Manufacturing Culture

Cultural Agents from Turkey Arriving in Berlin

Verena Niepel

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Über die Autorin

Verena Niepel ist freie Journalistin und Autorin. Sie beschäftigt sich mit kulturellen, sozialkritischen und politischen Themen, besonders rund um die Türkei. Ihre Leidenschaft ist die bildende Kunst – theoretisch wie praktisch. Die gebürtige Erlangerin studierte 2012 bis 2016 in Konstanz Literatur-Kunst-Medien. Bis zum Ende Ihres Grundstudiums lebte sie immer wieder eine Zeit im Ausland, darunter in den USA, England, Frankreich oder Italien. Nach ihrem Bachelor am Bodensee zog es sie endgültig raus aus der Idylle in die Metropolenregion Berlin. 2018 absolvierte Verena Niepel dort den Doppelmaster „European Studies" mit Schwerpunkt Politikwissenschaft an der Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) und an der Bilgi Universität in Istanbul. Als freie Journalistin arbeitete sie für verschiedene Onlinemedien, darunter die taz.gazete und die türkische Deutsche Welle. Sie lebt und arbeitet in Berlin und Potsdam.

Abstract

In the last 15 years a remarkable number of people working in the cultural field moved from Turkey to Berlin. Their motivations are various, but what can be analyzed is how those cultural agents arrive in Berlin. Visual artists are put in the focus of this research. It is their precarious situation that exposes struggles of identity and connected to this institutional failure. Considering political tensions, how can migration theories detangle the variables that make a living together possible? Based on empirical material that was collected in conversations with Turkish cultural agents in Germany and German cultural agents who live in Turkey the attempt was made to identify the power relations between the artist from another country and cultural institutions in Berlin.

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Introduction

Prior to my arrival in Istanbul, I wrote a series of articles on visual artists who recently moved from Turkey to Berlin. My writings were published on the Turkish-German platform taz.gazete and in the online art magazine Selbstdarstellungssucht.de. The artists' country of origin mattered insofar as their transnational identity was in every case reflected in their work and their words. Having said that, since my arrival in Istanbul in autumn last year I became aware that it is not Turkey which is the subject of conversations but Germany as a country of destination.

The topic of migration between Turkey and Germany gained importance as Turkey underwent a fundamental political, social and cultural change in the last twenty years (Kamp; Kaya; Keyman; Onursal Beşgül 2014: 9). According to the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees the number of applications for asylum amongst Turkish citizens rose significantly after the coup attempt in July 2017, with 488 applications counted in June 2017 and 1073 in October 2017 (BAMF 2017). Amongst the people wanting to leave the country are many who are working in the cultural field. Although the foreigners' authority of Berlin does not keep statistics which connect artist visa applications and nationality, other reports and my own interviews prove the urge of many intellectuals from Turkey to emigrate (see appendix, Akdeniz; Altıparmak 2018). What interests me is the state of living in-between the country of origin and destination, or in the "beyond", what Homi Bhabha calls this space in "the Location of Culture" (1994). This state of in-between depends on matters of identity strongly influenced by German cultural institutions.

To explain the origin of my curiosity, I want to give a brief anecdote. With the aim to write an article, I had a conversation with an upcoming female artist who was born in Istanbul and moved to Berlin in 2013 to pursue her career as a photographer. She did not know about my plans to go to Istanbul and while we were talking she described how restrictive her life in Istanbul was, especially for a woman. After I ended recording our conversation, I told her I am planning to live there. She reacted with a praise on her home town – how she likes the lively atmosphere and the tension in the air and how she could never stop loving Istanbul.

This situation is worth mentioning because it shows how her identity as a Turkish-German artist is constructed out

of conflicting notions, concerning her town of origin and her current place of residence. In this globalized, troubled world it is almost unusual to say "I was born here. I live here. I die here". Especially the creative mind wanders across borders to find a place of security, where one is able to let ideas grow without worrying about expressing onself freely. Still, it would be too easy to assume that the sensitive mind of an artist sticks to places where everything is "in order", so to say in countries like Germany, where one can just live the freedom of expression. A feeling of nostalgia towards the country of origin or the notion of not belonging to the chosen society can create a state of distress. This state of misery, though, can be a source of creativity too. It is an interpretation of the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, that one can find inspiration only in the state of misery (Kastner 2009: 52). Therefore, many cultural agents keep moving like nomads so that their identity is constantly being formed in a fluid process. With this work, I want to approach this "nomadic space". The role of cultural institutions in the country of destination will be the main concern of my research. Furthermore, I want to argue that cultural institutions play an essential role in the identity-struggle of the transnational agent.

This can be exemplified by further conversations with artists who came from Turkey to Berlin. For example, the curators of the exhibition "ğ – queere Formen migrieren" (ğ – queer forms migrate), which took place in the Gay Museum in Berlin in 2017, expressed their astonishment towards the lack of Turkish queers in the Berlin art scene. They said that the Turkish Queer-scene had not found a place in art institutions, yet (Safoğlu; Niepel 2017). However, the very institutionalized character of the German art scene seemed to explain why it can be difficult to gain access and assert one's place. One of the curators says:

> „Here in Germany you don't get the tools or access to institutions. If you are not asked, it will be a constant fight that you have to do on your own and for your own reasons. That is the problem, not that the people are not interested in that topic." (Safoğlu; Niepel 2017).

A Kurdish artist, who is internationally established, on the other hand speaks in a more avowing way about his work with German institutions: "I never see the work with art-institutions as something short-term. I feel at home at most of them, because we are doing projects over and over again. It is a mutual, constant learning process." (Öğüt; Niepel 2017). This shows the importance of

successful and long-term cooperation between the artists and cultural institutions in the hosting country. John Russon formulates this in his article "Heidegger, Hegel and Ethnicity. The Ritual Basis of Self-identity": "Self-consciousness is a collective achievement won in a dialogue of mutual recognition" (Russon 1995: 512). He further writes: "The new member will find that she is recognized by the members of a society [into which she is born] to the extent that her actions conform to their institutions." (Russon 1995: 515). Therefore, my research question will be: How do artists from Turkey find access to German cultural institutions? This inquiry will be answered under the title: Manufacturing Culture. Cultural agents from Turkey arriving in Berlin.

Since it is my aim to be specific, I will state the parts of my question and the title, which already hints towards the answer. The term "manufacturing" here relates to the fields of cultural production and thereby sets an economical framework. Apart from that and most importantly manufacturing also carries a capitalist-critique, since the word implies mass-production and exploitation as well as the reduction of cultural production to something mechanical. The term "culture" will be further defined in the next chapters, it not only refers to the cultural production of visual arts but also to a

cultural background. Also, the idea of the "transnational" will play an important role and will therefore be further explained in relation to the topics of living in-between and identity formation as well as articulation in general. By Berlin institutions, I refer to state funded institutions, such as universities, museums, etc. They not only give access in terms of being necessary for the artists to make a living or to get jobs which require an academic title, but also in terms of enabling the artists to access themselves so that they can deal with their identity in-between cultures and continue their work in the country of arrival. In the course of my research, it will be critically examined if institutions reflect their role in the artists' life. Coming to the main object of research: the cultural agent. The cultural agent in this context is someone who is occupied in the field of visual arts. I call them agents in a Foucauldian way to underline their potential to act and change their surroundings.

Connected to this attempt of manifesting something that we call cultural agent, I want to refer again to Michel Foucault. He would describe the research that will be done for this thesis with his own words as an operation of discipline, "[…] the constitution of tableaux vivants, which transform the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities." (Foucault 1977: 148). This is

what I will do for the reader of the following thoughts, using an interdisciplinary approach to bring in order my empirical observations.

Rationale

In recent years, migration studies covering migration to and from Europe after World War II focused increasingly on non-economic factors. According to Russel King, the picture of the uneducated and poor migrant that can be reduced to being a worker is not appropriate (King 2002: 89). Indeed, the exchange between the German and the Turkish society was rather reciprocal. Apart from the geographic, economic, demographic and the political dimensions, the social and cultural systems in the country of origin and arrival were influenced both ways (King 2002: 90). Russel King underlines that migration studies have become a "crucial element in cultural studies" (King 2002: 90). He pleads for an interdisciplinary approach and a comparative analysis to expose the "lack of humanity and reality in many econometric studies" (King 2002: 91).

The term culture will be defined more closely in the following chapters. In short it refers to a cultural language community but also to artistic practice. Anyway, assigning importance to culture, for a minority community in another country is

not a new tendency, but has already been outlined by Michel De Certeau in the 1970s as well as by Stuart Hall and Edward Said in the 1990s. The former points out that cultural claims are not only a compensation and therefore a protection, but that "autonomy at the cultural level is needed for political force to appear" (De Certeau 1997: 71). Culture as an "aspiration to sovereignty" as Edward Said put it, is an even stronger expression, which however at the same time neglects culture as something exclusionary (Parry 1992: 21). This means culture has an enforcing character, it works as a motor in society instead of being a regulator.

It became clear that it is crucial to include a cultural studies perspective when looking at migration between Turkey and Germany. Available literature nevertheless shows that in the cultural dimension, there is only limited research on art production and artists. Artists as well as every other migrant have to deal with identity struggles, but adding to this they chose to work in a rather precarious field. It is so precarious because the value of the artists' product in this economic relationship cannot be fixed without connecting it to a certain social capital. The success of the migrant artist is dependent on networks, knowledge and expertise. Social forces generally play an important role

when looking at economic dynamics, but in the art market this is especially visible. Before going deeper into the topic of arts, I want to make a case for the consideration of social forces within the capitalist cycle, instead of generally neglecting economic factors.

Stuart Hall's work picks up Antonio Gramsci's communist ideas and stresses the importance of an economic understanding of a society but also insists that social forces need to be included in a social analysis. Hall reformulates how to apply Gramsci to the matters of race and ethnicity. According to Hall a proper Gramscian analysis has to show that "objective economic crises actually develop, via the changing relations in the balance of social forces [...]" (Hall 1996: 419). Even Karl Marx already outlined that commodities must produce "[…] use values for others, social use values […]" (Marx, 1971: 30). To look at the social use of values emphasizes the "how" of exchange instead of the "what". The process of exchange is put into focus. When it comes to the art market, expertise, knowledge and network matter in this process. Walter Benjamin examined in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" what happens when a cultural commodity is put in an economic cycle. He predicts the loss of the aura, therefore the singularity through technical

reproduction. What he calls the aura of an authentic work of art is tied up with its originality and therefore with human perception (Benjamin 1969: 5). This means the success of an art work in the economic cycle depends on something that is hard to determine and constantly changing. The perception again cannot be separated from the human's identity which is indeterminable as well. This means that there are many unstable variables that fix the value of a cultural commodity.

Capital and society are also the topics of Pierre Bourdieu, who needs to be mentioned here. He examines the social field in his works and how the social origin of a person matters. He also differentiates the term "cultural capital" and its relation to power. Without going further into his theory at this point, his ideas on the art market and the positioning of individuals in it are going to be important for the thesis.

It is a complex matter to grasp the connection between art and capitalist critique. Nevertheless, the fact that those links can be traced far back in literature and the lack of academic writing about cultural agents in migration theory show that one should consider deeper research on this topic. By now, the basic links are shown, the next step will be to present an appropriate method to disen-

tangle this issue in order to understand the relation between cultural agents and institutions.

Methodology

A critical social science method will be applied in this research. This means that nomothethic and ideographic tendencies will be combined to write about society. One can trace this method back to Karl Marx and Max Weber as well as to Georg Lukács and Bourdieu, whose work is influenced by Marx and Weber and who continued a critical social science approach (Neuman, 2011:110). Although Marx is often criticized to be more on the nomoethnic, reductionist side, Lukács underlines that the concrete, too, is important for research and he writes that Marx was very clear on this point: "The first problem, that we have to deal with here, it that of the immediate mirror reflections of an outside world. Every insight lies on those. […]" Marx, according to Lukács, further underlines the importance of the unique image of the world by writing: "'All science would be superfluous, if the appearance and the being of things would be directly one'" (Lukács 1999: 261). This shows how fundamental the subjective experience of "the being of things" was for Marx. Most of the other authors who wrote more specifically on migration draw their theory

from empirical observations, for example Ayhan Kaya or Ruth Mandel who worked with broad and detailed material from their field research. Another well-known example of good quality for the inductive method is a study by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (1918-1920). Their extensive research is based on personal documents, which means a shift from a theoretically focused research to more practical one (Bulmer 1986: 24). The authors introduce their work with a chapter on methodology. There they argue against an exclusively rational approach to explain social reality (Thomas, Znaniecki 1918: 1). Nevertheless, they explain the sociology they stand for as opposed to "social psychology as the general science of the subjective side of culture" (Thomas, Znaniecki 1918: 33). Thus, their theory still aims to understand the behavior and actions of individuals within a social structure. Just as in materialist approaches, on which the critical social science method is built on, they acknowledge the determination of human beings through social circumstances, but they deny that those norms and rules are rational or reasoned by "physical consequences" (Thomas, Znaniecki 1918: 33). The rational and "physical consequences" refer to the Marxist idea that the drive for profit regulates everything. But in this

notion of denial they are missing that also Marx saw the accumulation of capital attached to specific time and historical circumstances (Graaff 2001: 29).

The following research agrees in so far with the inductive method Thomas and Znaniecki stand for as it emphasizes the importance of practical material. In contrast to this method, the study on Turkish cultural agents works in strong interaction with theory. Until now, basic notions in migration theory and developments in history relevant for the research have been described. In the next chapter theoretical assumptions will follow, which try to anticipate the circumstances for the behavior of cultural institutions and agents. This theoretical pre-knowledge will be reconciled with the results of the conversations that form the practical part. After this step, the theories provided earlier will be revised.

The interplay of theory and observation in dialectical critical research that "'tries on' a potential rule and what might follow from this rule […] is called abduction" (Neuman 2014: 114). Through this abduction, paradoxes between the particular and the wider context, the individual and the society, will show up whereby the underlying social structure will be revealed. The final goal is the Hegelian "Aufhebung" (engl.: articulation). To indicate what will be further explained in the

last chapter, the "Aufhebung" means to come to confront two contradictory notions and come to a "third" (Maybee 2016). This third is interpreted as a solution in this research. To be even more concrete to come to the "third moment" means to come up with empowering ideas that could improve the conditions of access to cultural institutions for Turkish artists (Maybee 2016). This is exactly what critical social science aims for: the strengthening of those "in society who are less powerful and marginalized" (Neumann 2011: 111). This approach may be criticized for not being stable as underlying structures might change. Anyway, this kind of criticism is applicable to every theoretical approach. Also, the number of pages available might not be enough to reveal all paradoxes. However, it is important to at least make an attempt to disentangle the dynamics of the situation, because every research offering a new approach eventually contributes to a bigger theoretical framework.

The Weberian attempt to put the "Verstehen" (engl.: understanding) of everyday life experience and the individual behavior in the focus is equally valued in this study, yet, not is the notion of freedom of choices (Kim 22.5.2017). Individual choices are not completely determined by capitalist relations of production, but our attitudes towards those rela-

tions limit the freedom of individual choices (Iorio 2012:166). The creative potential of the cultural agents and the limited options can be grasped aptly with a critical social science approach (Neumann 2011: 121). The method used here does not strive for universally valid explanations, but it tries to build a more abstract framework than a purely inductive method would offer. Still, the framework is connected to a certain time and place, therefore it strives to form an "understanding of the particular way in which an individual ascribes values to certain events and institutions or takes a position towards the general cultural values of his/her time under a unique, never-to-be-repeated constellation of historical circumstances" (Kim 22.5.2017). Throughout this hermeneutic course of action, the words "integration" just as "migrant" will be avoided, since the term has been stigmatized to describe something which is much more complex.

The author cannot put him-/herself into the position of a Turkish artist who moved to Germany. However, he/she can try to understand this person and get a grasp of his/her situation. To achieve this conversations[1] are considered the most suitable method to gain empirical

material. For this practical part, unstructured conversations have been conducted and evaluated. A guideline that considers all variables has been developed. The research question is reducible to a dependent variable and a few independent variables. In this case, the dependent variable is the conditions that define in what way the cultural Turkish agents are limited or empowered by institutions. The independent variable would be issues of identity and critique of institutions.

As conversation partners I chose three artists from Turkey who are situated in working life in Berlin. Conversations with two people who are from Germany and work in the cultural production in Turkey are added to also shed light on the issue from the opposite perspective. All the cultural agents will remain anonymous in this thesis apart from a general job description in the following chapter.

The questions were posed openly, which has the advantage of not limiting answers, also they should not suggest an answer in any way. Open questions are also useful for exploring new areas, which might not have been considered before (Bryman 2012: 247). When developing the questions, they were already ordered thematically. This pre-coding gives a structure that allows both conversation partners to stay focused on the topic. The topics chosen are: background

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[1]The term conversation replaces the term interview, since the attempt was made to create a non-hierarchical atmosphere during the meetings with the cultural agents.

facts, matters of identity and experience with institutions. Apart from three conversations, the meetings were face-to-face.

To get an idea about developing a research design in the field of qualitative social studies the "Handbook on methods and empirical social studies" (2014) by Nina Baur and Jörg Blasius was helpful. The chapter on interviews shows what kind of elements should be included in an open conversation and how to consider the asymmetrical relation between the person talked to and myself. Even more specifically is the literature by Alan Brymann, such as the book "Social Research Methods" (2012). Here, different question designs are introduced and the whole process of the conversation starting from formulating an inquiry is covered. Furthermore, critical aspects of qualitative research are elaborated, which were considered in the research, such as the position of the researcher.

Since this is a language-based approach, a critical discourse approach was used to analyze the collected data. In comparison with a discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis focuses on language as a power resource. In the context of this research this is useful because its aim is to reveal underlying power structures. Especially when it comes to institutions, a critical discourse analysis seeks to trace "how discourses are constructed and maintained in relation to certain phenomena, such as globalization" (Brymann 2012: 537). The discourse should show how it affects and gives meaning to social life and makes certain activities possible or not (Brymann 2012: 537). How are power relations reproduced in the discourse between institution and artist and even more importantly, how can it be challenged? Micro-notions therefore do play a role, because the respective minds of social actors matter. It would be wrong to assume though, that the relation between power structures and discourses are of direct nature. They are more complex and this is why a close, detailed evaluation of the conversations is necessary (Van Dijk 1993: 250). The critique which is developed by means of critical discourse analysis is political in any case (Van Dijk 1993: 253). This research is not obliged to define who is "villain and who is victim", instead, it will be argued that the "forms of dominance are 'jointly produced'" (Van Dijk 1993: 255). It is possible to say, though, that the one who has power is entitled with access, not only in a physical way but also with access to the discourse, i.e. socially valued resources. This aspect will be focused on when elaborating the conversations (Van Dijk 1993: 254). In this understanding, power means to control action, the more

power one has, the more discourse variables are controlled. An unequal power distribution would mean that the own group is represented positively, whereas the others are represented negatively (Van Dijk 1993: 263). How the representation of the Other is constructed and reproduced will be revealed and with this, the manipulative strategies that are used. This will shed a critical light on the situation of Turkish artists in cultural institutions in Germany.

Literature Review

> "A past is invested in a scientific theory and its 'objects'. A more recent history thus appeals to a new structuration for the categories of knowledge, and in that way it will gain meaning." (De Certeau 1997: 97)

With this introductory quote, Michel de Certeau tries to answer how social structures are connected to certain systems of representation. He states that "objects" have been related to specific methods of research, but those methods can change over the course of history. Furthermore, he claims the decision for a kind of investigation is always linked to a scientific organization which aims to produce reason (De Certeau 1997: 97). Hence, the thesis will of course be written in connection to an institution and in a certain context. The cause of the research is to

question how Berlin institutions give access to artists form Turkey who came to Germany in the last 15 years. In this timeframe the Turkish-German relations underwent a drastic change in means of power distribution and foreign policy. The two governments, which have had a close relationship for many decades, are moving apart especially since the mass demonstrations at Taksim square in 2013 and then the Turkish purges in 2016/2017.

There is a broad range of literature on the relation between Turkey and Germany. Since the research focuses on the last fifteen years and particularly on recent events, my sources include reports and news articles. Nevertheless, there is also new academic literature on migration between Turkey and Germany that will be of use. One author who should be mentioned here is Ayhan Kaya. He wrote a great number of texts concerned with the migration between Germany and Turkey. For example, he co-published the book "Contemporary Turkey at a Glance" (2014), which was edited and republished in 2017. The books look at the current situation in Turkey from an interdisciplinary perspective. His book "Sicher in Kreuzberg. Constructing Diasporas. Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin" (2001) gives an introduction to the term "culture"

related to the topic of migration. He negates the assumption of a diaspora as a homogeneous group and sheds light on the subculture of Hip-Hop youth in Berlin. Specifically, on matters of the transnational he wrote "German-Turkish Transnational Space: A Separate Space of their own" (2007). There are two other highly relevant authors. One is Yaşar Aydın with „The New Turkish Diaspora Policy: Its Aims, Their Limits and The Challenges for Associations of People of Turkish Origin and Decision-Makers in Germany" (2014) and the other one is Ruth Mandel with her book "Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany" (2008). Thomas Feist did some profound research on transnational space with a focus on the Turkish-Germany diaspora in "The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces" (2018) or "The Volume Andy Dynamics Of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces" (2000). In the latter book, he gives an overlook about different migration theories and is coming to the conlusion that a network theory is the most useful one when looking at contemporary migration, since it is a concept to look how agents and goods move within "social and symbolic ties" (Feist, 2000: 52). Most of the cultural

agents nowadays migrate to Berlin, since there is already an existing network. Amongst the literature on network theory, there is „The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World" (1993) by Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas and Mark J. Miller, as well as „The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (1918) by William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki as a sociological classic. Finally, there is one of the first works on thinking in networks: „The Network Society. From knowledge to policy" (2005) by Manuel Castells and Gustavo Cardoso.

To go further back in history, there is even more literature that describes especially the 1960s until the 1980s. Nermin Abadan Unat covers the early years from a wider angle than the economic perspective in „Turkish Workers in Europe 1960-1975: A Socio-Economic Reappraisal" (1976). This material will serve for a chapter on the historical development of the relations and the development of migration between Turkey and Germany.

Other sources used deal with Turkish and German foreign policy, that complete the basis of literature on migration with a political dimension. To give a short overview of the sources from the field of International Relations, the most important authors should be introduced. One of the

most recent publications on Turkish foreign policy is "'International Relations, Legality and Global Reach" (2017) edited by Pinar Gözen Erkan. Then there is Kemal Kirişci, who wrote several articles on the change of political guidelines in Turkey. For the German/European perspective, official documents are of use. It is important to include Erkan and Kirişci because they write about changes in Turkish foreign policy and it is important to have an understanding of these when looking at migration dynamics.

To embed the results of the conversations with the cultural agents in a theoretical framework a literature that focuses on the social aspects of migration without the notion to be used for generalizations is needed. It is important to bear in mind the fact that the author him-/herself can only deal with culture from his/her own site, such as this research is written from a certain perspective. This site or place is described by De Certeau as the "sum that circumscribes with whom and about what an exchange about matters of culture is possible" (De Certeau 1997: 123) in his book "Culture in the Plural" (1997). Here, he tries to open up the term culture by means of an interdisciplinary approach. The position of the researcher is also the focus of Renato Rosaldo in "Culture and Truth" (1993). He neither privileges subjectivity in scientific research

nor does he questions it from the bottom, but he discusses the wins and losses of subjectivity and objectivity. In "Towards a New Map of European Migration" (2002) by Russel King, one can find more recent work on the importance of the human factor that means a shift in migration studies. In this paper, King doesn't use the term culture once, he speaks about "non-economic" objectives. Since the aim of the thesis, though, is to investigate the role of cultural institutions in migration, it is the task, to approach the term "culture" as exactly as possible in a limited amount of words.

The importance of culture for migration studies can also be proven with writings by Edward Said and Stuart Hall. When it comes to matters of identity of cultural agents there is again Kaya who did research on how national citizenship is connected to identity. In the article "Is National Citizenship Withering Away? Social Affiliations and Labor Market Integration of Turkish-Origin Immigrants in Germany and France" (2012) he writes together with Ayşegül Kayaoğlu that citizenship has a positive impact on feeling attached to the country of residence. More specific examples about cultural agents and identity struggle are provided in "Ghetto Voices in Contemporary German Culture: Textscapes, Filmscapes, Soundscapes" (2012). Here, Maria Steh-

le deals with problems evoked by cultural performances that engage with ghettos. The Turkish-German author Feridun Zaimoğlu is one of her examples for a new generation of artists that take the role of a cultural spokesman. These spokesmen move in a space in-between, the "beyond", as Homi Bhabha is calling it in "The Location of Culture" (1994). De Certeau continues this idea with the notion of tactics inserted within dominant social strategies. Another concrete writing about everyday life is a text provided by the Berlin Senate: "Berlin Deutsch-Türkisch. Einblicke in die neue Vielfalt" (engl. Berlin German-Turkish. Insights in a new diversity") (2008). This text sample looks at the working conditions of cultural agents in every field, such as visual arts, music and theatre. Another really specific study is "50 years of Turkish working migration" (2011), edited by Seyda Ozil, Michael Hofmann and Yasemin Dayıoğlu-Yücel. In one of the chapters, Onur Suzan Kömürcü Nobrega deals with transnationality and art on the example of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, a theater in Berlin which focuses on post-migrant productions.

A more theoretical part, which will mainly refer to Stuart Hall's ideas, will answer the question of culture in terms of ethnicity and identity. In order to connect these thoughts with a critical analysis of state and state institutions, writings of Bourdieu will be of use and as already mentioned, Georg Lukács and Michel Foucault. In the transcript of one of his seminars, "The Technologies of the Self", Foucault states that individuals only matter for a state in terms of utility and that this cannot happen through ethnic grouping: "the marginalistic integration of individuals in the state's utility is not obtained in the modern state by the form of the ethnical community […]" (Martin, Gutman, Hutton 1988: 153). He explains that the state has to be reasoned by a heterogeneous understanding of territory. This notion will be picked up upon when the relation between German cultural institutions and cultural agents is explained. In Foucault's famous publication "Governmentality" (1991) he furthermore analyzes the conditions of power distribution. What is missing in the theoretical part now is the link between institutions and artists, which would be the work of art. Benjamin has already been brought up, who discusses this topic. A more recent author would be Arjun Appadurai who covers the topic of cultural commodities from a more economic perspective in "The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective" (1996).

This is just a selection of the most important authors used for this thesis. Together with the empirical material the

complex relation between institutions and artists in the context of migration is demonstrated. This analysis clarifies how cultural agents from Turkey arrive in Berlin. Through conversations with artists, it seems that there is still a border between those cultural agents and institutions. This affects identity struggles in a negative way, which means that they turn back to the culture in their country of origin. The artists' life in Turkey also is restricted in terms of political oppression and bad economic relations for artists, but they still feel a kind of freedom in the sense of belonging to a strong network. In the end, the gained freedom in the host country will be counterbalanced by the new restrictions they will have of face.

In this state of living in-between, it becomes clear that it is this notion of a nomadic life, the possibilities to go anywhere that shakes the picture of oneself. In the field of art this is especially valid. Still the focus should be put on criticizing German institutions, since they are the most rational variable in this system of cultural production and therefore, this is, where change for a greater number of people can happen. Due to time and space not all literature can be considered.[2] Yet, the body of work by the au-

thors mentioned will suffice to give a precise idea about the current situation and opportunities for the future.

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1. Historical Background

The objective of this brief historical excursus is to provide basic information which matters for the emigration of visual artist and cultural institutions today. Therefore, this chapter will focus on carving out parallels and differences between the migration from 1961 until the late 1990s and the migration in the last twenty years, from the late 1990s until 2018. Is it possible to compare the atmosphere after the major military coups in 1960 and 1980, especially amongst intellectuals and artists, with the tense situation today? A brief look at domestic political interests shows that those timeframes had a strong impact on the development of the domestic situation in both countries. It can be argued that migration policies that were built on bilateral agreements by the prevailing governments made it easier and more attractive for a certain group of people to enter Germany, and this group did not primarily consist of cultural agents. However, the social dynamics in the second half of the 20th century which resulted out of political and economic repression can be compared with recent years.

1.1 The Migration Process Between 1961 and 2002

The cause of this chapter is to question the role of culture in the history of migration from Turkey to Germany since the 1960s until the 2000s. The time frame is chosen in reference to the signing of the first labor recruitment agreement in 1961 (Aydın 2016: 2) and the new politics in the later 1990s that led to the landmark decision in 1999, which provided citizenship for children of immigrants, who were born in Germany (Mandel 2008: 15).

To outline the migration process between 1961 and 2002 it is crucial to consider political and economic factors in both, the sending and the receiving country. The political framework is supposed to show how actions by politicians in Germany and Turkey motivated migration, but which focused primarily on a limited timeframe. Therefore, those actions were not sustainable. Because in most of the literature mentioned, the situation in the country of origin has been neglected it will be the starting point here. From the 1960s until 2002, Turkey was politically and economically fragile and this instability has shortened the time horizon of political decisions (Bayar 1996: 784). Since social changes cannot be thought without the economic conditions, it is important to be aware of these as well. In the 1950s in Turkey capitalism expanded

rapidly, therefore laissez-faire politics were replaced by import substitution politics in the 1960s and 1970s. Macroeconomic targets now fully focused on growth and industrialization, not price stability and full employment. After a new recession in the 1970s these economic measures changed to advocate free trade, flexible prices and privatization. Those incentives for the private sector meant a decrease in public revenues. The government needed to borrow money from abroad or the central bank and the outcome was an economic and political crisis with inflation and an accumulation of external debt (Bayar 1996: 783-784). At the same time, new forces developed in Turkey: the students and the workers. After 1969, a violent left-right conflict emerged and "brought the country to a state of anarchy" (Oran 2010: 401-403). The development of numerous printed media in Turkey also contributed to these social developments, since it allowed the sharing of non-governmental points of view. Since 1945, not only multiparty politics and labor organizations emerged but also the printed press, and not only in the big cities. This gave access to information and like that new social discourses, concerning justice and human rights were brought up (Atabaki; Brockett 2009: 16). In the "western world", the economic situation looked

differently. An economic boom followed the Second World War and especially in western Germany cheap workers were needed in the industrial sector (Atabaki; Brockett 2009: 395). To fill this gap, the German government decided to recruit workers from eight Mediterranean countries: Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961 and 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Kaya, 2001: 56). The Turkish government also pushed the signing of the agreement forward. In a period of economic restructuring, Turkish governmental agencies supported the export of workers (Abadan-Unat 1976: 6).

The movement of people was further enforced by push- and pull-factors. The demographic change in Turkey and Turkish politics pushed the emigration to Germany. In the years around 1970, the Turkish population grew substantially and the unemployment rate was high (Abadan-Unat, 1976: 5). Turkey was extremely willing to give up skilled labor force. In 1968, for example, Turkey sent 26,4% of their qualified manpower to Germany (Abadan-Unat 1976: 11). Another push factor were remittances, which covered "154% of the deficit in foreign trade" and therefore had a "great significance" for the economy in Turkey (Atabaki; Brockett 2009: 395). The inflow of workers was

limited though through German industries, which picked the "best qualified and most suitable elements" (Abadan-Unat 1976: 20). Turkish citizens who were willing to migrate for work had to pay a fee to the German Federal Labor Office and they picked workers according to the given demand in the labor market. As a result, the majority of the migrants was male, between 20 and 39 years of age and worked mainly in the agricultural or industrial segment (Kaya 2001: 56-57). The migrants gathered in cities, first Stuttgart and Cologne, later in Munich and finally in West Berlin. The destination was dependent on existing networks of countrymen and job opportunities (Abadan-Unat 1976: 8). In Berlin, the number of migrants rose especially since the late 1960s, when the demand in the textile and electronic sector grew (Kaya 2001: 57). As a result, between 1972 and 1973, the number of Turkish citizens in Berlin increased promptly by 22,2% (Abadan-Unat 1976: 9). Despite the effect of remittances, the economic situation in Turkey kept souring. The reasons were various: there was the energy crisis in 1973, the negative development of the Cyprus operation and the U.S. arms embargo in the early 1970s, which continued the dependence of Turkey on foreign aid (Atabaki; Brockett 2009: 398). As a result of

the economic and social situation Turkish citizens kept coming to Germany.

Until 1973, when the recruitment was stopped, almost 900.000 people migrated, of which 500.000 returned to their home country in the following years. From 1973 on, the joining of one's family became more important. After this, migration developed its own dynamics, independent from the needs of the labor market (Bpb 5.8.2014).

This contrasts European politics during that time. The migration in Germany developed its own dynamics, while in general, Europe changed its course towards greater involvement of the state and protectionist measures concerning wages and workers' rights for example. Along with those policies migration also changed, since in the 19th century international negotiations had focused on immigration and settlement, decisions about immigration were not time-oriented. In the second half of the 20th century this changed as due to the expansion of the European Union there was a need for new tools to manage the situation (Rass 2012: 195).

What is important for long-term settlement is the law of citizenship. In Germany, the Naturalization Law established in 1913 makes it hard for foreigners to receive full freedom including political rights. Only in the 1990s, new legislation

made it easier to be naturalized. The policy in Germany generally followed the idea of "Germany is not a country of immigration".

This created a stronger will to return and the emergence of ethnic enclaves, although for those who returned it was not a return to old structures. In fact, the home comers were treated as strangers in Turkey as well (Kaya 2007: 59-65). After the German economy recovered from recession, the political course shifted slightly towards a more integrative attitude. New governmental decisions in 1973 were guided by the thought to open up to the foreign manpower. Even when the problems that came with immigration, such as xenophobia and alienation, did not disappear, they were brought to "consciousness" from the 1970s onwards. This also led to a flourishing production in the fields of arts, for example in Turkish literature or drama (Abadan-Unat 1976: 17-18). In any case, migration offered many possibilities for Turkish citizens, such as studying, participating in everyday life for women or simply the access to new technologies like radios or cars, which they were not presented with back in their home country (Jamin 1998: 207-209).

The repressive political and economic measures in Turkey plus the exclusionary immigration policies in Germany are the factors that form "politics of identities undertaken by ethnic minorities" (Jamin 1998: 56). The issue of identity was mainly discussed by more recent literature on migration which connects with cultural studies, whereas in the period between 1961 and the 2000s it was dominantly framed economically. To shift the focus more on identity issues it is important to understand the politics of the last twenty years and how power was distributed.

1.2 Migration Process Between 2000 and 2018

The attacks on mosques in Germany and recent comments about whether the Islam belongs to Germany fueled xenophobic discussions and created more tension between the Turkish and the Kurdish community (Biermann, Kagermeier, Venohr 13.3.2018). Instead of being sensitive to those groups, the German government is pointing at protesters with Öcalan flags in demonstrations against the war in Afrin to demonstrate that Germany does not tolerate anything connected to the Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (PKK) (engl.: Kurdistan Workers' Party). At the same time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is continuing military operations in Syria (ZEIT 17.3.2018). The issues of the Turkish-German com-

munity in the recent years have increasingly become a matter of foreign policy and domestic polarization. Therefore, it is important to know about why the relation between the two countries is souring.

It was in 2002 when the AKP came into power and pushed through several reforms to conform with the European acquis to react to judgments of the European Court of Justice (Kurban 2013: 2). Some of the harmonization laws have been discussed controversially in the Turkish Parliament, such as the removal of the death penalty during peacetime (Keskin Ata 2017: 110). Still, the proceeding of the discussion about full membership of Turkey in the European Union was pushed forward strongly by former chancellor Gerhard Schröder until the official accession-talks started in 2005 (ZEIT 11.5.2005). Berlin and Ankara were on a good path to manifest their partnership, not only on a bilateral level.

With Angela Merkel this policy of rapprochement was slowed down. She visited Turkey shortly before she became chancellor and tried to convince the Turkish government of her idea about a "privileged partnership" instead of a full membership in the EU (FAZ 16.9.2004). Yet, the position of Turkey in the EU was already privileged, insofar as the European Commission included terms in the acquis, which were specifically valid for Turkey. For example, there was no time limit set in the closing benchmarks. Also, Turkey was given a privileged role because the EU tolerated the growing "majortarianism" of the Turkish political system, which means a centralized, unitary state system with "the focus on the executive as a locus of power" (Ceren 2017: 11). The juridical reforms in 2010, which gave more power to the executive were proof of this development, as well as the undermining of the autonomy of regulatory agencies and the central bank (Ceren 2017: 16).

It became even clearer that the Turkish and the German government are moving apart after the mass demonstrations at Taksim square in 2013 and then the Turkish purges in 2016/2017. As a reaction to Germany's resistance to deliver Tayyip Erdoğan's opponents, he underlined that Turkey is no longer interested in an EU membership after the coup attempt (Tagesschau 25.3.2017). This reaction shows how these two countries are now exercising a power struggle to put pressure on the other. It is important however, not to see this as a bilateral issue only, but in a wider context with Germany as a dominant power in Europe and Turkey as a geopolitical power in the Middle East.

The latter point is connected to the increasing instability in the Middle East.

The multidimensional fight over territory and economic influence made the geopolitical role of Turkey as a powerful actor in International Relations very clear. First of all, it became a member in several international organizations, like in the United Nations Security Council, the Organization of the Islamic Conference or G20 (Mütlüfer-Baç 2011: 282). It also approached its neighboring countries with visa liberalizations in 2010 although visa restrictions towards Middle Eastern countries were required according to the EU acquis (Keskin Ata 2017: 118). Another example for extending its power is the strengthening of the economic relations with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Iraq (Mütlüfer-Baç 2011: 282). The change in Turkish foreign policy may also be demonstrated by the facts that two big deals on energy and uranium were closed with Iran in 2009 and 2010 and a protocol signed with Armenia (Mütlüfer-Baç 2011: 280). The "zero problems with neighbors" policy of the AKP was as well expressed with the engagement in the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Syrian war (Kirişci 2006: 116).

One outcome of the war in the Middle East, which had the biggest influence on Turkish-German relations, is the constant move of refugees who take the route via Turkey to come to Europe. With the refugee deal of 2016, Turkey found a political instrument to pressure the EU (Schwarze 2.2.2017). This deal puts Germany especially in a difficult position, since it welcomed the highest number of refugees in the EU (Tagesschau 25.3.2017) and presented itself as promoting a "Welcoming Culture" (DW 8.4.2017). On the other side Germany also welcomed the deal that is reducing the number of arriving refugees. These two narratives of EU-membership negotiations and the changing role of Turkey in terms of geopolitical power changed the relation between Turkey and Germany.

So far this is the setting which frames the situation in Germany and Turkey. It is important to have in mind how strong but also complex the bonds between the two countries are. Regarding matters of migration, there is a trend suggesting that Germany is becoming a country of emigration of Turkish-Germans rather than immigration. The domestic political development in Turkey towards more economic stability during the first years under the AKP government led to a rise of migration rates from Germany to Turkey (Yildirim, Tschoepe 2017: 114). In 2010 the numbers of emigration to Turkey (36.033) were higher than the ones of immigration (30.171) to Germany (BAMF 2012: 48) – a low number compared to 1990, when 85.000 Turkish citizens

moved to Germany. The two important factors that had a pushing effect on educated Turkish-Germans to move away to Turkey are job opportunities and recognition in everyday life (Griese 2013: 188). Recognition also depends on political participation. If the law of citizenship does not allow voting, the affected individuals will find different ways to organize themselves according to their minority interests, for example in religious, political or cultural communities. Kaya calls this a "strategy of political participation in an ethnical manner" (Kaya 2013: 133). Until recently migrants from outside EU-borders were granted civil and social rights, but they were excluded from political rights.

Although the emigration rates from Germany to Turkey are constantly descending since the late 1990s, the German government changed the law of citizenship just a few years ago, in 2000, trending towards "ius solis" and away from "ius sanguinis". This means, that the citizenship no longer exclusively depends on the nationality of the decedents but that it is also possible to get the German citizenship when one is born in Germany. Still there are certain conditions, for example that one parent has to have lived in Germany for eight years and needs to have a limited residence permit or that he or she has lived in Germany for three

years with an unlimited residence permit. Another condition is that one has to prove that one can finance him-/herself, which means that one has to be able to show a steady income (BAMF 2015). For visual, self-employed artists, this is almost impossible. Because the law still does not apply to all Turkish migrants, for example those who like to keep the Turkish citizenship and cannot receive a double-citizenship, there are many Turkish citizens who cannot participate in politics. Organizations that develop as a result are mostly religiously or ethnical-culturally oriented (Kaya 2013: 133). To name a few examples, Alevite community Germany ("Almanya Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu, AABF") or the Kurdish-German community ("Civaka Kurd li Almanya e.V."). The Berlin Senate provides a good overview over cultural organizations, like music academies and theatres (Greve, Orhan 2008). Those exist next to the work of independent cultural agents like writers, visual artists, pop singers but also soccer players like Tarkan, Candan Erçetin, Özcan Deniz, Azer Bülbül, Sibel Sezal, Can Kat, Cartel, Erci-E, Karakan, Bay X, Rafet El Roman, Ahmet and Ünlü, Azize A, Fuat and Killa Hakan (Kaya 2007: 5).

Especially for younger migrants, the question of national borders is considered just as important as the recognition

in smaller, therefore, regional structures. Their lives are formed by their location in Germany as well as their location in a city, e.g. Berlin, Munich or on an even smaller scale like Kreuzberg or Neukölln (Kaya 2013: 139).

Berlin as a destination will be the focus of this research, since many cultural agents settle there. Especially in the districts of Kreuzberg or Neukölln, the density of Turkish citizens is high. Berlin has not been the first destination for migrants in the 1960s and the 1970s, since the industrial and mining regions, where manpower was lacking was the Ruhr area (Mandel 2008: 3). Later, the textile and electronic business in Berlin attracted especially female migrants, because they were preferred in those sectors (Kaya, 2001: 57). When more Turkish citizens started to settle down in Germany's capital, they started to build infrastructures like Turkish supermarkets, travelling agencies or cafés. This made it possible for them to firstly, keep habits and traditions and secondly to strengthen the connection between their host city and their origin. The infrastructure therefore also served as a protected space, where one could flee from institutional discrimination and other xenophobic notions (Kaya 2007: 4-6).

Kreuzberg developed into a "Little Istanbul" during the 1980s. It was partly a copy of Turkish architecture, sounds, smells, rhythms, colors, images, names and symbols. Also, Turkish graffiti artists and the hip-hop scene had a determining impact on life in this district, which once belonged to the periphery of West Berlin. They produced a counter culture to differ from already excluded youths and to establish a power network next to German institutional infrastructure. Their efforts to use their ethno-cultural capital was a response to nationalism and racism (Kaya 2007: 11-13).

While Kreuzberg has been the center for Turkish migrants for a long time, now gentrification makes it an expensive district in Berlin and therefore unaffordable for many people. Another part in Berlin where many people from eastern countries, like Turkey or arab countries, are settling is Neukölln. Two years ago, it was labelled an area of the working class, now it fell prey to international property developers, which let the rents rise fast (Connolly 4.10.2016). Nevertheless, Berlin is still a "bastion of left-wing intellectuals, bohemians, and the German culture industry" (Mandel 2008: 6). It is not a coincidence that all of the visual artists who were contacted for this paper live and work in Berlin. The already existing infrastructures which developed over the years made Berlin a popular destination for cultural agents but also for many

other Turkish business people as well as marriage partners and relatives (Mandel 2008: 9).

The cosmopolitan character of the city of Berlin lets one forget easily that one finds him-/herself in Germany. In some districts, one does not even hear a spoken word of German on the streets. The possibility to only communicate in Turkish or English in Berlin makes it easier to overhear and overlook exclusionist or racists comments, like in graffiti or posters with discriminating slogans, for example AFD campaigns featuring sentences like "Islam? It doesn't fit in our kitchen". To give another example, a female journalist who did research on German-Turkish hip-hop culture tells in a radio feature how she was more satisfied with just talking Turkish and English in Berlin. She explains how shocked she was, when she finally understood what was being said in German: "When I came to Berlin I had the mistaken belief that everything will be better, as soon as I have learned German. Actually, I was a happier person when I just used English and Turkish. But now I have the level B1 in the integration course. I understand more, also the song text I once considered as cheesy: The German who has a fight with his wife, swears on us in the street. He liked best to sell us to Turkey. Here human rights are over." (Khamis 2018: 24). This shows

that the city of Berlin should not be over-determined as a cultural melting pot and that any case study should be handled critically.

After having outlined the chronological development of migration from Turkey to Germany and the political as well as the economic bonds between the countries there are some questions left to be answered. Is it possible to make statements about the current movement between Turkey and Germany? The number of people migrating to Berlin is relatively low compared to the period between 1960 and the end of the 1990s. Another point of critique could be that emigrational dynamics in general can only be viewed from a long-term perspective (Abadan Unat 1976: 1). Can this question get obsolete when looking at dynamics between Turkey and Germany from a solution-based angle considering the potential of people moving to Germany instead of the problems they bring (Griese 2013: 188)? With this comes the question of the right words and terms to do research on this small but specific group of Turkish visual artists who created their own transnational space that make it possible to physically and symbolically live in two countries (Kaya 2007: 4).

1.3 Conclusion: How to Situate the Migration Process Between 2000 and 2018

"It is as if every historical moment poses a set of cognitive, political and I would add, artistic questions […]", Hall said in the beginning of his lecture on "Black diaspora artists" in the 1980s in Great Britain (Hall 2004: 4). As he went on, he mentioned the period from the 1960s until the 1980s and the 1990s until the 2000s as the timeframes where the "Historical conjuncture" – a moment or time where the contradictory forces fuse in a Gramscian sense – changes.

These are the times when a set of questions that is posed is answered by new practices, the actions with which the present is created. Since the dynamics and the distribution of power changed drastically worldwide, the last 15 years can also be considered a historical conjuncture. Therefore, with the historical knowledge, it is just logical to seek a positioning of the migration dynamics from Turkey to Germany nowadays in comparison with the situation in the 1980s. As argued before, when doing research on current processes, as it is the aim of this paper, it can be criticized that one can only produce a sound reasoning when looking back from a long-term perspective. However, it is possible to elaborate the present by trying to consider similarities – not equalities – and differences with historical structures of the past.

In the 1980s many leftists, intellectuals and artists migrated from Turkey to Germany. This happened mostly due to social reasons like family unification (Kaya 2001: 14) but also because of the foreign and domestic political issues of those times. This leads to the question: What are the changes of historical conjunctures that affected politics and economics in the 1980s?

There are two important factors that need to be considered when looking at the situation Turkey-Germany. Hall also mentions those factors in connection to the black visual artists in Great Britain who immigrated in the 1950s and 1960s (Hall 2004: 4). Firstly, there is a general shift of conflicts in the world order in the period after World War II away from the direct tensions between superpowers towards Africa, East Asia and the Middle East (Hall 2000: 102). Hall mentions the process of decolonization that pulled migrants from former British colonies (Hall 2004: 4). Turkey however became an important strategic partner because of a new perspective on the Middle East and this also enhanced the motivation for Germany to strengthen its ties with the Turkish government (Hale 2000: 118). This means that the growing importance of Turkey's role in the world order can be

considered a push factor for the recruitment agreement in 1961. Another factor which rather affects domestic politics is the orientation towards a liberal economy. "Thatcherism and free market neoliberalism were the forces which successfully harmonized the crisis in the post-war settlement" (Hall 2004: 21), argues Hall, but this was not only the case in Great Britain but also in Turkey. The Motherlandparty under Turgut Özal stood for a free market economy, copying the ideas of Margret Thatcher or Ronald Reagan (Hale 2000: 119). In his work Hall points out, that the economic and political change goes together with migration from former British colonies to Great Britain and enhanced cultural production by those migrants in Great Britain. Also, many Turkish citizens who moved to Germany in the 1960s until the 1980s started to express themselves, mostly in literature and music (Gezen 2011: 146-147).

This means that these historical conjunctures triggered off dynamics that made people leave their countries and find a valve for their emotions in the cultural field in a similar time period. It is not the point here though to compare former colonies of Great Britain with Turkey. The purpose is to show that there are historical patterns, which repeat themselves with the same effect (Thomas, Znaniecki

1918: 37). Therefore, it is possible to compare the situation between the 1960s and the 1980s with today. First, the situation in the 1980s in Turkey will be elaborated.

Political and economic instability marked Turkey in this period. With Turgut Özal, a conservative, as well as an oversensitive government which oppressed the media and political opponents was in power (Finkel, Hale 1990: 103). To illustrate just how volatile the political landscape was: in just five years, between 1973 and 1980, the government changed seven times. One effect of this precarious situation was terrorism from both sides, left and right (Hale 2000: 105).

New discourses that came with the multiparty-politics and the growing distribution of press enforced oppositional forces (Touraj 2009: 16). The concept of civil society as the place "where individuals realize their active citizenship" was an important idea amongst leftist intellectuals during the 1980s in Turkey (Tocco 2014: 59). From this perspective, the Turkish state prevents civil society from further development. The conflict between left and right forces was the most important characteristics of social life in Turkey back then (Tocco 2014: 58). The concept of an "active citizenship" might have been a push factor for those who were going to be active in cultural ex-

pression to join the movement to Germany. Although the motivation for migration was often an economic one, the force of social and cultural oppression should not be neglected. The outcome were "tight, cohesive groups of Turkish intellectuals, professionals, and artists" in Germany (Mandel 2008: 193). The realization of being active, this means the mutual recognition between the cultural producer and the society, is extremely important for understanding the motivation behind migration to Germany in the 1980s as well as nowadays.

Mandel also uses the description of "cultural elite" to grasp the notion of a superior feeling of Turkish artists who live in Germany, especially amongst their compatriots (Mandel 2008: 187). The same elitist notion existed and still exists in Turkey. Mostly, this societal group attends German, French, British, American or Austrian high schools, usually based in Istanbul and hard to get into. This yields a cultural elite that automatically is accepted or recognized by the cultural elite in Turkey, since this kind of education is connected to prestige. If one is not accepted in this community, he or she will have a hard time making a career in the arts (Mandel 2008: 186). This was as valid in the 1980s as it is in the 2000s.

To sum up briefly, it can be assumed that many people in the cultural field, or who

were leftists, came to Germany in the 1980s to seek active citizenship and success in the cultural sector. The bigger context for this was a change in the world order, which set free those leftist and creative forces and pushed migration movements, not only from Turkey to Germany, but also from former colonies to Great Britain, as Hall has proved. The evolving expectations towards the country of destination though were often disappointed, due to xenophobic notions, stereotypes and missing long-term political structures, which included limited participation, but not only in political terms, as often argued (Mandel 2008: 60-67). This can be exemplified by German cultural institutions, which also worked exclusionary by using mostly "sophisticated frames produced by cultural elites" in the 1980s (Mandel 2008: 50). It is the question of this research how this elitist notion developed and whether it is still valid today.

Against this background it is possible to situate the migration process between 2000 and 2018. The Turkish political situation can be analyzed in the context of democratic transition in the first ten years, since the AKP came into power in 2002. It can be also argued though that the stability and persistence of the Turkish government nowadays can be determined as authoritarian persistence

(Ceren 2017: 7). Similar oppression of media, academic production and political leftist opposition like in the 1980s rule the current order. A recent report by Yaman Akdeniz and Kerem Altıparmak elaborates the violation of freedom of expression with strong data (Akdeniz, Altıparmak 2018). For example, the report says of the total of 700 verdicts in which the ECtHR has found a violation against freedom of expression under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), Turkey ranks first with 281 judgments and is followed by Russia with 39, France with 37 and Austria with 35 as of the end of 2017 (Akdeniz, Altıparmak 2018: 4). Apart from a limited freedom of expression, many artists flee the country because they are suspected to be a terrorist and connected to the PKK and also because of economic reasons (Arend 5.7.2017). This shows parallels to the focus on left and right terrorism in the 1980s.

Like in the period between 1960 and 1980 the focus on conflicts in the Middle East puts Turkey in a strategically important position, where it has a great impact on the relations between Germany and Turkey. Nowadays, again, the focus on a liberal economy destroys the Turkish market as it is trying to disconnect from western allies and introduces protectionist measures, which are cam-

ouflaged as instruments to fight against unfair competition (European Commission 2016: 19). Like in the 20th century those factors trigger leftist forces.

The question of how cultural institutions make themselves accessible to the cultural agents should be answered with these historical parallels in mind. The difference to the discourses on migration between 1960 and 1980 is that culture plays a more important role today. This makes it possible to study the timeframe between 2000 and 2018 with a different perspective so new answers and practices can be found. How cultural studies have gained more influence in migration research will be answered in the next chapter.

2. Migration Theory

The topic of migration from Turkey to Germany has been in the interest of many researchers. Since the conditions of migration change, it is necessary to investigate its meaning for society from different angles. Until the end of the 20th century economic aspects dominated the discourse of the Turkish-German relations but then there has been a change in research.

The social dimension of this human situation became more important and received more attention from human sci-

ences. It should be noted that social factors also mattered in the earlier years of migration, but the time of the 1970s or 80s as an object of research was simply not related to the same methods of investigation as today. Back then, the "object" was connected to scientific organizations that looked for a different reasoning.

2.1 Cultural Discourses in the Process of Migration Between 1961-2000

In this chapter, three discourses will be defined that explain the changing role of culture. The discourse analysis will lead to the conclusion that the role of culture in the discourse of migration changed since Turkish citizens started to move to Germany until today. It became more important in scientific research and probably led to a new acceptance of aspects that are related to human agency as a justified motivation to change one's location across borders in times of political oppression.

2.1.1 Culture in Migration

Before showing the development of the cultural discourse in migration, it should be pointed out that this paper should be read critically. The reason is that the attempt of doing a rational analysis of so-

cial phenomena always creates a critical interrelation of subjectivity and objectivity. Today's cultural studies separate itself from the classical norms of objectivism and monumentalism with culture reduced to a scientific object. This change occurred due to political events in the 1960s and 1970s. Instead of seeing culture as "cumulative of shared meanings and values" (Kaya 2001: 34), the process of decolonization and with that, the development of postcolonial thought, led to a shift in seeing culture as an artefact (Rosaldo 1989: 34-35). Ronato Rosaldo makes his position very clear in this context. He argues against this concept of "truth and objectivity" (Rosaldo 1989: 21). But although he includes many ethnographic observations in his book and marks them as "subjective" he only confirms that there is a "truth" by using this word and by negating it. Therefore, his neglecting of the "universal truth" (Rosaldo 1989: 21) can be criticized in a similar manner. Especially when he further examines the dialectic of subjectivity and objectivity and comes to the point where he abolishes this dialectic in equalizing the subjective and the objective approach: "human feelings and human failings provide as much insight for social analysis as subjecting oneself to the 'manly' ordeals of self-discipline that constitutes a science as a vocation"

(Rosaldo 1989: 173). By doing this he turns his subjectivity in a new subjective objectivity, which he claims to be the right approach for the analysis of the social dimension. He criticizes that seemingly objective positions get their legitimacy from the authority of institutions, but "they are arguably neither more or less valid than those of more engaged, yet equally perceptive, knowledgeable social actors" (Rosaldo 1989: 173). The question here is, are those social actors not connected to an institutional authority? Even though human sciences after the 1960s are not in line with notions of colonialism, in terms of understanding cultural groups as homogenous entities, they still "align themselves with bourgeois sociologists who fill the place of ideology with a continuistic "unconscious" or parasubjective "culture" (Spivak 1988: 68), to let Gayatri Spivak speak. Although the voices of the cultural agents are considered as meaningful as the theoretical material, it is a fact that most of the authors referred to in this paper are European. It is important to have this critique in mind before further explaining what the contemporary notion of cultural studies aims for.

2.1.2 What? Culture, Ethnicity and Identity

As already outlined, in cultural studies there is a more classical approach and a contemporary approach. They differ from each other in the way they are defining the term culture. Classical approaches are claimed to have a homogenous understanding of culture as a whole. On the other side, contemporary research underline that culture emerges beyond this claimed totality (Kaya 2001: 33). Ayhan Kaya defines the former as a holistic notion and the latter as a syncretic notion, which is "mostly affected by increasing interconnectedness in space" (Kaya 2001: 33). Globalization enabled the opening up of the classical understanding of culture. Whereas the homogeneous view came from the time of drawing borders and conquering new territories, when cultural groups were observed as an entity (Rosaldo 1989: 31).

This means the syncretic approach is to be understood as a disruption of this entity and with that topics "beyond" (Bhabha 1994: 1) or multiple identities (Bhabha 1994: 194) arise which lead to "dilemmas of identification" (Rosaldo 1989: 194) as stated by Rosaldo, which means: crisis. This makes the discussion about the relation of ethnicity and identity a necessary one. Since identity, as it is understood by contemporary scholars, is not

fixed anymore it can no longer be attached to a classical understanding of ethnicity, which assumes that one carries a "cultural baggage" like Kaya writes in "Sicher in Kreuzberg", this "underestimates the situational and instrumental nature of ethnicity" (Kaya 2001: 35). Cultural baggage here means a set of norms and values that the migrant carries to the country of destination. The syncretic notion interprets identity rather as something "becoming" or "being" at the same time (Kaya 2001: 36). However, identity is not something new, but it is being made through the actions and the behavior of migrants who use "tools" (Kaya 2001: 36), in Kaya's terms, that are available in the new country to create cultural repertoire.

Hall writes in the same notion but problematizes the idea about a homogeneous understanding of cultural studies in Marxist terms. He finds the reason of crisis in the „ideological luggage" (Hall 1996: 41) a class carries around. He formulates a proposition for a rethinking of the discourse of class-determination as follows: the ideological baggage of classes

> "is replaced here [in this approach] by the infinity of subtle variations through which the elements of a discourse appear spontaneously to combine and recombine with each other, without material constraints of any

kind other than that provided by the discursive operations themselves." (Hall 1996: 41).

What he says is that there is no new discourse, no new identity, but that the "tools" that are to be combined by an individual forming his/her identity, therefore also by the migrant are provided by the existing discourse. Determinately it is the difference between one combination of cultural tools and the Other[3] that constitutes identity. This is an ongoing process that will never end and in which culture plays a constitutive role (Hall 1990: 233-236).

Ethnicity is something that is fluid as well because it is constructed "historically, culturally, politically" (Hall 1996: 446). It places identity in a certain context and therefore it makes it itsst subject of representation. The context changes in relation to space and time but always with a hierarchy of power. Hall points out, that the constitution over differences is what placed the term "ethnicity" in the discourse of racism and repression (Hall 1996: 446). Instead of this "colonized" (Hall 1996: 446) term of "ethnicity" one should rethink it in a more differentiated

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[3] The Other is spelled with a capital letter, since it means in this research a specific postmodern concept by Homi Bhabha. The Other is constructed and means everything one refers to and desires, but oneself. It is constituted by difference. Oneself however is a representation of t he Other (Bhabha 1994: 40 ff.).

way and recognize that ethnicity is always thought from a particular position. "Who speaks and the subject who is being spoken of are never identical" (Hall 1990: 234), how Hall aptly puts it. This is exactly what has been mentioned in the introduction of this paper in agreement with De Certeau and Rosaldo about the role of institutions in a discourse and the problematic term "truth". This point is therefore clear but what does it mean to think "ethnicity" in a more differentiated way? Hall writes the shift should be inside the notion of ethnicity. In the following pages this location will be further elaborated.

2.1.3 Where? Culture is "Beyond"

Beyond, in-between, the third space or in "relation with all the other real sites" (Foucault 1984: 3) in Foucauldian words, that is where the contemporary understanding of culture is. The idea behind this is the abolishment of the Cartesian way of thinking. The world is no longer supposed to be defined in dualities, because there is no relation between just two elements. The sum is always more than two and in contemporary cultural studies this is the space where the question of culture is located. In this processual understanding of dialectics like local and global or past and future a new form

of ethnicity and identity arrives, which is described by the term "cultural bricolage" that "doesn't allow national-cultural islands to exist" (Kaya 2001: 2). Instead, the collective experience of "nationnes, community interest, or cultural value" is what matters (Bhabha 1994: 2).

A homogeneous understanding of the past is not adequate anymore to define an emerging mixed culture in a country of destination, because the representation of the difference or the in-between, as Bhabha defines it, does not preexist (Bhabha 1994: 2). The holding-on to tradition can thus be understood as a part of the cultural bricolage but not as something constitutive for culture.

The location of culture in a contemporary approach of migration studies is characterized by being "unknowable, representable, without a return to the 'present' which, in the process of repetition becomes disjunct and replaced" (Bhabha 1994: 4), like Bhabha explains his understanding of the " beyond" further. Since oppositions are broken up, a long tradition of dialectics and categorization seems to extinguish. This is the reason cultural norms and values no longer serve as concrete, fixed reference points. This conflicts with the "crucial importance for subordinated people of asserting their indigenous cultural traditions and retrieving their repressed histories" (Bhabha

1994: 9), which is recognized by the Martinican psychoanalyst Franz Fannon.

Hence, the dissolution of the borders between "world" and "home", the sense of relocation and leaving behind creates a feeling of "unhomeliness" (Bhabha 1994: 9). It is not a feeling that is located between private and public life or has something to do with living on the streets but it is coherent towith "cross-cultural initiation" (Bhabha 1994: 9). How do migrants deal with this "unhomely" state? De Certeau explains the management of cultural displacement by the use of operations and tactics. Beyond the idea of cultural enclave new social forms should emerge (De Certeau 1997: 71). "Should" because the hegemonic state is interested in holding up an understanding of static cultural norms and values to deepen social division. To keep its power, it is the goal of the hegemonic state to "maintain the relation of dependence and exploration" (Edwards 1996: 31). Still people find ways to build a comfort zone by using tactics in everyday life to manipulate their pre-given environment (De Certeau 1984: 115). An example for a tactic could be the development of a slang in the country of destination, like by the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Expressions like "Kanake", which can be discriminating when used by German citizens for people with a migrant back-

ground, but which are also used in an ironic way by the respective agents themselves as a tactic to escape discrimination and protect themselves. The Turkish-German author Feridun Zaimoğlu wrote a book about the Kanaken-language, it is called "Kanak Sprak" (1995), in which he tells the story of several "Kanaken" living in Germany. He is one actor in the cultural field, who is often referred to as some kind of spokesperson for the Turkish- German Community.

As already described, even though the borders boundaries of cultural communities are not clearly definable anymore, the reference to one's identity is important. Assuming that such spokespersons play a crucial role for the migrants, it should be figured out how people like Zaimoğlu, who was born in Turkey and works in the cultural industry in Germany, find their position in the country of destination. As a consequence, to the emergence of a Turkish- German culture, social and cultural reasons became a motivation for more artists to go to Germany. This has become even more important in the recent years.

2.1.4 Who? Cultural Motivations and Spokespersons

After providing a framework to discuss culture in the context of a contemporary research project on migration from Turkey to Germany, it is necessary to get more specific. Feridun Zaimoğlu is one example of a Turkish-German cultural agent, who deals with matters of living in cultural bricolage. It is the topic of ghettoization that Stehle pays her attention to and with the emergence of cultural enclaves since the 1970s more literature, texts and films deal with this issue. Ghetto here is defined as a space that provokes racism, but which is a fragmented place itself with "many internal borders" (Stehle 2012: 6). The term is also a reference to the failure of the idea of multiculturalism in Germany (Stehle 2012: 13). On the other hand, the ghetto can be a place "to imagine different kinds of translocal communities – communities that connect local cultures across national boundaries" (Stehle 2012: 16). The representation of ghettoization changed in the 1990s as more foreigners have been living in Germany for over a decade by then and their children make a new generation reflecting differently on German structures (Stehle 2012: 2). Nevertheless, it is not possible to categorize the migrants in the first, second or third generation as it is often done in the litera-

ture. New migrants came in every decade and some of them returned to Turkey. Therefore, one should be cautious to claim, that the second generation followed the same migration dynamics as the first (Mandel 2008: 19). Things changed also changed with a huge structural transformation in Germany: as a consequence of the unification, a feeling of "public resentment toward people who are perceived as foreigners" (Stehle 2012: 4) followed. With the fall of the Berlin wall Turkish citizens were not the only strangers in West Germany anymore. The situation gave new boost to discussions about the struggle for national identity and belonging. Consequences were racist attacks, as in Hoyerswerda (1991), Rostock (1992) or Mölln (1992) and institutional discrimination (Kaya 2001: 67). Especially in the cultural industry, alternative cultural associations and agencies were founded, which "gave rise to a new political strategy, i.e. a minority strategy" (Kaya 2001: 67). An example is the "PoLi-Kunst-Verein" (Polynational literature and art association) and the editorial "Collective Südwind", which were founded in the 1980s to coordinate and publish works by migrants. Any form of art by the one who came as foreigner to Germany should conquer the dominant cultural discourses (Burns 2007: 359). Often it

was the fixed role of the Other that was challenged in film, literature or the visual arts (Burns 2007: 359). Again, the texts of Zaimoğlu are a good example. In his books, the undesired get a voice, like drug dealers, the unemployed or prostitutes. His characters work outside the ideals of an integrated immigrant or they work within their own criminal economic structures (Stehle 2012: 27). His words are meant to provoke and according to Stehle, they are an act of identity because "voice is a performative tool" (Stehle 2012: 41) inviolable by social or political restrictions. It is important to note that the voices of Zaimoğlu's figures never appear as victims of living in-between cultures (Stehle 2012: 30-41). This proves shows how art works as a mediator between migrants and Germans. Mandel looks at this from a critical angle. She does not describe the cultural production as a possibility but sees it as something that is expected from artists. Mandel identifies the Turkish migrants working in the arts as a cultural elite that used their chance of making a career in Germany. In Turkey, they probably could not be successful, because only a narrow circle of a Kemalist elite could find their way into highly selective art schools. In the end, cultural producers often did not want to represent the migrants as a collective of victims. They even liked to dif-

ferentiate themselves from their (low class-) worker compatriots (Mandel 2008: 186).

2.1.5 Conclusion: Cultural Discourses in the Process of Migration Between 1961-2002

To conclude briefly: The economic and political issues that formed the discourse about migration from Turkey to Germany from the 1960s until the 2000s have been outlined. Then different discourses within this framework have been tried to be identified and exemplified these ideas with the role of the cultural spokesperson. The intent was to give an understanding of the changing role of culture in this timeframe. Beforehand it has been argued that culture became more important over time. Now it is clear in what sense. First of all, there has been a shift in cultural studies. Culture after the 1960s and 1970s was no longer an objectified artifact, although even subjective ethnographic observations do not change the fact that research is connected to an institutional authority. Having that in mind, the discussion of identity and ethnicity becomes even more processual and fluid. Identity and ethnicity are no longer fixed entities. Ethnicity is a term that is connected to a hierarchy of the one who speaks and the one who is

spoken of, ethnicity is defined be the Other. Identity is to be understood in a sense of constant "becoming" and "being". This understanding goes with the view of a syncretic approach on culture and not a holistic one, which looks at a migrant group as homogeneous with a fixed set of values and norms. The syncretic approach instead neglects totality and is connected to globalization and growing interconnectedness.

Also, the question where to find identity has been answered. It is located in-between and beyond. Identity here is the act of cultural bricolage, which is the result of an intermingling of cultural notions with cultural tools, that have been pre-given. It prevents cultural islands, but at the same time it is possible that a cultural tool is the reference to traditions and habits from the country of origin. According to Fannon, there is a profound need to assert those traditional values. This notion is enforced by the hegemonic state, which reproduces differences to maintain its power. The production of stereotypes in the cultural field is one example for this tendency. In Germany, Turkish migrants who are actors, writers or visual artists often are forced to fit into a fixed frame. This frame could be the one of the cultural mediator. The author Feridun Zaimoğlu is an example for such a spokesperson. This stereotyping is still

not an issue of the past. Today even more cultural actors decide to move to Germany because of oppression in Turkey. When they arrive, they will find more freedom, but sadly enough they will also be confronted with racism, institutional discrimination and cultural enclaves.

2.2 Cultural Agents and Institutions in Migration Theory after 2000

As it has been proved in the previous chapter, the migration theory after 2000 changed towards an approach that also considers takes into consideration cultural factors and which offers more interdisciplinary than purely economic explanations. For example, Marxist theories which were popular in end of the 1960s (Hall 1978: 6), they framed the process of migration as an effect of political and economic exploitation. These theories nevertheless failed to explain the change of migration policies in Western states, for example from temporary migration to long-term settlement (Castles, Miller 2003: 25). Yet, it is possible to argue that differences in capital is the source of migration dynamics. It is important, though, to be equally sensitive to historical and social dimensions. Pierre Bourdieu manages to explain how social hierarchies are culturally assured and reproduced (Kastner 2009, 71). He explains

how "interdisciplinary and transcultural approaches emphasize lived culture and indicate how the interrelated economic, social, political and technological forces converge into a cultural habitus" (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 174). Therefore, the term cultural or social capital will be introduced in this chapter. Nevertheless, the scope of agency of a migrant is also dependent on the network he or she has. Especially for artists, this network is extremely important. Therefore, before coming to the theory of Bourdieu, network theory in migration will be explained as well as the transcultural approach will be explained as two major notions of migration theory after 2000.

2.2.1 Transnationalism in Migration Theory

Until the end of the 1970s, there was a broad range of literature on migration and theories just as methods started to evolve. First, there were many theoretical ideas on how to improve neo-classical economic approaches. This included concepts on agency, networks, human capital and decision-making. Later, the focus on economics and the nation state faded and transculturalism as well as transnationalism were brought into focus (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 133). Since transnationalism is the approach covered

in most of the literature after 2000, it should be looked at at first. Anyway, this chapter will show that the idea of the "citizen of the world" is trying to break up reductionist, purely economic theory, yet, still remains an idea lived by only a few if any.

There are many different definitions connected to the transnational. To give just a few: transnational space is a „web of contacts created by immigrants and their home country counterparts who engage in a pattern of repeated back-and-forth movements across national borders in search of economic advantage and political voice" (Portes, Haller, Guarzino 2001: 3). This definition already fits well for this research, because Alejandro Portes, William Haller and Luis E. Guarzino wrote on economical access given to immigrants which is dependent on transnational networks. It can be used to look at access to institutions, which are connected primariyly to an economic, but as well to a social dimension. To give an impression of a wider understanding of transnationalism, one can refer to Linda Basch. She is one of the early academics who write on this topic, and also Portes et al. were influenced by her when describing transnational activity in theira later research (Castles, Miller 2003: 29):

"[…] those that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants. Such activities may be conducted by relatively powerful actors, such as representatives of national governments and multinational corporations, or may be initiated by more modest individuals, such as immigrants and their home country kin and relations. These activities are not limited to economic enterprises, but include political, cultural and religious initiatives as well." (Portes 1999: 464)

This writing emphasizes how transnationalism works on different levels. Also, Thomas Feist picks up this focus. He explains that the problems of previous approaches, such as rational choice theories, are narrowed down to explain the activities on two levels only. These two levels, the "political economy of the world" (Castles, Miller 2003: 27) and the smallest units, families or communities, work with pre-constituted individuals bearing pre-given characteristics (Faist 2000: 58). This view is problematic, first of all, because identity cannot be considered as pre-given. It is formed in relation to one another, as "the genesis of human mind is in this sense not monological, not something each person accomplishes on his or her own, but dialogical" (Taylor 1994: 32). Second, when one assumes a static entity, one forgets about the past and how it builds relations of trust and

skepticism which are important to consider when analyzing migrant decisions in the 20th century. Technologies and media interconnect agents make it possible to maintain and develop close links with one another, not only in an informal way but also on an economic basis (Castles, Miller 2003: 29). Therefore, a transnational view is useful, because it considers human agency, which means that human assets differ and that actions depend on those differences (Faist 2000, 59). There are two critical points about the transnational approach. When trying to apply it to migration dynamics, one has to consider that a general transnational theory looks at migration dynamics from above. A certain time frame is assumed, in which circumstances change the chance to live transnationally for everyone. This is not the case, as the example of the development of cheap long-distance tourism in the USA in the beginning of the 1970s shows, which influenced transnational movement to a wide extent demonstrates (Spaeth 1998). This development did not play a role for everyone, but for the ones who could effort afford it and who were located in the USA. Therefore, when doing researching on transnationalism one has to further differentiate. The density of networks changes, not only over centuries but even from one generation to another

(Fauser, Reisenauer 2013: 172). Another point of critique is that the transnational approach is trying too hard to overcome the nation state, while still sticking to state units (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 150). This might be due to the fact that transnationalism is not new as diasporas already existed in ancient times (Castles, Miller 2003: 30). Therefore, a theory is needed that dares to include nations in the process of erosion, since they "are likely to endure" (Castles, Miller 2003: 289). One must not forget that the democratic nation state in itself is still a young form, once thought of as progressive due to the idea to connect the people with the state (Castles, Miller 2003: 289). The next section will therefore go a few years further back in history to elaborate the basic idea of network theory, which was constitutive for transcultural concepts.

2.2.2 Network Theory in Migration Theory

It can be argued that a theory is developing when there is a necessity for a new theory, when contemporary empirical observations can no longer be explained with existing concepts. Developing a theory without any practical evidence is rare, although for example proponents of Karl Marx would argue that his theory foresaw the growing inequality and the destruc-

tion of capitalism, but there are just as many people who say it did not (Plickert 2017). In fact, it was empirical observation which weakened his theory, e.g. the growing grievances amongst the "proletariat" were put down to an explosive growth of the population in the middle of the 19th century by economic historians, not to bad working conditions. Also, in migration, the Marxist idea did not hold in the frame of a neo-classical economic perspective, like it was assumed until the 1970s. Studies proved that it was not poor people moving to rich countries but members of the middle class migrating for economic and social reasons (Castles, Miller 2003: 23). Still, it can sometimes be useful to take a look at theories that seem "outdated". Since Marxist thinking plays an important role in this researchstudy, the example of Marx was supposed to underline that his theory is worth reconsidering nowadays. Also, the Nnetwork theory developed out of existing neo-classical economic perspectives, but human agency was added only after the fact. This was necessary, since within a short time a radical acceleration in communication happenedtook place. New technologies already evolved in the 1970s and in their further development affected every dimension of human life (Castells 2005: 3). Manuel Castells wrote a popular trilogy "The Information Age.

Economy, Society and Culture" (1996-1989), in which he writes about the transformation of urban life through new technology. Following Max Weber, he assumes that the "informational capitalism" changes especially the cultural structure of a society (Heidbrink 30.4.2003). In his more recent publication "The network society. From Knowledge to Policy" he goes so far as to say, that "we know that technology does not determine society, it is society" (Castells 2005: 1). The new theoretical approach of thinking in networks and not in separated entities opens up the view to both sides of the link. Instead of thinking vertically, which means connecting power to the world of production, one also starts to think in dimensions of private life and autonomous decentralized agency (Castells 2005: 4). Another explanation for this notion that was new in theory in the 1980s was to consider the connections between macro- and micro-structures. As described in the previous chapter, the political economy of the world can be considered as the macro-structure, while the micro-structure is the informal social network. The mechanisms in between happen on the meso-structure (Castles, Miller 2003: 27). Harzig and Hoerder describe the cultural practices and economic opportunities as the meso-level that influences migrant decisions on the

micro-level and therefore, in the informal networks such as families and communities (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 177). Those decisions on the other hand, have an impact on the meso-level as well. On the basis of migrant communities also structures in the economic and cultural sphere are established in the form of small businesses and agencies (Castles, Miller :229). Another phenomenon that can be explained by looking at micro-structures is chain -migration. Chain migration means that already existing networks in a country or region of destination pull other migrants to this geographical place. Given social resources in those existing networks are strengthened and tempt more members of a community. The capabilities in micro-networks can be defined as "personal relationships, family, household patterns, friendship and community ties and mutual help in economic and social matters" or, following Pierre Bourdieu, as "social capital" (Castles, Miller 1993: 27). In the next section, Bourdieu's theory will be used to look deeper at migration dynamics. To sum up, the network structure, which can be differentiated into different levels – micro, meso and macro – is the basis. With this theoretical basis at hand, it is possible to study how social resources work to enhance cohesion on a horizontal level and enable the communication between the

levels vertically. The whole working of the network is strongly connected to communication and travel technology. It is important to bear this in mind, although in 2018, the fact how much society connects to those technologies seems to have already moved to the unconscious.

2.2.3 Marxist Approach to Migration Theory

Marxist theory put in a contemporary framework has been proved to still be important. Since this research study deals with cultural agents, the connection of Marxism and culture in migration will be elaborated. The first Marxist who underlines the autonomy of culture was the Hungarian philosopher and literature critic Georg Lukács. Although today, some of his positions might be questioned, he makes a number of important points (Agger 1992: pp. 41-42). He assigns autonomy to the cultural field and therefore, puts the culturale field in a Marxist framework, which represents power hierarchies. For him, the image of the world is not only defined through abstract thinking but also through a more sensual experience (Lukács 1999: 264). Since the artists reflects single characteristics of human beings he subjectively experiences, he creates a new objective world of its own subjective, sensual ex-

periences (Lukács 1999: 276). This shows how Lukács managed to free "Marxism from stagnation" (Agger 1992: 42) by conveying greater importance to the individual. Another philosopher who developed his ideas based on the theory of class structure of Karl Marx and the theory of stratification of Max Weber was Pierre Bourdieu (Kastner 2009: 71). Bourdieu tries to connect this notion of how the belonging to an economic class influences the individual behavior with a Weberian understanding of how individual behavior produces social classes. He brings them together in the "social space" (Kastner 2009: 71). It is defined through the relation between humans and things, which are consumed and are owned by humans, this space even includes behavior and the human body itself (Kastner 2009: 72).

To further develop his ideas on Marx and Weber, Bourdieu differentiates the space of social positions and the space of lifestyles, which are independent from one another (Kastner 2009: 73). Although Kastner writes that the former is determined by economic capital one should bear in mind that Bourdieu considers the social capital, which defines the latter, as equally important. In the context of this research study the social capital would be social skills, languages, networks,

professional expertise (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 142).

To put Bourdieu in the timeline of migration theories, one could say that he argues in line with the so called historical-structural approach. It evolved out of the neo-classical-economic model in the 1970s and was also based on Marxist ideas. It focuses on "unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy" (Castles, Miller 2003: 25). A point of critique about the historical-structural approach in migration studies is that it is still heavily economy-determined. Motivations and actions are not considered well enough (Castles, Miller 2003: 26). Nevertheless, Bourdieu breaks this determinism with his concept of the social "habitus", the space of determinism and decisions (Bourdieu 1970: 40). People "internalize norms and by their practices under changing circumstances develop or challenge them" (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 142). The norms are material, cultural and social determinants, which limit the space of decision, but give the agent also a "room of possibilities" which can, according to Bourdieu, also be defined as the space of art production (Kastner 2009: 63). How the position in the social space is defined also depends on cultural or social capital. More recent migration theory even equals the social capital with a social

network, which provides an individual with many possibilities to "develop in the process of socialization" (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 142). For Bourdieu, cultural capital is especially relevant in the artistic field. He defines cultural capital in materialistic terms, as objectified cultural capital, for example as literature, pieces of visual art, magazines, instruments and any kind of documents and in idealistic terms, and on the other hand, as incorporated cultural capital, which would be the individual taste developed through education. This taste is not transferable and is what makes the social habitus. Still, Bourdieu determines cultural capital economically. The agent can invest and make profit with cultural capital. Whether an investment pays off depends on the right "sense for assets". This sense is therefore defined as a "disposition", thereforet, the right composition of being familiar with cultural values and keeping a distance. Accepted values, which are determined by a shared understanding and appreciation of culture beyond the capitalist market, but as essential for existing in this market, are called symbolic capital. It is assorted social capital that "only moves within the logic of acquaintance and recognition […] (Bourdieu 1983: 195). This is the logic Bourdieu defines next to the economical capital (Kastner 2009: 77-83). The symbolic capital does

not comprise of all cultural values in a society. This is highlighted by Appadurai, who uses the term "regimes of value", but also refers in his writings back to Lukács and Bourdieu (Appadurai 1986: 15).

The accumulation of symbolic capital is connected to a privileged class and social habitus. Because the habitus is defined through a shared taste, which is accepted by a certain class, it excludes other tastes. It is directed towards the Other in a degrading manner. Because art is something which is practiced by the middle class, this disparity separates the "proletarian-naïve" and the "middle-class-pretentious" (Kastner 2009: 68).

Therefore, museums, for example, are institutions exclusively tailored to a middle class with a certain cultural education. When looking at cultural institutions one should set focus on three different levels: first, collections and cultural activities within the institution, second, the institution in the context of other institutions of its time and third, the whole cultural field in which the institution exists (Kastner 2009: 101-102).

One important aspect of the social habitus that should be highlighted is that it is a way in which the agent acts – the focus is on the praxis (Kastner 2009: 38). This is the same notion Hall found in Antonio Gramsci's work, who also thought within Marxist frames but only to apply Marxist

ideas practically to a specific time and space. Gramsci's writings "developed out of this more organic engagement with his own society and times" (Hall: 1996: 411). For Gramsci, Marxist theory is only true on a certain level of abstraction (Hall 1996: 413). Another intellectual who worked with Marx and Engels is Said. He underlines that "the way in which even such rarefied things as ideas, consciousness, and metaphysics cannot be fully understood without taking stock of politics, sociology and economics (Said 1983: 81). Intellectual struggles, therefore, need to be explained in relation to material institutions (Said 1983: 81). On the one side, materialism can be seen as fulfilling an organic sociological position. Since the dominant force in the world is capitalist economy, one cannot grasp cultural phenomena without employing a materialist logic. Using this logic, one must consider motivations and actions of the individual as well.

The critical point is, that terms like human or social or cultural capital – terms that grew on Marxist grounds – are only possible by defining differences between the social skills of human beings with different social positions. One can ask whether this differentiation created even greater gaps in the first place and deepens them or if it raises awareness towards inequalities and thereby, opens up

more possibilities to overcome inequality. This research will argue in favor of the latter perspective. Although Bourdieu e.g. wrote for a different time, his ideas are still valid. He shed light on how cultural inequality affects perception and thinking (Kastner 2009: 28). Nevertheless, the words he used are embedded in Marxism. They should be released to a higher extend, so that it is possible to stick to an abstraction of Marxist ideas without falling in the category of intellectual masturbation. To get more practical instead of intellectual, the ideas in migration theory elaborated so far will be applied to Turkish artists moving to Berlin.

2.2.4 Conclusion: Migration Theory and Turkish Artists in Berlin

Ruth Mandel neglects the use of the metaphor of "the bridge" in academic writing for the relation between German and Turkish societies. She underlines that it prevents from viewing culture in a holistic form, nevertheless it is important to take "multiple references of belonging across several decades and places" into account (Mandel 2008: 1). Hall as well manages to grasp this difficulty by writing about two societies: "we know there is a connection there. But we also know that the two 'continents' cannot be lined up and their correspondences read of direct-

ly once against another" (Hall 2004: 23).[4] With the different theories in migration, which come with a historical periodization, it is possible to take multiple perspectives "across several decades and places" (Mandel 2008: 1).

It is difficult to connect art production to wider social histories without "collapsing the former or displacing the latter", argues Hall. For this reason, not the art production itself but the cultural agents should be the focus of research. Nevertheless, even though the material production plays a subordinated role, it is far-reaching.

Therefore, Bourdieu's thoughts on the equality of material and symbolic capital are fundamental. By developing a new catalogue of terms and definitions he enabled research on the cultural dimensions of migration and inequality not only in his period but also today. In his book "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste" he refers specifically to art production (Bourdieu 1987: 100 f.). Because of this, his ideas work as a theoretical template that enables to talk about the Turkish-German artist scene without forfeiting the historical context. As explained in the previous chapter,

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[4] Stuart Hall examines in his article "Black Diaspora Artists in Britain: "Three 'Moments' in Post-War History" the black diaspora in Britain, therefore this quote refers to the connection between oversea countries and Britain.

both, the material and the symbolic capital, exist in the social space. The social space of the Turkish cultural agents in Berlin is the object of examination in this study. This space comprises of various networks, which are the most important aspect of social capital for a Turkish artist who moves to Berlin. Often these networks are already in place due to chain migration and in the case of Turkish artists, these networks comprise cultural agents from Turkey who already live in Berlin. The city did not start being a "postmodern cosmopolitan city" only yesterday but has been a "long-time bastion of left-wing intellectuals, bohemians and the German culture industry" for both, domestic and international cosmopolitans for some time now (Mandel 2008: 5-6). Already in the 1970s, the process of migration was dominated by family reunification and the ties between Turkish migrants were strong. This community building in one's own neighborhood based on a feeling of solidarity is called "migrant strategy" (Kaya 2001: 64). Simple push-and-pull models did not suffice anymore to describe dynamics in migration. Those were suitable to describe migration dynamics in the 1960s. The bilateral agreements between Germany and Turkey were based on economic logic. Turkey made it attractive to push its citizens to earn money and Germany

was in need of cheap workers and pulled them towards its own labor market. From a cultural studies perspective though, the space where newcomers and nationals interact is defined as a space of mutual influence (Mandel 2008:1). The construction of a political, communal, ethnic or national identity only happens in the state of mutual recognition, in dialogue with "the Other" (Kaya 2001: 41). By now it should be clear, that it is not possible to write about individuals who arrive from another nation with one migration theory or with the terms and the logic of one academic discipline. Instead, a political, economic, sociological, historical and cultural framework is needed. Otherwise simplification results in thinking of society divided in arbitrary entities.

Especially when writing about visual artists from Turkey, the question of identity is a precarious one, because there is no such thing as a simple answer. Kaya, who looks at the strategies of the diasporic hip-hop youth in Berlin, states that cultural production leads to the establishment of multiple, complex identities (Kaya 2001: 82). The same is valid for the elaboration of ethnicity, which Mandel defines as a "process in all instances" (Mandel 2008: 21). Therefore, it is necessary that migrants feel "at home" on all levels. If this does not happen, counter-structures will develop. Using

ethnical networks to build communities as a response to failing political structures in the country of arrival would be called a "minority strategy" in Kaya's terms. The ethnical networks then try to replace missing links between excluded individuals and institutions (Kaya 2001: 67). Anyway, migration theory is not reducible to questions of ethnicity or authenticity (Mandel 2008: 2). The person who moved to another country should be considered an active agent who creates his or her culture in a process of "cultural bricolage" replacing the idea of authenticity. The bricolage is more of a political form of expression and underlines the importance of material things which form a culture (Kaya 2001: 39). Visual art may be considered an exemplary element of bricolage.

This notion is applicable, especially to transnational communities like the Turkish community living in between Berlin and Istanbul (Kaya 2001: 43). Activists and intellectuals are the primary agents questioning the role of national identity. Mandel claims that a postnational narrative is essential for developing a civil society in a democratic country (Mandel 2008: 5). This applies especially today, in times of growing political instability, but was already valid in the 1980s, when civil society had been the main concern of leftists in Turkey. The state of distress and misery is where freedom of mind is in danger, but also it is the "only space of freedom" (Kastner 2009: 52).

By describing the notion amongst migrants as anxiety, the active element in cultural agency is grasped even better than with the words distress and misery. Thus, Mandel writes the "'Turk is shown to have become a signifier of instability and anxiety, in national, subnational, and transnational narrations" (Mandel 2008: 3).

The problem that prevents drawing creative energies from a state of anxiety is that the cultural sphere is an exclusionary one. Mandel herself argues that the Berlin cosmopolitanism is mostly claimed by Berlin locals, who recognize the travel-experience of the migrant as too denotic (Mandel 2008: 14). Anyway, it is important not to overemphasize class culture by terms like "bourgeois cosmopolitanism" or the notion of "cultural shock" which is experienced by the cultural agent from Turkey (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 270). The cultural networks in Berlin provide many niches and possibilities to practice culture in a dense space.

Berlin is the epitome of reduction in manifold ways. It is where the dimensions of universalism and particularism exist together, where the world "is compressed into a single space" (Kaya 2001: 40). Mandel uses the word "chronotrop"

to grasp the same notion in the dimension of time: "Berlin continually is stretched, pulled between an unbearable memory and contested visions of its future" (Mandel 2008: 35). Even though multiple time and space dimensions are existing, there is a hierarchical vision of culture. As long as one is in exile and experiences separation and segregation, one will not achieve "authentic cosmopolitanism" (Mandel 2008: 49). This is extremely hard in the over-determined scene-culture of Berlin, where thousands of "alternative scenes" can be found, all claiming to be cosmopolitan. This horizontal segregation into niches is further enhanced by cultural institutions in Berlin. Paradoxically, it is those institutions which "associate cosmopolitanism with minority" that are the most exclusive (Mandel 2008: 50). They work according to the "flagship strategy", which means they emphasize the importance of dealing with minorities and inclusion but at the same time become places of exclusion by demanding a special status, as Onur Suzan and Kömürcü Nobrega explain by referring to the example of Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (Suzan, Nobgrega 2011: 95). Although the city of Berlin seems to understand the cultural potential of minorities by providing at least small funds for public projects (Suzan, Nobrega 2011: 96), the more common

understanding in the German political discourse still defines Turkish migrants as "Ausländer" (Mandel 2008: 10). It can be argued that this discourse gets even stronger in times of rising nationalism and racism. The focus on cultural production is a big chance to replace discussions, that were created out of fear to lose one's own privileged position with a discussion on how we can live together. So, the European commission writes: "Compared to social politics it is crucial for cultural activity, that it has a positive origin: Humans are not considered as a problem, but as a potential and concrete enrichment" (Commission for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion 2004: 86). It seems like the political ideal and practice do not manage to reconcile.

The question is: Did Germany fail as a country of immigration? Definitely the idea of multiculturalism in political terms did. It does not lead to an "increased attachment and engagement in the larger polity" (Bloemraad 2011). Berlin institutions, like the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs or the "Haus der Kulturen der Welt" for example, are not confident enough to encourage the dialogue with the dominant culture (Kaya 2001: 105). Instead the policies of multiculturalism have forced migrants to organize themselves in networks and communities (Kaya 2001: 122). Apart from media be-

havior and cultural consumption, transcultural notions are not detectable (Fauser, Reisenauer 2013: 173). It is more a feeling of being aware of what they are not, that constitutes the reality of individuals with a Turkish origin. For many, this leads to a desperate outreaching for stereotypical identifications that are already offered in the country of arrival (Mandel 2008: 20). Thereby they become the kind of spokespersons which have been discussed in the chapter on Cultural discourses before 2000.

To sum up, for the cultural agent Berlin is a place of desire due to its cosmopolitan character. At the same time, the cultural networks act exclusionary for those who are in exile. Also, institutions amplify segregation by following the "flagship strategy". The ongoing process of division into "Ausländer" (engl.: foreigners) and Berlin locals has an impact on the ability of the cultural agent to position him-/herself. Therefore, what the elaboration of the connection between identity, ethnicity and the cultural agent has shown, is how Berlin failed to become a place where anxiety can turn into cultural production. On the basis of conversations with cultural agents, this failure will be studied in more depth.

3. How German Cultural Institutions Give Access to Cultural Agents from Turkey

The following part constitutes the "Aufhebung" (articulation) in reference to Hegel as the crucial element of a dialectical method which is the base of this research. The articulation can be seen as an attempt to make a statement in the process of dialectical research that is not destined to have an actual outcome.

The aim of this study though is to find a practical solution for problems which exist for cultural agents from Turkey in relation to German cultural institutions. This can be reached by "aufheben" (articulate) the contradictory notions of negation and preservation (Maybee 2016). For this, not only theory and empirical material will be formed into a unity which is able to say more than just the theory or just the empirical knowledge. In terms of content, this "third moment" also "unifies the character of those earlier determinations" (Maybee 2016). More precisely, the desires of the cultural agents will be shown to see what should be preserved and what should be negated to make it possible for the agent to position him-/herself. The struggles of identity result from unfulfilled desires and are the source of friction. Institutions play a role in this unfulfillment but also in the satisfaction of those desires. It is the task to

find out which institutional notion should be negated and which should be preserved. To start at the bottom, it is important to elaborate how the identity of a cultural agent can be defined, then to see what is particular about an international cultural agent in a second step to specify the desires and disappointments of the cultural agent from Turkey in Germany in a third step. The „Aufhebung" will happen as a final point of this research.

3.1 Deconstructing the Cultural Agent

Social sciences and Cultural studies who advocate poststructuralist approaches came to the agreement that cultural identity is not a fixed entity. This was already mentioned earlier when outlining the development of the cultural discourse in migration theory. When the notions of totality in classical modernity faded, a syncretic notion of culture began to replace the holistic notion of culture with the idea of a fixed cultural baggage one carries over territorial borders (Kaya 200: 33), because this mind-set is outdated. The conversations show that especially artists in their 20s deal with being caught "in-between" multiple identities in their work. While talking to them, they reflected their own position in their new environment and even their thoughts

underwent a process of development within one hour of conversation. In order to learn more about the cultural agent it is therefore necessary to look closer at the construction of identity.

3.1.1 Cultural Identity is Constructed

Identity means to describe the idea of two things being the same. Since modernism, the idea of personal identity is a qualitative one in relation to cultural identity, which means that there is a human being who shares certain qualities with others that can be defined as the same (Noonan, Curtis 2017). Still, their sameness is not total and unchangeable as the holistic approach assumes. The qualities shared with others might change. Especially in the context of migration, one can have multiple identities (Kaya 2001: 82). This can be explained by referring again to the concept of the cultural repertoire as a "tool box", depending on the cultural conditions the individual chooses the eligible tools (Kaya 2001: 36). Also, cultural identity can be defined as the sameness that one shares with oneself, the picture of oneself and the self, come together. This can happen in different circumstances which do not merely depend on one's geographical position.

This makes identity a highly complex matter. For this reason, a structuralist approach which means to read the things as texts seems adequate. It was Said who introduced identity as text in the context of migration which is "continually elaborated and rewritten" (Ashcroft, Ahluwalia 2002: 7). He saw himself in exile and described this notion of being aware of at least two cultural dimensions with the musical term "contrapunctual", designating two melodies which sound together. Said appreciated the order and simplicity of music but found his way of expression and research in writing texts (Ashcroft, Ahluwalia 2002: 11). In every one of his writings he re-positioned himself and thereby his identity, too. Each text referred to other texts and positions of identity in the system of language. It is therefore possible to explain the equalization of identity and language by referring to systems and functions, so to say in terms of structuralism: "structures are structures of systems; systems function, structures in themselves do not function - but systems function because they have the structures they do" (Wiener 1986: 322). To briefly outline the concept of structuralism, language as a system is structured. But the structure here is not simply the form, but the signifier. The signifier is the counterpart of the signified. For example, there is the word "cul-ture", which has a certain appearance and a certain spelling: c-u-l-t-u-r-e. This is the form, therefore, the system. On the other hand, the word "culture" calls for different associations in everyone's head. This is the content, therefore the function (Jäger 2001). Language by structuralist comes as a set of relations. It is constructed. Identity as well is socially constructed. It is the outcome of a dialectical process related to the relation between oneself and other individuals, but also related to matters of self-identification. Therefore, identity as a system can be compared with language as a system. Identity has a form, but also different associations that relate to it. The self and the picture of the self are in an ongoing dialogue. When this dialectical process is ignored and the signified is fixed to the signifier, meaning one word corresponds to one specific association, a specific type is produced, which can be a stereotype if the same association is shared by many. As elaborated in the chapter on cultural spokespersons, it is the effort of the state to produce stereotypes to ensure social positioning (Edwards 1996: 31). Fixing a signified to a signifier is also one point of criticism of Marxist thinking, to come back to the ideological foundation of this research. It is argued that it limits social positions to the logic of class distinction (Rutherford 1998: 19), but this

is not how one should approach Marxism. Drawing his ideas from Georg Hegel's writings, Marx provided first of all the basis for a dialectical understanding of things and set the ground for structuralists and post-structuralists. However, when referring to Marxism, it is important to break with any totalitarian notion. It was Jacques Derrida, amongst others, with his post-structuralist writings "that has helped to make sense of the absences in Marxist theory" (Rutherford 1998: 20). He turned Marxism into a cultural critique by "reading cultural expressions as class texts written in order to deceive" (Agger 1992: 44). In fact, Marxism gave poststructuralism "the level of political critique" (Agger 1992: 46). It would be wrong, of course, to think in fixed categories of class. What is important when deconstructing identity is to realize how the social position is "constituted of different elements of experience and subjective position" (Rutherford 1998: 19). In a dialectical manner, these constructions become something more than the single elements. This refers back to "Aufhebung" (articulation).

To go back and dismantle the tendency of stereotyping, one can deconstruct the text of identity. In this context, one can deconstruct the identity of the cultural agent. It is the basic idea of deconstructivism to break down oppositions. The

outcomes are juxtaposed elements, which however can find a function within the system only, i.e. in the context to the other. So here the elements are the self and the picture of the self but also the cultural agent and surrounding individuals. This makes identity fluid on one side but also present and stable in every function on the other side. The question to be answered is under what circumstances the elements find their function in the system. The task is therefore to fill this theoretical grid with empirical observations and draw a new theoretical assumption from this example.

To also practice this idea, the fieldwork was conducted not only with people working in the cultural field from Turkey but also with cultural agents from Germany. The conversation was introduced not as an interview to the conversation partners and as a guided conversation it left free space for the other person to evolve his/her ideas. Although it was clear that the personal background of the researcher differed to a big part from the ones of the cultural agents from Turkey, this was never made a topic of any conversation. What was shared, though, was the fact that all the agents who contributed to this study, including the author, live in another cultural habitat than they were born in, also sharing the approximate

age between 20 and 30 and an interest for visual arts.

3.1.2 Deconstructing the Author of this Text

To prevent a one-sided approach by sticking to the logic of the unidirectional control of the author about the object of research, a short section will be used to reflect on the positioning of the author. It was already stressed that this study is written in connection to an institution and to a context. The knowledge is produced on the side of the author, which gives him/her power. It is not easy to entirely avoid any kind of hierarchy between the researcher and the object of the research. Kaya wrote about his experience while doing his study of Turkish-German youth hip-hop culture that he tried to treat the youngster as "interluctors", which situates the researcher "in the middle position where s/he can utilize both his/her objective and subjective dispositions" (Kaya 2001: 26). The alternate use of theory and conversation material supports this notion. It should be made clear though that cultural studies themselves are always connected to questions of power relations (Osborn, Hall 1997: 24). Especially Hall stands for this position. It is his basic assumption that, the one "who speaks and the subject who is spo-

ken of, are never identical" (Hall 1990: 234). Nevertheless, any kind of dogmatism should be avoided. The elaboration of the situation of cultural agents from Turkey is not an attempt to gain a "monopoly of objectivity" as Rosaldo puts it (Rosaldo 1998: 48). For the sake of transparency, a short overview with essential information about the conversation partners is given. This is followed by the analysis of the transcripts that were taken from the conversations.

3.1.3 The Cultural Agents

In the following section the cultural agents which were the conversation partners will be introduced. The conversation material is collected from six conversations, of which three were face to face and three happened via Skype. They were approximately one hour each and were held either in English or German. Although only four conversations were planned it seemed to give a more accurate impression of the situation between Turkey and Germany by talking to German cultural agents who moved to Turkey as well. Therefore, also voices of a German artist and a German curator who both live in Istanbul were used for describing the life and work of a cultural agent in another country. Thus, theories and ideas drawn from the taped material

are not based on a one-sided perspective. Surprisingly, not only differences but also some parallel notions came to light. Since the identity of the partners should be protected, only a course outline of their portraits containing the most relevant facts will be given. It is nevertheless important to be aware of these basic facts to understand the background of used quotations. For the sake of linguistic aesthetics fake names are added.

Visual artist from Diyarbakir, male, 37 alias Ozan

Material: Installations, drawings

Exhibition: Group and solo exhibitions in Turkey, Germany and the Netherlands

Topics of the work: Protest, Civil Rights, Kurdish topic

Time lived abroad: 14 years

German Language level: A2

Photographer from Istanbul, female, 30 alias Gökçe

Material: Photography, collage

Exhibitions: Group exhibitions in Istanbul, one solo exhibition in Berlin

Topics of the work: Own family history, female positions in Turkey

Time lived abroad: Five years

German language level: A2

Visual artist from Hatay, female, 28 alias Tugçe

Material: Photography, drawings, paintings

Exhibitions: None

Topics of the work: Own family history, herself, female positions in Turkey

Time lived abroad: Five years

German language level: A2

Teacher, visual artists and sculptor from Ellwangen, female, 38 alias Hannah

Material: wood, stone, steel

Job experience: Art teaching, journalistic writing about art

Topics of the work: scraping, forming an identity

Time lived abroad: one year and five months

Turkish language level: -

Employee of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (association of state funded museums in Berlin) from Eskişehir, female, 31 alias Elif

Job experience: Graphic Design in agencies, digital Product Design for the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Time lived abroad: nine years

German Language level: C1

Curator and Editor from Munich, female, 38, female alias Karin

Job experience: Editor of an art magazine on Turkish contemporary art in Istanbul, curator of exhibitions in Istanbul

Time lived abroad: seven years

Turkish Language Level: B1

3.1.4 Deconstructing the Cultural Agent

As already introduced, the process of deconstructing the cultural agent's identity means to define juxtaposed elements. In case of the human being what the researcher can observe is what the cultural agent mentions about him-/herself to create a certain picture of him-/herself. Identity is also constructed in relation to individuals which surround the self.

"I am in a place usually also because of people" says Ozan from Diyarbakir, the "people makes [sic!] the place" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). This is why he does not need to be in Turkey. For him, to position himself, it is more important to be able to have his friends around him. He also counts his colleagues as friends, but only when they happen to be in the same city: "then it's more like a friendship than a colleague" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). This

shows how the private life of the visual artist interferes with his professional life. One cannot separate the professional cultural agent from his private agency. Therefore, it seems contradictory, but it makes sense, when elaborating on identity to look at the cultural production.

In the cultural production of the visual artists as conversation partners it was the case that the products reflected their experiences made in Turkey in every case. This means, they reflect their identity in their works because identities are the "different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (Hall 1990: 236). One example of Ozan would be a work where he painted the nose art of military aircrafts on small stones which were brought to his hometown and left on the street, after they had been shown in an exhibition. Also, Gökçe deals with identity struggles in her works. Since she is also a researcher, she combined interviews with women in Istanbul with a photographic work that puts the focus on the missing pictures of the women in her family tree. Tugçe from Hatay formulated it most directly:

> "it's mostly about, my background and discovering yourself. But this background is a little bit more up to me, which means my tradition, my surrounds, the place where I

grow up, the things, this turning back or discovering these things, so that's why you can see female figurines and that's also why I found it very powerful my own and also the woman itself [sics!]." (Tugçe, Niepel 2018)

For her the struggle of identity not only emerged when moving to Germany. Also, in Hatay she felt herself as a stranger; more than that, she put herself in the position of a stranger:

> "I had to choose to be a guest in Hatay, it was me decide [sic!]. I had to do this, because otherwise my comfortside [sics!] of mother-home of fatherhome, the house just keeps me from whatever I just want to do. So, I choose to be a guest there as a person who will move out in the time or soon, like in two months or three months or whatever, so I wanted to make myself a little bit under pressure in the deadline to move out there." (Tugçe, Niepel 2018)

The effort the cultural agents put in the creation of an identity extends from the private life and with that the experiences of the past into their professional life. The task to bring the self and the picture of oneself together in an image of the world is not only a private issue. When Ozan works on his professional social network he also does this to find a place in the world, "to create my world basically", he said (Ozan, Niepel 2018). This is what

Jonathan Friedmann would call the "construction of a meaningful universe" (Friedmann 1994: 118). Friedmann defines identity formation as "the interaction between locally specific practices of selfhood and the dynamics of global positioning" (Friedmann 1994: 117). The local practices matter for Ozan as well when he is trying to find new inspiration for his work: "my work is very social, it has a lot to do with the public space" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). He also forms his identity by locally specific practices: "when the weather is bad I can't go on the streets, although I have all my favorite people in the city" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). Again, this shows: the forming of a universe of a private person is the same as forming a universe of the private person as a visual artist. The structures of the surrounding of the social agent are internalized in a way that makes it possible for him/her to create "a common, meaningful world, a common-sense world" (Bourdieu 1984: 468).

The way in which Ozan gets his inspiration is a practice that he has internalized. For Gökçe, for example, this creation of a social network is still a challenge. She says: "the effort you put in there is such an effort" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018), but the pressure to position herself is quite high and even became an issue of her health: "I also had this anxiety and depression

and these kind of things, that I am like, no I have to do something about this" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). A feeling of anxiety also overcame the youngest of the conversations partners, Tugçe. She described how she was unable to read the contemporary art in Berlin: "Here I couldn't get anything, I never felt myself so anxious" (Tugçe, Niepel 2018). Having in mind that the identity formation of the artist and the private person is the same, the expressions that were used – anxiety and depression – should be alarming and require academic and political attention. This is especially valid, since expressing personal problems as an artist from Turkey seems to be expected from institutions according to Elif: "When you are young, you have many personal experiences that influence your intellectual work", "but artists who deal with those problems in their work also receive more attention" (Elif, Niepel 2018).

However, it would have been possible to think that the conversation partners were already "haunted by questions of identity and belonging" (Hall 2004: 18), considering that the current political situation in Turkey made people who move to another country favored objects of research in the last years. Nevertheless, thinking about issues of identity in an academic context opens up the possibility of creat-

ing a debate that considers the fine notions of identity. For artists, it might even open a "productive 'horizon'", "not so much the celebration of an essential identity fixed in time and 'true' to its origins, but rather […] 'the production of a [new, black] subject'" (Hall 2004: 19).[5]

When talking to the German cultural agents, it seemed suspicious they tend to distance themselves more from the country of destination. Especially the visual artist, Hannah, who did not choose Istanbul as a long-term option for living: "I look at that from a distance", is what she answered to the question on how she sees her position in her network of cultural agents in Istanbul. Both German women also had the notion to compare their own position in Germany with their position there. This was not noticeable in the conversations with the Turkish cultural agents. Karin for example was shocked about the lack of knowledge of English amongst Turkish young people. She said: "So, in my reality, there is not such a thing like that" (Karin, Niepel 2018). Anyway, deconstructing the Turkish cultural agent differs insofar as they decided to stay outside of their country of origin forever, and going back is not an opportunity for them. This is important to

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[5]This is what Hall states about the potential of migrated black artists in Great Britain in the 1960s and 1970s.

bear in mind, when comparing the German and the Turkish cultural agents.

3.1.5 Conclusion

The last section has proven that identity is constructed. It has been shown that identity can be analyzed with a poststructuralist approach as a text. Referring to Marxist thinking, the revolutionary force is underlined, which liberates poststructuralism from being reduced to an -ism. In the application of a postructuralist analysis of identity to empirical material the focus is put on the active part of the person to position him-/herself on his/her direct surrounding and a bigger context, because no relation is static and predetermined. The aim is to create an own world. Especially, for cultural agents of the age between 20 and 30 private and professional lives mix. In some cases, this provokes feelings of depression and anxiety. Therefore, it is worth to be discussed and further questioned.

3.2 Transnationality of the Cultural Agents

Until now, the identity of the cultural agent was the subject. When deconstructing identity as a text, it became clear that the person and the representa-

tion of the person, comparable to the signified and the signifier, are what constitute identity in a fluid, alternating process. The focus was laid more on how a human being positions him-/herself in the world. The next step is now to add a transnational dimension. By mentioning Said, whose intellectual ideas are strongly influenced by his own biography, the notion of living between two cultures and having an ambivalent identity was already mentioned. In the next chapter Saids' thinking on ambivalence which he calls "contrapunctuality" will be further developed by referring back to transnational and network theory.

3.2.1 How are Cultural Agents Transnational?

Contrapuntal in music means that two different, even opposite melodies produce a sound the ear likes. Contrapuntal music "contains nearly independent melodies, that are each given equal value" (Muscato 2018).[6] In those melodies one can find harmonics which sometimes compete with each other and are complementary (Muscato 2018). This idea fits to the notion of how cultural agents are

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[6]A good example would be these pieces, where one can visually see the two melodies: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFeLqgV LxBM&t=543s (last accessed 10.5.2018)

transnational, even at the same time they are not.

In this section, the term "transnational" will be elaborated critically, then some contradictions that come with being transnational are discussed on the basis of the empirical material. Finally, it will be stated, that the state as a unit is still valid when considering a transnational approach.

First of all, it has to be clear that transnationality cannot be generalized as a dynamic which affects everyone in the same way and in the same timeframe. It was the critical point in the theoretical chapter, that one has to differentiate. Therefore, also the transnationality of the conversation partners is not the same. Still, they share some characteristics which make them transnational in an equal way. They are all transnational by positioning themselves in a position in-between, which means they deal with experiences in Germany, by looking back to experiences they made in Turkey in the past. Before the transnationalistic approach, one considered only a super-structure and a basis, a macro- and a microstructure, where characteristics of the individuals did not matter because they were considered pre-given (Castles, Miller 2003: 27). To consider them as pre-given means there was no development in time which formed the individual.

By referring to a meso-structure however, one can grasp what has happened in the past to explain the autonomous agency of the migrant (Faist 2000: 58). This is confirmed by Bhabha, who was elaborated on in the chapter on locating culture in-between. He writes that difference is in fact not pre-given (Bhabha 1994: 2). According to him, the collective experience of nationness matters (Bhabha 1994: 2), which leads to the formation of a "collective political identity" (Osborn, Hall 1997: 35). Motivations for being transnational, e.g. political agency, are important and will be studied in a chapter of its own.

Also, in the case of migration from Turkey to Germany the past of Turkish citizens in the country of destination matters and forms the identity of the cultural agent. The motivation of the cultural agents could not have been understood without the knowledge of current political, economic or social dynamics as well as knowing about the relation between Turkey and Germany, that developed over decades. Many of the conversation partners mention previous generations or are in contact with them, as Ozan says: "I could be with the international community but also like three generations of Turkish people" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). Tugçe states, that she also engages with earlier generations but at the same time she

distances herself from them: "these days I am mostly engaging with the Turkish people, that comes to me a little bit conservative, I don't like that, they are like from early times from the 1960s, they are a little too conservative, I don't wanna be like them" (Tugçe, Niepel 2018). It should be pointed out how this exemplifies the idea on competing harmonics, Tugçe does not like to interact with the Turkish community, but she enjoys the common language community. "But because of that and what I am doing here right now, and we are all Turkish people, working with Turkish-English languages. That is why I feel myself right now very much with the Turkish things", says Tugçe and continues on that topic "sometimes you just feel tired to explain yourself in another language" (Tugçe, Niepel 2018).

Another aspect that all conversation partners have in common is that they did not belong to a lower social class in Turkey. Ozan, Gökçe and Tugçe went to university and studied art in Turkey and Elif was familiarized by her family with art and culture, which leads to the conclusion that she neither comes from a poor background. This confirms what was discussed before that transnationalism is first of all not open to all social positions but only to members of a middle class (Castles, Miller 2003: 23).

As the empirical material stems from Turkish citizens in Germany and German citizens in Turkey as well, this study grasps transnationality not only unidirectional but from both sides. In both directions, the element of time spent in the country of destination mattered. As it is included in the definition of transnational activity by Portes et. Al. as "those that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants". For example, the notion of being recognized as a guest for several years in the country of destination was valid for Turkish as well as German agents. "In Amsterdam, it takes four five years that people start to think that you actually live there. They finally understand that you actually move there, that you are not visiting, after five years. If you are in Istanbul and you are around, they started to think you are living there somehow.", says Ozan (Ozan, Niepel 2018). Karin cannot confirm that one is not considered as a guest after living in Istanbul for seven years: "one is just a traveler anyway, so you have to be there for a long time, so that you are on the radar of people and I have to say that until today many people ask me: Tell me, are you currently in Istanbul? And I answer: 'Yes, I live there!'" (Karin, Niepel 2018). This shows how time matters, but

also gives a hint that a different physical appearance might be important as well in terms of recognition.

Also, the decision of staying longer in a country and not going back changes the way of behavior and thinking and the perception of the surrounding individuals. "This is also a process, the way I think and how I feel was formed in Germany and not in Turkey", says Elif (Elif, Niepel 2018). Tugçe came to Germany for the first time to do her Erasmus for a certain timeframe. When she decided to live in Berlin, this changed many things for her:

> "before that it was just Masters and seeing and learning and bla bla and since that it's like, maybe I have to stay here which changes your whole attitude, if you stay here, then you will maybe talk to people more, you have to do more like networking" (Tugçe, Niepel 2018).

This shows that moving means to commit to a long process of change and struggle.

Of course, being able to work across borders as an artist and do exchanges with Erasmus became easier with the development of technology and media. The websites of the artists for example are not geographically destined, but give the possibility to be accessible in more than one place at the same time. There-

fore, transnationality also comes as a feature that is somehow predestined for privileged members of society of this era. One could say transnational contrapunctuality came with time and was enforced by technology.

There was also an era in music where music was not contrapuntal, like the pieces of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart for example. There, one had just a soloist which was accompanied. This is called homophonic music (Oxford dictionary 2018). Without this kind of music anyway, the polyphonic and contrapuntal music would not exist. Why is this relevant? Because one should not forget that without nation states as an entity, one could say without mono-nationalism, there would be no transnationalism. This is shown by Kaya and Kayaoğlu who proved that citizenship, therefore, the belonging to a state, contributes to the formation of a "cohesive and egalitarian society" (Kaya, Kayaoğlu 2012: 114). States and citizenship still matter but should be understood in the process of erosion, which means that they are fragile but will not disappear soon (Castles, Miller 2003: 289). Gökçe was aware that the pure definition of transnationalism does not function in practice yet: "And I think if you see the world as it is, like no borders or whatsoever (sic!), then we should be more hardcore or more open,

so that people also would be open" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). She definitely has her own difficulties with being this open and according to her, this is not the case for every cultural agent who moved from Turkey to Germany: "But of course, for us, feeling shy and feeling even not welcome sometimes, it says many things about your insecurities, I think. But not everyone is like that" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). Although Gökçe here mentions that she is not representative she is one element of a new objectivist picture of the issues of transnationality. Transnationality does not deny a certain objectivism, since all theory should be realist and logic, but the theory is built on the observation of the individual which adds human agency. So, this approach showed itself to be suitable for this research.

3.2.2 Transnationality as an Advantage?

Although the concept of transnationality can be used to explain the situation of cultural agents who move to another country, it should be used critically. On the one side, it is a choice to move to a different country, which the conversation partners are privileged to take because they belong to a middle class. On the other side, they are limited and there is an external force that pushes them to adapt to a new environment. After a cer-

tain point the decision to go back becomes less likely. So, says Elif: "I tell this to illustrate that a change of country takes so much time and energy and because of such an investment it is not easy to leave the country" (Elif, Niepel 2018). Transnationality was discussed as something lived only by "bourgeois cosmopolitans" (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 270), this description is not accurate considering the empirical material. Being cosmopolitan is not something which has advantages only, like being open-minded, multilingual and having an international network. Transnationality comes by choice but is connected to certain conditions. One condition is the fact that one has to give up the local surrounding of the country of origin. "I am actually positioned in a different place than I am positioned here" says Ozan (Ozan, Niepel 2018). He continues by telling how much easier it was to work with his network in Istanbul:

> "[…] like here we are, ok, the network does not only consist of curators and artists, supporters, security guards, I knew all the security guards in the museums, you know everyone in every level, technicians, one of my best friend is the technician at a museum, another best friend is a security guard, I have very best friends who are advisors at key meetings. But we kind of grow together, somehow start together, so there was this connection. I am not in

that kind of circle here." (Ozan, Niepel 2018)

The network he describes has to be evaluated critically, since it seems he has taken money and funds from colleagues and friends. For him, this network built the basis of his work also in financial terms. The same kind of reliability on a network can be found in the case of Gökçe. She talks about her project about Istanbul women: "For example I met two women and they were taking a reading and writing class, so their teacher was a friend of my mother's, so I got the connection, because she was so excited and talked to the women" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). Also, what Gökçe says shows how strong the networks in Turkey are. This does not allow any statements about the importance of networks in Germany though. Another conclusion one can draw from the statements by those two cultural agents is that their network in Turkey and their network in Germany are not connected. They don't have the advantage of a transnational network.

Another aspect that became clear is that the thought of personal networks and to be able to express themselves in their first language is something that seems to bother all visual artists that engaged in this research: "I miss my friends, it's difficult. There, I know all the things", says

Gökçe and also describes a feeling of responsibility: "we are so politicized and there is this guilt of leaving my friends behind, my family behind, so I still want to do some things there" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). These notions enforce them to live in-between two countries. With the exception of Ozan, who has not been in Istanbul for the last one and a half years, the others still keep a connection with Turkey by going back and forth. Gökçe even has her work mostly exhibited in Istanbul although she lives in Berlin. This shows how much they are tied to Turkey, but only because this seems to be the way which is satisfying. It will be argued in the end, that the institutions don't build a zone of security. It should be the task of a state funded establishment to build a room of possibilities for the cultural agents, so that they can build a life in Germany as long as they make an effort to learn the language. Although language should not be the decisive component of acting autonomous as it will be exemplified in the course of this study.

3.2.3 Conclusion

Fauser concludes by defining Berlin not as a transnational place of creativity (Fauser, Reisenauer 2013: 173). This is not true. Those who moved across a national border live in an in-between

which leads to the building of a contrapunctal, transnational identity. It should nevertheless not be missed out, that transnationality is something for the privileged and which comes with even more privileges. In the case of the conversation partners, those were all from a middle class and they traveled by choice. Other migrants nevertheless do not appear as transnationals in literature but can be defined as such. Either way, the cultural agents who contributed to this study did not only talk positively about having multiple identities. Their choice forces them to give up work related and private networks and most importantly the possibility to express themselves in their mother language in daily life. This is one reason they sometimes still engage with Turkish communities in Germany. In the next section the topic of language and political agency will be deepened as factors that matter for the well-being of the cultural transnational agent.

3.3 Desires of the Cultural Agent

In the process of articulation, one should find out what is there to preserve to create a "third" in the end, a solution. In this case, the solution is to develop an idea to create cultural-political links between cultural agents and institutions. The next section is on the desires of the cultural

agents and why their desires are still in the state of desire. The term "desire" was used in different contexts in previous studies, but also the conversation partners expressed themselves this way. How their spoken word goes together with academic texts will be elaborated on. It seems that the extensive use of the word "desire" reflects a notion of something missing or being not right but it's not a feeling that is necessarily negative, for example, "one desires the loved one" makes more sense in a positive connotated way than "one desires water". By formulating the desires instead of the needs, it should be expressed that the cultural agent is an active, autonomous being who brings abilities and knowledge and is not i to be put in a position of need.

3.3.1 Desires Stay Desires: Language and Bureaucratic Processes

To put someone in a needy position requires to position oneself in the dominant one. This is often the case in the relation of the researcher and the object of research, but also when it comes to institutions and the cultural agent. "[…] every position of knowledge that establishes as an object a category of people implies, by definition, a relationship of force and domination", is what De Certeau (1997:

77) wrote about historiography or ethnography as it can be valid for any part of society. There is a hierarchy of knowledge where the dominating group is making an object of another group in society. Both parts may have equal knowledge, but the "positioning of knowledge" is what matters. Expressing knowledge is mostly based on language or in artistic expression, such as music, filming or visual arts, where spoken language plays a subordinate role. To put art in an economic framework though, one has to be able to sell the cultural product. This should actually not be the task of the artist. Karin identifies this problem: "That is it, where there is a big gap, although the task of an artist is actually not to describe his own work, but if no one else does it, then he has to do it himself" (Karin, Niepel 2018).

The problem of not being able to sell oneself is on the one hand a problem of language, that the cultural agent does not learn, but it can also be a problem that has nothing to do with language, but which is institutional. When talking to visual artists from Turkey in Berlin they mostly looked for the problem on their side, therefore the common tendency was that they all want to learn more German, except for Ozan, but that right now it is their fault that they struggle with their work because of language issues, "I

wouldn't blame the institutions yet", is what Gökçe said and with that shows, that she considers herself to blame (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). This struggle is exemplified by the description of Karin of the situation of a visual artist from Turkey who has been living in Berlin for two years: "She can speak German and she learns it, but it is hard to arrive at a level where she can use it in an academic context" (Karin, Niepel 2018). The conversation with Tugçe especially confirmed this, when she said, that she is sometimes tired of explaining herself in another language or that she engages with more Turkish-German people, because this feels "right" for her now.

The interesting thing is, that Karin actually realized this communication problem of artists in Turkey, when she states that it should not be the task of the artist to sell him-/herself. Although Turkish artists there speak the language of the institutions, they are not able to sell what they produce: "That is a big problem that they have, that is what I realized (sic!) as a crucial point in the distribution of Turkish contemporary art, because there the platform is missing" (Karin, Niepel 2018). The contemporary art scene in Turkey is only in its beginnings and structures start to establish, but this example shows that communication for artists is not only a language problem in Turkey. Whether

this observation is transferable to Germany will be analyzed in the next chapters. However, considering that language is not the essential component there are also other culturally specific habits in Turkey to consider. Hannah has observed some of them when she applied for a job in Istanbul: "That is always interesting if it is the culture or unreliability" (Hannah, Niepel 2018). In the end though, it cannot all be reduced to the issue of language that the cultural agent stays in the state of "desiring something", in this case it is selling his/her artwork.

Another reason for failing communication between the cultural agent and his/her surrounding in Germany would be bureaucratics. When Gökçe studied at the UDK (University of Arts), she often experienced not only struggle with the language but also with the fact, that employees at the UDK did not know their own set of rules:

> "[…] even in the institute there were things that no secretary would know, but it is a problem then, no one knows, and no one asks, but you collect bits and pieces of information and then you are like: ahhhh, even though there is a booklet of regulations, right, but no one really reads that" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018).

For sure, it should not be neglected that sometimes miscommunication between the cultural agent and the institution is up to the agent. There are many Turkish speaking people, who live in Berlin and who do not make an effort to learn German at all, as Elif describes: "They don't learn German, or they don't try to improve it. They also don't read the newspaper or watch TV, so the interest for the German culture is missing" (Elif, Niepel 2018). Still there are other factors than language to be considered, such as bureaucratic processes or culturally specific habits that the foreigners do not know.

It is over all contradictory that the cultural agents that were spoken to had the impression that their agency was dependent on language, including their political agency although "the true language of autonomy is political", according to De Certeau. He writes that language belongs to the "order of tactics" and autonomy to the "order of strategies" (De Certeau 1997: 79). Tactics for him are "the art of the weak" (De Certeau 1984: 37). This is why desires stay desires as long as the cultural agents blame their missing political agency on language, they will stay in the position of the "weak".

3.3.2 If Desires Do not Stay Desires: Political Agency and Passing on Knowledge

In order to be autonomous, one needs to have a political voice to express oneself. Knowing the language which is spoken by the majority should not be the only condition for this. Instead it is important to know the language which is useful for being autonomous, therefore which is needed to communicate with the addressee. Ozan exemplifies this, he names German language as the major factor for a missing political agency but also thinks that other languages may be helpful: "I think speaking German gives a lot of political agency, yes. Speaking English not so much political agency you can get, also speaking Turkish". Although he seems to be able to address individuals in his private and professional life in English and Turkish, he does not have a political agency: "You can always walk with, but to have an agency, as an artist, as a political participant, I don't have the right to vote here, I don't even have the right to participate in a demonstration actually, I only have the right to visit and it's a different position you know, technically speaking" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). It seems like his lacking knowledge of German keeps him politically inactive. Also, the right to vote is connected to issues of citizenship, but this is again dependent on the knowledge of German language and hard to achieve as a freelancing artist, because one has to prove to have a steady income (BAMF 2015). In any case it would be possible for Ozan to get what he desires, political agency as mentioned earlier, but still there is an institutional framework that does not trigger his motivation enough to make his desire real and learn German in order to achieve citizenship. What makes him stay in this floating state? Is he comfortable in the state of desire?

Also, for Gökçe political agency is important, although she is still more oriented towards her country of origin than her current surrounding: "I wanna stay here, that I can be more political about Turkey" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). She moved to Berlin more recently and seems to be able to position herself clearly in relation to the country of origin. Whereas Ozan defines his location in his home-culture as very vague: "Not knowing where to position yourself, not feeling comfortable in your own house, in your own neighborhood, in your own street" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). In opposition to that, he later explains in the conversation that this state of not knowing is also something he feels comfortable in:

> "I wish I didn't understand everything. That's why I like Brazil, when I was there during the

week, they jailed the prime minister, military did a veto to the court, they said if they don't jail them, there will be a big intervention and they already have done an intervention in Rio. And they say this was a president everybody likes, you know, they were really upset but I didn't know really what was going on. I was there, but still I wasn't emotionally affected. I knew if something affects you, if something was not right, but it wasn't coming into you that you can continue your daily life somehow and I just heard some fragmented information. You see TV a little bit, you see information and people translate for you a bit, and that was like ok, if I could do this in Turkey I could go there. But I can't pretend that I don't understand, I understand everything."

(Ozan, Niepel 2018)

What should be marked here, is that he still refers back to Turkey as the desired place to be, although in Berlin he is in the same place as he was in Brazil, where he does not understand the language spoken in most parts of daily life and often finds himself in a passive position in the context of political agency. For Hannah, who lives in Istanbul and does not speak any Turkish, even the act of living in another country itself was political: "For me, it is already a political act to be here, because of the relationship between Germany and Turkey." According to Saids ideas "cultural identity is as much an act of political will, of the estab-

lishment of difference, as it is accretion of experience" (Ashcroft, Ahluwalia 1999:12). In conclusion, one establishes difference to strengthen his/her political position and validity of cultural identity. Ozan has lived in Germany much longer than Hannah in Istanbul, it can be assumed that he does not see his "being different" as a political act, because he, by now, would most likely rather prefer not to feel this "being different".

Anyway, it is not only the decision of the migrant to define him-/herself over differences, but it is also the surrounding. Arjun Appadurai writes: "When identities are produced in a field of classification, mass mediation, mobilization, and entitlement dominated by politics at the level of the nation-state, however, they take cultural differences as their conscious object" (Appadurai 1997: 147). The establishment of identity through difference is accompanied by a struggle, which is not as visible in Hannah's resolute answer as it is in Ozan's narrative.

This agonistic struggle is further described by Bbabha's idea on "desiring the other": "The desire for the Other is doubled by the desire in language, which splits the difference between the Self and the Other so that both positions are partial, neither is sufficient unto itself. […] The very question of identification only emerges in-between disavowal and des-

ignation. It is performed in an agonistic struggle between the epistemological, visual demand for a knowledge of the Other, and its representation in an act of articulation and enunciation" (Bhabha 1994: 50). The struggle between the curiosity for the Other and the reserved or shy attitude towards the Other in the articulation of the cultural agent is what can be read in between the cultural agents' words.

In the context of Said, this positioning oneself in the state of desire, which is not passive, but also not on the active side, means a criticism of the "West": "Said's ambivalent location within Western academy, Western culture, is in many ways metonymic of the history of postcolonial and diasporic peoples in the world today, because such histories display a constant tension between the dominant Western or global forces and 'local' practices and beliefs" (Ashcroft, Ahluwalia 1999:12). The constant tension is reflected in the state of in-between. This is a critical point that will be discussed further in the chapter on links between institutions and cultural agents.

Another desire, which the majority of the cultural agents shared, was to work autonomously and to be able to pass on knowledge and ideas. Ozan explains that influence is something he had more of in

Istanbul and wants to have in Germany as well:

> "You know in Istanbul the scene was small and I was in that generation, when everything just started to happen. So, every decision we took as an artist, as a curator affected the next generation. And I feel like we have that kind of position here, too, but I feel like we don't have that agency or I don't have that agency yet to involve in this kind of decision making of how the arts is transformed to the next generations. Of course we can teach sometimes, we can give different lectures, but in Istanbul it was a different thing, we had, I was teaching, I initiated my own school […]." (Ozan, Niepel 2018)

Also, for Gökçe, the aspect of creating a discussion and educating seemed important when she talked about her project with Istanbul women: "I wanted to have this kind of discussion in an art institution". Until now she did not manage to find a platform for this discussion in Germany, which she blames on herself because she thinks she should be a "better person with networks and institutions". In Turkey anyway she managed to have those discussions: "For example Studio X in Karaköy, a platform that I could have a discussion there" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018).

To pass on, something as an essential aspect in the process of identity for-

mation is reflected in the ideas of Hegel as well. He wrote that it is necessary to take the responsibility for one's own actions to position oneself. The moment of "being at 'home' in our own 'world'" happens in the state of crisis, when "our situation reveals to us the necessity for our decisions, and our response may be a resolute acceptance or a defensive attempt to conceal this responsibility and defer the moment of decision" (Russon 1995: 511) of the responsibility for our actions. This thinking is later expressed by Foucault as "governing oneself", which he defines as a notion that developed in the sixteenth century with the "art of government" (Foucault 1991: 230). The task of governing a state is related to economic issues, whereas "governing oneself means to ask questions of morality" (Foucault 1991: 233). The latter is nevertheless the condition to govern a state, it is the basis. This means, as long as the cultural agents are not able "to govern" themselves, they will not be able to govern on a state-institutional level. When governing oneself on the other hand means being aware of taking the responsibility for one's own actions, then one could say that cultural agents in the context of this research are already able to position themselves. By experiencing difficulties with language and networks, the situation of "necessity of decisions"

was already there. The decisions were to choose for what is considered to be worth enough to put an effort in, for example, language or any kind of social circles. Those factors are necessary for having access to the market. Therefore, making those decisions qulifies them to work with and in state institutions.

What keeps the cultural agent in the state of desiring, i.e. what keeps them from working in and with state institutions in a more sustainable way, is language and missing longterm access to institutions. Research about the share of individuals who were not born in Germany proved to be taxing because addressees of universities or museums would forward questions to other addressees. In the "Staatliche Museen zu Berlin", though, Elif has the impression to be "the only foreigner in the whole, not in the whole, but in the institution, maybe it I also my horse, that I don't know, but all of them are German" (Elif, Niepel 2018).

Put in bigger context, though, desires stay desires because of an ambivalence in identity that is not reconciled and will not reconcile. The cultural agents desire certain things, but they also define themselves over differences. On the other side, institutions enforce those differences.

Foucault misses out this agency of the artist to make decisions himself. He re-

duces the question of whether someone is existent for the state in terms of utility which predetermines the state in the decision-making position: "From the state's point of view, the individual exists insofar as what he does is able to introduce even a minimal change in the strength of the state, either in a positive or a negative direction" (Martin, Gutman, Hutton, 1988: 152). Bourdieu, on the other hand, writes that it is pre-existing cultural practices produced by the social agent that determine the habitus in a society (Bourdieu 1984: 166). Those pre-determined practices go beyond language and consciousness but are the ways "[…] of walking or blowing one's nose, ways of eating or talking […]" (Bourdieu 1984: 166). This study, though, argues more in line with Bourdieu. The agency of the social being is limited to those who are able to produce "not only classifiable acts but also of acts of classification, which are themselves classified" (Bourdieu 1984: 167). Those classifying practices are recreated in networks which are the "ultimate source in the opposition between the 'élite' of the dominant and the 'mass' of the dominated" in Bourdieu's thinking (Bourdieu 1984: 468). Therefore, the role of the network should not be underestimated. Connected to networks which represent the division in social classes, described by Bourdieu, is also the term milieu that is more often used today.

It is not easy to elaborate on identity by evaluating specific cultural practices. It is also a sensitive topic to talk about desires, because this could be misunderstood as putting the conversation partners in a needy position. Nevertheless, all the conversation partners could express what satisfied them in their country of origin and in most cases, they confirmed that this would be something they would like to realize in Germany. It is because they know what possibilities they could have, that they can be in the state of crisis, where they face the necessity of decisions. With other words, if they would not know a different lifestyle they would not struggle with a different way of living.

3.3.3 Conclusion

It is important for the cultural agents from Turkey to have political agency, to pass on knowledge and to have networks. Still, the majority of the conversation partners is stuck in their position. Reasons are language and bureaucratic issues, but also more unconscious notions like automatic gestures and practices one inherits. Also, the cultural agents expressed that they feel more comforta-

ble when not understanding the language they are surrounded with. This in-between they are stuck in is also what makes them who they are. Identity is constituted over this difference in a surrounding of social divisions. It is the cultural agent who finds him-/herself in a "'sense of one's place' which leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, places and so forth from which one is excluded" (Bourdieu 1984: 471). This means there should be a stronger external force, that triggers to fulfill their desires. Institutions could contribute by improving the communication for cultural agents and empower them to act more sustainable. For artists there are many funds and possibilities e.g., but bureaucratic processes and language deter from acting. Nevertheless, since it is the society that also forms acts of classification, changes of local practices or the habitus, as Bourdieu would say, not only come with institutional change but also arise bottom-up.

3.4 Missing links? The Institution and the Cultural Agent

So far, it has been elaborated in the previous chapters how to analyze identity in a transnational context. Then the desires of the cultural agent have been identified. They wish to have an agency – politically

and ideologically. As was already stated earlier, private and professional life mix when it comes to artistic work. Therefore, the agency concerns all parts of the artists' life. In the case of the cultural agent from Turkey this is an especially sensitive topic, since in their country of origin, their identity, their lives, have already been violated and broken apart. "The depression that I see in people's eyes that I see since 2013 (sic!), that I never saw before", is how Gökçe describes the situation. As visual artists it is their aim to express themselves and their struggles of their ambivalent identity. This ambivalence can also be formulated as staying in a "state of desire". On the one hand, it is a struggle which they explain as a reason that limits to realize themselves to do what they want, but on the other, this in-between state and not being able to understand everything that is communicated in their surrounding is also a state they stick to by choice. The fact that three out of four Turkish conversation partners actually put effort in learning German but still are being kept in the position of the Other no matter if they lived in Berlin for five or 15 years, leads to the conclusion that one should focus on the institutional infrastructure in Germany. It is not foremost the agent who limits him-/herself but the institutions which create a "sense of limits" that "im-

plies forgetting the limits" (Bourdieu 1984: 171). The limits move to the unconscious and it is therefore only the state that can raise the awareness for its own limits to make the cultural agents feel more recognized in the German society. The components of what it needs to feel accepted are the issue of this last chapter.

First, general conditions of recognition in a society will be figured out, which will then show that cultural factors as a condition for recognition of the cultural agent from Turkey matter. Those cultural factors are used by institutions to create a difference in society, what can also be described as multicultural.

3.4.1 Conditions of Recognition in Germany

What does it take to be recognized as an active cultural agent in German society? How does the idea of recognition fit to what has been examined before, the choice to stay in desire or to use Charles Taylors words "the internalized picture of their own inferiority" (Taylor 1994: 25). Taylor elaborated on this topic in his article "The politics of recognition", where he argues that identity is formed either by recognition, but more often by "misrecognition of the others" (Taylor 1994: 25). He then refers to Hegel's concept of master and slave, which shows that two self-consciousnesses are only constituted because they recognize each other as such and position the other in a certain social position (Taylor 1994: 26). This process of negotiation of positions leads to a state in which the agent feels comfortable, a state of "comfortable self-confirmation" (Russon 1995: 513).

Although German institutions present themselves under the banner of integration[7] to create the possibilities for reaching a state of comfort there is still a hierarchy of values, which puts the German habituality on a superior level. They are the "imperative to be imitated" (Russon 1995: 516).

The fact that one is obligated to take an immigration course is an example of this paternalistic policy. A woman from Turkey mentioned in a radio feature how she felt like she was forced to learn the language, although she would have done this anyway: "I was so angry, when I read in big letters in the confirmation of my residence permit: 'Obligation to apply immediately and take part in a course of integration' Then I realized, that I was forced in the role of a German person [Deutschländer]" (Sammy 2018).

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[7]This term has been stigmatized, especially in the recent years during the political crisis concerning people moving to Germany.

For Gökçe as a cultural agent, on the other hand, the opportunities, that are provided by cultural institutions are not paternalistic but a good financial support, which is accessible: "[…] like, with every funding community, there is a headline, that you can really talk to them, I didn't do that so far, so I wouldn't blame the institutions yet. Because they say, if you have any questions write us and they have consultants and you can go there and talk" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018), but most of those offers she does not apply for, because she feels like she will not be accepted in the first place:

> „There are billions of things I could apply for, but maybe a person with more experience in applying for those things, maybe they would be more reliable with the answer, for me it's more like wow, there are many things and I will apply to them and there are so many funding." (Gökçe, Niepel 2018)

Ozan is more critical about the funding. He claims that people are just coming to cities for funding and not for the city itself:

> "[…] [P]eople are coming to that city because of that reason [to get grants]. Nobody would say that openly, but we know, it's in the air. But the reason that people come to Berlin is that there was a rumor about Berlin, that it is the city to be if you are an artist, and it's cheap and because of that

rumor many people came, they desired to be in that city, they really wanted to be in that city. And even for foreigners going to Istanbul, it was [like that] in the good times […]" (Ozan, Niepel 2018)

Also, Elif, working for the "Staatliche Museen zu Berlin", recognizes the financial opportunities but also appreciates the professionality in the cultural landscape of German and cannot imagine it to be the same in Turkey. She cannot know though, because she never worked in Turkey in the cultural field but she thinks:

"I don't know, I went to Germany with 22 and I can't imagine, that there is something like this in Turkey, with so much budget and expertise" (Elif, Niepel 2018).

These statements show that cultural agents realize the opportunities provided for them. The offers for jobs and funding are often in English or with the "Gleichstellungssatz"[8], which guarantees

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[8]The General act on equal treatment prohibits discrimination: „The purpose of this act is to prevent or to stop discrimination on the grounds of race or ethnic origin, gender, religion or belief, diasability, age or sexual orientation" this concerns also the field of employment. Anti-discrimination Agency: Act Implementing European Directives Putting Into Effect the Principle of Equal Treatment, URL: http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/publikationen/agg_in_englischer_Sprache.pdf;jsessionid=7B08B9E542CF31875771B2624B661C53.2_cid322?__blob=publicationFile&v=1 (last accessed: 30.7.2018)

to treat all the applicants equally. This paragraph was one reason Elif dared to apply for her current job:

> "So there was this paragraph under the job offer, that all with all nationalities and disabilities … do you know that? That is like a standard thing, so that all women have the same right as men. I thought you had to be German for sure, because it is like a status as a civil servant […] but when I saw this paragraph, I thought, why not? I could do this job very well." (Elif, Niepel 2018)

For her, this "Gleichstellungssatz" meant to feel recognized. She shared the opinion though, that for visual artists it is different:

> "People who have equal positions are mostly experienced curators who have already worked in this field for 10 to 15 years and also have curated in other countries and who have a name and most importantly, who deal with Turkish problems. This point I want to make: In Germany you are only recognized as an artist or curator when you deal with the problems of your country." (Elif, Niepel 2018)

Karin, who worked in the cultural field for a long time, confirms that often job announcements are made in English language, although her impression is that many Turkish citizens in theirs 20s are not able to speak sufficient English, nor

are the employees in German institutions, like "Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst" (New Association for Visual Arts, NBGK). According to her experiences after living seven years in Istanbul: "That means, when you can speak English, then you will not have a problem, the problem is, that most of the Turkish people have a problem with English already." (Karin, Niepel 2018)

The demonstration of opportunities for cultural agents in Germany has shown that there are plenty, but the recognition mostly takes place on the paper only. As happy as Elif was with the "Gleichstellungssatz", she also realized that she is the only foreign person at the place where she works in the association of state funded museums in Berlin. The gap between the banner of integration and reality is due to "non-existent or inconsistent policies" in established cultural institutions (Suzan, Nobgrega 2011: 92).

What is important for experiencing the self-consciousness is that one can take responsibility for one's own actions (Russon 1995: 512). To a certain extent this is already possible, yet, there are still limits. Those limits are caused by language issues or discrimination, which is the only term one can use, when the institution claims to treat all nationalities equally but still in reality the number of people working in cultural institutions from other

countries seems to be low. This leads to the next section, where culture as a condition of recognition will be further elaborated.

3.4.2 Culture as a Condition of Recognition

As an extension of the state, there are state institutions. Unfortunately, in many cases, they disregard identity as a cultural bricolage, as a system where the signified has many signifiers. This contradicts with the problem that "self-consciousness is a collective achievement won in a dialogue of mutual recognition" (Taylor, 1994: 512). He further writes: "The new member will find that she is recognized by the members of a society [into which she is born] to the extent that her actions conform to their institutions" (Taylor, 1994: 515). If the actions do not conform to the institution, the cultural agent will most probably stick to culturally closer communities. The descriptions by the conversation partners proved this notion already. Either they stay within their communities or they will stick to their work in the country of origin instead of moving their whole life to the new country. At the same time, they receive more attention for being misrecognized. Gökçe for example mostly still works in Istanbul and is currently

planning an exhibition, while she did not have any exhibitions in Berlin, yet: "I didn't do much actually in Berlin since I came here. I did some things in Istanbul and had only one exhibition so far" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018).

Ozan, as well, was surprised by the fact that he had been in Berlin for over ten years and just had one solo exhibition. He thinks the reason for this is him not being included in the cultural networks enough, which are built in a more informal way by Berlin locals: "If you grow up here, if you study here at the Rietveld or at the UDK or at the same schools with your friends, you have a different connection" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). He is speaking about informal, not institutional networks in Germany but when he talks about the same kind of networks in Istanbul, formal and informal networks seem to go hand in hand: "I was constantly meeting people at the boards of giving grants, supports, being friends with the collectors, too, art students, everyone [...]" (Ozan, Niepel 2018). This intermingling of networks is what he misses in Germany. In Germany it is not only the informal network that creates some kind of value or cultural capital but there are politics that link the exchange and the value (Appadurai 1986: 3). The institutional politics contribute to form a taste consisting of a set of values. Those

values build a shared understanding that is the basis for existing in the market. To be familiar with this right "sense for assets" or symbolic capital is not something that can be learned easily, since it is not transferable (Kastner 2009: 77-83). This restrictive notion makes institutions seem static and exclusionary.

Therefore, Gökçe, who experiences this exclusion, says: "Institutions are something really old and so lazy, so that everything she says needs so many papers going around which take many things from the flexibility or fluidity, that improvise is not possible there" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018).

Has culture, understood as cultural values which form the symbolic capital in Bourdieu's understanding, become a condition of recognition in Germany? Do the migrated visual artist reproduce the structure of social division described by Bourdieu by also classifying culture?

To put to use what has been elaborated theoretically so far: It is the basic thought of Marxist thinking that everything can be determined by class structures, also the cultural sphere. Lukács described cultural production as an autonomous expression of an objective world, constructed by single subjective experiences of the artist. Therefore, cultural production is the element of the complex field of cultural industry that reflects the structure of the

economic framework it belongs to. Bourdieu writes that cultural production "is itself organized around oppositions which reproduce the structure of the dominant" (Bourdieu 1984: 469). This is shown by the fact that the work of visual artists from Turkey seems to get "paid" better in terms of social capital, like a good network or reputation, but also financially when the artist deals with his personal problems that relate to the political situation of his country of origin. This, in conclusion, makes the cultural agent a cultural product himself. His "being different" for growing up in a different society is manufactured as a symbolic capital. His/her belonging to a social class is determined by his/her ability to be successful in selling him-/herself as a product. When the cultural agent wants to be part of the new society that knows about the symbolic capital, he or she has to offer this society him-/herself, because his/her "being different" belongs to the shared set of assets that is accepted by the new society. This means, because of his/her different cultural background, he/she not only sells his/her cultural product but also the culture in a certain manner as well. Being part of the existing market means being recognized. Culture becomes a condition of recognition for the agent him-/herself.

To go back, the source of friction is the habitus that can be described as a set of norms, that are internalized by members of the society. Here this norm would be defined by the cultural institutions which accept the cultural struggle as a worthwhile cultural product. It is up to the "dominant institutions […] [to] offer to accept one identity and deny the other" (Ashcroft, Ahluwalia 2011: 12). What makes this situation even more complex is the fact that the cultural agent is not only the object of exploitation here, but that he/she is also there to replicate this structure of exploitation. They are there to legitimate the ideological structure in which they work (Ashcroft, Ahluwalia 2011: 24). Or as Foucault expresses it: "The objective of the exercise of power is to reinforce, strengthen and protect the principality […]" (Foucault 1991: 232). This puts the artist in the position where his own struggle is used for political agency, instead of giving him agency, which can be called social manipulation (Appadurai 1986: 29).

Cultural politics use the idea that the individual cannot only be seen as a member of a social class but that his behavior also constructs the social class (Kastner 2009: 71). In this sense, he/she can be put on the meso-level, where formal and informal networks mix, just to blur the logics of the circle of exploitation in which

the agent confirms his/her own precarious working conditions.

Cultural institutions, as has been shown, exploit the cultural agent in a double sense. By limiting the access to those visual artists from Turkey who expose themselves in their works, they make not only the cultural product a source of capital, but also the culture agent from Turkey him-/herself. On top of that, they make it difficult to be entered because of more obvious issues like language. This turns the "agency" of the artist into a tool for cultural institutions to camouflage the underlying structures of exploitation. As a motive one could define the agency of institutions to "mobilize social identities for political purposes" (Osborn, Hall 1997: 36). The corresponding political ideal would be called: Multiculturalism.

It can be argued that a multicultural society can be conceived as something that enhances engagement. Therefore, that the enabling of the preservation of culture by the state promotes "increased attachment and engagement in the larger polity" (Bloemraad 2011). This is due to the social recognition that members of a certain ethnos get when being able to live according to their customs and traditions in a community.

This concept does not hold anymore nowadays, where ethnic communities increasingly isolate themselves and do

not identify with the socio-economic and political structure of the new country. As a response, these communities show stronger loyalty to their home country (Kaya 2011: 29). So instead of forming a stronger ethnically pluralistic community, governmental policies lead to a "reminorization and reethnicization" of minorities, especially of muslim origin" (Kaya 2011: 24). The empirical material has proven this assumption right. It should be the task of the institution to encourage an agent from a different country to be motivated to learn the other language and engage in the institutional framework itself. The cultural agent might feel comfortable in his zone of "not-knowing" or state of desire, but the ability that institutions have is to think in a bigger context and to provide a framework for society to act sustainable.

3.4.3 Building Links

The structures of cultural capitalism have been detangled. The purpose of the dialectical critical method is not to find a final conclusion or to come to an overall solution but to stay in the hermeneutic spiral which relates theory with empirical material. Still, it is possible to develop some ideas for concrete solutions in order to not leave this research on the level of intellectual argumentation.

Language that has been identified as a source of struggle is the problem that can be dealt with the easiest. Also, it seems to be the most obvious issue. Gökçe for example says: "I came to UDK and four years later I have graduated from a two years master program. Of course, also because of the language thing" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018). Therefore, to provide better access to institutions, there have to be the right conditions to learn a language. This already starts in the country of origin. To get a German visa for married partners, to study in Germany or to get the German citizenship, one has to prove the knowledge of German language and therefore pass a specific language test (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). The Goethe-Institute in Istanbul is one of the only places that offers a Germany course for this purpose. One course costs 900 Lira. Considering the decline of the Turkish Lira, this is almost unaffordable for a big part of the Turkish population. Furthermore, the integration course that is obligatory in Germany should be made voluntary. Voluntarism is a notion that was unknown to Marx who grew up with much more precarious working conditions. Institutions as the place of capital accumulation still appear not to have inherited this notion, instead they are still places of obligation and prohibition. As a cultural agent comes because he/she chooses to

live in another country, one should be able to assume that he/she will make an effort to learn the language of the new country voluntarily. It would be more likely that more people would learn German, because the motivation is already given. Most of the cultural agents that were involved in the empirical part of this study were reflecting themselves and seemed eager to work on language and network: "It hasn't something to do with Berlin I think, I was too closed up. If you don't leave your house and you work in your studio all the time, no one will come to meet you", said Gökçe. To have more interaction with the environment. Gökçe also found her very own tactic:

> "So, it's easy for me to say, like whatever, they don't want me here. So, I got a dog now and my whole Berlin experience changed. I know many people now, I know my neighborhood, I know my neighbors, we gossip, we talk and I got a good friend now, because she has a dog too and we are living in the same building, so even that, going out three times, four times a day, changed things for me." (Gökçe, Niepel 2018)

This is an example how one can move out of his/her comfort zone in order to be part of a shared asset of values which are here shared by the society of her neighborhood. To help cultural agents to find a better access to institutions by im-

proving special language skills it would be helpful as well, if there were more opportunities where one could learn how to speak the institutional language. Gökçe also expressed this when she talked about her experiences in a course of a friend of hers: "She gives workshops about how to write proposals and how to apply to institutions. I think she is Turkish also, maybe German Turkish, I don't know, her name is Turkish. Those kinds of things I think there should be more, so far I see the only thing is that (sic!)" (Gökçe, Niepel 2018).

Another solution to improve conditions of recognition would be to have some kind of mentor. It was important for all the conversation partners that they had a personal relation to someone who would support them in their work. Elif even said, the help of friends in university "was required. They were supposed to read my stuff" (Elif, Niepel 2018). Also, to Ozan his social surrounding seemed extremely important, although he seemed more self-conscious then the others when it came to sell his work: "And first I thought this is complicated or this is difficult, but it was a challenge for me and I would respond to that and then I got more requests to this similar kind of situations" (Ozan, Niepel 2018).

His success might also be based on the fact that he already has a name and

deals more explicitly with political issues than the others and also the Kurdish issue. In the context of what has been mentioned before – the cultural agent being exploited as a product because he/she has to sell him-/herself – it should be mentioned that he is Kurdish himself and dares to make this a topic of his work. This raises the question if his success is based purely on his expertise or also on the idea that he "sells well as a product".

It is not possible to destroy these kinds of structures of exploitation only top-down, but the cultural agents themselves have the ability to question these structures in their artistic work. The idea is that they "internalize norms and by their practices under changing circumstances develop or challenge them" (Harzig, Hoerder 2009: 142). Although Ozan seems to be successful in institutions because he seems to sell his identity as a Kurdish individual, he seems to have acknowledged this notion and actually challenges institutions in a way, as he tells:

> "They want an artist with an unpredictable result. Because I don't always propose what I am expected to propose. But when I am expected not to propose what they have in mind, then I would propose something really different then I try to propose something really ordinary" (Ozan, Niepel 2018).

To get to a point where the cultural agent can be this self-conscious of his work, a sort of mentor seems to be the important, as it was already implied before. Both, Tugkçe and Gökçe had this sort of mental leader who they mentioned to be important for them. Tugçe explained:

> "In my mind I wanna go with my school, like with the support of my professors, because I need that. […] so we created something good for me. So, it was really good feedback which I had from him. So that's why I need this support, this council from professors. […] I cannot create so much things by myself so in the schedule (sic!), in school, this is what gives me this, so I can follow this I think." (Tugçe, Niepel 2018)

And also Gökçe demonstrated how her professor helped her:

> "And with Reiner Stransky, he is now retired after 35 years of teaching there, I am much closer to what I want to do, work wise and methodology wise and this wise and that wise. Because he is not only an artist, but a fully a, ganz klassisch (sic!), he is like an academic person, who is like a library, he teaches you everything, it's like the hierarchy is there but I needed that." (Gökçe, Niepel 2018)

The institutional framework in the form of an individual, who is dominant, seems to

be necessary for the work of those young artists. This also leads to the conclusion that anarchy is not a practical solution and a certain hierarchy is needed. Since the mentor accompanies the artist not only with his/her work but connected to that also in his/her life this is a sensitive issue which could also end up in other forms of exploitation. The elaboration of this issue has shown the complexity of the dependencies. It is not possible to go deeper into these dynamics in this limited number of pages, but the potential of culture as a source for tools to enable a living together has been proved.

3.4.4 Conclusion

By using Marxist methodology and theories, this study showed that culture has become a condition of recognition in the life of the cultural agent from Turkey. De Certeau used the words: "Marxism as a theoretical instrument of a revolution" (De Certeau 1997: 93). It can be used to focus on dynamics of production and exploitation. In this sense it becomes a force to critically examine hierarchies in the field of cultural labor. In the last chapter the crucial point was made clear, that cultural agents from Turkey are as well exploited in a double sense: their works are object of exploitation as they are themselves. Institutions set the norms of

the habitus, constituted out of dispositions. This exclusionary notion is covered by the idea of multiculturalism, which can no longer serve as a logical agenda to practice cultural politics. Therefore, solutions must be found to improve the situation. One could take language as a starting point, but mentors who would be there to support the cultural agents in extensive way would be the way to go. It is in the sphere of culture that social positions can be challenged the best. Unfortunately, the "emancipatory potential of culture" (Agger 1992: 46) is not exhausted to its fullest extent, yet. Although "unfulfilled desires could be expressed in culture as an expressive realm" (Agger 1992: 44).

4. Final conclusion

It has been proved that the working conditions of cultural agents from Turkey in German cultural institutions can be criticized. Therefore, the title "Manufacturing the Transnational" is already the answer to the opening question: "How do German cultural institutions give access to cultural agents from Turkey?" Manufacturing refers to the process of mechanical work to produce things for capital accumulation. The last chapter has elaborated that the mechanical work can be compared to the manner in which institu-

tions treat cultural agents as cultural products. Their private lives are used for capital accumulation. It would be too easy though to see this from a one-sided perspective. Arjun Appadurai argues that one has to consider the historical circulation of things and that "we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories" (Appadurai 1986: 5). This study has therefore made an attempt to place this sensitive topic in a wider context, the historical background.

First of all, it was important to position the migration process from Turkey to Germany between 2000 and 2018 in the history of migration. With the reference to Hall's studies of the black diaspora in Great Britain it has been shown, that the current period is a historical conjuncture, a situation, where contradictory moments fuse. Because of that, it is necessary that one finds new practices as answers to disentangle those struggles. This research has done some theoretical work on the struggles in cultural industry, but it has also given some advice for practices. The empirical data on the topic of visual artists between Germany and Turkey is very limited in academic research. It is important that new generations who are familiar with the troubles of the historical conjuncture continue this kind of research.

Historical conjuncture is also the expression that describes the situation on the 1960s to 1980s. In the beginning, the situation in the 1980s was evaluated. The atmosphere in Turkey was violent and the people had other reasons than economic ones to go to Germany. The shift to the conflicts in the Middle East and the switch to a more liberal economy created pressure on the people. An active citizenship gained importance for the leftists in Turkey and in need to find a way to gain this active citizenship, many left the country. Also, today this kind of dynamics can be watched looking at the current political situation. Back then, Germany expected the Turkish citizens with no sustainable political structures and xenophobic tendency, which to a smaller degree is still valid today.

In a second step, the development of a discourse on culture in the history of migration from 1961 until 2002 was demonstrated. Culture gained more importance in research and made it possible to ask new questions on identity and ethnicity. The two concepts were no longer understood as entities but as processes of becoming. Another important idea is that of the cultural bricolage which grasps the intermingling of cultural notions with cultural tools. Those tools can also include referring to the past and to traditions. According to Fannon, it is the motivation

of the hegemonic state to enforce nationalistic notions, so that the differences which are produced secure the states power (Bhabha 1994: 9). This leads also to the production of stereotypes and spokespersons which the cultural agent is forced into.

To connect art production in a wider social history though, Turkish and German spheres „cannot be lined up and their correspondences read of directly once against another" (Hall 2004: 23). It is a far more complex issue that touches cultural, political and economic spheres. The different spheres summarize in the social space, which was the object of research of Bourdieu. The network one has in this social space is very important for the visual artist and can be described as his/her social capital. Still, as Ozan confirmed, it is hard to get into those networks in Berlin – formal or informal. They are exclusionary. Ethnical communities are built as a "migrant strategy" to deal with the exclusion. Since then the process of chain migration from Turkey to Berlin has been going on for many years, those communities have grown strong, mostly conservative ties. This is unfortunate, since only a space of interaction is a space of mutual recognition where the construction of identity can happen.

Anyway, questions of identity are more complex than that. The cultural agent develops multiple identities and it is a process on all levels (Mandel 2008: 21). Therefore, if this construction fails in one instance there is a good chance that counter-structures will develop, this would be called a "minority-strategy". In the case of the cultural agents from Turkey who were partners in the conversations, two of them named the "apartment project" as such a counter-structure. It is a project space for artists in Berlin, open to everyone, but the projects that are presented are mostly realized by Turkish artists and the curator as well is from Istanbul. Also, the openings are mainly attended by a circle of Turkish artists living in Berlin. This example is useful to show the agency that is inherited in the term cultural bricolage, which should be used for what cultural agents from Turkey are producing in terms of a minority strategy. The agency of the cultural agent from Turkey is most often political expression, as they find themselves in a state of anxiety which however may be transformed into creativity. This especially valid in Berlin as a "chronotrop" (Mandel 2008: 35), where there are many possibilities for cultural agents to find a space for expressing this creativity. This inclusionary thought though, grew to become the banner for Berlin cultural

politics which led to more and more exclusionary dynamics.

The cultural agent finds him-/herself exposed to these dynamics and experiences an ongoing struggle. To analyze his/her identity as a text helps to liberate the agent from static and predetermined relation. Overall the transnationality of the agent leads to a contrapunctal identity with contradicting harmonics, to refer back to Said. This is a state which does not only come with privileges. Although all the conversation partners came from a middle class background, their experience in Germany has not been entirely positively. Their difficulties with the German language was perceived as a big problem for all of them to fulfill their desires and live their lives the way they want.

The common interests they had were to develop better networks and to be able to pass on some knowledge and work autonomously. Anyway, the cultural agents also seemed to have internalized an image of themselves as inferior (Taylor 1994: 25). On the other hand, they also felt comfortable with not knowing and getting emotionally affected by their surroundings – a process that let to depression of many people in Turkey nowadays. The differences between them and their environment they believe in also help them to construct who they are.

This means there has to be a stronger trigger, so that the cultural agent feels strong enough to overcome that difference and realize their desires.

To keep the summary of the last chapter short:

Identity can only be formed by either recognition or miss-recognition (Taylor 1994: 25). Institutions miss-recognize the social agent because they make his/her problems a source of capital, therefore, they do not acknowledge the abilities they have. This contradicts to the potential of culture. Elif, who works in a good position in a German institution and who was able to answer all my questions in fluent German, identified the essential point:

> „The crucial point is the expertise someone brings to their work and if you can master the task or not. I don't care about the citizenship at all or if you speak the language, if the work is not necessarily related to German, you know?" (Elif, Niepel 2018).

It was the challenge of this research to bring together a materialist way of thinking and the "personification of things" (Appadurai 1986: 12), that means the social value of things. It was possible though to match the empirical material with more monoethnic thinking and like that the struggles of cultural agents from

Turkey could be examined. The risk of using Marxist ideology to work on contemporary issues is that the world as such appears to have become more complex. It should be avoided to fall into the trap of a holistic notion of culture. On the other hand, theory is always some kind of attempt to find definitions, which are always just an abstraction of our surrounding. In the last chapters, it was assumed that there is still a shared set of values, a symbolic capital or regime of values. From this, the thesis was drawn, that culture, as a shared set of values, has become a condition of recognition. This final thesis is, of course, not to be understood as the final resolution to the question of how the cultural agent finds access to institutions. It should be understood as a theory that can be used for further concrete thinking and theoretical argumentation. Also, other cultural dimensions could be the objects of research on the cultural sphere. Here, the focus was on the cultural agent who deals with visual art, but what about fashion or music? It is important to look at all those fields, because they are all:

> "for entertainment ... [which] seems to complement the reduction of people to silence, the dying out of speech as expression, the inability to communicate at all. It inhabits the pockets of silence that develop between people molded by anxiety, work and un-

demanding docility." (Adorno 1938: 271)

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