexuality. In this manner, in “Zenne Dancer” as in the other works examined in this research, sexuality becomes the battlefield in which the various associated enactments of, and responses to it take place.

The film, due for international release in January 2012, has already garnered multiple awards at the prestigious Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, including Best Cinematography, Best First Film, Best Supporting Actor and Best Supporting Actress. “Zenne Dancer” was also awarded the Best Film Award by the Turkish Film Critics Association.258 Although the film has not been welcomed in more conservative public

“‘Zenne Dancer' might alter the course of Turkish gay cinema” http://www.hurriyetedailynews.com/zenne-dancer-might-alter-the-course-of-turkish-gay-cinema-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=11517&NewsCatID=381
and social circles, little is known as yet, about the broader public (international and specifically European) reception. Produced with a large operating budget and significant financial assistance from the Dutch embassy, it could be assumed that “Zenne Dancer” will attract much international attention and incite significant intellectual debate.

Accessed: 25 January 2012
-“‘Zenne Dancer,’ Turkey's First Gay Themed Movie, Highlights 'Honor' Killing”
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/01/24/zenne-dancer-turkey-gay-movie-honor-killing_n_1227960.html
Accessed: 25 January 2012
-“‘Zenne’ dances onto the screen”
http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/zenne-dances-onto-the-screen-1.1218401
Accessed: 25 January 2012
-LGBT Asylum News – “Video: New Turkish film shatters taboos”
Accessed: 25 January 2012
As highlighted in the previous chapter, the (male) protagonist in Ataman’s *Lola und Bilidikid* was fated in a way to suffer the consequences of an unfulfilled masculinity. As a character he demonstrated no signs of substance or growth and his consistent attempts at recreating his identity, more specifically his masculinity, left him, ironically, with nothing to work from. Similarly, Cahit, as the (male) protagonist of Fatih Akin’s *Gegen*...
die Wand is allotted the same fate. He too, wanders around in Germany, with no
substance or discernible depth of character. Furthermore, his attempts at recreating his
identity prove as fruitless as that of Billy and in the end, Cahit remains almost transparent
and intangible. The director of Gegen die Wand, Fatih Akin was born in Hamburg in
1973. He lives and works in the district of Altona, which is also the setting for many of
his films. He started his career in film as an actor in 1993, and produced his first short
film, Sensin in 1995. He has since then produced and gained acclaim with films including
was awarded the prestigious Goldener Bär Award at the 2004 Berlin International Film
Festival\textsuperscript{260}.

Any discussion involving, amongst others, the concepts of migration and culture, would
necessitate the inclusion of the concept of multiculturalism. It is within the context of this
concept that the film, Gegen die Wand (2004) will be discussed, particularly in an attempt
to establish the extent to which multiculturalism is addressed and negotiated in the film
(if at all). Ultimately, this discussion will in fact seek to highlight not only the failure
of multiculturalism within the film, but also the parallels of this failure within the
relationships represented within the film, as well as the masculinity of the protagonist.

The relationship between the protagonists, Cahit and Sibel is fated for failure on different
levels. On one level, the film represents, through the figures of the ill-fated protagonists,
a failure within the context of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is associated with an
‗official recognition of different ethnic groups within the borders of a nation state‘, and
concerns itself primarily with the issues which the nation state in question is obliged to
address, such as equality, for example\textsuperscript{261}. It is important to note, however, that
multiculturalism is not the same as multicultural in that multiculturalism refers to a state

\textsuperscript{260} http://www.gegendiewand.de. Accessed: 30 September 2007. In addition to this award, the film also
garnered the “Golden Camera 300 at the Brothers Manaki International Film Festival (2004), the German
Camera Award (2004), all major awards at the German Film Awards (2004) and the Best Film Award at
the Oslo Films from the South Festival (2004)” amongst others. Petek, P. “Enabling Collisions: Re-thinking
multiculturalism through Fatih Akin’s Gegen die Wand/Head On.” in Studies in European Cinema. 2007.
4: 3. 177-186.

\textsuperscript{261} Petek, P. “Enabling Collisions: Re-thinking multiculturalism through Fatih Akin’s Gegen die
policy which is intended theoretically to address issues of equity, for example, amongst various ethnic groups within one nation state. In her analysis of the concept and representation of multiculturalism within the film, Polona Petek attempts to address the negative criticism of multiculturalism, and argues not only that cinema has the capacity has the capacity to reclaim this concept as something positive, but furthermore that film soundtracks provide the contexts or platforms for the occurrence of ‘new forms of multicultural bonding’.

One of the major negative criticisms of multiculturalism is located in its almost inherently condescending or patronizing nature. It is this patronizing nature which results in multiculturalism not only resembling, but also becoming misconstrued as ‘trans/post nationalism’ and ‘global/cultural and economic imperialism’. Central to this criticism is the contention that within multiculturalism, the West effectively takes the non-Western ‘Other’ and transforms it something more acceptable to the Western gaze and palate. In this way the West essentially takes the ‘Otherness’ out of the ‘Other’ and turns it something homogenous, normal, and essentially boring.

Essentially, according to Polona Petek, “Gegen die Wand apparently facilitates a communion of cultures within and without what is now again – somewhat ominously, given the provenance of the phrase – called Fortress Europe”. Petek posits that the film complicates the notions of displacement and representation and forces a re-negotiation and evaluation (and by extension distinction) between exile and diaspora (exile represented by the character of Cahit, and diaspora (and the negotiation of it) represented by Sibel). According to Petek, factors such as ‘cultural assimilation and integration’ are complex because they are inherently ‘asymmetrical and multidirectional’. In the film, Cahit and Sibel, unlike the majority of Turkish people in Germany, have German citizenship, and have achieved and practice (and seek in the case of Sibel) a certain degree of cultural and civic assimilation. However, by the end of the film, both characters have returned to Turkey, the country of their ethnic origin. This is complicated by the fact

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262 Ibid. 179.
263 Ibid.
264 Ibid.
265 Ibid.180.
that the film offers an exploration of the concepts of migrant, exilic and diasporic identities in a fundamentally conservative manner. In the film, Sibel’s family represents Turkish tradition. However, more specifically they represent a negative, paternalistic and oppressive tradition. Petek suggests that this continues the ‘cinema of duty’ which characterized film production in Germany in the period between the 60s and the 80s when institutional and governmental funding of migrant cinematic projects resulted in often condescending and one-dimensional representations of the ‘foreign’ and the ‘other’.266 By extension, the ‘cinema of duty’ perpetuated the representation and conception of “victimized Turkish women who, especially when young and beautiful, need to be rescued from their patriarchal community”267. In addition, these films also perpetuate the idea of a better, civilised Germany/West as opposed to a backward and archaic Turkey. Petek suggests that Gegen die Wand represents something of a departure from the conventions of ‘cinema of duty’ particularly in relation to Sibel’s choice of rescuer. According to the conventions of ‘cinema of duty’ Sibel’s rescuer should be a German man, specifically a typical German man.

Cahit, however, is not typical.

“Cahit is a naturalized Turkish immigrant. … not an average ‘occidental gentleman’. But neither is he a member of the Turkish diasporic community; this relatively Germanised exile from Mersin refers to Turks not as ‘us’ but as ‘them’.268

Petek suggests reading this as a demonstration of Cahit’s (and the film’s) refusal of cultural homogeneity. Rather, the atypical rescuer Cahit, represents the assertion of a ‘hyphenated rather than monolithic identity’269. However, in this manner the film’s

266 Ibid. 181. The term ‘Cinema of Duty’ was coined by Sarita Malik in 1996 in relation to Black British cinema.
267 Ibid. Petek cites Deniz Goktürk who asserts that films produced within the context of the ‘cinema of duty’ perpetuated the idea or view that “German society in general is more civilised and enlightened than the archaic Turkish community” in that cinematic projects which regularly received funding were those which ultimately “reinforced patronising and marginalizing attitudes towards the so-called Ausländerkultur”.
268 Ibid.
269 Ibid.
representation of such identities becomes too moralistic, as embodied, for example in the portrayal of the principle characters as the alcoholic, drug-taking Cahit who rejects commitment, and Sibel who seeks to break away from her family and the limitations of her family and indulge in the sexual freedom (which should subsequently be read as sexual promiscuity) of the West.

According to Polona Petek:

“Gegen die Wand, then, seems to stage a failure of multiculturalism. It juxtaposes, and for a brief moment fuses, traditional Turkish melos and Western post-punk in its attempt to imagine a more harmonious, hyphenated rather than assimilated and homogenized Turkish-German experience. Eventually, however, the film seems to relinquish this attempt and withdraw into a performative, and nostalgically rendered monocultural soundscape of the Turkish homeland.”

Essentially a love story, it narrates the dramatic, though not necessarily tragic, relationship between Cahit Tomruk (Birol Ünel) and Sibel (Sibel Kekilli). Although Gegen die Wand has been released in English as Head On, the title literally means "Against the Wall" and is suggestive of a state of despair and hopelessness, the state in which one has reached one’s limit (the proverbial glass ceiling) and is literally forced against a wall with nowhere else to go.

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270 Ibid. 184.

271 Interestingly, Head On is also the title of a film released in Australia in 1998, by Ana Kokkinos. Set within the context of the Greek migrant community in Australia, the film follows approximately a day in the life of the protagonist, Ari (played by Alex Dimitriades) as he intentionally sets himself against his Greek family and his homosexuality through a self-destructive combination of drugs and sex.
It is precisely in this state that our introduction to Cahit takes place. Cahit is an alcoholic. The viewer is introduced to Cahit at the end of an evening in which a concert appears to have come to an end (figure 13). The lights in the establishment have been turned on, and Cahit’s job is to clean the floor of all remaining bottles and glasses. In a gesture of hopelessness, echoing the title of the film, Cahit, who by the end of the concert has already had a considerable amount to drink, slumps against a pillar and finishes the dregs of the alcohol he happens to find in the bottles. He appears to have lost all interest in, and enthusiasm for, life. He has a severely neglected appearance, his hair is greasy, unwashed and untidy, and he has evidently not shaved in a long time. His clothes are worn-out and scruffy. In short, Cahit fits the description of the German colloquial concept of the “Penner”, which in English corresponds to “hobo” or “bum”, which is precisely what Cahit looks like when the viewer is first introduced to him.

He leaves the bar, intoxicated, and heads off to yet another bar, where he meets Maren (Catrin Striebeck). The two appear to know each other, though the exact nature of their relationship is not clear at this stage of the film. Cahit is thrown out of the bar after attacking a man who had referred to him as a homosexual. We the viewers then find him in his car, evidently disturbed as he deliberately drives his car into a wall, thus echoing the title of the film once again. Cahit appears to have given up on himself and life, and is seen as merely existing on a barely functional level. In this manner the film represents
Cahit’s rehabilitation, starting from the bottom, which is where we find him initially, as close to the *tabula rasa* as possible.

Cahit and Sibel meet one week later in a psychiatric institution. Sibel, like Cahit, has also attempted suicide. They are clearly intrigued by one another, though as it turns out, for different reasons. Cahit sees Sibel as an attractive young woman with telling bandages on her wrists alluding to the nature of her failed suicide attempt. Sibel, on the spur of the moment, comes to see in Cahit the potential for liberating herself from her restricting family. She proposes marriage to Cahit on the grounds that as a Turkish man her family would not only accept him, but by extension, her too, since she had shamed them with her suicide attempt. Sibel further relates to Cahit that her brother had on one occasion broken her nose when he found her holding hands with a boy. She proposes a marriage of convenience, which while satisfying the demands of her family with regard to maintaining a semblance of outward respectability, would simultaneously allow her to pursue a hedonistic life without having to fulfil marital duties:

**SIBEL:**

“\(\text{Ich will leben, Cahit. Ich will leben, ich will tanzen, ich will ficken! Und nicht nur mit einem Typen. Verstehst du!}\)\(^{272}\)

Cahit eventually finds himself entertaining thoughts of taking Sibel up on her offer, he justifies his decision to his friend Seref (Güven Kiraç) by giving the action the appearance of a good deed, or favour, as it were, in the cause of liberating, indeed perhaps even saving the life of a Turkish woman. Sibel experiences difficulties at home with her family, by marrying her, he would be helping her, and potentially pre-empting future suicide attempts. Sibel’s family on the other hand, remains sceptical initially as to the suitability of Cahit as a candidate for marriage (to Sibel), citing Sibel’s apparent propensity for making mistakes and the fact that Cahit is not only considerably older than

\(^{272}\) Ibid. 39.
she is, but that he has yet to convince them that he has the financial means to support a wife.

An introductory meeting takes place as demanded by tradition. Cahit and Seref arrive at the home of Sibel’s family, after having forged a family history of their own which they hope would be acceptable. The meeting proceeds according to tradition and protocol, and once the initial introductions have been made, Seref, in his “role” as Cahit’s uncle, makes the official request for Sibel’s hand in marriage to Cahit. Sibel’s father reluctantly agrees. In this scene it would seem that Turkish men of the first generation appear to have little room to manoeuvre within the tradition which they ironically strongly advocate as justification for their patriarchal positions of power and authority within the family. Though Sibel’s father initially objects to the union, Cahit and Seref have followed convention and the demands of protocol (thereby obeying the dictates of tradition), and therefore has no choice but to give his blessing since there is (evidently) nothing even vaguely dismissible about Cahit other than the obvious difference in age.

Interesting to note is the perspective demonstrated by Turkish men of the second generation, demonstrated by Sibel’s brother. Sibel’s brother clearly suspects that the situation and characters Cahit and his “uncle” Seref, are somehow suspicious. This could be due to the fact that the period of time which he had spent growing up in Germany had consequently afforded him the insight into certain nuances peculiar to his host society and culture. Yet he too has to ultimately follow the wishes of his father as the head of the family, and agree to the marriage between Cahit and Sibel. Sibel’s brother too, even in his capacity as the “second in command” of the family, appears to be limited by patriarchal hierarchy.

He enquires as why Cahit’s use of Turkish is so bad, to which Cahit responds that he had disposed of it in the garbage:
“YILMAZ:
Dein Türkisch ist aber ganz schön im Arsch, Mann.
Was hast du denn mit deinem Türkisch gemacht?
CAHIT:
Ich hab’s in den Müll geschmissen.”

Cahit and Sibel both consciously seek to distance themselves from (their) Turkish culture. This would seem to indicate to the viewer that they consciously attempt complete assimilation into German culture. Regarding Sibel, this could be said to be the case in light of the apparent connection or association she makes between not being Turkish, insofar as it entails separation or liberation from her family, with sexual freedom and promiscuity. Cahit on the other hand, provides no indication that he’s even remotely interested in identifying as either Turkish or German. As quoted above, he admits to having relegated his command of the Turkish language to the garbage heap, and within the context of German culture, lives a life of relative obscurity. For Cahit, Turkishness, that is, Turkish language, culture and identity have been stripped of any significance and are now associated principally with garbage, that is, the unwanted and discarded. A drifter, Cahit hardly identifies with his Turkishness in any way.

Ironically though, for both Sibel and Cahit, this attempt to affect distance from their Turkish culture and history and to consequently recreate and maintain a new and different national (and cultural) identity, is distinctly Turkish in nature. This of course could also be said of the protagonists of Kutluğ Ataman’s film, *Lola und Bilidikid* as discussed in the previous chapter. Whereas Bili is desperate to move back to Turkey and live as a Turk, amongst Turks, and not with “these German fags”, he still wishes to spend that life with his (male) lover, Lola. In order to address the fact that living as a man in a homosexual relationship in most parts of Turkey is generally considered as an affront to traditional values and norms, Bili’s solution to this would then be to have Lola undergo a

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273 Ibid. 52.
sex-change operation. Bili will be Turkish, but on his own terms. This strongly echoes the argument presented by Ayse Kadioğlu who posits that a paradox involved in the creation of the official Republican Turkish identity has had as an effect a Turkish identity which is fundamentally manufactured in nature:

“The emerging new Turkish identity, then, was distinguished by its manufactured character. Turks were a ‘made’ nation by virtue of emphasizing their difference from the Ottomans along the similar Jacobin lines that the French revolutionaries followed in creating the Frenchman.”

Turkish history then and consequently Turkish identity is based on a premise of recreation. This propensity on the level of national identity is consequently transferred not only onto Turkish citizens, but also onto members of Turkish diasporic communities. When regarded in this light then, the efforts of Sibel and Cahit at maintaining distinctly non-Turkish lives, does nothing except ironically highlight their inherent Turkishness. Trying not to be Turkish (which should be read as trying to be more German) just makes them more Turkish.

The wedding ceremony takes place as arranged. Dressed for the wedding, and with a beer in his hand, this image of Cahit seems somewhat incongruous (see figure 14) with the image with which the viewer has become familiar. Cahit is about to enter into his second marriage contract. At this stage though, the viewer is not aware that this is his second marriage. The incongruity is facilitated by the weight of the responsibility of this event, and the nature of Cahit as it has been brought to the viewer’s attention, and is accentuated by his vacant and anaesthetized appearance and expression.

274 Ibid.
Cahit does not appear to know what is really going on, and seems at this moment, despite his fresh and clean appearance, fundamentally unsuitable for the gravity of marriage. Visually, this is accentuated not only by the beer in his hand, but also by the words “FUCK UP” which are spray painted on the door to his apartment building, labelling, as it were, his life, his history and his character.

Cahit manages to finish his beer just before meeting Sibel, and the two proceed to take cocaine at the reception, enacting and establishing the nature of their marriage as one of friendship, and a relationship between co-conspirators, as opposed to a commitment between husband and wife. This is echoed to a certain degree in their wedding dance in which they present once again almost conspiratorially) the image of the perfect couple to the wedding guests, which resonates with an air of distinct artificiality and rigidity (see Figure 15). That is, of course, until the drugs have taken effect at which point the couple presents an entirely different image, namely that of a relaxed and happy bridal couple. Sibel’s intentions to live a life of freedom are provided with an unexpectedly early start when she inadvertently discovers that Cahit is a widower. When the newly wedded couple arrives at Cahit’s apartment, Sibel asks Cahit what his wife’s name was. He reacts aggressively and throws her out of the apartment (in her wedding gown). Soon afterwards
she finds herself at a bar, where she befriends the bartender (with whom she spends the night). Sibel returns to Cahit’s apartment the next morning. Contrary to tradition then, Sibel spends her wedding night with another man but has, on the other hand, taken the first step at establishing and maintaining a life of sexual independence and freedom.

Figure 15 (screen shot).

Sibel and Cahit eventually settle into their peculiar variation on the theme of married life. Cahit’s apartment is renovated, and Sibel eventually secures herself a job as a hairdresser in Maren’s salon. Husband and wife approach their social life in the manner of friends, though at some point it becomes clear that Cahit starts to fall in love with Sibel.

The couple visits Sibel’s family after the wedding. The scene in the apartment provides a demonstration of social and inter-personal relationships delineated according to a (presumably predefined) gendered system of operation. All the men are gathered in one room of the apartment playing board games, while the women are gathered in the living room. This scene strongly resembles the domestic scene presented in Ataman’s *Lola und Bilidikid* (see Figure 7). In Ataman’s film, the domestic environment in a traditional Turkish home is distinctly delineated according to gender. Osman, as the head of the
The men in this group do not regard their wives as objects of sex or desire. Sex is simply a marital duty, and by extension, “Ficken” is to be used (and is applied) in the context of quick, anonymous and relatively uncomplicated sex. On the other hand, the views expressed by these men imply a value system distinguishing Turkish women from other women. The women in the adjoining room are respected and valued (by Turkish men) not only because they are Turkish, but because they are their wives. These men will sleep with those women and procreate because it is a natural expectation of their tradition and culture. They (Turkish men) will however, engage in easy (and by extension

275 In the film, the German word “Ficken” is used, which translates into English as “fucking” or “to fuck”
276 Ibid. 101-102.
insignificant) sex with foreign women because, according to the value system foreign women are “easy” or promiscuous and insignificant.

Figure 16 (screen shot).

Sibel adopts this essentially male practice through her intention to have sex with several non-Turkish men. Sibel is daring, and flirts with danger and in her demonstration of sexual liberty she assumes the role and displays the behaviour of the men gathered around the table. She demonstrates her provocative nature to Cahit (see figure 16), teasing and taunting him despite the nature of the agreement of their marriage. This scene clearly suggests that Sibel is playing with fire in terms of the tenuous balance she attempts to maintain between her clearly bourgeoning relationship with Cahit, and the life of sexual freedom and independence she claims to seek. Sibel wants and desires domesticity and its advantages, but on her own terms. It is at this point that one could assume that once married, Cahit and Sibel are in the perfect position to affect total assimilation into German culture, given Cahit’s apparent dismissal of Turkish culture, and Sibel’s need to pursue a life of sexual freedom which she associates with German culture. Instead the couple demonstrates something of a return to Turkishness. According to Petek:
“Quite unexpectedly, Cahit and Sibel – now supposedly ideally positioned to become fully assimilated – develop a genuine, and not disabling, appreciation for their culture of descent. (It is an appreciation encapsulated, quite predictably, in culinary delights.)”  

Essentially, Cahit was selected by Sibel not merely because he is a Turkish man, but more importantly because he is a man who happens to be nominally Turkish. Since Cahit demonstrates no particularly overt Turkish traits, and no immediate desire or inclination to be particularly Turkish, he represents for Sibel the ideal (convenient and practical) means of escape from her family. Sibel wishes to transgress, but in order to do so she needs to give the appearance of conformity and marry a Turkish man. What is interesting to note however, is that during the conversation with the other women in the room Sibel continues to paint Cahit in a very positive light. While the rest of the women complain about having to tolerate their spouses in bed with their respective peculiarities, Sibel paints the picture of sexual and marital bliss:

“HATICE: (Türkisch)
Und wie ist er im Bett?
SIBEL: (Türkisch)
Gut.
CANAN: (Türkisch)
Leckt er?
SIBEL: (Türkisch)
Wie eine Katze...
NURCAN: (Türkisch)
Maschallah! Meiner leckt wie ein Ochse und muht dabei.”

Ibid. 183.
Ibid. 104.
It could be said that Sibel and Cahit initially regard each other merely as ideas. Sibel initially recognizes Cahit’s somewhat perfunctory Turkishness and sees in him consequently the perfect opportunity to escape the limitations of her family and her cultural traditions. Cahit, though aware of Sibel’s attractiveness, agrees to marry her because he is aware that he is the ideal means to an end. Furthermore, as roommates, Cahit would be ensured regular home-cooked meals and a clean apartment, neither of which he has clearly had for some time. Although they do fall in love with each other, they do not consummate their relationship (although they come very close to it) because it would effectively alter the nature of their relationship, changing it from the marriage of convenience, to which they had initially agreed, to an actual marriage between husband and wife. Though they had up to that point been maintaining the appearance of tradition, consummation of their marriage would effectively concretize their marriage. Furthermore and most importantly, it would be a sign of their concession to the very tradition from which they had sought to distance themselves.

In a very dramatic moment, Cahit is made aware not only of his Turkishness, but also of the nature of his feelings towards Sibel (see figure 17). With his arms in the air, and bleeding from the wrists, Cahit presents an image of acceptance and victory over himself, and over his self-destructive tendencies. Cahit has, effectively, re-created himself, ironically, within a Turkish environment thus reconnecting with his origins on an emotional level. This complies with Ayse Kadioğlu’s assessment of the Turkish nation as an essentially a “made nation” with reference to the capacity for the Turkish nation to continuously reinvent itself. However, Cahit’s reformation is not complete since the club provides the platform for his reformation within a Turkish context only. It is of course also important to consider that Cahit’s reformation takes place in Germany; i.e. the country into which he as assimilated, but not born.
Polona Petek acknowledges an apparent failure of multiculturalism in the film, but suggests that in film, the cinematic soundtrack has the capacity to transcend the paternalistic qualities of multiculturalism and create “new forms of multicultural bonding”.

Although her discussion regarding multiculturalism, particularly the failure of multiculturalism within the film is indeed relevant, an examination of the potential role of music and the cinematic soundtrack remains irrelevant to the examination of multiculturalism within Gegen die Wand. Multiculturalism fails in the film, and so too, by extension, does the attempt at creating, representing and portraying a multicultural (masculine) identity. Cahit remains without substance throughout the film, and retains his rudimentary Turkishness as marked by his return to Turkey at the end of the film. Ultimately, the film is not about German-Turks living in Germany, but about Germans of Turkish origin who ultimately return to the country of their ethnic origin.

When they do finally realize that they are in love with each other, despite the agreement on which they had based their marriage, it is too late to act on it. Cahit kills one of Sibel’s lovers, and is sent to prison. It is clear to the viewer that Cahit has murdered Nico because he, Cahit, has fallen in love with Sibel. Tragically though, he is unaware that
Sibel feels the same way and it is, ultimately, too late for reciprocated, mutual love.
Therefore, while Cahit’s transformation was complete within a Turkish context, he
remains, outside of this context, that is, in Germany, a savage, uncivilized and murderous
Turkish man, who is forced to confront the error of his ways, his error in judgement, and
his actions, in a German correctional facility. Cahit, the Turk, the “other” has to be “de-
othered” by the paternalistic West in what is perhaps the most exemplary depiction of the
failure of multiculturalism in the film. His actions could be interpreted on a variety of
perhaps somewhat contradictory levels: Firstly, by killing Sibel’s lover, Cahit becomes
the savage and barbaric Turk, or Turkish man whose depiction or representation formed a
crucial condition for the initial funding of Turkish cinematic projects in Germany. Cahit
effectively becomes the kind of Turkish man Sibel seeks to avoid in her family, in that he
resembles strongly her brother, who had broken her nose in a fit of rage after seeing her
holding hands with a man. However, Cahit’s actions also effectively redeem him and his
image in Sibel’s family, particularly in the eyes of her father and brother. To the family
Sibel’s actions had shamed Cahit’s name as well, making his murder of Sibel’s lover
justifiable, however, in a slight variation on the theme of an honour killing, Cahit had
sought to defend Sibel and her name in the face of her lover’s disparaging insults.
Finally, Cahit displays rather typical Western chivalry by killing Sibel’s lover in that he
does so motivated by his own love for her.

Although Cahit’s Turkish origin appears almost inconsequential in the beginning, and his
self-destructive and suicidal nature results in him existing in an almost residual form of
humanity, his rehabilitation is not meant to be exemplary in any way. Cahit’s
transformation is somewhat clichéd, however, particularly in prison if one assumes that
once there, he would be forced to sober up and clean up his act. Cahit subsequently
confesses to being kept alive and fighting as it were, through Sibel and her promise to
wait for him. Ultimately Cahit, the wayward Turk who settled in Germany and lived a
life of obscurity locates his rehabilitation in Germany, before finally returning to Turkey.

279 This is particularly evident in the scene following Cahit’s release from prison in which he pays a visit to
Sibel’s brother. Sibel’s brother refers to and addresses Cahit as his brother, but nonetheless denies having a
sister in that Sibel has ceased to exist to/for him.
Cahit fails as an example of a multicultural (in this case Turkish-German) masculine identity fundamentally because the film provides no markers for typical Turkishness or Germanness. There is no standard by which to compare Cahit’s masculinity, whether Turkish or German, because all the characters in the film are one-sided and underdeveloped. Cahit starts off as an almost random, inconsequential alcoholic with suicidal tendencies who seeks to help a young woman desperate to escape the stereotypical oppression of her Turkish family. The members of Sibel’s family demonstrate no sign of personal or character development throughout the film and remain instead, stereotypically oppressive and conservative. Similarly, none of the other German characters represented in the film demonstrate any sign of character development. Maren, with whom Cahit has an affair is presented as nothing other than a hairdresser, and Nico, whom Cahit ultimately kills, is simply a bartender and jilted lover.

Interspersed between the various episodes of the film are images of the Selim Sesler Ensemble singing traditional Turkish songs, with Istanbul as a background. This is clearly intended, as Petek points out, to reinforce the tug of Turkish culture even on those who wish to escape it. Furthermore, Sibel furnishes the apartment in an identifiably Turkish style and cooks Turkish dishes in the manner of her mother.
On another level it could be said that Sibel and Cahit would not have been able to pursue their marriage on the level of convenience, and furthermore that they would not have been able to consummate their marriage because they had existed for each other not as people, but rather as ideas. In addition, they had then based their marriage on the idea of each other creating, for both of them, a conceptual and intangible context. Following Cahit’s release from prison, from which he emerges as a renewed and re-created man), the two meet again in Istanbul and spend several nights together (see figure 18). Sibel had, during the time of Cahit’s imprisonment, undergone several significant life changes herself, and had a partner and a daughter by the name of Pamuk. Their return to Istanbul is significant on different levels. Not only does it signify a return to a cultural point of origin which they had initially sought to avoid, but, given the constructed and manufactured nature of Turkish identity, and the consequent Turkish propensity for continual re-creation, their return to Istanbul highlights not only their Turkishness, but paradoxically, also the elusive nature of this new identity.

Sibel had in the meantime, after almost repeating Cahit’s self-dereliction, formed a new relationship with a taxi driver who had saved her life and seems to have settled into a traditional way of life in an apartment in Istanbul. Cahit arrives in Istanbul after his release from prison and, paradoxically, the couple consummate their marriage after it had actually ceased to exist. This act seems to retrospectively endow the relationship with the type of dignity they had decided not to accord it initially. Cahit returns to his place of birth, thus perhaps affording him the opportunity of a yet to be defined new beginning. The making and remaking of a new, basically Turkish identity both in Turkey and in Germany again points to the tenuous nature of this identity because neither Sibel nor Cahit would have changed themselves if they had not had the experience of German “freedom of choice” and Turkish “tradition”. 
Several similarities can be identified when comparing Ataman’s *Lola und Bilidikid*, to Akin’s *Gegen die Wand* particularly in terms of the capacity of the films to address the question of the construction and representation of identity. In *Gegen die Wand* as in *Lola und Bilidikid*, the protagonists are fundamentally underdeveloped and demonstrate no sign of personal growth throughout the course of the film at all. Although certain character and behavioural traits are dismissed as being either too Turkish or too German, or correspondingly not Turkish enough, no concrete examples or markers are provided for what could be seen as either sufficiently Turkish or German. Cahit appears to have rejected his Turkish heritage just as much as he has dismissed his adoptive German culture, while Billy dreams of returning to Turkey, after having fashioned for himself an identity or persona based on an icon of Western cinema. What remains however, important to mention is that inasmuch as the films provide no concrete idea of what Turkish(-German) masculinity is ideally meant to be like, no indication is provided as to what proper Germanness is meant to be either as the German characters are one-sided and underdeveloped as well and therefore do not provide an adequate point of reference. Similarly, Turkish families in both films are represented as almost stereotypically one-dimensional and oppressive demonstrating a distinctively gendered separation of personal and public spaces.

*Gegen die Wand* presents the viewer with the figure of a man forced to live in a nameless, unidentifiable cultural space by his own hand. Cahit has to deal with the consequences of a self-imposed alienation from both his native Turkish culture as well as his assimilated German culture and as a result inhabits a liminal space which is neither Turkish nor German. Despite being an assimilated German, Cahit retains his vague Turkish cultural point of origin and this remains the only consistent (however vague) point of reference around which his demise and redemption are located. The same is true for the female protagonist, Sibel. Sibel is desperate to escape the confines of her (stereotypically) oppressive Turkish family. Her suicide attempts have brought shame on her family and she sees an ideal way out in the figure of Cahit, who because he is nominally Turkish at the very least, will theoretically provide the perfect means of realising her goal, which is to live a sexually liberated life. Together, Sibel and Cahit attempt to fashion a life on their
own terms, echoing once again, the sentiment of the Turkish nation as a “made nation”. Just like Şenocak’s Sascha, they too, rather incongruously, choose to speak German in what is essentially a Turkish household, for although they attempt to divorce themselves from the limitations of traditional Turkishness, they still surround themselves with cultural symbols which are essentially Turkish, such as the distinct approach to home décor and Turkish food. Finally, it is necessary that both characters undergo something of a metaphoric death, which is necessary to enable a metaphoric rebirth. This rebirth is in turn marked by a return to their cultural point of origin. Sibel’s marital infidelity forces her to flee Germany and without any hesitation or doubt she makes her way to Istanbul, and it is here that she experiences both her death and rebirth. Cahit however, experiences his death in Germany. An assimilated German, Cahit’s act of violence which results in the death of Nico, reduces him to the level of a murderous, barbaric and uncivilised Turk in a specifically German context, but elevates him to the level or status of an accepted and respected Turk in the Turkish community. His redemption is located in Germany, as the geographical and cultural site responsible for his “othering”, the site which sees him as the murderous and uncivilised Turk in need of punishment, redemption and rehabilitation. However, once he emerges from this German site of rehabilitation, he too returns to Turkey as the site of his rebirth; that is, he too, returns to his cultural point of origin.
CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters were devoted to an examination of the representations of contemporary Turkish-German masculinities in an attempt to address the questions:

1) What is a Turkish-German man?

2) What is Turkish-German masculinity?

Since very little is as yet known about the Turkish-German variation on the theme of masculinity, the question arises as to where one could additionally look for evidence of this new identity. Insights into Turkish-German identity are provided by ethnographic studies such as one conducted by Hermann Tertilt for example, entitled *Turkish Power Boys: Ethnographie einer Jugendbande* (1996). In his study, Tertilt sought to infiltrate and examine the constructional and compositional dynamics of the “Turkish Power Boys”, a youth gang established in Frankfurt in the summer of 1990. Tertilt’s study provides interesting insights into the problems and perspectives faced by these young Turkish-German men and boys. This in turn, provides interesting parallels similar to literary investigations such as that conducted by Feridun Zaimoglu, entitled *Kanak Sprak: 24 Mißtöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft* (1995). “Kanak Sprak” is a term used by the author in order to identify the language employed by so-called “Kanakster” (young men of Turkish origin) and is composed of a mixture of local (Turkish) dialects and street German. Zaimoglu conducted interviews with a host of individuals (essentially only men) ranging from rappers and trans-sexuals to prostitutes and patients in psychiatric institutions, transcribing the interviews, and translating them into the best and nearest German form for a larger public consumption. *Kanak Sprak* has been hailed as one of the seminal examples of a literary exploration into the lives and identities of individuals at the edge of society and has facilitated continued interest in and debate on the topic, as well as further literary and cinematic studies of the Turkish-German identity. Due to the fact that *Kanak Sprak* contained only the narratives of young Turkish-German men (according to the author, Turkish-German women have no place in the public space or life of the Kanak ghetto), Zaimoglu released the female counterpart to *Kanak Sprak*, *Koppstoff* (“Headstuff”) in 1998, documenting the testimonials of a range of Turkish-
German women. Cultural artefacts such as literature and film present themselves as indexical, in their capacity to suggest or intimate dynamics at play in the real world. These dynamics pertain to actual gender relationships and the identities that emerge in these relationships are refracted through the aesthetic works of literature and film. By extension, the credibility of these representations and their relevance to this research become increased when these representations exist as the creative products of Turkish and Turkish-born authors and directors themselves, within a German social or cultural context.

The principal trait observed in each of the main characters examined in the preceding chapters is one of an almost all-encompassing sense of alienation. Sascha, Ka, Lola and Bili, Osman, Sibel and Cahit all demonstrate various kinds and levels of alienation. Şenocak’s protagonist, Sascha, demonstrates an alienation from both the Turkish as well as the German culture as demonstrated for example, by the fact that he grew up speaking German in an essentially Turkish household. Orhan Pamuk’s central character, Ka, also displays a distinct cultural alienation as he attempts to find a means of identifying with the (religious) community in Kars. Ka, however, also displays an alienation of a distinctly artistic nature when his role as a poet is called into question, given the significant absence of any poetic work. In Kutluğ Ataman’s Lola und Bilidikid addresses the idea of alienation from one’s sexuality, principally in the character of Bili (although in Osman as well) who is incapable of reconciling himself to the love of a man, and consequently to his own homosexuality. Finally, Fatih Akin’s Cahit stands as an example of self-imposed alienation from one’s cultural identity, as he chooses instead to inhabit a space which is devoid of any particularly definitive cultural markers. Ultimately then, this translates into what could be described as something of a lack of a definitive or concrete presence. When considered in terms of the concept of nationality or national identity, this interstitiality addresses the capacity to be both Turkish and German, and simultaneously neither Turkish nor German. It is however, important to state that this capacity to occupy two notions of cultural identity simultaneously does not mean or imply that the characters can be described as Turkish-German or as merely cosmopolitan. What it does mean is
that the capacity to occupy two notions of cultural identity effectively eliminates the ability to identify with one or both of them, facilitating the profound sense of alienation and estrangement which characterises the protagonists in these works.

Şenocak’s Sascha demonstrates a brand of migrant masculinity which could more easily be described as a kind of “mobile masculinity”. Sascha is perpetually restless and appears to be constantly moving. It could indeed be said that Sascha is incapable of physically settling down. This is motivated by the fact that Sascha sees the borders between Turkey and Germany as essentially porous and permeable which means not only that it becomes difficult to establish where the one country ends and the other begins, but also that there are constantly countless people moving or travelling between the two countries. It could also be said that Sascha simply does not know where it is that he would like to settle down. While in Berlin Sascha seems certain only of the fact that he would like to leave Germany. In his opinion the border between Turkey and Germany is so indeterminate that it effectively eliminates Turkey as a country to which he would consider traveling. Ultimately Sascha decides on the American prairie because its endless expanse of space makes it an almost unoccupied area, and therefore one which would afford him the anonymity which he feels he needs.

As a character Sascha is vague and vexingly abstruse, and the reader is only able to learn about him through the women he chooses to write about. Although masculinity cannot be regarded or considered divorced from its relationship to femininity, Sascha’s masculinity is almost entirely a result of being mirrored by the female characters. This is compounded by the element of multiple-authorship in the text. Once the reader is made aware of the fictional presence of the American ghost-writer, and that he had not only written the material Sascha had claimed to produce while on the prairie, but, more importantly, that he had actually written Sascha, Sascha’s intangibility becomes deliberate and pre-mediated as too, does his alienation. Sascha’s inability to comply or identify concretely with any sense of national identity, coupled with his elusive and mobile masculinity
become overtly intentional, thus multiplying the fictionality of the text and emphasizing Sascha’s evasiveness. The concept of alienation, according to Şenocak, implies the necessity for a commitment on both sides: the commitment to integrate, and the commitment to tolerate, which together form the cornerstone of the idea of multiculturalism. Şenocak’s text stands an indictment not only of the German failure to encourage the preservation and development of the Turkish language and culture in Germany, but also ultimately as an indictment of the consequent failure of multiculturalism. The result of this failure is a multiculturalism which is distinctly “hollow” and insubstantial, qualities which are reflected in the characters explored within this research, like for example, Sascha. Sascha stands as an example and demonstration of the attempt to create or write a character without an identity and the result is a figure which is essentially a failed product of a failed multiculturalism.

Just like Sascha, obscurity, intangibility and alienation dominate Ka’s presence in the remote town on the Armenian border in Snow. Like Kafka’s protagonist, Ka’s arrival in the town coincides with a snow storm. This constant blanket of snow not only obscures but also provides the platform for a perpetually new beginning, a constantly clean slate, as it were. Ultimately the plot develops within a context of constant re-invention but with no production of tangible substance. No evidence can be found of Ka’s actual existence or presence barring vague references to his time in Istanbul and an impersonal and decidedly non-descript apartment in Frankfurt. Furthermore, though Ka identifies himself as a poet, no trace remains or can be found of the work produced during his time spent in the town. Consequently then, the absence of his creative or intellectual property seem to testify to the intangibility of his identity as a poet as well. Ka leaves no evidence or traces of his identity, neither as a man, nor as a poet. As a man he lives an anonymous life in an equally indefinable apartment in Frankfurt. Ka has never been able to identify with any group, and paradoxically, the only opportunity he is afforded to do so is with the group of men who nameless, faceless men – strangers – who frequent the porn cinemas. Similarly, though he claims to hear and answer to the voice of his muse and produce several poems – specifically while in Kars – he leaves no trace or evidence of his creative existence or
efforts behind. It is clearly impossible to identify Ka as a poet if one has not been able to read his poetry. As obscure and intangible as he is as a man, so too is he as a poet. While in Turkey Ka travels to the remote town of Kars ostensibly in order to investigate the recent series of suicides committed by young Turkish girls, but also to attempt to make contact with an old love interest who has recently become divorced, signalling a potential opportunity for him to not only forge a relationship, but also ultimately to find a Turkish wife.

Unlike Sascha, Ka does not display a masculinity which is overtly sexual. His romantic interest in and pursuit of İpek establish his heterosexuality, and barring a brief intimate encounter with her in Kars, the only other indication of his sexuality is his obsessive patronage of porn cinemas in Frankfurt when he indulges his obsession or fascination with the actress Melinda, who reminds him of İpek. Ka’s self-imposed alienation sees him isolated from both the Turkish as well as the German community. As a result, Ka remains caught in a liminal space between Turkey and Germany. Ka desperately seeks identification with the community in Kars, particularly the religious community, but he wants this on his own terms, once again echoing Kadıoğlu’s assertion of the Turks as a “made nation”. Ka seeks to make and effect a distinction between a shared belief system and nation identity in that although he wants to believe in what they, the religious community in Kars, believe, he does not want to be what or who they are. Ka’s identity crisis is elevated to a cerebral, even existential level in Turkey he is not considered Turkish enough because he grew up in a wealthy family in westernized Istanbul. Voicing a distinct disagreement with the Turkish political system, he chooses to leave Turkey and seeks political exile in Germany. This not only severs any ties of identification he may have had (or may have been able to have) with Turkey on the one hand, but also entrenches his alienation on the other hand, because in Germany, he is simply too Turkish to not be Turkish.
Ayse Kadioğlu’s argument that the Turks are a “made” nation\(^{280}\) is supported in the cinematic works by Fatih Akin and Kutluğ Ataman. A residual Turkish propensity for recreation is demonstrated by Lola and Bili in *Lola und Bilidikid*. While Lola re-creates himself not only for every appearance on stage, but also for every public appearance, Bili has intentionally created a profile of overt and hyper-masculinity to counter his homosexuality. Bili, furthermore, is intent on physically re-creating Lola by means of the sex-change operation in the hope that it would then facilitate a life which is “normal” and heterosexual. As has been demonstrated in the novel *Snow*, the capacity to continually re-create implies a lack of foundational substance, for nothing can be said to concretely exist and be named if it lacks shape and form. Lola and Bili exist as ideas of what they perceive their lives to be, and what they perceive their lives to be like, for each other. Bili has created himself in the image of one of the paragons of classical Western masculinity, namely Billy the Kid, and seeks to perpetuate this image of hyper-virility and masculinity in his daily life. He projects this onto Lola, seeking to maintain his love for a man, despite his intentions of having this man turned into a woman. However, for Bili, his attempts at maintaining and projecting the hyper-masculine of Billy the Kid fail, and he succeeds instead in projecting the image of the equally iconic cinematic legend, James Dean, who was not only also gay, but fated to die at a young age. Ultimately their presence as ideas denies them any other substantial existence. The fact that it is possible to re-create a character (and by extension, a demonstration of masculinity) at any point, implies that neither the character nor the masculinity in question can be said to exist incontrovertibly.

The alienation experienced and demonstrated by the characters in Kutluğ Ataman’s *Lola und Bilidikid* is affected on levels which are not only cultural, but also social and financial. However, the principal form of alienation explored within the work is that of an alienation from one’s sexuality. Indeed, the film takes this notion one step further and combines it with the notion of the Turkish propensity for re-creation. Bili is fundamentally alienated from his sexuality and is simply unable to accept his

\(^{280}\) Ibid.
homosexuality. He wants his own perfect blend of identities and realities, that is, an essentially heterosexual identity and life which is predicated on his love for another man, Lola. Furthermore, Bili is convinced that this ideal heterosexual life would be facilitated and enabled by the removal of Lola’s manhood, creating instead a female object of desire, which remains predicated on the idea of the man with whom he had originally fallen in love. In *Lola und Bilidikid*, the personal struggle with Turkish ideals and expectations regarding conventional, heterosexual masculinity is exemplified in the figures of Bili and Osman who have been socialized to accept a heteronormative social norm. As a result, they are alienated from their sexuality. This however, also has certain cultural implications, in that it is precisely this alienation from their host culture which informs their inability to reconcile themselves to their homosexuality.

As already mentioned a new work has recently made a contribution to the genre of Turkish gay cinema. “Zenne Dancer” produced by Mehmet Binay and Caner Alper has already achieved critical acclaim and has garnered numerous awards following its release in Turkey and is scheduled for international release in January 2012. Inspired by true events, the film explores the relationship between three gay men, Can, a zenne dancer trying to avoid military conscription, Daniel, a German photographer with a troubled past, and Ahmet, a university student. The character of Ahmet is inspired by Ahmet Yıldız, a young man and physics student at the Marmara University in Istanbul, who was gunned down by his father in 2008. His father was unable to accept that his son was living in a homosexual relationship. The murder of Yıldız has been regarded as Turkey’s first officially recognized gay honour killing. The film is relevant to this study for numerous reasons including for example, existing as a product of gay Turkish cinema, produced by gay Turkish men, and which explores various LGBTQI issues in Turkey, whilst offering a German perspective in the narrative as well. However, because it was released after the research for this study had been concluded it was not possible to include an in-depth study of the work in this study. “Zenne Dancer” will, without a doubt, provide a useful and insightful point of departure for future research.
Fatih Akin’s portrayal of the destitute Cahit also caters to the notions of invisibility, intangibility and alienation. At the beginning of the film, Cahit has no existence worth mentioning at all. The viewer is introduced to him as an individual who has given up on life and on himself. Indeed, it could be said that Cahit’s lack of substance and presence would leave him un-noticed if one were to encounter him on the street. Cahit is anonymous and one-dimensional and has entrenched himself in his misery and self-loathing to such an extent that one is not only unable to recognise any other traits in him, but one is also not surprised when he attempts suicide. Cahit and Sibel are drawn to the respective ideas of each other. For Sibel, Cahit exists as the perfect means of escape from her family and the expectations of her as a Turkish woman. For Cahit, Sibel exists as the opportunity to have a clean home and regular home-cooked meals. Although they do ultimately find themselves falling in love with each other, it is this initial fixation on the idea as opposed to the person, which testifies to their lack of substance. Despite the fact that he does re-create himself, and is able to emerge from his time of imprisonment as a new man, with a renewed faith in his culture and in himself, this merely supports the suggestion of a “made” character, or a character with the ability to constantly re-create itself, without being or remaining anything at all.

Just like Die Prärie does through the figure of Sascha, Gegen die Wand highlights the inherent failure of multiculturalism through the figures of Cahit and Sibel. Cahit exists in a self-imposed isolation and alienation from the Turkish and the German culture. Cahit and Sibel seek to establish a life together which is independent of the constraints of Turkish tradition. However, no concrete examples are provided of typical or ideal Turkish or German behavioural and cultural norms. So what starts off as an attempt to create of themselves characters or figures who are unfettered by the norms and expectations of Turkish cultural tradition, results instead in characters or figures who experience and demonstrate a heightened awareness of their cultural point of origin, who surround themselves with symbols of Turkish culture, such as music and food, and who ultimately not only leave their host country, but return to their cultural point of origin. In the end, Cahit returns to the country which is home to the language which he had initially thrown in the garbage.
Turkish-German masculinity then, in light of the preceding study of the characters in the selected texts and films, does not imply a masculinity which is both Turkish as well as German. Paradoxically, although it is fundamentally dependent on the mediating and concrete influences of Turkish and German culture and masculinity respectively, it is a masculinity which cannot be defined as being concretely Turkish-German. It is a masculinity which owes its liminality to the interstitial zone between intersecting cultures – a masculinity which at present exists, and “is” but which remains ethereal and intangible. It is, however, important to note that this is a masculinity which is located in a vague and residual cultural point of origin, which provides the frame of reference for the characters as they attempt to negotiate their way between these two intersecting cultures.

The characters examined in the preceding chapters have demonstrated varying permutations of identity and identity construction. The nature of the construction of these identities has been shown to develop in a distinctly circular manner, demonstrated on the one hand by the repeated return of the characters to their cultural, personal and existential starting points, and on the other hand, by the fact that the negotiation of these identities takes place within Germany in areas inhabited largely by Turkish migrants. Although the question of religion, in this case Islam, is not overtly mentioned, it nevertheless hangs over the characters as one of the cultural constraints constituting Turkish life even in its more secular outer form.

This in turn points to the impermanence and mutability of these destabilized identities. Germany is not only a destabilizing factor in this equation, but also an enabling factor, in its capacity to act as a site which facilitates destabilization. In other words, Germany creates the context for the destabilization of these migrant identities. Although the works examined are set (in part) in Germany, it emerges that the issues raised within them primarily address problems within Turkish society, for example tradition versus change and modernization. This continues to be depicted in works such as “Zenne Dancer”
(2012) by Mehmet Binay and Caner Alper, which also explores the concept in a Turkish environment, but with a German presence. Ultimately then, what is essentially a Turkish problem presented in the form of some drama, is simply removed from its own environment and enacted in a foreign, more specifically German arena as has been demonstrated by the works examined in this study. Germany provides merely the locational backdrop or the stage on which the characters enact and re-enact lives and deal with problems that are essentially Turkish in nature. The residual cultural point of origin re-asserts itself when the characters are placed under pressure, revealing essentially Turkish problems, which are simply negotiated in a German space.

Furthermore, a surprising absence of German acculturation is displayed by the characters. Not only do they negotiate their lives and their identities within almost exclusively Turkish communities in Germany, but the only indication of any level of German acculturation is their command of the German language. The problematic Turkish-German masculine construct then, is problematic precisely because the factors influencing the construction of this identity are inherently Turkish, addressing therefore the construction of a displaced Turkish identity. Germany and the German language are revealed to be mere backdrops for the negotiation of a Turkish masculine identity, as opposed to a Turkish-German masculinity, as was hypothesized at the outset of this study.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the hypothesized existence of a hyphenated Turkish-German masculine identity in literature and film. The result of this study does indeed reveal a hyphenated masculine identity. It is, however, revealed to be an identity in limbo within competing constructs of Turkish masculinities. This is the case with regard to the texts and films selected for this study. It would seem that the next step following on the findings of the present study would be to test these findings on a larger body of text and film products. Indeed, the question of Turkish-German masculinities should perhaps be situated within sociological enquiry as it indicates the
necessity of further investigation into, for example, hybrid and transnational identities which falls outside the framework of the present study.
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