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(Below is a chapter from my forthcoming book *Framing Migration*. Please do not reproduce, circulate, or quote! Editorial suggestions for clarity and organization are welcome!)

Take 3

Public Memory on the Move

People of diverse backgrounds, languages or religions have coexisted in many societies; that is nothing new. But how can feelings of belonging and social cohesion emerge when memories are not in sync, when life and family stories begin or end outside the borders of a nation, at places that are unknown to one's neighbors? How can migration history be framed within national history? Who owns the history of migration? Where are its archives and memorials? Étienne François' und Hagen Schulze's three-volume *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* [German Realms of Memory] (2001), a compilation of short essays on essential sites and moments of German culture, conceived in the spirit of Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984), does not devote any section to the memory of migration; the only extraterritorial outposts of German collective memory featured in chapters of their own are "The Turks before Vienna" and "Auschwitz." The authors explain this in their introduction as follows:

"Wie jedem Beobachter fallen schließlich auch dem Historiker hauptsächlich Ausdrucksformen des kollektiven Gedächtnisses auf, die bereits seit einiger Zeit bestehen und völlig ausgeformt sind. Das Neuentstehende dagegen, etwa das kollektive Gedächtnis der jungen Deutsch-Türken, der Spätaussiedler, der Kriegsflüchtlinge und der Asylanten, entzieht sich notwendigerweise *unserem* Blick. Nichts ist schwieriger als eine gleichmäßige Berücksichtigung dessen, was sich *auflöst*, dessen, *was Bestand hat*, und dessen, was *erst im Entstehen begriffen* ist."[1]
[Like any observer, the historian notices primarily expressions of collective memory that have existed for some time and have fully taken shape. Forms that are newly emerging, such as the collective memory of young German-Turks, ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, or war refugees and asylum seekers are bound to remain outside *our* field of vision. Nothing is more difficult than an equitable consideration of things *that dissolve*, things *that are permanent* and things *that are only just emerging*.]

But who is sharing "*our* field of vision"—the authors of the introduction to these worthy three volumes, historians at large, or "the Germans" in toto? The authors limit the scope of what is "ours" to that which is considered set and leave out "what is only just emerging," thus implying a clear distinction between natives and newcomers; shared experiences between these groups do not come into view. And yet, this collection of German memory sites conceives its retrospection on community-building symbols as an international project:

"Neben deutschen Autoren finden sich schließlich solche aus Österreich, Polen, Frankreich, Tschechien, Israel, Großbritannien, der Schweiz und den USA, die unser Projekt durch den Blick

[1] François, E. / Schulze, H. (eds.): *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 Vols., Munich, 2001, Vol. 1, p. 22. Emphasis Göktürk.

von außen und damit um einen Verfremdungseffekt bereichern. Dass jeder fünfte Autor Nicht-Deutscher, daß einer der beiden Herausgeber Franzose ist und daß der Entschluß, das Projekt in Angriff zu nehmen, weder in Berlin noch in Paris, sondern in Warschau gefaßt wurde, das alles ist sicher nicht ohne Belang."[2]

[Besides German authors, the reader will find those from Austria, Poland, France, the Czech Republic, Israel, Great Britain, Switzerland and the US, who enrich our project with a view from outside and a distancing effect. Surely, it is not without significance that one in five of our authors is a non-German, that one of the two editors is French, and that the decision to embark on this project was not made in Berlin or Paris, but in Warsaw.]

The cosmopolitan horizon that encompasses national sites of memory does not, however, include migrants and their offspring. Their collective memory takes shape beyond the conversations of cultural elites who devote their attention to preserving "things that are permanent." In the following, my focus will be on cinematographic stagings of such fleeting traces of transnational memory work at the interface of family and collective remembrance. By combining findings from official and private archives, moving images can demonstrate that the idea of permanence with respect to national identity is a fiction. Cinematic narration opens up possibilities of layering spatial and temporal visualizations. Memory thus comes alive and travels across borders, illuminating the past in multiperspectival scenarios. Who remembers what, when, where and how? Whose stories receive institutional support to become visible and audible through inclusion in textbooks, museums, and official commemorations? These questions continue to be central to access and participation in heterogeneous societies. Therefore, I will first reflect in

[2] Ibid., p. 21.

more general terms on the relationship between migration memory and official national history, after which I will unpack montages of archival material and tactical humor as comic interventions in the film *Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland* (2011). This heart-warming three-generation comedy about life in a Turkish Germany family by the sisters Yasemin and Nesrin Şamdereli has contributed more to anchoring migration between Turkey and Germany in the popular imagination than many a policy initiative promoting integration. We shall see that how cinema can counteract bureaucratic categories of identification by inciting laughter about rituals of community formation. I will conclude with references to two other films as counterpoints – *Once Upon a Time in Anatolia* (2011) – to further expand the horizon beyond German territory. This chapter would like to be read as a plea for an open and dynamic conceptualization of collective consciousness as pluralist, multilingual, and intermedial.

Migration Memory and National History

Theories on cultural memory in the vein of Maurice Halbwachs conceptualize the "collective" as a carrier of genealogically cohesive memory; a bounded "we" that constitutes itself through shared memories, passed from one generation to the next.[3] Such communicative processes are shaped by selective remembrance, forgetting, and concealing. Political regime change, for example, can lead to a frame shift in commemoration and result in deletion of memories. The correlation between national historiography and personal memory, which tends to be fugitive and fragmentary, needs to be continuously rethought and reconfigured throughout societal transformations. Aleida Assmann has proposed an oft-cited distinction between the "uninhabited

[3] Cf. Halbwachs, M.: *On Collective Memory*, Chicago / London 1992 [1952]. Halbwachs' social frame analysis of memory is referenced by Assmann, J.: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 2007, pp. 34-48. Cf. Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., Levy, D. (eds.): *The Collective Memory Reader*, Oxford 2011.

storage memory" of institutionalized archives that lock up documents for preservation and the "inhabited functional memory" that can be selectively unlocked in communicative processes and orients itself toward the future.[4] Clearly, no group remembers in unison. Individual and family memory are determined by factors like age, gender, and social status; particular experiences often differ from narratives proposed by public commemorations, but they are nonetheless overlaid with mediatized reanimations of the past in docudramas and other forms of commemoration.[5] Solidarity within the group is not given, but always under negotiation. Especially in transnational, post- or neocolonial constellations where war, violence, and exploitation have left their scars, conflicts arise around rituals of commemoration and their political consequences. The author Zafer Şenocak asked himself in 1995, as the end of war and fascism was being commemorated in many public speeches and the debate around the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin was in progress, whether one can immigrate into a country's history.[6] It is important to remember, however, that natives, too, do not acquire instant access to their nation's history by birth; historical consciousness requires recall and research work as well as comparative adjustments.

Like no other nation Germany has worked on coming to terms with its history of dictatorship, persecution, and genocide. In the framework of public pedagogy, commemoration of the traumatic past has served as a ritual of community formation. Schools and other organizations

[4] Assmann, A.: »Funktionsgedächtnis und Speichergedächtnis – Zwei Modi der Erinnerung«, in: *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, Munich 2009, pp. 130-145.
[5] On the difference between official commemoration and family memory, cf. Welzer, H., Moller, S., Tschuggnall, K.: *›Opa war kein Nazi‹. Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis*, Frankfurt a. M. 2002.
[6] Yeşilada, K.: »Darf man Türken und Juden vergleichen, Herr Şenocak?« (Interview), in: *Der Tagesspiegel* 26 (13.-14. April 1995). Cf. Şenocak, Z.: *Atlas of a Tropical Germany: Essays on Politics and Culture. 1990-1998*, trans. and pub. by Adelson, L. A., Lincoln / London 2000, pp. xi-xxxvii; pp. 53-57; Adelson, L. A.: *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration*, New York / Basingstoke 2005, pp. 79-122; Huyssen, A.: »Diaspora and Nation: Migration into Other Pasts«, in: *New German Critique* 88 (2003), pp. 147-164.

regularly offer educational trips to memorial sites at Auschwitz and other former camps. Meanwhile, Harald Welzer has critiqued the sacralization of the past in official monuments, memorials, and museuems for its lack of reflexive engagement with present day reality that would be needed to enable young people to recognize practices of exclusion in their own environment.[7] In this context, Welzer recommends to open up collective practices of remembrance to youth "from other cultures" who bring to the table different histories and experiences. Participation in Holocaust commemoration remains, however, even in Welzer's critique, the penultimate litmus test for civic membership, of similar importance to German language acquisition and civic education exams (*Einbürgerungstest*) for naturalization.[8]

Tolerance is supposed to be learned by mastering the past. Former migrants and their offspring, often born in Germany, are held to this standard, no matter what their own experiences might have been. Complications can arise, for example, in the Jewish Museum, one of Berlin's prime tourist attractions. Located in Kreuzberg, a district with a high share of immigrant population, the museum frequently hosts school visits. When the exclusion and destruction of European Jews is presented to Palestinian youths without any discussion of their own experiences of occupation, expulsion, and exile, they might respond: "This is not my history."[9] Experiences of migration

[7] „Eine erinnerungskulturelle Programmatik müsste vor diesem Hintergrund nicht mehr das monumentalisierte Grauen der Vernichtungslager ins Zentrum stellen, sondern das unspektakulärere, alltäglichere Bild einer Gesellschaft, die zunehmend verbrecherisch wird, oder, genauer gesagt, normativ umcodiert, was als erwünscht und verwerflich, gut und schlecht, ordnungsgemäß und kriminell gilt." Welzer, H.: »Für eine Modernisierung der Erinnerungs- und Gedenkkultur«, in: *Gedenkstättenrundbrief* 162 (8/2011), pp. 3-9. A film that effectively complicates encounters at the Auschwitz memorial site is *Am Ende kommen Touristen* (Robert Thalheim, 2007).

[8] This also applies to the discussion of "memory citizenship" in Rothberg, M., Yildiz, Y.: »Memory Citizenship: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance in Contemporary Germany«, in: *Parallax*, 17/4 (2011), pp. 32-48.

[9] Cf. Doughan, S.: »Deviation: The Present Orders«, in: *Cultural Anthropology*. (18. September 2013), retrieved from: https://culanth.org/fieldsights/381-deviation-the-present-orders; id.: *Teaching Tolerance: Citizenship, Religious Difference, and Race in Germany* (Dissertation), University of California, Berkeley. Cf. Georgi V. B.: *Entliehene Erinnerung: Geschichtsbilder junger Migranten in Deutschland*, Hamburg 2003.

that do not fit into established frames and designated roles of victims and perpetrators remain blind spots in collective remembrance.

The boom of cultural memory debates is not least an effect of the victory of capitalism where nations or ethnoculturally defined minority groups have to follow market laws of competition to garner representation and recognition.[10] Mediating identitarian contests of commemoration, which have been haunting right- and left-wing political discourses, emerges as a key challenge of our time. Institutional support through archives, memorials, and educational initiatives are crucial factors in raising historical consciousness and mutual curiosity. Problems of equitable participation arise when some groups cannot find their experiences represented in official narratives. Michael Rothberg has proposed a "multidirectional" orientation for collective memory practices that would avoid privileging the experiences of one group over another.[11] Rothberg's argument pertains to bringing into conversation memories of the Holocaust and colonial violence. My focus here is on the scattered archives of migration that do not fit into established accounts of national histories. How can stories of cross-border travel, including not only arrivals but also barriers, detours, and returns, find their place in presentations of history at school, in the museum, or in other public spaces?[12] Can a conception of a public sphere based on shared memory, descent, and tradition hold in societies where citizens speak many languages, practice different religions, and maintain connections with other places around the world? Or do we need to cultivate models of sharing that take less for granted and encourage more telling,

[10] The transnationalisation of memory politics and its connection with discourses on human rights is analyzed by Huyssen, A.: »International Human Rights and the Politics of Memory: Limits and Challenges«, in: *Criticism.* 53/4 (2011), pp. 607-624. Cf. id.: *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, New York / London 1995, and id.: *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford 2003.
[11] Cf. Rothberg, M. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, Stanford 2009.
[12] Cf. Motte, J., Ohliger, R.: *Geschichte und Gedächtnis in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Migration zwischen historischer Rekonstruktion und Erinnerungspolitik*, Essen 2004.

showing, and listening? I argue that the creative and collaborative unlocking of vernacular as well as official archives is a crucial condition for coexistence and open conversation around the ever-changing privileges of movement and settlement. Comic interventions, in particular, can highlight the absurd undertones of boundary negotiations in which assigned and assumed collective identifications perpetually destabilize each other.[13]

Germany, a Turkish Fairy Tale

The year 2011 was a year of commemorations and negotiations. The press, radio, television, and various municipal cultural institutions demonstrated their commitment to residents of Turkish descent with events commemorating the signing of the bilateral treaty on labor recruitment between Germany and Turkey in October 1961; they staged festivals, exhibitions, and film programs, the latter of the three ultimately serving as a particularly potent medium for memory work honoring stories of migration and settlement. [14]

Many of these festivities marked moments of arrival in Germany, as if the border crossing was a point zero upon which a migrant came to life, thus perpetuating a one-dimensional conception of migration as a one-way journey from a country of origin to a country of destination. The lack of interest in histories predating the journey is in line with the frequently heard call for integration of immigrants, which insists on the container model of incorporation into the nation state. With a

[13] Cf. Iser, W.: »Das Komische: ein Kipp-Phänomen«, in: Wolfgang Preisendanz / Rainer Warning (ed.): *Das Komische. Poetik und Hermeneutik VII*, Munich 1978, pp. 398-402; Göktürk, D.: »Die Komik der Kultur«, in: Uwe Wirth (ed.): *Komik. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, Stuttgart 2017, pp. 160-172; Kotthoff, H., Jashari, S., Klingenberg, D.: *Komik (in) der Migrationsgesellschaft*, Constance / Munich 2013.

[14] In Berlin, the House of World Cultures presented from October 20th-23rd the program: *Almanya hier, Almanya da. Türkisch-Deutsche Filme und Geschichten*, retrieved from: http://www.hkw.de/de/programm/projekte/projekt_63283.php, accessed on 4/10/2017. The Freie Universität Berlin arranged in cooperation with Bahçeşehir Universität in Istanbul the German-Turkish Culture-Media-Conference-Festival *B – 34: Kultür*k *Berlin / Istanbul*, retrieved from: http://www.geisteswissenschaften.fu-berlin.de/v/b34kultuerk/programm/index.html.

reawakened national "we" in unified Germany, the call for integration on part of migrants has grown stronger.[15] Meanwhile, it is far from clear who sets the standards for a unified guiding culture. In his book *Deutschsein: Eine Aufklärungsschrift*, also published in 2011, Zafer Şenocak pleaded for a "civilizational alternative to tribal society" and a "alternative to national culturalism that would open itself to the World." For him "the postmodern migrant is a commuter and will always stay a commuter."[16]

Millions of Turkish citizens and their offspring have lived and worked in Germany since the 1960s. They have started families, acquired property, sent money transfers, founded businesses in Germany and Turkey; they have travelled back and forth, passports were issued and "killed." [17] In Germany, they were regarded as foreigners, in Turkey they tended to be designated as "Almancı" (Germanized). Playing on this conundrum, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg titled its commemorative festival in 2011 *Almancı! 50 Years of Sham Marriage*. Under Shermin Langhoff's artistic direction, the festival offered a retrospective of Turkish German theater, including Nurkan Erpulat's successful staging of *Verrücktes Blut*. The film program "Gegen die Leinwände" (Against the Screens) showed a comprehensive selection of Turkish German films.[18] The festival also staged a number of community events, celebrating among others the author Aras Ören who has featured the city of Berlin in many of his books since the 1970s. The cinematic renderings of his book *Was will Niyazi in der Naunynstrasse* (1973)[19] by Friedrich W. Zimmermann, *Frau Kutzer und andere Bewohner der Naunynstraße*

[15] For a comprehensive documentation of the cyclically reoccuring debates on migration from 1955 to 2010, cf. Göktürk, D. et al (eds.) *Transit Deutschland: Debatten zu Nation und Migration*, Constance 2011.
[16] Şenocak, Z.: *Deutschsein: Eine Aufklärungsschrift*, Hamburg 2011, p. 120.
[17] Wolbert, B.: *Der getötete Pass: Rückkehr in die Türkei*, Berlin 1995.
[18] Cf. Festival program, *Almancı! – 50 Jahre Scheinehe*, retrieved from: http://www.foerderband.org/_data/ALMANCI_PROGRAMMHEFT.pdf
[19] Ören, A.: *Was will Niyazi in der Naunynstraße. Ein Poem*, Berlin 1973.

(1973) and *Kazım Akkaya und die Bewohner der Naunynstraße* (1975), provided a local inflection for the festival audiences, which included former actors. These poetic documentaries were produced at a time when guest workers made their first appearances on screens, including in Rainer Werner Fassbinder's classic *Ali: Fear eats the Soul* (1974). They demonstrate that migration history can well be imagined as "touching tales," to use a term borrowed from Leslie Adelson, cultural fables where migrants and natives engage in correspondences that illuminate multiple strands of history.[20] Zimmermann and Ören's films as well as Hans Andreas Guttner's pentalogy *Europa – ein transnationaler Traum* (1979-1996) were all characterized by transethnic solidarity in that the local focus on Berlin, Kreuzberg went hand in hand with a broader European horizon. The films often melded literary texts and documentary images, thereby constituting a kind of documentary poetics that refrained from staging the migrant voyeuristically—a technique that suggests that the ambivalence of visibility was already a topic of reflection back then. The festival *Almancı! 50 Jahre Scheinehe* thus creatively took stock of the transient archives of migration.

The film *Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland* (in the following *Almanya*) had opened earlier that year on 12 February 2011 at Berlinale Palast, Potsdamer Platz, in an out-of-competition screening at the Berlin Film Festival. In attendance was President Christian Wulff, who had declared in his speech on the Day of German Unity on 3 October 2010 that Islam was now a part of Germany,[21] and the audience celebrated the film made by the two sisters Yasemin and Nesrin Şamdereli as a showcase of successful integration. *Almanya* approached the topic of migration

[20] Adelson,
[21] Cf. http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Christian-Wulff/Reden/2010/10/20101003_Rede.html.

with a sense of humor, playing with clichés and promoting shared laughter.[22] Scholarship on Turkish German cinema read the film as a proof of "normalization" of Turkish German everyday life.[23]

Clearly, this was not the first film to approach migrant family memory from the perspective of the next generation looking back on their parents' lives. It was preceded by poetic autobiographical documentaries such as Yüksel Yavuz' *Mein Vater, der Gastarbeiter* (1994), Seyhan Derin's *Ben Annemin Kızıyım – Ich bin Tochter meiner Mutter* (1996) and Fatih Akın's *Wir haben vergessen zurückzukehren* (2003). *Almanya* stands out by intervening in the serious mode of commemoration with a light touch of performative humor. One film critic compares it to the Jewish-German comedy *Alles auf Zucker*, highlighting their shared "dance across a minefield."[24] Film critic Harald Martenstein echoes this sentiment, when he compares the potential of this political comedy for German Germans and German Turks to what *Good Bye, Lenin!* achieved for East and West Germans: joining together in laughter. He reads the film as a direct reaction to the anti-immigrant propositions of Thilo Sarrazin – a convincing response with a simple family story.[25] In fact, the film does reference the debate triggered by Sarrazin's controversial book *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (2010) by putting Sarrazin's disrespectful words about the foreigners' procreative drive into the mouth of a grumpy old woman on the subway

[22] Cf. http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/miteinander-uebereinander-lachen.954.de.html?dram:article_id=146028.
[23] Hake, S., Mennel, B. (eds.): *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium. Sites, Sounds, and Screens*, New York 2012, p. 1.
[24] Krekeler, E.: »So lustig können Türken die Integration sehen!«, in: *Welt online*, 2/13/2011, retrieved from https://www.welt.de/kultur/berlinale-2011/article12519212/So-lustig-koennen-Tuerken-die-Integration-sehen.html, accessed on 4/10/2017. Beyond German cinema, critics compared the film to *Little Miss Sunshine* (2006), an American film that packages social critique as a family road movie revolving around a grandfather figure. Cf. https://www.the-human-factor.de/Archiv/Deutschsprachige-Filme/Alamanya/.
[25] Martenstein, H.: »Identitätstfragen«, in: *Der Tagesspiegel*, 13. February 2011, retrieved from http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/kino/harald-martenstein-4-identitaetsfragen/3815106.html, accessed on 4/10/2017. In his controversial book *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (Munich, 2010), Thilo Sarrazin assigns blame for the decline of German society to declining birth rates and the influx of genetically deficient migrants from Muslim countries. The book is one oft he most commercially successful books since the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany.

(pleasurably performed by Katharina Thalbach). *Almanya* was indeed popular with audiences in Germany. With approximately 1.5 million viewers the film scored 24th position in the German charts, not counting the long tail audience reached through DVDs and online streaming.[26] The film was also awarded prizes for second best film and best screen play at the German Film Awards 2011. Further awards at international festivals followed.

'Almanya' in Turkish literally means 'Germany'; the film narrates Germany as a "Turkish fairytale."[27] The opening sequence illustrates how the film mobilizes and reanimates the archive of migration. The film begins with family photos, compiled from the personal collections of the authors and actors. Laid out on a carpet, so to say on home ground, the montage of photos comes with the upbeat title tune by Gerd Baumann and a voice-over commentary by the first-person narrator Canan Yılmaz (Aylin Tezel). Canan identifies herself in two particular pictures: as a young woman in the family's last group photo with the grandfather and as a young girl with her first-day-at-school treats. She explains how she owes her existence to the economic miracle. In the cut to the film's title "Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland," a switch in tone occurs, signalling a link between the personal family story and collective history. Immediately following the narrator's picture of her first school-day, a well-chosen popular hit from 1961 sets in, the "Konjunktur Cha-Cha" (composition: Paul Durand, lyrics: Kurt Feltz), along with a vintage video of the performance by the Hazy Osterwald Sextett.[28] Calling on listeners to ride the economic boom, archival footage shows people storming a department store for sales, women

[26] For comparison: The box office's number one in 2011 was *Harry Potter und die Heiligtümer des Todes, Teil 2* with 6,468,501 viewers. Since then, the most successful German-Turkish films by Fatih Akın have garnered the following numbers of viewers: *Gegen die Wand* (2004): 791,141, *Auf der anderen Seite* (2007): 529,714 and *Soul Kitchen* (2009): 1,317,222. In 2013, two years after *Almanya*, Bora Dağtekins school comedy *Fack Ju Göhte* received 7,320,620 viewers, thereby reaching the top of the German charts. Cf.. www.insidekino.de, accessed on 4/10/2017.
[27] Cf. Ören, A.: *Deutschland, ein türkisches Märchen. Gedichte*, Düsseldorf 1978.
[28] Cf. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lWVmwFHDqo.

crowding around a table with flowery house dresses, and a long line of proud car owners washing their Volkswagen beetles. The film frames these archival images as black-and-white photos from the sixties and arranges them on a pattern that resembles the wallpaper of the Yılmaz family's living room. The composition is completed by a twenty Deutsch Mark banknote, Germany's postwar currency of the so-called economic miracle, shown side by side with a photo of a room with bunk beds inhabited by guest workers. As a counterpoint, this tableau establishes a connection between the economic miracle and the migration of workers. The ironic song about the spirit of fast-moving competition driving the economic miracle sets the stage for a montage from the television archives, once again framing various excerpts like memorabilia in old family photo albums. A television commentator reports on the flow of laborers from Southern Europe and the medical exams conducted by German doctors at the recruitment offices: "The procedure resembles operations on a cattle market; those who are chosen are allowed to travel to Germany." Pictures of lined-up applicants follow, showing them opening their mouths, lowering their pants, and getting marked with numbers on their skin. These documentary images are reminiscent of Jean Mohr's iconic photographs shot at the recruitment office in Istanbul and published in *A Seventh Man*.[29] A title page of *Spiegel* magazine from 1964 (Nr. 41) featuring "Guest Workers in Germany" is also included in the archival montage that the film displays. Finally, the news anchor Jo Brauner, a familiar television face of

[29] Berger, J., Mohr, J.: *A Seventh Man. A Book of Images and Words about the Experience of Migrant Workers in Europe*, Harmondsworth 1975. Zafer Şenocak writes about the mass recruitment efforts: »Darf ein Land sich aussuchen, wer auf Dauer dazukommt? Natürlich darf es das. Doch es darf sich anschließend nicht über die Ausgesuchten beschweren. Die Gastarbeiter beispielsweise wurden angeworben. Die meisten von ihnen reisten nicht illegal ein. Sie wurden ausgesucht, weil sie ungebildet, jung und stämmig waren. Mehr als in ihr Maul hat man nicht geschaut. Ja, die Gastarbeiter der ersten Generation, sie waren Auserwählte, sie erschienen vor Kommissionen, die ihnen Arbeitsfähigkeit und Gesundheit attestierten. Keiner von ihnen wurde nach Caspar David Friedrich gefragt. Der wohlmeinende Deutsche sprach mit ihnen in gebrochenem Deutsch.« Şenocak, *Deutschsein*, p. 139f.

those days, is seen reporting in an interview about the recruitment of Turkish workers due to the acute shortage of labor.

At this point, grandfather Hüseyin Yılmaz (Fahri Yardım) makes his entrance as a young man. The voice-over narrator states: "On 10 September 1964, a guest worker made German history." Archival footage of guest worker trains fills the screen. A young Hüseyin disembarks from one of these trains as the frame smoothly transitions from old to new film, from black-and-white to color. In an imaginary historical encounter, Hüseyin politely lets the one millionth guest worker, a paradigmatic figure, pass. The film then shows this historical one-millionth worker, Armando Rodriquez de Sá from Portugal, as he is greeted with fanfare by representatives of the German employers' association and given a Zündapp motorcycle. The photo of Armando, looking at the cameras in surprise upon disembarking from his two-day train ride, is a well-known cornerstone in the visual archive of migration.[30] In *Almanya,* Hüseyin is watching the welcome ceremony smiling, equally surprised, as his narrator-granddaughter comments: "Even though Armando Rodriguez made headlines back then as the one-millionth guest worker, we are telling the story of a man called Hüseyin here, my grandfather." The switch between Hüseyin and Armando, which suggests a random pick from the crowd, implies an abundance of potential stories that could be told.[31] The staging of the imaginary encounter with the millionth ironically underscores

[30] The photo serves as an opening for the first chapter "Working Guests / Arbeitende Gäste" in Göktürk, D., Gramling, D., Kaes, A. (eds.): *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration. 1955-2005*, Berkeley 2007, p. 22, and Göktürk, D. et al (eds): *Transit Deutschland*, p. 44. On the website https://angekommen.com/wordpress/, which the Köln Messe/Deutz station presents as a virtual memorial site, one finds a thorough documentation on the welcome festival for the millionth, including a cross section of press commentaries. Cf. further http://www.iberer.angekommen.com/ and http://www.iberer.angekommen.com/Mio/millionster.html, accessed on 4/10/2017. Particularly worth reading is the piece by de Sá's widow on de Sá's return to Portugal after a workplace injury, his early death, and the trips with the moped he brought back to the village, but protected from anyone who might want to ride it. The moped can be found today in the House of History in Bonn. Cf. http://www.iberer.angekommen.com/05/05rodri.html, accessed on 4/10/2017.

[31] A comedy short had previously staged a similar imagined encounter. In Ayhan Salar's *Frizör* (2000), a Turkish migrant arriving by train politely stands back and surrenders his place in line, while another traveller steps forward to unexpectedly find himself greeted by a fanfare as the millionth guest worker.

the arbitrariness of official celebrations. By telling Hüseyin's untold story *Almanya* offers a posthumous tribute to him – and to many other invisible labor migrants. His story, not to be found in national archives, is thus translated from oral delivery to cinematic staging.

Using chroma key green screens to shoot this scene, the filmmakers digitally insert the fictional character Hüseyin Yılmaz into the archival footage documenting Armando Rodrieguez de Sá's arrival at Köln-Deutz and thus write him into German history.[32] This imaginative technique views historical accuracy as secondary; while migrants from Turkey and Portugal were not likely to arrive at the same station (which is only a redressed Augsburg railstation in the film). The fairy-tale imagination of "touching tales" connects different lineages and simultaneously casts an ironic gaze on the arbitrary selection and incorporation of migrant workers whose histories preceding their arrival in Germany rarely entered the frame of media representation. The green screen technique thereby redresses the lack of migrant narratives in the common understanding of national history. *Almanya* opens with a montage sequence that integrates personal family photos with material from the archives of popular culture. A family history over three generations is reframed as national history and simultaneous situated within transnational connections. The film assembles a range of different documents into a collective history, all of which can be found on the Internet as well as in family albums, libraries and television archives.

In this interplay of archival documentation and dramatization, the film captures Hüseyin's journey to Almanya as a passage from the past to the present. At one point in the film, for example, the camera follows him as he walks through a tunnel. A voice is calling his name

[32]Chroma key green screen was employed in *Forrest Gump* (1994) to have the simple-minded protagonist participate in key events of the 20th-century and encounter personalities such as John F. Kennedy and John Lennon.

repeatedly. When he eventually steps out into the light, a lifetime has passed, and he finds himself exiting a supermarket – ironically called A-Markt, playing both on the popular discount store Aldi and on Almanya itself – as an old man (performed by another actor, Vedat Erincin). The voice turns out to be his wife Fatma's (Lilay Huser) who wants to discuss the imminent naturalization of the couple, and the scene ends in a dispute.

Naturalization raises a host of questions about cultural identification, especially with regard to the preservation of memories from home and the adoption of foreign collective memory. Filmed at the Kreisverwaltungsamt in Munich, the naturalization of the Yılmaz couple in *Almanya* is staged as a satire. The scene features an assiduous civil servant at his desk (Axel Milberg), who is surrounded by filing cabinets and an obligatory monstera plant in the background. After ample stamping in silence, the key question is posed: "Mr. and Mrs. Yilmaz, now to point 4 in appendix 18. As soon-to-be German citizens, do you commit to adopt German culture as your guiding culture?" Fatma nods. "Very well. That means that you will join a shooting club, eat pork twice a week, watch Tatort every Sunday and spend every second summer on Mallorca." At this point, Hüseyin's eyebrows shoot up. As he hesitates, Fatma shouts: "Yes, of course, we have to get everything right!" She grabs the pen and signs. The passports are handed over: "Congratulations! You are now German." The ceremony is sealed by opening a filing cabinet, revealing three plates of pork knuckles. Hüseyin's horror notwithstanding, Fatma puts a big forkful of meat into her mouth and all of a sudden appears in a traditional dirndl, speaking authentic Bavarian dialect: "Ja, moi, Hüseyin, had din it so! Mir sand doch immer noch Türken." When Hüseyin raises his hand to his mouth where he feels a Hitler moustache growing, he tumbles out of the room in disbelief. At this climax of grotesque humor, he is woken up by his wife, realizing that he has

dreamt the entire scene. After their actual, successful meeting with the naturalization official, Fatma and Hüseyin take a paternoster elevator. While Fatma is beaming, proudly holding her new passport, Hüseyin forgets to exit the elevator in his puzzlement, slowly descending out of the frame – a move that highlights his quizzical distance from bureaucratical proceedings and foreshadows the end of his life. This satire on naturalization does not refrain from mobilizing crude clichées and thereby offers a comic intervention into the debate on German guiding culture (*Leitkultur*); it is a comedic response to the politicians and journalists who have been calling on immigrants to adapt while being unable to conclusively agree on the distinguishing features of German culture.[33]

The opening scenes of the film call on spectators to join into the communicative memory work. The film's narrator Canan recounts her grandfather Hüseyin's life story to her cousin Cenk (Rafael Koussouris), an endearing young boy who was born in Germany and cannot speak any Turkish. The conversation begins, as we find out, after Cenk is not only rejected by both the Turkish and German soccer teams at school, but also punched in the eye in a subsequent fight. Back at home, he asks the entire family, assembled at the dinner table: "What are we then – Turks or Germans?" The grown-ups only provide contradictory answers, contributing further to his confusion. Canan's rendering of the family story – much like the film *Almanya* overall – presents itself as a reflection on the child's question about belonging. "You can be both," is Canan's answer. "If grandma and grandpa are Turks, why are we here?" asks Cenk. Canan explains: "Because the Germans called them." This promptly triggers in Cenk's vivid imagination a satirical slide-show montage of people in Istanbul, at the North pole, in Naples and

[33] For documentation of the debates surrounding dominant culture ('Leitkultur'), cf. Göktürk, D.: *Transit Deutschland*, pp. 304-307; 457-459; 468-480.

Rhodos, all listening to a call echoing in the skies above: “Dear world citizens, this is the Federal Republic of Germany speaking. We are in need of labor. If you are young and strong with a good work ethic, report without delay to the next office.”

At this point, Hüseyin shows the family an old photo and declares that he has bought a house back home in the village, which he wants to visit during the fall holiday with the entire family. It is here that the story of the grandparents begins, as the photo, like before, serves as a flash point for the subsequent scene in a small village in southeastern Turkey. The white baby goat on the black-and-white photo is animated in color and runs after the young Hüseyin with much bleating to the great merriment of the young Fatma (played by Demet Gül).

Through Canan’s narration and the film’s illustration, little Cenk – and with him the spectators of *Almanya* – learn about exchange of loving gazes between the shepherd Hüseyin and the beautiful Fatma, whose father, the austere village headman, refuses to accept the shepherd as a suitable son-in-law. Hüseyin has no choice but to abduct Fatma, who plays along. With a quick pan, the two are transported from his village home to the outskirts of the big city. In a coffee house, the young family father hears that Germany is recruiting guest workers. Hüseyin then leaves Fatma behind with their three children Veli, Muhamed and Leyla to go and earn money in Germany. Andrea Mertens’ fast-paced editing simulates the passage of time; Hüseyin works hard in road construction, reads letters in his bunk bed, Fatma receives money at the post office, and the children grow fast. Eventually, he returns and takes the family with him to Germany. They move into a two-bedroom apartment, where Fatma insists on thorougly scrubbing the shared toilet on in the stairway before any family member is allowed to use it. Fatma goes shopping on her own

for the first time and communicates in sign language. The three children are sent to school. Then a fourth child is born, Ali, the eventual father of Cenk. The children wish for a Christmas tree and presents, as they have seen on television and in shop windows. Their wishful fantasy is illustrated with archival footage of family Christmas celebrations from those years, set to the tune of a popular carol "Kling, Glöckchen, klingelingeling," adapted as "plüngelüngelüng." The family travels in a Mercedes to Turkey for a holiday. Once again, the writer-director sisters activate archival materials in a montage and collectivize the memory of the strenuous journey along the legendary Balkan route by showing landscapes, towns, peasant women, and families taking a break along the way.

For the child – and the German audience who does not understand Turkish – the family story is told in German, meaning that conversations set in the past are performed not in Turkish but German. To mark non-comprehension in encounters with a foreign language, in some scenes after the family's arrival in Germany, the Germans are speaking gibberish that is remniscient of Charlie Chaplin's speech in *The Great Dictator* (1940). Just as the film foregrounds the foreignness of the German language, it also casts a defamiliarizing eye on Christian religion from an outside perspective, for example, when in the dream of little Muhamed an uncannily morbid Christ descends from his cross to approach the little boy's bed. Despite the humorous rendering of these initial irritations, the Yilmaz family seems to be well-settled in their life in Germany.

Hüseyin, who worked hard over many years, bought a house in Germany with his savings, a building with multiple units where the the extended family lives at present. Despite all his

doubts, he goes along with the naturalization process following his wife's wishes, but persuades the family to take a trip to Turkey to visit their ancestral village. At a roadside restaurant, a little boy who is selling sesame bagels takes the last family picture with Hüseyin, who subsequently dies quietly in his sleep en route. After his death, the question of belonging arises yet again. His German passport that he himself had called "a piece of paper" now provokes doubts about his burial in Turkey; he is to be taken to a remote German cemetery for foreigners.[34] But Fatma decides without further ado to ignore such bureaucratic stipulations and take her husband back to their home village. For the burial in the village, all actors of the film are assembled, those who played the young and the old roles of the characters. Figures from back then and today are holding hands. The linear progression of time is thus reimagined as a contemporaneity of past and present. The house that Hüseyin had bought in the village turns out to be a ruin without walls or roof, but thereby has a nice view of the river valley. The mourners gather at that spot in the open air for a picnic and conversations across the generations. When it is time for the family to board the van for their return journey to Germany, Muhamed decides in the last minute to stay in the village and restore the house.

Shortly before his death Hüseyin had guessed his granddaughter Canan's pregnancy, which had been revealed to the film's audience early on but not to the family members. As they mourn his loss, Canan finally confides in her mother and grandmother, the latter of whom takes the occasion to share a secret that had also been omitted from the family story so far: she, too, had already been pregnant, when the young shepard Hüseyin had abducted her. Nascent life thus serves as a motivation to circle back and revisit the past – as a promise for the future. The power

[34] The topos of the migrant corpse that is to be delivered to the cemetary by car haunts many stories of migration. Cf. Dals, G. *Europastraße 5*, Hamburg 1981 and Akıns, F. *Im Juli* (2000).

of the imagination to make memories and past events visible is, of course, a central driving force of cinema. In this rear view, light can be cast on blind spots and culturalist collectivizations about traditional rural lifestyle. Moreover, morality can be reconsidered ironically; this film does not feature oppressed women, expulsed daughters or tragic honor killings. *Almanya* translates the communicative memory of the Yılmaz family in its transnational scope into cultural memory of the migration experience, without compromising the characters' individuality and their ability to laugh and make the audience laugh with them.

Salman Rushdie opens his essay "Imaginary Homelands" with reference to an old photograph on the wall of his study in London, a photograph that depicts his parental home in Bombay before he was born. In this essay, Rushdie writes about a condensation of "stereoscopic vision" that comes with life in multiple places – a simultaneous looking from outside and within.[35] This double vision and spatiotemporal interference of multiple layers of time is rendered in Almanya through montage and superimpositions. That Rushdie is quoted at the end of the film, when the characters in their old and young incarcations are gathered in conversation at the site that the grandfather had acquired for them in the village, including the British father of Canan's baby, is therefore no coincidence:

»I am the sum total of everything that went before me, of all I have been seen done, of everything done-to-me. I am everyone everything whose being-in-the-world affected was

[35] Rushdie, S.: "Imaginary Homelands" in: id..: *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991*, London 1992, pp. 9-21, hier: p. 19.

affected by mine. I am anything that happens after I've gone which would not have happened if I had not come.«[36]

The space-time continuum that Rushdie and the film *Almanya* activate tends to be described as "magical realism," where a child-like vision of the world motivates phantastic elements such as leaps across time and space.[37] But the film also makes a political intervention by staging an imaginary state celebration in honor of guest workers under the motto "Germany says thank you!" at the presidential residence Schloss Bellevue in Berlin. Having received an invitation to this celebration, Grandpa Hüseyin's had rehearsed an imaginary speech addressing Chancellor Angela Merkel at the barber shop with his grandson Cenk, culminating in the line: "Hey, Angela, you're from the East, I am from the East, we are both Ossis [a post-unification moniker for East Germans]." Following Hüseyin's death en route in Turkey, little Cenk gets to deliver the big speech in his grandfather's place, with the entire family, including Hüseyin's ghost, assembled in the audience. Whether he really makes his grandfather's joke about "Ossis" in this context, remains unclear. In any case, the scene drives the affectionate, irreverent reorientation of collective history home. The camera pans around to show the Chancellor and the audience sympathetically listen to the little boy's speech. *Almanya* thus preempted a state tribute to the former guest workers from Turkey in 2011. A ceremonial act with Chancellor Merkel and Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan did actually take place later in that jubilée year on 2 November 2011, not in Schloss Bellevue but in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Chancellor stressed on

[36] Rushdie, S.: *Midnight's Children*, Penguin 1981, p. 383.
[37] Cf. Berghahn, D.: *Far-flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, Edinburgh 2013, pp. 69-75.

this occasion the need to learn the German language for a successful integration.[38] Previously, on 1 October 2008, Angela Merkel and the Minister of State Maria Böhmer had actually hosted a group of former guest and contract workers, honoring the achievements of these first-generation immigrants under the motto "Germany says thank you!" at a reception in the Chancellor's office.[39]

Migration is an unfinished project. Consequently, *Almanya* offers not one but multiple endings. There is the ceremony at Schloss Bellevue and the family picnic in the village in Turkey. Another end point is Max Frisch's much quoted line: "we called for work force, but humans came,"[40] followed by an excerpt from a television interview where a speaker declares, "if we had the choice again, we would pick only skilled workers from Turkey!"[41] Another ending takes us back to the schoolroom where the teacher had been marking places of origin on a map of Europe. She was asking Cenk for the name of the beautiful country where his father is from. Cenk had difficulty answering and came up with Anatolia. Since Eastern Turkey remained outside the frame of this map of Europe, the teacher placed Cenks little flag, much to his chagrin, aside on the board.[42] In a coda at the end of the film, after the family's eventful trip, Cenk brings a map of Turkey to school, which is placed next to the map of Europe, so that his place of origin can be properly marked. Ironically, Cenk and his father Ali (Denis Moschitto), the youngest son of Hüseyin and Fatma, are both born in Germany. Ali, who cannot eat spicy food, is typecast as a

[38] https://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/ContentArchiv/DE/Archiv17/Artikel/2011/11/2011-11-02-anwerbeabkommen.html
[39] Cf. https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/IB/Artikel/Geschichte/2008-09-23-deutschland-sagt-danke.html.
[40] Cf. the prologue in: Seiler, A. J.: *Siamo italiani – Die Italiener. Gespräche mit italienischen Arbeitern in der Schweiz*, Zürich 1965.
[41] Television reportage from 1963. Cf.: http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/einkompliziertesverhaeltnis.724.de.html?dram:article_id=100355.
[42] One is reminded of Tawada, Y.: *Wo Europa anfängt*, Tübingen 1991.

"typical" German, more so than his wife Gabi (Petra Schmidt-Schaller) who is a "real" German, but fully integrated into the Turkish family. According to citizenship law, Cenk is a German citizen, Germany is his home. Why does the teacher insist on marking his point of origin in Anatolia?

A benevolent reading of the mapping game would point to the connection that the film establishes with the homeland of the grandfather by taking the family – and the audience – on a trip to Turkey, thus making cross-border family memory tangible to the grandson. His elder cousin had already explained to him that one could be both – German and Turkish. Grandfather Hüseyin taught us that passports are nothing but a piece of paper; association occurs through experiences and memories that are passed on and shared. A less benevolent reading of the ending, however, will have to acknowledge that even in this heartwarming comedy, the genealogical model of affiliation by clear lineage, rooted in the territory of *one* nation, continues to animate education as well as popular culture. This logic of affiliation has serious consequences and is hard to hack – even with laughter.

Counter-view from Anatolia

The history of migration within the borders of Turkey remains outside the frame in *Almanya*. The transition from the Anatolian village to the big city is performed in a quick pan, which most spectators might not even have noticed. Life on the outskirts of the city was not much different from village life. Unlike the films of Fatih Akın, *Gegen die Wand* (2004) and *Auf der anderen Seite* (2007), *Almanya* features the big city Istanbul as a somewhat unreal fairy-tale silhouette on the horizon; these scenes were in fact filmed in Izmir and digitally remastered with background

images. The film is not concerned with changes in the lives of those who stayed behind at the fringes of the city and in the village. Hüseyin's return to his village only occurs after his death. The focus in this migration story is on arrival and settlement in the new country.

A counter point to this story's focus on arrival, can be found in a film that was awarded the Grand Prix of the Jury at the Cannes Film Festival in the same year, Nuri Bilge Ceylan's *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da / Once Upon a Time in Anatolia* (2011). Unlike *Almanya*, this film elevates provincial Anatolia as a location onto the map of world cinema. With a great deal of dark humor, this procedural stages the search for a corpse in the sparse and dry landscape of central Anatolia during one long night. A police inspector, a gendarme, a prosecutor, a country doctor, a driver, and a suspect are en route, driving from water fountain to water fountain, which all look alike in the dark. Their conversations intimate a myriad small manifestations of hierarchies, frictions and frustrations, all of which shape lives in service of state bureaucracy in the "Wild East."

Nuri Bilge Ceylan has made a name as a master of provincial cinema. Already with *Uzak / Distant* (2002), he produced a paradigmatic film on migration. That film was set in the city. The protagonist was a photographer, whose country cousin moves in with him as an invited visitor. *Once Upon a Time in Anatolia*, on the other hand, stages the barren hinterland as the central set, bolstered with quotes from Anton Tschechow's story *The Examining Magistrate* (1887). Upon closer inspection, however, effects of migration become legible even in this remote landscape. The "forensic humor" of the film reaches its peak when the civil servants assemble for a nightly meal at the house of the muhtar [village head] who explains to them why the village is in dire

need of a modern morgue with refrigeration. The isolated village of emigrants ["göç veren köy"] had lost its young population to migration, so when one of the remaining old villagers dies, the corpse had to be kept waiting for several days, before children of the deceased could arrive from Istanbul or Germany to bid farewell. Refrigeration was indispensible to prevent the corpses from decomposing during these long waiting periods. Right after this unappetizing dinner table conversation, there is a power outage, whereupon the police inspector cannot hold back an ironic remark about the village head's need to secure reliable power before planning an electric-powered morgue. Germany appears in *Once Upon a Time in Anatolia* as a far-away destination of rural exodus. What remains behind is a landscape of death and decay where the cool storage of the recently deceased is a primary concern. From a different angle than *Almanya*, *Once Upon a Time in Anatolia*, too, raises the question in 'whose' soil the dead should rest in our times of incessant mobility, and who will remember them.

In terms of mode, style, and genre, *Once Upon Time in Anatolia* and *Almanya* are very different films. When read as contrapuntal intertexts, however, they cast light on out-of-field blind spots left by the other. Migration is not a one-way street; its effects cannot be grasped within the framework of *one* nation. The ironic perspective on German naturalization from within "the limits of citizenship"[43] calls for complementary perspectives from outside. The discussion in the Turkish village's morgue reminds us that migration changes the lives of those left behind as much as that of those who move.[44] Villages are not fixed and unchangeable but themselves part of the transformative processes of globalizing modernity.

[43] Yasemin N. Soysal, The Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. The University of Chicago Press 1994.
[44] Cohen, J. H., Sirkeci, I.: Cultures of Migration. The Global Nature of Contemporary Mobility, Austin 2011.

"Postmigrant society" as a concept was put into circulation already in the 1990s by the transethnic network Kanak Attak; more recently, Shermin Langhoff has popularized it in the context of her theater work, and the social scientist Naika Fourutan has published a series of studies titled *Deutschland postmigrantisch*.[45] The concept signals a shift in perception and programmatically sets straight that children and grandchildren of migrants, who continue to be addressed as foreigners, are in fact no migrants but should be regarded a full members of the society they live in. The film *Almanya* shares this self-confident gesture of incorporation, while simultaneously embarking on a journey to search for pre-histories beyond German territories. The emphasis on postmigrant belonging falls short, however, if it limits itself to the claim of having arrived in the nation-state container; considering those who are excluded from this container logic of nation-states would be a more radical approach to thinking about societies in a framework of continuing global migrations.

Comedy and Critique

Moving images can unlock stories that are not preserved in national archives. Films can stage personal stories and public documents in dynamic and multiperspectival configurations. Spectators engage with these stagings in various constellations, update, and translate them within their own field of vision, in resonance with their own observations, memories, and pleasures. Identities are not static but relationally produced in interactive processes of connection and separation. Comic interventions can subvert boundaries and categorical oppositions, creating new alliances in laughter. If recollection in motion gains more ground claimed certitudes based

[45] *Deutschland postmigrantisch*, published 2014–2016 by Naika Foroutan and her team at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin: https://www.projekte.hu-berlin.de/de/junited/deutschland-postmigrantisch (accessed March 30, 2019).

on entitlement, territorial ownership, and exclusive group identities might be revised in more pluralist conversation.

Migration is in principle an unfinished process, creating new spatiotemporal horizons shaped by connections to multiple places, languages, and fragmentary memories. The model of an open multimedia archive, which readers, viewers and listeners activate communicatively with a sense of contingency, corresponds with the key exhibition *Projekt Migration* in Cologne in 2005. When no national archive is devoted to the preservation of documents and memories, informal and fragmentary collections grow, partially occupied and virtually retrievable.[46] The key question is how objects and data are currently stored, classified, and integrated into stories that are told; the order of things establishes hierarchies of meaning and circulation. The quiet irony of grandfather Hüseyin Yılmaz in *Almanya* allows for a much deeper appreciation of the unresolved ambivalences of the migration experience than the musealized motorcycle of the millionth guest worker. *Almanya* casts a new light on this showpiece of ceremonial welcome culture, hinting at ample stories of unknown migrants that could potentially be told. A core challenge of our times is to bring these stories in their multiperspectival diversity into conversation with each other as well as hegemonic collective storylines that are perpetually performed and rehersed in laws, verdicts, history textbooks, and museums.

[46] The documentation center and museum on migration in Germany (DOMiD) of Cologne has dedicated itself since 1990 to the documentation oft he history of migration in the form of a permanent collection of everyday objects, photos and documents. Parts of this collection were shown in a series of exhibitions, retrieved from: http://www.domid.org/de/exhibitions, accessed on 4/10/2017. After longstanding efforts, the founding of a museum of migration was announced at a press conference on April 20th, 2015 thanks to Rita Süssmuth's sponsorship. Retrieved online: http://www.domid.org/de/gegl%C3%BCckter-startschuss, accessed on 4/10/2017. The Bundestag's decision on November 11th, 2016 to provide six million euros to support the establishment of a national museum of migration in the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven (thereby mixing issues of immigration and emigration), triggered a certain amount of alienation in the meantime: http://www.domid.org/sites/default/files/pressemitteilung_domid_161114.pdf, accessed on 4/10/2017. The online collection of objects of migration is based on the idea of a collective virtual museum, retrieved online from: http://www.migrationsgeschichte.de/sammlung.html, accessed on 4/10/2017.

After all, collectives are not naturally given as homogeneous communities; even within one family dissonances arise. An important aspect of multiperspectival memory is the ability to see and think in constellations and counterpoints. Cultural memory would thus be a virtual archive in motion that keeps changing in the framework of migration processes, European integration, globalization and digitalization; it acts within a potentially open structure that evolves in the interplay of readers and viewers who recognize and expand contingencies of history in the light of humor.