WEDDING THEME IN FILMS FROM TURKISH-GERMAN DIRECTORS LIVING IN GERMANY

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes movies shot by German-Turkish directors that feature wedding-theme and have transnational qualities. This study is built upon the assumption that the wedding ritual is one of the most prominent examples of keeping alive the local culture. Germany, which is the problematic of this study, witnesses the identity crises of a new German generation with Turkish origins that had begun with Turkish workers refusing to return home and instead settling down where they had gone, temporarily at first, for work. The second and third generations who live in Germany and differ from previous generations and their problems now live with two identities in the place of one and also keep in touch with Turkey. Movies that discuss the transformation and marriage problems of sons and daughters of the workers who are stuck between tradition and modernity make up the focus of this article. Movies featuring weddings were included in the range of movies chosen for the study. Movies analyzed are shot in Germany and Turkey and the characters especially represent both countries. Thus, within the conceptual frame of this study, instead of definitions such as immigrant cinema or diasporic cinema, the term 'transnational cinema' is more explanatory. Movies by German-Turkish directors bear these transnational properties and the wedding theme analyzed here is one such property.

Keywords: Weddings in Movies, Integration, Immigration

ALMANYA'DA YAŞAYAN TÜRK-ALMAN YÖNETMENLERİN FİLMLERİNDE DÜĞÜN TEMASI

ÖZ

Bu makale, Türk-Alman yönetmenleri tarafından yapılan, ulus ötesi film özellikleri taşıyan düğün temalı filmleri konu alan bir inceleme çalışmasıdır. Çalışma, düğün ritüelinin yerel kültürü canlı tutmanın en seçkin örneklerinden biri olduğu gerçeğinin sorgusu üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Makalenin inceleme sorunsalını oluşturan Almanya Türk işçilerinin, geçici olarak çalışmak için gittiği ve geri dönüş yapmayarak yerleşik hayata geçmeleriyle başlayan, yeni bir Türk asıllı Alman genç kuşağının, kimlik sorunlarına tanıklık etmektedir. Almanya'da yaşayan, kendilerinden önceki kuşaktan ve onların sorunsallarından farklılaşan ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak, artık iki farklı kimliği tek bir kimlikte yaşamakta ve Türkiye ile iletişim halinde bulunmaktadırlar. Geleneksel kültür ve modernite kavramları arasında kalan işçi çocuklarının dönüşümü ve evliliklerindeki sorunların sergilendiği filmler incelemenin konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada seçilen film örneklemine düğün özellikleri içeren filmler dâhil edilmiştir. İncelenen filmler Almanya'da ve Türkiye'de çekilmiş ve karakterlerin her iki ülkeyi temsil etmesine dikkat edilmiştir. Böylece bu çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesi kapsamında, göçmen sinema, diasporik sinema gibi tanımlamaların yerine, ulus ötesi sinema kavramı açıklayıcı olmaktadır. Türk-Alman yönetmenlerin yaptığı filmler bu ulus ötesi özellikleri taşımaktadır ve incelenen düğün teması bunlardan biridir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Filmlerde Düğün, Entegrasyon, Göç

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INTRODUCTION

Weddings, which can be considered as a display of identity and an escape from integration with the foreign society, may also be perceived as an indicator of status changes. Despite the change in the social status, some indispensable customs and traditions are maintained by means of weddings. Although ways of holding weddings change according to such status changes, the underlying aim does not change. And the weddings, even today, host all the relatives from both sides and, again, although the traditions are essentially shaped by the influence of the society, those who hold the wedding ceremony appear to be a significant factor in preserving traditional values. And the movies by Turks in Germany also contribute to shaping and keeping alive their own identity.

Cengiz Çetin, who related the marriage ritual to natural events, claims that what gave birth to the goddess cult was the need of continual harvest and the fear for lack of it felt by people who associate the swelling of a pregnant woman's belly to the swelling of the earth in spring and the baby coming out of that belly to the earth yielding crops. Man considered the earth a woman, and the woman a god, and as a result of the merging of these two abstract entities into a whole, Mother Nature, who creates everything by giving birth to everything, emerged. For this reason man replaced the god and the goddess and imitated the event of sexual intercourse and birth as a kind of game. Man thought that this way he could impress the god and the goddess through some sort of magic. All of these games and activities that aim to sustain and improve nature's harvest are called the ritual of sacred marriage (hieros gamos). Repeated each spring and harvest season, these games became a part of traditions over time and every marriage in the society assumed a sacred meaning. When common marriages of daily life have begun to be organized in the form of sacred marriages, some of the elements related to the ritual have undergone great changes, however, they were kept alive generation after generation until today (Çetin, 2008: 113).

Since wedding is one of the most important elements of marriage traditions, throughout the world it is shaped according to a country's cultural differences. Amangül Durdıyeva claims that because an alternative for the word 'wedding' is 'toy' according to the Uzbek scientist M. Alaviya who carries out studies on wedding traditions, this word was derived from the verb 'doymak' (to be full after meal). Durdıyeva also claims that the meals served during weddings support this idea (Durdıyeva, 1997: 77). Even in Turkmen language the word 'toy' is used for the word 'wedding' which is the basis of the wedding ceremony. In Old Turkish the word 'toy' (although initially meaning community, great meeting etc.) means "celebration, feast, wedding feast" (Saglik, 2006: 72). Including the oldest time of Turkish history, the word 'wedding' wasn't used in most resources for the most part of Turkish background. 'Toy' is the replacement for this word (Berber, 2009: 3). In Ancient Greek, the preparations for the wedding feast started days before and in addition to grain, various delicious foods would be cooked made of livestock sacrificed for the blessing of gods. Among these dishes, the wedding cake called 'sesame' made of honey and sesame, which symbolized harvest and prosperity, was especially prominent (Hague, 1988: 33). What the wheat mesh made meant for the celebrations of Dionysus, god of prosperity,

this cake meant the same for wedding meals (Çetin, 2008: 117).

Stating that the meals served for the guests during wedding ceremonies are one of the most important activities of the festivals, Berber claims that, looking at the various time periods of the Turks, the meal serving tradition is seen in ceremonies by both the public and the state authorities (Berber, 2009: 8).

Durdu Mehmet Burak who informs about Enver Pasha says that according to English documents, meal was served in this wedding. In an English report it is emphasized that the wedding ceremony took place in Damad Ferid Pasha's mansion and that in Turkey serving the guests wedding meals is one of the most prominent of traditions. It is reported that the traditional wedding meals have come to symbolize nobility and family honor. In addition, it is also stated that Enver Pasha's wedding is vastly different than another wedding witnessed two years ago (Burak, 2005: 174).

Although wedding traditions are seen everywhere around the world, the choice of spouses, number of spouses and marriage ceremonies differ according to the culture (Eroglu, Sarica, 2012: 1189). Durdiyeva states that ethnical issues play as important a role in forming of wedding traditions as the people's social and economic conditions; and he claims that in the wedding traditions of Uzbek, Karakalpakstani, Kirghiz and Tajik peoples the influence of their stockbreeding past can be seen. It is reported that regarding these traditions, Azerbaijani scientists A. Nabiyev and Efendiyev and many others have stated that the wedding starts after engagement and the traditions of wedding and engagement are related to each other (Durdıyeva, 1997: 77-78).

One of the cultural elements that had undergone some changes due to urbanization is the wedding tradition. Ruhi Ersoy states that despite all the obstacles posed by urbanization process and modern life, the practices of people's culture yet survives, albeit symbolically. As an example for this he gives the rural weddings that lasted forty days and forty nights, which then reduced to seven days and seven nights, and yet again reduced to three days and nights, then finally ended up as three hours long saloon weddings. On the other hand, Ersoy also adds that some of the cultural practices were preserved. Among these practices the writer mentions applying henna, the red maidenhood sash (A symbol of maidenhood and loyalty to the husband that has been around since classical age Greek society), dances that begin with modern dances and end with halay, even drum and shrill pipe (zurna) standing right beside the modern orchestra. He also states that people get over with all their wedding practices within three hours inside wedding halls, and that the day before the wedding they definitely organize henna nights in their three-room flats. (Ersoy, 2006: 237) Drums and shrill pipes are also played in the epic of Koroglu. (Bayatlı, 2009: 8). The wedding ceremonies take place in indoor areas known as saloons. They carry over the tradition and should be considered as a reflection of changing living conditions due to settling down and urbanization. (Berber, 2009: 10). Choices of music for urban weddings in wedding halls vary depending on different societies and social subculture groups, which is a sociological phenomenon. For instance, three different musical themes can be chosen for each of the stages of "introduction of the bride and the groom", "first dance" and "the cake" (Cengiz, 2011: 368).

Another way to marry apart from weddings is to run off with each other. Sinan Gönen shows Pertev Naili Boratav as reference regarding parents' oppositions for marriage: "In these cases, the girl runs off with the boy. This happens because of economic problems, and sometimes other reasons, but mostly after the girl's parents oppose. The young man agrees with the girl beforehand and either with or without his friends' and his relatives' help, he takes her away. The couple becomes "man and wife" without wedding, and even commits the social crime of not getting married before the first night.'" (Boratav, 2003: 213-214). And these are the reasons for running off with someone: a. Parents do not want to wed their daughters, b. The couple in love fears that the parents won't permit the marriage, c. They want to avoid bride wealth, d. They want to avoid wedding expenses, e. Engaged couple cannot wait until the wedding, f. Girl runs off on her own, g. Girl is tricked into running off, h. Girl running off with the boy after the parents force him or her into marrying someone else, i. Abducting the girl as a form of revenge, j. The girl and the boy are forced to marry, k. Abducting an item belonging to the girl (Gönen, 2011: 47-50).

One of the aspects of German Turkish cinema is that it is a transnational cinema and has the qualities of transnational cinema. Regarding this subject it is possible to say the following:

Writing about possible responses to the importation of "foreign films" (without defining these as Hollywood or American), Andrew Higson recognizes three different results: first, "an anxious concern about the effects of cultural imperialism, a concern that the local culture will be infected, even destroyed by the foreign invader," second, "the introduction of exotic elements may well have a liberating or democratizing effect on the local culture, expanding the cultural repertoire," and third, "the foreign commodity will not be treated as exotic by the local audience, but will be interpreted according to an 'indigenous' frame of reference; that is, it will be metaphorically translated into a local idiom" (Kooijman, 2008: 13). Broadly speaking, three main approaches have been applied in film studies to theorize the question of the transnational. The first, exemplified by Higson (2000), focuses on a national/transnational binary, which sees the national model as 'limiting', while the transnational becomes a subtler means of understanding cinema's relationship to the cultural and economic formations that are rarely contained within national boundaries. A second approach privileges an analysis of the transnational as a regional phenomenon by examining film cultures/national cinemas which invest in a shared cultural heritage and/or geo-political boundary. The final approach to transnational cinema relates to work on diasporic, exilic and postcolonial cinemas, which aims, through its analysis of the cinematic representation of cultural identity, to challenge the western (neocolonial) construct of nation and national culture and, by extension, national cinema as stable and Eurocentric in its ideological norms as well as its narrative and aesthetic formations (Higbee, Hwee Lim, 2010: 9).

In all three of these broad approaches outlined above, while the term 'transnational cinema' appears to be used and applied with increasing frequency as both a descriptive and conceptual marker, it also tends, for the most part, to be taken as a given – as shorthand for an international or supranational mode of film production whose impact and reach lies beyond the bounds of the national (Higbee, Hwee Lim, 2010: 10).

The terms 'diasporic,' 'exilic' and 'post-colonial' cinema that Hamid Naficy described in his study *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (2001) were appropriate for describing migrant and accented cinemas, but there is a new, more descriptive definition: Transnational Cinema. The term 'accented cinema' was coined by Hamid Naficy, who defines it as an aesthetic response to the experience of displacement through exile, migration or diaspora. Accented cinema includes different types of cinema made by exilic, diasporic, and postcolonial ethnic and identity-focused filmmakers who live and work in countries other than their home countries (Naficy, 2001: 11). The distinction between the sub-categories of exilic, diasporic and postcolonial ethnic films is "based mainly on the various relationships between the films, their directors and real or fictional homelands" (Naficy, 2001: 21). What lies at the bottom of all accented films is that they reflect the "double consciousness" (Naficy, 2001: 22) of their creators. Accented films are often bi- or multi-lingual and blend aesthetic and stylistic impulses from the cinematic traditions of the filmmaker's home and adopted countries.

Naficy uses the linguistic concept of accent as a trope to highlight the kind of cinema he identifies as 'different' from the standard, neutral and value-free dominant cinema produced by the society's reigning mode of production. This typifies the classical and the new Hollywood cinema, whose films are realistic and intended for entertainment only, and thus free from overt ideology or accent. By that definition, all alternative cinemas are accented, but each is accented in certain specific ways that distinguish it. [Accented cinema] derives its accent from its artisanal and collective production modes and from the filmmakers' and audiences' deterritorialized locations. Consequently, not all accented films are exilic and diasporic, but all exilic and diasporic films are accented. If in linguistics accent pertains only to pronunciation, leaving grammar and vocabulary intact, exilic and diasporic accent permeates the film's deep structure: its narrative, visual style, characters, subject matter, theme, and plot' (Naficy, 2001: 23).

Despite the recent overcelebration of the extranational and extraterritorial cyber communities created by computer connectivity, interactivity, and bandwidth, and the popularization of the notions of travel, traveling aesthetics, and traveling identity, many accented films emphasize territoriality, rootedness, and geography. Because they are deterritorialized, these films are deeply concerned with territory and territoriality. Their preoccupation with place is expressed in their open and closed space-time (chronotopical) representations. That of the homeland tends to emphasize boundlessness and timelessness, and it is cathected by means of fetishization and nostalgic longing to the homeland's natural landscape, mountains, monuments and souvenirs. The representation of life in exile and diaspora, on the other hand, tends to stress claustrophobia and temporality, and it is cathected to sites of confinement and control and to narratives of panic and pursuit. While the idyllic open structures of home emphasize continuity, these paranoid structures of exile underscore rupture. Significantly, the paranoid structures also serve the comforting and critical functions of embodying the exiles' protest against the fluid and hostile social conditions in which they find themselves. However, some accented films arc freed from such territorial imperatives (Naficy, 2001: 5).

Diaspora, like exile, often begins with trauma, rupture, and coercion, and it involves the scattering of populations to places outside their homeland. Sometimes, however, the scattering is caused by a desire for increased trade, for work, or for colonial and imperial pursuits. Consequently, diasporic movements can be classified according to their motivating factors (Naficy, 2001: 14). People in diaspora, moreover, maintain a long-term sense of ethnic consciousness and distinctiveness, which is consolidated by the periodic hostility of either the original home or the host societies toward them (Naficy, 2001: 14).

Other researchers analyze terms cited above:

"In their introduction to *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Films in Contemporary Europe* (2010, 12-49), Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg presented and discussed a great number of theoretical concepts of the international cinema of migration, which in turn represent a reaction to the great number of contemporary productions" (Berghahn and Sternberg, 2010: 10).

Within the discipline of film studies, the concept of transnational cinema is certainly now an established area of enquiry, at least judging by the launch of this journal and the increasing number of book titles that now bear its name: *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader* (Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden, 2006); *Transnational Cinema In a Global North: Nordic Cinema in Transition* (Andrew Nestingen and Trevor G. Elkington, 2005); *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, 1997); *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives* (Natasa Durovicová and Kathleen E. Newman, 2009). Elsewhere, the term transnational makes its appearance in subtitles of books to indicate cross-border cinematic connections (Higbee, Hwee Lim, 2010: 7). Hamid Naficy was proposing the category of 'independent transnational cinema', which combines concepts of authorship (the interstitial or exilic film-makers from outside of the West working on the margins of the European and American film industries) with genre (a specific category of 'cine-writing', iconography and self-narrativization linked through themes of memory, desire, loss, longing and nostalgia) (Naficy, 1996: 121). More recently, Andrew Higson (2000), Tim Bergfelder (2005) and Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden (2006b) have interrogated the limitations of the national in favor of the transnational in film studies (Higbee, Hwee Lim, 2010: 8).

Turkish-German cinema differs from the first constellations, lacking its postcolonial provenance, while its status as a diasporic community long predated the effect of the demise of the Eastern Block. After an initial, more ghetto-like stage, Turkish-German cinema (and literature) gradually brought a fruitful hybridity of cultural and ethnic perspectives within Germany (and Europe). In turn, the social positioning of the erstwhile 'guestworkers' progressively reflected the waning of the long-held official German stance that Germany was "kein Einwanderungsland" (not a country of immigration) (Hillman, 2010: 265). Over the last ten years, minority filmmakers have emerged as a significant creative force, contributing to what Hamid Naficy calls "the genre of independent transnational cinema" or what Ella Shoat and Robert Stam label "postcolonial hybrid films," a development that challenges us to rethink the meaning of "German" in German popular culture (Gemünden, 2006: 181). Made by directors born in both Germany and Turkey, the transnational dimension of these

films is not anchored in the biography of the filmmakers, nor is it informed by any claim to record authentic or personal experiences. These films form part of a wider European and non-European cinema that is "driven by its sensitivity to the production and consumption of films in conditions of transnationality, liminality, multi- culturality, multifocality, and syncretism." (Gemünden, 2006: 182). These films from the last decade introduce us to German-Turkish relationships that differ significantly from those represented in the New German Cinema of the 1970s and early 1980s, taking leave of the stereotype of portraying immigrant communities in Germany as lost between two cultures and insisting instead on fluid notions of both German and Turkish identity (Gemünden, 2006: 182).

As Göktürk shows, representation of so-called guest workers and other minorities in films such as *Katzelmacher* (*The Goat*, Fassbinder, 1969); *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, Fassbinder, 1973); *Shirins Hochzeit* (*Shirin's Wedding*, Helma Sanders, 1975); and *Yasemin* (Hark Bohm, 1988) emphasized the status of the victim, the oppressed, the silenced, and the abject. Made by German leftist filmmakers, these films aim to raise the consciousness of viewers about social and gender injustice and racial prejudice, as do the films of Turkish filmmaker Tevfik Baser, *40 m2 Deutschland* (1986) and *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* (*Farewell to a false paradise*, 1988). Yet by insisting on the fundamentally different experiences of Germans and non-Germans, they invariably cement the popular narrative of "lost between two cultures" (Gemünden, 2006: 183).

When the historical roots of Turkish Accented cinema is examined, it is appropriate to talk about the migration fact that led to the making of such movies, as well as the relationship between Turkey and Germany, the country where these movies were first created. This way, the historical and cultural roots of movies featuring a wedding theme will be better understood.

Migration Phenomenon

Migration phenomenon still exists today. Departing from the homeland for a long time and settling down in the new country is called migration. If such dislocation happens over a significant distance afar for a period of time long enough to make an impact, it is called migration (Köksal, 1986: 9). However, some dislocations are signs of much more significant, comprehensive, complex and radical changes, in terms of both their social reasons and social effects. Country-to-city migration or urbanization is of such type of migration process.

After the Second World War, France accepted foreign workers in significant numbers, in the same way Germany did. However, the situation there was different than in Germany. A movement of migration from the post-colonial African countries to France had begun. These countries had been former French colonies, and so they preferred migrating to France. It is now possible to talk about a migration phenomenon here. Germany demanded workers from countries with which it has relations, instead of the colonies. Thus, a culture different from the traditional European culture has emerged in the social and cultural life.

War-induced migrations prior to the industrial revolution should be considered forced migrations. Local people of an occupied land move out of their native lands to save their

lives. On the other hand, people of the conquering state go and settle down in conquered territories. Migration after establishment of Israel in 1948 forced both the Jewish and the Palestinian people into migration. Turkmen migration in Anatolia, called the "Great Escape" (Büyük Kaçgun), has changed the demographical structure of Anatolia. Armenian deportation in 1915 has created a similar effect.

During the expansion era of the Ottoman Empire, people were brought to the Balkans and they settled there. These people have returned to Turkey as per the treaties on exchange of people which were made subsequently, resulting in a reverse migration. And, still today, there are Turkish people living in that geography. Although migrations have happened after the Industrial Revolution for economic reasons, migration movements caused by wars occur even today. When manual labor based production gave way to mechanization and automation after the Industrial Revolution, people lost their jobs and, as a result, a great wave of migration happened. New working conditions created new working areas, leading to the working order of the present day. Such migrations may be categorized as optional migrations. Those people, who have drifted apart from agriculture and the soil and instead come to live in the cities for job opportunities, have started a new migration process, and country people migrating to urban areas within the national borders have created changes in the society. These migration movements have also changed the immigrants along with the environment. However, such changes occur during a specific process. Social changes emerge in the course of time. With the changes of the world conjuncture, migrations within national borders have moved on to international levels. International migration movements also occur in forced or voluntary terms [1].

Relation Between Turkey and Germany

There was a constant alliance between Germany and Turkey in the past. During World War I, Turks were allies with Germany and when the Turkish-flagged German warships, Goben (Yavuz) and Breslau (Midilli), bombed the city of Odessa of the Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire was forced to effectively take a side in the war.

Baghdad Railway, another link in the Turkish German relations, was built by the Germans between the years 1871-1940. "Within the Ottoman State, first railways were built by the British in the Balkans and the Aegean region for business purposes" (Kurmus, 1974: 57). "Before granting Germany a license for construction and operation for a railway from Istanbul to the province of Basra, the English and the French have already built and operated railways. However, these railways were mostly concentrated in the west of Anatolia mostly for business purposes, and they also had connections to ports such as that of Izmir" (Besirli, 2004: 216). "First, a railway track was built from Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, (Haydarpasa train station), to Izmit. The Ottoman State itself funded this track. Built by Wilhelm von Pressel, a German engineer, the track is also considered the first step of the Baghdad Railway" (Besirli, 2004: 217).

Haydarpasa Station was built by the German "Anatolian-Baghdad Company" and, furthermore, a jetty was built alongside the train station by the initiative of a German called Hüknen, the general director of the company. A number of surveys were conducted

during the architectural design and study of the building, but the design by two German architects, Otto Ritter and Helmuth Conu, was ultimately chosen. During the construction process, Turkish master-builders, German artisans and Italian stone masons worked side by side. The building was of Neo-Classical German Architecture style (*Haydarpasa Gar Binasinin Tarihcesi*, 2013).

Having signed the contract for building the Berlin–Baghdad railway, 'Anatolian Railway Company', majorly owned by the Germans, also obtained a license from the Ottoman State in 1888 to extract and operate minerals to be found on the railway's path. Turkish German relations had also developed on a military level. German generals served as officers in the Ottoman army. Again, as a result of this relationship, Enver Pasha, a renowned figure of the Committee of Union and Progress, wanted to bring the cinematic activities he had witnessed in Germany to the Turkish army. Although an agreement was made with an Austrian film company, Sacha Mester Film GmbH, for *Destruction of Russian Monument in San Stefano* (by Fuat Uzkinay, 1914), allegedly the first Turkish movie, it was shot by Mr Fuat Uzkinay. And Muhsin Ertugrul, who stayed a dominant figure of Turkish cinema in early 20thcentury until 1939, made his first movies, and even established a film company, in Germany.

At the end of the Second World War, Turkey declared war against Germany on February 23, 1945. Germany was defeated in the war, the country destroyed and most of its population lost. However, it immediately began the process of restoration. For reconstruction purposes, Germany resorted to recruiting foreign workers. When the workers from Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy proved to be insufficient in number, they started to hire workers from Turkey as well. Germany executed treaties on recruitment with Italy in 1955, Spain and Greece in 1960 and Turkey in 1961. According to the treaty, the guest workers would stay two years in Germany and then go back to their home country. Upon cancellation of this article of the treaty in 1964, Turkish people had the opportunity to stay in Germany for a long time. Worker immigration in Germany started in 1960s. Thus the workers, welcomed by great ceremonies at Köln Deutz Train Station on October 26, 1961, have in the course of time taken the title of 'Deutsch Türken' (German Turks) instead of 'Gastarbeiter' (Guest Workers). With the resolution for family reunification in the 1970s entering into force, first the spouses then children below 18 years old migrated to Germany with haste. German government stopped the demands for foreign workers in 1973 due to the increase in migration. It would be useful to mention a few references to support the ideas above (Asutay, Atik, 2012: 41):

> Germany decided to migrate workforce from other countries at the beginning of 1960s (see Özdemir, 2000: 28). Turkey was only one of these countries. With the "Ankara Agreement signed on 30 October 1961" many people from Turkey migrated to Germany because of being unemployment in Turkey during those years. The only goal of these people from various parts of Turkey was to save some money for a while to build a better life, return home and provide their families with better life conditions (see Ateş, 2009: 22).

> The main goal of this migration, which was based completely on economic reasons, had transformed into something different as a result of other factors that emerged

over time. The changes made in Germany's foreigners' policy especially play an important part in this. In 1973 worker migration stopped, however with certain regulations the families of the workers were allowed to enter Germany as well. In addition to this, because some workers were afraid that their savings wouldn't be enough for a quality life in Turkey, and because some others feared unemployment in Turkey, their few years of lives in Germany had turned into long years (see Ercan, 2001: 6).

The immigration, however, started again after 1974 when the governmental resolution on reunification of the families was introduced. After this resolution, Turkish people tried to enter Germany both as tourists and by illegal means. Some of them succeeded at getting permanent residency permit in Germany. As a result, Turkish existence in Germany gained a permanent character. And in recent years the necessity of software engineering, a new branch created by the advance of computer technology, has gotten Germany to recruit workers again.

Process of Immigration to Germany

Although the emigration from Turkey, started in the 1960, progressed slowly during the first few years, it accelerated after the Association Agreement made between Turkey and the then-called European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963. Turkey's willingness to relocate its workforce abroad was based on several reasons.

First of all, Turkey followed an import-substitution industrialization policy in the 1960s and 1970s and balance of payments deficit was considered to be one of the greatest obstacles to the economic growth. In this context, the workers' remittances of foreign currency were regarded as an important potential income for Turkey, which then had a low level of export and tourism revenues. Furthermore, it was considered that placement of labor force abroad would, to a certain extent, alleviate the issues of unemployment, which emerged as a result of switching from the agricultural economy to industrialization. Besides this, it was also thought that the workers sent abroad would return with a variety of freshly gained skills and qualities and thus would be useful for the local industry. And the labor requirements of the western European countries were suitable for Turkey's expectations (Koray & Sen, 1993: 17-18).

The migration of Turkish workers proved to be an important development of the era. However at the time the workers' migration changed qualitatively. In 1961, statistics showed the existence of 6800 Turkish citizens living in Germany. This figure went beyond one million for the first time in 1975 and two million by 1998. Along with the family reunification continued in 1980s, immigration was almost done in 1990s. Today, emigration from Turkey to Germany and other European countries continue by way of marriage mostly on basis of migration. Looking at the regulatory aspect of the migration, we see that Turks now have better rights and legal assurances both in Germany and other European countries compared to the early times of the migration.[2]

As an example, we may give new Citizenship Law enacted in 1999 in Federal Republic of Germany. This law recognizes the migration phenomenon to a great extent, providing

convenience in acquiring citizenship to give a greater assurance on legal terms to all foreigners, particularly Turks, living in Germany (Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information Website, n.d.)

Change from Guest Worker into Citizen Status

With the modification in the Foreigners Law in 1991, the migration fact was, in a sense, recognized, providing some level of convenience for becoming a citizen and moving beyond the status of guest worker. Although the political will does not clearly recognize the fact that Germany is a country of migration, it recognizes permanency of the immigrants to a certain extent. Although the said convenience has remained well behind the expectations, certain regulations have at any rate provided opportunities that may end in legal equalization of the second and third generations, possibly allowing them a say in the political and social environments in future.

From a Worker-Weighted Structure to a Heterogeneous Structure

As a result of the internal dynamics of the Turkish people, Turkish population in Germany has undergone some important changes. Although the Turkish society has a number of issues, and, in turn, demands related to such issues, addressed to both the German and Turkish governments (e.g. recognition of voting right in Turkey and dual nationality in Germany), they now voice their own demand self-reliantly in the society, searching for ways of solution. Now Turks leave their mark in Germany as a permanent factor. Although the German public largely considers an adaptation problem on Turks' part, the achievements of the Turks living in Germany are mostly a result of their own efforts without any significant exterior support. Traces of the trend towards being a permanent factor in Germany are not only found in the number of people that have gotten German citizenship. The facts of life in Germany have completely changed the status of the Turks, i.e. merely guest workers, and made them into people that plan their lives and future in this country.

A significant part of the Turkish society living in Germany consists of young people. As this younger generation constitutes a population that has born and grew up in this country for the most part, this fact has inevitably led to permanent residency in Germany. Considering the age group below 18 years, which largely consists of the second and third generations, as well as the age group of 18-35 years, it is evident that a significant part of the Turks living in Germany has become socialized in Germany. Well-acquainted with and educated in Germany, and actually fluent in the German language, this younger generation has actually a very different point of view on Germany and ideas about future compared to the first generation. Turkish university graduates, ever increasing in number, now work as lawyers, medical doctors, engineers, teachers, economists and business managers in Germany.

Tendency to raise money adopted by the first generation of the guest workers has significantly changed and Turks have now become the target consumers. There is a noticeable change as tenants become homeowners, or workers become the bosses. Germany, the bitter land, has become their Second Land. Ruhi Su has written several songs about this first period: "Germany, the Bitter Land" (Almanya Acı Vatan), "Almanya Gemileri" (Ships Destined to German), "Almanya'da Çöpçülerimiz" (Our Street Sweepers in Germany), etc.[3]

The intercultural relations as a result of these changes and the consequent right of dual citizenship have created a brand new image of 'European Turk'. Called 'Alamancılar' (Germaners) in Turkey and 'Auslander' (Outlanders) in Germany, these Turks were named 'Third Generation' and then the 'German Turks' due to being raised in both German and Turkish cultures. And the cinema created by this third generation was named German Turkish cinema. But Vicente Rodriguez Ortega defines this cinema as German cinema, even if the directors are German-Turkish or German-Croatian (Rodriguez Ortega, 2007: 415).

German Turkish Cinema

Labor immigration to Germany mentioned above has given rise to the Turks, who no longer were content with being immigrants, and instead gained dual citizenships. Now they do not consider coming back and continue to live in Germany, where they refer to as their homeland. And cinema is among their ways of existence. This mentality has developed with the advance of means of communication and the production has eventually increased in the field of cinema. One of the pioneer films dealing with the immigrants is *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* by Rainer Werner Fassbinder. It is a movie on racism and social prejudices. And in 1975, another German, Helma Sanders-Brahms, made *Shirins Hochzeit*, featuring Ayten Eren, Aras Ören and Jürgen Prochnow. Left behind her home village in Anatolia in pursuit of her fiancée, Shirin has set an example for the movies where the women from Turkey are shown as 'sacrifices.'

Although the German-Turkish directors that started making movies have been influenced by these titles, the real factor has been the accessibility of VCRs and the development of camcorders. They returned to Turkey with these camcorders, easy to use and fairly portable, and recorded their own villages and places they once lived. When they went back to Germany they watched these images together with their relatives there. And they also recorded the weddings in Germany using these camcorders and saved them. Voice of Turkey, a radio station of TRT broadcasting for Turkish people abroad, had started a network of messages among the relatives via a radio program "From Homeland to Foreign Land, From Foreign Land to Homeland." Video camera recorders have served this communication visually. This way, some people became camcorder experts. Another impact of the video was in the field of motion pictures. Turks in Germany showed great interest in the video. Turkish films were converted into videocassettes and marketed in Germany. Watching movies at their homes, Turkish people have also contributed to creating a video market in Turkey as well. With their import permits, workers brought this equipment to Turkey with them, and consequently a market of permits emerged. Dogu Bank Is Hani, an office building in Turkey, started to sell equipment imported by these import permits. As a result of these developments video films started being produced for this market.

Grown up watching these movies, the second generation of Turkish workers in Germany stepped into the movie business by first editing wedding footages and eventually selling them to the families for profit. These young people not only watched Turkish movies, but also the works of American cinema and other cinemas, which in turn influenced them a great deal.

Although movies are commercial commodities produced by movie studios, today they are associated more closely with the names of their directors. The theory 'politique des auteurs' suggested by the writers of *Cahiers du Cinéma* magazine, which was quite influential in 1960s' France, was suggesting that the movie director has importance. Later, Andrew Sarris developed this theory further as the 'auteur theory' and today we see that the directors are at the forefront. Therefore, movies analyzed in this study are done so according to their directors.

Directors of the Movies with Wedding Theme

Movies mentioned can be found in author's personal archive and were watched and analyzed. Other information were gathered by literature research and making use of the Internet. All these movies focus on Germany and the workers going to Germany for work; other movies, being off-topic, were left out. The directors of films made in Germany and in Turkey related to weddings and focused primarily on this subject may be categorized as follows: 1- German directors, 2- Turkish directors.

German Directors:

Directors not of Turkish origin, but have made at least one film about the Turks are Helma Sanders-Brahms: *Shirin's Wedding* (Shirins Hochzeit, 1976), Anno Saul: *Kebab Connection* (2004), Rolf Schübel: *Time of Wishes* (*Zeit der Wünsche*, 2005), Hark Bohm: *Yasemin*, (1988), Feo Aladag: *When We Leave* (*Die Fremde*, 2010).

(It would not be appropriate to limit the list to German directors only, as films about Turkish people are made in other countries as well.)

Turkish Directors:

Directors born in Turkey

a) Directors lived in Turkey for some time, had gotten well acquainted with Turkey, but then left the country and settled abroad. These are citizens of Turkish Republic: Nizamettin Ariç.[4]

b) Directors who have always been residents of Turkey but at one point in their lives went abroad and shot movies outside Turkey. These are citizens of Turkish Republic: Tevfik Baser, Serif Goren, Ismet Elçi.[5]

Directors with dual citizenships

Directors born and grown up abroad, living outside Turkey. These are called the Third Generation Turks: Fatih Akin, Yüksel Yavuz, Buket Alakuş, Sinan Akkus, İdil Üner, Züli Aladağ, Ayşe Polat, Thomas Arslan, Hussi Kutluca, Seyhan Derin, Sülbiye Günar (Aka Verena S. Freytag), Neco Çelik, Mennan Yapo (Also Known As Mennan Yapicioglu, Adnan G. Köse, Zuli Aladag, Feo Aladag.[6]

PURPOSE AND METHODS

This article concerns the wedding theme in movies made by filmmakers with Turkish origins living in Germany. The hypothesis is that the wedding ritual is one of the most distinguished examples of keeping the local culture alive. In this study, the wedding theme in movies shot by Turkish-German, German and Turkish film directors will be examined. Movies that include wedding theme are in no specific order. Movies on the theme of immigration, exile and homecoming are beyond the scope of this study. Instead of using the terms 'immigrant cinema' and 'diasporic cinema,' the idea of transnational cinema is more descriptive. Movies mentioned that include the wedding theme of German-Turkish directors carry these transnational characteristics.

FINDINGS

Movies Made by the Turks Living in Germany

A study of the films would show particularly frequent use of the wedding tradition. Although an extension of the tradition of recording the weddings by a a camcorder mentioned earlier, weddings are always collectively organized like a ritual. A sense of yearning felt due to being unable to come together in the routine of working life is especially fulfilled in the weddings. Traditions brought from Anatolia has now transformed as a result of living in Germany. Wedding banquet of the village weddings continues in the form of dinners given at the wedding halls.

Wedding theme was used in *Shirin's Wedding* (*Shirins Hochzeit,* 1976) by Helma Sanders-Brahms. The movie is about a Turkish girl named Shirin travelling to Germany and what she goes through once there. Shirin stays at a hostel (heim) for women. There are workers from other countries as well. In time, she gets used to the German way of living. After travelling to Germany in search of her fiancée, Shirin is raped by a German. Unfortunately Shirin's dreams would fade and she would only be united with her fiancé in an imaginary scene. This scene begins with Shirin digging her way out of her grave. Her fiancé is waiting for her. Behind him stand the villagers. With Zülfü Livaneli's music she is dressed up as a village bride. Her fiancé and the villagers gather around her, the camera zooms over the crowd beyond the empty fields and the scene is complete. Before another scene narration goes back to Shirin's real life. Shirin has now become a prostitute. She is killed then the other imaginary scene begins. Shirin and her fiancé are together. Camera zooms out away from the couple and into a general shot. The scene ends with a shot of the gathered villagers. When broadcasted by WDR television, this movie drew reaction and protests from the Turks. Reactions lasted long. Finally the film was released in Turkey. After the run of the movie at Ataturk Culture Centre, Helma Sanders-Brahms made an emotional speech, asking for the Turks' help to protect Shirins.[7]

Started with *Shirin's Wedding*, wedding theme is especially used in movies by Fatih Akin. *Short Sharp Shock* (*Kurz und Schmerzlos*, 1998) starts with a wedding ceremony lasting 15 minutes. It is a traditional saloon wedding with Turkish style entertainment. The movie

opens with the introduction of three friends reunited in the wedding. Turkish specific elements: Dynamic Turkish music with keyboard and halay music, backgammon, belly dancing, balloons and a decorated saloon, shooting wedding footage with hand held camera, the word "döner" in a conversation, mineral water and fruit juice on tables, congratulating the bride and the groom, pinning money and jewelry, the difference is that here, unlike in Turkey, the pinned banknotes are Euros. In this wedding, the Turkish customs and traditions are implemented and people have fun listening to Turkish music. Elements featured in the movie are marriage presents (takı takma), dancing the halay (halay çekme), belly dancing (göbek atma) etc. As in Turkey, jewelry-giving ceremony is held for the bride and groom and the Greek and Serbian characters also conform themselves to this tradition. What distinguishes this movie is that it is not the wedding of one of the protagonists. The wedding is a means to present the characters and the traditions.

Solino (2002) by Fatih Akin also does not fail to display this tradition. But this time, it is an Italian wedding. The movie *Solino* presents a 3 minutes long wedding scene. In the wedding, wine and traditional Italian food is served to the guests and Italian folk dances (Tarantella) accompany the wedding ceremony. A church element was used and the wedding takes place on a garden instead of in a hall.

Fatih Akın's *Head-On* (*Gegen Die Wand*, 2004), also includes wedding theme. *In Head-On* awarded with the Golden Bear Prize, Akin shows a Turkish wedding again. Asking the girl's parents for their approval is a part of this movie as well. The traditional ceremony for this event is featured complete with serving Turkish coffee and the interrogation of the groom to get to know him better. With the bride's approval the process of marriage commences. Although not as long as the scene in *Short Sharp Shock,* these scenes also incorporate Turkish wedding traditions. This wedding is a typical Turkish urban wedding; families drinking coke at the tables, pinning money on the bride and the groom, and dancing to halay music. After the wedding ceremony it cuts to the wedding scene and for about 5 minutes the audience watches a traditional Turkish saloon wedding. There is again belly dancing. After the ceremony, the groom lifts up the bride and takes her to their room. In fact, this wedding between two Turks is just a façade. The young girl actually wants to get married to get away from her oppressing family. Turkish specific elements: Gift chocolates, Turkish coffee, Turkish way of asking for the bride's parents' permission, getting married in the marriage office with church bells in the background, wedding with keyboard music, the bride and the groom dancing the first dance, sitting on a table reserved for the bride and the groom, red sash around the bride's waist, fruit juice and cake on tables, a plain hall this time, no balloons, meal for the bride and the groom in a reserved room, fruit juice and coke accompanying the meals.

Evet, ich will! (2008) is another film on Turkish and German marriages. Its title creates bilingual and multicultural association. With a comical approach, the movie bases itself around the problems arise when four young pairs of different religions and cultures live in a very big apartment building in Berlin and want to get married. Marriage combinations in the movie are as follows: Turkish girl-German boy, German boy-Turkish boy, Sunni Turkish girl-Alevi Turkish boy and a Turkish boy in desperate need for getting married to a Ger-

man for residency permit. The movie revolves around three different couples who have to overcome familial and cultural obstacles to be with their beloved ones. A man looking for a bride-for-hire also learns the hard way that expectations and reality do not always match well (*Plot Summary for Evet, ich will!*, 2013). Turkish specific features: Asking for the bride's parents' permission and the dried nuts on the table during the event, bouquet of flowers, turban, cologne serving, namaz, circumcision, looking for a worker woman to get married for work permit in Germany, the bride and the groom entering the saloon through a human corridor formed by the joint hands of the guests and being the first to dance, belly dancers, belly dancing guests.

In Yasemin Samdereli's movie *Almanya-Welcome to Germany* (*Almanya-Willkommen in Deutschland*), two of the Anatolian marriage traditions, asking permission from the girl's family (kız isteme) and lovers running off with each other (kız kaçırma) are featured.

Yüksel Yavuz is more suited for the description of Accented cinema. In *A Little Bit of Freedom* (*Kleine Freiheit*, 2003), Yavuz reflects Turkey in Germany better, maintaining its Turkish style of life there. Film shows images of an old Grandfather and old women from Tunceli, his native city. It is a typical behavior for German-Turks to shoot their native lands with a camcorder and bring them back to Germany so that they can watch the footages and alleviate their homesickness. One detail that separates Yüksel Yavuz and Fatih Akın is that Yavuz went to Germany after graduating from his high school in Turkey. A Turkish restaurant has been selected as the location and a lot of images were used in the film to remind the audience of Turkey. There's no wedding theme in *A Little Bit of Freedom*, but there's halay (a type of traditional Turkish folk dance) dancing as a way of entertainment.

Forty Square Meters of Germany (1986) by Tevfik Baser also includes wedding scenes. Occasional flashbacks show Turna, the leading character of the film, getting married and going to Germany, starting to live a life at home without having a glimpse of the outside.

Movies Made by the German Directors

Directed by Rolf Schubel, *Time of Wishes* (*Zeit der Wünsche*, 2005) is a TV film portraying the times of the first recruitment of workers from Turkey to Germany. Again one of the Turkish lovers goes to Germany and the one in Turkey yearns for the other abroad. She binds a piece of cloth on a wishing tree and makes a wish for her lover's return. And when he does not show up, her family marries her with another man.

In *Kebab Connection* (2004), written by Fatih Akin and directed by Anno Saul, this wedding theme is used again and the main characters get married in a festival-like atmosphere at the end of the film. In the Turkish urban wedding scene that runs for five minutes, the movie demonstrates Turkish-Greek traditions, the similarities between Turkish and Greek cuisines and a marriage between a Turk and a German. Turkish specific elements: Saloon wedding, decorated walls, fruit juice on tables, wedding cake, the bride and the groom visiting the guests on their tables, an orchestra of shrill pipe (zurna), baglama and lute, Turkish flags on the windows.

Shot for TV in 2006, *Kiss me Kismet* (*Meine Verrückte Türkische Hochzeit*, 2006) by Stefan

Holtz is a comedy about the intercultural relations by means of a wedding. *Kiss me Kismet* is about a Turkish girl and a German boy falling in love and wishing to get married, but Turkish girl's father intends to wed her to a young Turkish man named Tarkan. The Christian German boy is forced to convert to Islam and get circumcised in order to marry the girl. The movie is full of traditions such as shouting zılgıt, Ramadan fasting, namaz etc, and the wedding scene is presented as the final scene. The saloon wedding and belly dancing are among the elements that the movie passionately includes. The marriage process that begins with asking the girl's parents for their permission is handled with comical elements. Even naming the child-to-be-born becomes a problem. Prearranged marriage and marrying girls to those close to the family is also not left out. Cultural conflict between the German and Turkish families works out fine in the end. Containing a great number of motifs from Turkey, the film stands out with intensity of German and Turkish conversations. Songs from Yıldız Tilbe and Tarkan are included in the soundtrack. Islam in Germany is another interesting aspect of the film.

The wedding scene in Hark Bohm's movie *Yasemin* is a 12 minutes long, continuous scene without any interruptions, prepared in the style of traditional Turkish saloon weddings. In the wedding, presents such as televisions are given to the couple. People dance to Turkish tango, chiftetelli and perform folk dances called halay. Families use the newly emerging video cameras to film the ceremony. The traditional theme of awaiting bed sheet and the element of virginity are not left out either. Additionally, the movie also features the scene where the girl runs off with the young man whom she's in love with after her father refuses to give permission for their wedding.

Although there's no clear wedding scene in *Shirin's Wedding*, the movie tells the story of Shirin who leaves her village in Anatolia for Germany in pursuit of her fiancé. When her brothers try to wed her to the village headman, Shirin flees shortly before the scheduled wedding. Shirin and her fiancé reunite in a surrealistic scene.

The movie *When We Leave* (*Die Fremde*) is mainly about parting ways rather than marriage. In addition, the movie features a 4 minutes long saloon wedding. Here the wedding helps the protagonist confront her parents.

The Characteristics of Analyzed Wedding Movies

The classification 'Migrant Cinema' is inadequate for defining these movies. It is the new Turks who make them, and new Turks are born and raised in Germany. They became German citizens, never migrated, therefore, this cinema is made by non-migrants, also known as third generation Turks. With its seeds planted in Kreuzberg, Berlin and Altona, Munich, this new cinema has also brought a new understanding of cinema for Germany. French Beur cinema[8] has transformed into *Deutschtürke* (German-Turks) cinema. Georg Seeßlen uses the term 'cinema of alterity' to define this genre of cinema with reference to the first wave of German films about 'foreigners', mainly guest workers, who came to Germany during post-war economic boom period. The 'Kino der Fremdheit', the precursor of the 'Kino der doppelten Kulturen', includes films made by German directors such as Helma Sanders' *Shirin's Wedding* or Christian Ziewer's *Aus der Ferne sehe ich dieses*

Land (*I See This Land from Afar*, 1978) and Rainer Werner Fassbinder's film about guest workers *Katzelmacher* (*The Goat*, 1969). These first German films about immigrants are well-intentioned depictions of the difficult living conditions of guest workers who are struggling to find a place in German society (Seeßlen 2000) (Berghahn, 2008). Elsaesser prefers using the term "cinema of double Occupancy" (Elsaesser, 2005). The cinema of double occupancy has emerged in response to the crisis of the nation-state and the growing significance of multiple and often conflicting allegiances which "hyphenated members of [a] nation" (Elsaesser, 2005: 118) experience. (Berghahn, 2007). But Hamid Naficy uses the concept "accented cinema" for this type of filmmaking (Naficy, 2001). In general, it is more explanatory when such multicultural types of World cinema are called accented cinema. Although the films Hamid Naficy refers to deal with themes of homesickness, desire for discovering one's own roots, etc., they do not match well with the movies made by these directors, yet it is still an appropriate term for the movies made by said filmmakers, who were born in Turkey, went to Germany, with some of them returning home and some settling down in Germany. We may give Tevfik Başer as an example. And the cinematography of Yüksel Yavuz may also be considered in this group.

Looking at the movies made by the Turks born and grew up in Germany or went to Germany as children and movies made by directors born in Turkey, and then went to Germany; they seem to have different structures. These directors who made movies about the Turks only lived in Germany, except for visiting Turkey for summer vacations, they studied in German schools and grew up surrounded by the German culture. And their friendships with the children of immigrants from different countries were also reflected in these movies. Some of them lived a Ghetto life in the places mostly populated by Turkish people. What appeared in their movies was a Germanized Turkish culture.

This group called third generation comes from a heterogenic culture. The culture their parents, coming from Anatolia, brought with themselves is now foreign to this third generation and this generation is in the process of creating its own culture. They tried various methods to express themselves in the Ghetto life and they lived on forming certain groups. The group "36 Boys" formed in Berlin is one such. Regarding education, this third generation was luckier; they have become engineers, politicians, and filmmakers that are discussed in this article. Unlike their parents, they lived in cities instead of rural areas. They used state-of-the-art devices. This contributed to their development a great deal. Yugoslavian, Serbian, Spanish and Greek workers had also gone to Germany. As a result, a sense of friendship between the kids from these countries was developed. Thus, the issue of multilingualism was solved by learning and speaking German. However they had also begun speaking their native languages with an accent. The root of the term "accented cinema" defined by Naficy was none other than this. When this definition proved inadequate, the term transnationalism had emerged.

Pioneered by Fatih Akin, this group makes films about Turkey and Turks in Germany. Current structures of the German society are also depicted in these movies. Now Turks are not the only best friends of Turks. Even a Greek and a Serbian (*Short Sharp Shock*) or even an African now can be close friends (*A Little Bit of Freedom*) of them. Another distinguishing

characteristic of these films is their multilingual structures because of their multicultural characters. Italian, former Yugoslavian, Greek and Spanish characters settled in Germany continue to speak their own language. And this creates a communication problem. This characteristic reflects the natural aspects of these movies, providing a more realistic feel. Characters talk to each other not by their mother tongues, but by the language of the country where they live.[9] When the films are released, they have subtitles and audiences that do not speak these languages can understand the dialogues and for DVD and Blu-ray releases of the movies, subtitle options are provided for the audience's convenience.

In general, majority of the films mentioned above are multilingual and multicultural in structure. Films made in Germany are, in proportion to high Turkish population, higher in number than movies made by other foreign citizens. While weddings are supporting elements in some films, they are the main focus in others. And the titles of these movies have been chosen in order to highlight their focuses: *Shirin's Wedding, My Crazy Turkish Wedding, The Wedding* etc. *My Crazy Turkish Wedding* is a movie on marriage, and as such, it makes use of marriages, weddings, wedding preparations, as well as Turkish and German cultures to a great extent. *Evet, ich will!* also tells the wedding adventures of people from different cultures. These two movies and other similar ones revolve around wedding and marriage themes. In the other movies mentioned above, wedding and marriage themes are also present, but are not placed in the center of the story and instead used to support the narrative.

While marriages in Anatolia are usually prearranged, consensual marriages can also be seen. Besides these, although rare, people sometimes run off with one another. This is also discussed in movies that are analyzed.

Another theme used as frequently as marriage and wedding is Islam as well as life style associated with it. Either a mosque picture or image or a scene of salaat highlights the religious characteristics of the Turks. And, furthermore, Turkish customs and traditions are also presented to the audience at every opportunity. Sunni sect of Islam is emphasized more than the other sects. Accordingly, marriage and wedding ceremonies are performed according to Sunni traditions. Visiting the would-be bride's home to ask for the girl's hand, engagement, marriage and wedding is not different much from the practice in Turkey. In Germany, as it is in Turkey, the Turks prefer to live together at a certain location. And this approach brings a way of life not open to the outside. This closed way of life, also called ghetto, prevent the people living that from encountering with other cultures, observing the values of the society in which they live, thus consequently, making interaction impossible. And the integration which Germans desire much and try to implement seems not possible. Integration may bring assimilation together with it. Collective presentation and maintenance of a variety of cultures and ways of life may be a more appropriate solution than integration.

Although these topics are not openly emphasized in the said films, it is a step further to deal with the matters of intercultural dialogue and cross-marriage. National identities of the directors determine their approach to these matters.

Directors not of Turkish origin have, especially since *Shirin's Wedding* by Helma Sanders-Brahms, tried to reflect cultural shocks and changes supported by the television. *Evet, ich will!* by Sinan Akkus, a director from the third generation, portrays a cross-marriage, an Alevi-Sunni marriage in a comical way. Tevfik Baser, a director born and lives in Turkey, deals with the First Generation workers, who went from Turkey to Germany to work. Majority of the directors living in Turkey has told the stories of the first generation.

There is no difference between German and Turkish directors' movies in terms of the wedding scenes.

Directors born in Turkey and settled abroad have told stories about Turkey and Germany. They are films with their messages told in both countries. Thirdly, looking at the films of the directors, born and grew up abroad, we see German-Turkish characteristics even in wedding ceremonies. Their topics are especially closer to the Turks in Germany, rather than to the Turks in Turkey. They prefer Sezen Aksu and Tarkan as soundtrack music. These directors have created their own groups of artists. They include Mehmet Kurtulus, Birol Unel, Hilmi Sözer, Idil Uner, Adam Bousdoukos, Baki Davrak, Sibel Kekilli and Tim Seyfi. As other artists, we may include Tuncel Kurtiz, Meltem Cumbul, Guven Kiraç and Ozay Fecht in this group. Mehmet Kurtulus and Birol Unel also work with foreign directors. These three types of directors also present different characteristics in their films.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The relationship between Germany and Turkey that began in the Ottoman era has now adopted a continual character. There has been cooperation between the two countries including railway constructions and renovating the armies; as a result of this cooperation, when Germany was in need of additional workforce after the ruins of World War II, Turkish workers have gone to Germany as guest workers. These workers did not want to return home and instead invited their families to live with them. Thus the children born in Germany were raised in a culture different from their parents', and they settled down to live their lives in Germany. This generation eligible for dual citizenship is also the generation that created German Turkish cinema. By means of mixed marriages, they have adopted a lifestyle different than the traditional Turkish life of the older generation. They have become politicians in German political parties and have strayed from labor-based professions as much as possible.

This type of cinema, which was first defined as Migrant Cinema, was later on labeled with the term accented cinema by Hamid Naficy in an effort to make a theoretical approach. This multilingual, multinational cinema can be better explained with the term transnational cinema. Movies about Turkish workers were initially made by German directors; however over time the third generation German Turks have taken over and become an important figure of German cinema. They have shot footages of Germany with their handheld cameras and brought them to Turkey, and vice versa. This was their introduction to the camera. Then they have gained experience by shooting weddings and sharing it with their relatives.

The first to make a name for himself among the Turks living in Turkish-heavy cities of Munich and Berlin was Fatih Akın; other directors followed in his steps. The reason the focus is on the directors is that in our day, movies are associated with their directors and directors are regarded as Auteurs, meaning creative directors. Because the analyzed movies are those that feature wedding scenes, some directors were left out. Directors within the scope of this study include German directors, Turkish citizens and directors with dual citizenships. Movies by these directors feature wedding scenes, some short and some long, and because the influences of the first generation had not disappeared completely, these weddings carry similarities to those in Turkey. The marriage ceremonies open with the traditional ritual of asking for the bride's parents' permission and end with weddings. The means of entertainment in these weddings are not different from weddings in Turkey. Turkish songs, belly dancing, halay, pinning on the bride and the groom jewelry and money, marriage gifts, wedding ceremonies with or without food serving are frequently used in these movies. German directors including Turkish weddings in their movies also present similar wedding ceremonies. In some movies marriages between Turks and Germans are told and in cases where the groom is German, he is usually forced into converting to Islam and getting a circumcision. These are mostly comical elements used comedy movies.

These multilingual, multicultural movies show the viewer that the Turks living in Germany are stuck between tradition and modernity. In some of the movies, especially the female protagonist sees marriage as a kind of salvation from her family. In some others, a Turkish man coming from Turkey wants to get married to a girl who lives in Germany and has permanent residency, just so he could get work permit. Mixed marriages are not only between Turks and Germans, but also among the Turks themselves. Scenes of marriages between people of different sects or different, opposing political views are also present in the movies and this causes conflict among the characters.

Directors from different ethnic groups hint at their ethnic origins in the films they make. This is the same with movies that feature wedding themes. Developments and changes in Turkish German relations throughout history have affected the films as well. German-Turkish cinema has especially gained great significance in Germany and it appears that its importance will keep growing in the future.

ENDNOTES

[1]   Bibliography for migration: H. Yildirim Aganoglu, *Goc / Osmanlidan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makus Talihi (Migration / Unfortunate fate of the Balkans from Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic)*, Kum Saati Publications, 2001. S. Gulfer Ihlamur-Oner, N. Asli Sirin Oner, *Küresellesme* Çaginda *Goc (The Migration in The Globalization Era),* Iletisim, Istanbul, 2012. Barbara Pusch, Tomas Wilkoszewski, *Türkiye'ye Uluslararasi Goc, (Toplumsal Kosullar - Bireysel Yasamlar)*, Translated by: Mutlu Comak-Ozbatir, (Translation of *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten***)**, Kitap Publication / Human and Society Series, Istanbul, 2010. etc.

[2]   On 13.07.1976, with the Law on Approval of Convention on European Social Security, decisions were made regarding immigrant workers and Turkey committed to act according to the said law.

Again on 24.11.1977, European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers approved in Strasburg was signed by Turkey on the same date. It was ratified with the decision from Council of Ministers on 25.12.1979 according to the Ratification Act 2257. Preamble of the Law is as follows: "Member States of European Council signing this convention; by encouraging cooperation between members and improving economic and social state in order to protect and improve common goals and principals within the frame of Human Rights and Freedoms, by regulating legal status of immigrant workers that are citizens of European Council member states, on every aspect regarding living and working conditions, in order to ensure the level of status not to be lower than that of other citizens of worker-immigrating countries, by being determined to facilitate immigrant workers' and their families' social welfare, by approving the rights and privileges that bring together the member states in the light of cooperation, in line with the Council Status of mutual rights and freedoms between member states regarding their nationalities have reached a consensus regarding issues below." Göçmen İşçinin Hukuki Statüsü Hakkında Avrupa Sözleşmesi (European Convention on Legal Status of Migrant Workers) Kanun No (Law no): 2257, Retrieved July 20 2013 from http://ow.ly/o5ud9

3   These songs and laments usually feature actual events from the lives of first generation immigrant workers in Germany. These workers who go to Germany temporarily had faced a number of linguistic, religious and cultural problems. Some of them got married there, some didn't even return to the homeland. Some were injured, crippled due to harsh working conditions and retired due to disability. In the song "Ships to Germany" (lyrics by Erkan Ocakli) the tragedy of the wife of a worker and her three daughters and two sons is told. The wife gets married in Germany and is unable to return home: "Three daughters and two sons - How could you leave them alone - How could you set fire - To such a beautiful home." Lyrics by Fazil Hüsnü Daglarca, Street Sweepers in Germany focuses on the lowly conditions workers from Turkey had to endure, despite having glorious ancestors: "Our ancestors conquering the sun and tomorrow - while in strange lands I succumb to my sorrow."

4   Nizamettin Ariç: *A Song for Beko* (*Klamek ji bo Beko*, 1992).

5   Tevfik Baser: *Forty Square Meters of Germany* (*40 m² Almanya*, 1986), Serif Goren: *Germany, the Bitter Land* (*Almanya Aci Vatan*, 1979), Ismet Elçi: *The Wedding* (*Dugun - Die Heirat*, 1993), *Kismet, Kismet* (1987).

6   Fatih Akin: *Garbage in the Garden of Eden* (*Der Müll im Garten Eden*, 2012, documentary), *Soul Kitchen* (2009), *Germany 09: 13 Short Films About the State of the Nation* (*Deutschland 09: 13 kurze Filme zur Lage der Nation*, segment "Der Name Murat Kurnaz", 2009), *New York, I Love You* (segment "Fatih Akin") 2009, *Auf der anderen Seite* (*The Edge of Heaven* 2007), *Infrastructure* (Altyapi, TV documentary, 2007), *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (*Istanbul Hatirasi - Köprüyü Geçmek*, 2005, documentary), *Visions of Europe* (*Europäische Visionen*, segment: "The Old Evil Songs," 2004, Germany), *Head-On* (*Gegen die Wand*, 2004), *Solino* (2002), *Denk ich an Deutschland - Wir haben vergessen zurückzukehren* (documentary, 2001), *In July* (Im Juli, 2000), *Short Sharp Shock* (*Kurz und schmerzlos*, 1998), *Weed* (*Getürkt*, short, 1996), *Sensin... You're the One!* (*Sensin - Du bist es!*, short, 1995), Yüksel Yavuz: *Close up Kurdistan* (2007), *A Little Bit of Freedom* (*Kleine Freiheit*, 2003), *April Children* (*Aprilkinder*, 1998), *My Father, the Guest Worker* (*Mein Vater, der Gastarbeiter*, 1994), Yilmaz Arslan: *Fratricide* (*Brudermord*, 2005), *The Wound* (*Yara*, 1998), *Long Corridor* (*Langer Gang*, 1992), Buket Alakuş: *Hans once with hot sauce* (*Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*, 2013), *Finnish Tango* (*Finnischer Tango*, 2008), *Girlfriends for Life* (*Freundinnen fürs Leben*, 2006), *Offside* (*Eine andere Liga*, 2005), *My Mother* (*Anam*, 2001), *The Key* (*Schlüssel*, 1997), Sinan Akkus: *Evet, I Do* (*Evet, ich will!*, 2008), *Sevda Means*

Love (*Sevda heißt Liebe*, 2004), İdil Üner: *The Lovers from the hotel by Osman* (*Die Liebenden vom Hotel von Osman*, 2001), Züli Aladağ: *The Turks come* (*Die Türken kommen*, 2004), *Elephant Heart* (*Elefantenherz*, 2002), Ayşe Polat: *the Heiress* (*Die Erbin*, 2013), *Luk's Happiness* (*Luks Glück*, 2010), *En Garde* (2004), *Tour Abroad* (*Auslandstournee*, 2000), *Tour Abroad* (*Yurtdisi Turnesi*, 1999), *Countess Sophia Hatun* (*Gräfin Sophia Hatun*, 1997), *A feast for Beyhan* (*Ein Fest für Beyhan*, 1994) *Strange Night* (*Fremdennacht*, 1992), Thomas Arslan: *From a distance* (*Aus der Ferne*, 2006), *A Fine Day* (*Der schöne Tag*, 2001), *Dealer* (1999), *Brothers and Sisters* (*Geschwister – Kardesler*, 1997), Hussi Kutluca: *Me Boss, You Sneakers!* (*Ich Chef, Du Turnschuh*, 1998), *Summer in Mezra* (*Sommer in Mezra*, 1991), Seyhan Derin: *Between The Stars* (*Zwischen den Sternen*, 2002), *I am my mother's daughter* (*Ben Annemin Kiziyim - Ich bin Tochter meiner Mutter*, 1996), *Unaffected* (*Unberührt*, 1993), Sülbiye Günar (Aka Verena S. Freytag): *Saniye's Lust* (*Saniyes Lust*, 2004), *Karamuk* (2003), *Marie's Heart* (*Maries Herz*, 2000), *Fifty Fifty* (1996), Neco Çelik: *Behind the Door* (Hinter der Tür, 2004), *Urban Guerillas* (2004), *Everyday* (Alltag, 2003), Mennan Yapo (Also Known As Mennan Yapicioglu): *Premonition (I)* (2007), *Silent* (Lautlos, 2004), Adnan G. Köse: *Shallow Grave* (*Kleine Morde*, 2012), *HipHop Express* (*Homies*, 2010), *Run for Your Life!* (*Lauf um Dein Leben - Vom Junkie zum Ironman*, 2008), Özgür Yıldırım: *Blutzbrüdaz* (2012), *Chiko* (2008), *Alim Market* (2004), Feo Aladag: *When We Leave* (*Die Fremde*, 2010), Zuli Aladag: "Die Türken kommen" ("The Turks Come," 2004, TV documentary), *Elephant Heart* (*Elefantenherz*, 2002).

[7]   When Helma Sanders-Brahms had come to Turkey for the screening of her movie, she had made a speech in the movie theater of Atatürk Cultural Center. The author of this study had witnessed this speech in person.

[8]   "'Beur' is reputedly derived from Parisian back slang for 'arabe' (Arab). Beur cinema refers to the work of filmmakers of Maghrebi descent (i.e. from France's former North African colonies) who grew up in France. The 'beurs have been the most visible, the most stigmatized and the most dynamic ethnic minority in postcolonial France. [...] dominant French cinema has, until relatively recently, tended to suppress or marginalize the voices and narratives of the nation's troubling postcolonial others and (re)produce ethnic hierarchies founded on the assumed supremacy of white metropolitan culture and identity' (Tarr 2005: 3). 'The term *cinéma beur* was first coined in a special issue of Cinématographe in July 1985 to describe a set of independently released films by and about the beurs, that is, second-generation filmmakers of Maghrebi descent' (Tarr 2005: 2)." Carrie Tarr (2005), *Reframing Difference: Beur and banlieue filmmaking in France*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. Retrieved July 20, 2013 from http://www.migrantcinema.net/glossary/term/beur_cinema/

[9]   Similar problems arose among the citizens of the nations established after disintegration of the Soviet Union. The common language is Russian this time.

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