

Between Migration and Integration

Representing Religious Boundaries in Swiss

Documentaries

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INTRODUCTION

Migration has been and continues to be fundamental to economical production and public services in Switzerland, yet it is also a hotly contested topic in both political and public discourse. In February 2014, for example, Swiss voters narrowly accepted—with 50.1 percent in favor—an initiative of the populist rightwing SVP (Schweizerische Volkspartei [Swiss People's Party]) Party to restrict immigration. Subsequent media discussion made evident the diversity of possible interpretations of this outcome, but undoubtedly the result of this debate was its expression of the discomfort certain groups felt about the number of immigrants—entering Switzerland every year. According to Swiss national statistics for 2013, 23.3 percent of the population does not have Swiss citizenship¹ and a total of 34.7 percent (including the 23.3 percent of the population without Swiss citizenship) are first or second generation immigrants, some of whom have been naturalized.² Public and cultural life in Switzerland mirrors these statistics, as im-

1 http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/themen/01/02/blank/key/alter/nach_staatsangehoerigkeit.html [June 15 2016].

2 <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/04.html> [June 15 2016].

migration and cultural diversity both enrich and challenge Swiss society. Switzerland's multicultural character leaves distinct traces across cultural fields, including the media.³

In this chapter I explore the representation of cultural-religious identities in two Swiss documentaries, *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* [ZWISCHEN ZWEI WELTEN] (Yusuf Yesilöz, CH 2006) and *OUR GARDEN EDEN* [UNSER GARTEN EDEN] (Mano Khalil, CH 2010). Both films were made by immigrants, and both address migration and religion, raising questions about the formation of identities and processes of integration and exclusion.⁴ The films are discussed here as heuristic reflections on religion and identity under circumstances of migration.

In examining the interaction of religious identity, migration, and documentary film, I argue that questions of migration can be located within a variety of geographical, economic, and cultural spaces. Documentaries offer a specific form of cultural space for the migration event in which production, representation, and communication are intertwined. Filmmakers, social actors, and audiences become active protagonists in processes of migration as they draw and cross boundaries within notions of a "Swiss" and other cultures. They communicate with cultural-religious codes, linking production, representation, and communication together. Employing the concept of religious boundaries, I show how the migration of values and worldviews is reflected in documentaries and how this process provides a space in which cultural-religious identities are constructed and negotiated.

The analysis is divided into three parts that scrutinize the relationship between filmic representation of immigrants (cf. Hall 1997), immigrants' self-expression, and filmic discourse about immigrants (cf. Fiske 1987; 2011; Nichols 1991). First, I consider the social actors' religious back-

3 <https://www.bfm.admin.ch/content/dam/data/migration/statistik/auslaenderstatistik/2013/auslaenderstatistik-2013-12-d.pdf> [June 15 2016].

4 I locate processes of identity formation within boundary-making theories (cf. Dahinden/Moret/Duemmler 2011; Sökefeld 2011; Wimmer 2010), noting how religion generates boundary markers. The boundary concept discussed here is rooted in the social sciences and analyzes two processes: one process describes how individuals connect with other individuals in order to create a sense of belonging to a specific group through inclusion, and the other process describes how individuals deal with exclusion from groups.

grounds and the use of religious markers in the filmic narration—the films are about Alevis and Muslims—asking how the films link religious references by migrants to Swiss religious, cultural, and political spaces. Second, by drawing into my analysis information about the films, directors, and production, I consider the documentaries' depiction, adaptation, and transformation of religion in context. And finally, I discuss how documentaries as communication spaces (cf. Odin 2012: 155 et seqq.) contribute at a theoretical level to filmic discourse about religion, migration, and integration in Switzerland.

RELIGION IN THE MEDIA

This paper is framed by an approach that understands religion as a cultural phenomenon involved in multiple interactions with other cultural fields and therefore emphasizes the construction of religion in the public sphere (cf. Casanova 1994; 2008; 2009) and at various levels of communication (cf. Stolz: 2001a; 2001b). For their conception of religion, Fritz Stolz and Stewart Hoover link Clifford Geertz's anthropological approach (cf. 1966) to Niklas Luhmann's system-based approach (cf. 1998). Although specific criticisms of both approaches are certainly justified (cf. Assad 1993; Kippenberg/von Stuckrad 2003; Üehlinger 2006), in studies of media, communication theory provides a useful means of approaching religion (cf. Woodhead 2011; Krech 2012).

The use and processing of media reconstruct and transform symbolic systems within religion not only in the sense of interpreting but also generating ideas about the world (cf. Gladigow 2005: 34-39). This chapter considers such communication within religion by focusing on representations of religious identities in documentary media, supplemented by consideration of the two ends of these representations—production spaces and communication spaces. At each end we find protagonists with an active role in medial communication, as makers and consumers. Additionally the medium has its own fund of symbols and codes that can be used to address, process, and transmit ideas about cultural-religious identity. An understanding of religion that places communication at center stage links production and multiple communication spaces with levels of activity (cf. Krech 2012). These

points of reference mark out the framework within which religion and the media can be examined.

The topic of migration opens up three constitutive perspectives on religion in society. First, we can adopt an emic-practical perspective, according to which social actors, religious specialists, citizens and immigrants perform religious rituals, reflect on religion, and/or interact within religious communities. These participants express their own opinions about religion. Second, terms and concepts employed in the humanities and social sciences are indicative of an analytical-scientific perspective defining or offering heuristic tools how to work with or how to understand religion. And finally, journalists, filmmakers, photographers, artists and other media actors generate a third perspective, which can be defined as the media perspective: they write, report, and speak about religion and construct religious categories in their own ways, transmitted through the media. A fourth perspective comes into play through documentaries, as the connections between the emic-practical and media perspectives are engaged through the involvement of immigrants as directors, writers, and social actors. The differentiation of these four perspectives is a theoretical concept, which intersects, complements, and diverges in specific cases.

According to Stewart Hoover, research in the field of media and religion has taken two primary directions: (1) examination of the ways in which religious groups and traditions use the media in the practice of their religion and (2) investigation of the engagement of the media with religion (cf. Hoover 2005; Linderman 1997). In the Swiss documentaries discussed here, which were produced by or represent immigrants, the second approach is key: the films provide a space within which individuals and groups reflect upon religion, belonging, and identity. Contemporary life is increasingly complex; institutional means of orientation, such as specific churches, may be lacking in the immigrants' new environment such that individuals thus are left without the institutional support or control they had been used to.⁵ Therefore, documentaries should be conceptualized as spaces in which producers and consumers can engage in an exchange about concepts of religious and cultural identity.

5 See also the term “self-narratives” introduced by Marjo Buitelaar and Hetty Zock (2013).

CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITY IN BOUNDARY-MAKING PROCESSES

In the following discussion identity is understood not as a fixed concept but as something arising from processes in which social actors deal with varied affiliations (cf. Bochsinger 2012; Allenbach 2011; Faltin/Wright 2007). Stuart Hall refers to this conceptualization of identity in his paper *Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representations* (2004: 386-397), in which he underscores that “cultural identity” is created and refined through fragmentation, difference, and heterogeneity. In the “act of an imaginative re-discovery” (Hall 2004: 387), individuals produce an artificial unity that determines “their” cultural identity. This act can be understood as a practice and can be represented by and through different forms of (artistic) expression, such as documentaries. As Hall notes, identity is a matter of becoming: “Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation.” (ibid.: 388). That act of transformation can be described as an “imaginative re-discovery” (ibid.: 387) and is central to practices of identification, which are in turn processes that undergo continuous modification.

Like Hall, the Swiss anthropologist Andreas Wimmer underscores that boundaries between groups and ideas are constantly shifting:

“A boundary displays both a categorical and a social or behavioral dimension. The former refers to acts of *social classification and collective representation*; the latter to everyday networks of relationships that result from *individual acts of connecting and distancing*. On the individual level, the categorical and the behavioral aspects appear as two cognitive schemes. One divides the social world into social groups—into “us” and “them”—and the other offers *scripts of action*—how to relate to individuals classified as “us” and “them” under given circumstances. Only when the two schemes coincide, when ways of seeing the world correspond to ways of acting in the world, shall I speak of a social boundary”. (2008: 975)

With such an interpretation in mind, I discuss documentaries as a cultural practice through which boundaries can be drawn and negotiated. The social dimension of ‘belonging’ concerns individual acts of connecting and distancing while categorization addresses social classification and collectively shared representations.

Identity-shaping processes found in the media are varied and can involve individuals or communities and typically express tensions generated by sociocultural boundaries and demarcations. Narratives of migration are particularly striking when the perspectives of migrants are set alongside the perspectives of the indigenous population, as in the two examples considered here. We must recognize within the processes that shape identities both those which operate at the individual and collective levels, and the interaction of these levels, but we must also take care to distinguish between attributions to a self and to the other as another crucial aspect. If we talk about identity-shaping processes in the media the perspective from which such processes are communicated needs to be considered. The question of who is representing whom is central and frames the relation between production and representation.

As noted, this chapter sits at the intersection of religious identity and representation-focused documentaries. Also under our lens is the role played by religion and culture in documentaries, including the ways in which religious symbol systems provide orientation for subjects and communities. While religious and cultural affiliation can be understood as a means of disassociation, such affiliation can also be seen as a means of association, be it with individuals or groupings. These mutually-constituting and diametrically opposed practices, association and dissociation, are the principal practices of boundary-making processes. Boundaries therefore not only determine categories but are also socially- and behaviorally-constituted (cf. Wimmer 2005: 32-41). Audio-visual representations—and here specifically documentaries—provide a practical context in which theoretical definitions of religious symbols and elements, powerful boundary markers, are given form.

THE COMMUNICATION SPACES OF DOCUMENTARY MEDIA

The concept of documentary media, which covers television documentaries, television reporting, reality series, documentary films, and educational films, is based on the semio-pragmatic model developed by Roger Odin (cf. 2000; 2002; 2011; 2012). This approach situates audiovisual media in tension with film and the communication spaces within which media function

(cf. Kessler 2002: 106). In place of the binary categories of fiction and non-fiction, semio-pragmatics posit a theoretical approach based on the variety of situations in which communication takes place, including a reception context that allows for a documentarizing reading. This reading is generated and steered both by clues within the media itself (internal reading instructions) and also by information provided by the medium's context (external reading instructions). The institutional context within which the audiovisual sources are distributed is an additional facet impacting the communication spaces of documentary media.

The two documentaries on which the following discussion focuses, *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* and *OUR GARDEN EDEN*, were both co-produced and distributed by SRF, the Swiss national television channel. The institutional framing of these documentaries enables their official screening within publicly funded television programming. The Swiss national organization *Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung* [Education for Sustainable Development] and its German partner organization *Evangelisches Zentrum für entwicklungsbezogene Filmarbeit* [Protestant Center for Development-related Film] have provided pedagogical material related to *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* for teachers' use in the classroom.⁶ *OUR GARDEN EDEN* also received additional institutional support when it was awarded the European Media prize given by Civis in 2012. Civis holds that "to accept the ethnic, cultural and religious changes as reality and to positively shape them is one of the central tasks of the European societies and politics."⁷ Recognition by an institution such as Civis fosters and defines *the communication spaces* in which the film might be received.

Odin refers to a semiotic tradition which underscores that each signifier does not refer to a stable, fixed, and signified world. Constraints such as political, sociological, psychological, or religious contexts will bolster specific interpretations. Distinct *communication spaces* recognize different contexts within which receivers are situated. We have, for example, institutionalized religious communication spaces alongside communication spaces determined by the documentary's spaces of production and representation. In the process of filmmaking religious codes pass from the space of produc-

6 <http://www.filmeeinenwelt.ch/deutsch/pagesnav/framesE4.htm?../pageswrk/52022a.htm&KA> [June 15 2016]

7 <https://www.civismedia.eu/index.php?id=9&L=1> [June 15 2016]

tion to the spaces of representation and communication, from where they can flow on in an extending process of cultural production.

Cultural-religious symbols and references incorporate a complex codification that relates to, indeed intersects with, other code systems in society. The result is a cultural tension in which values, habits, and practices meet or even collide. Building on Hall's critical evaluation of the encoding-decoding model (cf. 2006; Stevenson 2004), this chapter distinguishes between the diverse codifications of cultural-religious symbols. Codes function as links between producers and filmmakers, documentaries, and communication spaces. Highly conscious of this tripartite structure with its interconnected elements, the analysis differentiates between codification levels. The profilmic event, "what occurre[s] in front of the camera" (Nichols 1991: 25), is already extant and found in elements in documentaries such as social actors, language, and clothing; specific filmic-generated codes form representation such as sound, frame, and editing (cf. Odin 2000; Fiske 1987). The variance between social-profilmic codes and specifically audiovisual codes (representation) helps to determine the level at which the message is constructed and how the filmmaker communicates that message through the film. Additionally, social-profilmic codes and filmic codes can be linked whereby certain attributions are produced aesthetically.

BOUNDARY-MAKING PROCESSES IN *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* AND *OUR GARDEN EDEN*

In what follows I discuss *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* and *Our Garden Eden* in light of boundary-making processes. First, by looking at the director's context, I consider the relationship between an emic-practical perspective and a media perspective in the spaces of production, representation, and communication of *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS*.

Filmmaker Yusuf Yesilöz (born 1964) emigrated from Kurdistan to Switzerland in 1987. He has been a Swiss citizen since 1995 and is politically active, specifically as an immigrant, in providing the public with information about persecuted people in Kurdistan, a theme that has also been the focus of several novels he has authored. *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* tells of the successful integration of Güli Dogan, a Kurdish woman who immigrated to Switzerland as a child. In one sequence religion is introduced

through footage from a television report from 1984: while we hear Güli's mother answering questions asked by the director in Kurdish-Zaza, footage is cut in. At the beginning of this report Güli Dogan as a child is sitting with her family on the sofa in their apartment. The family is filmed in a medium shot and the camera pans from left to right showing the whole family. Her mother is wearing a headscarf and other family members' clothing, language and habitus refers to a foreign culture. The television reporter asks Güli from off-screen: "How was it for you when you came to Switzerland?"⁸ While Güli is answering the question, the visual narration cuts again to the younger Güli who is filmed in a shoulder close-up (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Güli Dogan as a child in a television report from 1984



Source: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, Yusuf Yesilöz, CH 2006, Distributor: Filme für eine Welt, Bern/CH

The report is cross cut by a more recent interview with the adult Güli in her apartment during which she reminisces about her time at school and the dif-

8 The English dialogue given here is drawn from the subtitles of the DVD edition (Distributor: Filme für eine Welt, Bern 2006).

difficulties she faced when she immigrated to Switzerland. The difference between the two shots of Güli as child and as adult is remarkable. The viewers is aware of more than the passage of twenty years—she/he witnesses Güli’s transformation from an insecure Kurdish girl, obviously recently immigrated, to a self-conscious Swiss women in a modern setting (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Güli Dogan as an adult and married woman with two children



Source: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, CH 2006

In the second part of the footage Güli is asked to explain what she thinks the greatest differences between Turks and the Swiss are. Her response:

Güli: They think differently.

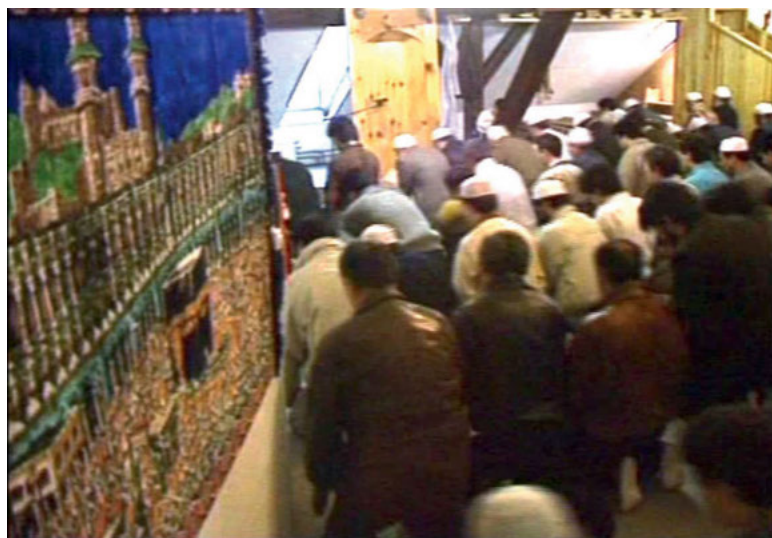
Reporter: How so?

Güli: The Turks are a bit too traditional and more God-centered. They also live and dress differently.

The narrative switches to the adult Güli speaking about how ashamed she was of her parents’ appearance. She is now partly speaking in Kurdish-Zaza: “I was ashamed of them. Especially of my mother and her headscarf.” A Kurdish-Zaza extradiegetic female voice fades in, singing a traditional song over a montage of some photos of Güli as a child. After this sequence adult-Güli reflects again on the restrictions she experienced during

her puberty as a female teenager. In one case “one of those pious conservatives”, as Güli remembers, saw her outside hanging around with young people. He threatened to tell her father that she had been socializing with boys. “It was his daughter who always flirted with the boys in the Koran course. This injustice almost made me burst,” Güli recounts. During this last statement the shot changes to television footage of the Swiss channel from 1992 filmed in Basel. We see a shot of a Muezzin from the rear calling for the evening prayer. In the following shot the muezzin is filmed from the front view. On the right margin of the frame such “pious conservative” men are entering the mosque for the prayer, the consecutive editing suggests (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: The television footage of a Mosque in Basel 1992 shows “pious conservative” Muslim praying.



Source: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, CH 2006

The director reports in the voice-over: “The new wave of fundamentalism in the Eighties fell on fertile ground with the immigrants in Switzerland.” He explains how men with a “village-type religion” became fundamentalist after moving abroad. In the next shot a madrassa is shown. Muslim girls in headscarves are sitting in front of the Koran reciting prayers. Yesilöz nar-

rates how Güli's father sent his children to the madrassa in Winterthur, apparently not the one reported in the footage, although he was of the Alevite faith, because he didn't want to appear irreligious. The editing shifts to the more recent interview with Güli, in which she expresses disapproval about the courses in the madrassa because the teachers "bought off" the children with chocolate and coke.

This short sequence is indicative of how Yesilöz adopts an emic-practical perspective of the religious affiliation of immigrants in Switzerland in the production space. The filmmaker explores the issues of belonging in a digression on a fundamental Muslim movement in Switzerland. Yesilöz, who is Kurdish, is obviously critical of this Muslim community and favors, as it becomes clear, the Alevis, a separate Muslim community. Although Güli Doğan is not herself an active member of the Alevi community, she expresses interest in the faith and plans to introduce her two daughters to it. Despite Güli not being active in the faith, at the end of the film Yesilöz shows an Alevitic ritual in great detail (see Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: The display of the Alevite ritual favors the Alevis, a separate Muslim community.



Source: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, CH 2006

Within the space of representation, the film seeks to delineate the boundaries between different Turkish people by drawing religious borders within the aesthetic of the film. These demarcations are introduced and cultivated,

in this case, by the filmmaker and not by the subjects of the documentary. The director's voice-over acts as a strong means of producing and highlighting the differences between Kurds and Muslims. Throughout the narration filmic parameters shape and interact with religious codes, symbols, topics, and statements by the subjects of the documentary. In a highly simplified manner, Yesilöz' dramaturgy connects Alevism with the educated and successfully integrated Güli Dogan, juxtaposing her with less educated, non-integrated and more traditional Muslims. The film expresses the specific worldview of one Kurdish immigrant, a view that is close to that of the documentary's main protagonist.

Despite the simplistic narrative portrayed in the documentary's space of representation, varied perspectives are possible in the space of communication. Alevi's interpretation of the film may be different from that of Muslims, who may be offended by what they see. The possible audiences are, however, many, and include professional critics, Turks, and Swiss citizens. The social actors portrayed in the documentary offer diverse perspectives, but in light of her successful integration, Güli Dogan still occupies a privileged position.

In *OUR GARDEN EDEN*, the depiction of migrants is as intimate as that in *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS*, but concerns several biographies. The analysis of the second example focuses on the profilmic, cultural-religious codes in the space of production and the editing in the space of representation. These codes identify diverse groups that distance themselves from one another through boundary-making processes.⁹ The story depicts people of different cultural backgrounds. Although they all share a single barbecue in their garden, the Muslims among the gardeners cannot grill their meat on a spit, which was previously used to cook pork. To solve the problem, one member decides to build a barbecue with two spits—one for those who eat pork and one for those who do not eat pork. The narrative of the film is structured around the construction of the second barbecue spit (see Fig. 5).

9 The Swiss director Mano Khalil (born 1964) has Syrian-Kurdish roots and lives in Switzerland since 1996. After studying history and law in Damascus, he immigrated to Czechoslovakia where he studied film; he later worked as an independent filmmaker for Slovakian television.

Fig. 5: The construction of a pork spit structures the narration.



Source: OUR GARDEN EDEN, Mano Khalil, CH 2010, Distributor: Look Now!, Zürich/CH

In the following close reading of a sequence I situate the cultural-religious codes in the profilmic production space because I assume that they exist before and external to the shooting. Almost all of the senses are involved in the boundary-making processes that are a product of the interaction of the people in this allotment garden. On the auditory level French, German, Serb, Portuguese, and Turkish are all heard. On the visual level, each person's clothing provides a conspicuous line of demarcation: while traditional clothing and scarves cover the whole body of the Muslim woman, the Portuguese women and men are dressed in more revealing leisurewear. The members of the allotment garden discuss food rules, and are shown preparing food or while eating. The cultural groups discuss different food regulations in the garden in a sequence that also draws boundaries within the senses of smell and taste as each group speaks about what they like to eat and what they dislike. Most of the Muslims disassociate themselves from the pork-eating group by underscoring that they will not contravene their religious laws, as demonstrated in the following example from the Muslim women (see also Fig. 6):

Fig. 6: The Muslim woman Fatma explains her food rules.



Source: OUR GARDEN EDEN, CH 2010.

Women 1: Normally it's made with meat or fish, but here it's only with vegetables.

Fatma: Because of Fatma?

Woman 2: But you eat fish too?

Fatma: Yes, but no pork.

Two further codes related to national identity and gender are used to draw boundaries between men and women, and between individuals' cultural backgrounds. The people portrayed in the documentary are originally from Portugal, Poland, Italy, Serbia, and North Africa, and they underscore and explain their own behavior as well as the actions of the others by referencing nationality and cultural background. For the Swiss-African couple, who have been together for more than thirty years, the conflict about the barbecue is without foundation. The wife has Christian roots, while the husband was raised Muslim. They humorously explain their tolerant attitude by an allegorical comparison of their relationship with a pig and a lamb going on a walk (see Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Swiss-African couple

Source: OUR GARDEN EDEN, CH 2010.

Wife: They [the spits] don't even touch each other. I can't understand the hardliners. The pig doesn't touch the lamb, the lamb doesn't touch the pig. There should be no problem.

Husband: The fire burns the fat automatically. Since the lamb is on the top and the pig on the bottom, the [pig's] fat doesn't drip onto the other meat.

Wife: Yes, they don't touch each other.

Husband: It's like when we take a walk together. [Both laughing]

Wife: Pig and ... [Pointing to her husband]

Husband: Pig and lamb. [Both laughing]

In their dialogue, the couple draws a clear boundary between pork eaters and non-pork eaters and positions themselves in Christian and Muslim contexts, but their communication of this demarcation goes even further. When the husband points to his (Christian) wife calling her a pig and himself a lamb while they cross their arms pretending to walk together as pig and lamb, they clearly communicate the belief that the two can coexist. They subvert the boundaries between him as a Muslim and her as a Christian "pork eater" with this humorous wordplay and action. Their behavior seems contagiously jolly as each enters verbally and bodily the space occupied by the other. The short scene about the barbecue is intercut by further opinions about and of Muslim people. While the other social actors vocalize a clear

boundary between Muslim and non-Muslim, the Swiss-African couple uses intimacy and humor to cross boundaries.

Within the space of representation, the narration is determined through a specific editing strategy, which interweaves national, cultural, food, language, and religious codes expressed by the social actors. The montage generates a discourse about food and social negotiations in a multicultural setting. The topic of the barbecue structures the narrative into chapters, within which the participants from the allotment garden reflect upon their lives, challenges, joys and fears.

In the space of communication, responses to the social actors' statements will be determined by the perspectives and interests each individual or group brings to the viewing experience. An audience member with no experience of allotment gardens will likely be distanced from the plot, while a passionate allotment gardener might recall similar incidents. A Muslim might feel a certain closeness to the Muslims in the documentary who are facing the challenges of sharing a barbecue. The documentary chooses a well-balanced view of the various parties, avoiding one-sided representational codes.

RELIGIOUS BOUNDARIES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The two documentaries illustrate the interaction of three different spaces in negotiating religious identity through boundary-making processes. Religious codes are strategically used and shaped in both examples, sometimes similarly but just as often in markedly different ways. I conclude with some comparative thoughts about the three spaces of the two documentaries:

(1) The space of production: The directors are immigrants, and this cultural background is crucial for the thematic development of their works, for they bring their experiences and concepts into the production process. Both films were shot in Switzerland, thus determining the setting. The social actors including the filmmakers imbue the profilmic space with their religious codes.

(2) The space of representation: Conventional filmic codes that structure the narration allow both internal and external perspectives of cultural-religious identity. The social actors draw specific boundaries within and between various groupings by displaying cultural-religious codes such as food

laws, which are used as demarcation lines, as a means of defining themselves and others through principles of inclusion and exclusion.

(3) The space of communication: The audience actively participates in this filmic discourse about religious identity because the documentaries present and encourage diverse perspectives. Through the expression of pre-determined judgments, *BETWEEN TWO WORLDS* becomes more polarized. The social actor Güli Dogan is central to the narration and her depiction is orientated toward a progressive take on traditional values and regulations. The emic-medial perspective of filmmaker Yesilöz favors Güli's position as he contrasts her cultural-religious background with a fundamental Muslim group; this representation strategy leaves little room for other opinions. Khalil's intent, by contrast, is to foster diversity, and because *OUR GARDEN EDEN* does not have the same focus on an individual case, the social actors can themselves embody diverse opinions. This representational strategy allows for a plurality of communication spaces to be formed between audience and social actors.

Even while their filmic perspectives on religious identity vary, these documentaries contribute to themes of migration and integrational practices by staging religious boundaries in one place adopted from another. They negotiate religious concepts and traditions, disseminating them from filmic production spaces via representation and communication into a cultural production space offered to the audience. Documentaries are laboratories in which migration processes can be examined and activated. Depending on the documentary's approach it might result in integrational proposals. On a theoretical level, the investigation of migration and integration highlights the value systems generated in such processes. Documentaries of this kind can reveal the codes behind the (re)construction of religious symbols and references and might shed light on the function of religious elements within the public sphere, which constantly changes not only but also through immigration (cf. Taylor 2011).

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