Postmigrant Theatre and Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Race, Precarity and Artistic Labour in Berlin

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I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and where the contributions of others are involved these are clearly acknowledged.

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Abstract

This study analyses the ways in which artistic labour is racialised and made precarious. It examines the working and living conditions of Turkish German artists throughout the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre and the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts policies in Berlin's cultural landscape. It illuminates the dynamics that unfold with regards to cultural diversity in the arts and the labour involved in its practices. The main argument of the thesis is, that the emergence and development of postmigrant theatre needs to be understood as the successful establishment and institutionalisation of new aesthetic, narrative and political tools, which, on the one hand, signal the arrival of Turkish German and other artists of colour and of the language of cultural diversity in the field of the arts in the midst of a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism. On the other hand, however, this thesis also accounts for the still limited access of Turkish German and other artists of colour to institutions of high culture, for their precarious and racialised labour conditions and the lack of material resources available for the diversity work that the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement do.

As a critical ethnography conducted over the span of seven years, this study maps out the field of opportunities and the restrictions that Turkish German artists working in postmigrant theatre experience in their everyday lives and in negotiating their position in institutional life. This includes their experience in arts school education, the artistic labour market, the sphere of cultural policy, existing funding structures and public discourses about migration, gentrification, cultural diversity and the arts in Germany. The study shows how postmigrant theatre artists' representational practices produce new postmigrant ethnicities, and challenge narrow conceptions of ethnicity, German culture, national identity as well as power relations in Germany's theatre landscape. Postmigrant theatre artists perform acts of memory by reaffirming intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories and lived experiences of migration. These become political through acts of remembrance that counteract the long neglect of Turkish German hi/stories. Ultimately, the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement determine the meaning of "diversity in the arts" by working collaboratively to establish sustainable funding and employment structures, networks of solidarity and by giving voice to an increasingly well-organised movement of artists who critique the racialised division of labour in the state-subsisided theatre and cultural landscape.

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Chapter 1: Act One, Scene One

First Encounter - Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]

In January 2006 I first read on the marquee board of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in Berlin-Kreuzberg, the words "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]". I was surprised and excited given that in all the years I had been living in Berlin, I had never before seen such a proposition. The theatre was a sphere where our stories, the lived experiences and memories of first, second and third generation Turkish Germans and the stories of others with diverse and complex migration biographies would not belong: a cultural and bodily landscape of national high culture. One could go to the theatre, one could participate in minor roles as a I did during my childhood and youth at a small open air theatre, or one could be part of the audience like my working class parents who came to see me act as the only Turkish German kid on stage, masked as a crocodile in a children's theatre play. However, the codes of conduct, the terms and conditions were clear and unquestioned: one entered a space of Western high culture surrounded by white bodies acting in major roles and occupying all the more prestigious jobs behind the scenes that constitute the field of theatre. One could see people of colour[1] working in theatres in a janitorial and service capacity, but rarely outside of such roles.

I contemplated the meaning of the phrase "Beyond Belonging" and wondered about the choice of words and who had chosen them. What did they wish to say? The statement "Beyond Belonging" resonated in me, as I thought that this might signal a departure from the racialised division of labour that I had observed in Germany from an early age up to the present. Did this title suggest the arrival of bodies and histories like mine on the stage and beyond? Did "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" mean that we would no longer be figures who were captured in public discourse in a constant loop of arrival and integration, in other words

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[1] Throughout the thesis terms such as "person of colour", the plural "people of colour", "artists of colour", "academics of colour", "minority artists", people "with migration biographies", artists with "migration background" and "postmigrant artists" are used interchangeably. The term "people of colour", primarily used by activists and academics of colour in the US, describes a racialised person who is not white and emphasises the importance of coalition work among racialised people of different backgrounds who share experiences of racism in predominantly white societies. Both terms "person of colour" and "woman of colour", although introduced in Germany by the feminist black writer and activist Audre Lorde during her stay in Berlin in the 1980s, gained wider recognition with the publication of Nghi Ha, K.; al-Samarai Lauré, N., and Mysorekar, S. eds. (2007) *Re-visionen: Postkoloniale Perspektiven von People of Color auf Rassismus, Kulturpolitik und Widerstand in Deutschland* (*Re-visions: Postcolonial Perspectives of People of Colour on Racism, Cultural Politics and Resistance in Germany)*. Münster, Unrast Verlag. The Berlin activist coalition *Bühnenwatch* (Stage Watch) is the first theatre activist group consisting of people of colour, and was established in 2011 in reaction to several Berliner theatres' decision to use blackface white actors and actresses:
<http://buehnenwatch.com/english/>[Accessed: 10.06.2014].

who were never granted permission to settle? Was this an alternative to the public spaces of the nation in which we were the ones who still remained stuck in the position of those "who had just arrived", despite the fact that we lived in the second and third generation in Germany? I discovered that I was not the only one with such questions. When I first entered the doors of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, I discovered that there were many *others* who were searching for these answers.

In that moment, I was, of course, not quite aware what this interdisciplinary festival – with contributions by migrant and international artists from the fields of music, film and theatre – had inaugurated in the city's cultural landscape. Neither did I anticipate that I would spend seven years of my life trying to make sense of what this first encounter with the expression "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" and with all the people I would meet on that day at the foyer of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre (who were they?) and in the subsequent years meant exactly. Luckily, concerning the meaning of the title "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]", I did discover one possible explanation published on the online pages of a local Berliner newspaper on the internet on that very same day:[2]

> *Journalist:* The title of the festival [author's note: "Beyond Belonging"] reads as "migration to the square". Why? What do you associate with it?
>
> *Festival Curator Shermin Langhoff:* a X a = a^2 or also = b. In any case, it means something new emerges. Current cultural practices are characterised by new forms of encounters, exchanges and intermixtures. This is a development that needs to be understood as reaching beyond national borders and cultural fields. That is why there is the additional festival title "Beyond Belonging", meaning [author's note: Langhoff translates the phrase into German] beyond belonging. One can no longer understand culture as being located within a container construction of [author's note: separate] national cultures or as the property of distinct groups. The artists of the second migrant generation who collaborated in our theatre projects, of course, chose to engage with these topics in their works (Berliner Zeitung, 30.12.2005, own translation).

Even though the explications of the festival curator were rather mathematical (a X a = a^2 or also = b) and obscure (culture in containers?), they made me even more curious (who is this woman, Shermin Langhoff?) and, in fact, on that cold winter's day that I by chance entered the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, I would experience how this enigmatic invitation to a small festival in my neighbourhood laid the cornerstones for postmigrant theatre as an experimental

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[2] All media sources such as newspaper, magazine or online articles and interviews with the artists, as well as the interviews conducted for this research project, German policy documents, institutional names and theatre and film titles are translated from German into English by the author of the thesis. In addition, quotes taken from German academic publications are also translated by the author and marked as such in the footnotes.

artistic approach and a tool to demand the long neglected participation of second and third generation Turkish German and other artists of colour in Germany's theatre landscape, who by virtue of that first festival "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" became the protagonists of their own hi/stories on the stages of established theatre institutions.

This was, of course, also the moment that instigated in me the idea for this research project, which traces the institutionalisation process of postmigrant theatre and investigates the working and living conditions of the artists, who established the postmigrant theatre movement in Berlin. These artists' labour plays a pivotal role in the formation of inclusive spaces and practices of embodied, aesthetic, narrative and political representations of racial and ethnic cultural diversity in a multicultural society such as Germany as well as on its theatre stages. The reasons for why I chose to write about postmigrant theatre are to be found in its contemporary artistic and political significance for Germany's theatre landscape and public sphere, which witnessed substantial transformations from a German nation imagined as a relatively homogeneous society to a country of immigration with a highly ethnically and racially diverse population. Statistical data based on the annual survey of the Federal Statistical Office of Germany illustrates the demographic change in Germany society: 19.6 per cent of Germany's population in the year 2013 had a so-called "migration background"[3] of which the largest group (2.793 million) consisted of people of Turkish descent. Of all people with a Turkish migration background 47.9 per cent had migrated to Germany and 52.1 per cent were born in Germany (BAMF, 2013: 145-146). In the city of Berlin 25 per cent of its inhabitants have a migration background of which around 200.000 are of Turkish descent (Greve, 2008). Whilst the statistical data regarding the demographic make-up of Germany point to the structural, political and institutional aspects of German multiculturalism, one of the aims of this study is to provide an account of the cultural history and presence of Turkish German subjects by paying close attention to the narratives of migration created by Turkish German artists and the political and representational practices of postmigrant theatre. It does so by drawing on key moments and figures in the history of the Fordist guest worker regime, the role of Turkish German artists, the transition of Germany into a Post-Fordist immigration society and the emergence and institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre established by a new wave of Turkish German artists. My personal motivation for doing this project lie in my own

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[3] The Federal Statistical Office of Germany defines people with a migration background as those who "immigrated after 1949 into the present area of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as all foreigners born in Germany and all who are born in Germany as Germans with at least one parent who has either immigrated to Germany after 1949 or is a foreigner in Germany" (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2007).

biographical attachments to Germany's migration history as a Turkish German academic, cultural worker and activist with a working class background as I conducted ethnographic research at home as in insider to the cultural milieu that I examine in this study.[4]

This PhD thesis presents the findings of my research, conducted in three key sites of postmigrant theatre in Berlin: the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, where I participated in events from 2006 onwards and conducted interviews in the summer of 2007, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, where I conducted research between 2008 and 2014 and the Maxim Gorki Theatre in the district of Berlin-Mitte, which, with Langhoff's assignment as its new artistic director, became the first German state theatre with a postmigrant theatre profile in the year 2013. Opened in the year 2008 as the first postmigrant theatre in Germany, my research focuses particularly on the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, which has since gained national flagship status among artists, cultural intermediaries, cultural and migration policy makers, journalists and academics who advocate cultural diversity in the arts. A select group from this cohort, their lived experiences and views are presented in this study.[5] Using a transdisciplinary framework and conceptual and methodological tools developed in Cultural Studies, Feminist Theory, Postcolonial and Critical Race Theory, it aims to shed light on the material conditions of cultural production from the perspective of racialised artists. Having said that, when I began to review the relevant literature for this project[6], I realised that academia had paid little attention to the lived experiences of racialised artists working precariously in the field of the arts and cultural industries (Lorey, 2007; McRobbie, 2007; Negus, 2002; Puwar, 2004). Although feminist theorists such as Isabell Lorey (2007), Angela McRobbie (2007) and Marianne Pieper (2007) emphasise the necessity of qualitative research about the experiences of freelancing, casual working and self-employed artists and cultural workers of colour, there was no research conducted that filled this research gap in general and in relation to Turkish German artists in Berlin's state-subsidised theatre landscape in particular.

This study's ambition is to analyse the ways in which artistic labour is racialised and made precarious by examining the working and living conditions of Turkish German artists in the context of the process of the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre and the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts in Berlin's cultural landscape. It analyses the field of opportunities and the restrictions that Turkish German artists working in postmigrant

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[4] In Chapter 3 I describe in greater detail how my status as an insider influenced not only the choice to investigate postmigrant theatre but also the methodological and epistemological framework of this research project.
[5] See Chapter 3 for the selection of interview partners for this research project.
[6] See also Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework.

theatre experience in Berlin's cultural landscape as well as the artists' agency in relation to 1) their interventions, negotiations and strategies in the cultural field, 2) cultural policies for cultural diversity in the arts, and 3) the gentrification of the multicultural, working class neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg, where most of the artists live and work.

The main objectives of this research project are to investigate (a) the ways in which the cultural productions of postmigrant theatre artists become a site of political struggle for the representation of new ethnicities in the context of the institutionalisation of cultural diversity in Germany's theatre landscape, (b) the working and living conditions of Turkish German artists who established and work at postmigrant theatre, (c) the field of opportunities and restrictions that the artists experience in Berlin's cultural landscape and artistic labour market, (d) the relationship between racialised and precarious artistic labour, (e) the role of cultural policy for the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts and (f) the working conditions of artists who "embody cultural diversity in the arts", in other words, the consequences of cultural policies for artists of colour within state-subsidised structures acting as artistic labour markets as well as (g) the lived experiences of these artists in relation to those aspects in the celebrations of cultural diversity that are mostly silenced and which are to be found in the effects of the processes of gentrification on the racialised, working class inhabitants of multicultural urban neighbourhoods. Whilst this study examines both the constitution and contestation of a racialised division of labour in Berlin's theatre landscape, it also brings to the fore the histories, voices and agency of those racialised artists who, over the past decade and despite precarious labour conditions, have established both postmigrant theatre as a movement and as an institution as well as their own career paths by taking up, to use the words of British sociologist Nirmal Puwar, "privileged positions" in public spaces such as theatres, spaces that weren't "reserved for them" (2004: 33).

In short, the study illuminates which dynamics unfold with regards to cultural diversity in the arts and the labour involved in its practices. The main argument is, that the emergence and development of postmigrant theatre needs to be understood as the successful establishment and institutionalisation of new aesthetic, narrative and political tools, which, on the one hand, signal the arrival of Turkish German and other artists of colour and of "cultural diversity in the arts" in the midst of a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism. On the other hand, however, one needs to also account for the still limited access of Turkish German and other artists of colour to institutions of high culture, for their precarious and racialised labour conditions and the lack of material resources available for the diversity work that artists of colour do.

The Arrival of Postmigrant Theatre in Germany's Theatre Landscape

One of the central protagonists of postmigrant theatre[7] is one of its founders Shermin Langhoff, whose name I introduced in the opening lines of this thesis. Langhoff, born in 1969 in the western Turkish city of Bursa, was raised by her maternal grandparents in the western coastal city of Edremit after her mother's labour migration to become a guest worker at AEG, a German producer of electrical equipment. When Langhoff was nine, her mother decided to take her to Germany. In the Franconian city of Nuremberg, where Langhoff went to school, she completed an apprenticeship as a publishing manager and, in her spare time, organised political and cultural events with her communist aunt, through whom she would meet one of her oldest friends and colleagues, Tunçay Kulaoğlu. With him she launched the Nuremberger Turkish German Film Festival in the early 1990s. At that time, both of them established professional and personal friendships with acclaimed as well as emerging artists working in the Turkish and German film industries. Langhoff and Kulaoğlu worked until the mid-2000s in the film and television industry; Kulaoğlu as a film director, distributor, assistant director, translator, critic and advisor for Turkish German films and Langhoff as a unit and production manager, producer and assistant director. In the film industry, she is best known for her collaboration with Turkish German film director Fatih Akın on his film "Gegen die Wand" (Head On, 2004) and the documentary "Crossing the Bridge – The Sound of Istanbul" (2005).

Inspired by the successes of a new generation of Turkish German authors and film makers, who had emerged in the mid-1990s, Langhoff tried to capture in words a generational transformation process, which was put into motion by the second generation of diasporic writers and filmmakers. Langhoff, who had made a career in the film industry, posed the question whether and how the narratives of second and third generation Turkish German artists could also be told in theatre and established the use of the concept of postmigrant theatre. In an interview in 2009, Langhoff describes the emergence of the term postmigrant in her own vocabulary and the generational change from migrant to postmigrant narratives and aesthetics as follows:

> I became acquainted with the term postmigrant about ten years ago through Anglo-American literature. Aesthetically speaking, the old migrant cultural productions were associated with films such as Tevfik Baser's "40sqm Germany" or Helga Sander-Brahms' "Shirin's Wedding". They were narratives concerned with the arrival in a

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[7] Short biographries of the main interview partners who are quoted with their full names in this thesis can be found in the appendix.

new environment and about the trauma of migration. For the second and third generation, however, a lot of questions are posed differently today and some issues are partly overcome. The films of Fatih Akın developed new narratives that affect audiences universally and transculturally. Therefore, it seems plausible to me that we define and refer to the narratives of the second and third generation differently. They exist in the context of migration, but are told by those who haven't actually migrated themselves (Langhoff cited in Fanizadeh, 2009, own translation).

Whereas Turkish German literature (Adelson, 2005; Chin, 2009; Cheesman, 2007; Littler, 2009; Mandel, 2008; Mani, 2007; Yildiz, 2013; Yeşilada, 2009) and Turkish German film (Berghahn & Sternberg, 2010; Burns, 2007; Eken, 2009; Göktürk, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002; Mennel, 2002; Hake & Mennel, 2013; Jamal, 2013; Jones, 2003) gained critical acclaim and academic attention nationally and internationally over the past decades, migrant and postmigrant narratives, protagonists and audiences remained largely absent from Germany's vast theatre landscape and also from theatre and performance departments.[8] However, this changed with the formation of a group of artists and cultural workers under the leading role of Langhoff. The formation and institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre, which I investigate in this thesis, is a process in which Turkish German artists began to claim their place in the nation's theatrical institutions. State and city theatres throughout the Federal Republic, despite mass migration from non-European countries after World War II, until recently merely followed the educational duty to introduce their audiences to the classical European theatre canon. In an interview with the German Federal Agency for Civic Education, Langhoff states the reasons why it took many decades for German state and city theatres to come to terms with the demographic changes in German society and to represent Germany as a country of immigration on its theatre stages:

> In contrast to countries such as Great Britain or France, it is not self-evident that people who are not of German descent are considered as a part of public life. Theatre

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[8] One exceptional study, which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 4 that includes a section about the history of Turkish German theatre, is Erol Boran's (2004) PhD thesis entitled *A History of Turkish-German Theater and Kabarett*, Ohio State University. Other artistic fields in which Turkish German artists work, such as music, have generated more interest in academia. See: Kaya, A. (2001) *Sicher in Kreuzberg Constructing Diasporas – Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag; Greve, M. (2003) *Die Musik der imaginären Türkei: Musik und Musikleben im Kontext der Migration aus der Türkei in Deutschland*. Stuttgart, Metzler Verlag; Wurm, M. (2006) *Musik in der Migration: Beobachtungen zur kulturellen Artikulation türkischer Jugendlicher in Deutschland*. Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag. However, despite the boom of the Turkish visual arts scene in Istanbul, where Turkish German visual artists also work and exhibit, academic publications (apart from shorter articles for art catalogues) about Turkish German visual artists are still scarce. Two noteworthy exceptions are Uwe Lewitzky's (2005) *Kunst für alle? Kunst im öffentlichen Raum zwischen Partizipation, Intervention und Neuer Urbanität*. Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag, and Şafak Erkayhan's (2011) book *1960 Sonrası Almanya'da Türk Sanatcılar: Göç ve Kültürel Kimlik*. Raleigh, North Carolina, Lulu Publishing, which examines Turkish German artists in post-1960 Germany through the lens of migration and cultural identity.

artists with a so-called migration background are still an exception. This situation of course obfuscates the artistic pursuit and engagement with a field of social conflict, which originated in a political call to arms about migration and integration. There are hardly any dramatic texts that narrate and reflect, with ideological criticality, the stories, experiences and discourses in this field [author's note: of social conflict]. Where migration as a topic is not per se left blank, there is often a sensation-seeking use of [author's note: racial and ethnic] clichés. The figure and voice of the migrant [...] appears as virtually guided by white, biologically German ventriloquists and is, at the most, authenticated by actors with the "right" background [author's note: Langhoff uses the term "migration background"] (Donath & Langhoff, 2011, own translation).

Thus, the term "postmigrant" signals a similar shift toward "new ethnicities" in Germany and regarding what Stuart Hall described in his article "New Ethnicities" (1996 [1989]) as the production of new ethnicities that emerged through the representational practices of a new generation of Black British filmmakers in 1980s Britain.[9] One can read Langhoff's statement as a critique of the ways in which Turkish German subjects, similar to Black British artists in the 1980s, "were positioned as the unspoken and invisible 'other' in a predominantly white aesthetic and cultural discourse" and "have typically been the objects, but rarely the subjects, of the practices of representation" (Hall, 1996 [1989]): 164). Moreover, as this study illustrates, postmigrant theatre artists develop their own visions and possibilities of narrating manifold stories about the mundane, the odd, as well as the extraordinary everyday lived experiences of first, second and third generation Germans with migration biographies and thereby challenge hegemonic representations of the *other*.

As for the geographical locality and social environment in which these changes took place, it was in the cultural centre of Turkish German life, in the neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg, where Shermin Langhoff moved to in the mid-1990s with her partner, the East Berliner theatre director Lukas Langhoff, where the grounds for the production of postmigrant theatrical narratives, through the expansion of her network into the neighbourhood's artist and activist scenes, were developed.

One of the first Berlin initiatives that brought about the formation of postmigrant theatre was the cultural association KulturSprünge founded in the year 2003 in Berlin. KulturSprünge described itself as "an interdisciplinary network joining arts and politics"[10] and:

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[9] For a more detailed discussion of Hall's works relevance for this study see Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework.
[10] See network's website: <www.kulturspruenge.net> [Accessed: 15.02.2013].

an initiative of people working in artistic, academic and political contexts, [that] aims at supporting and making visible the artistic and cultural achievements of migrants and postmigrants, as well as initiating an exchange and dialogue between artists, political activists and academics about the topics of migration and urban culture (KulturSprünge, own translation).

Initiated by Langhoff, Kulaoğlu and the documentary filmmaker Martina Priessner, the association KulturSprünge was located at the interface between aesthetic, academic and political practices in an urban environment. Moreover, the work of the association's members was interdisciplinary from its early days and its scope, including artists from other fields, such as film, the visual arts, dance, music and literature, created the possibility for the development of shared strategies of intervention in the artistic landscape of the city. The initial key strategic intervention was, as KulturSprünge stated, the formulation of

a critique on the way the arts have defined ethnicity, nationalism und cultural essentialism. Explaining the artistic productions of postmigrants on the basis of their origins or in a sociocultural way in terms of integration [which] has been the practice of the social majority and a common means of exclusion for a long time (KulturSprünge, own translation).

Accordingly, the activities of KulturSprünge had an explicitly political agenda and one of its key objectives was to create counter narratives and images to contrast with exclusionary public discourses about the integration of Turkish German migrants in Germany, in which migrants appeared as deficient and whose place was restricted to the position of arrival and bound to produce arts and culture for socio-cultural purposes.[11] Thus, one of the strategic interventions of KulturSprünge was to create platforms and collaborations that would enable the visibility of postmigrant subjectivities, to claim agency and to participate in cultural politics, cultural policy and negotiations about the state of Germany's cultural landscape given the country's multicultural demographic constitution.[12] Another strategy of intervention was to develop and produce experimental narratives, aesthetics and formats from the multiple perspectives of postmigrant subjects. Documentary theatre plays such as Feridun Zaimoğlu and Günter Senkel's "Schwarze Jungfrauen" (Black Virgins), based on interviews with young so-called "Neomuslima" in Germany and commissioned by the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre for the "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival in 2006, portrays the experiences and perspectives of young Muslim women in Germany and critically reflects the gaze of white

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[11] For a more detailed discussion of public discourses on Turkish German migration see the following chapters.
[12] See also Chapter 6.

Christian men and women on their bodies.[13] Other plays, such as the historical musical theatre revue "Lö Bal Almanya" directed by Nurkan Erpulat and Tunçay Kulaoğlu, draws on the cultural archive of Turkish German guestworker history over the span of five decades (see also Chapter 4). It is in this context that the term "postmigrant theatre" defines a space of experimental exploration in the quest for an alternative perspective, that of (post-) migrant subjects on the hi/stories of migration within a public sphere in which the cultural memories and lived experience of people with migration biographies were hardly acknowledged.

The City of Berlin: Creative and Cosmopolitan Capital of the Nation

The reopening of the Maxim Gorki Theatre under the new artistic direction of Shermin Langhoff and Jens Hillje, on the evening of the 8th of November 2013 and into the night of the 9th of November was an event of celebration, one that lasted until the early hours. It was a historical night in German history and the commomeration of the Novemberrevolution (The German Revolution) in 1918 as well as of the Reichs-Progromnacht (Crystal Night) in 1939 and the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It was on this night, that the two newly appointed directors chose to introduce the theatre season 2013/2014 with its distinctive postmigrant profile in Berlin's historically central district of Mitte, with a prologue, a week prior to its first theatre premiere: the opening exhibition Berliner Herbstsalon (Berliner Autumn Parlour).[14] The German migration scholar, Klaus J. Bade states in an article about his participation at the opening night and the exhibition's title:

> It [authors's note: the exhibition title Berliner Herbstsalon] invokes memories […] to a similar experiment over a hundred years ago: the international Avantgarde exhibition Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon [First German Autumn Parlour][15] in 1913, which the multitalented Herwarth Walden had organised. Back then experimental works of art of the new artistic elite were exhibited: from Henri Rouseau to the Blue Rider [author's note: a group of visual artists founded by Russian emigrants in Munich, Germany, including Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc] up to Italian Futurists. In the ugly and perplexed responses of conservative art critics to the challenges of artistic innovation, key words such as "degeneration" and "symptoms of a sick era" already circulated. The first autum parlour remained the last as World War I threw the rails out of the gate. Franz Marc [author's note: of the artist group the Blue Riders] died at the Battle of Verdun. Other artists returned shattered from their experiences of the first massacre

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[13] For "Schwarze Jungfrauen" the playwrights Zaimoğlu and Senkel received the award of Best Playwrights by the theatre journal "Theater heute".

[14] See: <http://english.gorki.de/programme/2013-11/berliner-herbstsalon/511/> [Accessed 28.06.2014].

[15] For a more detailed account of the First German Autumn Parlour see White, J. (2000) Futurism and German Expressionism. In: Berghaus, G. ed. *International Futurism in Arts and Literature*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 39-74.

of the century. Today, there is a new 'Berliner Autum Parlour' that has a different function […]: it frames the GOЯKI, as the theatre is called in its abbreviation, as a space for art through other artistic forms [author's note: the theatre space is framed by the visual arts exhibition]. Simultaneously, it shall open the theatre into the Global City – or better, into the Global Village, the global village Berlin, in which with time and duration everything encounters each other [...] nationalities, ethnicities, social classes, groups, native foreigners, foreign Germans, people with and without the so called migration background (Bade, 2013, own translation).

The new postmigrant Maxim Gorki Theatre, with its programmatic objective to reflect changing notions of the nation as well as of national identity, commissioned for this temporary exhibition 30 artists to examine the consequences of the formation of national identity in their works, which were exhibited in and around historical sites such as the theatre building itself and neighbouring buildings and key historical sites in the formation of the German nation such as the Neue Wache (New Guard House) and the Palais am Festungsgraben (Palace at the Moat).[16] As stated in the programme text for the exhibition:

> Some works connect with the past of the theatre building itself and its immediate surroundings; they explore the enthusiasm and pathos that accompanied the idea of a new nation. The fact that modern nations have always defined themselves mainly in terms of their difference to other countries had led to the darkest chapters of modern history: the "others" have been colonised, excluded or even entirely wiped out. Some artistic works take up the theme of the traumatic effects of nationalism, present-day experiences of migration and the treatment of groups on the edge of society. Others explore ideological rhetoric and iconography that have spawned mechanisms of exclusion. A further series of works examine the "blind spots" in the official politics of memory, or the question as to which role economic and other interests play in the formation of national and supranational structures. The Berliner Herbstsalon has gathered performances, installations and video works by international artists who are for the most part resident in Berlin. The result is a view with multiple perspectives on the constructs of nation and identity from modern-day Berlin (Maxim Gorki Theater, 2014, own translation).

To understand the historical legacies of the German nation negotiated in the contemporary cultural productions and politics of postmigrant theatre as well as within the zones of conflict of a historically rich city like Berlin as a migratory and artistic metropolis, from the Nazi's destruction of what they considered "degenerate art" up to the "Global Village Berlin", all

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[16] The Neue Wache, dating from 1816, was originally built as a guardhouse for the troops of the crown prince of Prussia and since 1931 was used as a war memorial. After the German reunification, the Neue Wache was inaugurated in 1993 as the Central Memorial of the Federal Republic of Germany for the Victims of War and Dictatorship. The Palais am Festungsgraben, built in the 17th century, was between 1950 and 1990 the House of German-Sovjet Friendship. Since the German reunification it is a municipal building, which is used for cultural and other events and houses the Theater im Palais and the Gallery of the Federal State of Saarland.

invoked in the title of this opening exhibition, it is worth, to firstly highlight[17] key moments that shaped the historical legacies of the city's artistic, subcultural and intellectual migration history.

As Steve Vertovec states, it was as early as during the Weimarer Republik period in the 1920s, that Berlin was considered a place to migrate to and became associated with a particular kind of cosmopolitan culture and a vibrant arts scene, one that was to a considerable extent created by the immigration of people into the city (2006:12). For many Eastern Europeans and Jews who had escaped the pogroms of the years 1881 and 1882, after the assassination of the Russian Emperor Alexander II, the city provided shelter and became in subsequent years a European centre for Jewish artists and intellectuals. Yet, only a few years later, as Paul W. Massing states in the preface to his book *Rehearsal for Destruction. A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (1949), the historical forerunners of Nazi anti-semitism were already shaping the everyday life experiences of Jewish migrants in Berlin (1949: xv). In the aftermath of the Holocaust and national socialists' destruction of Germany's nineteenth century image as the "'Land der Dichter und Denker' (the country of poets and thinkers) it became the 'Land der Richter und Henker' (the country of judges and executioners)" (Huyssen, 2006: 1). The Nazi reign's atrocities of the Holocaust and the destruction of what was called "entartete Kunst" (degenerate art), including all works of Jewish and Black artists and intellectuals whom the Nazi's considered inferior "races", caused the mass emigration of the cosmopolitan and intellectual cultural elites to places of refuge in Europe, the US and other parts of the world (Barron, 1994). Two of these intellectuals were the Jewish German philosophers Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, whose experience of German fascism, anti-semitism, the ban of works of art, film, music and literature and the persecution of artists and intellectuals during the Nazis' reign, influenced their further writings, such as their book *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Dialectics of Enlightenment) (1988[1944]) in the chapter "Kulturindustrie: Aufklärung als Massenbetrug" (The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception), in which the authors critique the commodification of culture in capitalism (based on their experiences in exile in the US) and the manipulation of society into passive audiences of mass culture. In the context of postmigrant theatre, Adorno and Horkheimer's critique of the culture industry and its cultural products, that once produced, would circulate as commodities and contribute to capital accumulation, does not apply for theatre productions as they do not circulate widely, as every

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[17] This is done only in a cursory fashion as a more detailed account of the city's artistic and intellect migration history would be beyond the limits of this study.

staging of a play is unique, ephemeral and confined to the space, where it is performed. In addition, postmigrant theatre is state-subsidies and, as much as cultural diversity is commodified by policy makers for the marketability of competing world cities, as I explain in the following pages, postmigrant theatre works do not directly contribute to capital accumulation, in contrast for example to the commodification of Black music and its consumption by white audiences, as examined in Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1995) and Ellis Cashmore's *The Black Culture Industry* (1997).

With the end of the National Socialist era in Germany in 1945 and the subsequent control of the country by the victorious powers of World War II, the US, Great Britain, Russia and France, who divided Berlin in the same year into four sectors, Berlin lost its status as the capital city of German politics and culture. Berlin, being divided into an Eastern and Western part in 1949, became, until the country's reunification in 1989, a focal point of the cold war era. In terms of West Germany's cultural and political life in the post war era of the 1950's, Huyssen states that "for the decade of West Germany's 'economic miracle' was a time in which intellectuals still lived off the separation of culture from politics, shunning any ideology, fascist or communist, under the protective mantle of cold war antitotalitarianism" (2006: 2).

It was in the 1960s, a decade, that had marked socially, politically and culturally a new beginning for the early Federal Republic when the West German "economic miracle" as I explain in further detail in Chapter 4, led to the recruitment of migrant workers from predominantly Mediterreanean countries, such as Turkey, to West Germany and West Berlin and when, as Huyssen states, "the death knell for the older idea of German *Kultur* […] sounded when the young people embraced American rock and roll, pop, jazz and the movies" (2006: 3). Germany's high culture, which had been appropriated by the Nazis, "Goethe's Weimar right next to Buchenwald, Adolf Hitler's Wagner cult and Albert Speer's megalomaniacal architectural fantasies" (2006: 2), were no longer celebrated proudly as representations of Germany's "Nationalkultur" (national culture). The 1968 generation of young Germans in particular were concerned with the German "Schuldfrage" (the question of guilt) in the aftermath of the Holocaust, bringing a new understanding of politics, influenced by the American Civil Rights Movement, and a new left-liberal culture to the German nation, which had an important place in Germany's and particularly Berlin's cultural landscape until 1989 (2006: 3). With the emergence of distinctive youth subcultures and scenes such as squatters, punks and later the electronic music scene in the 1990s in West Berlin, the city was no longer directly associated with the legacies of the Holocaust, but with a vibrant young left

field cultural and political scene, and it was once again attracting many artists and intellectuals who were drawn towards the city and identified with the constantly changing multicultural, cosmopolitan and alternative ways of living that Berlin had to offer.

However, whilst the German student movement expressed international solidarity with political movements in the Third World and in Western Europe, such as for instance the Iranian Revolution in the 1970s (Weitbrecht, 2012), the anti-nuclear and ecology movement following the nuclear catastrophe in Chernobyl in the 1980s (Rüdig, 1988), or the Zapatista Movement in Mexico in the 1990s (Slater, 2004), which were an integral part of Berlin's left-wing politics, ethnic minorities in Germany, such as Turkish German guest workers, who became the largest ethnic minority in West Berlin, or other migrant groups, such as refugees, were of little interest to German intellectuals, artists and activists. This lack of solidarity and interest toward migrants in Germany became particularly evident after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The historical music revue "Lö Bal Almanya", based on interviews with political and public elites depicts key moments of Turkish German migration history and as the playbill states:

> They are singing their souls to the heavens and talk themselves into rage to find answers to the most important questions: Why did the one millionth guest worker receive a moped and not a fire exstinguisher upon his arrival in 1964, as originally planned? Is the claim, that the Berliner Wall fell on the heads of the Turks an Anatolian life-lie? What is the minimum age for a Muslim to be suggested for The Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany? (Playbill Lö Bal Almanya, 2010, own translation).

It was after the reunification of the country in 1990, when, as the sociologist Nevim Çil illustrates in her book *Topographie des Außenseiters: Türkische Generationen und der deutsch-deutsche Wiedervereinigungsprozess* (*Topography of the Outsider: Turkish Generations and the German-German Reunification Process*) (2009), a new wave of nationalism based on new ethnicised group categorisations labelled as "West German", "East German", and "migrants". This new nationalism based on the idea of a new German unity, pushed migrants further to the margins of the nation and led to changes in the social fabric of German society, which culminated in outbursts of violence against migrants and asylum seekers. The pogroms and arson attacks in Hoyerswerda (1991), Rostock-Lichtenhagen (1992), Mölln (1992) and Solingen (1993) showed, as Çil argues, that during the reunification process, Turkish German migrants and asylum seekers became increasingly dehumanised and targeted as outsiders of the newly reunified nation with Berlin as its capital city (2009).

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According to police and newspaper reports, on the night of the 29th of May 1993, a fire had been set with gasoline at the entrance of the house of the family in the West German city of Solingen. Mevlüde Genç, 50 years old at the time, climbed out of the window, alerted the neighbours and survived the arson attack. When the fire fighters arrived after five minutes, it was already too late. Family member, Gürsün İnce, 27 years old, jumped out of a window and died. Her four-year old daughter, whom she had held in her arms, survived. The girls Hatice Genç, 18 years old, Gülistan Öztürk, 12 years old, Hülya Genç, 9 years old and Saime Genç, 4 years old, died in the flames. Bekir Genç, 15 years old, jumped burning out of the window of the house and survived with severe injuries. A three-year old child and a six month old infant suffered life-threatening injuries. I remember the events of 1993 and how my family cried for many days about the loss of family Genç, worried that we might become the next victims of a racist arson attack. The response of Germany's former chancellor Helmut Kohl, who did not attend the memorial service and critised what he called the "condolence tourism" of other politicians, were of no comfort to us. The Ballhaus Naunynstrasse production "Lö Bal Almanya" depicts in one scene the events in the aftermath of the arson attack,[18] when in 1996 surviving victim Mevlüde Genç received the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the play, a uniformed man staples the Order of Merit on the forehead of Mevlüde Genç. Hanging over her eyes, she cannot see anything anymore and roams blindly around the stage as we hear the eulogy: "Mrs Genç with her extraordinary kindheartedness and her presence as a believing Muslim has contributed signficantly to interreligious and intercultural tolerance and understanding in this country". The surviving victims of the family still live in the city of Solingen, in a house protected by CCTV cameras and special fire windows. In September 2005, one of the Nazi perpetrators, Christan Reher, was sent back to prison for the use of the Hitler salute.

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[18] The New York Times, for instance, reported in the article "Neo-Nazi Asks Forgiveness for Death of Turks" about the trial about "the worst hate crime since the reunification of Germany in 1990" (The New York Times, 14.04.1994). Source: http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/14/world/neo-nazi-asks-forgiveness-for-death-of-turks.html [Accessed: 15.08.2013].

Photo of a scene from the play Lö Bal Almanya. Mevlüde Genç (played by Melek Erenay) receives The Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. Photographer: Lutz Knospe.

Whilst experiences of racism became part of ordinary life, Turkish German migrant workers had, despite difficult labour conditions, also benefitted from the German economic miracle of the 1960s and 1970s (see Chapter 4). Yet, they were particularly affected by unemployment and precarisation following the outsourcing of large parts of German industrial production to low-wage labour countries abroad after the reunification of the city. Whilst Berlin became increasingly deindustrialised in the 1990's, the social democrat government of the Federal Republic allocated those working in creative occupations a significant role in an era of economic and social change. Former social democrat Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's policy project of the "Neue Mitte", named after the new governmental district (where the Maxim Gorki Theatre is also located), and the "Schröder Blair Paper" from 1999 led to the implementation of new policies in which the call to modernisation, creativity and innovation in times of economic recession were, however, rather euphemistic embroidery behind which the dismantling of social security benefits relentlessly progressed, which affected Germany's migrant population drastically (see also Chapter 4, 5 and 7). The discourse that this new policies opened up with their compelling call to individual entrepreneurship, based on a talented, innovative, creative and highly educated labour force was in addition promoted by

the German Hartz Commission, which transformed Germany's unemployment and social policies, and various media articles in which, as Marion von Osten puts it; "the unemployed emerge as self-motivated, 'freelancers' and artists, journalists and other self-employed" that present "the professionals of the nation" (2007: 107, own translation). However, contextualising von Osten's analysis in the framework of Çil's examination of the lived experiences and social position of migrants in Germany, these highly promoted "professionals of the nation" that appeared in policy discourse did not include migrants, who were increasingly pushed to the margins of the nation and its capital city Berlin.

Simultaneously with these developments, Berlin as Germany's cultural and political capital and as a creative and multicultural city has gained after its reunification again a great deal of national and international attention. However, until the arrival of postmigrant theatre artistst in Berlin's cultural landscape, the promotion of the capital city Berlin as a creative and cosmopolitan world city operated in a framework in which the cultural productions of ethnic minority artists were considered foreign and outside the framework of German national culture. The governmental report "Cultural Economy in Berlin" (Kulturwirschaft in Berlin) published in 2005, for instance, acknowledges the "diversity" of the city merely with regards to the festival Karneval der Kulturen (Carnival of Cultures) as "a 'best practice' example of cultural productions by foreign artists in the city" (Kulturwirtschaft in Berlin, 2005:13, own translation). The message "Mask yourself and you will be integrated" as Langhoff cynically stated in a personal interview (15.06.2007, own translation), concerning the yearly carnival, illustrates how racialised discourses in the context of the new significance of Berlin as the nation's cosmopolitan and creative capital continued to exist until recently without taking into account that over fifty years of immigration have caused substantial changes in Berlin's demographic structure as well as its cultural landscape.

The references of policy makers to the Karneval der Kulturen (Carnival of Cultures) as stated above, thus, slide over into a fetishism of racialised others ("masked and integrated") or into what hooks and Ahmed call "stranger fetishism" (hooks, 1992:21; Ahmed, 2000: 117) in which diversity appears as a new commodity in a state subsidised cultural festival and as an object for urban marketing. As the Carnival of Cultures, particularly showcases "traditional" music, dances and costumes of indigeneous, non-Western people, these policy reports, to quote Madhu Dubey, convert "a structural position of relative powerlessness into a desirable ontological condition" and "mine sites of material deprivation for their cultural capital" (2010: 242). This is, according to Dubey a process through which "cultural value increases in inverse proportion to political and economic power" and "aesthetic appreciation comes to

compensate for and thereby mystify the realities of material suffering" (2010: 242). The multiculturalist integration paradigm, which informed governmental decision making processes and cultural policies as engendered in the reports regarding the Carnival of Cultures, that treated the city, as the German sociologist Kira Kosnick states, "as a local space and communally-defined territory that needs to integrate its residential ethnic minority populations, seemingly regardless of their transnational affiliations and mobilities" (2009: 36), however, increasingly shifted to a diversity paradigm with the emergence of the postmigrant theatre movement's protagonists in Berlin's cultural landscape.

The emergence of the postmigrant theatre movement itself, took place concurrent with Berlin's municipal authorities' increased efforts to rebrand the city as a creative and culturally diverse place together with the progressing internationalisation of its inhabitants and creative scene in the mid 2000s. As Matthias Lilienthal in a newspaper interview entitled "Kunst ist scheiße" (Art is shit) (Pilz & Seidler, 2011) put it:

> The HAU [Hebbel am Ufer Theatre] has impelled the internationalisation of theatre. In the past ten years no-frills airlines and the English speaking boheme on the one side and the Turkish migrant scene on the other, have changed the city a lot. The HAU is the theatre that reflects the globalisation of the city the most (Pilz & Seidler, 2011, own translation).

One can read Lilienthal's statement, in the context of the city's old and new migration history; there are the "old migrants", which consists of the "Turkish migrant scene" and the new international creative scene, the "English speaking boheme", both diversify Berlin's urban and cultural landscape. Lilienthal's observation also points towards recent changes in Berlin's social fabric, or new encounters between different transnational milieux and the way in which this has been considered by the municipality of the city as part of Berlin's success story as a creative world city. However, as I illustrate in this thesis, the influence of Berlin's municipal policy makers through which the artists of Berlin's postmigrant theatre movement became part of a transnational avantgarde with their first productions at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, is much more complex and contradictory than celebratory policy narratives about diversity in the creative city would suggest and where the artists of postmigrant theatre became agents of diversity in a new model of global cultural cosmopolitanism.[19]

Considering that Turkish German theatre artists had been confined to the socio-cultural sphere of community theatre work for several decades, as I describe in detail in

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[19] See Chapter 6 and 7 for a more detailed discussion.

Chapter 4, the appointment of Langhoff as the first Turkish German curator at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, and later as artistic director first of the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and subsequently of the prestigious state theatre Maxim Gorki Theatre can be considered a "success story" in terms of the recognition of the artists as a national and international theatre avantgarde within the national cultural landscape. However, as I examine in Chapter 6 and 7, Berlin's new cultural policy approach in which Turkish German artists embody, in the eyes of municipal policy-makers, the successful conflation of creativity and diversity, need to be analysed with greater caution. As much as the new aesthetics and narratives developed by the artists of postmigrant theatre signal their arrival in the midst of a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism, which Kosnick defines "as a node in global cultural flows, ideally structuring their intermingling in a harmonious way and benefiting from them as sources of innovation" (2009: 36), the material resources that are granted to postmigrant theatre artists for their work are still limited. Furthermore, this "new globalised urban cosmopolitanism", including the artists, that embody "cultural diversity" serve not only the marketability of the city as a competing world capital, but are also closely connected with the rise of real estate prices and processes of gentrification in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, in which most of the postmigrant theatre artists not only work but also live in increasingly precarious conditions. As this thesis illustrates, the celebration of Berlin as a cosmopolitan and creative city, hence, needs to be understood within seemingly paradoxical dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, which simultaneously shape the living and working conditions of postmigrant theatre artists.

Outline of the Thesis

Eight years have passed since my first encounter with the artists who initiated the postmigrant theatre movement at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre with the first "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival in 2006. When the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse established itself institutionally as the first independent postmigrant theatre in Germany in 2008, a new era in German theatre and cultural history began. Over the following years, in which the public followed the progress of the artists emerging from the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse under the artistic direction of Langhoff, one could witness how key phrases such as "postmigrant theatre", "Turkish German theatre" and "cultural diversity in the arts" became intertwined with the work of these artists. Subsequently, the artists of this small venue – back then still on the fringes of Berlin's cultural scene – began to change the national theatre landscape. The persistence of Langhoff and her network of artists, most receiving low-wages for their labour,

continue with their cultural work to voice the needs of artists of colour as well as to advocate the development of adequate diversity in arts policies and funding structures within institutional frameworks as well as for temporary projects.

The constant negotiations with cultural policy makers, as I discuss in Chapter 6, gradually paid off and led to the increasing institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre in Berlin's as well as in other cities' theatres and other cultural institutions. Theatre director Nurkan Erpulat, who was discovered by Langhoff, became one of the resident theatre directors of the Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus (the municipal playhouse of the city of Düsseldorf) in 2012 and in 2013 one of the resident theatre directors of the postmigrant Maxim Gorki Theatre. Other artists like him are now in leadership positions within established cultural institutions, such as Neco Çelik. The latter started his working career as a social worker, rose to prominence as the "Spike Lee of Kreuzberg" (Bernstein, 2003) with several films that he made as a self-taught director, and is now a critically acclaimed theatre and opera director.[20] In the theatre season 2012/2013, Wagner Carvalho and Tunçay Kulaoğlu were appointed as the new artistic co-directors of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, after Langhoff rejected the offer to become the artistic curator of the Wiener Festspiele (Vienna Theatre Festival), instead accepting the offer to become the artistic director of Berlin's prestigious Maxim Gorki Theatre from the theatre season 2013/2014 onwards. Whilst these changes affirm the partial success of some Turkish German artists in accessing and maintaining careers in state theatre institutions, however, going back in time, this study's examination of the artists' careers and labour market experiences testifies to another, more critical, account of the steps to success for postmigrant theatre artists. Processes of racialisation and precarisation have had a major impact on artists of colour's working lives, career prospects and ultimately on the implementation of cultural diversity in Germany's theatre landscape.

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical framework for this study and situates it as a contribution to British Cultural Studies as a transdisciplinary field and "a body of theory reflexively produced with the idea that this process is a political practice" (Barker, 2003: 404). As this research project required a transdisciplinary theoretical approach due to the broad scope of my enquiry into the working and living conditions of racialised artists, pivotal works, that address (a) cultural identity, race, racism and cultural diversity and (b) artistic labour and precarious labour conditions are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 is devoted to "Epistemological and Methodological Issues in Conducting

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[20] For more details about Neco Çelik's artistic career development see Chapter 7.

and Narrating Research as an Insider". The first part of this chapter illustrates the implications that my methodological approach bears by discussing first my own positionality as an insider conducting research at home in Berlin-Kreuzberg with artists, activists and academics, who were or became friends, and my outsider status as someone doing academic labour in contrast to the artistic labour that most of the research's participants do. This is followed by a discussion of the epistemological implications of my decision to use feminist standpoint theory. The second part of this chapter is about the research design, which included multiple methods, such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews and the textual analysis of cultural policy documents and newspaper articles about postmigrant theatre.

Chapter 4, entitled "Turkish German Migration – From the Factory to the Stage", examines key moments and figures in the history of Turkish German labour migration in the context of the Fordist guest worker model, in which the lived experiences of the first generation of Turkish German workers and artists are situated. Using the concept of cultural memory, I argue that cultural memory mediates relations between the past and the present and is a useful tool to understand the ways in which German society is undergoing major changes from a homogenous nation state to an increasingly multicultural society. Extending Hall's work on cultural identity, I argue that the artists working at postmigrant theatre perform acts of memory and that memory is a form of labour that postmigrant artists do to reaffirm intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories and lived experiences of migration. These cultural memories constitue the narrative and aesthetic repertoire of Turkish German postmigrant cultural productions, which become political through acts of remembrance that counteract the long neglect of Turkish German hi/stories. Moreover, this chapter refers to postmigrant cultural productions in terms of their potential to question and critique hegemonic, static and reductive historical accounts in which post-War Turkish German migration is merely explained in the context of a host country's economic need for migrant labour. I argue instead that an emphasis on the subjective motives, experiences and struggles of people who migrated from Turkey to Germany as intergenerational transmitted cultural memories depicted in the programming and the productions of postmigrant artists, counter reductionist historiographies of migration. The second part of this chapter draws on memories of the first generation of Turkish German theatre makers and discusses their lived experiences of structural discrimination and critiques of Germany's theatre landscape.

Chapter 5 entitled "Berlin's Postmigrant Theatre Artists' Lived Experiences of Racialised and Precarious Artistic Labour" firstly examines Post-Fordism as a social system, which transformed work organisation substantially, leading to increased precarity in Germany,

which had a direct impact on the working lives of a young generation of Turkish German artists who established postmigrant theatre in Berlin. It continues with an examination of the artistic labour of the artists working at the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the ways in which their labour is racialised and made precarious. The findings presented in this chapter complicate the argument found in the literature that suggests that artists, imagined as universal professional figures, all experience similar precarious labour conditions, independent of racial and class differences. It provides an in-depth account of lived experiences of racialised artists in Berlin's artistic labour market such as, for instance, racial typecasting. The chapter also provides an account of race relations in the social space of theatre and elucidates the ways in which certain emotional, performative and political registers intersect in the theatre space as a workplace. Investigating theatrical labour as emotional labour and postmigrant theatre as an affective economy (Ahmed, 2004), the chapter also examines the cultural politics of postmigrant theatre and argues, that postmigrant theatre is political theatre and a social space in which relations of power are addressed and negotiated. This is followed by an analysis of the play "Verrücktes Blut" (Crazy Blood), which depicts and unmasks the continuous ambivalences of post-Enlightenment racism and the spectator's investment in the representation and reproduction of racial stereotypes. This is supplemented with an analysis of racial typecasting. Another key argument explored in this chapter is that the practices postmigrant theatre artists use redefine the relationship between aesthetics and politics in theatre. I argue that the postmigrant theatre movement counteracts precarious labour conditions with the artists' collaborative work organisation and politics of racialised solidarity.

Chapter 6 entitled "Negotiating Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Cultural Policy and the Position of Postmigrant Theatre" presents the results of my research with regards to cultural diversity in the arts discourses, policies and the funding of postmigrant theatre in the case of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. It shows the fields of opportunity and the restricted conditions in which the artists' are located and how they negotiate their position in the field of cultural policy. The Ballhaus Naunynstrasse – as with the majority of Germany's cultural institutions – is a state subsidised venue. Hence, the productions of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the payment of the labour of the artists involved is provided by institutions of the state and by non-governmental organisations, foundations and associations, the latter funding individual projects. Thus, the chapter provides an analysis of cultural and social policy discourses, funding criteria and opportunities for the artists of postmigrant theatre, which all define the protagonists' working conditions.

Chapter 7 entitled "Lived Experiences of Gentrification: Kreuzberg's Becoming a Zoo and Safari Park" examines the living condition of the artists of postmigrant theatre in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, which is currently witnessing drastic changes in its social fabric. The main argument here is that the successful establishment of the artists in this neighbourhood and their precarious living and working conditions are closely related to two contradictory and simultaneously intertwined themes. On the one hand, one can observe both the rebranding of Berlin as a creative and culturally diverse city and the urban regeneration of Kreuzberg as a multicultural creative "hot spot" in which diversity becomes a positive asset. On the other hand, one can simultaneously witness the rapid gentrification of this racialised neighbourhood alongside the increasing precarisation of its inhabitants from migration and working class backgrounds.

The thesis concludes with Chapter 8, which discusses the research findings, states the limitations of this study as well as prospects for further research, evaluates the theoretical and empirical contributions of this study and provides cultural policy recommendations with regards to cultural diversity in the arts.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This study's ambition, as stated in the introductory chapter, is to analyse the work that postmigrant theatre artists do in the context of the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre and the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts. By doing so, it examines the ways in which the cultural productions of postmigrant theatre artists become a site of political struggle in Germany's cultural landscape. It focuses on investigating the working and living conditions and the fields of opportunities and restrictions that Turkish German artists, who institutionalised postmigrant theatre in the city of Berlin, experience in the cultural landscape. This study is particularly interested in the agency of these artists in terms of their interventions, negotiations and strategies in the cultural field as a labour market and in relation to cultural and social policies that address cultural diversity in the arts as well as urban regeneration and gentrification in a racially and ethnically diverse city. The process of self-defining and valuing Turkish German cultural life from the perspectives of Turkish German subjects, which this study aims to analyse and contribute to, requires an understanding of culture which not only acknowledges that culture is nothing fixed nor unified, but also that it is created and altered according to material conditions. Culture, in the opinion of the Black feminist Leith Mullings, is composed of:

> the symbols and values that create the ideological frame of reference through which people attempt to deal with the circumstances in which they find themselves. Culture [...] is not composed of static, discrete traits moved from one locale to another. It is constantly changing and transformed, as new forms are created of old ones. Thus culture [...] does not arise out of nothing: it is created and modified by material conditions (Mullings, 1986: 13).

Mulling's definition of culture, which I apply to the particular cultural setting that I investigate in this study, informs this research project and its methodology (see Chapter 3) substantially and enables an understanding of the circumstances of the historical, political, social, economic and cultural situatedness of the production of Turkish German postmigrant theatre culture in an institutional framework.

As many scholars have pointed out, academia has so far paid little attention to the lived experiences of racialised artists working precariously in the field of the arts and cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013; Lorey, 2007; McRobbie, 2007; Negus 2002, Puwar, 2004). Although feminist theorists such as Lorey (2007), McRobbie (2007) and Pieper (2007) emphasise the necessity of qualitative research into the experiences of freelancing, casual

working and self-employed artists and cultural workers of colour, there is so far no research conducted that addresses the labour conditions of artists of colour in general and in the case of this study, that of Turkish German artists in Berlin's state-subsidised theatre landscape in particular. This study, which is situated in the trans-disciplinary field of Cultural Studies, aims to fill this research gap and hopes to contribute to what Chris Barker describes as "a body of theory reflexively produced with the idea that this process is a political practice" (2003: 404). The trans-disciplinary nature of this study stems from the lack of research as pointed out above and the need to develop an adequate theoretical framework that can grasp this research project's broad scope to understand the nexus between changes in working and living conditions in late capitalism toward an increasing precarisation of labour and the situation of postmigrant cultural producers.

By using the concepts of new ethnicities, diasporic cultural identity, artistic labour, racialised and precarious labour, affective economies and emotional labour, cultural memory, cultural policy and urban regeneration and gentrification this study aims to look precisely at this historical conjuncture by investigating the lived experiences of Turkish German artists living and working in Berlin. Thus, in this chapter I discuss pivotal works of scholars in British Cultural Studies, Feminist and Critical Race Theory, who have developed these concepts, which I applied to the Turkish German context of this study, where up to this point, the cultural productions and labour conditions of contemporary Turkish German theatre artists are barely investigated, conceptual work on how to grasp the newly emerging practices of postmigrant theatre artists is scarce and Turkish German Cultural Studies and Critical Race Studies as fields of inquiry have not yet evolved in terms of a similar degree of institutionalisation such as for instance Black Cultural Studies in Great Britain (Terkessidis, 2006a).

Key Contributions of British Cultural Studies

In the 1970s and 1980s the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) became one of the core research institutions of a new interdisciplinary field of Cultural Studies, that engaged with questions of ideology, race and ethnicity, class and gender, bringing together theories and concepts from the disciplinary fields of sociology, philosophy, media studies, literary criticism, ethnography and history in order to grasp and to influence culture and politics in Great Britain. Under the intellectual leadership of Stuart Hall at the CCCS, significant scholarly work about Black diasporic experiences, the politics of race and Britishness in post-War Britain were produced and working class youth subcultures

were examined. Following the media reports about mugging and black street crime in Birmingham's neighbourhood of Handsworth, which in 1981 became one of the sites of the British "race riots", Hall - together with Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and Brian Roberts - published one of his first most influential works about "moral panics" created by racial stereotyping of Black youth in the British media and race relations in the context of law, order and policing in Great Britain entitled *Policing the Crisis: 'Mugging, The State and Law and Order* (1978). It was also in the late 1970s that the CCCS established the "Race and Politics" research group, which, produced in 1982 the highly influental collection "The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain", which highlights the long denial of the role of Black worker's struggles in the formation of the post-War British working class and inspired, although I do not directly refer to this work, my writing in Chapter 4 about the labour struggles of Turkish German migrant workers in post-War Germany and the formation of a racialised and gendered division of labour. Yet, it was after Hall's departure from Birmingham in 1979 and with the emergence of a young generation of Black and Asian British artists as well as with the scholarly contributions of a younger generation of Black British scholars, such as Paul Gilroy (1987) and Kobena Mercer (1994), that the cultural analysis of Black British Cultural Studies scholars from the late 1980s onwards, brought increasing attention to the works, representation and cultural politics of Black and Asian writers, visual artists, musicians and filmmakers in Great Britain. It is particularly the later work of Hall on cultural identity, new ethnicities and the burden of representation for Black and Asian British artists, which Hall wrote from the mid 1980s onwards, that influenced this research project and which I wish to discuss briefly.

In his article "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", Hall positions himself and his lived experiences as a diasporic scholar from Jamaica, who arrived in postcolonial and post-War Britain and examines the formation of cultural identity as it is represented at the time in the newly emerging "Third Cinema" movement and the works of Caribbean and Black British filmmakers, that placed the Black subject at its centre and engaged with questions of cultural identity. Asking who the subject of this cinema is and from which position she or he enunciates her or his subjectivity, he states:

> What recent theories of enunciation suggest is that, though we speak, so to say 'in our own name', of ourselves and from our own experience, nevertheless who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical, never exactly in the same place. Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never

complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term, 'cultural identity', lays claim (Hall, 1990: 222).

Applying Hall's notion of cultural identity, I suggest in this thesis, that the ways in which postmigrant theatre artists voice their own experiences in their "own names", as Hall puts it (and as I have already briefly introduced in Chapter 1), places the subjective positions of Turkish German artists of the postmigrant theatre movement for the first time in the history of German theatre in a central position. I argue, that postmigrant theatre productions create new cultural identities, however, due to the structural subordination of working class Turkish German subjects in the class and race coded public sphere of the institutionalised theatre landscape, regular white middle class theatre spectators who experience for the first time the voices of postmigrant subjects, as I illustrate in Chapter 5, tend to conflate "the subject who is spoken of" with the artist "who speaks" on the stage, assuming, for instance, that the Turkish German actor who performs a particular character in a play, performs his own life on stage. Moreover, the enunciation of particular subject positions and their representation in the case of postmigrant theatre artists reaches beyond the stage and into the institutional theatre landscape and field of cultural policy too, where people in decision-making positions as well as funding criteria formulated by policy makers follow what Hall critiques as a problematic view about identity. This problematic definition of ethnic identity as fixed or essential wrongly frames the cultural practices and politics of postmigrant theatre artists as those who embody an "authentic voice", whose purpose is to speak about their "Turkish identities" and for Turkish German subjects in general. Because there were historically very few opportunities for Turkish German artists to represent their works (see Chapter 4) and have a space to articulate their cultural politics within Germany's theatrical landscape and cultural policy field, one can observe that also the new generation of artists, who work collectively under the umbrella of postmigrant theatre, continue to struggle with a burden placed on them to be representative for the entire Turkish German diaspora (see also Chapter 5 and 6).

Having said that, in this thesis, I argue, that the cultural practices of postmigrant theatre artists are representations of new cultural identities - or what Hall calls "new ethnicities" (Hall, 1996 [1989]) - in the making in a particular historical moment in time in which the artists challenge narrow conceptions of ethnicity, German culture, national German identity and power relations in Germany's theatre landscape. Moreover, the thesis extents Hall's work on cultural identity and new ethnicities, which is based on his analysis of representational practices in film and the visual arts, by looking at how postmigrant theatre

artists produce new notions of ethnicity and cultural identity by the ways in which they represent and negotiate their demands for institutionalisation in the theatre landscape and in the field of cultural policy. As Hall states:

> Cultural identity [...] is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything, which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past (Hall, 1990: 225).

Hall's notion of cultural identity as a positioning within narratives of the past is particularly useful to understand the ways in which cultural identity and cultural memory both mediate relations between the past and the present and how acts of memory that postmigrant theatre artists perform represent contemporary Turkish German subjectivities that "belong to the future as much as to the present". Asking questions about how the stories of migration could be retold from postmigrant perspectives, Turkish German artists, as I examine in Chapter 4, revise and tell anew the cultural heritage that Turkish guest workers in Germany brought into being over the span of five decades. Extending Hall's work on cultural identity toward the labour involved in creating new narratives of the past, I argue, that memory is a form of labour that postmigrant artists do to affirm intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories and the lived experiences of migration. These cultural memories constitute the narrative and aesthetic repertoire of postmigrant cultural productions, which become political through acts of remembrance that counteract the long neglect of Turkish German hi/stories.

Whilst the scholarly work of Hall is primarily based on the analysis of the artistic works of Black British artists, Puwar's book *Space Invaders* (2004) offers a very useful analysis regarding the lived experiences of racialised professional workers in public institutions and the arts world. As my own research is, similar to Puwar's approach, concerned with the experiences of professionals of racialised minorities in the arts who increasingly enter significant occupational positions in Germany's theatre landscape, her research on body politics, race and labour are highly useful for my analysis of the lived experiences of the artists working in postmigrant theatre. According to Puwar, "today the exclusionary white male body politics 'has been fragmented and weakened by successive

invasions from the excluded'" (2004 citing Gatens, 1996: 25). Relating this back to my research, we can also observe a similar dynamic in Germany. Turkish German artists increasingly occupy positions in Berlin's theatre landscape and "positions of leadership and authority in the body politic" (2004: 27). However, as Puwar rightly points out, "subtle means of inclusion/exclusion continue to informally operate through the designation of the somatic norm. The male body continues to be defined as the ideal type [...] And, although it is no longer constitutionally and juridically enshrined, nevertheless the white body continues to be the somatic norm" (2004: 27). According to Puwar, racialised professionals in contrast to white decision-makers are "[o]n the one hand [...] highly visible as conspicuous bodies, for whom specific slots are made as representatives of particular rather than general forms of humanity. On the other hand, they are invisible as they struggle to be seen as competent and capable" (2004: 58). Following her analysis about racialised professional workers' "social position in occupational space that is tenuous, a contradictory location marked by dynamics of in/visibility" (2004: 58), I argue, that Turkish German artists whilst increasingly included in Berlin's cultural landscape, experience a contradictory position in which diversity in the arts policies on the one hand aim to include artists of colour and on the other hand, it is precisely in this sphere, where mechanisms of racial inequality and exclusion continue to exist and make it difficult for racialised artists to develop their careers on the artistic labour market.

Puwar identifies a set of social dynamics that play out when racialised and gendered bodies enter positions that were formerly not reserved for them, namely: a burden of doubt, infantilisation, super-surveillance and a burden of representation (2004: 58). My empirical findings suggest, that artists of colour in Germany deal with the same set of dynamics in their occupational lives, particularly a burden of doubt, super-surveillance[21] and a burden of representation. Puwar defines the burden of doubt that racialised workers experience as follows:

> Not being the standard bearers of the universal human, women and non-whites are instead highly visible as deviations from the norm and invisible as the norm. Existing as anomalies in places where they are not the normative figure of authority, their capabilities are viewed suspiciously. Since human characteristics have been historically constructed as gender-and race-specific, they are not imagined as free-floating qualities; rather they are imagined within specific bodies and not others. There is a significant level of doubt concerning their capabilities to measure up to the job. Although they endure all the trials and tribulations involved in becoming a professional, they are still not automatically assumed to have the required

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[21] A definition of Puwar's concept of super-surveillance is provided in Chapter 6, where I apply her approach to cultural policy and the experiences of the artists working at the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

competencies. There is a niggling suspicion that they are not quite proper and can't quite cut it. They have thus to prove that they are capable of doing the job. They bear a burden of doubt. (…) In order to combat under-expectations racialised minorities have to prove themselves. As they are not automatically expected to have the appropriate competences, they have to make a concerted effort to make themselves visible as proficient and competent, in a place where they are largely invisible as automatically capable. Thus they have to work against their invisibility" (Puwar, 2004: 59-60)

As I illustrate in Chapter 5 and 6, this burden of doubt is placed upon Turkish German artists working at postmigrant theatre and actresses and actors working there as well as in other German theatre institutions and in film. Whilst I examine how they experience this burden of doubt, I also engage with the strategies that racialised artists develop to deal with the precarious situation in which they are structurally disadvantaged as their bodies are not considered to be what Puwar calls "standard bearers of the universal human" and pushed into performing particular roles, such as the angry women of colour, the melancholic migrant, the oppressed Muslim women or the Muslim fundamentalist and the ghetto street kid. This also links to what I have already described above as the burden of representation, which Puwar describes as follows:

> Knowing that they are in a precarious situation and that the most minor of mistakes could be taken as evidence of incompetence, women and racialised minorities carry what might be termed the 'burden of representation', as they are seen to represent the capacities of groups for which they are marked and visible *per se* (Puwar, 2004: 62).

The artists working in postmigrant theatre, as this thesis shows, carry precisely this burden of representation because decision-makers in theatre institutions and the field of cultural policy see them as public figures whose capacity is to represent the concerns of migrants in Germany. Whilst white artists are unmarked by race and thus invisible, they are able to speak from a seemingly universal position of humanity, but racialised artists are limited to speak for their respective racial and ethnic group and cannot escape their embodied identity. In the case of my research, which focuses on Turkish German artists working in postmigrant theatre, the question as to how we can understand the construction of race and ethnicity in the German context is discussed in what follows.

Conceptualising the Construction of Race and Ethnicity in the German Context

How can we understand processes of racialisation that affect the formation of subjectivities and the lived experiences of Turkish German artists, which this thesis investigates? For the

analysis of my research findings, the conceptual tools developed in Critical Race Theory that engage with processes of racialization were particularly useful to understand the dynamics as well as the impact of race in relation to the particular ways in which Turkish German artists' experience precarity in their working lives. Having said that, to raise questions about the state of race relations and racism in relation to the lived experiences of the country's migrant population remained for many decades highly contested in post-War Germany due to the country's National Socialist past (see also Terkessidis, 2004: 7-8). Because of the historical legacies of German fascism and racism in the Third Reich, scholars in Germany avoided to use the terms "race" and "racism" all together and mainly conducted research using the terms *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* and *Fremdenfeindlichkeit,* which both translate as hostility toward foreigners. However, as Mark Terkessidis in his book *Die Banalität des Rassismus: Migranten zweiter Generation entwickeln eine neue Perspektive* (*The Banality of Racism: Migrants of the Second Generation Develop a New Perspective*) (2004) rightly points out, both terms are highly problematic as they reproduce a separation of society into a "foreign" population towards which German society's "natives" express hostility (2004: 8). Yet, immigrants in Germany, as Terkessidis states, are not foreigners, but an integral part of the German population (2004: 8). Terkessidis therefore advocates the use of the term racism in German academia to analyse the structures and social relations that produce racial inequalities and the exclusion of those marked as "racial others" in Germany, such as Blacks, Jews and Muslims (2004: 98).

Inhabiting a racialised body, as Ahmed argues, is mediated through social relations as an experience that is lived through encounters with other bodies (2002: 47). Bodies become racialised through processes of racialisation in which the visible materiality of the body such as the skin and its colour is made meaningful through culture and marked out as different or strange to other bodies. Ahmed summarises this process as follows:

> What does it mean to describe bodies as "racialized"? The term "racialized bodies" invites us to think of the multiple processes whereby bodies come to be seen as 'having' a racial identity. One's racial identity' is not simply determined, for example, by the "fact" of one's skin colour. Racialization is a process that takes place in time and space: "race" is an effect of this process, rather than its origin or cause. So, in the case of skin colour, racialization involves a process of *investing* skin colour with meaning, such that "black" and "white" come to function, not as descriptions of skin colour, but as racial identities (Ahmed, 2002: 46)

According to Ali Rattansi, "race is one of the key ways in which an attempt has been made in modernity to illuminate how embodiment and signification, biology and culture are intrinsic

to being" (2005: 296). Inhabiting a racialised body means being involved in processes of racialisation that invest meaning into the materiality and visuality of the body. Hence "race" and "racialised" bodies are cultural constructions and as Hall puts it: "'Race' is not a genetic but a social category. Racism is not a biological but a discursive regime […] which enables it to have 'real effects'" (Hall, 1996: 21). Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978) and Frantz Fanon's book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986 [1967]) are both crucial sources for the analysis of the power of discursive and representational practices in the construction of racialised others, that are highly useful for this study. Fanon's analysis is particularly useful with regards to his approach to the lived experiences of racism and his analysis of the white gaze, which Fanon describes as "imprinted on the body" as a "racist episteme" (Fanon cited in Puwar, 2004: 41). This white gaze places the black body in opposition to the "somatic norm" of whiteness (Puwar, 2004: 1). The visuality of the body enables "ways of operating" (De Certeau, 1984: xi) through which the white gaze recognises and reads the body of a person of colour and produces meaning and power or what Fanon calls an "implicit knowledge", a "historico-racial schema" (Fanon, 1986 [1967]: 111) about the racialised "other". Fanon describes this white gaze, which he experiences as operating on his racialised black body as a dynamic which transforms his corporeal subjectivity, that becomes "sealed into a crushing object hood" (1986 [1967]: 119). Fanon, who came as a migrant from the French colony of Martinique to Paris as a young student, defined himself as a man "with the will to find a meaning in things…the desire to attain to the source of the world" but he realised that he could not be, for the white subject, anything other than a black man. His skin, the surface of his body becomes the *site* that "proves" for the white French his "essential" black identity, in which the black body "lacks perspective […] hypervisible yet invisible simultaneously" (Mohanram, 1999: 26), fantasised by the white subject as mere representation. Fanon's racialised and objectified body becomes positioned by "historicity" (1986 [1967]: 109). As he states:

> I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors.
> I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave-ships, and above all else, above all: 'Sho' good eatin' (Fanon, 1986 [1967]: 112).

Fanon's analysis of the racialised body, which becomes an object of knowledge for the white French coloniser, who discursively constructs the colonised as someone without history, who only exists through the perspective of the coloniser (1986 [1967]: 112), has many similarities

with Said's analysis of the Western construction of the "Oriental other". Both author's scholarly work is concerned with the complicity of Western discourse in the legitimization of imperialism and domination. This Western discourse creates in Michel Foucault's sense a "truth" about the body of the racialised other and, following Fanon's and Said's analysis, legitimizes the exercise of power on black African and brown Middle Eastern bodies in the exterior former colonies as well as - with the arrival of black and brown bodies in the West - within the interior home territory, which I examine with regards to the racialised geography of Berlin-Kreuzberg in Chapter 7. According to Foucault, power "produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (1980: 119). Power, in Foucault's understanding, is not abstract. It is a strategy exercised on the body:

> The body is the inscribed surface of events [...] Genealogy, as an analysis of descent, is thus situated within the articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the processes of history's destruction of the body (Foucault, 1991: 83).

Said in his study of European Orientalism uses Foucault's notion of discourse[22] to identify and "understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (1978: 11). According to Said, it was European Orientalists' whose

> [...] imaginative examination of things Oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged, first according to general ideas about who or what was an Oriental, then according to a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, regressions, investments, and projections (1978: 16).

The Oriental was invented by Orientalists as the inferior other – locked in the past, irrational, despotic, barbaric - through which European Orientalists defined their own culture as superior, rational, democratic, sophisticated and progressive. Said argues, that Christian European

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[22] Foucault's notion of discourse refers according to Weedon to "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (Weedon, 1987: 108). Diamond and Quinby state that discourse is "a form of power that circulates in the social field and can attach to strategies of domination as well as those of resistance" (Diamond and Quinby, 1988: 185).

fantasies about Islam, originating in the arrival of Muslim Empires on the European continent during the Middle Ages, led to the emergence of Orientalism. He states:

> Not for nothing did Islam come to symbolize terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians. For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma. Until the end of the seventeenth century the "Ottoman peril" lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger […] (Said, 1978: 59).

The embodied experiences of many of my research participants, such as for example the theatre director Erpulat, who came as a young student from Turkey to Germany, correspond with Said's and Fanon's compelling analysis. Erpulat described his lived experiences regarding the white gaze's objectification of his body as a Turkish Muslim man as follows:

> If you live in a country such as Germany you have to engage with your identity. I mean if you live in a country that doesn't see you as a part of it. That is why you have to reidentify and define yourself. I surely didn't know before I came here, that I was a Turk. I have learned in Germany that I am a Turk (Nurkan Erpulat, personal interview, 10.07.2007, own translation).

Many of the Turkish German artists I spoke with, who were born in Germany or migrated to Germany at a later age experienced how their bodies became racialised at different stages in their lives and how being "made a Turk" and being made a "Muslim" in the diaspora affected their working and living conditions. Whilst most started their careers hoping that they would be recognised merely on the base of their professional skills, all of the research participants I spoke with realised over the years that no matter what they did, that racialised ways of seeing shaped their bodies, identities and career trajectories in the artistic field. The realisation, that the existing racialised division of labour in the artistic field, required, what Erpulat called "to reidentify and define yourself" as a Turkish German artist was one of the reasons for Erpulat to work closely with the founders of the postmigrant theatre network (see Chapter 6).

The German historian Yasemin Shooman (2011) and the German social scientist Iman Attia (2007, 2009) argue, that many elements of contemporary discourses about Islam and Muslims in Germany resemble Orientalist discourses of the colonial past. According to Shooman, those who were previously addressed as "Turks", "Arabs" or "guest workers" became "Muslims" in German public discourse with the change of the German citizenship law in 2000, which led to the naturalisation of people with a migration background from predominantly Muslim countries and new racist demarcations of difference. Racism and discrimination based on racial and ethnic differences shifted, according to Shooman to an

increasing anti-Muslim racism in Germany, in which religious belonging has come to act as a symbol of racial difference and in which biological, cultural and religious differences are deployed to mark boundaries between a superior culture of Christian European Germans and the culturally inferior culture of unassimilated "Muslim others", that do not belong to German society (see Shooman, 2011: 60-63). The majority of Turkish German actresses and actors that I interviewed for this study, told me that they were negatively affected by anti-Muslim racism as they were, for instance, typecasted based on their physical appearance. The roles they were offered in theatre, film and TV productions were mostly stereotypical, racialised figures, such as a Muslim male terrorist, a female victim of honour killing or an oppressed Turkish woman with headscarf, but barely anything else. This was experienced as limiting their job opportunities in contrast to white German actors and actresses, who were not primarily casted based on their skin and hair colour (see Chapter 5).

Having said that, concurrent to the rise of anti-Muslim racism in Germany, the practices of postmigrant theatre artists and racialised Turkish German artists contest the "somatic norm" of whiteness in Berlin's theatre landscape and more and more people of colour occupy positions on the German labour market that were not "reserved" for them. One can observe a change in discourse related to race and creative labour that, at first sight, seem to be more cheerful and attractive than the issues portrayed above. In this new public discourse, that consists of the buzzwords "cultural diversity" and the "creative city" and which are frequently used by artists, policy makers and city planers alike, the Turkish German artists working in postmigrant theatre embody a new "successful" version of diversity and urban cosmopolitanism. It seems as though diversity as a new gained value is inscribed on the bodies of artists of colour and their very presence signals the visible success of Berlin's cultural diversity in the field of the arts, making Berlin a fashionable, cosmopolitan, world city, in which everybody can be creative. However, as this study illustrates, Berlin as a so-called "culturally diverse", "cosmopolitan" and "creative" city is a social space in which the racial and ethnic diversification of institutional life, such as in the case of Berlin's theatre landscape occur concurrent with processes of racialization, gentrification and precarisation, which affect the working and living conditions of my research participants.

Whilst these two sections mainly focused on the theoretical contributions of British Cultural Studies and Postcolonial Theory, that are useful for this study, the following section seeks to discuss the literature used to examine the concept of cultural diversity in Berlin's cultural and urban policy and institutional landscape.

Theorising Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Diversity Work as a Commitment to Racial Equality and the Urban Marketization of Cultural Diversity in the City of Berlin

This thesis aims to contribute to the debate about cultural diversity in the arts by examining how the term diversity is used, circulated and attached to labour and the productivity of certain bodies in the process of the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre in Berlin. How can we understand the circulation of the term and what does it do with regards to the situation of Turkish German artists, working at postmigrant theatre in Berlin? Ahmed has pointed out that: "What makes diversity useful also makes it limited: it can become detached from histories of struggle for equality" (2007a: 235). In this section I discuss the key contributions of the work of Ahmed and Kosnick's studies on cultural diversity, that inform my research project and what Ahmed calls "the language of diversity in institutional life" (2007a; 2012) and Kosnick describes as "a staple of city-branding strategies" (2009: 28). Both authors' approaches are useful to understand how "cultural diversity" affects Turkish German artists who embody "diversity" and "racial difference", who work in an institution that has a cultural diversity profile and live in the migrant working class of Berlin-Kreuzberg, which, as a racialised geography and culturally diverse neighbourhood, is strongly affected by processes of gentrification.

Ahmed's article "The language of diversity" (2007a) and her book *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (2012) both examine the gap between symbolic, institutional commitments to racial equality and diversity and the actual lived experiences of diversity practitioners working in public institutions. Whilst her case study is about diversity practitioners working in higher education in the UK and Australia, her research findings about the lived experiences of diversity workers and her theoretical conceptualisation of diversity as labour in institutions proved to be highly useful for the analysis of the role and lived experiences of the artists working as advocates of cultural diversity in the arts and therefore as "diversity practitioners" in Berlin's theatre landscape. Similar to Ahmed's research participants, the artists working at postmigrant theatre "aim to get organizations to commit to diversity" (2007a: 235), however, as I show in Chapter 6 with regards to the implementation of cultural policies that aim to foster cultural diversity in the arts, "what that commitment means still depends on how diversity circulates as a term within organizations" (2007a: 235).

As my research findings suggest[23], diversity in the arts translates differently into the practices of theatres in Berlin, depending on whether diversity is understood as a commitment to social and racial justice and equality or serves as an additional profile of the venue, in which hegemonic, conservative and anti-Muslim discourses are reproduced under the banner of "cultural difference" rather than challenged.

As I illustrate in the thesis, given that "diversity" does not necessarily translate into a commitment to anti-racism, postmigrant theatre artists as diversity practitioners, aim to determine how "diversity" is defined in Berlin's theatre landscape and the field of cultural policy. In accordance with Ahmed's critique of diversity as the management of racial difference, the thesis traces the ways in which the language of diversity once it circulates in cultural policy risks to be merely understood as a diversity management that "value[s] diversity 'as if' it was a human resource" (2007a: 235) and thereby conceals systematic racial inequalities in Berlin's cultural institutions. Having said that, instead of abandoning the language of diversity altogether, because of its problematic notions as described above, the artists working at postmigrant theatre use the term diversity strategically to direct the attention of policy makers towards the paradoxical situation in which artists of colour find themselves between institutional practices that vaguely conceptualise what diversity in the arts is and can be and their lived experiences of the racialised division of labour in Berlin's cultural institutions.

One of the major concerns of Ahmed is to investigate, given that whiteness is institutionalised,[24] what the difficulties and challenges of members of staff who embody diversity are and "to describe the physical and emotional labor of "banging your head against a brick wall" (2012: 175). Ahmed describes how and why diversity practitioners use the metaphor of the brick wall to speak about their work and the resistance of institutions to commit to diversity, towards those they employ to do diversity work and "the lack of an institutional will to change" (2012: 26). Thus, Ahmed conceptualises diversity work:

> […] in two distinct but related ways. First, diversity work can refer to work that has the explicit aim of transforming an institution; second, diversity work can be what is required, or what we do, when we do not "quite" inhabit the norms of an institution. When you don't quite inhabit the norms, or you aim to transform them, you notice

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[23] For a summary and discussion of the research findings see Chapter 8.

[24] In her article "A phenomenology of whiteness" (2007b), Sara Ahmed defines institutional whiteness as "invisible and unmarked, as the absent centre against which others appear only as deviants, or points of deviation" (Ahmed, 2007: 157), which I discuss and examine in relation to the structural and institutional mechanisms of exclusion in Germany's theatres for artists with a migration background in Chapter 6.

them as you come up against them. The wall is what we come up against: the sedimentation of history into a barrier that is solid and tangible in the present, a barrier to change as well as to the mobility of some, a barrier that remains invisible to those who can flow into the spaces created by institutions (Ahmed, 2012: 175).

In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I examine lived experiences of institutional racism in detail drawing on the interviews I conducted with artists and policy makers. Whilst I use Ahmed's definition of institutional whiteness, which informs her work about the language of diversity and the lived experiences of diversity workers, my definition of the "glass ceiling" of institutional racism stems from Charles E. Wilson's book *Race and Racism in Literature* (2005). He describes both concepts as follows:

> As a sociological concept […], institutional racism is synonymous with subtle racism. As such, it refers not to the traditional displays of racist behaviour, but rather to the more contemporary and more obscure examples. Perhaps institutional racism is more easily clarified by the concept of the "glass ceiling." Oftentimes, in the workforce minority persons complain that they cannot advance […] because of institutional barriers that are not as easily identified. Such barriers are "transparent" like glass; therefore, when a minority person complains of such barriers, he or she is often accused of manufacturing ills that do not exist in the system. Work superiors suggest that he or she is not yet qualified to advance, that there are rules for advancement that must be met, and so forth (Wilson, 2005: xii).

Whilst this study provides an account of how Turkish German artists experience institutional racism, it is mainly concerned with the agency and strategies, that the artists working at postmigrant theatre collaboratively developed to counteract the "brick wall" and "glass ceiling" with the institutionalisation of their practices in the space of postmigrant theatre, which the artists consider safe and nurturing in comparison to their experiences in institutions of higher education, such as arts schools, in other state or municipal theatres and in the film industry (see Chapter 5).

Whilst Ahmed's work supports my investigation of the working experiences of racialised artists in Berlin's institutional landscape, Kosnick's article "Conflicting Mobilities: Cultural Diversity and City Branding in Berlin" (2009) is highly useful for its focus on Berlin and its objective to trace "the transformation of urban diversity brandings from multicultural city to cosmopolitan metropolis, with a particular focus on popular and high cultural practices relating to the performing arts" (2009: 29). Kosnick's analysis and critique of the marketization of cultural diversity and creativity in the city of Berlin offers great insights to understand the key dynamics at play when Berlin's policy makers began to use the language of diversity and to support diversity projects. Simultaneously they did very little to prevent

the gentrification of "culturally diverse" neighbourhoods such as Berlin-Kreuzberg, which as I describe in Chapter 7, led to increasingly precarious living conditions for the neighbourhood's postmigrant theatre artists and migrant working class population.

According to Kosnick "in many locations, ethnocultural diversity has come to be accepted as a key asset and requirement for urban development by city officials, business executives and planners alike" (2009: 28) and as her article shows, Berlin is no exception with regards to these developments. Kosnick argues, that city planners and policy makers in the 1990s were mainly concerned with the promotion of cultural diversity as a consumption experience (such as the variety of "ethnic cuisine" available in the city), but showed "markedly less interest in marketing those neighbourhoods that were the factual or symbolic home of young artists with migrant backgrounds: Berlin's quarters with the highest percentage of welfare recipients and unemployment" (2009: 35). Berlin's migrant working class population in neighbourhoods such as Berlin-Kreuzberg, where the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is located and most of the artists I interviewed for this study live, were particularly affected, as Kosnick states, by the economic recession and restructuring of the labour market in the early 1990s (see also Chapter 5), "creating new spatialized economic and social divides in the city" (2009: 35).

Concurrent with the increasing precarisation of the second generation of Turkish German migrants in Berlin, a young generation of artists of colour, including Turkish German youth turned to the transnational youth culture of hip hop and began to produce rap music (for example the Turkish German rap formation "Islamic Force", the rappers Aziza A., and later rappers such as Fuat, Kool Savas and many others), established breakdance crews (such as for example the internationally acclaimed Berliner breakdance crew "Flying Steps") and popularised local hip hop made in Berlin on a national scale (see also Çağlar, 1998; Kaya, 2001; Greve, 2003; Soysal 2004). Having said that, for policy makers, the cultural productions of artists with a labour migration and refugee background, up to the emergence of Berlin's postmigrant theatre movement, mainly served "either as a tool for dealing with urban problems, for example, hip hop music to combat the alleged alienation of migrant youth (Çağlar, 1998) or as a colourful demonstration of Berlin's cultural diversity" (Kosnick, 2009: 37). The emergence of migrant hip hop youth culture in Berlin in the 1990s was closely linked to the crisis of Post-Fordist production, which affected Berlin's migrant population drastically as I illustrate in Chapter 5. Whilst only a couple of years later, by the mid 2000's policy makers in the city increasingly began to promote the creative industries as an engine for economic growth (see also Kosnick, 2009: 28), the creative activities and commercial

cultural productions of local hip hop artists with a migration background became part of the city's image campaigns and the marketization of cultural diversity. However, as I illustrate in Chapter 7, the marketization of hip hop culture and cultural diversity from the "streets of Kreuzberg", was simultaneously placed within a racist "ghetto" discourse. As Kosnick states:

> In their descriptions of rough street life and celebrations of locally specific hoods, immigrant youths helped to put Berlin on the map with marketable global youth-culture developments. […] The migrant parochialisms developed in Berlin's hip hop scene were simultaneously connected to diasporic cultural flows and transatlantic articulations of minority experience and empowerment, in the same way that they were fed into urban-image campaigns and national music markets. Yet, while participating in this global youth-culture formation, immigrant youth in Berlin were still resolutely localized when it came to the mass appeal of hip hop: as potent signs of urban cool in the late 1990s, they signified the captivating qualities of "ghettos" and "hoods" as both inescapable fate and special appeal (Kosnick, 2009: 32-34).

In Chapter 7 of this thesis, in which I examine the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg as a racialised bodyscape and as the cultural centre of Turkish German life, Kosnick's analysis of cultural diversity and migrant youth culture in the 1990s is of great significance to understand the trope of the racial "ghetto" linked to public discourse about an alleged failure of multiculturalism[25] that exists alongside the rebranding of the city, as a cosmopolitan, hip, creative and culturally diverse hotspot. According to Kosnick, Berlin's municipal and cultural policies regarding "cultural diversity" are based on a sharp distinction between multicultural policies that address cultural diversity as tied to "socio-political objectives of integration" (2009: 37) and "cosmopolitan imaginings of the city" (2009: 39), which present "the city as a node that intensifies and consolidates cultural flows for the ultimate purpose of relentless business innovation" (2009: 37), opens the city "to investors, tourists, and creative classes" and presents cultural diversity "as both consumer time and evidence of a tolerant and world-open habitat in which creatives can thrive" (2009: 37). Kosnick summarises these two approaches to cultural diversity promoted by policy makers and urban planners as follows:

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[25] Kosnick describes the public discourse about "the failure of multiculturalism" in the German context as follows: "The consequences of rising poverty, youth unemployment, and steadily shrinking welfare-state provisions are making headlines in primarily culturalist terms: violent behaviour and youth delinquency are discussed as signs of a failed multiculturalism. Talk of a failure of multiculturalism has become commonplace in German political debates and mainstream media representations, particularly since the spectre of Islamist violence has been linked to Muslim minorities in Europe. Violence in Berlin schools, urban riots in France, terrorist attacks in London, and the murder of Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam have all been interpreted as signs of a failure to properly integrate immigrant populations culturally, with multicultural *laissez-fair* policies accused of fostering so-called parallel societies and segregation among ethnic minorities" (2009: 35).

Berlin's aim to compete with other metropolitan centers in and outside of Europe in terms of its cultural offerings is based on a strategy of attracting artists, artworks, and performances from elsewhere. The culturally curious cosmopolitan urbanite, who is invited to sample vocabularies and discourses from a variety of non-European cultural repertoires emerges as implicitly European and affluent. In the practices and discourses of urban high-cultural institutions the cosmopolitan city is one that offers its cultural riches to the sampling connoisseur of global trends. These are not to be confused with the city's ethnic minorities, carriers of a cultural diversity that are mostly dealt with in terms of multicultural policies and agendas" (Kosnick, 2009: 38).

As I illustrate in this thesis, until the emergence of the postmigrant theatre movement in Berlin's high cultural institution of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in the year 2004, the city's arts funding and its institutions of high culture, largely excluded artists from the local working class migrant population as producers as well as migrant audiences precisely because, as Kosnick points out, sharp distinctions were made between a multiculturalist approach towards cultural diversity tied to Berlin's local migrant working class population and a cosmopolitan approach towards cultural diversity tied to the city's middle class transnational arts scene. Kosnick detects a shift in the relationship between Berlin based artists with a migration background and cultural policy-makers' conceptualisation of "cultural diversity". For Kosnick, the first festival production "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" of the postmigrant theatre movement at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre (which I introduced in Chapter 1) challenged policy-makers' approach as postmigrant theatre artists' "vision of flows, identities, and cultural transformation are quite different from those that are developed in the consumer- and investor – oriented cosmopolitan image campaigns of Berlin city officials and marketing departments" and because "[t]he stories they tell – of mobility, encounter, improvisation, and conflict – are not the ones that lend themselves to profitability" (2009: 40). Based on my research findings, I agree with Kosnick's observations and argue, that whilst the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement, developed cultural practices, cultural politics and strategies, that successfully bridge the gap between these two policy approaches, which led to the successful institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre in Berlin, the artists, however, remained in precarious and racialised working and living conditions.

While the first part of this chapter discussed the relevant literature and theoretical concepts, which I applied for my analysis of race and diversity related themes, the second part of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of relevant literature for my analysis of themes relating to artistic labour and precarious working and living conditions.

Theorising Artistic Labour in Post-Fordist Societies

Creative labour and artists' working conditions have gained over the last years a significant increase in academic attention. This development is related to the rise of the creative industries and urban policies promoting the creative sector as an "engine for economic growth" (Leadbeater, 1999, Landry, 2000; Florida, 2004) and the increasing interest of young people to work in creative and artistic occupations. Moreover, many scholars (Lorey 2007, McRobbie 2007, von Osten 2007, Söndermann 2004, Virno 2004) state that with the transformation of capitalism into a Post-Fordist mode of production, the figure of the artist embodies a paradigmatic shift in our understanding of life and work. For instance, with regards to the latter, Boltanski and Chiapello (2003) examined current forms of labour organisation and work ethics in managerial discourses that promote an entrepreneurial culture, in which a) labour organisation is based on outsourcing, networking and short-term projects and b) the expectation of managers toward employees is full identification with the company, its aims and values. Artists embody within this framework, as Marion von Osten states, "the successful combination of unlimited and wide-ranging ideas, creativity on command and clever self-marketing" (von Osten, 2007) and as Trott (2007) and Virno (2004) point out, are traditionally located outside the realm of waged labour cultural production.

Having said that, empirical studies that investigate creative work have mainly focused on the labour conditions of those, who work in commercial sectors such as film and television, the visual arts, music, new media and fashion (Banks, 2007; Dyer-Witheford, 2005; Gill, 2002, 2007; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011; Loacker, 2010; McRobbie, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Menger, 1999; Miége, 1989; Ursell, 2000). Surprisingly, especially in the UK, where over the past decade so many studies about creative labour were published, case studies that would investigate the labour conditions of artists, who work in state-subsidised instititutions do not exist. The situation in Germany is not that different, where only very few studies exist (Haak, 2008; Keuchel, 2010), that look at the employment situation and working and living conditions of artists who work in Germany's state-subsidised institutions of the arts, such as in theatre. As I illustrate in Chapter 5, the only representative study conducted by Susanne Keuchel in 2010 that provides rich data about artists working in German theatre and opera, however, has very little to say about the working conditions of artists with a migration background in Germany. This lack in research makes this thesis a unique contribution to the study of artistic labour and the working conditions of artists of colour in state-subsidised theatre. Given the lack of academic studies, that engage with artists, who work project-based

or full-time in state institutions and the complete absence of inquiries regarding racialised and precarious artistic labour in this field, in what follows I critically discuss first the concepts of immaterial and affective labour from a perspective informed by the aforementioned discussion of theories in Cultural Studies and Critical Race Studies, followed by a discussion of the usefulness of the concepts of precarity and precarious labour for this research project.

A Critique of the Immaterial and Affective Labour Debate from the Perspective of Critical Race Studies

A particularly popular reference for politically left oriented scholars writing about artistic labour in the frame of Post-Fordist regimes of production are the theoretical works of scholars such as Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (2001), Maurizio Lazzarato (1998) and Paolo Virno (2004) who are associated with the renewal of Italian Autonomist Marxism, *operaismo* and *post-operaismo*. They emphasise that we live in an era in which "capitalist socialisation does not only exploit labour, but also the production of subjectivity, bodies, intellects and the ability for social relations and affects, utilised as human resources in a borderless process of commodification" (Pieper et al., 2007: 7, own translation). This "cognitive capitalism" is based on the deployment of skills and abilities that were formerly seen as rooted in the personality of the labourer. The new labour force in this "cognitive capitalism" is embodied in the figure of the precarious artist (von Osten, 2007) as the current mode of production in capitalism emulates forms of artistic and cultural production that were traditionally located outside the realm of waged labour (Trott, 2007; Virno, 2004).

The transformation from Fordist to Post-Fordist production led, as Hardt and Negri state, "to the result that the role of industrial factory labour has been reduced and priority [is] given instead to communicative, cooperative and affective labour (Hardt & Negri, 2001: xiii). Hardt's and Negri's definition of "immaterial labour" is living labour "which creates immaterial products, such as knowledge, information, communication, a relationship or an emotional response" (Hardt & Negri, 2004: 108). This involves an increased linguistic and intellectual activity of the labour force in the production of informational and cultural goods (Lazzarato, 1998: 39, Virno, 2004) as "immaterial labour" characterises various forms of labour, "that are not normally recognised as work" (Lazzarato, 1998: 39[26]), i.e. work that operates in the realm of cultural and artistic norms and that influences "fashions, tastes and consumer norms" (1998: 39- 40). The cycle of production in the context of "immaterial

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[26] All quotes by Maurizio Lazzarato are based on my own translations from German.

labour" is, as Lazzarato states, organised in the form of "networks" and "flows" (1998: 40). "Small and sometimes very small "productive units" (often consisting of only one individual) are organized for specific ad hoc projects, and may exist only for the duration of those particular jobs" in which "the cycle of production comes into operation only when it is required by the capitalist" (1998: 40).

Hardt argues, with regards to Lazzarato's concept of "immaterial labour", that contemporary labour is not only characterised through linguistic and intellectual activity, but also by the investment of affects in the processes of production (1999: 96). He defines "affective labour" as that part of immaterial labour that creates or manipulates affects such as feelings of "ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion – even a sense of connectedness or community" (1999: 96). Hence "affective labour" is living labour and it requires co-operation, interaction or what Hardt calls "human contact" and "proximity" (1999: 97-98). However, it is important to state that a mere appropriation of the concepts of "immaterial labour" and "affective labour" for this research could tend to be reductive as they are both very difficult to operationalise for an empirical research project and also entail the danger of universalising the figure of the "affective" and "immaterial labourer". Instead, I wish to argue, that if both concepts, as they are conceptualised by Hardt, Negri, Lazzarato and Virno, are constructed within a Post-Operaist framework as an analytical tool for theoretical and political intervention, then the detection of those conditions "out of which a radical socio-political transformation of contemporary post-Fordist capitalism can emerge" (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2007: 146) has to take into account the lived experiences of labourers. In other words, as McRobbie states in her critique of the affective and immaterial labour literature:

> In the many articles and books written in recent years on the topics of precarious labour, immaterial and affective labour, all of which are understood within the over-arching frame of Post-Fordist regimes of production, there is a failure to foreground gender, or indeed to knit gender and ethnicity into prevailing concerns with class and class struggle (McRobbie, 2011: 60).

Sharing McRobbie's critique, I would in addition argue, following Papadopoulos and Tsianios suggestion, that it is necessary to focus on "the ruptures, blockades, lines of fight which are immanent in the configuration of immaterial labour" (2007: 146), such as the lived experience of precarity and its intersection with the racialised as well as gendered division of labour. Immaterial and affective labourers are not merely "cognitive" ghosts, brains and souls, ratio and emotion, detached from their bodies. Immaterial and affective labour is corporeal. In the interviews I conducted with Turkish German artists in Berlin, this corporeality is

inextricable from the labour that artists of colour undertake, precisely because it is experienced within the "human contact" zones in which the bodies of the artists become racialised. It is also in the "human contact" zones in which an exclusive connectedness as well as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion based on intergenerationally transmitted memories, lived experiences of institutional whiteness, racial type-casting and racialised forms of solidarity take shape and in which the work, that artists of colour do, is situated. Although Hardt mentions feminist approaches concerning gendered divisions of labour in relation to affective labour (1999: 98), his concept of affective labour does not sufficiently acknowledge feminist scholarship regarding emotional labour and affective economies or racialised labour divisions and the lived experiences of racialised bodies within the current modes of Post-Fordist production. Having said that, what served to be more fruitful for this study, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5, was to draw on the work of the feminist critical race scholar Ahmed, who in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (2004) argues, that we should:

> […] consider how emotions operate to 'make' and 'shape' bodies as forms of action, which also involve orientations towards others (…) Emotions shape the very surface of bodies, which take shape through the repetition of actions over time, as well as through orientations towards and away from others. Indeed, attending to emotions might show us how all actions are reactions, in the sense that what we do is shaped by the contact we have with others (Ahmed, 2004: 4).

Instead of using Hardt's metaphor of the "human contact zone", I, therefore, I draw on Ahmed's work on the cultural politics of emotions and affective economies to analyse certain elements in the labour practices of postmigrant theatre artists, that relate to postmigrant theatre as a political space, the relationship between performers and spectators and the politics of solidarity among racialised postmigrant theatre artists.

I wish to conclude that, my research focus on the lived experiences of Turkish German artists working in postmigrant theatre serves to illuminate precisely the silenced issues concerning the relationship between creative labour and race by providing an analysis of the living and working conditions of Turkish German artists in Berlin. Although theorists such as Hardt (1999) and Lazzarato (1998) illustrate how and why various forms of immaterial and affective labour are required and exploited within Post-Fordist modes of production, little attention has been paid so far to the experiences of racialised "immaterial" and "affective labourers" (Gunaratnam & Lewis, 2001; Mirchandani, 2003; Pieper, 2007). Whilst I discussed the construction of racialised bodies specifically in in one of the previous sections,

the next section aims to review the relevant body of literature on precarious labour and precarity that shape artists' living and working conditions in the arts and cultural industries. Hence, the following section serves to situate my research on precarious labour in the gaps related to race and racialised artistic labour.

Theorising Precarious Labour in the Context of Migration

Lived and embodied, subjective and intersubjective experiences play a crucial role in this study with regards to how Turkish German artists experience processes of racialisation and precarisation. However, there is, so far, little research done in Germany or in Britain that engages with these subjective dimensions and the lived experiences and strategies of those who live and work precariously (Betzelt, 2006: 8). In Governmentality Studies, for example, there are some studies that examine self-entrepreneurial subjectivities (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1996) in relation to "technologies of the self", which subject individuals under the framework of neo-liberal governmentality and power and some German studies look at the practices of self-governmentality in relation to developments within the labour market (Lemke, 2004; Opitz, 2004). There is a similar approach in creative labour and precarity studies that draw on Governmentality Studies. In her article "Governmentality and Self-Precarization: On the Normalization of Cultural Producers" (2009), Lorey, for instance, argues that cultural producers proceed from the opinion that "one has chosen his or her own living and working situation and that these can be arranged relatively freely and autonomously" (2009: 187). However, as she further argues, these choices are not really founded on a free will (as neoliberal ideology suggests), but operate within and reproduce governmental techniques that correlate with "technologies of the self", that only make us believe that we act freely. In this constellation, the formerly perceived "dissident" figure of the artist as the reference point for the liberation from the 9 to 5 factory regime and a creative and self-responsible way of life embodies the anticipation and model of the "flexploited" labour force in Post-Fordist societies (2009: 187). In the case of Turkish German artists of working class backgrounds, however, I would argue that their racial and class status complicates Lorey's "universal" figure of the "flexploited" labourer. What is missing in her as well as other Foucauldian governmentality approaches are the distinct ways in which one's racial status influences access to the labour market in the first place. Furthermore, what is missing in these approaches is the acknowledgement of agency and the strategies that precarious workers, such as in this case study, Turkish German artists working at postmigrant theatre, develop to counteract racialized forms of precarisation. In recent years, there has arisen a critical body of work that draws

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attention to the lack of perspective in Governmentality Studies to explore not only the restrictions of governmentality, but also the more empowering and positive aspects of these new working and living conditions that also enable new forms of solidarity, co-operation and freedom (see also Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2007; Pieper & Gutiérrez Rodriguez, 2003).

Having said this, my own study aims to look at the embodied experiences of Turkish German artists in Berlin by analysing their fields of opportunity and agency both in terms of restrictions as well as possibilities. Thus, I would argue, that qualitative empirical research needs to tackle subjective lived experiences in order to ground theoretical work on processes of precarisation and to account for the lived experiences of connectivity, solidarity and individual and collective agency. Furthermore, this perspective assists in understanding the ways in which precarious and racialised artistic labour are fabricated and lived in the social world, and, simultaneously, enables a politicisation of the field beyond descriptive or merely theoretical accounts of precarious labour. However, the question remains as to how can we understand these lived experiences of increasingly precarious living and working conditions? What are precarious labour and precarity and how does race play into this?

Current research on the transformation of work in Post-Fordist societies emphasises the rise of atypical and irregular forms of employment (Bergström & Storrie 2003; Campbell & Burgess 2001; Castel & Dörre 2009; Felstead & Jewson 1999; Vosco 2000). The new culture of work, as summarised in the use of the term Post-Fordism, is embedded in precarious, uncertain and challenging social circumstances. It leads to the rise of temporary work and increasing demands for a flexible and mobile work force, the dismantling or erosion of social security systems and safety nets, rising income inequalities, prohibitive costs in education in order to meet the demands for "high skilled" labour, and the requirement to continuously re-train to take account of rapidly changing technologies and consumer demands. On the one hand, these conditions lead to burdens and pressures that create anxiety, uncertainty and stress on the individual. On the other, they bring with them more personal freedom through the emergence of new professions and job opportunities, new forms of collaboration, and more flexibility regarding the organisation of working hours as intrinsic to the working conditions of artists. The increase of non-standardised employment, has given rise to a new form of social in/exclusion named precarity, which not only affects the working conditions of people, but, as some authors state, also social relations and opportunities to participate in civil society (Gallie & Paugam 2003).

These new working and living conditions have been defined under the concepts of "precarity" and the "precarisation" of life and work as neologisms derived from the French

term *la precarité* (Cingolani 2005). Both concepts stand for the proliferation of precarious labour and precarious forms of living in post-industrial/Post-Fordist Western societies, as well as for political struggles for social justice and solidarity reaching beyond the model of the Fordist Welfare State. Generally speaking, precarious labour, precarisation and precarity are generic terms for the process which makes labour insecure. This process has many dimensions and will be presented in more detail in the empirical chapters of this study. One important fact is that it relates to conditions and social transformations at the level of work organisation, employment relations and everyday life that form the living conditions of the artists whom I interviewed for this study. The concepts of precarity and precarisation are so far more common in research and public debates in continental Europe, particular in Berlin, than in the UK or in London (see e.g. Castel & Dörre 2009; Gallie & Paugam, 2003; Lemberger & Götz, 2009; Standing, 2011). Whereas the transformation of work towards more insecure and less regulated forms of employment is traceable in many branches of the economy, high levels of flexible and previously atypical employment are particularly prevalent in Berlin and its cultural industries. Furthermore, arts and culture are a growing sector of production in Western societies in general, so that the case of Berlin, although it bears its own specificities, links to other urban contexts in which this sector has been described as having high resources for local and regional development (O'Connor & Wynne 1996). Working in the arts and culture sector is increasingly addressed as a prominent tool in regeneration programmes (Belfiore 2006). This sector, whilst it is enthusiastically described as enhancing work environments by providing a model for the future organisation of work, however, produces social inequality, discrimination and precarious and racialised labour conditions, as this thesis shows. However, there is, as I said, so far, despite the growing political and academic interest in precarious and creative labour, no research done that engages with artists of colour and the processes of precarisation that intersect with race and racism.

Over the past decade, a contestation of precarious labour has become a vital source of political action in the precarity movement, such as the Euromayday. Within this movement, desires and claims for a redistribution of wealth, new struggles against current forms of social control, migration regimes, and the exploitation of labour have been expressed, which illustrate that, under the concept of precarity, many different social realities and different class positions are subsumed. Furthermore, the concept of precarity underlines the fact that one person may experience different aspects of precarity in overlapping or consecutive circumstances. However, although we can find representations of the experiences of people of

colour who are working in the low paid service sector in the Euromayday precarity movement, this form of activism seems not to attract artists of colour. One possible reason for this could be that perhaps their experiences are subsumed under the category of "precarious migrant labour" associated with undocumented labour, care work, sex work, construction work and other highly exploited work at the margins of society. Although these labour conditions relate to rigid migration regimes and racism, I believe that the reasons for the precariousness of those postmigrant artists that my study investigates, is to be found in the centres of cultural production and in direct relation to creative labour and race. Moreover, I think that subsuming people of colour's experiences under the category of "precarious migrant workers" in the service sector reproduces and simplifies racialised class hierarchies within political activist circles and the labour market.

Similarly, this critique also relates to academic inquiries that investigate precarious labour. My first point of critique concerns an article published by Andrew Ross, "The New Geography of Work: Power to the Precarious?" (2008), in which he compares the working conditions of creative labourers with those of migrants in the low waged service sector. Although he rightly points out that the precarity movement aims for cross-class coalitions, I wonder why Ross does not compare white creative workers with creative workers of colour? Secondly, as Ross further states, is this activist network of the "precarious generation [...] driven by a spontaneous, though far from dogmatic belief that the precariat is the Post-Fordist successor to the proletariat, both in theory and practice" (2008: 34)? As I illustrate in Chapter 4 and 5 of this thesis, the link between Post-Fordist precariat and Fordist proletariat needs far more differentiation, particularly with regards to migrant and postmigrant workers. The Fordist Turkish migrant working class experienced, as I show in Chapter 4, on the one hand much more stable working conditions than the Post-Fordist postmigrant artist, but, on the other, both the Fordist and Post-Fordist mode of production created a racialised and gendered division of labour. Another point of critique, I would raise, is based on the fact that processes of precarisation have reached the white middle class. This is perhaps a much more significant reason for the political mobilisation within activist circles and the attention of the press regarding precarious labour than the experiences of precariousness of working class or racialised workers (see Chapters 4 and 5), so that the creation of a simple analogy between the precariat and the proletariat might be questioned on these grounds. Moreover, these cross-class coalitions also bear the risk of reproducing similar dynamics as the autonomous labour organisations of the 1970s in Germany by emphasising unification between white precarious workers and precarious workers of colour on the base of class and omitting racialised labour

divisions within them (see Chapter 4 and Bojadžijev, 2008: 188).

Another characteristic that my research takes on is the precariousness that is linked to the fact that most activities in the arts and cultural sector are not recognised as being productive in an economic sense. Unwaged, voluntary, and free labour are all, as Tiziana Terranova has illustrated, "a trait of the cultural economy at large" (2000: 33). Many artists, however, work in the hope for potential rewards, so that the investment of free labour in the past and present pays out at some point in the future. This constant promise of potentiality is, to a certain degree, underpinned by the "success stories" of a few artists, who have "made it" within the cultural industries, such as for instance the highly-acclaimed filmmaker and patron of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, Fatih Akın or the theatre director Nurkan Erpulat. This dynamic can be analysed by looking at experiences of success on a "winner-takes-all-market" characterised by high income disparities among artists (Abbing, 2002: 107; Menger, 1999: 556), which, among other things, influences the career aspirations and paths of other artists of colour or as an experience of success that departs from precariousness in terms of lacking monetary rewards or representation, but yet remains exposed to racialisation and racism. Hence, one of the central concerns of this study is to detect and examine the working and living conditions of contemporary Turkish German artists in Berlin's postmigrant theatre who are facing precarious living and working conditions in their very particular ways, taking all these aspects into consideration. I investigate the subjective, lived and embodied experience of precarious artistic labour in relation to race by asking what kind of experiences, desires and ideas about life and labour are formulated in the context of instable and insecure working and living conditions and how race and racism play into this situation.

Chapter 3: Epistemological and Methodological Issues in Conducting and Narrating Research as an Insider

This chapter is about the epistemological and methodological issues at stake in conducting and writing up this research project. Whilst the larger trajectory of the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse can be summarised as a collective effort to initiate, establish and institutionalise postmigrant theatre in Berlin, this research project is a critical ethnography[27], which, to use the words of Chris Barker (2002) and Clifford Geertz (1973):

> generates a "detailed holistic description and analysis of cultures based on intensive fieldwork, the objective being the production of what Geertz (1973) famously described as 'thick descriptions' of 'the multiplicity of complex conceptual structures', including the unspoken and taken-for-granted assumptions that are made about cultural life" (Barker, 2002:186).

As I conducted research in my old neighbourhood, focusing on a selected group of artists with whom I share a Turkish German working class background, therefore a similar biography, I had to consider carefully my engagement with the research participants during my fieldwork and how I would analyse the interviews and subsequently narrate the research as an insider. Since I share as a friend the same cultural milieu in the neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg and, as an ally, advocate similar cultural politics regarding the representation of artists and intellectuals of colour in public institutions, an epistemological and methodological approach was needed that could address these issues and would make the debates – potentially in accessible for outsiders to the city and its cultural milieu – comprehensible and transparent.

This chapter provides an account of my fieldwork as well as of the reflective process involved in my research epistemology and methodology and the changing dynamics in which I was implicated as a researcher and a writer. What was most important at first in the process of becoming a researcher in the inital years of this project was to develop my own academic voice. As my academic training up to my postgraduate studies in the Media and Communications Department at Goldsmiths, University of London took place in German universities, where research on the topic of migration largely takes the position of an outsider

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[27] Jim Thomas in his book *Doing Critical Ethnography* (1993) defines critical ethnography "as a way of applying a subversive worldview to the conventional logic of cultural inquiry. It does not stand in opposition to conventional ethnography. Rather, it offers a more direct style of thinking about the relationships among knowledge, society, and political action. The central premise is that one can be both scientific and critical, and that ethnographic description offers a powerful means of critiquing culture and the role of research within it" (1993: vii).

who uses positivist methodologies, I struggled initally to develop a voice from my own positionality as an insider. In the course of developing an academic voice with which to analyse and write on the multiple voices that constitute this work into an academic text, feminist standpoint theory (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2004) – and particularly the work of black feminists scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins (1999) and bell hooks (1992) – proved to be empowering and useful for this project. The epistemological tools developed in standpoint theory allow researchers to attend to the production of knowledge and, more broadly speaking, to the agency of those who are rarely found in decision-making positions in institutions of higher education, in the social sciences and humanities, as well as in art institutions.[28] As this is the case with Turkish German artists as well as academics, I had to come to terms with defending my own standpoint in relation to critics of insider research and the choices and selections I made during the process of the conducting and writing up of this research. Moreover, my focus on the lived experiences of Turkish German artists using a standpoint epistemological approach validates a reflexive account of contemporary German cultural history from the margins, including the voices of those that are usually left out of the narratives of the nation.

The following sections of this chapter, thus, discuss the epistemological and methodological implications of conducting research as an outsider and insider and illustrate the ways in which lived experiences and positions matter in the production of knowledge. Furthermore, I discuss my access to the field, my fieldwork and interview experiences as well as the implications that my methodological approach bears by discussing my own positionality as an insider conducting research at home in Berlin-Kreuzberg with artists, activists and academics, all of whom I shared the same cultural milieu with. Yet, as I explain in the following section, my insider status was complicated by the fact that in my role as an academic researcher I had the status of a professional outsider in relation to the fields of theatre and cultural policy, in which the majority of my research participants are located. In what follows I discuss the epistemological implications of my choice to use feminist standpoint theory. The second part of this chapter is concerned with the advantages of using –

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[28] Representative studies and statistics about Turkish German academics in decision-making positions in German universities do not exist. However, there are several newspaper articles about Turkish academics' experiences of discrimination on the German labour market, see: Akyol, C. (2011) Schade, Deutschland, ich bin weg. In: *Die Tageszeitung*, 25.01.2011, <http://www.taz.de/!64805/> [Accessed: 14.05.2014]; Schenk, A., and Spiewak, M. (2008) "Verprellte Talente", in: *Die Zeit*, 08.12.2008, <http://www.zeit.de/2008/50/C-Talente> [Accessed: 14.05.2014]; Geiges, L. (2011) "Ausbildung in Deutschland, Karriere in der Türkei", in: *Die Zeit*, 18.04.2011, <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2011-04/deutschland-akademiker-abwanderung> [Accessed: 14.05.2014].

apart from interviews – multiple methods, such as participant observation and textual analysis of cultural policy documents and newspaper articles about postmigrant theatre.

The Insider-Outsider Debate and the Othering of Turkish German Subjects

Insider status is commonly attributed to a researcher who explores the research field as a person whose biography matches with the group being researched in terms of gender, race, class, sexual orientation, sharing the same location over a long duration and/or common values with the group the researcher engages with. In contrast, outsider status is attached to those researchers who do not have intimate knowledge of the field and group prior to their fieldwork. Well over a century after the establishment of the discipline of anthropology, during the heyday of Western colonialism, when Western, mostly male, anthropologists went to the colonies to conduct research about the "natives" (see Narayan, 2003: 286), there is still an ongoing debate among ethnographers and social scientists about the usefulness of a sharp distinction between the two binary positions of doing research as a "native" insider and "objective" outsider (Andrade, 2000; Back, 1996; Gunaratnam, 2003; O'Reilly, 2008; Young, 2004). Those belonging to the "outsider" camp, use large warning signs that state the risks involved of crossing or transgressing boundaries in the field particularly when shifting from outsider to insider status. This border crossing, called "going native" (O'Reilly, 2008: 87), results in the researcher's loss of her role as a "neutral" and "objective" observer and field analyst. Thus, when "getting into" the field, outsider ethnographers carefully consider their role to establish relationships of trust with research participants, how they present themselves whilst in their research field to gain reliable data, and how they will "get out" of the field once the research is completed (2008: 9-11). The methodological issues at stake in "getting in", "getting data" and "getting out" in ethnographic research, not only include ethical questions with regards to the human relationships established and which according to Judith Stacey are based on an "inherently unequal reciprocity with informants" (Stacey 1991 [1988]: 117) that "places research subjects at grave risk of manipulation and betrayal by the ethnographer" (Stacey 1991 [1988]: 113), but are also about the quality of the insights that knowledge produces about less powerful groups, for instance racialised minorities, that this setting provides (Harding, 2004: 128, Haraway, 1988).

Due to my biography, born and grown up in Germany as a Turkish German woman, I have had, in certain ways, similar experiences to the majority of the Turkish German artists that I interviewed for this research project. Generally speaking, these shared experiences include comparable processes of socialisation within German society, its education system

and at workplaces. Furthermore, we shared memories that were passed from our families to us, consisting of stories about their labour and life conditions upon their arrival in the diaspora and the experiences they accumulated over decades of a troubled relationship to the nation they immigrated to. These memories are explored in Chapter 4 of this thesis and illustrate how Turkish German culture is situated in a very particular and historically-specific political economy of migrant labour, which needs to be understood within the context of the shift from a Fordist to Post-Fordist mode of production. As Collins has pointed out, these shared experiences point to persisting cultural themes that might be invisible to researchers who are total outsiders and

> In contrast to views of culture stressing the unique, ahistorical values of a particular group, Black feminist approaches have placed greater emphasis on the role of historically-specific political economies in explaining the endurances of certain cultural themes (Collins, 1999: 157).

In the case of my research project, the archival material of Turkish German labour migration history as well of contemporary political discourses about Turkish German migration and its representation in the biographies of the artists as well as in the productions of postmigrant theatre, illustrate the endurance of specific cultural themes. These would have been invisible to outsiders without the historical contextualisation of the lived experiences of Turkish German workers and artists.

In fact, all the above issues are not only part of internal academic debates, but are also depicted in postmigrant theatre productions. In March 2013, I was invited as a guest speaker to a conference entitled "Postmigrant Perspectives on European Theatre" at the Goethe-Institut London, which aimed to provide a platform to share knowledge, experiences and to develop further collaborative networks among artists, cultural policy representatives and academics based in Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands and Turkey. It was during this conference that I attended a theatre production of THEATER RAST Amsterdam. The play "Eldersland" (Elsewhere Land, not a fairy tale, 2013), written by the Dutch playwright Anouk Saleming, was brought to the stage by Turkish Dutch theatre director Şaban Ol and produced and performed for the postmigrant theatre festival project Europe Now[29] in 2013. "Elsewhere Land*"* tells the story of Kasım, a young Turkish Dutch man's life

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[29] As the website of the festival states: "Europe Now is an international theatre festival that puts intercultural Europe on the agenda. Playwrights, directors and producers from five European capital cities were brought together to tell the stories of the 'new Europe', reflecting on its changing demography and polycultural reality.

in Amsterdam who, upon his father's death, is confronted with his mother's wish to return to Turkey to take care of a piece of inherited land. The son's struggle to come to terms with his mother's expectations and his everyday life in Amsterdam is complicated by his sudden feeling of love at first sight towards Harika, a young woman who turns up at the family's doorstep to conduct research for her documentary film about migrants in the Netherlands. A conversation between Harika, equipped with a video camera and Kasım, her research participant, unfolds as follows:[30]

Kasım: How many people are you interviewing anyway?

Harika: It depends.

Kasım: Depends on what?

Harika: On the material.

Kasım: So you see me as material?

Harika: You said it, yes.

Kasım: Do you like the material?

[...]

Kasım: Do you think that the fact that you are seen as a foreigner here has something to do with the subsidies you received for making your film?

Harika: It certainly hasn't hindered me.

Kasım: So you admit that you owe your career to your origins?

Harika: Sure. That's enough now.

Kasım: So in fact, you owe your success to your Turkish background?

Harika: It takes more than the right background to make it in this profession.

[Harika takes the camera back.]

Kasım: Oh, right, a good camera of course.

Harika: Shall I ask the questions?

Kasım: And good material...I'm ready.

Harika: Do you feel like a Turk?

Within the international network the Riksteatern (Stockholm), Talimhane Tiyatroso (Istanbul), Theater RAST (Amsterdam), Arcola Theatre (London) and Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (Berlin) have successfully developed five new plays, four of which are travelling to Amsterdam as part of the Europe Now festival. Europe Now brings international theatre makers in direct contact with each other and gives audiences the unique opportunity to witness four universal stories from four major European cities unfold live on stage". Source: <https://europenowblog.org/festival-2> [Accessed: 05.09.2013].

[30] In what follows a slightly shortened version of the dialogue is taken from the script of the play, which I received as a PDF document by director Şaban Ol.

Kasım: Ah bloody hell! Is that all we're going to talk about?

In accordance with the dialogue above, in the case of academic research about Turkish German migration, the use of positivist, quantitative as well as qualitative research methods and the analysis of data from an outsider perspective under the label "social neutrality", often reproduces hegemonic views about the Turkish German object's capacity to "integrate" in the German "host society".[31] Researchers, who stand on the outsider position, tend to adopt rather uncritical and highly normative, politicized, controversial and academically contested concepts such as integration, identity, belonging, segregation, ghetto and ethnicity as seemingly "neutral", "objective" and "representative" categories to investigate the lived experiences of Germans with Turkish migration biographies. Under the title "Culture, Art and Cultural Policy in the Immigration Society" (Kultur, Kunst und Kulturpolitik in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft) Bernd Wagner states:

> Urban segregation, patriarchal-macho family structures with 'honour killings', 'bought brides' and the oppression of women as well as the expansion of fundamentalist-nationalist world views especially among younger migrant generations reveal that their integration has not successed yet and their lack of acculturalisation to the here [author's note: in this country/Germany] valid norms and values [...] (Wagner, 2009: 576, own translation).

The quote above illustrates, to use the Turkish German film scholar, Deniz Göktürk's words, how research publications about ethnic minorities, engender "a great deal of indifference, othering and exclusion to be observed" (2000: 3). Having said that, there is very little attention paid to the voices and lived experiences of Turkish German migrants in general and the labour conditions of artists of colour in particular, either in postcolonial studies or Cultural Studies, despite their long tradition of looking at issues of cultural identity in the case of ethnic minority artists' cultural productions (see also Chapter 2). The postcolonial cultural theorist Homi Bhabha, for instance, argued in his book *The Location of Culture* (2004 [1994]) that it "is from those who have suffered the sentence of history – subjugation, domination,

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[31] There are plenty of academic publications that tend to uncritically reproduce hegemonic discourses about integration, segregation and identity in the context of Germany as a migration society, thus I only refer to three relatively recently published studies here: Becker, R. (2011) ed. *Integration durch Bildung: Bildungserwerb von jungen Migranten in Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Esser, H. (2006) *Sprache und Integration: Die sozialen Bedingungen und Folgen des Spracherwerbs von Migranten*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag; Gesemann, F., and Roth, R. (2009) eds. *Lokale Integrationspolitik in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Migration und Integration als Herausforderung von Kommunen*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Wissenschaften.

diaspora, displacement – that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking" (2004 [1994]: 246), yet it has been suggested that the figure of the Turkish guest worker in Germany is an "incommensurable, alienated, speechless victim, without any voice" (Göktürk, 2000: 3 quoting Bhabha 1990: 315-317).[32] Being a "native" insider or given one's own belonging to an ethnic or religious minority group, thus, does not automatically imply reflexive criticality toward hegemonic discourses about one's "own minority group" nor about other *others* (as the quote by Bhabha shows). Academic claims of being a "native" insider, thus, need to be interrogated as much as being an "objective" outsider, in order to avoid the reproduction of simple dichotomies of insider or outsider in the field, where far more complex social relationships are at stake.

In the case of my research, my insider position in a complex entangled field such as postmigrant theatre, is described in what follows. As a second generation Turkish German researcher, who grew up in a Turkish German working class family and, because of my own lived experiences of working precariously for several years in the media and cultural industries of Berlin, my research project is situated in a context in which questions regarding my biographical relationship with my research topic as well as with my research participants' concerns arise. These questions relate to, on the one hand, my status as an insider relative to the cultural milieu I was investigating and, on the other, to the necessity of a high degree of self-reflexivity and transparency in the research process (see Maynard 1994: 16), both of which inform methodological inquiries, particularly in critical ethnography, critical race and feminist theory.

Conducting Research as an "Insider"

As I mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis, my first encounter with the postmigrant theatre artists' collective that I interviewed for this research project took place during the first "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in 2006. During the following years, when the artists struggled for institutional recognition in Germany's theatrical landscape with the support of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, my interest in conducting research about these artists' career trajectories grew steadily. A new artistic movement was in the making and when I moved to London in the late summer of 2006 to embark on an MA in Media and Communications, one of my study objectives was to gain a conceptual framework drawing on Cultural Studies, Critical Race Theory, Postcolonial

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[32] See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the figure of the guest worker in Turkish German history.

Studies and Feminist Theory to analyse and reflect upon what was happening back at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre. Hence, at the end of the MA programme I decided to conduct a pilot study for my postgraduate thesis with the title "Contemporary Turkish German Artists in Berlin: Lived Experiences of Precarious Life and Labour in Berlin's Art and Culture Sector". For this pilot study I spent June 2007 in Berlin and interviewed ten Turkish German artists who worked at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and in other state subsidised arts and cultural institutions as well as in the commercial cultural industries, for instance film. As the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse did not exist as an institutionalised postmigrant theatre at the time, the selection of my research participants was not merely based on the criteria that they worked in postmigrant theatre productions at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre. My focus was on Turkish German artists from different artistic genres, including theatre and artists that would later work at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, but the study also included interviews with Turkish German visual artists, musicians and literary writers.

The timeframe in which this research was conducted follows the progress of the protagonists of the postmigrant theatre and their negotiations for institutionalisation within Berlin's cultural landscape. Hence, the thesis covers the development of the postmigrant theatre movement from its early formation at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre (between the years 2004 and 2008) to its consolidation at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (between the years 2008 and 2013) up to Langhoff's appointment as new artistic director of the Maxim Gorki Theatre (from 2013 onwards) and the appointment of Kulaoğlu and Carvalho as new co-directors of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (also from 2013 onwards). However, the active fieldwork that went into this PhD project began with a pilot study in 2007 for my Masters' thesis and was followed by extensive fieldwork periods for this doctoral research project between 2008 and 2013. The last interviews for this project were conducted in 2013 and the last encounter I had with the people working at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the Maxim Gorki Theatre before the submission of the thesis was in April 2014, when I went for a final time to Berlin to introduce postmigrant theatre to a group of migration scholars, who had also been awarded the same PhD scholarship in Migration Studies that financed two and a half years of my study in London and parts of my fieldwork in Berlin.

I conducted 90 interviews in total, which included short conversations of about 30 minutes and interviews up to three hours long. In total 24 of the interviews were recorded on a digital recording device. The recorded interviews were fully transcribed. 66 interviews were not recorded, but notes were taken either during or after the conversations. All interviews were initially coded according to the larger themes I identified either prior to the interview,

such as "labour conditions" and "cultural policy" and further sub-themes emerged after more interviews were conducted and during the coding process of all interviews. Overall 40 of these 90 interviews were conducted with research participants, who worked either in full-time, part-time or in a project-based, freelance capacity at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and/or later at the Maxim Gorki Theatre. The 24 recorded interviews with this group of research participants were semi-structured narrative interviews (see Wengraf, 2001). The conversations began with biographical questions, which were followed by further questions regarding the interviewee's narrative of specific events and how she/he experienced and interpreted specific situations that emerged in the stories. With the artistic management team, two of the theatre directors and some of the actresses and actors who played in several postmigrant theatre productions, I conducted three to four recorded interviews and had several informal conversations over the span of seven years (between 2007 and 2014). Apart from the people in the artistic management (four participants), management assistants (three participants), theatre directors (three participants), dramaturgs (two participants), actresses and actors (15 participants), playwrights (two participants), project curators and assistants (three participants), graphic designers (two participants), technicians (two participants), visual artists (two participants), musicians (two participants), I also conducted interviews with other decision-makers in the field. These included the artistic directors of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and the Werkstatt der Kulturen (Workshop of Cultures) (two participants), cultural and migration policy makers and administrators (four participants), intermediaries between institutions and policy (two participants) and academics and journalists (five participants). The interviews with the artistic directors of the above mentioned institutions, with cultural and migration policy makers and administers as well as with the two intermediaries were all semi-structured interviews consisting of specific questions as well as open questions following the narrative of the interviewee. These interviews were also fully transcribed and coded together with the other interview transcripts.[33]

With regards to my access to interviews with the research participants, most of the interviews took place in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg. Appointments were often made short notice, sometimes by just coincidentally meeting an artist on the street or after a coffee together in one of Kreuzberg's cafès. Other interviews were arranged by emails and phone calls, which also led to swift responses. Authorisations of interviews were not requested. In

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[33] The themes and sub-themes that emerged when I coded the interview material were supplemented with the material I gained through participant observation notes and textual analysis of policy documents and newspaper articles (see sections below).

addition, I recorded three interviews with Turkish German artists, who were not directly involved in any postmigrant theatre production, took notes of about 20 conversations I had with people who had attended plays or other events at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, the Werkstatt der Kulturen and the Maxim Gorki Theatre and took notes of 12 conversations I had with activists from the protest camp Kotti & Co that resisted gentrification in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg (see Chapter 7) and with local shop owners, activists and other people in the neighbourhood. These interviews and conversations took place in various locations in Berlin, such as the offices of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, in the artists' homes, in cafés, restaurants and bars, during concerts, parties and before and after events mostly in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg. The cultural and migration policy makers and administrators I interviewed for this study asked me to come to their offices at the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, the Berliner House of Representatives, both located in Berlin-Mitte and at the office of the Commissioner for Integration and Migration in Berlin Schöneberg. In addition, I attended several other events in the city, as an audience member in 2011, when I recorded a panel discussion with the artistic director Shermin Langhoff and other Berliner theatre managers at the Volksbühne Theatre in Berlin-Mitte and one guest play of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, "Verrücktes Blut" (Crazy Blood), at the Pfalzbau Theatre in the West German city of Ludwigshafen.

Some of the early encounters and conversations I had with the research participants, who had worked at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and would later work at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and at the Maxim Gorki Theatre, took place during the years when I worked as a journalist writing about Turkish German arts and culture for the national newspaper "die tageszeitung" and its weekly Turkish German supplement "perşembe". Other participants knew me from the time when I worked as a tour manager and booker for a Black German musician's project called "Brothers Keepers" or through my political involvement in anti-racist projects and networks. For those research participants who did not know me personally, prior to my fieldwork for this study I arranged meetings and interviews via email or phone calls and some of the artists and I met repeatedly after the initial interview meeting. As I and most of the artists I met for this research project resided in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, where both the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as well as the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre are located, I had no difficulties accessing the field. In fact, given that I communicated that this research project was being conducted as a PhD thesis at Goldsmiths College, an internationally acclaimed college in London particularly known for its specialisation in the arts, humanities and social sciences, the artistic management team of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse repeatedly

stated in public, that such a doctoral research project was being undertaken. The reference to this doctoral research as well as to some of the articles I published about postmigrant theatre whilst writing up the thesis, hence became part of the strategy to voice the legitimacy of postmigrant theatre as well as to underline its significance beyond both the field of theatre and the boundaries of the German national theatre landscape.

Whilst I was a permanent resident in Berlin between 1996 and 2006, I worked precariously for several years as a freelancer in the media and cultural industries and had hit, like most of the Turkish German artists I spoke with, the "glass ceiling" of institutional racism[34] in my early professional career. Thus, my relocation to London was closely linked to my hope for better working conditions in the multicultural metropolis London, where institutional policies regarding racial equality and discrimination in the workplace[35] at least existed, in contrast to Germany, even though their implementation in institutional life might not always be considered "successful" by ethnic minority members of staff.

There was, I felt, sometimes an unspoken agreement and assumption between some of the research participants and me, that we would both exactly know what my research participant was talking about, especially in interview situations, in which the topic of experiencing racism came up, which, due to the focus of this study was a constant theme. This was expressed occasionally by use of phrases such as "you know what I mean" or "you know how it is here" at the end of a story my participant would tell me or emotional expressions of anger, sadness and sometimes tears followed by moments of silence. But, as much as this common knowledge based on shared lived experiences of racism supported a relationship of trust between the majority of my interview partners and me, it also entailed the risk of creating gaps and silences where the full narrative account of my interviewee mattered for my understanding. Thus, by asking repeatedly or using a different form, I had to make sure that I

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[34] Chapter 5 discusses the issue of institutional racism in more detail drawing on the experiences of the artists as well as my own experiences during my work years in the media and cultural industries. My definition of the "glass cealing" of institutional racism stems from Wilson's book *Race and Racism in Literature* (2005) as discussed in Chapter 2.

[35] Anne-Marie Mooney-Cotter in her book *Race Matters: An International Legal Analysis of Race Discrimination* (2006) states with regards to Great Britian, that The Race Relations Act 1976 "outlaws racial discrimination in employment, training, education, housing, public appointments, and the provision of goods, facilities and services […] The Act places general duty on a wide range of public authorities to promote race equality, with the duty's aim is to make the promotion of race equality central to the work of the listed public authorities. This duty means that authorities must have due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination; promote equality of opportunity; and promote good relations between people of different racial groups" (2006: 225). However, Ahmed in her book *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (2012) examines the gap between symbolic, institutional commitments to racial equality and diversity and the actual lived experiences of diversity practicioners within institutions, who describe their experiences of hitting a "brick wall" due to "the lack of an institutional will to change" (2012: 26).

would not fill these kind of gaps in the conversation with assumptions, but to ask again for more detailed answers. Being attentive to the risk of assuming common knowledge, thus, counters criticism of insider bias towards the research subject and the validity of results (Innes, 2009: 440). Further steps which guarded my insider position against bias were that I gave careful attention to the feedback I received from my participants, evaluated the data I gained from multiple data sources, such as interviews, participant observations and texual analysis, which was part of my research strategy of multiple triangulation of the data by making use of different methods as well as by applying a interdisciplinary theoretical approach to this study (see also Denzin, 2009 [1970]: 301-313; Greene, 2007: 43).

Yet, as much as my position of an insider was beneficial in terms of my access to the field and for the establishment of relationships of trust, there were also many differences in relation to my own experiences and those of the research participants, which point to the inconsistencies and contradictions in attributions such as insider and outsider in the terrain. These differences marked my "outsider within" (Collins, 1999) status and concerned my own position as an academic (as I discuss in the next section), as well other differences between the research participants' identities and my own identity. First of all, as I mentioned, there was a difference in location. As I was living in London for the most part between 2006 and 2013, I was in a different social context, in which my identity as a Turkish German woman was less of an issue as an international student in a well-known college than it was in Germany, where despite educational achievements, I was first and foremost considered a Turkish German guest worker's child. The artists I interviewed, however, had to deal on a daily basis with their status as "outsiders" as they were not considered as German artists who, as von Osten had described it, embodied "the professionals of the nation" (von Osten, 2007: 107, see also Chapters 1 and 2). Furthermore, the category Turkish German itself is not an homogenous entity and the construction of a hyphenated cultural and ethnic identity is rather complicated by the fact that both national identity categories, Turkish as well as German, are limited as they do not take into consideration that both societies are ethnically, racially and religiously diverse. Some of my research participants, such as the filmmaker Miraz Bezar, emphasised his Kurdish identity and for political reasons[36] did not want to be labelled as a

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[36] Bezar's political reasons for his self-definition as a Kurdish German filmmaker and theatre director stem from his family's Kurdish descent as well as from three decades of conflict and war in Turkey's Kurdish region in the south-east of the country, between guerrillas, predominantly of the Kurdistan Workers' Party PKK fighting against state oppression and for an independent Kurdish state and the Turkish state and military, which considers the PKK a terrorist organisation. See also: Gunes, C., and Zeydanlioglu, W. eds. (2013) *The Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation, and Reconciliation.* Oxon, Routledge.

Turkish German artist. Other artists, such as Langhoff, who has family members of Circassian descent, did not mind being seen as a Turkish German artist. However, when asked whether she considered herself as a role model for the successful integration of immigrants due to her Turkish migration background, Langhoff rejected being labeled as such and stated that "theatre is made by people and not by concepts" (Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation). In fact, out of 90 interviews and conversations for this research project, only 40 were with people who are Turkish Germans, whereas the majority of research participants had either a German or other migration backgrounds (see also last section of this chapter).

My insider status was furthermore complicated by my relationship with the policy makers and administrators I met for this research project. My experiences were that the policy makers and administrators remained largely distant and their descriptions rarely went beyond protocol. My institutional affiliation to a British university was partly perceived, particularly by the former Commissioner for Migration and Integration in Berlin and the Green Party's former spokesperson for Cultural and Media Affairs and former Chair of the Committee for Cultural Affairs in the Berlin House of Representatives, as an encounter between officials from Germany and Great Britain. One of my research participants, Mark Terkessidis, at the time jury member of the Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital Culture Funds), policy advisor and academic pondered what I had told him about my interview experiences with the former Commissioner for Migration and Integration in Berlin as a state official:

> I have no idea from which perspective the commissioner was talking to you, but of course he has to represent the state's politics, especially as you came all the way from Great Britain to speak with him about cultural diversity and the role of the Commissioner for Integration in relation to this topic. At the end of the day, he has to represent the Land of Berlin, so I don't know if what he has said is actually his opinion or that of the state representative (Mark Terkessidis, personal interview, 06.11.2009, own translation).

I encountered this performance of "secure" positions, particularly with policy makers and administrators, for whom I remained an outsider to the policy sphere as well as an outsider to the city of Berlin, despite my insistence during the interviews that I knew Berlin well enough to call myself a Berliner.

Whilst the interviews with the policy makers involved me feeling othered into a British researcher despite my Turkish German insider status, I also experienced being othered as a Turkish German researcher in an interview I conducted with one of the decision makers in the field, who was a white, German, middle class man. During the interview he told me

about the "schizophrenia" of Turkish German artists, based on his opinion that Turkish German second generation subjects would have split identities, a terminology that I found highly pathologising and patronising. This dynamic unfolded even further with some people, especially at conferences, where I presented my work and who interpellated me as the "authentic researcher", doing "racially matching" research on Turkish German artists in Berlin and therefore a "representative" of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. I countered these arguments by emphasising, on the one hand, that there was indeed a shared political concern between the people working in postmigrant theatre and me, but that I was first and foremost a researcher from an academic institution in London who aimed to conduct a research project that reflected on the working and living conditions of Turkish German artists in Berlin in the case of this institution and not on behalf of it.

Another experience I had was that I began to embody the role of a "translator". In private and public conversations, I experienced the "outsider/insider" ambiguities playing out through switching between three languages, English, German and Turkish. When I used English as a language of conversation or British concepts such as "institutional racism", I began to no longer represent merely an insider in conversations with people in Berlin, but I was considered an "outsider within", a Goldsmiths' researcher who voiced "critical", "progressive" British (not German) academic, artistic, social and political discourses. This comparison between Germany and Britain was brought up in nearly all the conversations I had with people in Berlin and was interpreted either as a chance to look beyond a "narrow German national framework" or as an "impossibility" of the translation and implementation of British concepts into a German context. Thus, during my fieldwork in Berlin, my initial confidence in doing this research as an insider in relation to the cultural milieu I was investigating became more and more complicated as my position shifted between being an insider and being an outsider, being a Turkish German and being a British researcher and when the similarities and differences between the requirements of doing artistic and academic labour respectively were most evident.

One similarity between artistic labour, in the case of this study, such as the production of culture in the institution of theatre, and academic labour, in the case of this study, as the production of knowledge in an institution of higher education, is that both the work of the artists as well as my research work aim to produce narratives as original contributions in their respective fields. Although the two fields follow different conventions, there are intersections so as to produce compelling and original narratives, as described in the above section in which I discussed the academic debate about insider and outsider status and how this debate is

depicted in the play "Eldersland" (Elsewhere Land, not a fairy tale), but also other postmigrant theatre plays, that are analysed in various chapters of the thesis, for example "Verrücktes Blut" (Crazy Blood) or "Lö Bal Almanya" demonstrate the similarities between artistic and academic narratives as critical commentaries on public discourse on migration and racism.

Another similarity is that both academic and artistic labour are conceptualised as being vocational and the "products" of artistic labour and academic labour are often considered as "gifts" to the artistic and academic community, as Ruth Barcan (2013) explores with regards to academia and Brian Holmes and Marion von Osten, (2004) discuss in relation to the arts. The following quote by Barcan in her book *Academic Life and Labour in the New University: Hopes and Other Choices* (2013), therefore applies both to academic and artistic labour as vocational, sacrificial and precarious:

> Vocation implies the meaningfulness of work, a privileged collectivity with whom to share it, values and goals that transcend the everyday, a tolerance of impecuniosity, and the inseparability of work and life. […] [A]cademic labour retains its connection to the gift, in the anthropological sense. The gift, as theorized most famously by Marcel Mauss (1999 [1923]), is a traditional mode of transaction in which the *relationship* between giver and receiver is primary, with individuals or clans bound together in webs of obligations to give, to receive and to reciprocrate. In contrast to the series of seemingly voluntary transactions between individuals that characterize commodity exchange, a gift economy implies and secures the ties and obligations that bind people into a community. Vocation fits into this notion of gifted or 'sacrificial' labour (Ross, 2004: 192). […] It also implies a focus on things 'above' the everyday, and hence the active embrace of, or at least willingness to tolerate, penury (Barcan, 2013).

I wish to underline here that the time and labour that the artists gave freely for this research project was a "gift" to me as a young emerging Turkish German academic as much as this research project became a "gift" for a group of young emerging Turkish German artists, both parties notoriously underpaid and yet passionate and working in solidarity on this project. The decision to reflect together with the artists on their practices and situatedness within Berlin's cultural landscape, instead of sharing my thoughts merely with other academics, created non-hierarchical and mutual benefitial exchanges. In addition, I shared parts of the interview transcripts and articles I had published with those artists who wanted to take part in this process of mutual feedback. Shared conference attendances, such as during "Postmigrant Perspectives on European Theatre" at the Goethe-Institut London, created another platform to share knowledge, experiences and to develop further collaborative networks among postmigrant theatre artists, cultural policy representatives and academics across Europe. In

addition, I always invited the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and some of the artists I had interviewed to attend events where I presented early findings of my research in Berlin, for example during a workshop series at the Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst/NGBK (New Society for Visual Arts) in March 2009 and at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (House of World Cultures) in 2010. In addition, during the final stages of writing up this research project, in the autumn of 2013 I co-organised with the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse a series of events entitled "Twenty Olive Trees and A House"[37] in the framework of the "Black Lux" Festival, for which Black Turkish activists were invited and spoke about Turkey's colonial past through the lens of African Turkish history and contemporary politics in the region of Izmir, Turkey. It was during these events that the artistic co-directors of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse said that the theatre was in fact waiting for my research project to finished in order to collaborate on a series of knowledge transfer projects between the artistic and the academic field based on my research findings. Yet, I understood whilst in the field that there are, despite similarities between artistic and academic labour, also major differences for which I had to account for to grasp on which base a knowledge transfer between the academic and artistic field could be further developed.

One of the main differences between academic and artistic labour is that, generally speaking, the work that theatre artists do is about the performance of characters and the presentation of experiences of real or fictional events, whilst academic labour is about the production of knowledge, which is produced in consideration of specific academic rules and conventions, such as autonomy, accountability and scrutiny. The discrepany between academic and artistic labour, thus, can create hierarchies and conflicts of interest in various ways. These hierarchies may occur when theoretical concepts are used that are not understandable or on a level of academic abstraction that is "untranslatable" for research participants, who are not academics. A conflict of interests can arise, when concepts do not actually serve the purpose to name, describe and analyse the lived experiences of the research participants, but to create a meta-level academic narrative that does not match with the research participants' experiences and interests in their respective field. Having said that, my research project aimed to avoid these traps by developing a collaborative approach in which an open and frequent communication between researcher and research participants was

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[37] The title for these events originates from the history of slavery in the Ottoman Empire. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s, Africans were released from slavery and received Turkish citizenship and twenty olive trees and a house. For an historical account of African slavery in the Ottoman Empire, see: Erdem, H. Y. (1996), *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800-1909*. London, Macmillan.

established throughout the period of conducting and writing up the study. However, a trap that my research could not entirely avoid was the reproduction of hierarchies that were given in the field such as the expectional status that is given to the founder of the postmigrant theatre movement, Shermin Langhoff, and the strong emphasis on representing the voices of the artistic management, theatre directors and policy experts rather than the voices of the actresses and actors performing in the plays of the postmigrant theatre movement. This is partly due to the study's focus on the institutionalisation process of the theatre movement. Langhoff is quoted in more length and frequently than the other research participants as she occupies the most central leadership role within the postmigrant theatre field, the division of labour in the theatre landscape and Berlin's cultural diversity policy's flagship strategy, that fosters individual and exceptional institutional "diversity" leadership instead of structural changes throughout all state-subsidised theaters[38]. Another reason for the reproduction of hierarchies is, that the study's focus lies on the institutionalisation process of postmigrant theatre through which I investigated precarious and racialised artistic labour. Most of the actresses and actors I spoke with, however, only spoke about their experiences in a particular play for which they were temporarily hired and could not say much about the institutionalisation process of the theatre movement. Their voices and experiences, hence, only appear in sections of the thesis, in which particular plays or racial typecasting are discussed.

Another issue, which caused concern regarding my research ethics was how I used authority to create a narrative about the lived experiences that my conversational partners have shared with me. In order to counteract this unbalanced relationship, I decided early on to share quotes, that I felt could cause unwanted exposure of my research participants' professional and personal concerns regarding his or her life and labour conditions and I asked each participant for his or her approval. The development of research questions, the compilation, selection and writing up of the theoretical and empirical material, given my academic outsider position vis-à-vis the labour practices and various (and partly conflicting) interests of the artists, artistic directors, curators, arts and policy administrators, journalists, advisors and policy makers that I interviewed for this study, required my self-reflexivitity about my position in the field and the epistemological ground on which I produced knowledge about postmigrant theatre and the politics of cultural diversity in the arts.

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[38] See also Chapter 5 and 6 for a detailed account of Berlin's labour market for theatre professionals and cultural diversity in the arts policies.

Epistemological Reflections: Situated Knowledge and the Politics of Location

Epistemology, as a science of knowledge, investigates the standards that we use to assess knowledge or the reasons why we believe that what we believe is true. Epistemology in general is not an apolitical study of the "truth", but maps out the ways in which power relations are shaping what and who we believe and why (Collins, 1999: 252). One of the key contributions of feminist standpoint theory in particular is its challenge to conventional ideas concerning the production of scientific knowledge as it engages with the relation between the production of knowledge and the practices of power. The main assumption of feminist standpoint theory is that the production of knowledge depends on our position within social relations of power. According to the theory, our perspectives and our value judgements – that is how we construct and see the world and interpret it – depends on the standpoint that we occupy within power relations. As power relations shape our standpoints, they also reveal how certain claims of objective analysis can be distorted by the reproduction of dominant ideologies and paradigms that are conducted under so-called standards of social neutrality in research. Hence, standpoint epistemologies open up questions regarding claims of objectivity and subjectivity in the production of understanding, meaning and knowledge. Whereas the production of scientific knowledge in mainstream social sciences is constructed as objective, distant and neutral in relation to the objects under study and the position of the researcher, feminist scholars, such as Donna Haraway, argue for the production of "situated and embodied knowledges" (Haraway 1988: 583). Research, according to Haraway, is not an innocent practice that comes from "nowhere". A significant critique on the production of academic knowledge on behalf of feminist writers is that researchers, as subjects of knowledge who claim to speak for humanity in general, appear to be "idealised agents" (Harding, 2004: 4) of scientific knowledge. As Sandra Harding puts it with reference to Haraway, these researchers are performing the "'god trick' of speaking authoritatively about everything in the world from no particular location or human perspective at all" (2004: 4, see also Haraway, 1988: 581). Standpoint theory argues, as Harding puts it,

> for "starting off thought" from the lives of marginalized peoples; beginning in those determinate, objective locations in any social order will generate illuminating critical questions that do not arise in thought that begins from dominant group lives (Harding, 2004: 128).

Applying this to my own research meant starting off with the lives of Turkish German artists,

which allowed less one-sided and distorted explanations, not only of the lived experiences of these artists, but also of other artists of colour's experiences and the general social order in which these experienced are shaped.

I pursued the task of presenting the voices of contemporary Turkish German cultural producers, not from the perspective of speechless and authentic "victims", but of active agents with varying experiences and standpoints in the cultural landscape of Berlin. Thus, I decided not to anonymise the names of the research participants, which would have rendered their particular biographies and voices invisible. Moreover, the formation of Turkish German Cultural Studies involves the effort to name, redefine and explain the significance of those producing Turkish German culture in the public sphere, to uncover unexplored areas of Turkish German experiences and to identify the spheres of social relations where Turkish German cultural producers create and pass on self-definitions and self-valuations that are necessary in coming to terms with one's position within the arts and cultural industries, as well as in the wider society.[39] However, it is also important to name those who contest the significant contributions of Turkish German cultural producers, to analyse how structural racism is at work in institutional and public life and how institutional whiteness operates. Thus, I also decided to refer openly to the voices in academia, cultural and migration policy and the theatre landscape that, although in support of cultural diversity in the arts, struggled with getting to terms with the arrival of those who embodied diversity and demanded equal access to resources.

Particularly since the mid-1990s, a multiplicity of Turkish German artists' voices and their cultural productions gained public recognition in Germany and abroad, such as in film, music and literature. This increasing presence and popularity led academic researchers to investigate the works of art produced by Turkish German artists (see Adelson, 2005; Cheesman, 2007; Eken, 2009; Horrocks & Kolinsky, 1996; Göckede & Karentzos, 2006; Kimmich & Werberger 2009; Mani 2007; Weber, 2009; Wurm 2006). However, so far there is little attention paid to the material conditions of these artists and the labour involved in the production of Turkish German arts and culture. This silence with regards to the material conditions under which Turkish German artists try to realise their work and to make a living from it refers to the myth produced by hegemonic policy narratives regarding the creative sector as an "engine for economic growth", in which there is little space for a critique that takes precarity in the sector seriously. Precarious labour conditions in state-subsidised theatres

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39 See also Collins (2004: 112) for an account of the importance of African American Women's Culture and Black Feminist Thought, that influenced my conceptualisation of Turkish German culture significantly.

indicate minimal funding opportunities for cultural diversity in the arts projects in Berlin, particularly for Turkish German and also for other artists of colour, such as Black German artists. The insufficient engagement of critical creative labour scholars with race and cultural diversity in the arts rather enforces this silence.

For these reasons, I wish to offer a way out of this muteness. Haraway's work on "situated knowledges" (1988) charts an epistemological register highly useful for this research project. Haraway proposes a strategy that requires the conceptualisation of the objects of knowledge not as passive resources for imperial projects or as "masks for interests", but rather as active agents with whom sciences have "conversations" (1988: 591). These conversations and their representation in my thesis, however, are not creating a "true" meaning concerning the multiple and perhaps contradictory social worlds that the artists and I inhabit, but emphasise, as Elisabeth Probyn states, "the historical conditions involved in its speaking" (1993: 28). This means, by analysing the narratives of Turkish German artists with a standpoint epistemological approach, this research contributes to the writing of a contemporary Turkish German cultural history in relation to the creative labour that is inscribed and yet invisible in this history from the perspective of Turkish German subjects. Moreover, the investigation of how these artists produce culture as a material form of labour which is inscribed and yet invisible in cultural history does, I believe, open up new possibilities of an academic understanding "of the ways in which race is 'made', resisted and performed in the "rituals of everyday existence" (Knowles 2003 cited in Alexander & Knowles, 2005: 13) that in turn affects society as a whole.

Having said on which epistemological grounds the production of knowledge in this research project is based, there remains the question of to whom is it speaking? In my own experience of public and private talks about my research topic those who occupy marginalised and precarious positions due to stated experiences of racism, homophobia, sexism and poverty underlined that my research is speaking about their experiences and is speaking to them. These voices, my own included, appear in predominantly White middle class institutional contexts and the questioning of the legitimacy of lived experiences is often absorbed in universal notions of sameness, such as "all artists are precarious". One of the key arguments of this thesis that binds together different perspectives and angles depicted in the empirical chapters, is that processes of racialisation impact on artists working in precarious labour conditions. Employment chances in the artistic labour market for artists facing racial and ethnic discrimination possesses special complexities that have to be taken into account in a discussion of the epistemological grounds of studying artistic labour from the perspectives of

artists of colour. As Russell Ferguson points out:

> The tradition of the avant-garde has led many artists to identify with a kind of glamorized otherness; to see themselves as marginalized, and art by definition as a marginalized activity. Many have actively sought isolation from the rest of society, whether in bohemian garrets or ivory towers. This tradition inevitably creates an ambiguous relationship with those who have not chosen marginalization, but have had it thrust upon them. It is all too easy for a white, male artist to buy into the long-established myth of the outsider and, in the process, forget that his race and sex still confer on him privileges which are non the less real for having been forgotten (Ferguson, 1990: 11).

Whereas Ferguson's statement resonates with many depictions made throughout the thesis with regards to lived experiences of institutional exclusion by Turkish German artists as described in Chapter 4 and 5 and the processes of gentrification in relation to the arrival of White middle class bohemians and hipsters in Kreuzberg in Chapter 7, this project's limitations are to be found in the lack of engagement with approaches developed in Critical Whiteness Studies to investigate the ways in which "white privilege" in the arts world or in academia is experienced by those considered to have "white privilege" in Berlin's theatre landscape. Yet, I believe that the quotes of all the research participants, artists, cultural policy-makers, activists and academics that are used in the thesis – even though not always explicitly – speak about structural as well as embodied privileges in Berlin's cultural, political and theatre landscape.

Advocating standpoint theory, as Collins (1989) and Sandoval (2004) have pointed out, is, besides its value as an epistemology and methodology, also a political strategy that empowers subordinated and silenced groups and enables the development of an "oppositional" and "shared consciousness" (Patricia Hill Collins, 1989) and a language that speaks about the experiences of people of colour. The Black feminist and cultural critic bell hooks calls this strategy "the politics of location" that makes "counter-hegemonic practices to identify the spaces where we begin the process of re-vision" possible (hooks, 1996: 48). As I have approached postmigrant theatre as a space were counter-hegemonic cultural practices and a process of re-vision is continuously taking place, this research project illuminates the strategies and "politics of location" of Turkish German artists working in that space. Inspired by the work of Black feminist researchers, I believe that academics and cultural producers invested in what hooks calls the politics of location are able to create platforms and communities that invent new narratives to rethink and change lived experiences in terms that both name the relations of oppression and also offer ways in which to overcome subordination and discrimination. In the words of hooks, it is important for us "to create an oppositional

worldview, a consciousness, an identity, a standpoint that exists not only as that struggle which also opposes de-humanization but as that movement which enables creative, expansive self-actualization" (1990: 15).

Spaces in which counter-hegemonic practices take place require emotional investment and labour as well as the establishment of relationships of trust among those bringing these spaces alive. Whilst I have delineated my epistemological approach, my position as a researcher is not only structured by my anti-racist and feminist standpoint, but also by the early decision I made during the research process to use the full names of the participants and not to anonymise the people who due to their professions are publicly known in and beyond Berlin. This decision – as well as the preceding stage of gaining access to speak in-depth and over the span of seven years with the research participants – required, particularly in the case of the artists I spoke with, relationships of trust that grew during many years in which I lived in the neighbourhood, the establishment of friendships, which happened prior to and during my fieldwork in Berlin and the discussions I had with participants about my publicly accessible publications during private and public conversations about the research project. Having said that, the decision to state the main research participants full names also meant that certain issues that came up during conversations regarding some of the internal problems and politics among the research participants and in the field were kept off the record and are not presented in the thesis.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a central research tool in ethnographic fieldwork in which the researcher immerses herself in her field of study for an extended period of time (Emerson et al, 2001: 352). The aim of participant observation is to obtain insights into the qualities, social activities, and processes of a particular social setting. Emphasising the participatory character of this method, these observations derive from a position of active engagement within the field in contrast to passive and distanced observations (Atkinson et al., 2003). In the case of my research, I hold, as I have already illustrated in previous sections of this chapter, a specific relationship to my field of research. As I had lived for many years in Berlin and was involved in the field given my earlier engagement as a journalist and as a friend of some of the artists who became a part of this project, the time period of my fieldwork spans over seven years. My active fieldwork started in June 2007 when I conducted a pilot study, therefore I established myself in the role as a researcher in the field from this time.

Participant observation involves the writing of field notes, day-by-day accounts and

detailed descriptions of activities in the field. This written material is used as data that supports the writing up of findings at the end of the research process. Hence, participant observation involves reflecting on the subjective experience of a specific setting. With this method, the active role of the researcher in the generation of data is of crucial importance, because the perspective of the researchers toward the field constitutes the basis for a particular representation of a social order (Emerson et al., 2001). For my research, the use of participant observation was an effective method to track down those aspects of the everyday activities and experiences of the cultural producers involved in this study that were not verbalised in the narrative interviews. In addition, it was useful to gain insight into the relationships between the artists themselves, between artists and policy makers and other intermediaries and finally to also have a sense of the perception of the audiences and their discussions regarding the plays and events at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. As participant observations could be made and then presented as issues for discussion with my research subjects, I am going to make use of this by presenting the analysis and findings chapters of my thesis for their review. This method opened up opportunities to enhance a process of collective reflexivity on particular and perhaps controversial issues, such as between "independent" and "commissioned" research, as I have mentioned in one of the previous sections. Furthermore, participant observation allowed the participants of the research project to take part in shaping the trajectory of the research by discussing ideas I shared with the artists and their feedback, but also through direct action, non-verbalised expressions and the production of shared experiences when I was in Berlin (see also research methods of Precarias a la Deriva, 2004).

However, there were also limitations to the method that I wish to discuss. One significant point was the issue of access and time in participant observation. Over the span of seven years, between 2007 and 2014, I visited Berlin on average two to three times a year and stayed there for the duration of approximately one to four weeks. Although access to the field was not a major concern as I was conducting fieldwork in a familiar environment, the situation that I lived and worked most of the year in London and despite a scholarship I received for two and a half years had limited financial resources, made it difficult to communicate on a regular basis or to react in a fast and flexible way to some of the participants' invitations to theatre shows or meetings. Thus, my insider status as someone from the neighbourhood was complicated by my voluntary outsiderness, when I would spend time in London to reflect on my fieldwork experiences and to work on the thesis. Changes in the cultural landscape of the city, participation during important events, daily conversations and observations within the field were in my case limited to particular time frames due to my

residency in London. Apart from that, the working patterns and daily activities of the artists I had spoken with were very diversified, multi-located and often unpredictable. This would have required me to follow each particular person involved in the research to various workplaces throughout the country, but that was a time- and cost-intensive practice that was difficult to organise. Therefore, the use of participant observation in my study can be characterised as a strategy that initially established the contacts with some of my interview partners and allowed me to participate at selected events, such as the opening of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in November 2008, the festival "Beyond Belonging: Translokal" in November 2009 and several plays, events and parties at the venue. Participant observation at the venue and during events was an important research activity to explore the discursive and materialised structures of the field under study.

Finally, and as stated in previous sections, taking the time to participate, observe and become more and more mutually familiar with one another within a "gift economy" was crucial for the establishment of relationships of collaboration and mutual trust. As Angrosino and Mays de Pérez (2000) have argued, instead of utilising participant observation as a method for data generation, it would be more useful to view it as a "context for interaction among those involved in the research collaboration" (Angrosino & de Pérez, 2000: 676). Following Tony Bennett's argument that higher education is embedded in governmental structures just as postmigrant theatre is, the discipline of Cultural Studies needs to reflect upon its location and "to work with other 'governmental' organizations of culture to develop policy and modes of strategic intervention, since we are not discussing the relations between two separate realms (critique and the state) but, rather, the articulation between two branches of government, each of which is deeply involved in the management of culture" (Bennett, 1998: 6 cited in Barker, 2003: 420-21). Thus, beyond the collaborative approach conducted while doing fieldwork, the documentation of this research project serves further collaborations between all those individuals involved to further develop modes of strategic intervention in academia, Germany's theatre and cultural policy landscape for the successful implementation of cultural diversity in institutional life.

Textual Analysis of Policy Documents and Newspaper Articles

My methodological approach for the analysis of policy documents regarding migration and cultural diversity in the arts follows Jim McGuigan's proposition to emphasise "the relationship of policy to politics as a field of contestation between rival discourses, ideologies and interests. […] Cultural policy raises questions of regulation and control but its meaning

should not be restricted to an ostensibly apolitical set of practical operations that are merely administered and policed by governmental officials" (2003: 24). As I illustrate in Chapter 6, the artistic labour of the protagonists involved in the state-subsidised postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse relies on governmental support that is facilitated by cultural policy and its funding apparatus. Hence, postmigrant theatre productions and the labour conditions of the artists it employs situate this thesis in the context of cultural and migration policy and in relation to its institutions, cultural diversity in the arts discourses and the cultural budgeting allocated to the venue and its artistic projects. In order to investigate how cultural policies framed the labour conditions of the artists working at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and how the artists orientated and negotiated their positions amidst cultural policy discourses and specific funding structures, I investigated the opportunities and restrictions within Berlin's cultural policy structures by analysing policy documents of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs prior to my interviews with cultural as well as integration and migration[40] policy makers and administrators. This also included the interviews conducted with the artistic management of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the Werkstatt der Kulturen, who, as representatives of institutions, were directly involved in strategic negotiations with policy makers regarding the development of cultural diversity policies and funding in Berlin.

Guided by Tony Bennett's assertion, that "cultural politics centres on *policy* formulation and enactment within the institutions that produce and administer the form and content of cultural products" (Bennett, 1992 cited in Barker, 2003: 420-21), what followed my initial textual analysis of policy formulations and statistical data was to investigate in the interviews how institutions that produced and administered cultural products enacted and negotiated cultural policies. As most policy documents that I used for this study were published on websites, such as the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs's site[41] as well as on the pages of other governmental institutions and free for download, the process in which these policies were implemented and enacted were not documented and required further investigation with interviews. Thus, I treated the policy texts I collected for this research project as resources for analysing the meanings they conveyed for all agents involved in

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[40] As I state in Chapter 6, integration and migration policies were implemented over the past decade to reflect the changing self-definition of Germany as a country of immigration. These policies have been instrumental in the formulation of new cultural policy guidelines for diversity. However, their implementation has been critiqued by the artists who participated in this study as insufficient in relation to the demand for institutional changes in the arts that have arisen due to rapid demographic shifts and a thriving postmigrant artistic scene.
[41] See <http://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/foerderung/interkulturelle-projektarbeit/index.de.html> [Accessed: 15.03.2012].

diversity in arts practices and with regard to the following issues, as outlined by Jenny Ozga: a) "The source of policy: whose interests it serves; its relationship to global, national and local imperatives", b) "The scope of the policy: what it is assumed it is able to do; how it frames the issues; the policy relationships embedded in it", and c) "The pattern of the policy: what it builds on or alters in terms of relationships, what organizational and institutional changes or developments it requires" (2000: 94-95).

In addition to the analysis of policy documents, I examined over 300 newspaper articles that were published between 2006 and 2014, including interviews with artists, theatre reviews and other news stories about postmigrant theatre, cultural diversity in the arts, Berlin's artistic scene and debates about precarious labour in the arts and cultural policy. I used a thematic coding scheme for these articles, which corresponded with the themes and subthemes that I had identified in the interviews. The codes that emerged were then labeled, given a definition of what the theme was about, a description that flagged the occurance of the theme, when it reappeard in another article, policy document, interview or fieldnote, a schematic filter with which I qualified and disqualified the relevance of a source or particular information and a guiding quote for each theme that directed my focus on identifiying corresponding material for the theme (see also Klenke, 2008: 94).

This chapter has outlined the research trajectory and the epistemological and methodological approach of this seven-year research project. As a researcher who conducted fieldwork at home with multiple methods (such as interviews, participant observation and textual analysis of cultural policy documents and newspaper articles) and moved in between my own cultural milieu in Berlin's neighbourhood of Kreuzberg and my academic milieu at Goldsmiths College in London, I inititally discussed methodological debates about insider and outsider research and positioned myself as an insider to the cultural milieu I investigated and an outsider academic to the artistic field that this thesis investigated. Furthermore, I argued that my approach to insider research and feminist standpoint epistemology opens possibilities to knowledge production that contributes to the writing of a contemporary Turkish German cultural history in relation to the creative labour that is inscribed and yet invisible in this history from the perspective of Turkish German subjects. The following chapter, thus, provides an in-depth analysis of Turkish German cultural history from the 1960s onwards in the context of the Fordist guest worker system, the significance of cultural memory work for the narrative and aesthetic repertoire of postmigrant cultural productions and the contributions of the first generation of Turkish German theatre and film artists.

Chapter 4: Turkish German Migration – From the Factory to the Stage

"Die Naunynstrasse füllt sich mit Thymianduft,
mit Sehnsucht und Hoffnung, aber auch mit Hass"

"The Naunynstreet fills with the scent of thyme,
with yearning and hope, but also with hate"

Aras Ören in: *Was macht Niyazi in der Naunynstrasse/
What is Niyazi Doing in the Naunynstrasse*, 1973.

Berlin-Kreuzberg, Naunynstrasse, an old ball house, the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse at the house number twenty-seven, above flats, the walls at the ground floor covered with posters and street art. Since the arts and culture centre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was reopened in November 2008 as the first postmigrant theatre institution of the city, a lot changed in Berlin's theatre landscape. With the new logo for the venue, a black dog, also came a new artistic agenda. Shermin Langhoff, who was back then the newly appointed artistic director of the house, explained the choice for a black dog in an interview as follows:

> When we were thinking about a logo for our house, we wanted to have something young, something curious, something with power. To be old school was a theme, to say: we are in the third row, in a small house, which is very local. At some point the dog was born. The dog stands for the bastard, for the métissage, for the black head. At the same time, the dog is an ambivalent creature: it frightens one and is loved by another, some cannot relate to the dog at all. We needed such an ambivalent creature for our house, as we are engaging with questions rather than explanations" (Langhoff 2009: 31, in Freitext No. 13, 2009, own translation).

Asking questions about how the stories of migration could be retold from postmigrant perspectives, the new programme of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse not only reflects the zeitgeist of a multicultural urban society, but also revises and tells anew the cultural heritage that the labour migration of their parents' generation, the so called "guest workers" in Germany, brought into being over half a century ago. For that reason, it is also no surprise that this new central institution for contemporary theatre is located in the Naunynstrasse, a street to which one of the first Turkish German writers Aras Ören had dedicated his book *Was macht Niyazi in der Naunynstrasse* (What is Niyazi Doing in the Naunynstrasse) (1973). Ören's publication counts as the first piece of literature of the so-called "guest worker generation" in Germany and one line of it was written for the opening of the house, in big letters, above the door of the front building: "The Naunynstreet fills with the scent of thyme, with yearning and hope, but also with hate" (Ören 1973).

This chapter examines key moments and figures in the history of Turkish German labour migration in the context of the Fordist guest worker model, in which the lived experiences of the first generation of Turkish German workers and artists are situated. Using the concept of cultural memory, I argue that cultural memory mediates relations between the past and the present and is a useful tool to understand the ways in which German society is undergoing major changes from a homogenous nation state to an increasingly multicultural society. Extending Hall's work on cultural identity (see Chapter 2), I argue that the Turkish German artists working at postmigrant theatre perform acts of memory. I examine how memory is a form of labour that postmigrant artists do to reaffirm intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories and lived experiences of migration. As this chapter illustrates, these cultural memories constitute the narrative and aesthetic repertoire of postmigrant cultural productions, which become political through acts of remembrance that counteract the long neglect of Turkish German hi/stories in the institutional realm of memory work, such as the official 50th anniversary celebrations of the first bi-lateral guest worker agreement in 2011, as well as in state-subsidised theatre and theatre historiography (see also Boran, 2004: 75). Moreover, this chapter refers to postmigrant cultural productions in terms of their potential to question and critique hegemonic, static and reductive historical accounts in which post-War Turkish German migration is merely explained in the context of a host country's economic need for migrant labour (Bojadžijev, 2008; Fischer & Pierdicca, 2014). I argue instead that an emphasis on the subjective motives, experiences and struggles of people who migrated from Turkey to Germany as intergenerational transmitted cultural memories depicted in the programming and the productions of postmigrant artists, counter reductionist historiographies of migration. Whilst in the hegemonic historical account people of Turkish descent are, as Sebastian Fischer and Marika Pierdicca point out, "nothing more than objects of the state, of politics and the economy" (2014: 127), the archive of subjective experiences of Turkish Germans enables a perspective in which the first generations of Turkish German artists and the artists working at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse are active subjects, agents and narrators of their own hi/stories. Thus, this chapter brings together both the objective (as facts and figures) and the subjective (as cultural memory and cultural production) hi/stories of Turkish German migration. This approach, as much as it is experimental in terms of its combination of two different narratives, serves to illustrate how the more abstract political dimensions of migration are depicted in subjective narratives of individual figures. The inclusion of stories of resistance, such as the Ford worker's wildcat strike in Cologne in 1973, led by Turkish guest workers (as I explain in more detail later in this chapter) and Turkish

German cultural productions that engender subjective narratives, counteracts a culture of amnesia (Huyssen, 1995; Göktürk, 2009) in which the history of political participation and cultural production of the first generation of Turkish migrants is forgotten and neglected and that of second and third generation Turkish Germans is considered a novelty in German cultural history.

As the interwoven cultural practices alongside the official narrative show, Turkish German music, literature, film and theatre had a long tradition of subjective commentary and intervention in public discourses about Turkish German migration prior to the emergence of postmigrant theatre. The introductory quote by the Turkish German author Aras Ören thus needs to be understood within the author's lived experiences and within a historical, social and political context, in which minority artists such as writers intervened, albeit marginalised, in public debates about Turkish guest workers in Germany. As Rita Chin in her book *The Guest Worker Question in Post-War Germany* (2007) states:

> By the end of the 1960s, small numbers of minority writers who had come to the Federal Republic as migrants began to question the specific terms of public debate, self-consciously re-presenting the guest worker as something more than a beneficiary of the postwar economic boom or a victim of industrial capitalist exploitation […] [and] the emergence of a primarily Turkish minority intelligentsia [was] dedicated (at least initially) to critiquing what could be said about guest workers (Chin, 2007: 7).

Whilst the first generations of Turkish German artists addressed in their works the subjective experiences of the working class, not much is remembered in official accounts about these artists' labour conditions. Thus the second part of this chapter draws on memories of the first generation of Turkish German theatre makers and discusses their lived experiences of structural discrimination and critiques of Germany's theatre landscape.

Celebrating 50 Years of Turkish German Migration: Cultural Memory and Turkish German Historiography

The year 2011 marked the 50th anniversary of the first bi-lateral guest worker agreement between Turkey and Germany. State and cultural institutions, the media as well as migrant civil society organisations celebrated the occasion nation-wide. In June 2011, I noted in my fieldwork diary: "I have never seen so many events about Turkish German migration in my life, it feels obsessive". One could read in the newspapers story after story about the arrival of the guest workers at West German train stations; how an old Turkish man remembered his walks along the river Rhine on a cloudy day in 1975; what happened to a Turkish guest

worker women once she retired and went back to her old village in Anatolia; how a third generation Kurdish German journalist experienced being a guest worker child among Turkish German guest worker children. It was impossible to catch up with all these little, fragmented and seemingly random stories. I began to read literature on memory studies to make sense of this dense succession of sometimes imaginative and sometimes trivial accounts of Turkish German subjects in the public sphere. Andreas Huyssen, one of the most prominent scholars in memory studies, argues in his book *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (1995) that:

> […] the mnemonic convulsions of our culture seem chaotic, fragmentary, and free-floating. They do not seem to have a clear political or territorial focus, but they do express our society's need for temporal anchoring when in the wake of the information revolution, the relationship between past, present, and future is being transformed. Temporal anchoring becomes even more important as the territorial and spatial coordinates of our […] lives are blurred or even dissolved by increased mobility around the globe (Huyssen, 1995: 6).

Yet, whilst global flows of migration also changed the demographic structure of German society, "it's all about remembering the good old days, when Turks were still guest workers," I noted in my research diary on the 16th of September 2011. The figure of the guest worker was no longer part of everyday life but had become somewhat sacred. Why? As the German Egyptologist, Jan Assmann, another prominent scholar in memory studies[42], writes:

> […] cultural memory is imbued with an element of the sacred. The figures are endowed with religious significance, and commemoration often takes the form of a festival. This, along with various other functions, serves to keep the foundational past alive in the present, and this connection to the past provides a basis for the identity of the remembering group. By recalling its history and reenacting its special events, the group constantly reaffirms its own image; but this is not an everyday identity. The collective identity needs ceremony – something to take it out of the daily routine. To a degree, it is larger than life (Assmann, 2011: 38).

Government funding was provided for nationally and municipally organised commemoration

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[42] A review of memory studies and the usefulness of the nexus between memory, history and migration would go beyond the limits of this thesis as its main focus is on issues of racialised artistic labour in the case of postmigrant theatre artists. However, memory studies is a rich and expanding field of critical enquiry, which engages with how people construct a sense of the past in the present. Key publications that I refer to in this chapter are: Antze, P., and Lambek, M. (1996) eds. *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. London/New York, Routledge; Assmann, J. (2011) *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Halbwachs, M. (1992) *On Collective Memory*. Chicago/London, Chicago University Press; Huyssen, A. (1995) *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, London/New York, Routledge.

festivities as well as for artistic and academic cultural memory projects that dug in the archives of Turkish German labour migration to narrate the stories of the first generation of guest workers. These celebrations, however, did not exactly cause cheerfulness among Turkish German artists and intellectuals, despite all the funding available and despite the fact that their voices were particularly present in the public sphere during these twelve months of anniversary celebrations. On the contrary, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse's festival series "Beyond Belonging" in 2011, looked back at fifty years of immigration from Turkey under the title "Almancı! 50 Jahre Scheinehe" (Germanized! 50 Year Fake Marriage). For the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse Turkish-German relations were thus a fake marriage, an unwanted but necessary alliance. In the words of Jan Assmann, one could argue that the title pointed out that "what counts for cultural memory is not factual but remembered history, thus turning it into a myth" (Assmann, 2011: 37).

Poster of the 2011 festival "Almanci! 50 Jahre Scheinehe" (Germanized! 50 Years Fake Marriage) with actress Sesede Terziyan and a sheep. Source: Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

I remembered the Turkish neologism *Almancı* and how people in the 1990s in Turkey would address us as *Almancı*, using this invented slang word to name us Turkish German vacationists, and to describe us as the assimilated Anatolian lumpenproleriat in Germany, who, in their Mercedes Benz, pockets filled with Deutsche Mark came to the coastal cities of the old homeland to enjoy six weeks in the sun. The German luxury car, the Mercedes Benz of the *Almancı*, was one of the commodity objects that stood as a proof of our parents' stories about the benefits of Germany's Fordist guest worker system and to how our lives were intimately linked to Germany's "economic miracle" in the post-War era. When my parents told these stories, the labour struggles they both experienced as union members, my mother as an assembly line worker and my father as an engine welder at the Mercedes Benz factory, were not mentioned but forgotten.

Photo of my cousin Orkun (left), my brother Özcan (middle) and I (right) posing for a family photo in front of our parents' Mercedes Benz. Source: personal archive.

However, after our summer holidays when we returned to Germany, there were other pejorative words already waiting: "guest worker children", "foreigners", "go slaughter your Ramadan sheep in your home country". Being Turkish German it was difficult to feel comfortably "at home". Maybe home was a myth, too.

Having said that, the appropriation and contextualisation of the once pejorative term *Almancı* in this festival format marked a shift in the meaning of the term by means of its insertion as a self-definition of Turkish German postmigrant theatre artists. Moreover, the use of *Almancı* in the context of the festival in 2011 changed the very memory associated with the term. In other words, as one's perception of the past meaning of the term became shaped in the present, it was changing. As scholars of collective and cultural memory have suggested, this change of memory illustrates the relationship between individual and collective memory. As Maurice Halbwachs argues, individual memory is always constructed through its relations with collective memory, in which the latter is always decisive for how the former operates (1992: 53). Thus, the use of the word *Almancı* in the context of the postmigrant theatre festival brought to the fore intergenerationally transmitted memories that were collectively negotiated in the theatre space and changed the meaning of past memories.

Whilst the figure of the *Almancı* got another meaning, the question remained what there was to celebrate in Turkish-German relations if the memories of these 50 years were nothing but the Golden Anniversary of a fake marriage as the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse announced? The memory scholars Paul Antze and Michael Lambek argue that the significance of cultural memory is to be found in its reference to a range of emotional and political registers that carry a particular function in public life:

> We live in a time when memory has entered public discourse to an unprecedented degree. Memory is invoked to heal, to blame, to legitimate. It has become a major idiom in the construction of identity, both individual and collective, and a site of struggle as well as identification (Antze & Lambek, 1997: vii).

In fact, how memory is invoked "to heal, to blame, to legitimate" in the account of the author and playwright Feridun Zaimoğlu, whose plays "Schwarze Jungfrauen" (Black Virgins) about Neo-Muslima in Germany and "Schattenstimmen" (Shadow Voices) about the lived experiences of undocumented migrants in Germany were staged at the Hebbel am Ufer Theater and the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, when he commented on the official celebrations of fifty years of Turkish migration to Germany:

> I've seen how hard my parents had it. What they had to sacrifice. They worked themselves half dead, my father at the BASF factory in Ludwigshafen and later in a metal factory in Berlin and my mother as a janitor. See, these great women, these Turkish rubble women! They were never acknowledged, these beautiful women […] I am proud of them, my people, this is a success story […] The first generation, they

struggled so much. […] Fuck yourselves! You, who describe these people as a mistake of history! (Zaimoğlu, 2011 cited in Topcu & Ulrich, 2011, own translation).

The emotions that the celebratory historical festivities evoke in Zaimoğlu's narrative are rage and adoration. The rage expressed is towards those who describe Turkish labour migrants as "a mistake of history", which in Zaimoğlu's account refers to the public debate initiated by Sarazzin's book publication *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (*Germany Abolishing Itself*) (2010). Sarazzin's publication was the bestselling book on German politics in a decade and was published only a few months before the 50th anniversary of the first bi-lateral guest worker agreement between Turkey and Germany. One of the main arguments of the book is that the recruitment of low-skilled migrant labourers from Muslim countries, such as Turkey, was one of the biggest historical mistakes of the Federal Republic of Germany. The author advocates restrictive immigration policies and a reduction of state welfare benefits for migrants from Turkey, Africa and the Middle East. He identifies Germany's working class Muslim population as the biggest problem for German society through targeted accusations, such as their reluctance to integrate, widespread reliance on social benefits, a lower level of intelligence, and oppressive gender relations (see also Hentges, 2014: 201). Sarazzin's statements are embedded in a public debate about the utilisation of migration, described as follows by Friedrich and Pierdicca in their article "Migration und Verwertung: Rassismus als Instrument zur Segmentierung des Arbeitsmarktes" (Migration and Utilisation: Racism as an Instrument of Labour Market Segmentation) (2014):

> In the Federal Republic of Germany immigration and the social state are two central themes in media and political debates. When these two themes are brought together, the focus of public debates is upon the situation of (post-)migrants on the labour market. The point of departure in these debates is the fact that (post-) migrants in Germany are on average less qualified and more frequently hit by poverty (Friedrich & Pierdicca, 2014: 125, own translation).

In contrast to Sarazzin's theses, a study of Holger Seibert for the German Institute for Labour Market and Occupation Research argues that despite equal education qualifications, Turkish German migrants have lower chances to gain employment than Germans without a migration background. Seibert explains the reasons for the lower employment chances of migrants despite their equal educational qualifications in comparison to Germans by referring to other studies that conclude that employers apply different assessment criteria with regards to the educational qualifications of applicants based on their racial and ethnic background. He further concludes that (post-) migrants lack social networks that could lead to employment;

that they are disadvantaged due to their social class background and discriminated by companies during the applicant recruitment process (2008: 6). Whilst Sarazzin argues that the poverty of Turkish migrants is based on their choice to abuse the German social system, the author and playwright Feridun Zaimoğlu counters these arguments by referring to his guest worker parents and his adoration for the Turkish guest worker women. Following the German female figure of the rubble women who in the aftermath of World War II helped to clear and reconstruct bombed cities, he refers to Turkish guest worker women as the Turkish rubble women whose labour reconstructed the German economy in the post-War years.

Zaimoğlu's feeling of pride of the first Turkish guest worker generations' labour, which he considers "a success story", illustrates how the artist as a testimonial public figure contests a hegemonic debate by becoming a carrier of autobiographical cultural memory.[43] To understand how the use of cultural memory by minority artists becomes an act of counter politics, it is worth turning to Huyssen's analysis of cultural memory and amnesia in his book *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (1995), where he states that:

> Struggles for minority rights are increasingly organized around questions of cultural memory, its exclusions and taboo zones. Other memories and other stories have occupied the foreground in the raging identity debates […] over gender, sexuality, and race. Migrations and demographic shifts are putting a great deal of pressure on social and cultural memory in all Western societies, and such public debates are intensely political (Huyssen, 1995: 5).

Zaimoğlu's political and rather confrontational statements in the context of the 50th anniversary of Turkish labour migration to Germany and Sarrazin's theses about Turkish migrants thus epitomise the paradoxical state between hegemonic cultural commemoration festivities and the public discourse about the utility value of Turkish German migrants. Zaimoğlu's quote illustrates how postmigrant cultural producers question and critique hegemonic, static and reductive historical accounts in which post-War Turkish German migration is othered and merely explained in the context of a host country's economic need for migrant labour (Bojadžijev, 2008; Fischer & Pierdicca, 2014). It also exemplifies how this need once satisfied became useless in a Post-Fordist society in crisis, or in the words of Zaimoglu, a "mistake in history". Following Bojadžijev as well as Fischer and Pierdicca's

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[43] According to Jan Assmann, "cultural memory always has its special carriers. They include shamans, bards, griots, priests, teachers, artists, scribes, scholars, mandarins, and others. The extraordinary (as opposed to everyday) nature of these cultural memories is reflected by the fact that these specialist carriers are separated from everyday life and duties" (Assmann, 2011: 39).

argument that hegemonic historiography about the first two decades of Turkish German labour migration is reductive and insufficient to explain the scope of the autonomous influence of migration upon German society, and to highlight the continuities of a racialised division of labour in Germany's post-War migration history, I trace the key figures of the Fordist guest worker system, the female and male guest worker and key moments in the struggles of migrants during the transitional period from a Fordist to Post-Fordist social system. As Bojadžijev states:

> The struggles of migration in the 1960s and 1970s can be divided in three large fields that led to massive social and political transformations: the practices of immigrants need to be interpreted as a social movement insofar as they deployed autonomy towards state regulated migration policies. The contributions of immigrants to labour struggles significantly contributed to the crisis of the Fordist social system and opened up the rather narrow perspective of labour struggles to include the living conditions of migrants as well as issues of everyday life, reproduction, language and culture and housing conditions, which, next to the factory, were a focal point of migrant struggles (Bojadžijev, 2006: 148, own translation).

Thus this chapter illustrates this transitional period and its historical continuities with regards to the establishment of a racialised division of labour as well as the struggles of migrants for better working and living conditions. This history considered as intergenerationally transmitted lived experiences and cultural memory is depicted in the works and programming of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. In what follows, I bring together both the objective (facts and figures) and the subjective (cultural memory and cultural productions) narratives about Turkish German migration. I illustrate how the more abstract political dimensions of migration are depicted in the subjective narratives of individual figures. The inclusion of stories of resistance, such as the Ford worker's strike and cultural productions that engender subjective narratives thus shows the influence of migrant struggles in Germany and counteracts a culture of amnesia (Huyssen, 1995; Göktürk, 2009), in which the political participation of second and third generation Turkish Germans as well as the emergence of a new generation of postmigrant artists is considered a novelty in the cultural history of Turkish German migration.

The Fordist Guest Worker System in Germany

According to official German historiography, labour migration from Turkey to West Germany after World War II began in the early 1960s when Fordist production was at its peak and the labour of guest workers was in demand in Germany's industrial economy. Whereas Post-Second World War migration to countries such as Great Britain and France was related to their imperial decline and the need for an increased workforce recruited from former colonised countries, labour migration to Germany was not linked to Germany's imperial projects. Its cause was an urgent demand for labour force due to an increase in foreign trade and the economic boom in Germany's post-war era (Bade & Oltmer, 2005: 73). Negotiations were opened with several Southern European and Mediterranean countries, which led to labour recruitment treaties with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961 and 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Kaya & Kentel, 2005: 7). Fourteen million women and men came to Germany as low-skilled workers from the 1950s until the end of the recruitment drive in 1973. However, it is also recorded that 11 million left Germany after a short period of time (Bade & Oltmer, 2005: 73) and returned to their home countries. The major reason for this brief residence in Germany was the government's rotation policy, through which migrant workers were recruited as guest workers. Guest workers were brought to Germany to undertake temporary work in specific industry branches and therefore given short-term residence status and restricted work permits.

Although many of the first wave immigrants from Turkey returned due to the rotation policy of the government, the Turkish population in Germany increased in the first decade of labour migration from 6,700 in 1961 to 605,000 in 1973 (Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2004). In contrast to other federal states in Germany, the recruitment of labour migrants in West Berlin did not begin until the mid-1960s. The city's economic recovery necessitated the demands of migrant workers in the factories. As a result, the factory owners of electronic, metal, and consumer goods producing sectors in West Berlin demanded low skilled workers from Turkey. West Berlin witnessed a rapid increase of labour migrants from Turkey especially in the early years of Turkish migration between 1965 and 1970. According to Martin Greve (2008: 88), the number of Turkish migrants living in West Berlin increased from 284 to 5,698 between 1961 and 1966. In fact, the total registered Turkish migrant population in West Berlin stood at 85,452 in 1975, making them the largest ethnic minority in the city as well as at the national level.

In the year 1973 the German government stopped the recruitment of labourers, a

decision that according to Bade and Oltmer was caused by the economic effects of the oil crisis on Germany (Bade & Oltmer, 2005: 73). Moreover, German companies that hired guest workers realised that the government's "rotation policy"[44] was disadvantageous for the economy. Factories saw no sense in sending back experienced staff and receiving unqualified workers that had to be trained again. Simultaneously, the increasing number of so-called "Ausländer" (foreigners) on West German territory was highly regulated and restricted through the "Ausländergesetzgebung" (foreigner legislation). The German government attempted to reduce the number of immigrants by granting financial support for those returning to their country of origin. Despite government leaders' insistence that the guest workers would eventually return to their countries of origin, once the economy no longer required their supplementary labour power, many labour migrants remained and claimed, on account of the cessation of labour recruitment from 1973 onwards, legal family reunification in Germany.

Family reunification led to another wave of migration from Turkey, that of the spouses and children of Turkish labour migrants, eventually leading to permanent settlement in West Germany and West Berlin. Whereas most of the first wave of Turkish migrants had taken employment in Germany as singles, this situation changed after the end of recruitment in 1973. During the 1960s and 1970s, most of the migrant workers lived in small worker barracks provided by the companies who employed them. The working conditions in the factories were physically hard and hazardous to health as it was predominantly shift and assembly line work (see also Chin, 2007: 39). Particularly in the early years of migration, many Turkish labourers aimed to earn money for a better life after returning to Turkey and to support the family that remained in the home country. However, with the continuing duration of their stay, many of the mostly young workers demanded the right to bring their spouses and children to Germany. The end of recruitment raised the concern that the legal right for family reunification could be forbidden in the future so that towards the end of the 1970s, most of the large second wave of Turkish migrants arrived via family reunification.

Rather than focussing on the economic rationale of recruiting labourers that produced the statistics, facts, and figures of Turkish migration to West Berlin and Germany, there is a need to explore the lived experience of the guest workers. In this context, the Turkish

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[44] As Martin Greve explains, the German rotation policy showed that a permanent employment and settlement of Turkish migrants in Germany was not provided or desired. In contrast to the recruitment deals with the other above mentioned countries, the deal between Germany and Turkey had a rotation regulation already in 1961, according to which the residence of Turkish labour migrants was restricted to two years (Greve, 2008: 87).

Armenian rock musician, Cem Karaca, dedicated his song "Es kamen Menschen an" (Humans arrived) to the guest workers of Turkish descent. In fact, he drew his inspiration from the famous quote of Max Frisch, "labour force was hailed and humans arrived" (Frisch, 1967: 100), which urged Germans to view guest workers as humans having feelings rather than merely industrial appendages to produce commodities and profits. Thus, Cem Karaca's song that was written and performed in German was dedicated to these nameless Turkish workers, and the poignant lyrics addressed the lived experiences of human alienation in the first decade of Turkish immigration into Germany.

> Workers were hailed, but humans arrived.
> Our labour force was needed, the force that works on the assembly line.
> We people were not interesting that is why we always stayed unknown to you.
> Guest worker, guest worker.
> Workers were hailed, but humans arrived.
> As long as there was lots of work, the dirty work was given to us.
> But when the big crisis came, it was said that we were to blame.
> Workers were hailed, but humans arrived.
>
> Cem Karaca (1984) "Humans Arrived"[45]

The song from the 1984 album "Die Kanaken", was the only album that Cem Karaca and his band *Die Kanaken* recorded in German and it is the first album of a popular Turkish band released by a German record label. Many songs from the album were used for the musical and the theatre play "Ab in den Orientexpress" (Get onto the Orient Express, 1983) directed by Cem Karaca, Martin Burkert and Harry Bösecke. In 1983, the Westfälisches Landestheater (Westphalian State Theatre) in the West German city of Castrop Rauxel staged the play as a rock musical with the band members of "Die Kanaken". Cem Karaca escaped a prison sentence in Turkey in 1979 on the verge of Turkey's 1980 military coup for instigating society against the government with his songs. He lived, like many other Turkish artists who were critical of the regime, in exile in Germany in the 1980s and dedicated all song lyrics on his album "Die Kanaken" to the lived experiences of Turkish guest workers. Long forgotten,

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[45] The lyrics are my own translation. The original German lyrics are: "Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen, doch es kamen Menschen an. Man brauchte unsere Arbeitskraft, die Kraft, die was am Fliessband schafft. Wir Menschen waren nicht interessant, darum blieben wir euch unbekannt. Gastarbeiter, Gastarbeiter. Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen, doch es kamen Menschen an. Solange es viel Arbeit gab, gab man die Drecksarbeit an uns ab. Doch dann als die grosse Krise kam, sagte man wir sind Schuld daran. Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen, doch es kamen Menschen an" (Karaca, 1984). The song is from the album *Die Kanaken*. It was the only album that Cem Karaca and his band recorded in German language. All songs on the album are about the living and working conditions of guest workers.

in the year 2013 Karaca's song was rediscovered and published in the compilation "Songs of Gastarbeiter: Volume 1" by the Munich based Turkish German artist and theatre maker Bülent Kullukcu and the Berliner advertiser, author and playwright Imran Ayata, whose play about the history of the Berliner Turkish German football club Türkiyemspor, established in 1970, "Liga der Verdammten" (The Football League of the Damned) was produced by the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2013. The first volume of the album covers 16 guest worker songs from the 1970s and 1980s. As journalist Christoph Twickel in the weekly magazine "Der Spiegel" states, the album also could have been entitled "The Gastarbeiter strike back" (2013) as each song addresses the musician's critique of the German guest worker system, monotonous work on the assembly line and alienated life in Germany. The artist Bülent Kullukcu described in an interview in 2013 how the compilation became an archival document of Turkish migration history:

> After one of our events, a young woman came to me and said: "When I heard your album, it was the first time that I began to engage with my migration history." Her grandmother isn't alive anymore and can't tell her about her identity as a guest worker (Kullukcu in Yoghoobifarah, 2013, own translation).

The meaning of the album for the young woman in the absence of the narrative accounts of her grandmother points to the ways in which cultural memory is transmitted intergenerationally through the cultural practices of postmigrant artists. The following section examines the figure of the female guest worker in further detail. I discuss the gendered and racialised division of guest worker labour and the representation of the female guest worker in artistic works that depict the first two decades of Turkish German migration.

The Gendered and Racialised Division of Guest Worker Labour: The Figure of the Female Guest Worker

Migrant labour recruitment in the Fordist guest worker system relied on a gendered and racialised division of labour. The demand of factories for low cost labour and the recruitment of a high number of female Turkish workers, particularly in West Berlin, was based on the legal permission to offer women workers much lower salaries than male workers (Gesemann, 2001: 13, Greve, 2008: 87). Whereas in 1972 the national average of women migrant workers was 28%, the number in West Berlin accounted for 40% (source: Der Regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin, 1972: 6). Between 1960 and 1973 the number of women guest workers increased from 43,000 (which accounts for 15% of the overall guest worker population) to over 706,000 (which accounts for 30 % of the overall guest worker population)

in West Germany including West Berlin (see Mattes, 2005: 10). As Mattes states:

> In the year 1970 around 55% of foreign women living in Germany were gainfully employed, but only 29% of West German women. The significantly higher employment rate of foreign women cannot only be explained by the predominantly younger age of foreign women workers, but with the targeted hiring of foreign women workers. However, until the 1970s, the "guest worker" remained in public perception, a male figure. The fact that women as wage labourers constituted a significant proportion in the migration movement from Mediterranean countries to Germany received little public attention. If at all, non-German women came into view as passive appendixes of their economically active husbands. With the same implicitness with which work migration was interpreted as an exercise of the social role of the male provider, women workers were designated to the domestic sphere (Mattes, 2005: 10, own translation).

Whilst lower-wage employment for women guest workers was one of the motives for the recruitment of women, another reason was that women were hired for feminised work in fine mechanics that required dexterity as well as in kitchen and cleaning jobs (2005: 169, own translation). Attempts to recruit women workers from West Germany were unsuccessful due to the city's politically and geographically exceptional status as a West German urban island under British, French and US American control geographically surrounded by the German Democratic Republic under Russian control after World War II. For that reason, companies based in West Berlin began to recruit women guest workers to work in low skilled manufacturing positions (2005: 159-163, own translation). The electronics company Siemens, the largest private company and employer in West Berlin after the Second World War, was one of the first companies that aimed to fill its labour shortage with women guest workers. In August 1963 the company initially advertised the recruitment of Greek women workers as "Greek women workers in the electronic industry had the reputation to be 'not only decent and skilful' but had also 'excellent eye sight' […] to work as machine workers in electroplating and in the paint shop" of the company (2005: 169 quoting the monthly report of the job centre, May 1963, own translation [46]). The case of the recruitment of women guest workers at Siemens illustrates the intersections between a gendered, racialised and class-based division of labour when "German women evidently did not want to work in these unhealthy work places any longer" (2005: 169, own translation). As Mattes states:

> After many years of work as assembly workers, German women workers at the rear derailleur and at the household appliances factory (SSW) refused in 1962, after an

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[46] Monatsbericht des Arbeitsamts III in May 1963.

operations changeover, to work any longer on the machines. The work on the machines was too dirty because of the lubricant oils and fats that were used and noise levels were too high in the machine halls. The women were sacked after their refusal to work. Foreign women workers were attributed with a higher resilience but also an indifference towards unattractive work conditions (Mattes, 2005: 169, own translation).

In 1964, Siemens began targeted recruitment advertisement campaigns in Turkey and Portugal to hire women guest workers. However, the company's efforts had only limited success as the gap between the number of women workers required and their actual arrival at Siemens in West Berlin remained unfilled. Consequently, the company changed its recruitment strategy in 1965 so that "job placement commissions for Greek and Turkish women workers were redesignated to hire married couples" (2005: 176, own translation). One of the two advertisement brochures of the targeted advertisement campaigns made for the Turkish and Greek markets emphasised the family orientation and comforts of the company's worker accommodation for the temporary stay of the guest workers:

> Siemens employs nearly 40.000 staff. Your compatriots are among them, mostly young men and women, but also married couples. They like to work at Siemens in Berlin and lodge in cosy and beautiful rooms. They earn good money. When they return to their home countries, most of them live better than before (German translation of the brochure "Das Haus Siemens", Anlage zu SozPol/HWA, Vermerk vom 5.3.1965 cited in Mattes, 2005: 176, own translation).

Photo of Turkish guest worker women in Siemens workers' accommodation in Berlin in the 1970s.[47]

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[47]Source <http://www.br.de/nachrichten/anwerbeabkommen-tuerkei-gastarbeiter110.html> [Accessed: 10.06.2014].

The everyday life struggles of Turkish guest worker women were described and reflected in many songs, novels, poems and films. However, as literature and cinema became the most prominent art forms that depicted migration, the ignorance of theatre makers about drawing on lived experiences of migration as an aesthetic and narrative repertoire of German cultural history was striking. As Langhoff states:

> I have devoted myself to the topic of migration through literature and cinema and observed processes there that are much more progressive than in German theatre. Since the days of the first arrival of guest workers, there was a "guest worker" literature that led to the emergence of authors such as Emine Sevgi Özdamar or Feridun Zaimoğlu. In cinema there is also a wide range of productions and funding for migration topics. It started with Fassbinder's "Katzelmacher" and "Fear Eats Soul" and spans over to the early perspectives of non-authochton artists such as Tevfik Baser's "40 squaremetre Germany" up to today's cinema. There is a development from the cinema of alterity to the cinema of métissage up to the transcultural, translocal films of Fatih Akın. But theatre didn't seem to bother with these developments" (Langhoff in "Theater der Zeit", November 2010: 16, own translation).

However, in Turkish German films that depicted the first generation of guest workers, particularly the figure of the Turkish guest worker woman was represented as a victim of patriarchal male oppression. Turkish German film scholars Hake and Mennel point out that "as many scholars have noted, using women's bodies as ciphers for oppression shifts the discursive framework from labor migration to gender and sexuality, connections that resonate in the headscarf debate today" (Hake & Mennel, 2013: 6). For example, Turkish German filmmaker Tevfik Başer's film "40 qm Deutschland" (40 sqm Germany, 1987) is about a Turkish woman who is imprisoned by her oppressive guest worker husband in a 40 square metre flat in Germany.

In contrast to the victimised female figure of the guest worker, the 1979 film "Almanya Acı Vatan" (Germany Bitter Home) by Turkish filmmaker Şerif Gören,[48] and one of the most iconic movies of the era, portrays a women guest worker's agency admitting

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[48] Şerif Gören, born in 1944 in Xanthi, Greece is a Turkish film director who gained critical international acclaim by co-directing with filmmaker Yılmaz Güney the movie "Yol" (The Road) in 1982. "Yol" was the winner of the Palme d'or award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1982. Gören had directed "Yol" on behalf of the communist Turkish-Zaza-Kurdish actor, director and scriptwriter Yılmaz Güney, who had previously served a prison sentence for the murder of a judge in Turkey. After escaping from prison in 1981 he lived in Paris until his death in 1984. Gören's filmography includes over thirty movies two of which are cinematic releases "Almanya Acı Vatan" (1979) and "Polizei" (Police, 1988) set in West Berlin. Gören also directed two experimental documentaries commissioned by Sender Freies Berlin (Public Broadcasting Station Free Berlin) entitled "Kırmızı Yeşil" (Green Red, 1988) and "Patates Soğan" (Potatoes Onions, 1988). "Patates Soğan" is about the Berlin odyssey of a Turkish theatre actor with a mysterious briefcase and his desperate attempts to convince the people he meets that he is not a Turk, but a Berliner. Source: <http://gegen-die-leinwaende.de/?p=429> [Accessed: 05.06.2013].

monotonous working conditions on the assembly line and feelings of alienation from her labour, her life and her desires. The film tells the story of the woman guest worker Güldane, played by one of the most famous Turkish actresses of Turkish cinema's golden age of the 1960s and 1970s, Hülya Koçyiğit. Güldane, who works in a factory in Berlin, spends her summer holiday in her village in Turkey where she meets Mahmut, who dreams of going to Germany. Mahmut offers Güldane money for a sham marriage, which Güldane accepts without hesitation. After the two get married in Turkey, they begin to live together in West Berlin but Güldane is portrayed as a woman concerned about saving money, showing little interest in Mahmut until she is sexually assaulted by another man and seeks the protection of her husband. However, Mahmut, himself alienated and wandering aimlessly through the city, drinking away his wife's money and in trouble with the local police, shows no empathy and love for Güldane, even though she is pregnant, and continues to drink in local pubs and cheats on Güldane with other women. When Güldane finds her husband with another woman in the house, she leaves and goes to buy a baby doll in the supermarket, then goes to her factory and rejects working on the assembly line. Güldane runs to the airport to catch a flight, she is run over by a skater, the doll falls down from her luggage trolley, she falls on the floor and looks at the doll crying. The film ends with her having a vision of Mahmut and laughing whilst lying on the floor with the doll. The audience does not know whether Güldane lost her unborn child with the accident and whether the plane leaves with or without her.

Poster for the film screening of "Almanya Acı Vatan" (Germany Bitter Home), which was part of the "Almancı! Against the Screens" film programme in 2011 at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. Source: Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

The figure of the Turkish guest worker in Germany remained mainly male-centred for many decades in the public discourse while the gender-specific economic activities and lived experiences of working women became subordinated.[49] Films such as "Almanya Acı Vatan" engender women's presence in public and pay attention to the living and working conditions of Turkish women labour migrants in the Fordist guest worker system and depict the agency of women workers. Although contextualised within the structures of the Fordist guest worker system, these early artistic and subjective accounts of the first guest worker generations' everyday lives reach beyond the frame of migration studies, in which the Fordist migration regime is predominantly examined through the lens and methods of political economy, policy analysis, statistics and labour market analysis. In contrast to films that were produced in the last decade, such as Feo Aladağ's "Die Fremde" (When We Leave, 2010) about a young Turkish German women's struggle for self-determination "between two different cultural

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[49] For a more detailed accounts see also Erdem, E., and Mattes, M.: Gendered Policies – Gendered Patterns: Female Labour Migration from Turkey to Germany from the 1960s to the 1990s. In. Ohliger, R., Schönwälder, K., and Triadafilopoulos, T. eds. *European Encounters. Migrants, Migrations and European Societies since 1945*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003, 167-185.

value systems" (oppressive Muslim Turkish and liberal Christian German), the representation of Turkish guest worker women in the 1970s and 1980s, was itself, as Turkish German film scholar Deniz Göktürk states, "less culturalist and more concerned with labor and human conditions in capitalist modernity" (2009: 285). Whilst the figure of the male guest worker represents the figure of the oppressor in many of the stereotypical culturalist Turkish German migration movies, the following section examines the male guest worker figure in relation to male guest workers involvement in the labour struggles and the 1973 Ford Strike to illustrate how he became a figure of resistance and simultaneously of imprisonment in the diaspora.

Fordism Story Reloaded: Labour Struggles, the Ford Strike and The Male Guest Worker Figure

In the first two decades of Turkish labour migration to Germany the working and living conditions of the first generation of Turkish German migrants were shaped by a Fordist system relying on a migrant labour force, which contributed to rebuilding Germany's economy and to defining the era commonly described as Germany's "economic miracle". Fordism as a social mode of economic regulation (Jessop 1992) experienced its heights in North America between the 1940s and 1960s and in post-war West Germany in the economic boom era between the 1950s and 1980s. Henry Ford, the US car producer and owner of the Ford Motor Company, introduced this new system of production consisting of the standardisation and specialisation of labour within his company and was implemented subsequently in West Germany's car industry and other mass-producing industries. In the history of capitalism, Henry Ford's economic model stands for the groundbreaking transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy. More importantly, as Womack, Jones and Roos state polemically, Fordism not only changed the means and ways of capitalist production but also "our most fundamental ideas about how we make things. And how we make things dictates not only how we work but what we buy, how we think, and the way we live" (Womack et al. 1990: 11). In social theory, Fordism is defined by Bob Jessop as a) labour processes characterised by mass production; b) a macroeconomic system in "a virtuous, balanced circle of mass production and mass consumption in a largely autocentric national economy" (1996: 167), which led through the standardisation of production (for instance via the introduction of the assembly line) to cheaper manufacturing costs of mass products that made mass consumption affordable for workers; c) a social mode of economic regulation particularly concerning "the role of institutionalized collective bargaining and a Keynesian welfare state" (1996: 167); and d) as social organisation and cohesion in "an urban-industrial,

"middle mass", wage-earning society" (1996: 167). The role of the state was to support economic prosperity in Fordism, referring to the Keynesian welfare state, and to stabilise domestic demand through fiscal policies and an increase of welfare and social security systems. Trade unions experienced their height in the Fordist era as collective bargaining between labour and corporate businesses was supported at a national level.

Manuela Bojadžijev analyses the struggles of migrant workers in her book *Die windige Internationale – Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration* (*The Breezy International: Racism and the Struggles of Migration*, my own translation) (2008) in the historical context of Germany's Fordist economic and social system and the efforts of migrant workers to fight for their labour rights within German unions. These efforts focused, according to Bojadžijev, on a) the autonomous organisation of labour migrants in order to support entry to and permanent residency in Germany; b) organisation in trade unions, wild strikes and other forms of labour struggles opposing regimes of exploitation and racism in the factory; c) the stand against racism in German society by protesting the living conditions in the barracks and cheap rundown accommodation through rent strikes (Mietstreiks), and the establishment of independent social centres (2008: 95). These endeavours to make their issues public were particularly important as guest workers in Germany had no citizenship rights. This was in contrast to non-European labourers in countries such as Great Britain or France, where migrants from former colonies had citizenship rights or the right to permanent residence. Migrant workers in the West-German automobile industry rallied to oppose the regimes of racism and exploitation in the factory, as Bojadžijev's historical analysis shows in relation to the Ford Strike, a wildcat strike[50] organised by Turkish workers.

However, the organisation of migrant workers in the 1970s was a controversial topic for trade unions. The umbrella collective of trade unions in Germany, the DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund), held the view that migrant labour would lead to unemployment among white/native German workers. A 1973 statement by Edmund Duda, who was a DGB board member , illustrates the general mind set of the trade union leaders of this era:

> To protect German employees, all legal possibilities must be used to send foreign labourers back home. If they do not go voluntarily, all regulations that enable their deportation must be strictly deployed (Duda, 1973 cited in Terkessidis, 2000: 41, own translation).

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[50] A wildcat strike – in contrast to strikes organised by labour unions during collective bargaining – is an autonomous form of strike action organised by workers without the authorization of trade unions.

The situation of migrant workers, many of whom were assembly line workers, was of marginal significance within trade union politics. The magazine "Der Spiegel" wrote on the 10th of September 1973 about the wildcat strike at Cologne's Ford company: "The Turk's strike at Ford ended with the victory of the Germans: the special demands of the guest workers were barely met until today" (Der Spiegel, 10.09.1973, own translation). The struggles against racism and exploitation and the relationship between the Fordist labour regime, racism and migration also found their limits, beyond trade union activism, in the autonomous workers' organisations that subsumed racism under the category of the "unity of the working class" (Bojadžijev, 2008: 188). As Bojadžijev's resumes:

> In fact, the idea to develop forms of political action that connect questions about the residency status of migrants with those regarding the organisation of labour, did not succeed. Instead, political concepts lost themselves in establishing "national and cultural identities" that would have to be considered at work (Bojadžijev, 2008: 189, own translation).

Class struggles were moderated through the increase of wages and job stability for workers, which in turn increased their market consumption (Burrows & Loader, 1994; Jessop, 1994). For migrant workers and employers this was, despite the limits, a "win-win" situation, as employers benefited from low labour costs through the employment of low-skilled migrants and increased consumption by paying stable and increased wages. For the factory workers, the effects on their living and working condition in the Fordist model of labour organisation were, on the one hand, characterised by a clear distinction between work and leisure time, relatively secure wages, stable work and career paths, pension schemes and the coverage of health risks that the hard labour conditions in the manufacturing industry entailed. On the other hand, these advantages were closely tied to a new regulation of labour by defining strict work tasks and the rationalisation of production processes. The division of labour reached a new peak in Fordism through the introduction of strict hierarchies, a separation of planning and execution tasks and the introduction of direct control and disciplinary mechanisms overseeing the work force. The work itself, particularly for the working class factory labourer, was physically hard, monotonous and demanding, characterised by rigidity and alienation (Doray, 1988). Thus the working conditions of factory workers in the Fordist system were shaped within a strongly hierarchical model of labour organisation comprising of a particular division of labour based on a nationalist concept of labour solidarity and the discrimination of migrant workers through the development of a system of dependency between labour rights and citizenship rights (Boudry et al., 1999).

Photo of Turkish guest workers during the Ford Strike in Cologne in 1973. Source: unknown.

One widely known publication that documents the living and working conditions of guest workers is "A Seventh Man" from 1975 by the British art critic, painter and author John Berger in collaboration with Jean Mohr.[51] "A Seventh Man" is a montage of essays, research and lyrical texts as well as photographic documentaries about labour migrants in Europe. Using the image of a suitcase, Berger and Mohr illustrate the drama of migration as an experience of imprisonment characterised by control and repression on the one hand and resistance on the other. As Berger and Mohr describe:

> In some accommodations the administrators tried to prohibit the migrants the keeping of suitcases in the dormitories with the reason, they would make the space messy. The workers resisted it, sometimes even with strikes. In these suitcases they keep their personal belongings. Not the clothes that they keep in the lockers, not the photographs that they stick to the walls, but things that are for one reason or the other their talismans. Each suitcase, locked or corded-up, is like a memory of a man. They defend their right, to keep their suitcases (own translation from German version of the book by Berger & Mohr, 1975: 179).

The suitcase became inscribed in the cultural memory of Turkish German men and engenders the experiences of imprisonment and resistance as much as that of solidarity but also of theft and betrayal among male guest workers in the barracks. As one of my uncles, who came to

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[51] Only three years before *A Seventh Man* was published, Berger received the Booker Price in 1972 for his novel "G.". He donated half of his cash prize to the Black Panther Party in Britain and used the other half for the research and production of *A Seventh Man*. Both, as he insisted, were necessary parts of his political struggle.

Germany in 1963, told me when I began with my fieldwork in 2007, the suitcase and the local train station became the symbols of the diasporic experience of the first generation of Turkish working class migrants as both symbolised the possibility of exodus or return.

Photo of guest workers with their suitcases in a guest worker accommodation in Berlin. Source: Prussian Heritage Image Archive Berlin.

The working and living conditions of guest workers were shaped by the labour and migration policies of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s and 1970s. They had, as Chin summarises the labour migration process of this period, a very paradoxical pattern:

> The Federal Republic [...] imported labourers as a temporary economic measure and vehemently rejected the idea of permanent immigration. On the one hand, they increasingly found themselves unable to prevent workers from extending their stays or bringing their families, and thus were forced to confront the unintended and unwelcome consequences of shortsighted labor policies – the long-term settlement of migrant groups, which visibly transformed the demographic makeup of the largely homogeneous populations. In terms of sheer numbers, the Federal Republic enlisted more foreign laborers than any other country in Europe. At the same time, it was perhaps the most resistant to legal changes that would make long-time foreign residents a formal part of the polity (Chin, 2007: 25).

The label "guest worker" itself shows what contradictory roles these labourers played in German public discourse. It defined these migrants in its most literal sense as "guests" and

"workers", reducing their presence in society to their economic function as dependent on temporary shortages and for the sole benefit of the German labour market. It was taken for granted that the workers would eventually return to their home countries and so the word "guest" served, as Chin points out, "to differentiate between those who belonged to the nation and those who did not. Being a guest seemed to preclude the possibility of acquiring citizenship" (2007: 48). In addition, the term "guest" also twists the status of the relationship between host and guest as it suggests generosity and giving rather than taking or exploiting migrant labour on behalf of the German host society. This also explains why, especially in the first twenty years of labour migration to Germany, the public discourse about migrants was perceived within the country as relatively uncontroversial. This lack of controversy in public discourse up until that point was, according to Chin, linked to older racial ideas that had been taboo in German public debate since the Holocaust and the end of the Second World War (2007: 48).

> The category of guest worker itself presumed a racialist understanding of difference insofar as it foregrounded the boundaries between the native and foreigner, permanent and transitory, and posited them as impermeable. Yet precisely because this figure was so successful at making such distinctions appear natural and absolute (there was no inkling that Turks might one day become Germans), invoking the language of race proved unnecessary during the period of active labor recruitment (Chin, 2007: 48).

What Chin describes as the impermeable boundary between the native and the foreigner symbolised in the figure of the guest worker, also explains the reason why for many decades, as Langhoff states, "in the classical world of theatre, contrary to film, migrant experiences were never really noticed [...] Migrant and postmigrant theatre has never been taken serious and hence has not arrived where Turkish German cinema is today" (Langhoff in Fanizadeh, 2009). The following quote by Langhoff from a magazine interview she gave in 2010 refers to the cultural amnesia of Germany's theatre landscape regarding the hi/story of Turkish German migration and the motives for Langhoff's decision to draw on the cultural memory of Turkish German subjects.

> Although German theatre since Piscator, Brecht, Müller, Stein, Castorf, Schlingensief and other theatre directors, sees itself as a machine with which society questions itself, migrant stories did not take place there. And if they did than only as narratives about the other. Municipal theatres today still revert to Fassbinder's films "Katzelmacher" and "Fear Eats Soul" [author's note: these films were made by German filmmaker Fassbinder in the 1960s and 1970s]. After sixty years of German migration history,

migrant protagonists still have very limited access to the world of theatre to tell their own and other stories (Langhoff, 2010b: 18, own translation).

Langhoff's quote and the discussion about the figure of the guest worker thus exemplify that the cultural productions of postmigrant theatre artists need to be understood as aesthetic and political practices and as a means of memory work's capacity "to investigate, interrogate and even, ultimately, transform our relationship with our remembered selves" (Radstone, 2008: 32) as well as to counteract the racialised division of labour and the long neglected accounts of Turkish German subject's own hi/stories in institutional life as was the case in state-subsidised theatre and in theatre historiography (see also Boran, 2004: 75).

One postmigrant theatre production in particular, the musical history revue "Lö Bal Almanya" directed by Nurkan Erpulat and premiered at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2010 (see Chapter 1), successfully counters the cultural amnesia prevalent in Turkish German influence in Germany's post-War history. As Motte and Ohliger argue, memories about Turkish German relations in German society are not shared memories of a collective German society, but mostly divided memories as Germans know very little about the lived experiences and history of Turkish German migrants (2004: 13). The play, a free adaption of Ettore Scola's 1983 film "Le bal", depicts key moments in five decades of Turkish migration to Germany for which its directors mined the archives of official documents about Turkish German relations to portray intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories from the perspectives of Turkish German subjects. The theatre script of "Lö Bal Almanya" consists exclusively of historical sources and includes racist speeches of German politicians about Turkish guest workers; the unwillingness of Turks to integrate; and the "sinful desire" of the Turkish German neo-conservative sociologist and journalist Necla Kelek to eat a forbidden pork sausage and her subsequent renunciation of Islam. The texts are recited quickly by the actresses and actors, and different speeches are interwoven in a collage so that their content becomes increasingly absurd. Official and hegemonic accounts of Turkish German history are ridiculed for their racist content; official historiography is questioned as to why it does not include the perspectives of millions of migrants; and simultaneously the lived experiences of Turkish migrants are placed within Germany's post-War cultural memory. The intervention of the artists in the German national archive and the changes in German history with the arrival of migrants is also represented by the ways in which the stage design is constantly changing. The stage, initially barely decorated, is gradually filled with props that represent Muslim or Turkish cultural objects as the play goes on. With the arrival of the first Turkish guest worker on the stage, comes a Turkish carpet, a portrait of Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm II is replaced

with a portrait of Ayatollah Chomeini and a wall carpet of the Kaaba in Mecca.

Photo of the play "Lö Bal Almanya" and its stage design. Source: Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Furthermore, the music used in the play symbolises the intervention of the artists in Germany's national archive. When the actors begin to sing the German soldier song "Unrasiert und fern der Heimat" (Unshaved and Far Away from Home) by composer Gustav Schulten (1897-1944) whose compositions enjoyed large popularity during the Nazi era, the soldier addressed in the lyrics is replaced by the embodied figure of a bearded Turkish migrant. Thus, the use of German folk songs and songs of the Nazi era in "Lö Bal Almanya" signal in a double sense how Turkish German subjects intervened in Germany's troubled national history and how the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement intervened in Germany's theatre historiography. They did this by recontextualising narratives and objects of German and Turkish cultural memory to affirm their own lived experiences in Germany and counter hegemonic historical accounts in which people of Turkish descent are, as Fischer and Pierdicca point out, "nothing more than objects of the state, of politics and the economy" (2014: 127). Some of my German research participants, people who attended the play and spoke to me about the role of postmigrant theatre artists in Germany's theatre landscape, emphasised that the aesthetic and political practices of these artists as original and creative as

they were, would be historically unique as "there were only uneducated guest workers before, who only went to their migrant associations". Thus, in a culture of amnesia (Huyssen, 1995; Göktürk, 2009), in which the history of political participation and cultural productions of the first generation of Turkish migrants is forgotten and neglected and that of the second and third generation Turkish Germans is considered a novelty in German cultural history, referring to earlier generations of Turkish German artists' labour becomes in itself memory work.

To the Stages! The First Generation of Turkish Theatre Artists in Germany

Minority artists, such as the writer Ören, intervened, although they were marginalised, in public debates about the situation of Turkish guest workers in Germany. As Chin points out, the voices of artists such as Ören represented "the guest worker as something more than a beneficiary of the postwar economic boom or a victim of industrial capitalist exploitation" (Chin, 2007: 7). Having said that, there is scant awareness about the theatre work and the labour conditions of the first generation of Turkish German artists. Boran's PhD thesis entitled "A History of Turkish-German Theater and Cabaret" (2004) is the only exceptionally comprehensive study about Turkish German theatre and cabaret covering over five decades, which was a highly useful source for this chapter as I did not interview first generation Turkish German theatre makers. Thus, this section mostly refers to Boran's work regarding the first generation of Turkish German theatre makers and discusses their lived experiences of structural discrimination and critiques of Germany's theatre landscape between the 1960s and 1990s.

One significant event that forced many Turkish artists out of their home country was the military coup in Turkey in September 1980. Around 60,000 political refugees from Turkey arrived prior to and after the coup in the Federal Republic. Among those in political exile in Germany were, according to Greve, "a number of prominent left wing artists and intellectuals such as Selda Bağcan, Melike Demirağ, Sanar Yurdatapan, Fuat Saka, Sümeyra, Nizmettin Arıç, Cem Karaca and the singer-songwriter Zülfü Livaneli" (2008: 91, own translation). Whereas many of these artists and intellectuals returned to Turkey at a later point in time, some of the artists stayed in Germany and contributed significantly to the development of Turkish German arts and culture, such as the aforementioned Cem Karaca with the rock musical "Ab in den Orientexpress" (Get onto the Orient Express) at the Westphalian State Theatre in the mid-1980s. However, Karaca's collaboration with a West German state theatre was rather exceptional at the time as most German municipal and state theatres did not consider Turkish German theatre a part of the European theatre canon and

nearly all Turkish German theatre projects were located at the margins, in small migrant, intercultural and youth community centres removed from established German theatre institutions.

One of the reasons for the absence of Turkish artists who had migrated to Germany during the Fordist guest worker era from Germany's high cultural institutions was the cultural policy of the German government in the post-War decades. The German cultural policy expert, Werner Heinrichs argues that "after the strangulation of culture during Hitler's dictatorship" (2006: 36, own translation), state support for the arts blossomed from the 1950s onwards, which "satisfied the need of the audience for aesthetics and contemplation in the classical sense of sublimeness and beauty. The arts and artists were at the foreground and dominated bourgeois cultural life in West Germany" (2006: 36-37, own translation). The emphasis of cultural policy on the support of a return of bourgeois cultural life in post-fascist Germany thus excluded migrant guest workers' participation, who the bourgeois establishment of the German cultural nation considered a temporary labour force that would leave the country once their labour was no longer required. At the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s, however, as Heinrichs argues, a young generation of people born after the Second World War began to question the cultural policy approach developed in the 1950s and critiqued it as an "instrument for the conservation of bourgeois relations of power" (2006: 37, own translation). This young generation demanded a new understanding of culture, which would "question the bourgeois society and develop another, more democratic society" (2006: 37, own translation). During the social democratic era of Willy Brandt's chancellorship in the 1970s, one progressive cultural policy maker, Hilmar Hoffmann in Frankfurt Main successfully established a cultural policy concept, called "Kultur für Alle" (Culture for All) (Hoffmann, 1979), which argued that free or low priced cultural offerings needed to be made accessible in institutions for working class and lower middle class people, such as community and youth centres in urban neighbourhoods as well as in smaller cities and villages. Due to newly allocated state subsidies these institutions became blossoming socio-cultural centres for cultural activities. These centres nurtured an increasing participation of migrants and laid the grounds for what cultural policy today frames as cultural education policy for youth and "disadvantaged" social groups, such as working class people, disabled people, the elderly, single mothers and migrants. However, as much as these activities were beneficial in terms of granting access to cultural offerings for disadvantaged social groups and also led to the establishment of intercultural project funding, they were located in the socio-cultural field and created a new distinction between high and socio culture that until this day influences the

field of opportunity for artists of colour and their access to high cultural arts and theatre institutions. As one of my interview partners, the Greek German journalist, author and former jury member of the Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital Culture Funds)[52], Terkessidis, stated in a personal interview, cultural policy developed a sharp distinction between its regular (what he calls "normal") and intercultural (see also Chapter 6) and sociocultural funding structures:

> There is in cultural funding in Germany absolutely self-evidently a section for normal funding and a section for intercultural arts projects. And at the intercultural arts projects are somehow all the geezers with the weird names that send their applications (Mark Terkessidis, personal interview, 05.11.2009, own translation).

Whilst "Culture for All" led to the establishment of intercultural project funds for migrant artists, in Germany's municipal and state theatres, theatre directors, playwrights as well as actresses and actors of Turkish descent were nearly non-existent. Back in the 1970s, the Italian German theatre director Robert Ciulli and theatre manager of the Theater an der Ruhr in the West German city of Mühlheim, which he co-founded in 1981, suggested that German state theatres should make their stages available for Turkish theatre productions at least once a month as the Turkish population in Germany paid taxes that funded state theatres and would hence have the right to culture and access to theatres to see plays about their own cultural contexts and in their own language. However, Cuilli's rather modest proposal did not reach any solution with decision makers in municipal and state theatres nor in cultural policy circles (Wagner, 2009: 584) and migrant artists were advised to apply for sociocultural funding.

In 1984, after twenty years of predominantly amateur theatre work mainly practised and staged on the premises of Turkish worker associations, two Turkish German theatres became institutionalised, the Berliner theatre Tiyatrom and the Arkadaş Theatre in Cologne. The Tiyatrom was the only Turkish German theatre that received steady state funding from the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affair's Intercultural Projects Funds until the funding was redesignated to the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2008 (see also chapter 6). Yalçın Baykul (2002) discusses the situation of Turkish German theatres within Germany's theatre landscape in an article published in the German theatre magazine "Theater der Zeit". Baykul, who during the 1990s worked as a theatre director at the Berliner Tiyatrom, argues

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[52] The Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital City Funds) was established in 1999 in Berlin "in order to support individual projects and events with special significance for Berlin as the country's capital. For the duration of the Capital Cultural Pact, the Fund has an amount of up to € 9,866 million annually at its disposal. The Fund is administered by the Senate department responsible for culture of the city-state of Berlin, which is financed by the city-state". Source: Website of the *Hauptstadtkulturfonds:* http://www.hauptstadtkulturfonds.berlin.de/index.php?id=32&L=1 [Accessed: 14.03.2012].

that it is the position allocated by cultural policy makers to Turkish German theatre culture and theatre artists that prevents the professionalization of Turkish German cultural practices, quoting the writer Aras Ören, who already in the early 1980s critiqued the funding policies of the local funding bodies:

> The culture of Turkey is a priori considered second class, which explains that there is a cultural policy practiced that is constituted according to this "second class" image. It just exists in pretence. One cannot foster artists with money that is involuntarily provided and the art produced by these artists cannot be called art. In borderline cases we can be squeezed into an intellectual ghetto in which our second class status as citizens is reassured (Ören cited in Baykul, 2002: 17, own translation).

As Boran further summarises the concerns of the first generation of Turkish German artists regarding the funding of Turkish German theatre, in the early 1980s Aras Ören in particular articulated his critique of the practices of the Berliner Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs which provided minimal project-based subventions (2004: 79). Ören advocated continuous structural funding for the establishment of Turkish German theatre institutions to nurture the professionalisation of Turkish German artists in Berlin's cultural landscape (2004: 79). Thus, Ören considered structural funding for Turkish German theatres the only way to foster and develop distinct Turkish German theatre practices in Germany. Yet apart from the Berliner Tiyatrom, other theatre institutions in Berlin remained uninterested in nurturing artistic talents from Berlin's migrant population. Mürtüz Yolcu, actor, theatre director and organiser of the annual Turkish German Dialog theatre festival staged at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, summarised the dilemma in which Turkish theatre artists found themselves within the given policy structures as follows: "Ultimately the Turks didn't come to Germany to play theatre, but to work" (Yolcu cited in Boran, 2004: 79).

There are a few rare exceptions from the norm established by cultural policy for the funding of Turkish German theatre practices, either with means provided by intercultural or social policy subsidies and from the disinterest of established theatres to work with Turkish German artists. These exceptions are the collaborations of Turkish German author, playwright and theatre director Yüksel Pazarkaya with the Studiobühne Stuttgart (Studio Stage Stuttgart) in the 1960s; the author and actress Emine Sevgi Özdamar's work as assistant director and actress at the Berliner Ensemble and later at the Schaubühne Berlin; the work of actress Renan Demirkan with theatres in Cologne; and the collaboration of a group of artists of Turkish descent with the West Berliner Schaubühne theatre in the early 1980s. Pazarkaya, born in 1940 on the Western Turkish coastal city of Izmir, arrived in Germany as a student in

1958, where he completed a PhD in German Studies and Philosophy at the University of Stuttgart in 1972. During the early years of Turkish German labour recruitment, Pazarkaya began his artistic career as one of the co-founders of the student theatre group Studiobühne Stuttgart at the University of Stuttgart in 1961, which he directed between 1963 and 1969 and as Boran argues, he rejected categorisation under the label of a "guest worker artist" (Boran, 2004: 82-83). Studiobühne Stuttgart was the first German theatre group that would perform, alongside plays by Tschechow, Pinter, Brecht, Turkish plays translated by Pazarkaya into German, such as Güngör Dilmen's 1964 play "Canlı Maymun Lokantası", in German "Restaurant zum lebendigen Affen" (Live Monkey Restaurant) and Nazim Hikmet's 1959 play "Damoklesschwert" (Sword of Damocles) as well as Yükselkaya's own play "Ohne Bahnhof" (Without Train Station, 1966). The latter play, written by the author in German, was the story of a Turkish guest worker, who waits with five others for a train that never arrives at the station and remains silent throughout the play as he cannot speak German. "Ohne Bahnhof", as Boran argues, "refers to one of the favored whereabouts of Turks in the 1960s, when they did not have their own clubs and associations and when German localities were inaccessible" (2004: 84, see also previous section in this chapter about the meaning of the train station and the suitcase for Turkish guest workers). During these years the Studiobühne Stuttgart received invitations from Turkish student theatre groups. However, during their third guest performance in Istanbul the group was expelled from Turkey as the Turkish government banned the festival due to student protests that took place in Turkey in 1968 (2004: 91-92). It was also during these years that Turkish student groups travelled for guest plays to a student theatre festival in the South Western city of Erlangen (2004: 92). Apart from student theatre groups, one notable guest performance of a professional theatre ensemble took place at the Stuttgarter Kammertheater in 1964, where the Istanbuler theatre group of director Engin Cezzar, who shared a long friendship and worked for many years with the African American writer James Baldwin,[53] performed Turkish playwright Haldun Taner's 1964 play "Keşanlı Ali Destanı" (The Legend of Ali from Keşan). In the mid-1960s, Pazarkaya also founded the first Turkish amateur theatre group in Germany in Stuttgart, working with Turkish workers and students. However, these projects never received public funding and in 1968 Pazarkaya retracted from his active theatre work and continued his work as an author (2004: 92-93).

In 1974, the first Turkish theatre group in Berlin emerged with a group of Turkish

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[53] For a detailed account of Engin Cezzar's friendship and collaborations with James Baldin see: Zaborowska, M. (2009) *James Baldwin's Turkish Decade: Erotics of Exile*. Durham, Duke University Press.

workers and students who founded the Halkevi Işçi Tiyatrosu (Worker's Community Theatre) under the direction of Nihat Bozkurt at the Workers and Youth Association in Berlin. The Halkevi Işçi Tiyatrosu was an explicitly left-wing political theatre group in the tradition of agitprop theatre, which depicted capitalist oppression and aimed to stimulate immediate political action, such as strikes against wage cuts. The group did not receive any public funding but managed to produce a range of plays until the early 1990s (2004: 98-99). It was only two years later in 1976 that a group of artists and intellectuals of Turkish descent founded a second theatre group in Berlin, the Berlin Oyuncuları (Berlin Actors), which according to Boran, performed contemporary and traditional Turkish plays but did not have any particular political alignment (2004: 99). One of the founders of Berlin Oyuncuları was the actor, theatre director, author and cartoonist Meray Ülgen, who began his theatre work in Germany at an adult education centre, again without any funding provided by Berlin's cultural policy administration. In 1978, Ülgen and his theatre group Berlin Oyuncuları received an invitation from the West Berliner theatre Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer, one of the most prestigious West Berliner theatres, at the time located in the district of Kreuzberg, relocating to the district of Charlottenburg in 1981 and when it was renamed the Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz. It was at the Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer in 1979 that Meray Ülgen played under the direction of the famous German theatre director Peter Stein the figure of the "The Turk" for the world premiere of Botho Strauß's drama "Groß und klein" (Big and little), which was one of the first roles of a Turkish German artist on a German theatre stage. Following the successful collaboration Peter Stein accepted Ülgen's proposal to work with Ülgen's theatre group Berlin Oyuncuları, which led to the foundation of the Türkisches Ensemble der Schaubühne Berlin (Turkish Ensemble of the Schaubühne Berlin) in 1979. As Langhoff stated in a personal interview in 2007, this was a groundbreaking development for Turkish German artists to be recognised and to professionalise in a German theatre institution. The Turkish ensemble was founded with a budget from the Schaubühne and their budget for performances of independent theatre groups. In addition, the Berlin Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs granted around 60,000 Deutsche Mark from the Fund for Foreigner Culture (2004: 105), which was later renamed the Intercultural Project Funds. However, the work of the ensemble ended five years later in 1984, when a group of professional actors and actresses from Turkey, who Stein had invited to work at the ensemble, and the semi-professional and amateur artists of Berlin Oyuncuları began to resent each other's work (2004: 103- 104). Despite internal conflicts between professional Turkish and semi-professional or self-taught Turkish German artists, the Turkish ensemble at the Schaubühne produced ten theatre plays

and organised literature and music events at the venue. However, the productions of the ensemble were all in Turkish, which led to a limited audience for the plays (2004: 107), which was criticised by the Berliner Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, who provided funding for the ensemble's work. The failure of the Turkish ensemble consequently led to doubts of other German theatre institutions and funding bodies about establishing such projects. Many of the artists who had worked at the Schaubühne received further offers in film and theatre and continued, even though mostly in temporary and precarious employment, their work as the first generation of Turkish German theatre artists. They inspired following generations of Turkish German artists and the postmigrant theatre movement in Berlin to build on the achievements of the first generation of guest workers and Turkish artists and intellectuals.

To conclude, this chapter has traced the key figures of the Fordist guest worker system, the female and male guest worker, their representation in Turkish German cultural history and cultural productions and key moments in the struggles of Turkish German migrants during the transitional period from a Fordist to a Post-Fordist social system. It has shown the ways in which this history as intergenerationally transmitted experiences and cultural memory is depicted in the works and programming of the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. I have argued, drawing on the work of Huyssen (1995) and Göktürk (2009), that in a culture of amnesia, in which the history of political participation and cultural productions of the first generation of Turkish migrants is forgotten and neglected and that of the second and third generation Turkish German artists is considered a novelty in German cultural history, referring to earlier generations of Turkish German artists' labour becomes in itself memory work.

The following chapter moves from the past to the present and examines the labour conditions of the second and third generation of Turkish German artists who established the postmigrant theatre movement in Berlin. It contexualises their labour conditions within the Post-Fordist social system, the artistic labour market in Berlin and contemporary discourses about migration in Germany. The chapter closely examines the ways in which artistic labour is racialised and made precarious and traces the institutionalisation process of postmigrant theatre in the city.

Chapter 5: Berlin's Postmigrant Theatre Artists' Lived Experiences of Racialised and Precarious Artistic Labour

As I discussed in the last chapter, Turkish migration to Germany took place when Fordist production was at its peak and the labour of so called guest workers was urgently needed for Germany's industrial economy. I examined how during these two decades the employment of women and men from Turkey was based on a gendered and racialised division of labour, how the political participation of Turkish German workers was restricted by employers and unions, and how the lived experiences and intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories of the first generation of Turkish German workers were depicted in the works of Turkish German artists. In the second part, which examined the labour experiences of the first generation of Turkish German artists, I illustrated how they experienced mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in Germany's theatre landscape, which limited their cultural participation and trapped ethnic minority artists in socio-cultural institutions. Building on the findings of Chapter 4, this chapter closely examines the labour conditions of those second and third generation of Turkish German artists who established the postmigrant theatre movement, the ways in which their labour is racialised and made precarious and how the gradual institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre engenders a "safe space" for the artists to collaboratively develop new artistic practices.

The emergence of a new wave of Turkish German artists in the mid-1990s, and who established postmigrant theatre a decade later, intersected with the transition of Germany into a Post-Fordist society in which the working lives of postwar labour migrants from Turkey became increasingly precarious and hegemonic public debates about the second and third generation of Turkish Germans began to centre around two themes. Whilst conservative public debate focused on what they considered to be the deficient educational, professional, political, social and cultural integration of Turkish Germans, and which following the events of 9/11 was supplemented with an increasing hostility toward Germany's Muslim population, the political left emphasised that Germans with a Turkish migration background were particulary affected by precarity due to racism and discrimination in the education system and labour market. Thus, the political left demanded that Germany as a country of immigration fosters ethnic and racial diversity in public debates and institutional life.

This chapter situates the working conditions of racialised artists and in the case of particular study, that of Turkish German artists, within these debates and thereby complicates the argument found in the literature that suggests that artists, imagined as universal

professional figures, all experience similar precarious labour conditions. In response to the literature on precarious artistic labour, this chapter engages with the question of why some artists are more precarious than others. It does so by providing an in-depth account of the lived experiences of racialised artists in Berlin's cultural landscape. More specifically, the chapter elucidates the ways in which certain economic, emotional, performative and political registers intersect in the theatre space as a workplace. Investigating postmigrant theatre as a labour market, I argue that postmigrant theatre as a work place is a space of opportunity for many of the artists, who throughout their educational and professional development experienced precarisation because of structural racism and discrimination in public institutions, such as in art school and in Germany's theatre landscape. The material presented in this chapter originates from my participant observations at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, as well as during guest performances, in addition to my analysis of theatre reviews and personal interviews with the artists and members of the audience.

Post-Fordism, Precarity, Anti-Muslim Racism and the Emergence of Postmigrant Theatre Artists in Berlin

Post-Fordism as a social system substantially transformed work organisations, leading to increased precarity in Germany, which had a direct impact on the working lives of a young generation of Turkish German artists who established postmigrant theatre in Berlin. Departing from the intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories of the first generation of Turkish migrants who worked in the Fordist guest worker system (as examined in Chapter 4), this section sets out the ways in which the Post-Fordist culture of work influenced the emergence of postmigrant theatre artists in Berlin.

Since the early 1990s in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Fordist work and welfare regime was in crisis (Hirsch & Roth, 1986), and as a result industrial labour decreased sharply, especially in Berlin (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002). The social changes that the transformation from Fordism to Post-Fordism brought about with regards to labour were, as Bowring states, a "revolution in work practices and relations" (Bowring, 2002: 159), particularly given the ways in which work and non-work became organised. Changes within Western economies, from industrial to knowledge-based structures, required new guiding principles for gainful employment. One of the main reasons for the decrease of industrial mass production was the development of new information and communication technologies that enabled a further rationalisation of the production process and drastically lowered the demand for low skilled labour, which in turn led to mass unemployment, particularly among

low-skilled migrant workers in Germany. At the same time, the welfare system no longer absorbed the employment crisis as it was based on a system of contributions from standard full time waged labour, which itself crumbled with the reorganisation of the economy and the labour market. This situation revealed the incapacity of the Post-Fordist labour model to include existing industrial labour in the new productive model which was moving from industrial to knowledge-led production. Consequently, the Post-Fordist organisation of the labour market escaped the impasses of waged labour (Moulier Boutang, 2003). Whereas, in Fordism, the unemployed were considered as auxiliary manpower for the industrial labour market, the urban poor and unemployed today are addressed, according to the Berlin urban sociologists Hartmut Häußermann and Andreas Kapphan, as "those excluded, who will never be useful again, who are expendable and only a burden" (Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002: 19; see also Bude, 1998). According to empirical studies that analyse new forms of poverty and unemployment (Castel & Dörre, 2009; Leibfried et al., 1995), Germany's economic restructuring led to an increasing unpredicability regarding the duration and reasons for precarious labour conditions and poverty. This situation occured in Berlin in particular in the years after the country's reunification, when more and more workers began to face irregular forms of employment, alongside an increasing demand for flexibility and mobility in a new society of entrepreneurs.

When at the beginning of the 1990s, the economic need for migrant industrial labour decreased sharply as many factories closed down or moved their production to low-wage labour countries (especially in Berlin), the previously established racialised division of labour that existed within the Fordist guest worker model became evident when relatively secured wages, stable work and career paths ceased to exist for low-skilled migrant workers. This development had tremendous effects on the urban Turkish German working class resulting in precarious working and living condictions (see also Castro Varela, 2005: 90-91), such as long term unemployment, working poor, a shift from full-time industrial to temporary jobs in the service sector and an increasing self-entrepreneurialism mainly in gastronomy and different forms of small-scale trade such as corner shops, call centres and fruit and vegetable shops (see also Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002: 19, Ohliger & Raiser, 2005: 25-26). These entrepreneurial activities bear – despite their contributions to Berlin's weak economy and its image as a culturally diverse city, highly individualised risks – the disadvantages of credit taking and debt management, and the possibility of failure due to competition on the market. Whilst Berlin became increasingly deindustrialised in the 1990s, the Social Democrat government of the Federal Republic allocated those working in creative occupations a

significant role in an era of economic and social change. Whilst the dismantling of social benefits progressed relentlessly from the new millennium onwards, politicians called for investment in individual entrepreneurship based on a talented, innovative, creative and highly educated labour force. This was also promoted by the German Hartz Commission, which transformed substantially Germany's unemployment and social policies during a time, when, as von Osten puts it, "the unemployed emerge[d] as self-motivated, 'freelancers' and artists, journalists and other self-employed," thereby representing "the professionals of the nation" (2007: 107, own translation). However, as stated in Chapter 1, these highly promoted "professionals of the nation" that appeared in national public discourse and who, as cultural workers, were assigned a new role in German society, did not include any of the approximately 3 million Turkish German migrants, who were increasingly pushed to the margins of the nation and its capital city Berlin. However, since the mid-1990s in particular, more and more second generation Turkish Germans educated in the German school system moved into higher education and arts colleges in order to follow creative career paths and it is their lived experiences that this chapter investigates. Having said that, until the arrival of postmigrant theatre artists in Berlin's cultural landscape, the promotion of Berlin as a creative and cosmopolitan world city operated in a framework in which ethnic minority artists were considered foreign and outside the framework of German national culture and identity.

Ahmed, drawing on Benedict Anderson's concept of the "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983), illustrates the connection between national identity and its embodiment in the individual, which is useful for understanding why Turkish Germans artists did not appear as "professionals of the nation" in public discourse:

> The construction of the nation space takes place alongside the production of national characters as instances in which 'the nation' itself is fleshed out *as place and person*. The nation becomes imagined as a body in which personhood and place are precariously collapsed. Through a metonymic elision, the individual can claim to embody a nation, or the nation can take the shape of the body of an individual ("bodyscape") (Ahmed, 2000: 99).

Through this process, the German territory appears to be an exclusive bodyscape in which Turkish Germans are insiders and simultaneously "matter out of place" (Douglas, 1995: 44). From this perspective, they do not fit into the ethno-cultural order of German society and the national body so that, as Ahmed further states "we can consider how the act of hailing or recognising some-body as a shared member of a community serves to produce or flesh out that community through or against the bodies of strangers" (Ahmed, 2000: 99). Hence, the

role of the German national public sphere in terms of the representation of the ethno-cultural "Volksgemeinschaft" (community of the people), is to recognise who embodies difference and who is a "stranger'" within the national bodyscape. In this context, Turkish Germans are those who are "othered", whereas white Germans are the invisible "somatic norm" (Puwar, 2004: 1).

With the increasing number of Turkish migrants settling in Germany, the relatively uncontroversial acceptance of the "guest worker" as an alien to the nation (see also Chin, 2007), which I discussed in the previous chapter, found its limits. In public discourse, the children of Turkish working class migrants were portrayed as the "new underclass", whose "ghettoisation" and "cultural isolation" could only be avoided by "integration-help" instead of "orientation-help" (Kosnick, 2000: 326). Whereas "orientation-help" was offered to guest workers by governmental institutions, so that they could temporarily access social services prior to their assumed departure from Germany, the concept of "integration" was first introduced in the 1980s to account for the new context of permanence and the integration of the second generation in the education and apprenticeship system of the country. However, as Kürsat-Ahlers & Waldhoff point out, the term "integration" itself did not refer to an integrative approach to the social system as a whole, but – and in line with the political discourse at the time – was understood as a duty for the second generation of Turkish Germans (2001: 45). The former were still considered foreigners to integrate into the host society so that their difference as an imaginary threat to national identity and culture disappeared for native German (2001: 45).

Following the events of 9/11, notions of "difference as a threat to national identity" were attached in particular to Turkish German bodies in hegemonic public debates about integration, debates which shifted from a merely racial and ethnic framework towards a religiously defined fear and hostility towards approximately 4 million Muslims living in the Federal Republic of Germany (see also Shooman & Spielhaus, 2010:198) and an increased focus on the negative portrayal of Islam, Muslims in Europe and apparently insurmountable religious and cultural differences between Christians and Muslims. According to several studies (EUMC, 2006; Hafez & Richter, 2007; Hafez, 2002; Klemm & Hörner, 1993; Schiffer, 2005; Thofern, 1997), the media coverage and portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the German mainstream media became predominantly negative and began to centre around conflict, war and terror, security, fundamentalism, integration failures and gender inequality. As Shooman and Spielhaus point out, the role of the media is particularly important in public debates about Muslims as "in the case of minority issues, coverage in the media is often the

only source for the formation of audience opinions, since many media recipients hardly have any direct contact or experience with Muslims" (2010: 202). Having said that, it is not only the media that reinforces anti-Muslim Racism in Germany. The chief whip (Fraktionschef) of the German Christian Democrat Party in the German Federal Parliament, Volker Kauder, stated that he considered Muslims inferior, primitive and violent in contrast to Christians and argued in an interview with the conservative daily newspaper "Die Welt" (published on the 07.8.2011), that "the modernity of the Enlightenment is lacking as of yet in Islam" (Malzahn & Vitzthum, 2011). A statement by the theatre and film director Neco Çelik during a public panel discussion on culture and migration in Berlin, that he was tired of being labelled as a "Turk" and a "Muslim" summarises in a nutshell how postmigrant theatre artists negotiate their ethnic, racial and religious framing through their artistic practices in the space of the theatre:

> Until the year 2001 we were Turks, now we are Muslims. When will we be just Germans? For me personally identity attributions such as "Turk" or "German" really don't make any sense. I just do my artistic work. Instead of talking about identity we should just talk with one another and I hope our art makes this possible (Neco Çelik, 13.04.2010, own translation).

The above developments are linked to the long denial of the fact that Germany had over the past five decades become a country of immigration (see also Heckmann, 2005: 22), which as much as this shaped the biographies and perspectives of my research participants, it was also challenged with the development of a Turkish German middle class, the increasing visibility of Turkish German decision-makers and public figures and demographic changes in German society. In relation to the last issue, according to the figures of the German Federal Statistical Office for the year 2012, 16.3 million of Germany's 81.913 million inhabitants have a migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012).

With the official recognition that Germany is a country of immigration in the year 1998, which was further confirmed with the German Citizenship Reform in 2000 and the Immigration Act of 2005, the political left's argument that anti-immigration policies and public debates based on a one-sided integration paradigm (according to which deficient migrants need to integrate into the host society as in Sarazzin's statements), led to racism and discrimination particularly targeting Germany's largest ethnic minority population of Turkish descent, which was widely acknowledged by policy-makers. Ever since then public policy began to advocate a new model of integration based on the affirmation of ethnic and racial diversity in public debates and institutional life. The Senate of Berlin, for instance, introduced

its first official integration policy called "Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion". In this policy document the Senate of Berlin declared: "As a city of immigration, Berlin lives on the recognition and utilization of the competences of their immigrants as resources for the future" (Damelang et al., 2007: 42). Whilst the Turkish German artists working in postmigrant theatre embody a new "successful" version of diversity, it seems as though diversity has gained a certain utility value, which is inscribed on the bodies of Turkish German artists and their very presence signals the visible success of Berlin as a "culturally diverse" and "creative" city (see also Chapter 6 and 7). As this chapter illustrates, whilst diversity became a resource through public diversity proclamations, diversity in Berlin's theatre landscape remains confined to postmigrant theatre as a workplace, which provides opportunity for many of those artists, who, throughout their educational and professional development, experienced precarisation because of structural racism and discrimination in public institutions, such as in art school and in Germany's theatre landscape.

Alienation in Higher Education: Lived Experiences of Racial and Class Based Inequality in Film and Drama School

With the emergence and institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre, cultural diversity in the arts has gained increasing attention and artists of colour experience more visibility in Germany's established arts and cultural institutions. A commitment to cultural diversity in the arts, however, requires changes not only in state-funded and private arts and cultural institutions but also in the arts school sector of higher education. Arts schools as key institutions in which young artists are trained, need to develop and implement cultural diversity strategies in view of an increasingly transnational arts scene and an more racially and ethnically diverse student body. Transnational, postcolonial and cross-cultural curricula beyond the Western arts canon and the employment of faculty members of colour that reflect the demographics of today's arts scene are, however, still largely missing.

Using in-depth interviews with Turkish and Kurdish German artists whose theatre productions are affiliated with the two most prominent flagships of Berlin's culturally diverse institutions, the theatres Ballhaus Naunynstraße and the Maxim Gorki Theatre, this section draws attention to the largely unexamined field of racial and class based inequality in German arts schools. It provides an account of how encounters between artists of colour, white peers, faculty and staff members are shaped by race and class based inequality and explores how these artists experienced some encounters as sources of encouragement and support and others as sources of uncertainty and alienation during their years at film and drama school.

The majority of the artists I met and spoke with during my fieldwork in Berlin were brought up in Turkish or Kurdish working class families and experienced class-based discrimination and institutional racism in the education system. In contrast to common assumptions that Turkish working class parents would discourage their children in their educational and artistic aspirations, only a very few of my research participants stated a lack of such family support. Film and theatre director, Miraz Bezar recalled his early memories of his family's migration to Germany, his years at school, his working class mother's constant reminders of why he had to succeed in school and his initial inspiration for embarking on an artistic career:

> Not knowing German I had to be taken one class down, but I was lucky that my older sister was there who helped me a lot. So, I didn't have that many difficulties. I went to a normal primary school and then I went to secondary school and did my A-levels. It was all quite straightforward, because of that syndrome of my mum that "you HAVE to become something". You know what I mean. My mum, of course, was constantly saying "I am working for you all day" blah, blah, blah. When we came back to Germany, my mum started to work as a seamstress. At the beginning she was working at some place and then she had her own place, where she worked, I don't know, I guess from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. My sister in a way was my mother at the time because my mother was working a lot. So it was a difficult time, but school was okay, I was one of the better students. I did experience racism, but, as a kid, I didn't care. It didn't affect me that much. But at school you also had other people that let you understand that you are "foreign" or "not German". I do remember at that time I was once called a dirty foreigner [laughing] by another guy from school when we were playing football (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

Bezar's experiences correspond with those of many of my interviewees at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as well as my own lived experiences, as all our working class parents worked long hours and shifts to provide a better future for their children. As many other interviewees also state, coincidental encounters with supportive teachers or friends who recognised one's talents and directed them towards an engagement with the arts, led to their career choices.

> I also had a good teacher for example and my school was really great. Bremen is a left wing town and one of my teachers was a left wing guy. He was in fact somebody who would really tell me to go and watch a film. So I went and I saw "Der Tee im Harem des Archimedes", I think the English title is "Tea in the Harem", made by Mehdi Charef in 1985. It's a very good film. That was a kind of awakening, to experience what film is capable of. It's a story of a young Arab migrant living in the suburbs and having a French friend, he tries to build a life. I thought; "okay, that's my story". How can it be that a guy, the director was of Algerian descent, how could it be that someone in France could make my story, that is kind of like my world and my emotions? And that was the first awakening. Therefore I liked my teacher very much, because I knew that he understood my potential in a way. But it was not like telling me "do this or do

that", just giving me love and saying "okay, you are someone special". I was lucky (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

Often it was a French Arab, British Asian or African American movie or theatre play, a sense of belonging to youth subcultures, such as hiphop or punk, or an early interest in politics due to family affiliations that addressed, in their own ways, the experiences of migration and marginalisation, thereby inspiring the artists in their formative years. Bezar told me that his resilience regarding the experience of racism had been strong, particularly in his youth. However, by the time he moved to Berlin in 1994, where he was accepted into the film directing programme at the prestigious Deutsche Film and Fernseh Akademie Berlin (German Film and Television Academy Berlin), things started to change. Whilst at film school, he made several short films, such as "Berivan" (1995), which is about his sister and "Fern" (Afar, 1997), a film about gender-based violence in migrant families. During his years of study at the film academy, he felt that race and ethnicity mattered in different ways, which made him feel alienated, mistreated and misdirected.

> They tried to break me. This is what I experienced. I was wondering, as my film school was so international, why I was the second person from Turkey. I mean I am Kurdish, but there are so many migrants from Turkey living in Germany. But in 1994 I was only the second film student. There were people from all around the world but nobody from here, just like us. I asked the question in school and they said: "You cannot say that we exclude the Turkish community". I think it might be something unconscious. Later in 1999, I had the experience of not being allowed to do a film that was set in Istanbul. The producer at our school said "no, our camera does not go to Turkey" and when I asked why, he said: "it might get stolen there". I said: "Yeah but this camera is currently in Finland. Why might it get stolen in Istanbul and not in Finland? That was the first time I was openly confronted with prejudice and when I went to the director of the school, he also just said: "No, you are not going to shoot it there". You know, you cannot argue with them. Also later, when I needed funding for my final film, I didn't get any support. By the time I graduated in 2004 I felt so frustrated I said to myself that I wanted to leave Germany (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

The quote from our conversation speaks – to borrow from Schwalbe et al. – to "what happens in face-to-face interaction, such that a form of inequality is the result" as well as to "how symbols and meaning are created and used to sustain the patterns of interaction that lead to inequality" and "how inequality itself is perceived, experienced, and reacted to, such that it is either reproduced or resisted" (2000: 421).

As I have stated in the introduction to this thesis, from the mid-1990s onwards, a new wave of Turkish German filmmakers entered the German film landscape. This young mid-

1990s generation of Turkish and Kurdish German filmmakers, most prominent among them Fatih Akın, Miraz Bezar and Ayşe Polat, substantially influenced how we think about German film in the context of migration today. As Kulaoğlu stated in an interview:

> These filmmakers were people who studied in film academies and learnt things properly. There are also autodidacts such as Neco Çelik for example, who still made their movies, but nobody would deny that it's definitely an advantage to study film to learn the craft and to reflect on your practice by learning theories (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation).

Yet, as Bezar's experiences outlined above show, the continuation and successful completion of his arts training was complicated as he experienced discrimination and alienation. Another artist, the theatre director Erpulat, who was the first Turkish theatre directing student at the famous East Berliner Ernst Busch Academy of Dramatic Arts in the 2000s, told me a similar story. Erpulat, the son of a middle class Turkish family and who came to Germany as a student in the late 1990s, described his study years at the Busch Academy as follows:

> It was horrible! After several racist incidents in school, my self-confidence was completely gone and I thought for a while, that I could not continue with my studies until Shermin asked me "Do you want to direct a play at the "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival?" and I was like "Wow, of course I want to" (Nurkan Erpulat, personal interview, 13.11.2008, own translation).

Whilst the postmigrant theatre space itself was experienced as a safe space by the majority of artists of colour, it is also important to note here that "feeling safe" followed previous and present experiences of racism in school, art school, in their workplace and in their everyday lives. Langhoff, who invited Erpulat to produce his first play at the "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival recalled these experiences as follows:

> I met Nurkan at a time, when he was questioning himself as a theatre director and was told to change his career and to work as a journalist […] At the moment he is one of the most sought after theatre directors in Germany (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

Whilst in Erpulat's case, due to his middle class family background, his social class status was not questioned in the same way as in the case of Turkish and Kurdish German artists from migrant working class families, artists like Bezar, Çelik and Kulaoğlu, who worked in both film theatre concurrent with the emergence of the postmigrant theatre scene, and to which they considerably contributed, emphasised that social class had also been a major issue

in their career development. This is especially the case in terms of the class privileges that middle and upper class arts school students and artists enjoy and the limited access to education for aspiring artists with a Turkish German working class background. In relation to the latter, Kulaoğlu points out that: "these artists come from educationally disadvantaged working class backgrounds with parents who certainly aren't academics. That's the reason why it took so long, until the early and mid-1990s, before people went to art schools and began to make films" (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation). Bezar's personal experience confirms Kulaoğlu's observation. During our conversations in his flat, Bezar told me in more detail how he experienced the issue of class privilege and disadvantage during his years at the film academy and in the wider film industry:

> In film school the people were kind of an elite. For me, there were social differences. I had the feeling that people who had a better family, came from the middle and upper classes, had it easier. I couldn't prove it, but that was my feeling. Their privileges were just self-evident. Of course they can sell themselves better, that's not the thing, but they also speak the same language as the people in charge. There is a selection of people coming from the middle and upper classes and this is the reason why there are not that many working class films made in Germany. I mean, most of the guys working in film do not come from the underclass and the world that they describe is a totally different one, that of middle and upper class people. Or if it's about working class people, you have mostly been very elitist films, in other words art house cinema. It took me ten years to get my degree and I didn't find funding for my final movie, but another guy who was from a very rich family, finished his degree, for example, really quickly, got funding and all that (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

Feeling that there is a lack of evidence (as in "I couldn't prove it"), hesitation and insecurity to name race and class based-discrimination and simultaneously the reassurance that one's experience is valid (as in "but that is what I felt") is a recurring expression that my interviewees used with regards to their experiences in institutional contexts. The artists' experiences in white, middle class-dominated institutions correspond with what Ruth Frankenberg, in her analysis of the reproductive power of whiteness, calls the power of "discursive repertoires", that serve to "reinforce, contradict, conceal, explain, or 'explain away' the materiality of social inequality" (1993: 2). Bezar's account of both racial (as in the earlier quote above) and class privilege and disadvantage is insightful as of yet there is no research conducted on how race and class affect access to institutions of higher education, and, in particular, art school access and attendance for students of colour in Germany. Most German studies that engage with institutional racism in the German education system focus on schools, rather than institutions of higher education (see Gomolla & Radtke, 2007). Maike Koschorreck points out that while institutional racism's *outcomes* are rather easy to document,

their *mechanisms* are more difficult to detect. It is easy to agree with her assertion that in the German context, "there is still a need for empirical studies, which take up this difficult task of analysing *how* institutional discrimination in the German education system (re)develops and subsists" (2011: 5).

Moreover, Bezar's account speaks about the materiality of social inequality as a lived experience that is relational and dependent on who is encountering whom. As Bezar emphasises, privileged access is about the use of a shared language that includes some and excludes others from material and immaterial resources that are required for the development in any, and particularly an artistic, occupation that relies heavily on informal networks, in other words on who encounters whom. Jenny Stuber in her article "Class Dismissed? The Social-Class Worldviews of Privileged College Students" (2010) emphasises the significance of language in the reproduction of social inequalities. Drawing on the work of social interactionists, such as Herbert Blumer, she emphasises "the importance of language in the social construction of reality, arguing that symbolic understandings are important because it is on the basis of these understandings that people act" (Blumer, 1969 cited in Stuber, 2010: 132). However, it is not only the use of a shared language that opens up or restricts access to resources. It is also, as Ahmed points out, about the "desire for a shared social space", which "restricts to whom an institutional space is open" (2012: 39). Hence, in Bezar's account, the invitation to share institutional social space is mainly extended to those bodies that are most similar to those who are in decision-making positions.

The question of how German institutions of higher education and in particular arts schools become shared institutional social spaces for the training of future generations of artists of colour from working class backgrounds needs to be addressed in the context of fostering cultural diversity in the arts. Racial and class based inequality, as this section has shown, negatively affects the experiences of artists of colour during their studies at art schools. Those advocating the development of diversity and equality measures in the arts, in cultural and in educational institutions such as art schools, thus, need to be attentive to the experiences of young artists of colour of working class background not only for appropriate training opportunities, but also for the sustainability of cultural diversity in the arts.

Having said that, it was at the first "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival, where the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement first got the chance to experiment and develop their artistic skills. As mentioned above, for the artists it was the postmigrant theatre space itself, in contrast to arts school, where they found a safe space to work collaboratively. However, as the next section illustrates, this "safe space", initially at the Hebbel am Ufer

Theatre, was rather ephemeral and characterised by precarious labour conditions, which later led the artists to demand a further institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

The Burden of Representation and the Demand for the Institutionalisation of Postmigrant Theatre

As I stated previously, the first postmigrant theatre plays were produced at the Kreuzberger Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, which is a well-known space and platform for the international free dance, performance and theatre scene, with co-productions spanning an artistic network over every continent (Heymeyer & Pees, 2012: 6-7). With Matthias Lilienthal's appointment as the theatre's artistic director between 2003 and 2012, the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre distinguished itself in Berlin's theatre landscape with its distinctly political and avant-garde aspirations and the staging of internationally acclaimed experimental and documentary theatre plays.[54] Over the past ten years, the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre became an important stepping stone in the professional career development of artists, such as the German documentary theatre collective Rimini Protokoll, the German performance collective She She Pop, the New York-based African American documentary theatre collective The Wooster Group and the Canadian/Berlin-based electronic musician and performance artist Peaches. For a Berlin audience that enjoyed a young and alternative artistic scene, Lilienthal's reign made the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre a popular venue.

It was also Lilienthal who invited Langhoff to become a curator at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and with this decision helped to initiate the establishment of postmigrant theatre in Berlin. Lilienthal and I met in the spring of 2009 in the theatre's café to talk about how he experienced his collaboration with this new wave of Turkish German artists. In Lilienthal's perspective, his interest in the demographics of the theatre's neighbourhood were a decisive factor in his decision to work with Turkish German artists as was the case during his previous career at the Volksbühne theatre, located in the Eastern part of the city, which sparked his interest in East German narratives. When the interview was conducted Lilienthal explained that given his role as artistic director of the Kreuzberger Hebbel am Ufer Theatre his interest in the topic of migration had evolved as follows:

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[54] The Hebbel am Ufer Theatre was at the time of the interview with Matthias Lilienthal funded with a budget of €4.5 million by the Berlin Senate, receives additional project funding from the Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital Culture Funds) and the Bundeskulturstiftung (The Federal Culture Foundation). A range of different foundations and organisations provide funding for the theatre's co-productions.

We are placed in a neighbourhood that is predominantly inhabited by migrants and that's why I wanted to work with this population. The topic of migration was part of my application for the position and the Senate approved it, because Berliners always like new ideas. At that time, there was a concurrent public argument about an exhibition with Turkish artists at the Gropius Bau [author's note: originally a museum of applied arts and since 1966 an exhibition hall in Berlin-Kreuzberg], which was organised by a German curator. The Turkish and German artists of the exhibition received different payments, which led to a quarrel between the Turkish artists and the German curator. When that happened, it became clear to me that I had to work with a person with a Turkish background to curate the migration programme, because otherwise there would be frictions. When someone with a Turkish German biography like you or Shermin Langhoff speak about migration then it has much more credibility than if I would curate the topic, in which case people would not find it authentic, but colonial. So, I asked Langhoff to work with me. Initially I had to persuade her, because she thought it was shitty to be reduced to being a migrant, but eventually we push-started our collaboration with different directors from the migrant community here (Matthias Lilienthal, personal interview, 19.03.2009, own translation).

Lilienthal's narrative about the reasons for why he initiated a migration programme at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in the Kreuzberg neighbourhood alludes to his political-curatorial practice, which, according to Stefanie Carp, is "not to represent something, but to realise a demand toward reality" (2012: 99). However, Lilienthal's claims about the relationship between the "authentic Turkish German migrant" and the "coloniser" are rather abrasive and historically unsustainable in view of the historical relationship between the Ottoman Empire (later the Republic of Turkey) and the German Reich (later the Federal Republic of Germany). Turkish German postmigrant subjects are not postcolonial subjects in the sense of being the descendants of people colonised by Germans, or, to use the words of Huyssen, "Germans and Turks are not historically bound by a colonial relationship" (2003:153). In fact, the Ottoman Empire was itself a colonial power in Africa, the Middle East and Europe, with its own slave labour market (Erdem, 2004).[55] Thus, I wish to argue that an application of conceptual approaches developed in postcolonial studies without adequate dedication to its historical complexities in researching minority artists' positions in Germany and particularly Turkish German artists, thereby risking the creation of what Monika Albrecht in her article "Postcolonialism, Islam, and Contemporary Germany" (2011), describes as "German postcolonial criticism […] at odds with both the public perception of German ethnic

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[55] Ottoman Empire representatives also took part in the Berlin Conference in 1884/85 which was a decisive event for the future of African nations as policies to regulate colonisation and trade on the African continent were negotiated leading to what is known as the "Scramble for Africa" or the Partition of Africa, including the colonisation of African territories by Western powers during the historical period known as New Imperialism (between 1881 and 1914).

diversity" and:

> perhaps more importantly, the self-image of the very minority groups who are turned into postcolonial subjects by the logic of certain types of postcolonial criticism. My argument thus revolves around the fact that postcolonial studies, otherwise rightly seen as one of the very few remaining "methodological frameworks strongly committed to a critique of the global conditions of domination and oppression", is in danger of failing to achieve its own agenda (Albrecht, 2011: 1-2).

More importantly, the very idea of what is "real" in terms of who represents what is considered "authentic," with respect to cultural productions of Turkish German artists, requires further interrogation. Hall's notion of "the burden of representation" is a particularly useful approach to deconstruct the idea of the representation of "authentic voices" in the case of Turkish German subjects. Although, as I discussed in the theoretical framework, Hall, in his article "New Ethnicities" (1996 [1989]), is not concerned with the material conditions of cultural productions and the artistic labour of ethnic minority artists, rather his analysis of the shifts taking place in the ways in which a young generation of Black British filmmakers that emerged in 1980s Britain, and which represented "Black experiences" in their cultural productions, is useful in an understanding of the issues of representation concerning ethnic minority artists. Following James Procter's summary of Hall's "exploration of the tension between representation as a process of artistic depiction (e.g. making a film) and representation as a form of delegation (speaking for the entire black community as a 'representative')" (Procter, 2004: 126), I argue that there is a corresponding relationship between Turkish German subjects and both forms of representation. Because of a lack of opportunities for Turkish German artists to represent themselves on German stages, there is a burden of representation placed upon these artists to be positive representatives, role models with "authentic voices" who speak for the entire Turkish German population and to tell the German mainstream theatre audience "how it really is" to be Turkish German. This claim to represent reality and authenticity, thereby risks erasing the heterogeneity of the Turkish German subject's lived experiences as well as differences in biographical experiences, cultural politics and class status, gender, and sexuality. In other words, as the anthropologist Renato Rosaldo states in her article "Ideology, Place, and People without Culture" (1988):

> The view of an authentic culture as an autonomous internally coherent universe no longer seems tenable […]. Neither 'we' nor 'they' are as self-contained and homogenous as we/they once appeared. All of us inhabit an interdependent […] world,

which is at once marked by borrowing and lending across porous cultural boundaries, and saturated with inequality, power, and domination (Rosaldo, 1988: 87).

The first collaboration of Langhoff with the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre began in the year 2004 with the production of Lilienthal's later well-known and internationally travelling site-specific theatre project "X Wohnungen" (X Homes or X Apartments) in Berlin's migrant, working class district of Kreuzberg and in the East Berliner working class district of Lichtenberg.[56] Langhoff, despite her initial hesitation regarding being "labelled" as a migrant curator, saw an opportunity to establish postmigrant narratives in theatre, which had previously been inaccessible for Turkish German artists given that narratives about migration, in contrast to film and literature, did not appear on German stages. However, Lilienthal states with regards to the early invitations articulated towards Turkish German artists that:

> The process was that we tried to get people from the film scene, such as Fatih Akın, Züli Aladağ, Thomas Arslan and Ayşe Polat, and, from the Kreuzberger youth centre Naunynritze, Neco Çelik, to contribute to the project, but they didn't give a fuck about theatre, so we first had to persuade them and win their interest (Matthias Lilienthal, personal interview, 19.03.2009, own translation).

Neco Çelik confirms this feeling of indifference towards theatre, especially of local film directors who had no previous experience in other artistic fields:

> In the past I had nothing to do with theatre until someone from the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre called me at the Naunynritze [author's note: a youth centre in Kreuzberg]. It was Matthias Lilienthal, who wanted to speak with me. As a child and in my youth I often passed by the Hebbel Theatre and I wondered, back then, what kind of place that might be […] In fact, I thought theatre is a bourgeois institution for educated middle class people. I didn't know at all in the beginning in what kind of bees' nest I would land in. We felt at home at the Hebbel Theatre, it was around the corner, it was Kreuzberg. […] It seemed, in contrast to the stuff I was doing in film, not as important, because I […] didn't consider it important. We had no idea about it. Only much later I understood that it is quite the opposite. Theatre is much more important than film, it has a completely different cultural importance. Of course, film is the bigger, mainstream business, but theatre […] is a weightier cultural good (Çelik, 2012: 49, own translation).

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[56] The site-specific parkour "X Wohnungen" was initially produced in 2004 in the West German city of Duisburg and its migrant, working class neighbourhood Marxloh. In 2005 "X Wohnungen" was produced in Berlin's districts Schöneberg and Märkisches Viertel. Other cities include Caracas/Venezuela (2006), Istanbul (2008), Vienna/Austria (2009), Sao Paulo/Brazil (2009), Johannesburg/South Africa (2010), Warsaw/Poland (2010) and Mannheim/Germany (2011). See also Lilienthal, M. (2003) Das voyeuristische Erschrecken. Zu Idee und Konzept von X Wohnungen. In: Schultze, A., and Wurster, S. eds. *X Wohnungen, Duisburg. Theater in privaten Räumen*. Berlin, Alexander Verlag.

Whereas the beginnings at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre were, for Berliner Turkish German artists such as the self-taught filmmaker Neco Çelik, their first professional encounter with the world of theatre, another important encounter took place between the postmigrant artistic scene and the international artistic scene for which the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre also served as a platform and stepping stone. The theatre director of the Wiener Festspiele (Vienna Festival), Stefanie Camp, describes how the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre has influenced the postcolonial space of the city and of theatre as it "forced its artists and audience to move in this space and to expose themselves to their own self contradictions" and "has brought the local postmigrant positions into alignment with the international political-artistic avant-garde" (Camp, 2012: 99, own translation).

Postmigrant theatre developed out of several temporary projects in a venue without a fixed ensemble and constantly changing programming and protagonists. Whilst working at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, building up an artistic network and approach for her future work at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as the first postmigrant theatre institution in Berlin, Langhoff and the artists involved in the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre's productions had come to the decision that their work needed structural and sustainable development. Langhoff said in an interview I conducted in the autumn of 2010 in her office at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, that, looking back in time, she decided to separate from the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, because the events she had curated there, such as the production "X-Wohnungen" (in 2004) as well as two "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festivals in 2006 and 2007, were only temporary events. As she explains:

> The Hebbel am Ufer Theatre is one of the most progressive venues in Berlin when it comes to the topic of migration. Since Matthias Lilienthal took it over in 2003, it has become a whole new institution, but at the same time the programme is: for three weeks we have French artists, then three weeks Brazilians and then for three weeks the topic of migration. It's not a place where we could really develop sustainable structures for ourselves. It was simply not enough for us, because the point is that the question about the state of German theatre has to be raised much more fundamentally: how one durably establishes new protagonists and migrant narrative perspectives in a better way. Also it was important to ask how one could communicate better and differently with previously neglected recipients and communities (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

Langhoff's description of her work experience and how the demand for institutional change ("It's not a place where we could really develop sustainable structures for ourselves") is

embedded in structures of precarious, uncertain and challenging labour conditions due to the existence of racial and ethnic categorisations in temporary festival programmes.[57] Langhoff's account of her work at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and the power of self-representation and sustainable labour conditions are both described by her as being shaped by the structural and temporal limitations of the formats in which festivals dealing with the topic of migration are set up. The ambition of artists of colour to challenge the state of German theatre with their arrival in a theatre landscape from which they have been kept *outside* for decades, evolved with this young generation of postmigrant theatre artists becoming involved on the festival circuit and engaging with new patterns of exclusion *from within*. These changes testify to the lived experiences of postmigrant artists in a field where their exclusion was for many decades not seriously questioned in the public sphere (see Chapter 4) as well concerning the ways in which racial and ethnic categorisations, although they engender platforms and thus employment, simultaneously create precarious labour conditions for the artists precisely due to their ephemeral existence. Thus, Langhoff's critique of the festival format available for postmigrant theatre productions at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre needs to be read in the context of structural dynamics in the production of precarious labour in relation to racial representations in theatre, particularly as expressed in her statement that "for three weeks we have French artists, then three weeks Brazilians and then for three weeks the topic of migration".

It was only a couple of months after my first encounter with the artists during the "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festival in 2006, that I would hear Langhoff's name on the grapevine of Berlin's cultural scene as a potential successor for the departing artistic director of a small communual cultural venue of the district of Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain called Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. In fact, following two years of negotiations behind the closed doors of communal policy offices,[58] Langhoff was inaugurated as its new artistic director in 2008 and the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse became the first postmigrant theatre institution in Germany. Thus, the following section examines the ways in which the process of the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre affected the labour conditions of the artists.

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[57] The conceptual use of precarious labour in this study is discussed in Chapter 2.

[58] These negotiations and the communal cultural budgeting for the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a postmigrant theatre are explained in greater detail in Chapter 6.

The Labour Conditions of Postmigrant Theatre Artists in Berlin

As the literature on artistic labour suggests, working in the arts is one of the most precarious occupations one could chose as a career.[59] Yet, there is a lack of scholarly work that engages with the specific issues that arise for racialised artists in the artistic labour market and the career trajectories, opportunities and restrictions faced by artists of colour. In the German case, Susanne Keuchel's study about the economic, social and labour law-related context of theatre and dance professionals provides insights into the artistic labour market, the working conditions of artists[60] and an analysis of the employment situation of artists with a migration background in Germany.[61] However, the only direct reference to the employment situation of Turkish Germans artists in her large-scale quantitative and qualitative study is that:

> People with a Turkish migrant background amount to only two per cent of the theatre and dance professionals, whereas 16 per cent of the population with a migration background are of Turkish descent. One can clearly see here that the largest group among people with migration backgrounds in Germany only play a marginal role in the German theatre and dance scene (Keuchel, 2010: 150, own translation).

The correlation between the total percentage of Germany's Turkish German population and the percentage of Turkish German theatre and dance professionals, prompts several questions as to whether Keuchel suggests that a convergence between Germany's total population with a Turkish migration background and Turkish German artists could remedy the artists' marginal role, if this can tell us anything about their working conditions or whether an

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[59] As has been reviewed previously, artists' precarious working conditions have been discussed with regards to Britain, the US, France, the Netherlands and Germany in works by Hans Abbing (2002) Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt (2008), Isabell Lorey (2009), Angela McRobbie (2002) and Pierre-Michel Menger (1999, 2006).

[60] Susanne Keuchel's study is the first thorough investigation after the *Künstler-Report* (*Artist Report*) from 1973, which was commissioned by the Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs. The *Künstler-Report,* which was published in 1974 and reprinted in 1984, provided information about "the income and financial situation as well as about the position of artists within society" (*Bericht des Ausschusses für Bildung und Wissenschaft, Drucksache* VI/2081, 1971 cited in Keuchel, 2010: 30). As Keuchel states, "the *Künstler-Report* from 1973 was among other things the trigger for the establishment of the *Künstlersozialkasse* (artists' social insurance scheme) through which self-employed artists and publicists gain insurance protections similar to the mandatory social security coverage for regular employees (2010: 30). The *Künstlersozialkasse*, established in 1983, lists for the year 2009 a total of 19,645 members who are freelancers and work in the wider field of the performing arts (see Keuchel, 2010: 31).

[61] By way of contrast, in Britain the first national report on ethnic minority artists and audiences (entitled 'The Arts Britain Ignores') was published by Naseem Khan in 1976. While it was later criticised for its focus on community arts projects and the socio-cultural activities of ethnic minority artists in Britain', it did prompt many studies and cultural policy programmes that followed in its wake. For a recent study about artists of colour and British theatre see: Godiwala, D., and Ukaegbu, V. (2006) *Talawa Theatre Company: The 'Likkle' Matter Of Black Creativity And Representation On The British Stage*. Cambridge Scholars Press.

increase in employment for Turkish German artists would be a desirable outcome for the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts policies. All of these remain unanswered in her study. Up to the completion of this thesis, no other representative survey was conducted about the employment situation of artists with a migration background in general, and Turkish German artists in particular, that would provide more insight into their employment situation in Germany's theatre institutions. Having said that, in what follows I first analyse the level of precarity that artists experience by briefly drawing on Keuchel's data analysis that is devoid of racial, class and gender distinctions, followed by a discussion of the results of my study regarding the labour conditions of the artists working at the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

As Keuchel points out, the employment situation of artists in Germany has deteriorated considerably since the first national artists' report was published in 1973 (2010: 129).[62] The precarious situation of artists in Germany is most evident in the drastic income disparities between different artists and also when compared to employees from non-artistic occupations. The average total income of theatre and dance professionals in Germany is, according to Keuchel, around 40 percent below the average income of employees in non-artistic occupations, including those employed on a low wage basis (2010: 45). Rolf Bolwin of the Deutscher Bühnenverein (German Theatrical Association) points out that, according to official tariff conditions, permanently employed artists and staff in artistic administrative occupations within publicly funded theatre earn a gross minimum fee of €1,600 per month (Bolwin, 2009: 38). In comparison to this figure, the average monthly gross income of employees in full-time employment in the year 2008 amounted to €3,103 (Keuchel, 2010: 45). Whereas these figures highlight the extreme income disparities and precarious working conditions of artists in Germany in comparison to workers in other occupations, there are also strong income disparities within the artistic labour market itself, which has been labelled as a "winner-takes-all market" (Abbing, 2002: 107; Menger, 1999: 556). The concept refers to startling earning inequalities between a minority of highly paid artists and a majority of artists who work in precarious labour conditions.

The division of labour in German state-funded theatres is characterised by strong hierarchies and highly unequal income conditions. Whereas collective wage agreement regulations provide a certain transparency regarding the income situation of artistic and administrative employees, cultural policy makers and theatres are not accountable for

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[62] Keuchel's study is based on a survey covering 4,047 theatre and dance professionals in Germany. She states that the total estimated amount of theatre and dance professionals amount to about 37,000 people (2010: 129).

providing the same transparency regarding the salaries of theatre managers. The journalist Peter Laudenbach, for example, states that the estimated salary of the very top theatre managers in Germany ranges between €150,000 and €170,000 annual gross pay (Laudenbach, 2010). With a yearly structural funding of €234,000, the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, judged by these standards, was at the bottom of the division of labour in the theatre sector, as its former artistic director Langhoff's monthly salary exemplifies. During a press conference in the late morning of the 4th of June 2012, organised for the public announcement of the two new artistic directors, Tunçay Kulaoğlu and Wagner Carvalho, who began to manage the venue from the 2012/2013 season onwards, I asked Langhoff about her salary and whether the two new directors would need to split this income. She replied: "As an employee of the district, I received €2,700 gross pay per month over five years. This contract will be terminated when I leave" (Shermin Langhoff, 04.06.2012). Nobody present at the press conference, however, answered the second part of my question about how much the two new directors would earn. When I asked Carvalho informally after the press conference, he replied simply with "it's enough, it's okay" (Wagner Carvalho, 04.06.2012). During one of my previous fieldtrips in the winter of 2011, I approached Lutz Knospe, the personal assistant of Langhoff, to ask for a detailed account of the employment and income situation at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. He answered that the institution relied on an "inscrutably complex and mixed economy" to fund the staff working in the venue and for its temporary projects so that it would be "nearly impossible to provide any payroll information" (Lutz Knospe, personal interview, 10.02.2011, own translation).[63] Whereas very few theatre managers and directors earn relatively high salaries and belong by income and status to the comfortable middle class, the majority of actors, technicians and artistic-administrative staff receive a considerably lower salary. The Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was no exception in this respect. In the interviews I have conducted, most of the actors working as freelancers at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse stated that their annual gross income was below the €12,000 mark.

As the structural funding provided by the Cultural Administration of the District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs was insufficient for the employment of enough members of administrative staff for the venue (see Chapter 6), Langhoff applied for the Kultur-Arbeit in Berlin (Cultural Work in Berlin) grant. Between the

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[63] For that reason I could not gather representative figures regarding the income condition of all fixed and project-based employees and the income disparities between different members of staff. Most of the data provided by artists relies on personal statements offered during interviews, however, the artists asked me to treat their names as confidential information. The only data available is stated in the following paragraph with regards to the employment programme "Kultur-Arbeit in Berlin".

years 2008 and 2011, the institution received funding for ten additional employees.[64] The initiative was based on the national employment programme Kommunal-Kombi that provided people who were long-term unemployed (for over 24 months) and had received ALG2/Hartz IV [a social benefit programme of the government] for a minimum of one year with the opportunity to work for three years in jobs in the public cultural sector. The Senate of Berlin increased the federal funds available, to the extent that every employee was paid €1,300 gross pay per month for a working week of 30 to 40 hours. However, as many of my research participants stated, their working hours at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse were well over 30 to 40 hours a week, and included night work and tours during guest performances.

As beneficial as the employment programme has been for administrative staff working in accounting, ticketing, and planning, and also for the establishment of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse during its first three years, it did not provide funding to pay the artists (such as actors and musicians) working at the venue. Many of my research participants stated that they lived on less than €1,000 gross per month. In view of the average yearly income of artists in the performing arts, the figures stated by many of my interviewees correspond with the data of the Künstlersozialkasse (The German artists' social insurance scheme), which reveals that, in the year 2008, their members who worked in the performing arts had an average yearly income of €11,701, r €975 per month.[65] My observation was that young actors in particular, who work on a freelance basis for postmigrant theatre productions, did this because they saw a potential reward in the future for their labour and were therefore more likely to accept minimal fees for their work. This corresponds with the findings of Carol Haak (2008), Keuchel's surveys (2010) and McRobbie's work on the labour conditions of young cultural workers in Britain (2002).[66] As Susanne Keuchel states: "With ascending work experience the income of artists increases. Particularly theatre professionals in their early career and with less than six years of work experience belong to the group of low-income earners" (Keuchel, 2010: 51, own translation). However those employed at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse who have

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[64] As Wiebke Nieland states in an article, a total of 300 new positions were established through the programme, of which 60 percent went to non-governmental organisations and cultural institutions in Berlin such as the Kulturbrauerei, the Neuköllner Oper or the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. The remaining funds went to temporal projects, galleries and primary school that offer cultural education programmes. Wiebke Nieland, "Buchhaltung für die Bühne", cultural pages of the *Berliner Zeitung*, 14.03.2009. <http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/die-initiative-kulturarbeit-berlin-bringt-nicht-nur-kuenstler-wieder-in-lohn-und-brot-buchhaltung-fuer-die-buehne,10810590,10626510.html> [Accessed 17.05.2012].

[65] See <http://www.kskontra.de/md.static/ksk_berechnungen.pdf> [Accessed 22.05.2012]

[66] McRobbie's analysis addresses the labour conditions of young cultural workers in the commercial creative sector and their "attempt to make-over the world of work into something closer to a life of enthusiasm and enjoyment" (McRobbie, 2002: 523).

shed the enthusiasm of youth and still live on around €1,000 a month, despite the rising living costs in Berlin, are highly distressed about their labour conditions, precarious income and life situation.

The drastic decrease in long-term employment opportunities and the increase in freelance jobs (Susanne Keuchel states that 68 per cent of theatre and dance professionals work as freelancers (2010: 96)) have led to a situation in which artists suffer from a lack of entitlement to unemployment allowances (2010: 72-74). Another issue is that 45 per cent of freelance artists who earn less than €10,000 annually from artistic occupations cannot afford to pay into pension schemes, leading to a high risk of age-related poverty (2010: 76). Matthias Lilienthal, former director of the Hebbel am Ufer Theater, commented on the downward trend in artists' employment, stating: "I have worked for 23 years in theatres and the fees have dropped up to 50 per cent in certain theatre areas" (Lilienthal in ZDF, "aspekte-Informationen aus dem Kulturleben", 11.11.2011, own translation). Artists are therefore forced to take on part-time jobs. According to Keuchel's research, 30 per cent of these part-time jobs are in the artistic field. However, 47 per cent of freelance theatre and dance professionals and 29 per cent of artists who are members of the Künstlersozialkasse pursue non-artistic part-time jobs to make ends meet. The effects of these work patterns are described by the documentary theatre director Hans-Werner Kroesinger, who co-directed the play "§ 301- Die Beleidigte Nation" (§ 301 – The Offended Nation) at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2012, as harmful to the quality of artistic productions. He described his experiences, the dilemma and exhaustion that many artists faced in balancing artistic and breadwinning jobs as follows:

> The actors with whom one works, the stage designers with whom one works, they all have side jobs. When you have the feeling that you are rehearsing and the people arrive completely exhausted because they just had a nightshift waiting tables and then they are supposed to concentrate for six hours of rehearsals in the morning, that doesn't work. That damages the results (Kroesinger in ZDF, "aspekte- Informationen aus dem Kulturleben", 11.11.2011, own translation).

Furthermore, some of my research participants suggested that cultural policy makers would have turned a blind eye to the issue of precarity and artists' poverty and some, such as Langhoff, stated that poor wages were actually an effect of the existing funding structures:

> It [precarity] is indeed the situation of many of those who work in off-theatre and it's known to everybody who works in promoting culture, but nevertheless projects are not funded in a way so that everybody gets reasonable pay, let alone according to collective labour agreements. In a city like Berlin, for example, that lives in significant

respects off its arts and culture scene, where clearly culture is identified as a growth industry, and which, in addition, serves associated businesses, as guests are coming to see culture and need accommodation and use the restaurants, we know that it's the growth industry par excellence, the artists in the off-theatre scene don't benefit from that. What could be done concretely? The off-theatre scene is supported with project funds from the Senate as well as from federal funds. These funds would need to be designated for the free artistic scene and also the financial budgets of the projects would need to be improved with establishing minimum wage policies. They do exist for those who have a firm engagement in a theatre. But we need minimum wages for artists in the off-theatre scene (Shermin Langhoff, Deutsche Welle TV, "Typisch deutsch" show, 26.02.2012, own translation).

Up to the completion of this study, however, there were no minimum wage regulations in place for artists applying for the project funding available at federal government agencies or at the Berlin Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs. Given the limited structural funding of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse to establish postmigrant theatre in Berlin's highly competitive theatre landscape, one of the management's objectives was to compensate for the disadvantaged starting situation of the venue by applying for external grants for a high number of new productions in each theatre season, including plays, interdisciplinary art projects, concerts, readings, film series, site-specific projects and local education programmes for young participants from the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg (see also Chapter 6). As the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse lacked sustainable funds for employment costs, I asked Kulaoğlu, one of the founders and core team members of the Ballhaus, what he considered to be the main issues with regards to the daily running of the house and in covering personnel costs. He replied:

We would need more money so that we can employ more people. It's learning by doing for us because we have never done this kind of thing before, everything happens for the first time, so to say. The real war of nerves is that we don't have a proper budget for employment costs and that we have to write funding proposals all the time. Other theatres don't have that problem, because they have a fixed budget. The fringe scene, yes of course, they do, but we are halfway between the two. We are neither a state nor a city theatre and Berlin is a highly competitive place. On the one hand, there's this myth of the most artistically-exiting city and that everything is so easily affordable, which is partly true, but there are so many competitors and it's not that easy to establish oneself (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation).

This high productivity whilst it paid off in terms of the artists' increasing visibility, recognition and institutionalisation in Germany's cultural policy field and theatre landscape, the pressure to produce a lot with the limited funding available also meant to work under highly precarious working conditions. Unwaged, voluntary and free labour is, as Tiziana

Terranova (2000) has observed, "a trait of the cultural economy at large" (Terranova, 2000: 33) and this situation applied also to the artists working at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. When I asked the former dramaturge and from 2012 onwards, co-director Kulaoğlu how he experienced his working conditions and that of his colleagues at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse he stated that:

> It's hell! You don't have a private life anymore. It's a lot of work and it's a never-ending self-exploitation. It's simply not possible what we do in terms of our resources and capacities. At some point you feel so burned out. I had two of these phases and I'm happy that I had some time off. I went through times when the daily work and production dramaturgy meant that I had 16 to 18 hour-long working days. It's always stressful and the actors and the team know that too. The core team of course also has different expectations than let's say a dramaturge working in the house. People need holidays, too. They have families, they have children and you can't expect others to give up everything for the job. You can't expect of others that they do this self-exploitation to the same extent as you do. That's not possible and it wouldn't work anyway unless you find people as mad as you to do it (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation).

Because of the demanding working conditions, the artistic management of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, then still under the direction of Langhoff, was constantly required to manage the exhaustion of as well as tensions among its members of staff. At the top of the labour hierarchy, she ought to be the one with the highest rewards for her work. Among the postmigrant theatre artists, policy makers and journalists, Langhoff was always considered to be the most "diplomatic and eloquent," and in her role as the founder of the postmigrant theatre movement and its director, she became its most prominent figure. Langhoff's media presence, lobbying work and networking skills led to over a decade of work in Berlin's theatre landscape and to the accumulation of an impressive reputation. Following Pierre-Michel Menger's statement that the higher the reputation, the higher the market value of an artist (1999: 552), Langhoff's career trajectory from a part-time temporary contract at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre (2004-2008) to artistic director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (2008-2012) and her appointment as artistic director of the prestigious Maxim Gorki Theatre (from 2013 onwards), thereby confirms Menger's argument. However, as stated above, the income of Langhoff as the director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was well below the salary of Germany's top theatre managers despite her high reputation. Her high level of investment, however, also carried a high price as many colleagues, friends and family members, among them Stéphane Bauer, stated during conversations. A close friend of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse team, Stéphane Bauer, the French German deputy director of the Kulturamt

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and director of the Kunstraum Kreuzberg/Bethanien, which is located in the immediate neighbourhood of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, stated that he was very worried about the labour conditions at the venue:

> I think the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is amazing and I really admire Shermin's courage and energy, her power. I am sometimes a little bit fearful though when I see the dark rings under her eyes and how doing the job works on her substance. I hope she is careful enough, because this is not the price to pay for it. But, on the other hand, it is the price, because without this power and energy and working really with no limits, this place wouldn't have been that successful. For Mr Piening [author's note: he refers to Günter Piening, former Commissioner for Integration of the Berlin Senate] it is quite easy to say "we need such a flagship institution", but in fact he doesn't do anything for it. If you see that the structure of the Ballhaus is still dependent only on Shermin and two people who are paid by the district and some by this Kultur-Kombi programme and it's mainly freelance people who do the projects, it's not a structure that actually allows you to do the work you do. At the Ballhaus, everything has to be invented and created from zero, out of nothing. The place is based on a structure that is very, very precarious. It's not easy to find the right people under these conditions. So, in that sense, I am very impressed, but at the same time I'm worried "Oh, how long will that go well?" (Stéphane Bauer, personal interview, 04.11.2009, own translation).

As I mentioned earlier, many artists worked in the hope of potential rewards, so that the investment of free labour in the past and present would pay off at some point in the future. This constant promise of potentiality was, to a certain degree, underpinned by the "success stories" of those artists, who "made it", such as Langhoff, who became the artistic director of the Maxim Gorki Theatre and hired many of the artists she worked with previously at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse at the Gorki, where they began to work with permanent contracts and higher salaries. One of the key moments – and which signalled a "breakthrough" for the artists and the labour they had invested in institutionalising postmigrant theatre – was the national success of the play "Verrücktes Blut" (Crazy Blood), directed by Nurkan Erpulat and Jens Hillje, which premiered in 2010 and depicted the aforementioned public debates about the deficient integration of second and third generation Turkish German youth in the educational system. Interestingly, it was precisely this play, which critiques the precarious position of Turkish German youth, the exclusion of Turkish German artists from the Western theatre canon and the "burden of representation" that Turkish German subjects and artists experience, that brought the artists involved in the production from a precarious and marginal position to the centre and mainstream of the Federal Republic's theatre landscape.

Crazy Blood: Post-Englightenment Racism and the Enactment of Racial Stereotypes

It was Wednesday night, April 25, 2012 and Nurkan Erpulat and Jens Hillje's renowned play "Verrücktes Blut" (Crazy Blood, in Turkish: delikanlı[67]) was on tour, performing at the Pfalzbau theatre in the southern German city of Ludwigshafen. The Pfalzbau theatre was in the middle of its yearly Festwoche Türkei (Festival Week Turkey) and "Verrücktes Blut" was part of the programme, despite the fact that most of the actors and actresses were of second, third or fourth generation Turkish descent and the story of the play itself is set in Germany, not in Turkey. "Verrücktes Blut", the Ballhaus' most popular play, launched postmigrant theatre artists onto the larger stages of German state theatres. In comparison to the building that houses the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse theatre, the architecture of the Pfalzbau is cavernous. The heyday of industrial progress and wealth during which the city of Ludwigshafen, in the South Western region of Germany, became the centre of the global company *BASF* and subsequently a destination for post-war labour migration, lie in the past and many public buildings show signs of abandonment. The Pfalzbau itself, inaugurated on September 21, 1968, does not have its own ensemble anymore, serving merely as a guest performance venue.

However, on that night in late April the glamour of the capital city Berlin shone over the Pfalzbau. Ferry Ettehad, the late deputy artistic director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, was outside the main entrance to welcome me. His eyes were sparkling when he said: "Verrücktes Blut is completely sold out. Over five hundred tickets went over the counter. Isn't that great?" (Ferry Ettehad, personal interview, 25.04.2012, own translation). As we observed the audience in the foyer of the theatre, he added: "Well, they are the typical theatre subscription holder types: white German, middle class, aged 50 plus" (Ettehad, 25.04.2012). In fact, the audience in Ludwigshafen was very different from the one at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, where I saw "Verrücktes Blut" performed for the first time in May 2011. In the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, which only fits about a hundred people, the atmosphere seemed

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[67] The Turkish word "delikanlı" is used similar to the English word "lad", a young, hot-blooded man. Leyla Neyzi in her article "Youth Activism in Turkey" (2006) states that "[i]n Turkish society the term *delikanlı*, which translates roughly as "the one with wild blood," is commonly used to refer to young men (and sometimes young women)" (2006: 653). Deniz Kandiyoti, reflecting on her participant observation in a central Anatolian village in an article on masculinity in Muslim societies states regarding the concept of *delikanlı*, that "[d]elikanlı (literally meaning 'those with crazy blood') referred to adolescents and young unmarried men, who enacted a version of masculinity vaiorizing the untamed and undomesticated. In fact, a certain amount of deviant behaviour was accepted as an inevitable concomitant of this stage. Causing disruptions at weddings, tractor chases, pranks and minor theft produced reactions ranging from amusement to annoyance, but never incurred serious consequences. This stage came to a close with military service, which was closely followed by marriage" (Kandiyoti, 1994: 208).

more inviting and intimate than in the large space of the Pfalzbau theatre, where the artists were on a guest tour. By comparison, the Ballhaus facilitates close encounters between the artists and the audience, which, in the case of the staging of "Verrücktes Blut" that I attended on a mid-spring evening, consisted mainly of local bohemians, activists and teachers. The evening at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was one where locals and friends greeted each other: "Selam! You're here? Great to see you." As we entered, all the seats were already occupied and all the remaining guests were asked to sit on little carpets placed on the floor. As we laughed throughout the play, we did not realise that our legs were hurting by the end of the show.

At the Pfalzbau theatre, Ferry Ettehad took me to the actors who were on the stage for their last rehearsals. On our way through the massive building with its long corridors, we walked past several glass and iron doors until we reached the backstage area and the stage, he told me that they had brought their own stage for the play. And there it was: a large shiny, metal construction serving as a classroom floor, flashing lights on the left and right of the stage and an old grand piano which hung at an angle from the ceiling. I asked him: "How dare you treat this symbol of the grand bourgeoisie like this, hanging carelessly from a ceiling?" We laughed and quickly left as there were only a few minutes left until the play began and the audience entered the large theatre tribune with its cosy seats.

As the play began, the atmosphere of anticipation among the audience was palpable. This display of excitement did not come as a surprise. Since the premiere of "Verrücktes Blut" in 2010, a co-production of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the theatre festival Ruhrtriennale where it won the Audience Choice Award, the play has since won many more awards and gained critical acclaim among the nation's theatre directors and critics (Becker & Wildermann, 2011). A loose adaptation of Jean-Paul Lilienfeld's film "La journée de la joupe", "Verrücktes Blut" is set in Berlin and is about a secondary school drama teacher and her class of "hot blooded", uncivilised, undisciplined and disobedient students of predominantly Turkish, Kurdish and Arab descent.

In the opening scene of the play, the students, whilst facing the audience, spit on the floor and scratch their genitals. As the performance of disobedience ("you shall not spit on the floor and scratch your genitals publicly") opposed the expected habitus of students in a classroom and in the space of a high cultural theatre, the actors were greeted by the loud laughter of the audience. With the laughter of the audience accompanying this opening scene, the play's commentary on interracial relations in Germany unfolded as the interaction between the actors' performance of stereotypical portrayals of racialised Muslim working

class youth and the spectatorial gaze of the audience was established. In what follows, the physical bodies of the students and their behaviour were portrayed as a threat to their German drama teacher, Mrs. Sonia Kelich, with whom the audience is supposed to identify as "the presence of these others is imagined as a threat to the object of love" (Ahmed, 2004: 117). Unable to cope with the students and with the help of a gun that fell out of the bag of one of the male students, Mrs. Kelich took the class hostage.

Photo of a scene from the play "Verrücktes Blut": Student Ferit (actor Tamer Arslan) with teacher Sonia Kelich (actress Sesede Terziyan) who uses a gun to teach the students. Source: Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Enthused with Enlightenment ideals and Schiller's writings on aesthetic education, Mrs. Kelich's objective was to educate the students into becoming subjects of the post-Enlightenment German nation. This involves a historical process and consciousness of modernity, secularism and gender equality that, according to German public discourses, has "yet to occur" in Muslim societies as I have stated in one of the previous sections.

With the gun in her hand, she forces the students to read and perform various passages of selected plays, such as the melodrama "Die Räuber" (The Robbers) and the bourgeois tragedy "Kabale und Liebe" (Intrigue and Love) by the German playwright Friedrich Schiller. Thus, the drama teacher is portrayed as a figure of excessive and authoritative rule as she attempts to aggressively control the ways in which the students behave and perform characters from Schiller's plays. Scenes in which the teacher works at gunpoint correcting the students' Kreuzberger youth slang, seen as "bad" diction, expose the oppressive enforcement

of linguistic and cultural assimilation as well as the teacher's civilising mission (see Bhabha, 1994: 130). The excessiveness of the teacher's disciplinary rule is pursued – as the playbill states – with the hope of saving "the occident from its downfall" (Playbill, Verrücktes Blut, 2011. The teacher's mission, carried out through the use of the gun as a fetish object with the ability to magically turn the students into enlightened subjects, is turned on its head in the third scene of the second act when she reveals her Turkish origins and her racial passing as a white German. With the students' subsequent performance of not only their respective roles in Schiller's plays but also of their successful "civilisation", "Verrücktes Blut" mocks, through the performance of racial stereotypes on-stage, the farce of post-Enlightenment racism in Germany.

The references to Schiller, one of the most prominent figures of the German literary and theatrical Enlightenment and whose plays belong to the classical repertoire of state theatres up and down the country, certainly contributed to the success of the play. Yet, another reason for the immense celebration of "Verrücktes Blut" was its timing. Its premiere in the summer of 2010 at the Ruhrtriennale festival coincided with the publication of Sarazzin's book *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (*Germany Abolishing Itself*, 2010). Sarazzin's publication was the bestselling book published on German politics in a decade and in which the author advocates restrictive immigration policies and a reduction of state welfare benefits for Muslim migrants. He identifies Germany's Muslim population as the biggest problem for German society through targeted accusations such as their reluctance to integrate, widespread reliance on social benefits, a lower level of intelligence, and oppressive gender relations (see also Chapter 4). The story about young Muslim students in "Verrücktes Blut" can be seen as a critical artistic response to public discourse and the controversies following the publication of Sarazzin's book. In an interview Langhoff refers to these discourses when speaking about the genesis of the play:

> The Ruhrtriennale suggested that we, as a postmigrant theatre, adopt the largely unknown French film "La journée de la joupe", which we thought is very problematic, full of pitfalls and stereotypes. But the motif – a teacher takes an unruly class hostage like an education terrorist – seemed absolutely exciting theatrically, particularly during times where these sorts of discourses are so prevalent [author's note: she is referring to the Sarazzin debate]. I personally experience it more often that white autochthonous people in particular wave the Enlightenment flag, especially in contrast to the allegedly un-enlightened Islam. Simultaneously with their other hand they point to the single parents, unemployed, migrants and other allegedly culprits or unteachables (Langhoff, 12.05.2011, own translation).

"Verrücktes Blut" unmasks the continuous ambivalences of post-Enlightenment racism and the spectator's investment in the reproduction of racial stereotypes about Muslim migrant youth in Germany. At the end of the second scene the grand piano, which plays old German nationalistic folk songs, has its keys touched by invisible hands and suddenly seems to hang menacingly over the heads of the cast. Sonia Kelich's quotations of Friedrich Schiller's aesthetic education resonated with me and I began to understand what the grand piano was all about. Its menacing construction hints that it could crash on the students' heads at any moment, thus symbolised Germany's national pride for its bourgeois education and high culture and the illustrating the threatened disavowal that the students, but also the artists themselves, experienced.

Thus, the play "Verrücktes Blut" worked with the enactment of racial stereotypes (through the instructions of the director to the actors to interpret the scripted text with an excessive physical performance) that aimed to expose the violence of racism upon the bodies of all the figures portrayed in the play. In order to understand the intersection between the performative, political and emotional registers in postmigrant theatre, the following section provides an analysis of theatre as a social and political space and as an affective economy, a concept that helps us to understand how the artistic labour that racialised artists undertake evokes certain emotions and how these emotions circulate between different protagonists in this space.

The Politics of Postmigrant Theatre as an Affective Economy

Productions such as "Verrücktes Blut" illustrate one of the most significant political contributions of the work that the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement perform, that is to expose the commonalities between historical and contemporary theatrical and racist discourse. The labour involved in this work not only creates new aesthetic forms, but also responds to and shapes everyday experiences through contemporary imaginaries and critical narratives about societies characterised by migration. Langhoff describes how postmigrant theatre defines the relationship between aesthetics and politics as follows:

> We work with expectations and gazes and that is how we approach our aesthetic work. Aesthetics still means for me perceptual experience. Therefore, it is about the politics of the gaze, perception, which we cannot think outside the social. We are not concerned about the somewhat beautiful and good and its internal reflections, but in fact, we grapple with society, with images, that are produced, with gazes, that are manifested and the reproduction of particular perspectives. We question precisely these gazes in our artistic work and everyone is welcome to engage with our cultural practices and the

politics of it. I am not deceiving myself though, we won't cause a revolution here, but we are moving in a political space. After thirty years in this country, in which we have observed how the stigmatisation of migrants constantly repeats itself, it was an urgent call for us to occupy this public space with new perspectives and a new gaze (Shermin Langhoff cited in Utlu, 2009: 45, own translation).

As Ceren Türkmen points out, "artistic debates are not only able to represent and reflect upon social relations, but also to influence them" (2007: 25, own translation). How do artists do this? Theatre, in contrast to film or literature, is a platform for immediate and direct interaction between artists and spectators and, as "one of the most radical forms of manifesting the social" (Baecker, 2005: 10, own translation), it can serve as a laboratory to envision, reflect and negotiate social relations. The co-director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, Kulaoğlu, explains his take on the relationship between theatre and society, stating that:

> Theatre is of course not an empty space but a microcosm that reflects the social relations in which it finds itself. Social mechanisms of exclusion function in the arts scene in similar ways as they do in society as a whole, yet, theatre as an art space is a contradictory space. Whereas it reproduces existing social structures on the one side, spaces develop that try to prevail against these structures or at least question them (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 17.06.2011, own translation).

Whereas practitioners such as Kulaoğlu describe the contemporary shift towards theatre engaging with postmigrant narratives as a political move towards a new reflexive practice that addresses relations of power in the social space of the theatre, the literature available in theatre studies has not sufficiently addressed these developments. In contrast to North American theatre studies, where issues of race in theatre are addressed, particularly in relation to African American and Chicano Theatre (Uno & Burns, 2005; Case, 1990; Pao, 2010), European theatre studies implicitly relies on notions of both theatrical experience and interaction between performers and spectators that are based on the assumption that both producers and consumers are largely homogenous and predominantly middle class (see for example Leach, 2008: 170). In the new emerging field of German audience development studies, the single existing publication concerning the relationship between the producers and audiences of postmigrant theatre plays in Germany in general, and the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in particular, only provides preliminary demographic survey data in relation to developing marketing instruments to attract migrant audiences (Allmanritter & Siebenhaar, 2010: 9–30). However, my participant observations during different stagings of "Verrücktes Blut" at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and during its guest performance at the Pfalzbau Theatre suggest that the arrival of postmigrant artists on German stages marks the beginning of a new

era in which interactions between performers and spectators are far more complex in terms of the political, performative and emotional aspects of the labour that these artists do. Another interview quote from Langhoff points to what I identified in Chapter 2 as a shift away from post-Operaist conceptualisations of immaterial and affective labour. One element of the labour practices of postmigrant theatre artists and artists in general is that they do emotional labour, in other words, they do work that affects producers and audiences emotionally. Langhoff's following quote underlines the complexities an analysis of postmigrant theatre needs to take into account:

> We do of course have certain aspirations with the work we do, otherwise we would not do precarised productions at the margins. We have a political consciousness and many of the people in our network come from political activism. With the topics that we engage with, with the artists, with whom we work and with our audience that acts and reacts, our theatre is a political space. For that reason I do believe that we are unleashing emotions, that we trigger here and there a thought. One cannot expect more than that. If we succeed further with, for example, the creation of another perspective and attention to these topics in the public sphere, then we are more than happy. We are not raising the red flag, but we certainly don't do all this as a bourgeois pastime (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 22.10.2010, own translation).

The process of what she describes as "unleashing emotions" that "trigger here and there a thought," deserves closer examination, in order to understand theatre as a political and social space with protagonists that occupy different social positions (as outlined above) and as a space in which emotions are "unleashed" and circulate among people with different social positions. My analysis is based on Ahmed's work on affective economies and her writings in "The Cultural Politics of Emotions" (2004), a theoretical lens which, as I suggested in Chapter 2, enables a much more fruitful conceptualisation of racialised artistic labour as emotional labour and theatre as an affective economy. As she states:

> Emotions operate to 'make' and 'shape' bodies as forms of action, which also involve orientation towards others […] Emotions shape the surface of bodies, which take shape through the repetition of actions over time, as well as through orientations towards and away from others. Indeed, attending to emotions might show us how all actions are reactions, in the sense that what we do is shaped by the contact we have with others (Ahmed, 2004: 4).

For an illustration of how the artistic and political theatrical work of the postmigrant theatre artists evokes emotions through the performativity of race and how emotions circulate between actors and spectators, I return to my participant observations during the two stagings of "Verrücktes Blut". Taking different moments of laughter among the audience on these two

nights as a starting point, we can trace how "emotions work to align some subjects with some others and against other others" and how "emotions move between bodies" (2004: 117). During one of the scenes in which Mrs Sonia Kelich rants about the students' accents, appearance and behaviour, using more and more pejorative and racist terms, the majority of spectators at the Pfalzbau theatre, who are white Germans, explode in loud laughter. A group of young Turkish German women sitting next to me, however, whisper with a voice moving between disappointment and anger: "What is so funny about that?" Why do they laugh?" As a result, the emotions evoked and expressed in the laughter of some bodies silenced other bodies and showed how the audience is orientated towards different bodies on the stage. Whilst the laughter of members of the white German audience points to their orientation towards the (presumed) white body of the drama teacher Sonia Kelich, the bodies of the Turkish German women next to me move away from those of the white audience and the body of the teacher. In contrast, when I acted as a spectator and ethnographic observer in the performance of "Verrücktes Blut" at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, which, as I have described in the previous section, is a much smaller and more intimate space for people of colour and for an audience who know each other and share a similar social position, the audience laughed in particular during scenes in which the actors performed the farce of overtly enacting racial stereotypes.

As these observations show, the question here is one of difference between *laughing with* and *laughing at* the performance of racism. The emotions evoked that resulted in laughing with others who have experienced racism (the majority of the audience during the staging at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse), can be further explained by reference to W.E.B. Du Bois's concept of double consciousness. Du Bois' work, although referring to the subjective and political consciousness of African Americans in twentieth century America, can be also applied to the experiences of the artists and spectators of colour in Germany. As Du Bois writes:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one-self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity (Du Bois, 1994: 12).

Thus laughing *with* is a laughter originating in double-consciousness and in shared experiences of racism and awareness that stereotypical representations, as in the performances of particular racialised figures in "Verrücktes Blut", expose the contemptuous and pitying white gaze upon racialised subjects. In contrast, laughing *at* the racist rant on stage could be

interpreted as a lack of empathy towards those affected by racism, in other words, a lack of the capacity to recognize feelings experienced by others. Juliet Hooker in her book *Race and the Politics of Solidarity* (2009) describes the way in which empathy works in the context of race relations as follows: "The way race works through the body, in a visual register, thus has the effect of spatially demarcating the boundaries of those whom we see as our political and intellectual equals and those whose unmerited pain and suffering need not concern us" (2009: 6). Laughing *at* in contrast to laughing *with* could, thus, also point to feeling more powerful and superior to others, even though the characters' excessive performance of racial stereotypes intends to show the absurdities of racism.

Embodying Racialised Types On and Off the Stage: Racialisation and Racial Typecasting

After the staging in Ludwigshafen, I approached two elegantly dressed white German women in their early 60s, to ask them what they thought about the play. Whereas one of the women seemed to feel slightly uncomfortable to be asked for an interview, the other woman was happy to speak with me. She replied:

> It's a highly explosive topic! I think they should have shown this play at Jungbusch[68], in a neighbourhood where they actually have all these problems. I'm personally not very well informed with schools with this kind of clientelle. I only read in the newspapers about what is going on in there. We are from another stratum of society, so we don't know these kinds of problems. But I also need to tell you that I've worked many years at the BASF and my Turkish colleagues were very polite people unlike these students (anonymous interview with woman from the audience, 25.04.2012, own translation).

Matching what she knew from the media about migrant youth with what she saw in the play, this female spectator mobilised and placed the play's "explosive topic" to a racialised geography of a migrant neighbourhood geographically close and hence known to her (see also Chapter 7 on racialised spaces). Thereby she identified her own racial and class positionality as hegemonic in contrast to the characters on stage and simultaneously took the actors off the stage into what she perceived as a realistic scenario of a German school. It is worthwhile to note how this female spectator "authenticated" different racialised roles in her statement by

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[68] The neighbourhood of Jungbusch in the inner city of Mannheim, the bordering city to Ludwigshafen, is located on the inland port of Mannheim on the river Rhine. Jungbusch is home to a large migrant population. Whereas in the past, it was a harbour area stigmatised for its poor urban inhabitants and local sex industry, recent years saw a gentrification of the area with the establishment of Germany's first pop music academy along the river and the gradual emergence of several creative economy start-ups, cafés, galleries and clubs in Jungbusch.

referring to the "good Turkish colleagues" of her past working life who "were very polite people unlike these students". The above statement shows the continuity of investment in German migration and integration discourses dating back to the guest worker era and the 1980s when for the first time the second generation Turkish Germans schooled in German institutions began to become a national concern (see also Terkessidis, 2006b: 12-13 and Chapter 4 and first section of this chapter). When I went for drinks with the actors and actresses of "Verrücktes Blut" later that night, they told me that many middle class white German spectators, who had very few encounters with young second and third generation Turkish Germans, thought that the performance on the stage was so authentic, that they even questioned whether the actors were professionals or were even cast from the street. Tamer Yiğit, one of the key protagonists of the play stated, that one female teacher had approached him after the play to ask him "Is your message that I should go with a gun to my class or what?"

The spectatorial gaze's orientation towards the play's representation of racialised figures can be described, borrowing from Angelica Fenner's work in her monograph *Race under Reconstruction in German Cinema* (2011), as "an intense investment in the legitimacy of visual evidence and, concomitantly, concealment of the masquerade that dwells at the heart of their respective dramas" (2011: 17). It is precisely this concealment that director Erpulat aimed to expose with the play. However, audience interpretations such as those outlined above and that of journalists praising the play as a critical contribution to Thilo Sarazzin's racist remarks about migrant youth, regularly resulted in discomfiting its producers and actors. Erpulat's stark reaction towards a journalist of the Berlin daily newspaper "Der Tagesspiegel" subsumes what all of the artists involved in the play that I have spoken with expressed regarding the reactions of the audience and the media:

> Journalists constantly asked me what I think about it [note of author: Sarrazin's book]. When I asked them back whether they read the book, they always said: No, no! They ask questions with their half-knowledge that they get from tabloid newspapers, but from me as a Turkish theatre director in Germany they expect to be enlightened […] There is always this talk about clichés and stereotypes. The theatrical assignment for "Verrücktes Blut" was to examine how these young people are seen. Whether the figures are in fact like that is a completely different question. They don't play clichés! We criticize the gaze upon these youth and that [note of author: that gaze] is not a cliché, it's the truth. The only thing I tell in this play is: This is how these youth are seen! (Nurkan Erpulat cited in Becker and Wildermann, 2011, own translation).

Erpulat's lived experiences point to the ways in which actors who look "Turkish" or "Arabic"

are typecasted, which exemplifies the reproduction of a racialised and gendered division of labour on the artistic labour market. The actor Murat Seven who changed his first name into *Muri* in order to pass as an "international" or "Western" actor described how the creation of "degenerate types on the basis of racial origin" (Bhabha, 1994: 101) was exercised by casting agents:

> Most of the job offers that I get are based on the idea that we Turkish and Arabic actors are somehow incapable of speaking in the same articulated way like anybody else does. The casting offers that I get are for productions were they are looking for an Arab boy from the streets and I am supposed to play the rough guy from the street who can only say words with this street accent that some Arabic and Turkish kids cultivate here. If I don't take the role, somebody else will do it, just to earn the money (Murat Seven, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

The majority of Turkish German actresses and actors I spoke with felt that they were typecast based on their physical appearance and that the roles they were offered were mostly stereotypical, racialised figures, such as a Muslim male terrorist, a female victim of honour killing, a criminal "ghetto boy" from the streets, a melancholic migrant, an undocumented migrant or refugee, an oppressed Turkish woman with a headscarf, but scarely anything else. This was experienced as limiting in terms of developing one's skills as an actor or actress and also as considerably limiting the job opportunities one could get in contrast to white German actors and actresses, who were not primarily cast based on their skin and hair colour. Whilst in other Western countries, such as the USA, casting practices evolved over the span of the past thirty to forty years including different casting strategies to promote the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities, concrete approaches and advocacy work such as that of the American Non-Traditional Casting Project (NTCP), established in 1986, do not yet exist in Germany.[69] Thus, as many of my research participants stated, in most cases they could only chose between accepting or rejecting role offers and instead earn a living with non-artistic jobs, such as working as a driver, at a bar or in a shop, until a better offer was made. Other actresses and actors, however, aimed to adjust to the market by changing their names and where the physical appearance was not identifiable as non-White, to pass with a

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[69] Angela Chia-yi Pao refers to the work of the NTCP in her book *No Safe Spaces: Re-Casting Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in American Theater* (2010) in her listing of four different casting strategies: "COLOR-BLIND CASTING. Actors are cast without regard to their race or ethnicity; the best actor is cast in the role. SOCIETAL CASTING. Ethnic, female, or disabled actors are cast in roles they perform in society as a whole. CONCEPTUAL CASTING. An ethnic, female, or disabled actor is cast in a role to give the play greater resonance. CROSS-CULTURAL CASTING. The entire world of a play is translated to a different cultural setting" (Pao, 2010: 4).

"Germanised" or "internationalised" name as a German actor. Other Turkish German actors, tried to expand their career to Turkey, where they would get hired for various roles in Turkish TV series, which paid much higher salaries for Turkish German actors and actresses.

When I asked Kulaoğlu what he thought about racial typecasting and the role offers that the actors and actresses who also worked in productions of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse received, he stated:

> We cannot change the world in a day, that's impossible, but we can create platforms, so that the actors and actresses don't have to take any shitty offer just to get by. That is a very pragmatic decision, because when they can be employed by us, they don't have to take offers where they play stereotypical roles, but instead play in roles with a political stance that counter these stereotypes. And they can make a living with that when we have enough projects and money. You could say, that in this way we withdraw actors and actresses from the cultural sector where he or she would have to serve up to racist clichés (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation).

As much as race is a "biological fiction or discursive construct" as Fenner points out, "this signifier continues to have far-reaching and very real material effects throughout the world, alternately employed by different groups as a marker of solidarity or as a ground for exclusion" (2011: 8). In this section, I have examined the ways in which race becomes a marker for exclusion from the artistic labour market. In what follows I want to engage with how race and ethnicity and lived experiences of racism and precarity become a source of solidarity among racialised artists for whom postmigrant theatre became a platform and a safe haven in which to develop collaborative work practices.

Race, Artistic Networks and the Politics of Solidarity

It was a rainy day in Berlin-Kreuzberg in the summer of 2007 when I met the then newly emerging theatre director, previously an actor and radio journalist, Nurkan Erpulat in the Bateau Ivre (The Drunken Ship), a popular café for artists and intellectuals, alcoholics and the unemployed, in short the Berliner boheme. The café is located at a square called Heinrichplatz, a central square in the SO36 district of Kreuzberg with many cafés that are rich in subversive tradition and since the mid-1980s popular audience spots to watch the 1st May riots and struggles between the stone throwing, bin and car-burning autonomous block, the local Turkish German and Arabic German youths and the police. The Bateau Ivre is named after a poem by Arthur Rimbaud and owned by a French art lover, who regularly exhibits the art works of local visual artists in the large café premises. For many of the mostly regular guests,

the café is a workplace and a second home as it cultivates a nonchalant atmosphere that fits in business meetings, working on the new mac laptop for hours without drinking more than one macchiato and the display of dramatic relationship conflicts at the same time. As I sat there with Erpulat, waiting for our breakfast to come, I thought that, more than anything, the Bateau Ivre is a place to keep up-to-date with the local gossip. This subtle but yet, for many, important reasons to come to one of the cafés at Heinrichplatz is also reflected on the building in which the café Bateau Ivre is located. The facade of the house in 18 Oranienstrasse is covered with an installation of Turkish letters, word endings made of black plexi glass saying "- müş, - mışız, -müşüm". The suffixes are not readable as such as they are only fragments, grammatical attributes at the end of a missing verb. Unamended, without being in relation to another word, they remain meaningless. In Turkish the use of "- müş, - mışız, -müşüm" signifies a specific narrative form of the *maybe* as the narrated, which was experienced in the past, was not experienced by the narrator but a third person whose story she or he is telling. As such, it remains unproven or *gossip.* The public space installation "Am Haus" (On the House) is the work of the Turkish German artist Ayşe Erkmen from 1994. The inhabitants of the house liked it so much, that they did not wanted it to be removed.

Photo of the house Oranienstrasse 18 with Ayşe Erkmen's 1994 installation "Am Haus" and the café Bateau Ivre. Source: personal archive.

Fragments of an earlier conversation at the café with a young actress come to my mind. Whispering, she told me, that she liked hanging out in the café to hear the latest gossip about what was happening behind the scenes of the newest Turkish German cultural productions, to gain access to the Turkish German artists' networks, to a potential job, an income for a couple of weeks that could pay the rent. The reasons why artists liked to hang out at the Bateau Ivre with Kreuzberg's bohemians are like the suffixes on the wall, longing for a relation to something else, somebody who can help to fulfill one's career path. Otherwise, the anecdotes remain as gossip in the smoky air of the café. As immaterial features are intrinsic to artistic labour conditions, developing networks, as this quote demonstrates, is central for the creation of value, in which personal relations become an object of labour as well as of the politics of solidarity. I began to wonder about the meaning that being Turkish German carried for the development of artistic networks. When I asked Erpulat, he stated that his identity only became meaningful once he began to live and work in Germany:

> If you live in a country such as Germany you have to engage with your identity.I mean if you live in a country that doesn't see you as a part of it. That is why you have to reidentify and define yourself. I surely didn't know that before I came here, that I was a Turk. I have learned in Germany that I am a Turk (Nurkan Erpulat, personal interview, 10.07.2007, own translation).

Many of the Turkish German artists I spoke with, who were born in Germany or migrated to Germany at a later age, like Erpulat, experienced how their bodies became racialised at different stages in their lives and how being "made a Turk" in the diaspora affected their working and living conditions. Whilst most started their careers hoping that they would be recognised merely on the base of their professional skills, while all of the research participants I spoke with realised over the years that no matter what they did, that racialised ways of seeing shaped their bodies, identities and career trajectories in the artistic field. The realisation, that the existing racialised division of labour in the artistic field, required, what Erpulat called "to reidentify and define yourself" as a Turkish German artist was one of the reasons for Erpulat to work closely with the founders of the postmigrant theatre network.

Having said that, the establishment of the postmigrant artistic network itself, to borrow from Hooker, is based on "racialized contours of the politics of solidarity", which, as she argues, are "central to the project of establishing genuine democracy and achieving racial justice" (2009: 5). Solidarity as a normative and ethical concept but also as a practice, that is an emotional orientation "based on fellow feeling" and "a normative orientation that moves us to action on behalf of others" (2009: 29-30) when mediated through racial difference, as

Hooker argues, follows a "seemingly paradoxical dynamic: existing racial injustice and inequality pose a fundamental obstacle to the development of solidarity, while it is also precisely the absence of such solidarity that makes it seem improbable, if not impossible, that racial justice will ever be achieved" (2009: 5). Whilst one can interpret the reasons for the establishment of the postmigrant theatre movement as motivated by the absence of solidarity in Germany's theatre institutions towards racialised minority artists, it is important to underline that as an artistic collective based on solidarity among its members, the postmigrant theatre network aims to contribute with its work to the achievement of racial justice. The artistic co-director and former dramaturge of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, Kulaoğlu, stated that the postmigrant theatre network was found on solidarity as reciprocal relations of trust and obligations among friends and like-minded artists:

> There is a postmigrant experience of life if you want to look at it that way. As different as these experiences might be, the common denominator seems to be so strong that one feels happy and welcome. I would say that one of the common motives is that in view of the dominant narratives about our migration history, we all really aim to tell this story differently and that we were fed up of racism. We began our work in long established networks. I know Fatih Akın for 16, 17 years and Shermin Langhoff for over 25 years. We are also parcelling out jobs to one another, so if I know that there is a job for an actor, I will try my best to help. The idea behind the establishment of the Ballhaus, was, that it would be beautiful if we would have a space of our own where we can create a platform for this network. The Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is nothing less than the idea to act collectively with this whole potential, so that we can work in a structured and strategic manner. And because we speak a common language, people just feel good about working with us. And despite all differences and expectations people get the feeling, that we seriously mean what we say, that we are honest and that people have the opportunity to articulate themselves in different ways. People from outside become aware of that, too. That's also a reason for why many artists hope that they might find a job here (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation).

The artists of the postmigrant theatre movement, thus, create a collective that is bound through solidarity and identification and a sense of shared belonging. The platform that the umbrella term "postmigrant" creates for artists with various migration biographies, facilitates new forms of solidarity among artists of colour, that do not originate in identity politics based on a singular understanding of ethnic or racial identity. The politics of solidarity in the postmigrant theatre movement, although initially established by Turkish German artists, are based on coalition work between members of different racialised groups in Germany who share the objective to push for institutional change by strengthening a theatre movement that engages in the social space of the theatre with postmigrant narratives and new reflexive

practices that address relations of power. This objective led the artists to work on collaborative practices culminating in an institutional framework, which they considered a safe haven, where they could develop their artistic skills as well as new narrative and aesthetic forms to tell their hi/stories. What binds these artists together is, as film and theatre director Bezar stated, that "there are people who really believe in you" and an obligation towards postmigrant cultural politics that not merely seeks to develop solidarity among artists of colour for their own social and economic progress, but that try to reconcile with historical and present racial injustices, to reimagine the nation through the histories and lived experiences of racialised subjects and to negotiate the grounds of political solidarity in society as a whole from the perspectives of artists of colour.

This chapter has examined the ways in which racialisiation and precarisation affect the labour conditions of Turkish German artists and how postmigrant theatre as a workplace provides opportunities for racialised artists, who have experienced throughout their educational and professional development precarisation due to structural racism and discrimination in institutional life. Furthermore, it illustrated the strategies of the protagonists of postmigrant theatre to create new forms of solidarity as well as new narratives as political counter-images to dominant public discourses on race, ethnicity and migration. I have argued, following Langhoff's statement, that the issue of precarity and artists' poverty are, among other things, an effect of cultural policy and existing funding structures because of the lack of minimum wage policies. The following chapter thus examines closely Berlin's cultural policy and funding structures with regards to cultural diversity in the arts and how the artists of postmigrant theatre in their efforts to institutionalise their theatre orientate and negotiate their positions within Berlin's cultural policy structures.

Chapter 6: Cultural Policy And The Position Of Postmigrant Theatre In Berlin's Cultural Landscape

In contrast to centralised states such as Britain and France, cultural policy in the Federal Republic of Germany is budgeted and implemented autonomously at the federal governmental, i.e. national level, the federal *Länder* (states) level, in which Berlin occupies a specific status as a city state represented by its Senate, and at the communal level, is represented in the capital city Berlin by the district governments, such as the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. The postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is located and maintained by the Cultural Administration of the District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and receives additional funds from the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs of the state of Berlin. Substantial demographic changes in Germany's population, the internationalisation of Berlin's creative scene and the success of the postmigrant theatre movement have led to the renewal of cultural policy in the city regarding the regulation and funding of cultural diversity in the arts. A quote from Langhoff illustrates the difficulties of establishing a postmigrant theatre movement in a cultural policy context, where there was initially limited support for postmigrant theatre artists before:

> We are the product of lucky coincidences. If the artistic director of the Hebbel am Ufer Theater, Matthias Lilienthal, wouldn't have had the idea that he wants to do migrant theatre in a district like Kreuzberg with a high migrant population and wouldn't have known me coincidentally, it wasn't because of the existing cultural policy of the city that we are here today (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

Whilst the efforts of postmigrant theatre artists developed out of the engagement of individuals, such as Matthias Lilienthal and Shermin Langhoff, cultural policy makers in Berlin responded to these developments over the course of the past decade in which postmigrant theatre rose from a precarious, marginal niche to an institutional organisation. Rob Burns and Wilfried van der Will argue with regards to the specificities of German cultural policy:

> Despite the multiplicity of players within the field of cultural policy, despite its well-staffed institutions and seriously executed policy initiatives it is nevertheless the case that the most fundamentally provocative instances of policy change have not issued from cultural policy makers or administrators. They have instead arisen from public discourses in the open society that have infiltrated government at all levels. In other words, policy makers have needed to be pushed from outside in order to initiate policy change (Burns & Will, 2003:138).

Following Burns and Will's argumentation, this chapter examines, the ways in which the protagonists of the postmigrant theatre movement developed not only new aesthetic, narrative and collaborative practices for their institutionalisation (as discussed in previous chapters), but also a vocabulary, strategies and tools to influence decision-making processes in the field of cultural policy. Whilst recent changes in cultural policy, which aim to reflect the changing self-definition of Germany as a country of immigration, have been instrumental in the formulation of new cultural policy guidelines for diversity in the arts, their implementation has been critiqued by my research participants as being insufficient given the lack of equal opportunities for artists with a migration background in Germany's theatre landscape, and also given its thriving, yet precariously working postmigrant artistic scene. The political claims made by the artists directed toward cultural policy concern Germany's numerous state-subsidised theatres, which for the past decades (as I discussed in Chapter 4) showed little interest in either hiring Turkish German artists, in including plays from outside the classical Western theatre canon, or in developing audience development strategies which would include the city's large ethnic minority population. This situation led the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement to question the democratic legitimacy of state-subsidised arts institutions in Germany, and they argued that the tax-paying population with a migration background, of which Turkish Germans form the largest ethnic minority group and contribute in Berlin alone to eleven state theatres, three operas and various smaller stages funded by the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, are structurally discriminated against by high cultural institutions such as theatres. Since 2008, Berlin's cultural policy makers provide structural funding for only two theatre institutions with artists with a migration background in decision-making positions, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the Maxim Gorki Theatre, whereas other state-subsidised theatres temporarily hire artists of colour for short-term projects and festivals.

The emergence, development and institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the Maxim Gorki Theatre took place within the structures of state-subsidised institutions. As the majority of Berlin's state-subsidies institutions, and like all municipal and state theatres in the city, these venues receive funding from the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs. Therefore, the artistic labour of the protagonists involved relies on governmental support that is facilitated by cultural policy and its funding apparatus. Therefore, the labour conditions of the artists employed in postmigrant theatre are situated in this chapter in the context of cultural policy and in relation to cultural diversity in arts discourses, institutions that govern cultural policy and the cultural budget allocated to postmigrant theatre. This chapter is guided by the overall question of how cultural

policies frame the labour conditions of the artists working in postmigrant theatre and how these artists orientate and negotiate their positions amidst the opportunities and restrictions within Berlin's cultural policy structures. The focus of this chapter lies in how the material conditions of doing postmigrant theatre is determined by specific ways of negotiating cultural diversity in the arts within Berlin's cultural policy and funding structures. Whilst the formative years of postmigrant theatre at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre between 2004 and 2008 and the expansion of the movement and its protagonists in the Maxim Gorki Theatre in 2013 are included in the analysis, this chapter examines in particular the years between 2008 and 2012 and the location of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in Berlin's cultural landscape and its relations with cultural policy.

Berlin's Postmigrant Theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a Flagship for Cultural Diversity in the Arts

When the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse reopened after minor refurbishments on the 7th November 2008, the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, hosting the festival "Dogland-Young Postmigrant Theatre" under the patronage of filmmaker Fatih Akın, Shermin Langhoff, the new artistic director of the venue, habitually emphasised in interviews with journalists that "we bark from the third row".[70] Langhoff's statement – addressing the marginal position of the theatre in Berlin's cultural landscape – seemed to be a coy remark in relation to the amount of media attention that the theatre received and German newspapers' celebration of the institution as the "new theatre sensation". But even a perfunctory comparison of the venue with other flagship cultural institutions, such as the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, which is architecturally a defining theatrical landmark in Kreuzberg's urban geography and in close proximity to the Ballhaus, reveals that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is located rather at the margins of architectural visibility as it resides in a typical Berliner backyard surrounded by residential houses. In spite of its geographical location evoking the locality of an off-theatre, it enjoys substantial popularity in Berlin and beyond. Although the theatre has only 99 seats, on many nights one could spot long queues in front of the box office. From the beginning, the house programme included premieres, commissioned in-house and co-productions and guest performances by international theatre ensembles from cities such as Hamburg, Munich,

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[70] "Aus der dritten Reihe bellen", Patrick Wildermann, Der Tagesspiegel, 09.11.2008; "Wir inszenieren kein Getto-Theater", Interview Andreas Fanizadeh with Shermin Langhoff, *die tageszeitung*, 18.04.2009; "Minus+Minus=Plus", Matthias Dell, Der Freitag, 30.07.2009; "Kein Migrantenstadt – Shermin Langhoff und ihr Theater Ballhaus", Anette Poppenhäger, *3sat Kulturzeit*, 15.02.2011; "Aus der dritten Reihe bellen", Sandra Luzina, *Der Tagesspiegel*, 14.04.2011.

Amsterdam, Istanbul, Ankara and New York. The focus of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is on producing new postmigrant theatre plays, a large number of interdisciplinary projects as well as dance performances, film screenings, readings, concerts and exhibitions supplement the programme. In addition, cultural education projects such as "Kiez-Monatsschau: Nachrichten aus der Naunynstraße" (Monthly Hood Show: News from Naunynstraße) as well as co-operation with independent groups such as balkan black box (bbb), Conflict Zone Arts Asylum (CZAA), Diyalog TheaterFest, Dokumentartheater Berlin are part of the programme.

The tickets were most sought after on opening nights for new plays or when popular productions were staged. "Schnee" (Snow), a free adaptation of Orhan Pamuk's novel of the same name under the direction of the film maker and theatre director Hakan Savaş Mircan, or Nurkan Erpulat's eagerly anticipated plays "Verrücktes Blut" (Crazy Blood), "Lö Bal Almanya" and "Jenseits – Bist du schwul oder bist du Türke" (Beyond - Are you gay or are you a Turk?) were among the most popular plays.[71] In a newspaper interview, Langhoff recounted how she experienced the move of the artists' network from the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre to the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2008[72], which explains her motivation to use the phrase that the venue "barks from the third row":

> At the beginning I found it pathetic how few people one can reach in theatre with elaborate projects such as "X-Wohnungen Migration" that I curated in the past at the Berliner Hebbel am Ufer Theatre. What we experience at the moment, however, through the enthusiasm of our audience is that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse makes sense. We have reached 30,000 people in the first season with all productions and guest performances. This feedback means: it is important what we do. At least until 2011 and after that we will need conceptual funding. In the long run you can't drive Formula 1 with a Trabi. And that's exactly what we did with the 250,000 Euro that we kindly receive from the Berlin Senate without which we couldn't have produced our programme. I don't know any other off-theatre [author's note: the term off-theatre refers to smaller theatres with small budgets located at the margins of the large established theatres] that has had so many guest performances in its first season. We are very happy that it is going so well (Langhoff cited in Dell, 2009, own translation).

This popularity as well as its remarkable productivity were reflected in the statistics for the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse's audience, its ticket returns, productions and guest plays. At the end

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[71] In its third season, the repertoire of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse contained a dozen plays, which were resumed at regular intervals. These included productions from the first two theatre seasons such as "Lö Bal Almanya", "Jenseits – Bist du schwul oder bist du Türke?" and "Schwarze Jungfrauen", the latter two being co-produced with the Hebbel am Ufer Theater between 2006 and 2008 in the frame of the "Beyond Belonging" festivals. For a listing of all showings see: http://www.ballhausnaunynstrasse.de/ARCHIV.12.0.html [Acccessed: 15.02.2012].
[72] A theatrical season in Germany usually begins at the end of September or in early October with the premiere of a new play and concludes at the end of June or in early July.

of its first season in 2008/2009, the theatre counted 30,000 visitors, who had seen 136 showings of its own and co-productions. The proceeds from ticket sales amounted to 66,150 Euros and on top of that there were 50 showings of additional programmes with about 8,000 visitors[73]. By the end of the second season in 2009/2010, the theatre had a load factor of 90 per cent, according to the theatre's newsletter for the third season, with approximately 50,000 visitors including the first season. The productions included twenty premieres and world premiers of house and co-productions, twelve guest plays in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Duisburg, Mannheim, München, Bern and Istanbul, Ankara and, in 2011, in New York. The productions span from plays, to interdisciplinary art projects, concerts, readings, film series, site-specific projects and local education programmes for young participants from the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg.

Regardless of these developments, Langhoff refused to call herself a theatre director considering the mini-budget of her theatre and the lack of a full-time employed theatre ensemble. She emphasised that moving to the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was a conscious decision as "going to the third row" meant "to take a small house, that is manageable and where one has the freedom to actually experiment and develop things" (Shermin Langhoff cited in Luzina, 2011). This structural approach emphasising experimentation and development evolved whilst working on the initial productions that took place during the festival "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, which not only served as a platform for the artists to showcase their work, but also to receive the attention of the city's cultural policy makers and funding bodies and which contributed to the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Given the success story of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, the former Commissioner for Migration and Integration of the Berlin Senate (2003-2012), Günter Piening, for instance, stated in an interview I conducted in 2009 that the venue is an exemplary flagship project, in German termed "Leuchtturmprojekt" (Light Tower Project/Flagship Project).

> To facilitate and support the cultural productions and representations of the migrant and postmigrant context is an important field for us. We proceed in a way, that we have, apart from mainstreaming processes, a flagship strategy. This concerns, for one thing, the funding of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and, for another, the further

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[73] Evaluation Report "Evaluation bei der Neuvergabe der Konzeptförderung für die Jahre 2011-2014". Gutachten vorgelegt von Ute Büsing, Eberhard Wagner, Patrick Wildermann.
http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-kultur/kulturfoerderung/theater/gutachten_konzeptf_rderung_2011_bis_2014.pdf?start&ts=1301471839&file=gutachten_konzeptf_rderung_2011_bis_2014.pdf (accessed 04.03.2011).

development of the Werkstatt der Kulturen as a space for postmigrant culture. We also see that these institutions influence other areas of theatre and the performing arts. I do believe that this whole topic of having flagships and flagship funding is a very important story for making the power of diversity visible (Günter Piening, personal interview, 03.11.2009, own translation).

The symbol of the beacon evokes the image of an isolated tower whose fire is an aid to navigation used to mark dangerous coastlines as well as safe entries to the harbour. How can one understand the use of the metaphor of the lighthouse? Which environment is the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse located in? What purpose does it serve? To begin with the latter question: the analogy used by the Senator shows that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is understood as an exemplary enterprise by state officials through which its isolation is, in an ambiguous way, simultaneously legitimised. Giving it the status of a lighthouse does not merely serve an intrinsic purpose: it functions as a theatre (with a particular conceptual focus on postmigrant theatre) among other theatres judged by their aesthetic contributions, range of productions and audience. It is also called upon to declare itself a best practice model of conducting successful diversity in the arts work, to use the policy jargon, anticipating subsequent developments in other cultural institutions, which are, however, unspecified. This lack of specificity concerning how cultural policy aims to regulate cultural diversity in the arts, relieves state-subsidised municipal and state theatres from the duty to implement structural changes to reflect the demographic make-up of the society in which they are placed and recognising its tax-paying migrant population. Cultural policy expert Bernd Wagner evaluates Germany's established theatre landscape as follows:

> In theatre as the most prestigious cultural field and as the cultural institution that receives the highest proportion of public funding, the topic of intercultural opening is far from being on the horizon […] In the centre of attention of theatre enthusiasts and cultural policy makers are the 150 publicly funded city and state theatres with their 750 stages. Even though more and more young actors and actresses with a migration background take part in their ensembles, intercultural themes and theatre plays from their countries of origin still barely play a role (Wagner, 2009: 583, own translation).

The policy concept of intercultural opening, also known as intercultural mainstreaming, which Wagner refers to in the above quote, links to the debate about the implementation of policy regulations to increase equal access for people with a migration background in public institutions (Terkessidis, 2007, 2010). However, so far municipal authorities have only developed guidelines as to how people with a migration background could be included in public institutions. Some of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse artists stated that there is a need for

obligatory rules and regulations for the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts, so that artists with a migration background could get equal employment chances in the public cultural sector, such as in theatres. However, whereas there are intercultural mainstreaming strategies implemented in Berlin's public administration with regards to the recruitment of young people with a migration background in their trainee programmes, there are so far no policies in place that ensure equal employment chances for artists with a migration background in publicly funded theatres. An interview between the Iranian German journalist Andreas Fanizadeh and Shermin Langhoff entitled "Wir inszenieren kein Ghetto-Theater" (We don't stage Ghetto Theatre) (2009) exemplifies the dilemma that comes with the lack of intercultural mainstreaming strategies and the exceptional status granted to postmigrant theatre by Berlin's policy-makers:

> Fanizdah: Wouldn't it be smarter to strengthen minority positions in existing theatres instead of running a separate migrant theatre?
>
> Langhoff: I don't believe any longer that we can develop ourselves in the established institutions apart from contributing to them as a small factor of originality […]. It would be beautiful if in five years we would make ourselves redundant with the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in the situation that all theatres in Berlin and Germany included migrant protagonists and their topics and perspectives (Langhoff, 2009, own translation).

Referring back to Ahmed's "On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life" (2012) about the dilemmas that diversity practitioners face in institutional life (see Chapter 2), Langhoff as a diversity practitioner in the institutional field of state-subsidised theatre, had the job of directing a separate venue "because diversity and equality are not already given" meaning that "[w]hen your task is to remove the necessity of your existence, then your existence is necessary for the task" (2012: 23). Whilst the policy strategy of "making the power of diversity visible", as the former Commissioner for Migration and Integration phrased it, has been, at first glance, successfully realised through the establishment of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a postmigrant theatre and with the subsequent expansion of the postmigrant theatre movement to the Maxim Gorki Theatre, the flagship strategy of Berlin's policy makers also legitimises an exceptional status for artists with a migration background in Berlin's theatre landscape. In what follows I describe this exceptional status with regards to the position of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse theatre within Berlin's cultural landscape in relation to other cultural institutions and theatres in the city, that in one way or the other have "cultural diversity" profiles as well as the venue's particular approach to the representation of diversity.

The Postmigrant Theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in relation to other "Cultural Diversity" Institutions in Berlin

Several arts and cultural venues exist in Berlin that in one way or another aim to reflect cultural diversity. Among these are the theatre Heimathafen Neukölln (Home Harbour Neukölln), which was funded in 2009, the aforementioned Hebbel am Ufer Theatre and the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (House of World Cultures), which is one of the largest centres for contemporary non-European art in Berlin. Another explicitly Turkish arts venue in Berlin was the exhibition space TANAS - Raum für zeitgenössische türkische Kunst (TANAS- Space for Contemporary Turkish Art), which as with many other venues in Berlin closed down after only a few years of activity. Most arts and cultural projects with a "cultural diversity" profile are not structurally funded, but temporary events and festivals that occur throughout the year, as was the case with the "Alla Turca" concert series at the Berliner Philharmonie (between 2006 and 2011) and ongoing festivals such as the Kreuztanbul music festival, the Türkische Filmwoche Berlin (Turkish Film Week Berlin), the Kurdisches Filmfestival Berlin (Kurdish Film Festival Berlin) and a variety of temporary exhibitions, such as Istanbul- Off- Spaces at the Kreuzberger art space Kunstraum/Bethanien and the Istanbul Next Wave exhibition at the Martin-Gropius-Bau.

Another institution, which attracts a similar audience as the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is the Werkstatt der Kulturen. It was initially established as a venue for world cultures and received funding from the Berliner Senate's Commissioner for Integration and Migration. However, its profile changed with the appointment of Phillipa Ebéné as the first Black German artistic director of the venue in 2008, whose approach was to turn the Werkstatt der Kulturen into a transcultural centre with a stronger inclusion of people of colour in its decision-making structures. The Werkstatt der Kulturen located in the district of Neukölln is also responsible for the yearly Karneval der Kulturen (Carnival of Cultures)[74] in Berlin as well as for music festivals, such as the national world music contest Creole and the dance festival "Bewegte Welten" (Moving Worlds). Philippa Ebéné, who has worked for many years as an actress and was the founder of the black theatre company "Abok" prior to her appointment at the Werkstatt der Kulturen in 2008, is of German Cameroonian descent and is a friend and

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[74] For an ethnographic case study about the Karneval der Kulturen, that looks at the how the relationship between migrants and majority society plays out through the spectacle and institutionalisation of the carnival as a precarious work place and what it reveals about the commercial exploitation of cultural diversity see Knecht, M., and Soysal, L. (2007) *Plausible Vielfalt_ Wie der Karneval der Kulturen denkt, lernt und Kultur schafft*. Berlin: Panama Verlag.

ally of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as she tells me in an interview, not only because Langhoff and her are the only two women of colour in decision-making positions in the only two publicly funded explicitly transcultural postmigrant venues that Berlin has, but also because of the support she received from Langhoff and the Ballhaus after she declined to host a controversial exhibition entitled "The Third World during the Third Reich". Originally the exhibition was conceptualised as "an homage to the contributions of black people and people of colour in the resistance fight against Nazi Germany". However, the curator of the exhibition, the journalist Karl Rössel, decided to include images of the Palestinian Nazi collaborator Mohammed Amin al-Husseini, which, according to Ebéné, "undermined the concept of a tribute". Furthermore, she says that "the colonial staging of the exhibition followed the style of the racist Völkerschauen" [author's note: human zoos], adding that "the title that uses the world 'Third World' alone is problematic" and does not clarify if it aims to correct or fix stereotypes of the West towards "the rest". The story, which was widely reported in the media, led to a controversial public debate during which Ebéné was accused of censorship. Critical voices, such as those of Susan Arndt, professor for English and African Studies, stated during a press conference held in September 2009 that the strategy to objectify the content of the exhibition by adding images of collaborators is "an attempt by Germans to relativize and discharge themselves of their own guilt" (Arndt, 2009). Therefore the rejection of Ebéné would not constitute "censorship, but the resistance of a woman of colour" (Arndt, 2009). As the Werkstatt der Kulturen is funded by the office of the Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, the former Commissioner, Günter Piening, was also put under pressure. In a personal interview, he explained to me how the problematic awakening of historical continuities has led to the controversy. He said, that "the prohibition of images" is deeply inscribed in Germany's history (see also Chapter 1) and that the pressure of the Jewish Community of Berlin and its speaker Maya Zehden who accused Piening, as he stated, "of appeasement given the Arabic neighbourhood in which the Werkstatt der Kulturen is located", "needed to be taken seriously" (Günter Piening, personal interview, 03.11.2009, own translation).

These occurrences show, firstly, how one cannot think about the aforementioned metaphor of the lighthouse without the sea surrounding it. In other words, the cultural institutions among which the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is located are deeply embedded in political discourses that affect the decision-making processes of its protagonists. Secondly, this incident illustrates how the "diversity work" of institutions is embedded in a contested field in which different global histories intersect with each other and complicate political

claims of "making the power of diversity visible". The idea of paying tribute to the participation of black soldiers in the resistance against Nazi Germany (which itself relates to the colonial history of the allies France, Great Britain and the US) and activists' claims for Germany's recognition of its colonial history collides with the collective memory of the Holocaust and the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. In the meantime, the former Commissioner for Integration, Günter Piening, decided to exhibit copies of the original images at the Werkstatt der Kulturen without the approval of its director Ebéné and despite the critique of several organisations and activists, including the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

The reason why I chose to describe this éclat in detail is that it shows – in all its aggravation – how contested the cultural landscape in Berlin is with regards to "doing diversity work" and how Langhoff's statement that the venue "barks from the third row" translates in a cultural policy field, in which the critical voices of postmigrant protagonists such as her own, as well as Philippa Ebéné's, advocate a third perspective. Flagship institutions such as the Werkstatt der Kulturen and the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse were, between 2008 and 2013, the only women of colour who administer publicly funded venues in Berlin. With Langhoff's appointment as the artistic director first of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and then of the Maxim Gorki Theatre, there is for the first time in the history of the German Federal Republic a Turkish German woman at the top of a state theatre. Neither Langhoff nor Ebéné shy away from controversial political issues. The play "Das Märchen vom letzten Gedanken" (The Story of the Last Thought) for example, was the first theatre production of the Kurdish German film maker Miraz Bezar at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and an adaptation of German Jewish writer Edgar Hilsenrath's novel about the 1915 massacre of Armenians in Anatolia. Although a highly disputed topic, particularly in Turkey, it did not, however, cause the same public controversy among Turkish organisations in Germany as the exhibition at the Werkstatt der Kulturen described above, presumably because there is parliamentary consent among many Western nations about the recognition of the genocide and because there was, in contrast to the Werkstatt case, no political conflict among its producers.

The strategy of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse to create new narratives as political counter-images to dominant public discourses on race, ethnicity and migration with artists with a migration background actually producing these stories puts the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in a unique, but also uneasy position within Berlin's theatre landscape. In a conversation with Langhoff, we discussed how the call for diversity in the arts translates into the practices of different theatres in Berlin. Since the government and cultural policy has increased its efforts in investing in diversity in the arts, there are more and more plays staged that deal with the

living conditions of Turkish Germans and other visible Muslim minorities in the city. She said, however, with cynicism, anger and disappointment in her voice:

> You just need to look at the current approaches, where five theatres in Berlin process the topic of honour killing and you know what is going on. At the Atze musical theatre, where hundreds of school classes, I mean children, are dragged into to see "Ayla, Ali's Daughter" for example one needs to look only at their image campaign, it's absolutely beneath contempt. In the preface one reads from the author of the play about how many years he had lived in Kreuzberg and had nothing to do with Turks and how happy he is that he got in touch now. And this whole Ali's daughter story comes down to honour killing. It's really terrible and far behind Hark Bohm's film Yasemin from the 1980s in terms of at least some sort of sophistication. And yes, we have the German experts in theatre now as well. The woman from the Heimathafen Neukölln, who previously staged "Arabboy" for example, Nicole Oder, has directed "Ayla, Ali's Daughter". What they do – and of course they do have more resources than us – is to get our and other protagonists from the scene as, in a manner of speaking, a first step in the direction of "we let the Turks participate (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

The selection and frequency of the topic of patriarchal oppression through key themes such as "honour killings", "headscarf", "violent Muslim youth gangs", "Islamic fundamentalism" that circulate in German public discourses on migration (see also Chapter 5) and its reproduction on the theatre stage illustrate that cultural policy is inherently linked to the social and political field. The strategy of the "lighthouse", as I gathered in interviews with its protagonists, is insufficient to adequately address institutional racism in the arts and the participation of artists of colour on equal terms across the cultural institutions of Berlin. The quote above also points to the issue that a consensual conceptualisation, implementation and regulation of "diversity in the arts" for all cultural institutions is not yet in place. Instead, some of the current approaches to doing diversity work are experienced as reproducing a paternalistic view of its "objects". This shows that doing diversity work requires taking into account that people speak from different positions of power. Within this institutional geography, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, along with the Werkstatt der Kulturen and since 2013 the Maxim Gorki Theatre, stand for discerning as well as ambitious cultural productions, conscious of the cultural complexities in their narratives and experimental in their methods.

Although this approach was crowned with success, it came at a price. In an interview with the city magazine "Zitty" in 2009, a journalist asked Langhoff: "If one looks at the cinema landscape and other cultural areas especially, artists of Turkish descent seem to frequently play a more and more prominent role [...] How will these developments change our cultural landscape?" She answered: "One shouldn't overestimate the whole thing. The

relationships of power and lobby-work that are constitutive of cultural production are not even nearly established. It's a tough struggle that we pursue here" (Langhoff in Göroglu & Bombosch, 2009, own translation). As long as the cultural landscape of Berlin remained encased within these structures, Langhoff insisted that "it would be presumptuous to call ourselves the New German Theatre" despite the demographic changes that indicated that Germany had become a highly diverse society. Having said that, five years after the initial institutionalisation of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as the first postmigrant theatre in Germany, Langhoff and the artists working with her at the Maxim Gorki Theatre became more confident in calling themselves new German artists, who perform new German plays. The efforts of the artists paid off as the representatives of Berlin's cultural policy and institutional landscape listened more closely to the barks of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse artists and its supporters as I illustrate in the final sections of this chapter. In what follows, I examine what resources became available to the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and how the artists worked with existing funding structures as a field of opportunities and restrictions for the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre.

The Funding Criteria of Berlin's Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs: The Intercultural Project Funds

Since its reopening in 2008, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse received structural funding from the Cultural Administration of the District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs.[75] The communal funding of the Cultural Administration of the District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (as owners of the building) provided for its maintenance and the salary of the artistic director Langhoff and one technician until the year 2012. The majority of the structural funding of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is provided by the intercultural projects fund of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs.It amounts to 223,000 Euros per year and covers, as the executive officer for the intercultural project fund,

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[75] Funders of the theatre and its projects include: Kulturamt Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, Senate of Berlin, Kulturstiftung des Bundes, Stiftung Lotto, Förderband Kulturinitiative Berlin, Auswärtiges Amt, Berliner Projektfonds Kulturelle Bildung, Fonds Darstellende Künste e.V., Fonds Soziokultur, Hauptstadtkulturfonds, PwC Stiftung, Schering Stiftung. Partners of the theatre and its projects include: Ruhrtriennale, garajistanbul, British Council, PS122, 9th Space New York, Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany New York, deutsches haus at NYU, Ernst Reuter Initiative, NGBK, Daimler Financial Services, HAU 1/2/3, Goethe-Institut Istanbul, Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, Kunstraum Kreuzberg/Bethanien, BAAL novo, medienboard Berlin-Brandeburg GmbH, SunTop Reisen, GHETTO Music Lounge, PLAN C Berlin, ifa Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen e.V., IKSV, Istanbul Modern, Lange Nacht der Opern und Theater Berlin, Merhaba Magazin, mpool production, Sanartfilm, Turkish Airlines, Türkische Filmwoche Berlin, Stiftung Mercator, ANKA Film, ABI August Bebel Institut, Forum Berlin Istanbul, Reservix Karten

Margarete Haaf-Sonntag, explained: "parts of the salary of the Ballhaus' employees such as a dramaturge, advertisement and PR costs and the programme, i.e. the projects to the extent that the small budget permits" (Margarete Haaf-Sonntag, personal interview, 24.02.2009, own translation).

According to the information sheet for the intercultural project fund of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, the purpose of the intercultural project funds is "to support artistic projects of migrants living in Berlin with a focus on the development of their cultural identity in the multicultural urban society of Berlin and the continuation of intercultural dialogue".[76] Furthermore, the Intercultural Projects Funds are preferably granted to artistic projects that "engage beyond cultural traditions with contemporary arts and culture" and "consist of topics and ways of artistic expression that are otherwise insufficiently addressed" (idem). A conversation with Haaf-Sonntag provided further explanations as to how the application process is reviewed by the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs:

> It is important for us that the applications consist of projects that engage with the cultural background of the people in connection to the culture in Berlin. So, that people don't stage Shakespeare, unless they alter it. And there are very good examples of plays with autobiographical tendencies, that are developed and staged. In order to strengthen this process, it is important for us, that the specific artistic work is based on the *Heimatkultur* [author's note: the culture of the home country] of the artist. With that I mean the roots that somebody has who was born in Turkey or Poland or is born here, but with family ties to their home countries, which are formative. And then the contradictions with our culture and yes, out of this, there is a new culture emerging, that we support. We want people to engage with their own traditions and that of others (Margarete Haaf-Sonntag, personal interview, 24.02.2009, own translation).

The way in which the Western theatre canon ("don't stage Shakespeare") and the representation of cultural identity ("unless they alter it" with "autobiographical tendencies" based on the "culture of the home country of the artist") are mobilised by the executive officer of the Intercultural Projects Funds requires further analysis. In the context of the cultural productions of those applying for grants, Shakespeare cannot be adopted and staged by artists of colour without being located in a "migration" context. The required reference to the artists' "culture of the home country", its hybridisation in artistic work and the proof that the project draws on themes relating to cultural identity or what Haaf-Sonntag described as "autobiographical tendencies" is in itself problematic. As Hall argues with regards to

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[76] *Informationsblatt Projektförderung im Bereich Interkulturelle Projekte für das Jahr 2010.* Der Regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin, Senatskanzlei-Kulturelle Angelegenheiten, Referat VD – Förderung von Künstlerinnen/Künstlern, Projekten und Freien Gruppen

diasporic culture and cultural identity, there is no way back "home", no way to the "roots", but a pathway, different routes, which we follow, because:

> the past is not waiting for us, back there, unchanged, as a place of comfort and solace. The past is being transformed before our very eyes and some are being deeply unhinged, by the forces of contemporary globalization. It has therefore become imperative to think about our 'routes' (…) – that is to say the very different pathways which different cultures, peoples, traditions, languages and religions have taken to the present; which have brought us into, and convened us – some would say *conscripted* us all – to the same spaces and times in an increasingly globalised world (Hall, 2008).

Thus, whilst the funding criteria of the Intercultural Project Funds are problematic, given that many of the artists who apply for the grant consider Germany their home country and given that modes of cultures are always cross-cultural, their criteria also raises problems with regards to how cultural policy relates to the factual demographic structure of a highly racially and ethnically diverse society, which looks back at a long history of post-War migration (see also Chapter 4). The funding criteria of the intercultural project funds of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs hence exemplifies not only the fact that their definition of cultural identity based on "roots" is in need of change, but that it reproduces an understanding of *Heimatkultur* that promulgates racialised hierarchies within the system of cultural funding in which some belong and others do not. This, in turn, places the artists applying for it in a precarious position as they have to fulfil these criteria in order to get the funding, which leaves little space for narrative experimentations beyond the topic of "cultural identity". Having said that, many of the artists working at the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, managed to subvert the rhetoric used in funding applications and some of the plays depicted the uneasy notion of "Heimat" and cultural identity, for instance in the theatre director Erpulat's plays "Lö Bal Almanya" and "Verrücktes Blut" in a dissident way relative to how "diversity" funding was originally set out. In both plays, Erpulat used traditional German folk songs, which, performed by actors and actresses with a migration background, mock the assumption that diasporic identities are "rooted" in an imaginary home culture and offer instead a perspective in which the routes of migration are traced in relation to how the arrival of migrants in the German *Heimatkultur* led to the transformation, not of ethnic minorities' identity, but that of German identity including Turkish Germans.

The Budget of the Intercultural Project Funds

To return to the figures allocated to "cultural diversity" projects, a large part of the structural but also project-based support of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is awarded by the intercultural project funding of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs. The intercultural project funding is a separate department of the Senate Chancellery, which was first established in 1979 under the title "Förderung kultureller Aktivitäten ausländischer Mitbürger" (Funding of the Cultural Activities of Foreign Fellow Citizens). There are no figures regarding its total budget between the years 1979 and 1995, but, from 1995 onwards, this budget dramatically decreased, as the data provided by Haaf-Sonntag shows:

Year	Total Budget Intercultural Projects
1995	1 Mio 296,000 Deutsche Mark
1996	1 Mio 046,000 Deutsche Mark
1997	863,000 Deutsche Mark
1998	800,000 Deutsche Mark
1999	800,000 Deutsche Mark
2000	800,000 Deutsche Mark
2001	669,000 Deutsche Mark
2002	321,000 Euro
since 2003	343,000 Euro

Figures provided by Margarete Haaf-Sonntag during personal interview (24.02.2009).

What were the reasons for this dramatic decline of funding for intercultural projects? Alice Ströver explains that the cuts highlight a structural problem of Berlin's cultural policy:

> On behalf of politics there are very few strategic and conceptual motivations for development, simply because everything had to be reduced for financial reasons over the past twenty years, especially in Berlin. If you consider that our budget is over a third smaller than in 1991 when we had our first joint budget for culture and that with ever-increasing costs, increasing rates and so on, you will notice that it's nothing like enough and that one still had to make cuts. In that situation you have no more instruments of control in order to give money to other projects. But usually one has never given up institutions, but always those things, were there were flexible funds, because there is the smallest degree of organisation and the smallest public uproar potentialities. In the mid-1990s ten per cent of the cultural budgeting went into this field and now its three per cent. But if you look behind the scenes at the large cultural institutions you can see that they have a large financial buffer. The free artistic scene by contrast is organised according to artistic processes with very slim structures with a tendency to self-exploitation. I have once requested that only project funds are permitted that provide a minimum salary for highly professional artists, but that was

seen as a provocation and was eventually rejected. As you can see we have a structural problem and when it comes to the cultural field we couldn't ever or never wanted to actively develop migration concepts. The financial pressures were basically too high and that is a very important point. Even if there were approaches and concepts they always failed due to financial and cost pressures, because they were not feasible. However, I have to say that also no claims were made from arts organisation in the city, such as the Rat der Künste [author's note: The Council for the Arts, which represents cultural institutions in Berlin] (Alice Ströver, personal interview, 09.11.2009, own translation).

The dynamics depicted by Ströver illustrate the precarious financial position of the off-theatre scene very clearly, pointing to the marginal position of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as an off-theatre among other Berlin cultural institutions as well as to the lobby work necessary in the field to get a foothold in institutional funding. But the numbers also illuminate a much larger issue with regards to the position of the artists applying for the funds and the question of proportional representation concerning cultural diversity projects within Berlin's cultural landscape. Since 2008, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, received two thirds of the remaining 343,000 Euro of the intercultural projects funding, which amounts to 223,000 Euros. The extra 120,000 Euros are available for free projects for which artists can apply once a year by October 1. The amount of funding accorded to a project is usually around 10,000 Euros as Haaf-Sonntag explains, and does not extent beyond 20,000 Euros, but there are also "smaller projects with 5,000 Euros, where other funding is already granted". Looking at the funding report for 2010, one can see that there were 60 applications from unaffiliated groups, with the majority of applicants being of Turkish decent. Only 10 productions were granted funding, of which four productions were based at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse totalling an additional 40,000 Euros for the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. In 2011, the situation was similar with 46 applications and nine projects of which four projects were based at the Ballhaus with total additional funding of 52,000 Euros for the projects realised at the Ballhaus. To sum up, these figures show that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse received around 40-50% of the total amount available for independent projects.[77] Haaf-Sonntag explained the high proportion of funding allocated to projects based at the Ballhaus as follows:

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[77] see:

<http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-kultur/kulturfoerderung/musik/f__rderung_interkulturelle_projekte_2010.pdf?start&ts=1300105443&file=f__rderung_interkulturelle_projekte_2010.pdf and
http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-kultur/presse/f__rderung_interkult._projekte_2011.pdf?start&ts=1300105445&file=f__rderung_interkult._projekte_2011.pdf> [Accessed: 05.06.2012].

They have a fixed financial contribution from us, but that's not enough for the amount of productions realised at the venue. This means that they have to see non-stop that they can secure more funding, which is very exhausting I think for Mrs Langhoff, because she needs to constantly write applications for all sorts of funding pots. Yes, it's hard for our little budget, but then again I always say that this location is for these projects and then it doesn't play a role if we finance a play from this budget and this is realised in the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. I do get criticism for that and that many of our projects have a Turkish background. I can understand that, especially by applicants whose proposals were rejected, but for our jury the main point is the quality of the project (Margarete Haaf-Sonntag, personal interview, 24.02.2009, own translation).

Haaf-Sonntag further stated, that there was a budget debate in 2009, which involved the question of why there was still this little separate funding of 120,000 Euros for independent intercultural projects at the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs. As the introduction of intercultural mainstreaming measures within the Senate administration would have been considered an indicator for change and many Senate Chancellery representatives would have said that artists with a migration background could now apply for all the funding sections. But, according to Haaf-Sonntag's opinion, "it's legitimate to keep it as it's only a small budget anyway. We still have a little niche in which such projects are specifically supported, that can serve as a stepping stone for artists, who will later hopefully arrive in the established institutions, well at least that's our aim" (Haaf-Sonntag, 24.02.2009, own translation). Ströver added to this point: "I thought it was ridiculous to still activate this sum, because interculture has to be an active part of our general arts funding. But a lot of people said to me 'no, this little sum is also still important symbolically for young artists'" (Alice Ströver, personal interview, 09.11.2009, own translation). From the perspective of the artists applying for the intercultural projects funding, Langhoff confirmed Haaf-Sonntag's perspective on why this funding opportunity was still needed and what opportunities it provided for artists in contrast to the regular funding departments of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs:

The intercultural project fund has become increasingly small over the years, but there is certainly still a necessity for it. Myself and many other artists have recommended it to be kept and raised, because you can't confuse one funding with another. Of course, an intercultural approach needs to be implemented in all funding departments, but that is theory! That is theory in so far as for instance the Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital Culture Funds) and the Bundeskulturstiftung (The Federal Culture Foundation) don't fund the first production of a young artist. That means you can only get there once you have produced larger, representative, second or third works. In festival contexts, yes, if they support a festival with large projects, it's possible to include a first production into the whole context. Let's take the example of theatre director Hakan Savaş Mircan whose first theatre production was "Der Besuch" (The Visit). We couldn't apply for funding at the Hauptstadtkulturfonds for that, but we had a chance at the intercultural

project funding and could get some more money from here and there. That means, particularly for this kind of access, for first productions and for the support of this particular cultural capital one needs a fund, although it is very small, that supports the first and second productions of young and talented artists who work in intercultural and transcultural contexts (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

The experiences depicted above, illustrate the dilemma for artists of colour regarding the opportunities and restrictions that the cultural budgeting for "cultural diversity in the arts" bring forth. On the one hand, the young artists of the postmigrant theatre movement depended on the intercultural funding structures as they could not apply for other funding due to their criteria. On the other hand, these structures created a niche existence for the artists and a precarious dependency on the tiny amounts provided for the free artistic scene by the intercultural project funds. Langhoff, however, insisted that:

> The intercultural funding shouldn't be seen in an ethnic way, but as a fund for young, up-and-coming artists who are new in Germany. There is for example Michael Ronen, a young theatre director from Israel who came via London to Berlin. For him this fund is also interesting, because it's not only for the migrants born here. So in that sense I see it as a support for young talents in the context of inter-and transcultural practices (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

The fluid categories of who is eligible to apply for which grants at the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, thus, are used by the artists to navigate efficiently through funding opportunities. In the following section, I discuss the access of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse artists to the regular funding departments of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs.

Cui Honorem, Honorem!: The Concept Funding of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse

In the previous section, I presented the budgeting of "cultural diversity in the arts" and showed how the small amounts of structural funding impact on the opportunities of the artists at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. Due to the unbalanced portioning out of the small structural funding and the high costs generated by the amount of plays and events produced, the non-profit organisation KulturSprünge (see Chapter 1), which governed the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, had to acquire external funding for every project. In the first two seasons, 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, Ballhaus successfully acquired an additional 920,000 Euros from different funding bodies, such as the prestigious Kulturstiftung des Bundes (The German Federal Culture Foundation) and Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital Cultural Funds), as well as

from various smaller funds from the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, the District Department of Culture and from a wide range of foundations. Since 2011, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was in addition awarded with the concept funding of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs. The concept funding was initially granted for a period of three years until 2014, and amounted to an additional 200,000 Euros for the theatre. When the artists received the news, it was a moment of celebration, as Langhoff told me with pride and happiness in her voice:

> We get a lot of attention and support from politicians, the press and the theatre audience. If you look at us merely within an off-theatre context, we are blessed with an incredible success and growth. Directly in the first season we received 223 000 Euros for our conceptual approach by the intercultural project funding and we were suggested also in the first season for the conceptual funding from 2011 onwards. That is now confirmed and we'll receive the concept grant from 2011 onwards, initially until 2014. That is truly extraordinary! In fact, the jury of the conceptual funding has really substantiated their decision why they give us the money despite our new existence. They argued that they trusted in my previous work and in the results that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse has already achieved. In so far, they took a long time and examined everything very closely. They really have followed us - and I can't say it any differently - with a lot of interest and respect. I believe that this was a very important step for us, which actually should be self-evident, but it wasn't. We are so happy that we are finally judged by a theatre competent jury and receive the conceptual funding. That's actually a novelty in the context of migrant theatre and we are very, very happy about it (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

The concept funding had the advantage that the curators and directors of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, who constantly needed to search for further funding opportunities to realise productions, could rely on an additional funding source, that reduced the risk that projects would not be realised and enabled the artists to develop long-term plans. Moreover, as an institution that received the Senate's concept funding, postmigrant theatre was put into a professional context beyond the diversity and intercultural niche. The uniqueness of the decision to grant concept funding to the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse under the direction of Langhoff was also reflected in the evaluation report of the commission responsible for awarding the concept funding at the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs:

> We are very aware that this is an unusual procedure to suggest a theatre house for the concept funding, which alone in terms of the time could not sustainably prove itself artistically. The concern and profile of the stage however appear to be so relevant, that an economic establishment of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse seems to be urgently

needed, too. The city of Berlin should afford this advance trust in light of the future impact of the house (Wagner & Wildermann, 2011, own translation).

Using a similar vocabulary to the former Commissioner for Migration and Integration, who described the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a flagship institution to discuss the potential impact of the postmigrant theatre in the city, the commission for the concept funding, in contrast to Günter Piening, did not isolate the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse within Berlin's cultural landscape. Instead the report located it among other comparable theatres in terms of its size and artistic quality. However, the ways in which the current implementation of cultural policy plays out through the categorisation of "with a migration background" and "without" in this new funding situation is illustrated by a quote from Ströver:

> The funds of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse will be raised in the future through the concept funding of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, which I think is the right decision. This theatre also needs to be examined according to its quality like all other little projects and theatres that receive conceptual funding. I thought that this kind of positive discrimination and to put the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse into a cultural ghetto was wrong. I said: "for getting started they have for two years the intercultural projects funding, but at some point they really have to face the regular evaluation. It is also a valorisation for the Ballhaus, although it is also a harder situation, because there is now a greater competition out there. But we say that what is done there is artistically so interesting and innovative that it can also deliver itself up to the evaluation of the jury" (Alice Ströver, personal interview, 09.11.2009, own translation).

The concept funding marked an important change for the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the further institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre, which was initially perceived by some policy-makers, as Ströver stated, as a "cultural ghetto", but which became increasingly recognised as a regular part of the state subsidised cultural landscape of Berlin. However, the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse still needed to "deliver themselves up to the evaluation of the jury" as Ströver stated, pointing out that, although artistically "exceptionally" good, there were "deficits" that she evaluated as overlooked by "positive discrimination". Thus, the artistic director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and the artists, who, under the constant evaluation of cultural policy makers as to whether they could "deliver" what they were paid for, experienced what Puwar calls "super-surveillance" (2004: 61). Puwar defines the term with regards to the work experiences of Black and other ethnic minority members of staff in British institutions as follows:

> Not only do these bodies that are out of place have to work harder to convince people that they are capable, but they also almost have to be crystal-clear perfect in their job

performances, as any imperfections are easily picked up and amplified. […] Being under super-surveillance […], there is a sense in which black men and women are constantly under a spotlight, as they are seen to represent a potential hazard. Existing under the pressure of a microscopic spotlight of racialised and gendered optics, the slightest mistake is likely to be noticed, even exaggerated, and then taken as evidence of authority being misplaced (Puwar, 2004: 61).

As some of my interview partners who wanted to remain anonymous stated, they felt that this super-surveillance translated into as an extreme workload in their working conditions at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (as described in Chapter 5), leading to exhaustion and frustration. Moreover, they felt that the additional surveillance or control executed by team members and the artistic management, particularly when high ranking decision makers, such as policy makers and politicians visited the theatre, was particularly stressful and also led to tensions among the artists. Furthermore, there were critical voices regarding the leadership structure of the venue, which as much as it led the artists from a precarious financial situation to the stabilisation of the venue's mid-term future, was bound nonetheless to one name, that of Shermin Langhoff and her efforts to establish the venue. Whilst the whole venue certainly benefited from the concept funding, the focus on Langhoff overlooked the collective efforts of the team and emphasised the exceptionality of her work. Upon Langhoff and her teams departure from the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2012 and their arrival at the Maxim Gorki Theatre in 2013, one could witness that the attention of policy makers and the media shifted from the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse towards the new flagship Maxim Gorki Theatre. Whilst the Maxim Gorki Theatre with a budget of around 9 million Euro and 150 members of staff created further work and career development opportunities for artists of colour. Langhoff's relentless diversity work as lobby work in Berlin's cultural policy field, thus, demonstrates the ways in which the implementation of diversity in the arts is closely tied to the question of how power is distributed in institutional life.

Embodying Diversity: Personnel Policy, Body Count and the Statistical Category called "Migration Background"

Cultural policy always involves personnel policy (Fuchs, 2007:8). Hence, the question of *who is doing the job* is vital, particularly in Germany's theatre landscape that is, as I stated previously, predominantly state subsidised. Skills, talent, networks and the acclaimed curriculum vitae of an artistic director and the decisions of cultural policy makers who is going to be the director of a prestigious theatre and which artists are going to work there are of most significance and decisive for the profile, prestige and success of a municipal and state

theatre, as well as for the profile of cultural policy makers . The main governmental body that decides about personnel policy for Berlin's large cultural institutions is the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, which also allocates the budgets for these institutions. The former State Secretary for Cultural Affairs, André Schmitz in his article entitled "Wie weiß ist die Kunst?" (How white are the arts?) (2012) argues that with regards to the implementation of diversity in the arts, "a lot, if not everything depends on the intercultural skills of the (management) staff in cultural institutions" and advocates that more artists of colour are employed in Berlin's cultural institutions.

Having said that, the exact numbers of how many artists of colour are employed in Berlin is unclear. Upon my request in 2009, the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, did not provide any figures regarding the proportion of employees with a migration background in Berlin's state-subsidised institutions, neither is there any survey that would shed light on the employment figures of ethnic minority artists in Berlin's cultural institutions. Kulaoğlu remarks voicing his frustration with the given structures that:

> Wherever you look in Germany, the directors of nearly all state theatres in Germany are white, except one Turkish German director in a small town theatre in Pforzheim in the south of Germany. You know, there are so many theatres in this country, more than in any other country in this world, but the structures are just unbelievable in Germany. We don't have access yet, but I believe that this will happen soon (Tunçay Kulaoğlu, personal interview, 25.02.2010, own translation).

Kulaoğlu's remark points to structural and institutional mechanisms of exclusion in Germany's theatres for artists with a migration background as well as to the issue of institutional whiteness, which Ahmed in her article "A phenomenology of whiteness" (2007) describes as follows:

> When we describe institutions as 'being' white (institutional whiteness), we are pointing to how institutional spaces are shaped by the proximity of some bodies and not others: white bodies gather, and cohere to form the edges of such spaces. […] As many have argued, whiteness is invisible and unmarked, as the absent centre against which others appear only as deviants, or points of deviation (Dyer, 1997; Frankeberg, 1993). […] Spaces are orientated 'around' whiteness, insofar as whiteness is not seen. We do not face whiteness, it 'trails behind' bodies, as what is assumed to be given. The effect of this 'around whiteness' is the institutionalization of a certain 'likeness', which makes non-white bodies feel uncomfortable, exposed, visible, different, when they take up this space. The institutionalisation of whiteness involves work: the institution comes to have a body as an effect of this work. It is important that we do not reify institutions, by presuming they are simply given and that they decide what we do. Rather, institutions become given, as an effect of the repetition of decisions made over time, which shapes the surface of institutional space. Institutions involve

the accumulation of past decisions about how to allocate resources, as well as 'who' to recruit. Recruitment functions as a technology for the reproduction of whiteness (Ahmed, 2007: 157).

The Turkish German co-director of the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, Kulaoğlu, by naming which bodies occupy the majority of positions in German theatres, thus makes visible what is made invisible or, in Ahmed's words, he illustrates how "spaces are orientated 'around' whiteness, insofar as whiteness is not seen" (2007: 157). I have stated already in Chapter 4 how an investment in institutional whiteness in theatre institutions in Germany originated over decades of excluding minority artists from institutions of high culture. In fact, the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement are the first Turkish German artists who publicly articulate a critique of institutional whiteness in Germany's cultural institutions to which former State Secretary for Cultural Affairs, André Schmitz, refers to in his above mentioned article. A statement of Langhoff during the cultural policy conference "Be Berlin – Be Diverse: What do we do with our cultural diversity?" that was organised by the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs and took place at the Rotes Rathaus (Red City Hall) in Berlin between 12-13 November 2009, complements Kulaoğlu's remark and illustrates how the precarious labour conditions of artists of colour are reproduced in employment and recruitment, which, according to Ahmed, "functions as a technology for the reproduction of whiteness" (2007: 157).

> It's nice that people have discovered the topic of migration and diversity now, but they also have to bear our rage. I have pointed into the round of people that were present and said "look at the list of participants. After all, 80% are white Germans and 20% others and now have a look at who is freelancing. 80% of the white German staff in the large cultural institutions are employed with permanent contracts, only 20% are freelancers. If we would look at the employment figures for artists with a migration background these figures are reversed with 80 % working as precarious freelancers and only 20% in regular employment. Except for Philippa Èbene and I, all other visible minorities, the Afro German and the colleagues of Turkish descent, are all freelancers. And of all the white German colleagues, I mean 80 per cent of them, are permanently and full-time employed in institutions. I said [author's note: to the participants of the conference] "Folks, look at this list and don't tell me anything about being on equal footing!" (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

Postmigrant theatre artists as diversity practitioners, aim to determine how "diversity" is defined in the field of cultural policy. Langhoff's statement exemplifies how the language of diversity once it circulates in cultural policy ("it's nice that people have discovered the topic of migration and diversity now") risks being understood merely as a diversity management

that "value[s] diversity 'as if' it was a human resource" (Ahmed, 2007: 235) and thereby conceals (Langhoff's "but") systematic racial inequalities in Berlin's cultural institutions. Langhoff's intervention in order to provide an estimated body count of how many White people and people with a migration background work under which employment conditions in Berlin's state-subsidised cultural institutions, thus directs her addresses' attention towards the paradoxical state of institutional practices between a vague conceptualisation of "diversity" (as in "Be Berlin – Be Diverse") and the racialised division of labour.

Whilst, as previously mentioned, exact figures as to how many artists with a migration background work in Berlin's state subsidised cultural institutions was not existent or accessible, the first implementation report of the integration concept of Berlin 2007-2009[78], provides figures with regards to the proportion of applicants with a migration background who applied for the project grants of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs in 2008:

> In the framework of the key project *Strengthening the Intercultural Aspects of the Artists and Project Funding* we have conducted in the year 2008 for the first time data collection about the applications and receptions of grants along the criteria of migration background. The evaluation showed that 24% of the applicants and 22% of the recipients of the funding available in 2008 had a migration background. The results are in accordance with the proportion of persons with a migration background in Berlin's total population (ca. 24%). An important goal of the integration concept 2007, the stronger inclusion of migrants in cultural production has been achieved. In addition to that the cultural policy strategies for the upgrading of intercultural strengths of cultural institutions in Berlin shall be developed.

A table included in the implementation report 2009 of the integration concept of Berlin 2007-2009[79] lists the proportions regarding the applicants with a migration background in the artists and project funding departments of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs for 2008:

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[78] See *Anhang I des Umsetzungsberichts zum Berliner Integrationskonzept 2007*. Available on: http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb-integration-migration/publikationen/berichte/berliner_integrationsmonitor_2009_final_bf.pdf?start&ts=1301067805&file=berliner_integrationsmonitor_2009_final_bf.pdf [Accessed: 18.04.2010].

[79] See *Anhang I des Umsetzungsberichts zum Berliner Integrationskonzept 2007*. Available on: http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb-integration-migration/publikationen/berichte/berliner_integrationsmonitor_2009_final_bf.pdf?start&ts=1301067805&file=berliner_integrationsmonitor_2009_final_bf.pdf [Accessed: 18.04.2010].

Funding area	Number of applications	With migration background	In percentage	Funded projects	With migration background	In percentage
Visual Arts	421	136	32.2%	40	10	25%
Literature	499	93	18.6%	18	3	16.6%
Performing Arts	300	115	38.3%	55	13	23.6%
Music	146	27	18.5%	44	13	29.5%
Hauptstadt-kulturfonds (Capital City Budget)	603	107	17.7%	139	21	15.1%
Cultural exchange	616	152	24.6%	63	19	30.1%
Artists programme				17	5	29.4%
Total	2585	630	25%	376	84	24.2%

Source: Implementation report 2009 of the integration concept of Berlin 2007-2009.

Although the statistics leave the impression that there is proportional equality between the applicants with a migration background in comparison to the demographic size, these figures do not give any account about the sums granted and whether they were provided for short-term projects of independent groups in the project-related categories.

Another important point with regards to the data is that the category "migration background" is very broadly defined. The German Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt) and the statistical offices of the *Länder* (states) have collected data about the "migration background" of Germany's population since the 2005 micro census. Persons with a migration background are defined as those who "immigrated after 1949 into the present area of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as all foreigners born in Germany and all who are born in Germany as Germans with at least one parent who has either immigrated to Germany

after 1949 or is a foreigner in Germany".[80] There are three major problems with this definition in relation to the data gathered on the participation of so-called people with a migration background (and in addition to the issue about the funding of free projects as described above). The first problem is that the category of "migration background" is applied to people who might have never had the experience of migration. Nonetheless they are considered to be migrants, although their family history of migration might date back over sixty years.

Furthermore, the category "migration background" risks producing inaccurate measures for the implementation of "diversity in the arts" policies as people of colour from Turkey, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East are mostly less privileged with regards to their racial and class status compared to those with a white European migration background, who can "blend in" easier. However, cultural policy regarding "cultural diversity in the arts" does not differentiate between the different social and economic positions of people who have actually migrated, people who have acquired German citizenship, people holding passports of EU member states, people with passports from countries outside the European Union and stateless people. Hence, the accessibility of cultural funding and cultural institutions for these different groups is not measured at all. Furthermore "migration background" is a category that is not based on people's self-definition but an administratively and discursively constructed external ascription. Ethnic monitoring as an instrument of anti-discrimination policies, however, has not yet been introduced in Germany[81]. One of the reasons is the issue of data protection. Collecting data based on race and ethnicity is widely seen as bearing the risk of abuse. This data abuse happened for instance during the dragnet investigations of the German police after 9/11 (Schaar, 2009:23). The collection of data on "race", ethnicity and religion is considered to be problematic "especially in Germany, as this has happened during the Third Reich" as some of my research participants stated. As long as these doubts regarding the introduction of ethnic monitoring schemes prevail, however, there is no targeted address of different ethnic and social groups. Consequentially, instruments for the control of the regular cultural institutions remain underdeveloped and more nuanced mentoring schemes regarding the accessibility to regular funds for artists with a migration background remain unimplemented in cultural policy.

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[80] Statistisches Bundeamt Deutschland *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2005.* Published on 04.05.2007. see: <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Navigation/Publikationen/Publikationen.p sml?cmspath=struktur,vollanzeige.csp&ID=1020313> [Accessed: 28.05.2008].
[81] See also for example Mario Peucker "Ethnic Monitoring as Instrument von Antidiskriminierungspolitik?" in *Dossier Ethnic Monitoring – Datenerhebung mit oder über Minderheiten?* Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 2009. http://www.migration-boell.de/web/diversity/48_2269.asp [Accessed: 13.10.2010].

Another important issue with regards to the recruitment of diversity practitioners to bring "diversity" to institutions is that "diversity" is mostly considered as being outside the daily practices of institutions and of only short-term significance for Berlin's large cultural institutions. Thus, diversity in the arts experts, who are brought in from outside, remain outside even though they are temporarily inside. Alice Ströver emphasises this point:

> Cultural funding in Berlin is bound to large institutions. We have barely enough money for young, innovative art and the large institutions fund nearly nothing. There is a little bit of funding, but one has the feeling that it is some sort of fashion that will soon vanish again. [...] For instance the "Alla Turca" concert series at the Berliner Philharmonic Orchestra, can the organiser say: 'I'll assert my claims and the whole thing will continue'? (Alice Ströver, personal interview, 09.11.2009, own translation)

The organiser of the "Alla Turca" concert series, Martin Greve, told me that the event has indeed been cancelled after four seasons (2007/2008-2010/2011). Initially organised by a team of three people, Langhoff, who left after becoming artistic director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, the musician Vladimir Ivanov, who wrote the concept and co-organised the first season, it was only the German ethno-musicologist Greve who curated the programme. Although it has been an increasingly popular concert series with sold out concerts, the management and the members of the regular philharmonic orchestra never showed enthusiastic interest in collaboration with Turkish artists, as Greve told me in a personal interview. He stated that the lack of support and esteem was also reflected in the ticketing system, where the "Alla Turca" series had been in the last rank. From the season 2011/2012 onwards, the series was replaced by a world music programme entitled "Unterwegs" (Underway) hosted by the German TV presenter Roger Willemsen to attract a more popular music oriented audience. Due to this development, Greve decided to not assert any further claims to continue the series at the Philharmonie and moved to Istanbul as he was "tired of always starting at point zero when it comes to convincing decision makers in institutions that projects including Turkish artists, such as at the Alla Turca concert series, are well-received and important for Germany's cultural landscape" (Martin Greve, personal interview, 25.04.2011, own translation). Whilst many of the advocates of cultural diversity in the arts I spoke with stated that they regularly experience frustration and fatigue in their work, the protagonists of the postmigrant theatre movement, however, persistently argued that their position in Berlin's cultural landscape needs further institutionalisation and expansion, which required years of active involvement in policy making processes.

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The personnel policy of Berlin's policy makers with regards to the decision to appoint Langhoff as the artistic director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in 2008 illustrates the strong embeddedness of the institution within communal cultural policy structures. This is reflected in the background story as to how Langhoff acceded to the position of the first Turkish German artistic director of a theatre in Berlin. Between 1983 and 2005, the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse was used as a theatre and music venue under the administration of Volker Barz. Subsequent to Barz's retirement, the question of who would be the right successor arose and was discussed among the district's representatives. Stéphane Bauer explained in a personal interview the political and administrational processes from the initial idea of suggesting Langhoff for the position of artistic director in 2005 until its implementation in 2008 as follows:

> The former mayor of Kreuzberg, Cornelia Reinauer, who now lives in Istanbul and I said "we are not going to take someone from the administration again. We have to create a specialised space for the migrant scene and we have to take Shermin Langhoff." At that time we failed. This was in 2005. It failed, because of the political system. The Green Party and the Social Democrats didn't want Die Linke [author's note: Die Linke/The Left is a political party in Germany], which was the party of the mayor of Kreuzberg, to be successful with this idea, so during that time we had a lot of very strange political discussions. In that situation, Shermin said "not with me", which I could understand fully. She told us: "be clear with what you are going to do and then we can talk about it again". We wanted Shermin in that position, but of course, because it's a public administration we had to conduct a public call for applications. There was another applicant from the new music scene, who was in fact in second place, so at the moment when Shermin said "no, I am not going to do it", it had to be her. As the former director didn't retire at 65, but at 63, our interim plan was to employ her for these two years. It was also clear to her that after this period of two years there should be a new application process during which Shermin said finally "okay, now I'll apply and I'll also bring with me money from the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs" and that's how the new Ballhaus came through (Stéphane Bauer, personal interview, 04.11.2009, own translation).

According to Bauer, the establishment of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a new postmigrant theatre under the direction of Langhoff was built on the collective decision of a lobby group among Berlin's political decision-makers. As many of my interview partners involved in Berlin's cultural policy stated: "In Germany everything can only be achieved by lobbying and there's no exception for the cultural field." The political lobbying for the establishment of a municipal theatre with a budget of an off-theatre, however, is unusual in the sense that the Berlin State Parliament and the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs, as my cultural policy interview partners and policy documents confirmed, made a political decision to reopen the

Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a postmigrant theatre under the direction of Langhoff rather than relying on a public call for applications. Having said that, the terms of how the venue should be run are clearly defined by cultural policy makers as a set of criteria for the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. As Alice Ströver from the Green Party and the former chairwoman of the Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Berlin State Parliament explains:

> The Ballhaus needs to be a space where these kinds of artists [author's note: ethnic minority artists] in the field of the performing arts can express themselves, in fact as diverse as possible and not only for the Turkish community. That is an accusation that its artistic director Shermin Langhoff has already heard, but I think that she understood that one has to say that this must be a place where artists from different cultural backgrounds can express themselves. We want the place to reach much wider audiences by also showing other forms of expression by artists from many other cultures (Alice Ströver, personal interview, 09.11.2009, own translation).

The statement of Ströver that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse "needs to be a space (…) as diverse as possible and not only for the Turkish community" was implemented with the new leadership of the venue in 2012 and the appointment of the Afro Brazilian German director Wagner Carvalho who began to shift the profile of the postmigrant theatre venue from predominantly Turkish German artists' productions towards an increasing presence of Black and Brazilian artists involved in the theatre's cultural productions.

As much as the new wave of postmigrant Turkish German artists at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, and later at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, were increasingly perceived by its audiences as well as cultural policy makers as "transnational cosmopolitans" rather than "migrant artists", a development, which was crowned with the extension of the postmigrant theatre movement and its artists to the prestigious Maxim Gorki Theatre in 2013, the artists remained for many years, as I have shown above, in a precarious and conflicted position within the sphere of cultural policy. It is in this realm that categorisations between white national, postmigrant and international artists, and between the multicultural and cosmopolitan diversity approaches, were negotiated in the city.

The perspectives of local policy makers shed light on how they understand the relationship between the increasing internationalisation of Berlin's artistic scene and this new wave of postmigrant theatre artists. For example, Ströver, former chairwoman of the Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Berlin State Parliament, says that:

> It is in fact the case that we have a high influx of artists from all over the world which has grown exorbitantly in the last ten years and from all genres, all artistic fields, from

every country. That is an immense enrichment and it is also the case that, in our funding structures, these international artists are well represented. We have art prizes, artist residencies, plenty of opportunities. But let's have a look now at our local population and at what one would call, although it's a buzzword, the hybrid culture and the young migrants of the second and third generation. What kind of artistic opportunities do they have? I think that we are now at a stage where there are a lot of different artistic expressions coming out there. There are authors, filmmakers, I mean the artists are there and they catch on. What we have to offer in relation to a specific support for these artists is very little. Many of the international artists bring their own funding with them, but that's absolutely irrelevant to the government. I have argued repeatedly that these are two different things and two different tasks that we have to judge differently from our side. Essentially we have the duty to do something for the migrant population here in Berlin and to support them, so that they can express themselves culturally (Alice Ströver, personal interview, 09.11.2009, own translation).

In respect to the relationship between the international and postmigrant artistic scene, Ströver stresses that whilst the international scene is an "enrichment" for Berlin and which does not require cultural policy investment, what she calls the "hybrid culture" of the postmigrant artistic scene is a "burden" for cultural policy that requires institutional investment based on the city's duty "to do something for the migrant population". Another statement, from the former Commissioner for Migration and Integration of the Berlin Senate, Günter Piening, illustrates how categorical distinctions are made between the international artistic scene, which would add to Berlin's flair as a "global creative city", and the new wave of postmigrant artists, who are considered descendants of an artistically-deficient lineage and who, in Alice Ströver's words, would recently "catch on". Günter Piening states:

The topic of the internationality of arts and culture has, for a long time, been detached from the topic of immigration. Berlin's arts scene is particularly international. We are a top address for people from London, New York and other places. If you go to the opera, say, you will see that it is very international. However, these specific incarnations of internationality within culture have been divorced from the culture of immigrants. One of the reasons for that was certainly that, on behalf of the immigrants, quality had to grow first. In fact, we now have a third generation of immigrants here or a second, represented by people such as Fatih Akın and Shermin Langhoff. The first generation held a totally different perception of culture. They vigorously nurtured their classic, traditional Heimatkultur [author's note: culture of the homeland]. In the realm of the avant-garde, there were comparatively few immigrant artists and the connections between the international and the immigrant arts scenes were even more rare. There were certainly also individual artists hailing from the typical immigration countries to Germany and who were close to the avant-garde, but they didn't move within the immigrant contexts. So, one shouldn't just blame cultural policy as evil, but what I want to emphasise is that claims for representation and cultural articulation can only take place if there are first of all people who can articulate them in a qualified manner. And this, I believe, just happened in the second, third generation, who can articulate their own complexities in a qualified way. But to

be able to do something like that, I believe that it takes one or two generations until something like that is identifiable and appears in the discourses of the feuilleton (Günter Piening, personal interview, 03.11.2009, own translation).

Whereas this statement relates to what I have described in Chapter 1 as signalling the arrival of this new wave of postmigrant theatre artists in the sphere of a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism, this arrival is simultaneously contested. Günter Piening's observation, that one can detect the development of "qualified manners" in the "second and third generation" of "Turkish German immigrants" not only betrays a feeling of superiority, but also reproduces hegemonic German historiography's assumption, that, genealogically speaking, Turkish German subjects in general and, in this case, Turkish German artists in particular, as descendants of "labour migrants" would lack the ability to articulate themselves (see also Chapters 4 and 5). From this perspective, then, the postmigrant theatre movement is considered to include those who have overcome these deficiencies. In contrast to Günter Piening's opinion, which exempts the role of cultural policy in fostering artistic productions of artists of colour, Langhoff states that one cannot omit the role of the state and institutional support because "the development of quality always needs nurturing" (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010) and cannot grow out of thin air. Thus, whereas the post-war generation of White German artists is not judged according to whether they can "articulate their own complexities in a qualified way", the work of artists in the category "descendent of Turkish guest workers" is constantly evaluated according to their capacities to "articulate" themselves, their familiarity with and use of the "toolbox" of the European avant-garde.

The dispute over what counts as a valid and valuable articulation was also reflected in the aforementioned conference entitled "Be Berlin – Be Diverse: What do we do with our cultural diversity?" that was organised by the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs and took place at the Red City Hall of Berlin between 12-13 November 2009. As the first conference about cultural diversity in the arts organised by Berlin's cultural policy administration, it was striking that cultural diversity was mainly defined as an issue of diversity management. However, the political demands of many artists of colour who participated were not about the management of diversity within the institution, but more fundamentally about gaining access to them. Suggestions to discuss institutional whiteness by those who embodied "diversity", however, met the silence from those who embodied "institutional whiteness" and led to frustrations among all participants. Feelings of hope, namely that there was finally a cultural policy conference addressing diversity management for the group of those who embodied "institutional whiteness" and racism and inequality for

those who embodied "diversity", caused further frustrations with the idealised image of the Senate to represent Berlin as a diverse world city. When I spoke with Langhoff a couple of months after the conference, reflecting on how she experienced the tension between the ideal image of "Be Berlin – Be Diverse" and artists of colour's lived experiences of racism and inequality on the artistic labour market, she stated that the conference was – despite these controversies – a strategic milestone for achieving diversity in the arts. She argued that:

> These [the people in leadership positions in Berlin's arts institutions and Berlin's policy makers] are the protagonists with whom we have to grapple, if we really want to do anything in this society. Well, I didn't decide to stay out of the power struggle insofar I see what I do always as acting and negotiating inside, against and with it. That's why I wouldn't see the efforts of policy makers originating out of paternalistic good will but as a political duty that has been recognised late, but is now presently and seriously negotiated. We know how difficult it is for someone like the State Secretary for Cultural Affairs to put through these ideas in his own sphere, meaning that he is actually a progressive policy-maker. We have to support him so that he in turn sets this agenda in his sphere. There is always a discrepancy, but I know in the case of the current Cultural Secretary for Cultural Affairs, André Schmitz, that he truly has good intentions and not some sort of paternalistic perspective (Shermin Langhoff, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

Through a close reading of Langhoff's experiences, we can appreciate that promoting diversity in the arts requires strategic acts of using the language of diversity within institutional contexts. Langhoff's statement suggests that making a case for "diversity in the arts", "inside, against" and in mutual support with people in cultural policy leadership positions requires the use of different strategies, techniques and vocabularies. Here, we can see that what she calls "the power struggle" demands a switch between these registers, depending on which "allies" or "critics" of "diversity" one addresses. During the conference, these registers ranged from arguing for diversity as a human resource and making a case for diversity management in Berlin's cultural institutions (and avoiding the term "racism"), to demands for more equality and a collective commitment against institutional racism within Berlin's cultural institutions (avoiding the term "diversity management"). Thus, artists of colour in leadership positions who move through different political and institutional spheres of the city, such as Langhoff, and need to negotiate their position and demands by a process that Ahmed describes as follows:

> In order to be heard, you have to take on the values of organizations. To resist taking on such values through one's talk or self-presentation might not do very much, as it can mean that one is dismissed or not heard. So strategy means using the terms that

would allow us to be heard, even when we might critique such terms. The hope of working within institutions is that we can separate our strategies from both intentions and outcomes: that we can 'take on' such terms temporarily to challenge the distribution of power within organizations, but not be taken in by them (Ahmed, 2007: 247).

Turkish German artists, whom are no longer merely confined to a sociocultural position (see Chapters 1 and 4) due to the successful institutional establishment of postmigrant theatre, thus embody the figure of a new model of inclusion in the city's policy sphere, which confirms and simultaneously challenges the branding of the city according to its "ideal-image" (2007: 244) to be a "diverse" and "creative" world city. Having said that, as this chapter has shown, the ways in which cultural diversity in the arts is negotiated and implemented in Berlin's cultural policy and theatre landscape is over the past years closely tied to the emergence and institutionalisation of the postmigrant theatre movement in the city. This development is closely linked to the demand of postmigrant artists to be adequately represented within state-subsidised cultural institutions to which the tax-paying population with a migration background had little access until recently. However, the funding for cultural diversity in the arts in the city of Berlin remains still minimal in comparison to the large high cultural institutions of the city and the municipal authorities have only developed guidelines as to how people with a migration background could be included in state-subsidised cultural institutions and policies that could ensure equal employment chances for racialised artists in publicly funded theatres are still missing. Concurrent with the governmental imperative to "be Berlin" and to "be diverse" and the use of the language of "diversity" in the "creative" world city in cultural policy, one could, as the next chapter shows, simultaneously witness substantial changes in the urban neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, where the majority of the artists of postmigrant theatre live and work. Thus, the next chapter illustrates how the development from "more support and money for doing cultural diversity in the arts" as analysed in this chapter, is linked to "less money to afford a living" due to the gentrification of Kreuzberg, which has changed from a marginalised immigrant neighbourhood into a cosmopolitan and diverse creative quarter of the world city Berlin, thereby leading to the increased marginalisation and precarisation of its (post-) migrant and working class inhabitants.

Chapter 7: Gentrification: Kreuzberg's Becoming a Zoo and Safari Park

In the last chapter I traced the position of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse within Berlin's cultural policy landscape and the negotiations and strategies of the artists to gain legitimacy and funding within the city's cultural policy field. The national celebration of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a success story in implementing diversity in the arts, however, needs to be treated with caution. Whilst diversity has increasingly become a positive affirmation of difference, processes of racialisation and precarisation continue to affect the living and working conditions of the artists working in the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, I illustrated how the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg as a peculiar spatial environment is characterised by different (post-) migrant hi/stories and how the everyday life experiences of its inhabitants are a catalyst for many of the Ballhaus' productions that engage with the history and presence of the district as a migratory space. In this chapter, I present a description and analysis of the transformation of the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, from a marginalised immigrant neighbourhood into a cosmopolitan and diverse creative quarter of the city. This discussion speaks about the experiences and positionality of the artists as inhabitants of a racialised geography. It shows that these artists witness and intervene in contradictory and yet complementary processes of diversification and racialisation, gentrification and precarisation.

In this chapter, the voices of the research participants, notes from the field, policy documents and analysis of media reports examine the living conditions of the postmigrant theatre artists in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg, which has witnessed drastic changes in its social fabric. The main argument here is that the successful establishment of the artists in this neighbourhood and their precarious living and working conditions are closely related to two contradictory and simultaneously intertwined themes. On the one hand, one can observe both the rebranding of Berlin as a creative and culturally diverse city and the urban regeneration of Kreuzberg as a multicultural creative "hot spot" in which diversity becomes a positive asset. On the other hand, one can simultaneously witness a rapid process of gentrification of this racialised neighbourhood with an increasing precarisation of its inhabitants with migration and working class backgrounds.

Postmigrant Bohemia? Gentrification and Artistic Milieus

Processes of gentrification in post-industrial cities have been particularly well-researched in relation to the local concentration of creatives in urban neighbourhoods. Many scholars have argued that the clustering of artists, particularly in urban neighbourhoods, functions as a "seedbed" for gentrification (Krätke, 2011: 188, see also Smiths and Williams, 1986; Atkinson, 2005; Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008). Sharon Zukin in her studies of gentrification processes and the role of artists in the valorisation of previously-declining New York City neighbourhoods (1982, 1995, 2011) suggests that the activities of artists in particular attract commercial forms of gentrification and, through the rise in rents, displace artists in the long run and lead to what Atkinson and Bridge call the moment when "capital captures culture" (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005: 6). Richard Lloyd in his book *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City* (2006) investigates "the interrelations of lived space, subjectivity and instrumental labor in this contemporary period of globalized capitalism and flexible accumulation" (2006: 246). His ethnography traces the changes in the Wicker Park neighbourhood in Chicago and the role and labour of artists in this process. Whereas Lloyd's approach is very similar to mine in investigating the relationship between space, subjectivity, lived experiences and precarious artistic labour, neither race nor the experiences of artists of colour are mentioned in Lloyd's book. This is an eclipse which is quite telling about current research on gentrification and art, especially in a multiracial city like Chicago where the relationship between these processes and the lived experiences of artists of colour would certainly be worth investigating or at least deserves mentioning.

Similar results can be found with regards to studies on gentrification in Berlin. There are only two publications that look at the relationship between gentrification and artists in the city. These are Thomas Dörfler's study "Gentrification in Prenzlauer Berg?: Milieuwandel eines Berliner Sozialraums seit 1989" (Gentrification in Prenzlauer Berg?: Milieu changes in Berlin Social Spaces since 1989) (2010) and Janet Merkel's publication "Kreativquartiere: Urbane Milieus zwischen Inspiration und Prekarität" (Creative Quarters: Urban Milieux between Inspiration and Precarity) (2008). However, both studies look at the East Berliner district of Prenzlauer Berg as the primary site of their research and, again, do not consider race and ethnicity at all. Other than Barbara Lang's remarkable ethnography "Mythos Kreuzberg: Ethnographie eines Stadtteils (1960-1995)" (1998) (The Myth of Kreuzberg: Ethnography of a Neighbourhood (1960-1995)), there are neither quantitative nor qualitative studies with regards to the gentrification of Berlin-Kreuzberg in the context of processes of globalisation (the arrival of the international creative class) and how it affects the

neighbourhood and its population. Nor are there many studies that critically investigate issues of social class or that engage with how processes of globalisation and gentrification affect the inhabitants of neighbourhoods characterised by migration. There is scant analysis of how artists of colour, as a postmigrant bohemia, are situated within what Atkinson and Bridge identify as "the reproduction of a wider set of power relations and contacts which operate at local, urban, regional and international levels" (2005: 7). Stefan Krätke in his book *The Creative Capital of Cities: Interactive Knowledge Creation and the Urbanization Economies of Innovation* (2011) argues that:

> Inner-city districts with older buildings, lower prices, and a large element of mixed uses are usually home to local milieus of artistically creative people and the less well-established cultural economy firms. This local concentration contributes to the unfolding of gentrification processes in respective districts, in which the artistically creative people are functioning as a specific group among the "pioneers" of gentrification. The artists in effect are the explorers and regenerators that bring life to run-down areas and foster the development of support structures such as "cool" pubs and clubs, cafés and restaurants. They then attract a more middle-class clientele who like to live in such trendy, culturally attractive urban quarters. The incomers are particularly attracted by a neighborhood's "ambience of the artist's lifestyle" (Featherstone 1994). Markusen (2006a: 1936), however, has emphasized that "blaming artists for gentrification seems off the mark. […] It is not their wealth that sets off markets and completes the process of neighborhood gentrification. In the crucial zoning and economic development decisions that shape this process, artists are not the protagonists and lobbyists." (Markusen, 2006a cited in Krätke, 2011: 188).

The question of whether artists are or are not "pioneers" of gentrification processes, however, is itself a highly problematic question, as the term "pioneer" is intimately intertwined with colonialism and colonial encounters. The settlement of European "pioneers" subsequent to the "discovery" and colonisation of new territories and people led to violent losses and the displacement of those who were living there before the arrival of the colonisers/European space pioneers (see also Haritaworn, 2012: 18 and the following sections). Thus, the chapter intends to contribute to what is missing in the existing literature about the experiences and role of artists in processes of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods by examining the ways in which race, ethnicity and class matter in how artists of colour contribute to, experience and deal with processes of gentrification.

The Arrival of the Creative Class in Kreuzberg

When Mercedes Bunz published her article "My poverty makes me sick" in the city magazine Zitty in February 2006, one could hear a murmur of relief among Berlin's creative scene.

Finally someone had articulated what many felt: "we are hip, highly qualified, diffusively creative and poor. Urban tramps after all" (2006: 16). Those who work in or investigate the free artistic scene in Berlin are aware of how the numerous theatres and galleries in this arty and edgy city function: through the passion and exploitation of young talent, know-how and the motivation of a large number of artists. These are people who hope to make it in Berlin and so do not shy away from working for very low pay and often for free until maintaining a livelihood based on artistic endeavours becomes almost impossible. The demand for loyalty required by many theatre managers and directors pushes actors to treat their bread-winning jobs as secondary which, in turn, forces them to apply for welfare benefits in order to co-fund their work during productions. Some of those who have experienced constant exploitation with little reward condemn the free art scene and consider quitting Berlin, or their artistic occupation. Others remain hopeful that a large project, a fixed contract in a state theatre, an artist's residency or a more lucrative offer for a commercial project will redeem their bank account, or pay the rent and the health insurance bills for the next months (see also Keuchel, 2010).

Since the early and mid-1990s, after the period of reunification and the end of its exceptional status as a city divided into East and West, Berlin has continued to attract young creatives. These new inhabitants have made use of the public space available in Berlin's central districts such as Kreuzberg, Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg. Berlin is experienced as an edgy, multicultural and alternative space that offers artists the possibility to be creative, to try out new things within its diverse subcultures, as well as in its mainstream public cultural spaces. Experiencing the city as an urban laboratory, in which creative ideas can be realised with little money due to the low living and rental costs, many young people have taken up artistic occupations. From the 1990s onwards, one could observe the emergence of a new social type, that of the cultural entrepreneur, in cities such as London (Davies & Ford, 1999: 9-11) and Berlin (Lange 2007: 19-21). The German sociologist Heinz Bude named this new social type of young cultural entrepreneurs "generation Berlin" (2001), describing these cultural entrepreneurs as economic agents of change in Berlin's troubled economy and labour market. As Bastian Lange points out, the activities of this new generation of cultural entrepreneurs (the setting up of small-scale creative businesses) expand the existing, publicly funded high arts and cultural institutions of the city and develop a micro-economy of their own in the shadow of Berlin's hope for economic growth (2007: 28-30). However, with the beginning of the new millennium, many people of the 1990s generation began to lose their faith in the stabilisation of their own economic situation. The voice of Mercedes Bunz in her

2006 article stands for all those who took up creative occupations in the mid and late 1990s, but had, within a couple of years, found themselves in precarious living and working conditions. These freelancers, artists and cultural producers, without anticipating it at the time, were already exposed to new patterns of flexibility and individual responsibility. What seems from today's perspective a rather normalised condition of work, became, as I stated earlier, normalised in the Federal Republic under the government of the Social Democrat chancellor, Gerhard Schröder. Berlin's creative labourers who endure precarious living and working conditions are rather disillusioned by euphemistic statements such as that of Berlin's Social Democrat mayor Klaus Wowereit, who coined the city's slogan: "Berlin is poor, but sexy".

A stroll around Kreuzberg's cafés, which accommodate the district's creative scene, confirms what Bunz describes as both the opportunity and dilemma of living in Berlin. After finishing her dissertation in Cultural Studies, Bunz returned to Berlin to look for a job and, like many others, grew more disillusioned about her employment prospects and so began to ask her friends, "Why do we live in a city that doesn't feed us?" She received what she calls "the standard answer" that is "the living costs in Berlin are just so low, especially the rents" (Bunz, 2006: 17). A decade after reunification, Kreuzberg had gradually become a more desirable inner city location for the "generation Berlin" (see also Lang, 1998). It was the highly qualified and predominantly White, middle class creatives that Bunz describes in her article who began to rent studios, flats and shops in Kreuzberg's Schlesische Strasse, and who embodied the arrival of a new "creative class" in the rebranded "creative city" of Berlin. Thus, Kreuzberg has witnessed in the past ten years what some authors, such as Richard Florida (2002, 2005), Charles Landry (2000, 2007) and Allan Scott (2006) would call a successful urban regeneration of a vibrant, multicultural neighbourhood. However, as I have outlined in the conceptual framework of this thesis (Chapter 2), there is another story to be told from the perspective of those who do not embody the "somatic norm" (Puwar, 2004: 1) of the creative "professionals of the nation" (von Osten, 2007: 17).

The transformations taking place in Berlin, a post-industrial city strongly affected by industrial decline in the 1990s, and the positionality of Kreuzberg's (postmigrant) artistic scene, need to be understood within the global context of economic restructuring, in which "the cultural industries sector is recognized as one of the few areas of economic growth that the city has since unification" (Kosnick, 2009: 29). As I have described in Chapter 6, this is complemented by high levels of public funding for Berlin's large cultural institutions such as theatres, opera houses, and museums. The ongoing rebranding of Berlin as a cosmopolitan creative capital (Kosnick, 2009; Lanz, 2007) is much inspired by creative city and cultural

diversity programmes such as the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs' "Be Berlin-Be Diverse" series, as well as European Union programmes (Robins, 2006). Kevin Robins, for example, observes "a change of approach towards minorities" on the European policy agenda, stating that whereas in the period after the Second World War

> [t]he minority question in Europe has essentially been about the problem of minority cultures in, and for, the European cultural order. […] Recently, however, in some quarters, there has been something of a discursive shift, in which the language of 'minorities' has begun to be displaced by a new conceptual frame concerned with 'diversity'. […] There are a number of positive developments in this shift. Firstly, […] 'cultural diversity' has come to be regarded, not any longer in the limited – and problematic – terms of otherness presented by minorities, but as a constitutive aspect of all cultural orders and spaces. The category of 'diversity' has helped to normalise difference. Second, the concept of 'diversity' has made it possible to expand mental and imaginative horizons beyond ethnic categorisation […]. And third, it has made it possible to see difference and complexity, no longer as problematic phenomena, but actually as a positive asset and resource for any cultural order. It has validated difference (Robins, 2006).

Yet, it is questionable, as this chapter shows, whether one can join Robins' celebratory announcement of a new era in which diversity normalised "difference" and is indeed a "positive asset and resource" for those marked as embodying ethnic diversity. In the case of Berlin, Johanna Keller's article "Metropolitans and Cosmopolitans" (2005) identifies a rather different shift with regards to the relationship between Berlin as a global creative city and Berlin as a city characterised by diversity:

> The transformation processes since the 1990s and the integration of Berlin into the global market has led to policies that are primarily focusing on the marketability of the city in the context of an international competition among cities. In this context, highly qualified migrants are specifically courted, that shall bring globality to the city, whereas the migration of the majority of those seeking better working and living conditions is still put off as a social problem. […] Berlin endeavours since a couple of years to put an image of world openness and multiculturalism on display (and thereby proving its globality) (Keller, 2005: 66, own translation).

The idea of competing world cities (Florida, 2002, 2005; Landry, 2000, 2007; Scott, 2006) is closely linked with the introduction of the term "diversity" in policy documents, in which racial and ethnic inequalities become invisible and through its introduction racial and ethnic difference are more valuable, signalling change and a positive approach to migration and

race.[82] However, several critical points need to be underlined with regards to the proposed linkage of the concepts of the creative city and cultural diversity. My main points of critique are that: a) the creative city concept overemphasises an economic rationale for cultural diversity, b) neither concept engages sufficiently with local socio-economic and cultural structures, c) nor do they take into account ongoing social tensions and labour divisions within the multiracial city and the urban creative industries, and d) both concepts promote top-down policy approaches and do not account for processes of gentrification that impact on the lived experiences of racialised artists in the urban creative industries. Thus, this study challenges the creative city and diversity paradigm with regards to the operationalisation of diversity for purposes of economic development.

It does so by addressing what is at stake in the concrete setting of Berlin as a city in which creativity and diversity are negotiated in an economic environment marked by artists' highly precarious living and working conditions. The next section provides an account of how the arrival of the postmigrant theatre artists, initially at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, and the establishment of the "creative city" and "cultural diversity" paradigm among cultural policy makers and urban planners in Berlin relate to one another and impact the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. This is particularly with regard to their establishment within Berlin's cultural landscape in general, and in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg in particular.

Kreuzberg's Gentrification: The Postmigrant Precariat and the Cosmopolitan National and International Hipster Scene

The urban sphere, who inhabits it, and in what ways, were also central concerns for the "Be Berlin – Be Diverse" conference, as participants were asked to identify their vision for the future of diversity in Berlin. Andreas Freudenberg, former director of the Werkstatt der Kulturen and co-organiser of the conference, described how participants answered the question of what visions they had for the future of Berlin in relation to cultural diversity in the arts. He stated that:

> There were two trends in particular that the participants identified. The more optimistic people said that the trend is, that the topic of the intercultural opening won't play a role anymore in 20 to 50 years, due to the demographic changes in German society, increasingly globalised networks and technological innovations […]. The more pessimistic trend was that the city will fall apart and the question of poverty and

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[82] A similar approach of positive affirmation of difference as diversity in multicultural creative cities can also be found in Terkessidis, M. (2010) *Interkultur*. Berlin, Suhrkamp.

economic and social development will drift apart even more. The gap will become bigger and a core of well-situated middle class people will exist, a small minority that can afford everything and is self-evidently internationally mobile, has international cultural and artistic expertise that corresponds with the offers of Berlin's arts institutions. The rest of Berlin's population, however, will be less and less interested in arts and culture and the city's district won't be able to afford cultural offerings anymore on a professional level, so that the degree of professionalism will decline in the periphery and more voluntary labour will flow into artistic and cultural practices. The population structure in poorer or economically weaker urban areas will become more homogenous, leading to more ghettoisation. These two trends in my perspective really complement each other. If you look at gentrification processes, you can observe these complimentary trends already quite well (Andreas Freudenberg, personal interview, 26.02.2010, own translation).

How can we understand the situatedness of the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement within these two visions that are here described as complimentary trends? In the last section, I traced the beginnings of this new wave of Turkish German artists from its early initiation at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in Kreuzberg and the relevance of this particular geography and its inhabitants for the uneasy arrival of the postmigrant artists in the realm of established institutional contexts. I have pointed out how distinctions between authchtonous, international and migrant artists play out in this particular setting and illustrated the ways in which postmigrant artists respond and negotiate their position in two spheres: that of the theatre and that of cultural policy. The following chapter extends the focus of the previous chapter into the urban space and what Andreas Freudenberg described as the gentrification and "ghettoisation" of the city, in particular that of Kreuzberg.

However, it is less the national creative scene and mainly the newly arrived international creative class (many of whom are English-speaking) who are seen as the new "pioneers" who have turned Kreuzberg into a "cool" place. They have discovered Kreuzberg as their hot new residence on a global map, using the same argument of "the rents are so cheap here" and yet exemplifying dramatic changes in the neighbourhood's fabric. The gentrification of Kreuzberg accelerated by the arrival of a new cosmopolitan creative scene has not only led to the rise of rents and the privatisation of social housing, but has also attracted affluent and often international investors who buy up whole housing blocks in the neighbourhood (see also Hollersen and Mingels, 2012). Following the observation that "gentrification today must be seen in the context of globalisation" (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005: 6), the flow of a new globally-mobile creative class into the city, working temporarily in Berlin's cultural industries and settling down in districts such as Kreuzberg, is facilitated by its relatively cheap square metre prices for its large period apartments in comparison to those

in other so-called creative cities such as London, Paris and Los Angeles.

Thus, it is the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg as a site in which local, urban, regional and international power relations are negotiated in the everyday lives of its inhabitants and in the political sphere of cultural policy, that both affect the living and working conditions of the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse who reside and work in the midst of these developments. The dynamic relationship between processes of globalisation and gentrification have created, in the case of Kreuzberg, a scenario in which the Turkish German population and the alternative political activist scene seem to be increasingly less part of the fabric of the neighbourhood and increasingly more figures of a mise-en-scène that adds a particular cosmopolitan flair (see also Kosnick, 2009: 29-30).

The Myth of Kreuzberg: Racialised Bodyscape and Cultural Centre of Turkish German Life

For over four decades, Kreuzberg was home to far less affluent inhabitants: leftists, drop outs and particularly people of Turkish descent, who moved into the district's abandoned flats after its previous working class residents were relocated within new housing developments in north western West Berlin from the late 1960s onwards (see Eichstädt in Göktürk et al, 2007: 354). The traditionally working class eastern part of Kreuzberg around Kottbusser Tor and Schlesisches Gate, known by its old postcode SO36, was, until the fall of the Berlin Wall, a centre of Turkish German life and "a kind of utopia for all those who did not want to be part of the mainstream" (see also Lange, 1998: 18). Similar to other neighbourhoods inhabited by visible minorities (such as New York's Harlem, a centre of Black and Latino social and cultural life in the United States),[83] Kreuzberg became an iconic and contested place of social class, multiculturalism and belonging in Germany (Mandel, 2008: 141-154). An article published in the political magazine "Der Spiegel" in the summer of 1973 entitled "The Turks

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[83] For an account of the East Harlem, Latino cultural productions in the neighbourhood and the relationship between space, identity and agency see Enck-Wanzer, D. (2011) *Tropicalizing East Harlem: Rhetorical Agency, Cultural Citizenship, and Nuyorican Cultural Production*, in Communication Theory 21 (2011), 344-367. There is a myriad of publications about the Black cultural history of Harlem, about the artists as well as the heritage of the Harlem Renaissance, see for example Huggins, N. I. (2007) [first published in 1971] *Harlem Renaissance*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. A recently published historical account of Harlem, tracing various historical migration movements into Harlem is written by Gill, J. (2012) Harlem: *The Four Hundred Year History from Dutch Village to Capital of Black America*. New York, Grove Press. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's new book *Harlem* (2013) traces the major economic developments and the gentrification of Harlem over the past two decades by engaging with the photographs of Alice Attie, who portraits the people and buildings of Harlem whose everday life experiences are characterised by gentrification and the influx of large chain stores replacing small businesses and public art (such as memorials) in the neighbourhood, see Spivak, G. C. (2013) *Harlem*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press; Attie, A. (2003) *Harlem on the Verge*. New York, The Quantuck Lane Press.

are coming! Save yourself if you can!" speaks to how national political elites and the media created an atmosphere of controversy regarding the arrival of Turkish migrants in Kreuzberg, contributing to the neighbourhood becoming a contested and racialised space of a fixed national and simultaneously transnational migratory imagery:

> The pub at Kottbusser Gate was once the stuff of authentic Kreuzberg: a corner storefront, Berliner Kindl Beer, beef sandwiches, a banking club in the back room. These days, there is lamb spit rotating on a vertical axis at the counter, the coffee is sweet and translucent, and Oriental sing-song is coming from the music box […] How naturally the phrase *Turkish ghetto* rolls off the tongues of city-council members and politicians alike. Back when he was mayor of Munich, Hans-Peter Vogel, now federal housing minister, observed that "a small Harlem has developed here." Indeed, this nightmare is still upon us: a city of marginal groups, condemned to the chronic malaise of apathy amid racial conflict, criminality, and dilapidated buildings. The first Harlem symptoms are already visible. In the eroding sectors of German cities, "a new subproletariat is growing in which the seed of social diseases is sown," says Judge Franz […] Perhaps the warnings are coming too late. Heeding the Kreuzberg slogan "Save yourself if you can," a few thousand residents are now setting their sights on new districts. The cities themselves, however, cannot escape (Göktürk et al., 2005: 110-111).[84]

Apart from its bold racist polemic, it is interesting to note that the article echoes a recurring theme throughout Turkish German migration history, evident most recently in Thilo Sarazzin's publications (see also Chapter 4 and 5) that address Turkish labour migrants as a "subproletariat" in reference to Marx's idea of the lumpenproletariat. Marx classifies the proletarians as workers who, having nothing else available to them but to sell their labour power to the capitalist, become the revolutionary class. He defines the subproletariat or lumpenproletariat as those at the bottom of the working class, the unemployed and the unemployable, who are excluded from the industrial wage labour system, in other words from capitalist social relations (see Thoburn, 2003: 58-61). Marx was suspicious of the subproletariat as he regarded this strata of society as lacking class consciousness and easy to recruit to counterrevolutionary, reactionary causes. Critical race scholars suggest, that "those who study the interface of class and race, however, are more likely to identify the subproletariat with racial minorities, who represent the most oppressed (and therefore most potentially radical) sector of the working class" (Koditschek et al., 2009: 322). Others, such as

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[84] The original article published under its German title "Die Türken kommen- rette sich wer kann" was published in *Der Spiegel*, 31/1973, 30.07.1973. See: <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41955159.html> [Accessed: 09.10.2012]. The translation is from the sourcebook *Germany in Transit* (2005) by Göktürk, D., Gramling, D. and Kaes, A. eds., 110-111.

the historian and precarity activist Alex Foti, go so far as to claim that "the precariat is to postindustrialism as the proletariat was to industrialism" (Alex Foti, 2004 cited in *Mute* Volume II, Issue #0, Introduction, 2005: 8) or to equate the precariat with the subproletariat.

Yet, as I have argued earlier, we cannot think about labour and precarity in (post-) industrial Western societies without accounting for the history of (labour) migration. As the quote from the "Spiegel" article shows, the myth of the "subproletarian" migrant circulates within an oppressive narrative in which a mythical figure of a "subproletarian Turkish German migrant" is deployed for the reproduction of social hierarchies along the lines of class, race and gender. The figure of the subproletarian Turk is a myth as, in fact, Turkish German labour migrants particularly in the 1970s could only acquire residency permits via proof of contracted work. Hence, to follow Marx's terms, they were not subproletarian but proletarian. Furthermore, the figure of the "subproletarian Turk" also acquires a mythical character through the disembodied and invisible white German gaze of the author of the article and the other people quoted therein. The visibility of Turkish German culture and the racialised subproletarian body located in a racialised geography thus serves to foster the reproduction of binary oppositions between centre and margin, between the universalised subject of the proletarian-now-precarious labourer and in particular, the minoritised object of the subproletarian migrant. Nearly forty years after the publication of "Der Spiegel" article and the course of the development of a positive affirmation of "cultural diversity in the creative city" as described previously, Kreuzberg, however, remains a racialised geography and bodyscape.

Mapping Racialised Space

How are spaces, such as Berlin-Kreuzberg, racialised and how does race become spatialised? In order to answer this question, I bring my examination of how bodies become racialised and the mapping of "cultural diversity in the creative city" together with aspects of Said's concept of Orientalism and the trope of the "ghetto" as it appears within more recent German discourses about Berlin-Kreuzberg. The Turkish German ethnographer, Ayşe Çağlar, argues that the trope "ghetto" as it is used in Germany:

> [It] is a root metaphor of German political culture […], which situates minorities in stigmatised ethno-cultural sites in the city, confines the frameworks and the terminology of immigration debates and the representation of immigrants in the social imaginary in Germany. The ghetto trope of immigrant discourse in Berlin reduces the

inscription of difference and belonging in urban space to a simple model of seclusion based on ethnic ties (Çağlar, 2001: 601).

How can we understand this trope of the racial "ghetto" that exists alongside the rebranding of Berlin districts, such as Kreuzberg, as hip, multicultural hotspots? How can urban studies and urban planning approach the impact of gentrification in cultural quarters with a large migrant population, when this migrant population remains from the perspective of most researchers a homogenous and silenced entity? (see also Keith, 2005). One way of understanding this is to ascertain how the image of Kreuzberg has been created in German public discourse, an area which, since the 1960s, has been famous not only for its alternative scene, but also as "little Istanbul", an imaginary exclave of the Orient on German territory. How can Kreuzberg become "little Istanbul" and the "ghetto"? Why are its inhabitants only a silenced entity in research? In "Orientalism" (1978), Said argues that Westerners who might never have been to Middle Eastern regions or have met anybody from there have a preconceived notion about the "Orient" as they perceive it through various mediated sources. The same is the case, I would argue, with the racialised space of Berlin-Kreuzberg. Said further argues that the way in which knowledge about the "Orient" is acquired is neither innocent nor objective, but a reflection of certain interests and motivations. He states that the Western gaze warps the actual reality of Middle Eastern countries and people as dangerous and threatening. Similarly, Maria Stehle argues that this resonates with the narratives about contemporary ghettoised spaces in Europe. The "ghetto" trope, she states, describes a racialised space with "explicit references to religion, age, violence, and gender" (Stehle, 2006: 48-50). However, what is left out of these discourses is that living beyond white geographies can also mean "a space of resistance to political oppression, social inequality, and racism" (2006: 48-51). Thus an engagement with this space of resistance is necessary by giving attention to the narratives of its racialised and often silenced inhabitants. In this chapter, these inhabitants are present throughout through the voices of the protesters at Kotti & Co and of the Turkish German artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, who are living and working in Kreuzberg (see the final two sections of this chapter).

To return to Said's statement and the discourse it creates, the Western gaze that he calls Orientalism is a discursive power, which takes away the humanity and diversity of the people of the Middle East and other non-Western bodies. This is a gaze that is

never far away from…the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying "us" Europeans as against all "those" non-Europeans, and indeed it can be argued that the

major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures (Said, 1978: 7).

This idea of Europe as a white bodyscape and an imperial and colonial power is based on the idea of "subordination and settlement of space" (1978: 218). So we have to think about the imperial project as not only the subordination of racialised bodies, but also a spatial project. Jane Margaret Jacobs states in her book *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (1996) that contemporary geographers have examined "the role of cartographic constructions in the building of empires" (1996: 3). Maps served as "imaginative geographies of Reason" that "regulated, bounded and secured space as precondition for the embodied occupations which followed and the subsequent incorporation of these territories into the global power grid of empire" (1996: 4). With the arrival of postcolonial and labour migrants, as well as refugees from non-Western countries to the European metropolis such as Berlin, former white geographies became the "place of our meeting with the other" (Barthes, 1981: 96). In the case of Kreuzberg, these meetings take place in an urban environment characterised by spatial and racial segregation; a space that is interwoven with memories of racism and "the legacies of imperialist ideologies and practices" (Jacobs, 1996: 4). What I want to argue here is that these cartographic practices have also helped inform the production of the known space of the "ghetto" as a racialised space in European nation states, and that the accumulation of knowledge about its inhabitants reveals the continuity of the production of white supremacy and the racialisation of bodies. There is a "struggle for control over territory" (Said, 1995: 332) in these racialised spaces and, I would argue, an additional struggle for control over racialised as well as gendered and classed bodies.

Conducting research into the cultural industries consists, in many accounts, of exactly this mapping exercise to identify creative clusters and networks. Therefore, it is important to point out that this research does not to intend to reproduce "control over territory" and hence does not intend to produce a map of the racialised space of Berlin-Kreuzberg. In contrast to this, my study critically outlines the current state of the creative city and its cultural diversity paradigm. This also involves examining how policy implications foster and/or restrict the living and working conditions of bodies and geographies marked as "creative" and "diverse", such as those of the Turkish German artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in Kreuzberg. This approach provides a horizontal perspective by giving space for the voices of the artists and activists in Kreuzberg and emphasising their lived experiences in the racialised spaces they inhabit.

More contemporary German media examples that I have analysed for this research project illustrate how the mainstream discourse about the Turkish German "underclass" produces "racialised" bodies and spaces in relation to naturalised and white "German bodies" that influence the lived experiences and the perception of Turkish German artists at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. One of these is a report about the Berlin-Kreuzberg quarter near to the Wrangelstrasse, which compares its inhabitants with the people in the French banlieux. It was written by Nina Apin, a white German journalist and published in the left-liberal newspaper "die tageszeitung" and is entitled "On Ghettokids and Faggot Germans" (2006):

> The idyll in Kreuzberg's Wrangelhood is fragile these days. Still all too present for all is what happened here last week. Around eighty to a hundred angry inhabitants – the numbers vary – hassled and insulted policemen who had arrested two twelve year olds [...] The violent outbreaks in the Wrangelhood, where forty percent of the inhabitants are migrants, agitate the mind. Is the district out of control, it is asked? Is it becoming a space outside legal jurisdiction? The comparison with the French banlieux is quickly made, where one year ago violent youths rioted… the trigger was the racist exposure of the police with young suspects (Apin, 2006).

The "die tageszeitung" report allows the reader to visualise the space. At first, it is called an "idyll" but then the "angry" inhabitants, pointed out as migrants, interrupt this idyll. Their bodies, numerous in this space, are immediately associated with danger. It is not anymore the imaginary space of whiteness. The gaze of the reporter fixing the bodies of the migrants is already involved in the production of that "otherness" linked with "violence". There is no questioning, no hint, of whose minds are agitated and who is asking the question of whether the district is "out of control". Whiteness appears as the somatic norm (Puwar, 2004: 1); it is invisible, only a background to the described action, unmarked as a racial position. As Richard Dyer states: "At the level of racial representation […] whites are not of a certain race, they're just the human race" (Richard Dyer, 1997: 3). Furthermore, it is suggested that the space is without legal jurisdiction, although it is clear that the police are present. But this is all just an introduction, the background to the "real story". The "real" investigation of the two white journalists is to create, for the reader, a map of a racialised bodyscape. As the article continues:

> "Ghetto!," the Turkish owner of the Internet café bristles. 'Here everything is easy'[...] He starts to count all those he knows in the area. The boy injured at his school…the frightening, muscular black rapper Desodogg with his tattooed prison tears, who just enters the door…and the 23 years old who was arrested by the police last week. Mehmet is his name. He is wearing a toby collar and has a bloodshot eye [...] Mehmet

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is now a star in the 'hood. The police, he says, barked at him: "go back to your country". And the officers, he says, beat him. That it shall have been exactly like that, that would testify to Mehmet's injuries and descriptions that count more here than every newspaper report (Apin, 2006, own translation).

The visual co-ordinates of the bodies and narrative continuity of the story become here the required evidence to support a gender and racial identity via the detailed observations of these selected bodies. All these people of colour; the café owner, the absent school student, the black rapper Desodogg[85] and Mehmet, the Muslim, probably a Turkish boy, are only bodily characters, "degenerate types" (Bhabha, 1994: 101). Their mere representation, cited in the name of all non-German, non-white inhabitants is, as Fanon says, "sealed into a crushing objecthood" (1986: 109). A "racial epidermal schema" (1989: 112), the dark skin is doubly marked out as knowledge about their race and gender identities directly linked to crime ("tattooed prison tears") and violence (toby collar, bloodshot eye). The incident that explains Mehmet's injuries is told questioningly, as though he might have made it up and that maybe the white German policemen are not responsible for what had happened to his body. Here the "racialised" body becomes highly visible and invisible at once (Puwar, 2004: 59), bearing the "burden of doubt" (2004: 59), he has to prove himself because he has no authority or competence and is just an object in the eyes of the white German journalists and readers:

> The Wrangelhood is a social ghetto, says Marcus Staiger, owner of the hip hop label Royal Bunker…illiterate families, bad schools, lacking perspectives… The descendants of the factory workers and bargainers would have the feeling that they are excluded from labour and consumer society. In return, the solidarity between each other is all the stronger, a certain victim attitude is simply their attitude to life (Apin, 2006, own translation).

Marcus Staiger, a white German music label owner for Berlin's rap underground, becomes the authoritative voice of the article, the person introduced as the "insider" in the mission of gaining knowledge about the territory and its people living in a "social ghetto". He is the man who has the knowledge and authority to say what is "really" happening. According to his statement, the journalists specify what the "feelings" of these 'racialised' bodies – the inhabitants of Kreuzberg – would be as they are seen to lack the authority to speak for themselves, thus constructing them as essentialised "others". The journalists work in the logic

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[85] The German magazine *Der Spiegel* reports in the year 2014 that the former rapper Desodogg, whose real name is Denis Cuspert, who, after his conversion to Islam, is going by the name Abu Talha al-Almani joined the Sunni jihadist group ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) in Syria (Sydow, 2014).

of racial binaries in which, as Radhika Mohanram states, "the white man transcends and transforms the body into will and rationale, a perception and a perspective, whereas the black man embodies the body" (1999: 27). These "racialised" bodies are caught up in historicity as "descendants of the factory workers and bargainers". Racism, racial segregation and injustice disappear in this "ghetto" imaginary, although differently to the ways in which they disappear in debates about "cultural diversity". Here, causality is twisted around in the production of racialised spaces and bodies, in which ethnicities serve as "cultural inscriptions of group identity" (Ahmed, 2002: 46) and appear as collective choices of those "foreign" inhabitants that "have [a] victim attitude" as "their attitude to life". Hence, the economic rationale that we can find in the debate about cultural diversity in the creative city disappears and is substituted by a class narrative that victimises those who are the "losers" of the transformation from the industrial to the knowledge-led economy of Berlin.

In this interpretation a positive affirmation of ethnic identity and bodily subjectivity given the living and working conditions of people of colour and Turkish Germans in Kreuzberg is not a consideration for the white journalist, but they point out instead an assumed unhabitability of living in the neighbourhood. The reason why the article is entitled "Faggot-Germans" is not explained in the text. The reader shall connect for him/herself that the described male and "racialised" bodies of Desodogg, Mehmet and the other "figures" stand for the homophobia related to Black and Muslim bodies. When we read this article it is unsurprising that it appeared during the German debate about the introduction of the "Muslimtest"[86] in the federal state of Baden-Württemberg. In this sense it is used to construct the idea that Christian European societies have overcome the discrimination of queer subjects by identifying and constructing Muslims as a threat for "sexual and cultural diversity" (see also Haritaworn, 2012).

Bringing this back to the initial question of how mainstream discourse about the The Turkish German "underclass" influences the lived experiences and the perception of the artists who participated in my study, the linkage between Muslim/Turkish masculinity, homophobia and Germanophobia expressed in the title "Faggot German" is an issue which

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[86] The so-called 'Muslimtest' was introduced in 2006 by the federal state government of Baden-Württemberg as a guideline questionnaire for Muslims who apply for the German citizenship. The guideline contains questions to the personal attitude of the candidates such as: "If your son would come to you and say, that he is homosexual and wants to live together with a man, how would you react?" or "In Germany various politicians officially said that they are homosexual. What do you think about it, that in Germany homosexuals hold on public offices?" In case, that the documented and signed answers would show in the judgement of the naturalisation officer a opinion, which confirms the religious motivated discrimination of homosexuals, citizenship rights are not permitted or can be detracted to any time (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.01.2006).

the male artists I have spoken with experience as negatively influencing the way they are perceived as Turkish German men and by the German mainstream media and white German colleagues. In one of these interviews, the theatre director Erpulat describes this situation in which he finds himself:

> Somehow these discourses about homophobia and Turkish masculinity, consciously or subconsciously direct my career paths. When I was studying, one of my female German lecturers thought I would be one of those macho guys and she treated me like shit. At the time, she didn't know I was gay. It doesn't really matter if I am gay or not, but somehow today, when I try to enter the market as a theatre director, the artistic directors want me to do something with that topic and the media loves it! So I produced this play called "Jenseits - bist du schwul oder bist du Türke" (Beyond - Are You Gay or Are You A Turk) and it was a huge success. I don't really want to do it, but it seems as if there is a big discussion in Germany about homophobia in the Turkish community, that this is the only way I can make a name for myself, as the Turkish gay director. But I would rather be just a director. Being gay actually has advantages, somehow, because as a Turkish man you always have to defend yourself, that you are not macho and don't hate women, gays and Germans. But if you are gay and Turkish, you are much better than a Turk. I call this two minuses make a half plus. That's my theory. If you are a Turkish man, then you get all these clichés. But if you are a gay Turk, you get totally different reactions, all of a sudden everything is easy. When you are gay, they don't even see you as a proper Turk "oh you are so integrated", because the German society thinks, that they are sooo not homophobic and so civilised, so you fit in with them (Nurkan Erpulat, personal interview, 05.07.2007, own translation).

Thus, we can see that the mapping of racialised spaces, such as Kreuzberg, and as practiced by the German media reports detailed here, go hand in hand with the production and measurement of racialised bodies of people of colour and Turkish Germans who embody danger and a threat on German territory as "matter out of place" (Douglas, 1995: 44). What this mapping exercise reveals is a "struggle for control over territory" (Said, 1995: 332) that appears to be invaded by bodies, that cannot be assimilated, bodies that must be fixed and brought back under control. The white bodies of the narrators stay invisible in the narratives of the "ghetto" and whiteness only appears when it is an agent for governmental power, as the example of the Muslim tests show, that "prove" the emancipation of the West and point out those who serve as a "threat" to civilisation: Black male bodies, Muslim male bodies, fixed by this particular white gaze. Whiteness is constructed here by investigating the racialised spaces addressed as the "ghetto", so that it becomes invisible as the powerful "somatic norm" (Puwar, 2004: 1). White bodies appear as those with a voice, as authorised "insiders", subjects. The objects of the investigations, the inhabitants of Kreuzberg, appear as mere representations and are constructed as abjected bodies associated with "inhabitability", victimhood and danger,

anger and filth. And yet, the final statement from the theatre director and inhabitant of Kreuzberg, Nurkan Erpulat that I have just quoted from, shows that those marked as racialised subjects develop their own strategies and that include using the mark as marketing, to cope with this conflicted situation.

In this section I have traced the embodied gentrification of Kreuzberg as an ongoing process of encounters along the lines of race, class and gender in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg where most of the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement live and work. The following two sections provide a description and analysis of the responses of Kreuzberg's racialised and working class inhabitants to gentrification and subsequently examine how the artists are positioned within this contested geography and how they in particular respond to the current changes in the neighbourhood.

Zoo and Safari Park: How Working Class Turkish German Artists Experience the Gentrification of their Neighbourhood

Most of the Turkish German artists who work in postmigrant theatre productions and with whom I have spoken over the years call Kreuzberg their home. That the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse is located in Kreuzberg shows how the institution and its artists are closely intertwined with this particular geography and its Turkish German history. What happens in this neighbourhood affects the people working at postmigrant theatre and what the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement do also happens to affect the neighbourhood. Kreuzberg as a peculiar spatial environment is characterised by different (post-) migrant hi/stories and the everyday lived experiences of its inhabitants are a catalyst for many of the Ballhaus' productions that engage with the history and presence of the district as a migratory space. Thus, this section draws on close-up personal accounts of the artists given how their experiences relate to social inequality within neighbourhood and institutional geographies.[87]

The Kurdish-German theatre director and filmmaker Miraz Bezar directed the plays "Das Märchen vom letzten Gedanken" (2009), one episode of "§301 – Die Beleidigte Nation" (2012) as well as one site-specific video installation at the "Kahvehane: Turkish Delight, German Fright" (2008) at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Bezar was born in 1971 in Turkey's capital city Ankara to Kurdish Turkish parents

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[87] Whereas most studies of inequality, as Schwalbe et al. point out are "largely defined as the study of its measurable extent, degree, and consequences [...] [i]t is no less important, however, to understand the interactive processes through which inequalities are created and reproduced in concrete settings" (Schwalbe et.al., 2000: 419).

who re-migrated to Germany after the Turkish military coup in 1980. Growing up in Bremen from the age of nine, he went to primary and secondary school in Tenevar, a large housing estate on the eastern outskirts of Bremen with a large working class and migrant population. When I visited Tenevar in 2004, working, coincidentally, on an anti-racism project with the secondary school Bezar attended, it strongly reminded me of the banlieux on the outskirts of Paris. He moved to Berlin in 1994 when he was accepted into the film directing programme at the prestigious Deutsche Film and Fernseh Akademie Berlin (German Film and Television Academy Berlin, see also Chapter 5). Many years later, on a sunny day in May 2011, Bezar and I sat together in his one bedroom flat on a beautiful tree-lined street near Kottbusser Gate to record our conversation about his biography, his career as a film and theatre director and why he chose to live in Kreuzberg. For Bezar, Kreuzberg was his "dream location", when he moved to the neighbourhood in 2000. "It was always like my garden, because there were so many of my kind. Back then there was a beautiful neighbourhood atmosphere". But, as Bezar also told me, Kreuzberg's social composition gradually started to change when tourist buses began to pass through the neighbourhood and, concurrently, new international creatives increasingly began to inhabit the place.

> Initially the buses didn't stop. Like on a safari they took photos of us from the windows of the buses. But then the tourists began to disembark to sniff the alien multicultural air. Today the tourists account for the majority of people on the streets of the neighbourhood, especially at the weekends. Nowadays, we, the local neighbours retreat and observe the tourists like on a safari. Whilst and although you still hear everywhere that Kreuzberg is thought of as problem zone of what they call failed multiculturalism, everyone wants to move here and that is what makes me simply angry (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

The trope of the "safari" used in Bezar's account is a trope in a double sense. It points, on the one hand, to how the racialised neighbourhood becomes part of a new bodily regime of performativity and a scopic regime of visibility (see also Keith, 2005: 252). Turned into a wildlife park by those who Bezar identifies as tourists in buses, he spoke about his own experiences of dehumanisation and being watched like an animal. Yet, as he stated regarding what happened with their arrival on the streets, the trope was being altered in his perspective as the gaze of the racialised inhabitants began to operate on the bodies of the tourists. In Bezar's account, the arrival of tourists was not directly linked to the arrival of a new international creative class, that according to "visit Berlin", a tourism website, gives "the

metropolis a whole new shine" (Visit Berlin, 2012).[88] He experienced the arrival of this new wave of international artists as an enrichment of the neighbourhood as it connects different transnational trajectories, that of the racialised migrant artists and of the cosmopolitan creatives with one another. Yet, he also noted that these temporary settlers began to make use of the resources of the city, such as its studio spaces, artist residencies and other platforms for artists without giving much in return.

> Whereas in the past Turkish was the second most spoken language on the streets, it is now coming after English, Spanish and Italian. That has something beautiful about it if it could be something lasting, but unfortunately these people don't stay here and don't leave anything permanent in the city (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2012).

Many of the participants in my study, who are artists based in Kreuzberg, confirmed Bezar's observations. Another white female documentary filmmaker and visual artist, who has lived for many years in Kreuzberg, said that the booming international visual arts scene's use of local resources without giving much back in return is a major issue for those who have fought for decades to establish these resources in the neighbourhood (anonymised interview, 05.05.2012). However, in theatre, the situation is different to the visual arts as theatre *per se* relies much more on collaborative practices and, hence, is not as much about the individual artists' work (and its reliance on finding resources) than about a collective process of production.

It is worth noting, however, that, in the visual arts, many international artists based for a longer duration in Berlin become more and more politically organised in the campaign against exploitative working conditions in the city's creative industries.[89] In the early summer of 2012, for example, I received an email from an artist based in New York City who introduced herself as part of the artists' collective "Occupy Museums" that participated at the 7th Berlin Biennale in June 2012.[90] The Biennale curators and the Occupy Museum artists were both heavily criticised for instrumentalising and curating a social movement such as "Occupy" in the context of an arts biennale. The Occupy Museums artist, who contacted me, found an article of mine about racialised creative labour in cognitive capitalism (Kömürcü

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[88] It is worthwhile to read how the website "Visit Berlin" aims to attract not only tourists, but also the international arts scene in following press release: <http://press.visitberlin.de/en/news-release/gallery-scene-in-the-art-capital-berlin> [Accessed 12.10.2012].
[89] See for example ArtLeaks, an artist and activist collective based in Berlin (and other cities): <http://art-leaks.org> [Accessed 16.10.2012].
[90] A personal account of one of the "Occupy Museum" artists can be found on <http://www.noahfischer.org/project/ows/38428> [Accessed 16.10.2012].

Nobrega, 2010), which was an early draft of this chapter and said that the group would like to read it during their stay in Berlin. In this way, my research also became part of a group of international artists, for whom Berlin is a transitory space. Writing a PhD thesis in English at an internationally well-known institution thus points to my own uneasy position as my life changed from a formerly precarised (post-) migrant freelancer with a working class background in Berlin into a precarious cosmopolitan academic based in London.

Returning to Kreuzberg and its changes which has become, increasingly, a transit zone for international artists has serious repercussions for its racialised minority artists, Bezar described his experiences of gentrification in the neighbourhood as follows:

> Because of the attractive location, more and more flats are transformed into vacation apartments. In the house where I rent a flat, there are about four or five of them now. That's why for two years my neighbours are constantly changing and the sound level caused by music and parties has made this usually quiet neighbourhood impossible to live in. The attractiveness of the neighbourhood of course increases the level of rents and also allows the landlords to charge more and more. At present, I can't identify myself with Kreuzberg as strongly anymore, specifically because of the rent prices. That the rents in a middle class district like Charlottenburg are nowadays even lower than in Kreuzberg is a disturbing situation. My neighbour, for example, who lives on the same floor with a same sized apartment has to pay about 100 Euros more than me. When my graduated rent contract ends at the end of this year, I expect a similar rise. I doubt that I can continue to live here (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

The rise of rental prices in Kreuzberg affects nearly all of the artists with working class and migration backgrounds negatively as they worry about the scenario of eventually being forced to leave Kreuzberg, as described in the quote above. The living conditions of the artists are substantially negatively affected as an increasingly higher proportion of their low income is spent on rental costs. When I asked Bezar to calculate for me how much of his monthly income he spent for his rent he told me: "I don't have a regular income, but when I calculate my annual income I have an average monthly income of 850 Euros. My rent without utility bills comes to 426 Euros. So it's 50 percent that I spend just on my rent". Bezar's life situation applied to the majority of the artists who told me that they would spend around 50 percent of their monthly income or their social benefits on their rent (not including utility bills). This data[91] is based on my in-depth interviews with the Ballhaus artists and suggests

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[91] These data are not meant to be representative, as I did not conduct a survey that would provide insights regarding the income and housing costs of either all artists who have worked in the past four years at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse or even all artists who live in Kreuzberg. A statistical survey, hence, would be required to prove the statistical validity of this ethnographic study.

that there is an increasing precarisation and pauperisation which particularly affects racialised artists who live as singles in Kreuzberg, either in single occupancy or shared flats.

However, surprisingly few of the younger artists (between the age of 20 and 30), complained during our interviews about their situation, stating that they could still afford to live on a low budget in Berlin. After a sold-out guest performance of "Verrücktes Blut" at the Pfalzbau Theatre in Ludwigshafen (see also Chapter 5), I spoke with Tamer Arslan, one of the young actors who enjoyed the curious questions and the admiration of the remaining audience outside the venue. When everybody had left, I asked him what he made of his financial situation and what strategies he had to make a living in the future. He replied with a smile: "Well, I try to get as many jobs in film and television as possible, because then I earn more money than in theatre. It's not enough to make a living, but luckily I still live at my mum's" (Tamer Arslan, personal interview, 25.04.2012, own translation). Due to a lack of comparative data on age, professional occupation, income and financial living costs among artists with a migration background and white non-migrant artists in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, my observations, however, need further investigation. Existing data about the poverty at-risk rate among Kreuzberg's population with a migration background suggests that the number of artists with such backgrounds in precarious financial circumstances is probably higher than among white artists, who are generally considered as coming from middle class backgrounds (see also Lloyd, 2006: 181). In the case of the Turkish German artists I spoke with, the majority could not rely on inherited or accumulated family wealth. According to the Central Statistics Office Berlin-Brandenburg (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2011),[92] the at-risk-of-poverty rate[93] for Berlin in the year 2010 was much higher among the population with a migration background,[94] with a rate of 27.1 percent compared to that of the non-migrant German population with a rate of 11.6 percent. Among the twelve Berliner districts, the at-risk-of-poverty rate for the non-migrant German population was second highest in Kreuzberg with a rate of 17.8 percent (Neukölln, the neighbouring district to Kreuzberg, where some of the artists also live, being on the top with 18.5 percent among the non-migrant population). Among the Kreuzberg population from a migration background, the rate amounted to 32.2 percent. Thus, nearly a quarter of the

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[92] Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg. Pressemitteilung Nr. 415 vom 16 Dezember 2011. <http://www.statistik-berlin.de/pms/2011/11-12-16e.pdf> [Accessed 19.10.2012].
[93] The at-poverty-risk rate is an indicator for the measurement of relative income poverty and is defined as the proportion of people whose income is less than 60 percent of the average per capita income. The results of the study of the Statistical Office were calculated on the basis of the micro census.
[94] See Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion about the category "migration background".

district's inhabitants from a migration background live in a precarious financial situation (see Chapter 5 for more details on income disparities in Berlin's artistic labour market).

The film and theatre director Neco Çelik witnessed over four decades of Kreuzberg's history, from its decline to its current revival. The biography and films of Çelik gained him the reputation of being the "Spike Lee of Kreuzberg" in a "New York Times" article in 2003 (Bernstein, 2003). He spent his formative years as a school dropout, graffiti artist and member of the Kreuzberg's Turkish German youth gang "36 boys", after which Celik later built a career as a filmmaker while working as a social worker at the well-known youth centre Naunynritze, just across the street of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, an iconic place in the 1980s and 1990s given its affiliation with Kreuzberg's migrant youth, Turkish German hip hop and gang culture.[95] Çelik came to prominence as an autodidact filmmaker with his short films, documentaries and feature films such as "Alltag" (Everyday Life, 2003) and "Urban Guerrillas" in 2004, which are all set in his neighbourhood in SO36. In 2006, he began to direct theatre plays within the framework of the first two "Beyond Belonging: Migration[2]" festivals at Hebbel am Ufer Theatre.[96]

Çelik also works with young people in the cultural and arts educational programmes of the "akademie der autodidakten" (Academy of Autodidacts), which produces the "Kiez-Monatsschau" (Monthly Neighbourhood Show) at regular intervals. The cultural education format "Kiez-Monattschau" is, according to the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, about creating a platform and opportunities for migrant and postmigrant youth to develop media skills as tools for self-representation and to change from consumers to producers.[97] The cultural education programme "akademie der autodidakten" has been developed by Langhoff while working at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre. It is a conceptual approach that, on the one hand, is dedicated to nurturing young, mostly autodidact postmigrant artists without a formal arts school and academic background, such as Neco Çelik, thus helping them gain access to cultural

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[95] Many scholars have conducted fieldwork in Kreuzberg over the past decades using as a case study the Naunynritze to investigate youth culture and urban diasporic life in the metropolis. See Kaya, A. (2001) *Sicher in Kreuzberg" Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin*. Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag; Attia, I., and Marburger, H. (2000) *Alltag und Lebenswelten von Migrantenjugendlichen*. Frankfurt am Main, Iko-Verlag; Soysal, L. (2002) Beyond the 'Second Generation': Rethinking the Place of Migrant Youth Culture in Berlin. In: Lévy, D., and Weiss, Y. eds. *Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Immigration*. Oxford, Berghahn Books, 121-136; Soysal, L. (2008) The Migration Story of Turks in Germany: From the Beginning to the End. In: Kasaba, R. ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Volume 4, Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Lanz, S. (2007) Rebellion 'zwischen den Kulturen': Der 'Oriental HipHop' chapter in his book *Berlin aufgemischt: Abendländisch, multikulturell, kosmpolitisch? Die politische Konstruktion einer Einwanderungsstadt*. Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag, 198- 201.
[96] See appendix for a short biography of the artist.
[97] See also: <http://www.ballhausnaunynstrasse.de/index.php?id=21&evt=682&L=0> [Accessed 22.10.2012].

production and, in particular, theatre. On the other hand, it produces the "Kiez-Monatsschau" with young school and university students from the neighbourhood and theatre plays with amateur actors.[98] What captures Çelik's artistic and political responses to the increasing gentrification of his home and neighbourhood most poignantly are his recent involvement with the production of the "Kiez-Monatsschau Vol. XII" and his performance piece for the site-specific parkour "Kahvehane: Turkish Delight, German Fright" (2008). Most of these young participants of the "Kiez-Monatsschau" are themselves affected by the gentrification of their neighbourhood and, during the production of the show, participate in the protests of the movement, ask questions that are most important to themselves and learn about gentrification and how to produce short documentaries and news reports from their own perspectives about the changes in the district.

When the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse produced "Dogland: Junges Postmigrantisches Theaterfestival" (Dogland: Young Postmigrant Theatre Festival) for its opening event in the winter of 2008, I was in town to do fieldwork and to take part in the theatre/performance/installation parkour "Kahvehane: Turkish Delight, German Fright". At the time, the discussion about tourist buses in Kreuzberg (as mentioned above by Bezar) was at its peak and Neco Çelik's site specific artistic response hit a nerve. As a group of white German spectators entered the Turkish coffeehouse, an ape or, rather, an actor in an ape costume is inside the emptied space. There were no coffeehouse guests, only members of the audience and the ape, who stared at those who stared at him. He got up, jumped around, nothing else happened. As the minutes passed by, the spectators began to be irritated. They left. I asked Çelik later why he chose to do this and whether he thought anybody understood what this performance was about. He replied that he didn't really care, all he wanted to do was to reflect on the voyeuristic gaze of the spectators as "we are usually the monkeys behind the bars, it's like being in a zoo".

Four years after this performance, I asked both artists whether they thought that the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as a celebrated postmigrant theatre had also contributed to the gentrification of Kreuzberg, and Bezar replied:

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[98] Such as Lukas Langhoff's three plays called "Zyklus der Generationen" (Cycle of Generations) "Klassentreffen – Die zweite Generation" (Class Reunion – The Second Generation) in 2007, "Ferienlager – Die Dritte Generation" (Sleep Away Camp – The Third Generation) in 2009 and Lukas Langhoff and Hakan Savas Mircan's play "Pauschalreise – Die Erste Generation" (Package Holiday- The First Generation) in 2011. In 2008, the "akademie der autodidakten" also produced the music project "Ceza & Friends", with rappers from Istanbul and Berlin with rap workshops for young people from the neighbourhood. See also: <http://www.ballhausnaunynstrasse.de/KULTURELLE-BILDUNG.6.0.html> [Accessed 22.10.2012].

I don't think that the work of the Ballhaus has increased the value of the quarter. It has made access to the theatre easier for those who live here and it shows directly what migrants are able to do with a minimum of funding in comparison to the established theatres and when the doors are not constantly slammed in front of their faces (Miraz Bezar, personal interview, 17.05.2011).

Thus, according to the experience of this artist, there is a struggle with institutional racism in Berlin's cultural industries, encapsulated in the phrase of "slamming doors in front of their faces". However, the Ballhaus' location in the neighbourhood, presents an open door, not only for its racialised and precarious artists, but also for the inhabitants of Kreuzberg, for whom access to theatre became, as he says, "easier" due to its commitment to its participatory politics.

Given that many of Kreuzberg's inhabitants did not silently accept the relentless process of gentrification in their neighbourhood, Bezar told me that the protesters of Kotti & Co, which I shall describe in detail in the next section, are also supported within his circle which consists of many artists and activists of colour. When I spoke with one of the Kotti & Co protesters I am told that they are also very happy about the support of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse artists and that they have received donations. The co-directors of the theatre, Wagner Carvalho and Tunçay Kulaoğlu, also strongly supported the protest of Kotti & Co, as initial signatories of the "public appeal of architects, urban planners, social scientists, artists and journalists for Kotti & Co" published on the protest movement's website on October 15, 2012 and widely distributed in the media and national political sphere.[99] Bezar, for example, wrote to me on October 17, 2012, that "Just like other local residents, I took on night shifts in the protest camp. I think it's great that we all get together. It's great to see people who are for the first time in their lives politically active and we all get to know each other better" (Miraz Bezar, by email, 17.10.2012, own translation).

Resisting Gentrification and Precarisation: The Protests of Kotti &Co.

Whilst I walked with a friend, who liked to introduce himself as "born and bred in Kreuzberg," through Adalbert Street near Kottbusser Gate underground station, he told me how depressing the recent changes in the neighbourhood have been. For my unemployed friend, who studied fashion design and worked for a while as an interior designer decorating

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[99] The German version of the appeal can be found on <http://kottiundco.net/2012/10/15/aufruf-von-architektinnen-stadtplanerinnen-sozialwissenschaftlerinnen-kunstlerinnen-und-journalistinnen-fur-kotti-co/>[Accessed 22.10.2012].

the hippest Turkish German-owned bars, the dramatically-increasing rents that forced Turkish German families out of their neighbourhood and towards the East Berliner district of Lichtenberg, and the drunken tourists colonising the pavements, shops, bars and restaurants were a big problem. On Oranienstrasse, SO36's high street, there were, he said, "only two or three places left where one feels comfortable" and he added in Turkish that private and commercial properties would only be given to middle class white people nowadays. During my fieldtrips between 2010 and 2012 I constantly heard similar statements among Kreuzberg's Turkish German population about an increasing displacement and feelings of alienation and tensions along racial and class divides.

Whilst Mercedes Bunz, whom I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, decided to move to London a little later to work as a journalist for "The Guardian", the Turkish German population of Kreuzberg have found that first the cafés that they usually went to, then the pavements they walked on and the shops and apartments that they used to rent are not accommodating them anymore. The recent thrust of segregation taking place in Kreuzberg reawakens painful memories of the so-called "Zuzugssperre" (moving restriction) for many of its Turkish German inhabitants. This was a municipally-ordered moving restriction based on nationality and implemented in 1975, wherein a stamp in the passport of Turkish nationals forbade them from moving to Kreuzberg (as well as to the districts Tiergarten and Wedding), a disciplinary measure for stopping migration to the neighbourhood (see also Mandel, 2008: 146-147).

When I visited Berlin again in June 2012, however, there was, as some people told me, "finally a protest camp" on Admiralstrasse, next to the Kottbusser Gate underground station, vernacularly known as "Kotti". The protest of Kotti & Co began in May 2012 as a response to the increasing precarisation of social housing tenants due to drastic increases in rent and utility costs and the privatisation of public housing in SO36. Kotti & Co consists of a broad coalition of social housing tenants, political activists, academics and artists, such as those working at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. As I walked with a local friend to the protest camp, she cheerfully said: "You know, Kreuzberg wouldn't be Kreuzberg if it wasn't for us and if our people wouldn't protest against this whole sell-out". When we arrived at the occupied camp of Kotti & Co or "gecekondu", modelled after the illegalised overnight settlements in Turkey,[100] the protesters were on their early afternoon shift. On that morning, the group

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[100] The Turkish term "gecekondu" refers to a neighbourhood in which its inhabitants "settled over night", i.e. building houses on often unclaimed land or squatting abandoned flats (comparable to shanty towns, favelas and townships). The inhabitants of gecekondus in large Turkish cities such as Tarlabasi in Istanbul, were, however,

consisted of locally-resident women of colour, grandmothers, young mothers, housewives, and those employed in the service sector or unemployed. While my friend spoke in Spanish with a Black German woman from Colombia and her teenage son about everyday life and their support for the protest, I approached an elderly Turkish German housewife, who was making tea, distributed flyers and informed visitors about the struggle of the tenants of the neighbourhood. She gave me a little booklet that stated:

> For us, Berlin is not a business site and not an investment, but the space in which we live, work and lodge. We raise our voices, because we don't see ourselves adequately represented. So far one has mostly spoken about us but not with us. It is not rare that we are pictured as a problem. We are addressed in speeches about the "underclass", "precariat", "migrants" and "age poverty". Sometimes politicians attempt to do business site politics using us with the slogan "poor but sexy" whereas we see ourselves first and foremost as tenants of Berlin … For us this is about nothing less than housing policies, which prevent displacement and exclusion and provide permanently affordable rental flats in all parts of the city. A right to the city for everyone (Die kleine-große Mietenpolitische Fiebel, 2012, own translation).

Because many tenants complained that the benefits provided by the unemployment office cannot cover the rent and increasingly high utility bills for subsidized housing, one of the key demands of the protesters was the introduction of a local "rent cap" designed to maintain rents at a socially-acceptable level of 4 Euros per square metre in social housing. But beyond that, the protest at Kotti & Co addresses what many of the studies about gentrification that focus on social class do not take into consideration. That is the gentrification of the housing market by means of racial discrimination. A letter of support for Kotti & Co published by a group of prominent migration and postcolonial studies scholars summarises the experiences of many racialised tenants and shows the similarity of historical patterns regarding Kreuzberg as a racialised and increasingly alienating and gentrified space:

> At Kotti and in many other parts of Kreuzberg people interpret the politics of privatization of public housing as an all too familiar message: We are not wanted here. Many tenants still remember the 1970s phrase "Ghetto Kreuzberg" that carried an easy

recently evicted and/or relocated to newly build mass-housing estates on the outskirts of the cities. See also Eroglu, S. (2011) *Beyond the resources of poverty: gecekondu living in the Turkish capital*. Surrey, Ashgate. For the gentrification of the gecekondu Tarlabasi in Istanbul see Songün, S. (2010) "Istanbul's Tarlabasi neighbourhood not keen on gentrification" in Hürriyet Daily News, 13.05.2010. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=gentrification-project-to-be-done-in-tarlabasi-2010-05-13> [Accessed 17.10.2012]. Bourque, J. (2012) "Poor but Proud Istanbul Neighbourhood Faces Gentrification". In: New York Times, 04.07.2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/05/world/middleeast/05iht-m05-turkey-tarlabasi.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0> [Accessed 17.10.2012].

racist equation: immigrants were to blame for the lack of living space and unemployment in Berlin. Others draw intuitive connections to the kind of discrimination that has been documented for the housing market: When you say your name on the phone – whether it is for a home in Charlottenburg or Kreuzberg – the apartment has already been rented. In fact, housing-related discrimination is taking on ever-new shapes. In Kreuzberg's Düttmannkiez, for instance, the tenants were suddenly told to take down all their satellite dishes. In a building in the Fanny-Hensel-Estate only the tenants with Turkish and Arab names received horrendous raises in rent. And these are only a few examples. This also makes us wonder to what extent the Jobcentre's demand that people decrease their rental costs or else move to Marzahn or Spandau is connected to the Senate's claim that the population in Kreuzberg and at Kotti is in need of "better mixing". If the issue really was de-segregation, surely the better-off neighborhoods in Dahlem and Zehlendorf could use some "better mixing" too. As the latest statistics show, poor segments of the population are increasingly being displaced and pushed to the outskirts of the city … these developments hit the migrant population disproportionately and with a special kind of force. We cannot afford to let this slide; we need to challenge these conditions (Kotti & Co, 2012, own translation).[101]

In relation to the Senate's argument that the settlement of middle class tenants in the neighbourhood would result in a "better mix", Atkinson and Bridge point out that "economic and local state institutions often seem strongly motivated by re-capturing the middle class in the central city as both a symbol of, and mechanism for, success. All of this only serves to maintain and sustain moves towards a gentrifying imperative in many cities" (2005: 6-7). The local protest camp Kotti & Co has, therefore, incorporated the idea of the global "right to the city movement" as have, for example, the shack dwellers movement "Abahlali baseMjondolo" in South Africa, the "Right to the City Alliance" in the US, "The City Statute Brazil" and the "Recht auf Stadt" (Right to the City) network in Hamburg/Germany. It was Henri Lefebvre in his book *Le Droit à la Ville* (1968)[102] who first proposed the idea of "the right to the city" as a "right to *urban life*" of which "only the working class can become the agent, the social carrier or support of this realization" (1996 [1968]: 158). The political movement Kotti & Co, also strongly supported by the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, not only challenges municipal policies and capital interest in favour of the collective interest, it shows how these grassroots agents' urban politics against race and class-based discrimination and displacement in the city in fact also falsify the evocation of a subproletarian apathy with regards to the inhabitants of Kreuzberg. In other words, borrowing

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[101] The English version of letter entitled "Scholars support Kotti & Co.: An Offer We Can't Decline" can be found on the website of Kotti & Co. <http://kottiundco.net/english/> [Accessed 11.12.2012].
[102] An English translation of his essay "The Right to the City" is published in Lefebvre, H. (1996) *Writings On Cities*, Cambridge, Mass, USA, Blackwell Publishers, 147-159.

from David Harvey's article "The Right to the City" (2008), Kotti & Co's demand for a "right to the city" is about "[t]he democratisation of that right, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization" (idem).

Photo of Kotti & Co. "Lärmdemo" (noise demonstration), 13.10.2012 (Admiralstrasse, Kreuzberg).
Source: personal archive.

As this section has shown, the neighbourhood's fifty years of (not exclusively) Turkish German migration history and the following gentrification of Kreuzberg is closely intertwined with past and present experiences of "decline and revival". It is in this neighbourhood that we can trace how global shifts from Fordist industrial capitalism to Post-Fordist and neoliberal capitalism, as well as changing patterns of in and out migration, affect the everyday experiences of its inhabitants. Over the past years, Kreuzberg has become the place with the highest rents for new tenancies in Berlin and, as Jin Haritaworn underlines, "is traded as the biggest ascendant on the Berlin property market" (Haritaworn, 2012: 18). As the neighbourhood joins the embodied geography of a "creative city" as set out by Richard Florida (2002, 2005, 2008), the locality where as he claims "the new global competition for talent" (2005: 86) takes place, this section of the chapter has shown that a particular segment of those addressed in his "bohemian" and "melting pot" index, the artists of the Ballhaus

Naunynstrasse and the migrant working class inhabitants of Kreuzberg are, in fact, far away from these categories.

In this chapter I have argued that the successful establishment of the artists of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in the neighbourhood of Kreuzberg and their precarious living and working conditions are closely related to two contradictory and simultaneously complementary themes. One of these themes that I have examined in the first part of this chapter is the arrival of "diversity" in the city of Berlin, which was rebranded as a diverse and creative world city. As of today, the gentrification of Kreuzberg is an ongoing process, up to and probably well beyond the completion of this study, which makes it impossible to predict its lasting effects on its minority artists' and working class population. Urban gentrification processes in poor and racialised districts of Berlin, such as Kreuzberg, have involved rebranding these neighbourhoods as the hip, multicultural districts of the city, but this has also occasioned the displacement of Turkish German working class residents by privatising and selling "easily affordable" council flats to members of the international, affluent and often "creative" class. In this process, cultural diversity has become valuable and a justification for urban regeneration programmes. This has included the promotion of the artists of the postmigrant theatre scene as adding to the diversity profile of the city. I have shown, however, that a complex system of categorisations exist that differentiate between white German, international and postmigrant artists in how these different scenes inhabit urban space. The findings of this chapter, thus, fill the gap in research about the relationship between neighbourhoods, that undergo processes of gentrification, precarious artistic labour and how both intersect with issues of class and race in multicultural cities.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This study investigated the ways in which artistic labour is racialised and made precarious by examining the working and living conditions of Turkish German artists in the context of the process of the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre and the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts in Berlin's cultural landscape. It explored the fields of opportunities and the restrictions that Turkish German artists working in postmigrant theatre experience and analysed the artists' agency in relation to their interventions, negotiations and strategies in the cultural field, in influencing cultural policies for cultural diversity in the arts, and their lived experiences with regards to the gentrification of the multicultural, working class neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg, where most of the artists live and work.

I began in Chapter 1 with my own experiences of entering the field of postmigrant theatre in Berlin and introduced postmigrant theatre and its main protagonists as well as the starting points, key concepts, questions, objectives and main argument of this research project to the reader. The emergence and development of postmigrant theatre needs to be understood, as I stated in the introduction, as the successful establishment and institutionalisation of new aesthetic, narrative and political tools. These tools signal the arrival of artists of colour and of "cultural diversity in the arts" in Germany's theatre landscape and the midst of a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism in the city. On the other hand, however, as this thesis showed, artists of colour continue to experience limited access to institutions of high culture such as theatre, which causes precarious and racialised labour conditions and the lack of material resources available for the diversity work that artists of colour do.

Chapter 2 provided the theoretical framework of this study and situated it in the trans-disciplinary field of Cultural Studies. The literature review itself, which draws on existing research and concepts developed in British Cultural Studies, Postcolonial Studies and Critical Race Theory, framed this project within and beyond the German national scope, exemplified the complexities and similarities between locally specific and globally relevant questions regarding lived experiences of migration, race, precarity, artistic labour and cultural diversity in the arts. I identified the gap in research about the material conditions of cultural production in the case of racialised artists who embody and practice cultural diversity in the arts and their lived experiences of working precariously in the state-subsidised cultural field of theatre. The theoretical framework set out the unique lens through which I investigated postmigrant theatre in relation to the production of new ethnicities, race, precarity, artistic labour and cultural diversity in the arts with a specific focus on the working and living conditions of Turkish

German artists who work at postmigrant theatre in the city of Berlin.

In Chapter 3, I presented the epistemological and methodological issues at stake in conducting a critical ethnography about postmigrant theatre and the lived experiences of racialised and precarious artistic labour. As an insider to the cultural milieu and the city and an academic outsider to the artistic field I investigated, I argued that Feminist standpoint theory and the use of multiple methods were particularly helpful for this long-term study given the lack of research about the the relationship between race, precarious artistic labour and cultural policy and the study's particular contribution to the writing of Turkish German cultural history from the perspectives of Turkish German subjects.

Chapter 4 examined key moments and figures in the history of Turkish German labour migration in the context of the Fordist guest worker model, the constitution of a racialised and gendered division of labour and the first Turkish German theatre protagonists' work in Germany's theatre landscape. I extended Hall's work on cultural identity and used the concept of cultural memory and illustrated the significance of memory as a form of labour that postmigrant artists do, which reaffirms intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories and lived experiences of migration, that constitute the narrative and aesthetic repertoire of Turkish German postmigrant cultural productions.

In Chapter 5, I examined the ways in which the artistic labour of Turkish German postmigrant theatre artists is racialised and made precarious in the context of Germany's transition into a Post-Fordist culture of work. I analysed the role that Anti-Muslim racism in German society plays in racialising Turkish German subjects, the ways in which race, ethnicity and class matter with regards to Turkish German artists' access to and education in arts schools and state-subsidised, and I looked at postmigrant theatre as an artistic labour market for artists with a migration background in Germany. I argued, that postmigrant theatre provides opportunities for racialised artists, who, throughout their educational and professional development, experienced precarisation because of structural racism and discrimination in public institutions.

Whilst Chapter 4 and 5 looked at the historical and social context as well as the aesthetic, narrative and collaborative practices of the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement, Chapter 6 closely examined cultural and social policies, funding opportunities and the position of postmigrant theatre in Berlin's cultural landscape with regards to cultural diversity in the arts institutions policies in the city of Berlin. I argued, that postmigrant theatre as a conceptual tool supported the artists in the development of new opportunities to influence decision-making processes and funding for cultural diversity in the field of cultural policy.

Chapter 7 analysed the role and lived experiences of the artists of postmigrant theatre in the neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg, which changed over the span of a decade from a working class, immigrant neighbourhood into a cosmopolitan and increasingly middle class creative quarter of the city. The chapter provided a concluding frame for the previous chapters by returning to one of the main arguments of this research project, that the successful establishment of the artists of postmigrant theatre in the neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg and their precarious and racialised living and working conditions are closely related to two contradictory and simultaneously intertwined themes: the rebranding of Berlin as a creative and culturally diversity city in which artists who embody diversity are seen as a positive asset for the promotion of the city as a world capital, but for whom simultaneously their lives in Kreuzberg become increasingly unaffordable with the gentrification of their multicultural, working class neighbourhood caused by the arrival of property developers and a more affluent "creative class" from other metropolitan centres of the world.

The Complexities of Migration Biographies and the Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approach of Postmigrant Theatre

Levent Soysal in his article "Labor to Culture: Writing Turkish Migration to Europe" (2003) argues, following Ian Chambers' expositions in "Migrancy, Culture, Identity" (1992), that the "new topography of migration" (Soysal, 2003: 491-2) is "less and less about origins and destinations – leaving homes and arriving in foreign places for permanency" but about "simultaneous presences, and being both permanent and in flux". What Soysal describes as a "new topography of migration" can be also traced in the biographies of the artists as well as in the aesthetic and narrative repertoire of postmigrant theatre. Postmigrant theatre is most used in a national frame and a concept particularly prominently used in Germany to describe the cultural productions of minority artists. Throughout this thesis it is deployed with regards to the working and living conditions of Turkish German artists. However, it is important to underline that artists of colour with various migration biographies and from different racialised ethnic minorities have made and continue to make significant contributions throughout art and theatre history and on stages globally, including manifold capacities in local, national and transnational art and theatrical realms. In continental Europe, minority artists and theatre companies in countries characterised by postcolonial and post-World War II labour migration such as The Netherlands or Sweden – the latter especially regarding the migration of political refugees from the 1990s onwards – increasingly receive public recognition. In the case of Great Britain, there is a long history of Black, Asian and other

ethnic minority theatre[103] and in North America, African American Theatre, for instance, plays a pivotal role in negotiating the possibilities, limits, contradictions and tensions, wounds and cures in the nation's history and critically reflects its contemporary politics as well as the boundaries of its theatre canon and theatre landscape.[104]

The artists of the postmigrant theatre movement that this thesis portrayed, like Langhoff and Kulaoğlu, are second generation Turkish Germans with working class parents. Filmmaker and theatre director Miraz Bezar is Kurdish German and all of these individuals have moved from other parts of West Germany to Berlin. Others, such as the co-director of the venue, Wagner Carvalho, moved from Brazil to Germany and the theatre director Nurkan Erpulat migrated as a middle class student from Turkey to Germany in the 1990s. As Langhoff states:

> Migration seems to be clearly an engine for other stories and perspectives. When you move from A over B and C to D, you have a different story to tell and you see things differently to those who always stay in A. I believe that every fragmented biography, be it through migration or other circumstances, bears a special creative potential (Shermin Langhoff cited in Bombosch and Güroglu, 2009, own translation).

Each artist's biography is a unique story about the experience of moving from one city to another, from one country to another and/or back again or to somewhere entirely different. Some, such as the theatre and film director Neco Çelik, were born in Kreuzberg and never left. What they all have in common is that (in some cases shorter than in others) much longer episodes of their lives are closely intertwined with this particular neighbourhood and its Turkish German cultural history. It is this neighbourhood that represents most visibly and prominently Turkish German social and artistic life in and beyond Germany. For Langhoff this is also the reason why most of the artists working at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse were of Turkish descent as

> Turks, who are approximately three million people, are the largest minority in Germany … and, although our approach was never ethnically defined because of our location as a theatre, we work in particular translocal realities that interest us [and] our

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[103] See for example: Chambers, C. (2011) *Black and Asian Theatre in Britain: A History*. London Routledge; Duggan, P., and Ukaegbu, V. (2013) *Reverberations Across Small-scale British Theatre: Politics, Aesthetics and Forms*. Bristol, Intellect; Griffin, G. (2011) *Contemporary Black and Asian Women Playwrights in Britain*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

[104] See for example: Krasner, D. (2002), *A Beautiful Pageant: African American Theatre, Drama and Performance in the Harlem Renaissance 1910-1927*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan; Hay, S. A. (1994) *African American Theatre: An Historical and Critical Analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Young, H. (2013) *The Cambridge Companion to African American Theatre*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

postmigrant theatre is explicitly about this diverse and plural urban society (Shermin Langhoff cited in Bazinger, 2012).

Whilst this study examined the emergence and institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre in Berlin with a focus on the lived experiences of Turkish German artists who work within the postmigrant theatre movement, artists with various migration biographies have established and contributed to the postmigrant theatre movement over the past decade. The artists of the postmigrant theatre movement have extended networks consisting of conversations and collaborations in a lattice spanning various geographical regions and including artists, academics, NGO representatives and activists based in or moving through Europe, North America, South America, Asia, Australia and Africa. These conversations and collaborations, even though not always explicitly voiced in the thesis, made significant contributions to postmigrant theatre as well as to this research project.[105]

Postmigrant theatre in Berlin, as I have stated in the introduction, does not only consist of Turkish German artists. Artists from various artistic fields, with different and sometimes also overlapping migration trajectories and countries of origin work in postmigrant theatre productions at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as well as the Maxim Gorki Theatre. However, I decided to limit the scope of the study as the inclusion of artists of Armenian, Brazilian, Dominican, Columbian, Egyptian, Iranian, Greek, Palestinian, Polish, Russian, Israeli, South African, Togolese and/or Ghanaian descent, to name just a few, would not have done justice to the limited scope a research project like this has to come to terms with. This includes the hi/stories, politics, aesthetics and experiences brought into the space of postmigrant theatre and into play by all these artists with their diverse artistic credentials and multiplicities of histories of migration to Germany and other countries, and these migrations may be of either temporary or permanent durations. Hence, I opted to focus on what I thought I would know best: an investigation of Turkish German migration and cultural history, contemporary Turkish German artists' living and working conditions and the intersections between precarity and racism.

However, as explained in Chapter 3, which discussed the epistemological and methodological framework of this project, being an "insider" did not make the process of conducting and writing up this research any easier, but required me to reverse perspectives from insider to outsider when, during fieldwork, the different conventions of the academic

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[105] These influences, most evident in the footnotes and bibliographical references I have used throughout the thesis, point to the possibilities for further research on a transnational scale, which includes other national theatre scenes.

and artistic field became most evident. At this moment, more accessibility and information transparency for the outsider reader became necessary in the writing-up process and when a more distant eye -- in other words critical reflexivity – was needed, as I had assumed without questioning, given that Turkish Germans constitute the largest minority in Germany, that everyone would know about the history and current debates concerning Turkish German migration. Having said that, Chapter 4, 5, 6 and 7 illuminated for the outsider reader the specific historical and contemporary framework of this study and contextualised postmigrant theatre within Turkish German cultural history and current debates about migration, cultural diversity and the arts.

The Key Theoretical and Empirical Contributions of this Research Project

This study, which investigated the relationship between racialised and precarious artistic labour in the state-subsidised cultural field of theatre, offers a number of key theoretical and empirical contributions to Cultural Studies, Postcolonial and Critical Race Studies and the growing body of literature on artistic labour, cultural industries, cultural policy, cultural diversity in the arts and precarious labour. The most significant contributions of this empirical study stem from its unique lens and ambition to investigate the working and living conditions of racialised and precariously working artists in the state-subsidised field of the arts, of whom most come from migrant working class families inhabiting the working class migrant neighbourhood of Berlin-Kreuzberg, that undergoes a process of gentrification. This is important to emphasise as neither the artistic field itself nor academia has paid much attention to the lived experiences of racialised artists with working class backgrounds working precariously in the field of the arts and cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013; Lorey, 2007; McRobbie, 2007; Negus 2002, Puwar, 2004) or their position as creatives and "postmigrant bohemia" in the valorisation and gentrification of previously-declining multicultural, working class neighbourhoods (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Zukin, 1982, 1995, 2011; Krätke, 2011; Lloyd, 2006). At the beginning of this research project, I was surprised that, although there is a growing body of research about artistic and creative labour, existing empirical studies in Great Britain mainly investigate the labour conditions of those, who work in commercial sectors such as film and television, the visual arts, the music industry, new media and fashion (Banks, 2007; Dyer-Witheford, 2005; Gill, 2002, 2007; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011; Loacker, 2010; McRobbie, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Menger, 1999; Miége, 1989; Ursell, 2000) rather than analysing artistic labour in more "traditional", perhaps even more obvious, state-subsidised institutions of the arts, such as theatre. In Germany, where the

"traditional" institution of theatre receives a relatively high proportion of public funding, very few studies (Haak, 2008; Keuchel, 2010) exist about the working conditions of artists in the country's state-subsidised artistic labour market. The situation of artists with a migration background in state-subsidised theatres and in other sectors of the field, remained, however, until the completion of this study, insufficiently addressed, although Turkish German artists and the postmigrant theatres Ballhaus Naunynstrasse and Maxim Gorki Theatre gained critical acclaim nationally and internationally.

Taking as a starting point the anthropologist Leith Mulling's understanding of culture as being "created and modified by material conditions" (1986: 13), the key findings of this study map out for its readers how a new postmigrant theatre culture is produced by Turkish German artists and illustrate the labour required to create and modify culture according to the material conditions available to the artists in their respective field. The study's theoretical approach, in which the labour involved in the production of culture and cultural diversity in the arts is of central concern, draws on earlier studies in British Cultural Studies, especially the work of Hall on new ethnicities (1996 [1989]) as representational practices and politics as well as his notion of diasporic cultural identities (1990). The study shows that the cultural practices of postmigrant theatre artists are representations of new postmigrant ethnicities in the making in a particular historical moment. Postmigrant theatre artists' representational practices produce new postmigrant ethnicities, and, as the thesis shows, thereby challenge narrow conceptions of ethnicity, German culture, national identity as well as power relations in Germany's theatre landscape. The study's findings suggest that an extension of Hall's work on cultural identity and diaspora (1990) as a positioning within narratives of the past is necessary to understand the work of postmigrant theatre artists, who create and represent new ethnicities by performing acts of memory. These performantive acts of memory refer and add to intergenerationally transmitted cultural memories and constitute an asthetic and narrative repertoire, which becomes political, precisely because postmigrant theatre artists' acts of remembrance counteract the long neglect of Turkish German hi/stories in Germany's cultural landscape. Moreover, postmigrant theatre artists' acts of memory and representational strategies are also political, because they are tools to negotiate the representation of artists of colour in a predominantly white, middle class institutional landscape as well as the institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre itself in Germany's high cultural theatre landscape and in the field of cultural policy and its funding apparatus.

Having said that, the major theoretical and empirical contributions of this project centre around the larger argument of the thesis, that a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism

fosters the increasing visibility, inclusion, institutionalisation and careers of artists who embody and practice cultural diversity in the arts. Simulteneously, as the study's research findings show, institutional practices of exclusion continue to exist due to a lack of policies and guidelines for the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts (see also next section) and the reproduction of a racialised division of labour in the artistic field, which leads to precarious labour conditions for the artists. This seemingly contradictory dynamic relates to how "diversity in the arts" itself translates into institutional life. Ahmed's (2007a; 2012) and Kosnick's (2009) research on diversity as a "language in institutional life" (Ahmed, 2007a) and "a staple of city-branding strategies" (Kosnick, 2009) proved to be particularly useful for this resesarch project's theoretical and empirical contribution to the study of the concept of diversity. As the study shows, "diversity in the arts" translates in different ways into the practices of different art institutions and theatres in Berlin, which depends on whether it is understood as a commitment to social and racial justice and equality *or* as an additional, often temporary, profile of an institution or festival. In the latter case, "cultural difference" and hegemonic discourses tend to be reproduced and artists of colour's agency remains limited. In contrast, the artists of the postmigrant theatre movement aim to determine the meaning of "diversity in the arts" in Berlin's theatre landscape by working collaboratively on sustainable funding and employment structures, by building networks of solidarity and by giving voice to an increasingly well-organised movement of artists who critique the racialised division of labour in the state-subsisided theatre and cultural landscape.

This critical ethnography's strength, I believe, lies in its groundbreaking approach to challenge the abstract and seemingly "universal" notions of "precarious labour" and "artistic labour" within the context of the transitions of working and living conditions from Fordist to Post-Fordist production. Drawing the readers' attention to the ways in which movements of migration have shaped Fordism and Post-Fordism as social systems and the lives of migrant and postmigrant subjects, the study contributes to our understanding of the continuously changing character of European societies, institutions, cultures as well as of theoretical, artistic and political concepts emerging out of and changing through lived experiences.

Negotiating Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Cultural Policy Recommendations

As this study has shown, the arrival and institutionalisation of a new wave of postmigrant theatre artists in the sphere of a new globalised urban cosmopolitanism in the city of Berlin, has led on the one hand to an increasing visibility of artists of colour in Germany's theatre

landscape. On the other hand, as the research findings show, the labour conditions of artists of colour remain precarious as long as binding cultural diversity in the arts policy guidelines and their implementation in Germany's vast cultural and institutional landscape are missing. Given this situation, this final section highlights some of the most significant cultural policy recommendations based on the research findings in Chapter 5 and 6.

1) Whereas intercultural mainstreaming strategies are implemented in Berlin's public administration with regards to the recruitment of young people with a migration background in their trainee programmes, there are so far no policies in place that ensure equal employment chances for artists with a migration background in publicly funded theatres. So far, Berlin's cultural policy makers have developed a "flagship strategy" for the promotion and institutionalisation of postmigrant theatre in the city. However, this has also legitimised an exceptional status for artists with a migration background in Berlin's theatre landscape. Thus, there is a need for obligatory rules and regulations for the implementation of cultural diversity in the arts, so that artists with a migration background can get equal employment chances in the public cultural sector, such as in theatres.

2) An increase in the budget of the intercultural project funds of the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs is necessary, so that young artists who try to get a foothold into municipal funding structures are able to finance their first productions with adequate project funds and salaries.

3) The exact numbers of how many artists with a migration background are employed in publicly funded theatres and other cultural institutions in Berlin and in other German cities and towns is unclear. Upon my request in 2009, the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs did not provide any figures regarding the proportion of employees with a migration background in Berlin's state-subsidised cultural and theatre institutions. Given the lack of statistical data, a survey that would shed light on the employment figures of and contractual employment regulations for artists with a migration background in state-subsidised cultural and theatre institutions should be commissioned and evaluated to develop appropriate action plans for the development of equal opportunity in the arts policies.

4) Since 2005, the German Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt) and the statistical offices of Germany's federal states have collected data concerning the "migration background" of the country's population. People with a migration background are defined as those who "immigrated after 1949 into the present area of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as all foreigners born in Germany and all who are born in Germany as Germans with at least one parent who has either immigrated to Germany after 1949 or is a foreigner in Germany".[106] This means, that a) the category of "migration background" is also applied to people who are born in Germany and have never had the experience of migration. Nonetheless they are considered to be migrants, although their family history of migration might date back over sixty years. The category "migration background" is b) an inaccurate measure for the implementation of "diversity in the arts" policies as people with a migration background from Turkey, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East are mostly less privileged with regards to their racial and class status compared to those with a white European migration background, who can "blend in" easier. However, cultural policy and public institutions in Germany do not differentiate between the different social and economic positions of people who have actually migrated, people, who by birth or later in their lives have acquired German citizenship, people holding passports of EU member states, people with passports from countries outside the European Union and stateless people. Hence, the accessibility of cultural funding and cultural institutions for these different groups is not measured. Finally, c) "migration background" is a category that is not based on people's self-definition but an administratively and discursively constructed external ascription. Thus, the statistical and policy category "migration background" is too broadly defined and should be replaced or complemented with the implementation of ethnic monitoring forms in public institutions, similar to the British or US American ethnic monitoring policies. Ethnic monitoring would be a more useful instrument to develop appropriate anti-discrimination policies in Germany.

5) Although the Senate of Berlin has increased the federal funds available for cultural employment programmes (such as Kultur-Kombi in Berlin), that support long-term

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[106] Statistisches Bundeamt Deutschland *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2005*. Published on 04.05.2007. see: <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Navigation/Publikationen/Publikationen.p sml?cmspath=struktur,vollanzeige.csp&ID=1020313> [Accessed: 28.05.2008].

unemployed cultural workers who gain employment in cultural institutions, the gross pay per month that employees (funded by specific work programmes) receive is insufficient. At the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, the gross pay for many of its employees hired on temporary contracts amounts to €1,300 gross pay with a working week of 30 to 40 hours. The drastic decrease in long-term employment opportunities and the increase in freelance jobs (Keuchel states that 68 per cent of theatre and dance professionals work as freelancers (2010: 96)) have led to a situation in which artists suffer from a lack of entitlement to unemployment allowances (2010: 72-74). Furthermore, 45 per cent of freelance artists who earn less than €10,000 gross pay annually from artistic occupations cannot afford to pay into pension schemes, which leads to a high risk of age-related poverty (2010: 76). As my research findings suggest, poor wages are an effect of the existing state funding structures. Thus, there is an urgent necessity for the implementation of minimum wage regulations for artists and institutions that receive project funding from federal government agencies or the Berlin Senate's Chancellery for Cultural Affairs.

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Appendix 1: Short Biographies of Cited Research Participants

Shermin Langhoff was born in 1969 in the city of Bursa, Turkey. She migrated to Germany at the age of nine. She worked for a publishing house and as a production manager for television. After many years in the film industry (Nuremberger Turkish German Film Festival, collaboration with filmmaker Fatih Akın), Langhoff changed her career and began to work in theatre. Between 2004 and 2008 Langhoff worked as a curator at the Berliner Hebbel am Ufer Theatre. In 2008 Langhoff established the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Since the theatre season 2013/14 Shermin Langhoff is the artistic co-director of the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin Mitte. She received several awards for her work, such as the European cultural prize Kairos (in 2011) and the Moses Mendelssohn Prize from the Berlin government (in 2012). Langhoff is a member of the Council for Cultural Education in Germany and jury member of the Tarabya Cultural Academy in Istanbul.

Tunçay Kulaoğlu is the artistic co-director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (since 2012), a filmmaker, curator, author and translator. He is one of the co-founders of the Nuremberger Turkish German Film Festival. In 2003 he was co-founder of the postmigrant network KulturSprünge in Berlin. Between 2008 and 2012 he was curator and leading dramaturge at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Wagner Carvalho is the artistic co-director of the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (since 2012). He was born in 1966 in the city of Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Since the age of 12 Carvalho works in the tradition of Augusto Boal's "Theatre of the Oppressed". He studied dance and acting in different schools and worked as the artistic director of the theatre school Núcleo de Estudos Teatrais - NET in Belo Horizonte. Between 1996 and 2000 he studied theatre studies at the Free University Berlin and received scholarships from the Goethe Institut and the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. For the past twenty years, Carvalho has worked in different projects in Germany and Brazil, amongst others these include educational projects and also as a coach at the Berliner theatres Berliner Ensemble and Grips Theatre. He is one of the founders and organisers of the Forum brasileiro da dança, a coalition of Brazilian dancers and choreographers in Berlin. He is the founder of Brasil Move Berlim – Festival of Contemporary Brazilian Dance Festival.

Miraz Bezar was born in 1971 in Ankara, Turkey and migrated to Germany when he was eight years old to live with his mother and sister in the city of Bremen. Bezar studied film directing at the German Film and Television Academy Berlin (Deutsche Film und Fernsehakademie Berlin). His short films "Berivan", "Fern" and "Freiwild" were shown at several international film festivals such as Montreal, Oberhausen and Berlin. His feature film debut "Min Dît" won more than 14 international film awards such as the "Gaztea Youth Award" at the 57th International Film Festival San Sebastian, Spain and was nominated for the German Film Award 2011 in the category "best screenplay". Bezar's "Min Dît" was the first Kurdish language film to be screened at the prestigious Antalya Film Festival in Turkey. As a theatre director Bezar directed several plays at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse, such as "Das Märchen vom letzten Gedanken" about the Armenian genocide in Turkey as well as parts for the site-specific theatre parkours "Kahvehane: Turkish Delight, German Fright" and "§301 – Die beleidigte Nation". In 2014 he directed Vorhaut, a comedy about male circumcision at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Nurkan Erpulat was born in 1975 in Ankara, Turkey. He is a resident director at the Maxim Gorki Theatre. Erpulat studied acting at Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi in Izmir, Turkey prior to his migration to Berlin in 1998. Erpulat studied theatre education at the Universität der Künste Berlin and theatre directing at the Ernst Busch Academy as the first Turkish German student of the prestigious East Berliner arts school. Erpulat's early career was fostered by Shermin Langhoff and the postmigrant theatre network for which he directed several plays such as "Faked" (2007) and "Jenseits – Bist du schwul oder bist du Türke" (2008), which were both premiered at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre during the beyond belonging festival. At the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse he directed plays such as "Schattenstimmen" (2008), "Le Bal Almanya" (2010), and the award winning play "Verrücktes Blut" (2010), which was premiered at the Ruhrtriennale festival in 2010. In the same year, Erpulat directed the play "Clash" at the Deutsches Theater Berlin. Erpulat was resident director at the Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus, where he directed "Herr Kolpert" in 2012 and "Der Parasit oder die Kunst sein Glück zu machen" in 2013. For the opening of the new theatre season 2013/14 of the Maxim Gorki Theatre under the artistic leadership of Shermin Langhoff and Jens Hillje, Erpulat directed Anton Chekov's play "The Cherry Orchard" (2013).

Neco Çelik was born in 1972 in Berlin, Germany. He is a film, television, theatre and opera director. Between 1993 and 2008, Çelik worked as a media educationist at the youth centre Naunynritze in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Films of Çelik include the documentaries "36 qm Stoff" (1997) and "Ganz oben" (2007), the television film "Alltag" (2002), the TV report "Kreuzberger Nächte" (2006), the cinema films "Urban Guerillas" (2003) and "Auf niedriger Flamme" (2006). Alongside his work as a film and television director, Çelik debuted as a theatre director with the play "Schwarze Jungfrauen", which was premiered at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in 2006 and was nominated for the Mülheimer Dramatikerpreis (Mülheim Dramatists Prize), one of the leading theatre awards in Germany. In 2007 he directed an adaptation of Shakespeare's "Romeo und Julia" at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre, followed by the play "Ausgegrenzt" in the year 2008, which was premiered at the Münchner Kammerspiele. At the postmigrant theatre Ballhaus Naunynstrasse Neco Çelik directed the plays "Invasion" (2008), "Gazino Arabesk" (2010), "Nathan Messias" (2009) and together with Imran Ayata the play "Liga der Verdammten" (2013). His opera adaptation of Fatih Akın's "Gegen die Wand" premiered at the Staatsoper Stuttgart in the year 2011 and was awarded with the German Theatre Prize Der Faust in the category children and youth theatre. In 2012 he directed the musical comedy "Moskau-Tscherjomuschki" at the Staatsoper Unter den Linden. The musical theatre "Through Roses" directed by Neco Çelik premiers in February 2015 at the Staatsoper im Schiller Theater in Berlin.

Matthias Lilienthal was born in 1959 in Berlin, Germany and went to school in the district of Neukölln. He studied History, German and Theatre Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin and worked in the mid 1980s as a freelance journalist for several German newspapers. He became the assistant of theatre director Achim Freyer at the Wiener Burgtheater and worked between 1988 and 1991 as a dramaturge at the Theatre Basel. In the late 1990s Lilienthal was dramaturge and deputy artistic director at the Berliner Volksbühne. Between 2003 and 2012 Lilienthal was the artistic director of the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre in Berlin. In 2013 he worked with students at the arts institute Ashkal Alwan in Beirut, Lebanon. Lilienthal was programme director of the international theatre festival Theater der Welt in 2014 in Mannheim, Germany. From the theatre season 2015/16 onwards Matthias Lilienthal will take on the role of director of the Münchner Kammerspiele.

Stéphane Bauer was born in 1962 in Neuilly-sur-Seine in France and grew up in Nice, France, Bloomington, USA and Bonn, Germany. Bauer is an arts curator and organises

exhibitions in Berlin. He studied Sociology, Political Sciences, Psychology and Economics in Bonn and Berlin. Since 1990 he is the managing director of the Kunstamt Kreuzberg. Since 2002 Bauer has been the director of the Kunstraum Kreuzberg. Since 2008/09 he has also worked as a lecturer at the Institute for Art in Context at the Universität der Künste Berlin. Bauer is a member of the Rat der Künste (Council for the Arts) in Berlin.

Fereidoun ›Ferry‹ Ettehad was born in 1957 and died on the 16th of June 2012 in Berlin. The son of an Iranian medical doctor and a German nurse, he dedicated his life to the theatre. Fereidoun Ettehad studied Theatre Studies at the University of Canterbury in the 1970s, but left the university to join the squatter and gay movement in London. The Iranian German theatre maker worked as a theatre director at Theater Strahl Berlin and Junges Theater Basel. He joined the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse as director of the artistic operations office and disposition. His beautiful spirit remains alive in the hearts of all his friends and the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse.

Murat Seven was born in 1980 in Berlin, Germany. Between 2002 and 2005, Seven studied acting at the Schauspielschule Charlottenburg in Berlin. In 2007 he played the Romeo in "Romeo und Julia" directed by Neco Çelik and premiered at the Hebbel am Ufer Theatre. Seven acted in several plays of the theatre director Nurkan Erpulat, such as "Schattenstimmen" (2008), "Jenseits - Bist du schwul oder bist du Türke" (2008) and "Le Bal Almanya" (2010). He also acted in Neco Çelik's play "Nathan Messias" (2009) and in "Funk is Not Dead" (2011) directed by Idil Üner and premiered at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse. Murat Seven has also acted in several TV series and films, such as in Tim Staffel's cinematic film "Westerland" (2012).

Tamer Arslan was born in 1986 in Berlin, Germany and gained his first experiences in theatre acting at the Acting School in Pescara, Italy. Arslan studied at the Film Acting School Berlin. He performed in Nurkan Erpulat's plays "Verrücktes Blut" (2010) and "Das Schloss" (The Castle), an adaption of Franz Kafka's novel, which was premiered at the Ruhrtriennale theatre festival in 2011. Tamer Arslan also appeared in theatre director Lukas Langhoff's play "Ferienlager – Die 3. Generation" (2009). Arslan has also acted in several film and TV productions. With the new theatre season 2013/2014 Tamer Arslan is a company member of the Maxim Gorki Theatre.

Günter Piening was born in 1950 in Herzebrock, Germany. He studied Sociology and worked in the 1980s and 1990s as a newspaper editor and journalist in Germany, Japan, China, South East Asia and West Africa. He was co-founder of a refugee organisation in the East German city of Magdeburg and between 1996 and 2003 Commissioner for Foreigners of the state government of Saxony-Anhalt. Between 2003 and 2012 Piening was the Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate.

Margarete Haaf-Sonntag is the administrator of the Intercultural Project Funds at the Senate Chancellery for Cultural Affairs in Berlin.

Alice Ströver was born in 1955 in Hannoversch Münden, Germany. She studied Communication and German Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, where she also taught Communication Studies between 1983 and 1988. Ströver is a politician of The Greens political party. For a short period, between June and November 2011, Ströver was State Secretary of the Senate Chancellery for Science, Research and Culture in Berlin. Between 1995 and 2011 she was a member of the Berlin State Parliament and Chairwoman of the Committee for Cultural Affairs.

Philippa Ebéné is the first Black German manager and artistic director of a state-subsidised cultural institution in the city of Berlin, the Werkstatt der Kulturen in the district of Neukölln. Prior to her appointment at the Werkstatt der Kulturen in 2008, Philippa Ebéné worked as an actress, PR consultant and advocate for Black German film and theatre workers in Germany. She is the founder of the Black German theatre company abok.
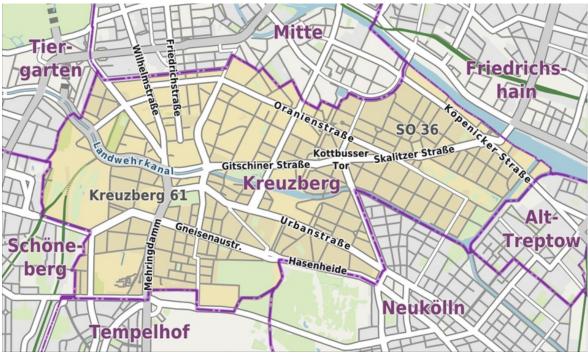
Andreas Freudenberg is a cultural manager and educator and the managing director of the Global Music Academy in Berlin. Between 1994 and 2008 Freudenberg was director of the Werkstatt der Kulturen. He is one of the initiators of the Berlin Karneval der Kulturen (Carnival of Cultures).
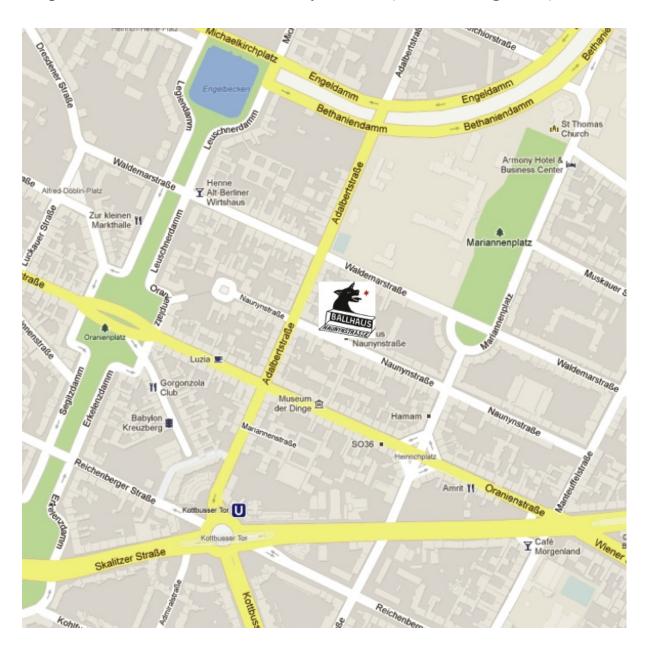
Appendix 2: Maps with Berliner Districts and Locations of Theatres, Arts and Cultural Institutions
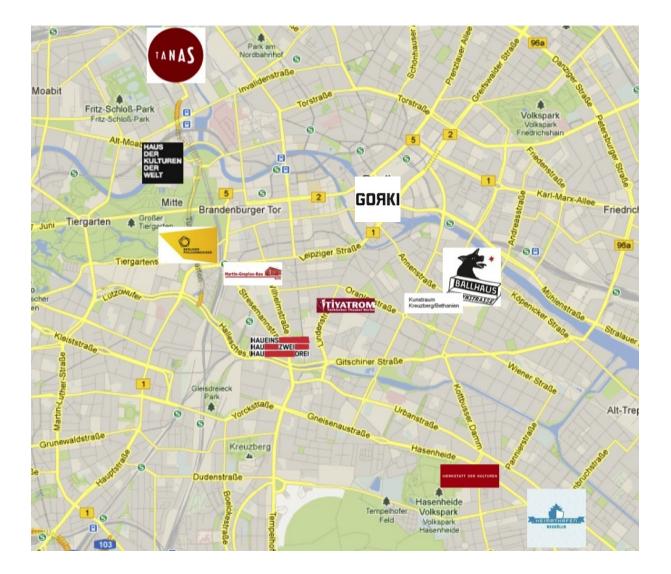
Map of all districts of Berlin

Map of Berlin-Kreuzberg (divided in the two old postal code areas of SO36 and SO61) and neighbouring districts

Map with location of Ballhaus Naunynstrasse (in Kreuzberg SO36)

BALLHAUS NAUNYNSTRASSE
Naunynstrasse 27
10999 Berlin
Germany

Map with locations of theatres, arts and cultural institutions stated in the thesis

1. Ballhaus Naunynstrasse
2. Maxim Gorki Theatre/GORKI
3. Hebbel Am Ufer Theatre/HAUEINS/HAUZWEI/HAUDREI
4. Kunstraum Kreuzberg Bethanien
5. Tiyatrom
6. Werkstatt der Kulturen
7. Heimathafen Neukölln
8. Martin-Gropius-Bau
9. Berliner Philharmonie
10. Tanas (closed down)
11. Haus der Kulturen der Welt