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# Minority and Immigrant Representation in Recent European Cinema

The representation of minority and immigrant experience has been taken up by a wide cross-section of contemporary European filmmakers, including Gianni Amelio, Tony Gatlif, Constantine Giannaris, Michael Haneke, Yesim Ustaoglu and Michael Winterbottom. The work of these filmmakers addresses many of the most prominent and controversial aspects of contemporary European immigration and multiculturalism, such as the large-scale migration of Albanians after the fall of Communism, the influx of Afghani and Kurdish political refugees, the continued persecution and marginalization of Romani (“Gypsy”) populations, the human trafficking of women in Europe’s sex industries, and the challenge (purportedly) posed by Muslim minorities to European secularism. While the films dealing with these issues employ conventions long associated with European cinema, the incommensurabilities of immigrant and minority experience require us to reevaluate the spectatorial dynamics of European film practice across axes of difference. In this essay, I will consider the strategies of identification used in European cinematic representations of immigrant and minority identities, the striking diversity of which reflects the uneven social dynamics framing multiculturalism debates in contemporary Europe.

## Identification

Since the emergence of neo-realism in postwar Italy, realism has been the dominant aesthetic approach to the representation of disenfranchised European

populations. Two recent films, Michael Winterbottom’s *In This World* (2002) and Stavros Ioannou’s *Roadblocks* (2000), use documentary realism to document the journeys of immigrants into contemporary Europe. *In This World* follows the journey of two Afghan teenagers, Jamal and Enayat, from their refugee camp in northwest Pakistan to the U.K., and *Roadblocks* tells the story of Ahmet, a Kurdish refugee denied asylum by the Greek state and living in protest with other Kurds in a public square in Athens. Both filmmakers tell their stories with a remarkable immediacy, shooting on location with a minimal crew, working off threadbare scripts without pre-determined dialogue and casting non-professional actors in their real-life occupations and circumstances.

In *In This World*, Jamal and Enayat are aided primarily by Pakistanis, Kurds, Turks, Persians, and Arabs – they have little to no contact with white Europeans and the film does not show any footage of Jamal once he arrives in the U.K. Similarly, in *Roadblocks*, the majority of the film takes place in Koumoundourou Square, a social space almost completely devoid of ethnic Greeks. While entry into Europe and integration into European society are the ostensible objectives of their protagonists, mainstream European society is largely invisible in these films. What we do see is a complex social web of minority and immigrant identities in various countries intersecting and interacting along the migratory circuits from Asia to Europe. The dangers and deprivations of these circuits are mitigated by their allowance of a certain unfettered expression of minority identity, away from

## EUROPEAN CINEMA

the demands and reprimands of dominant European institutions and discourse. Our exposure to these forms of expression is determined by the phase of immigrant experience being depicted. *In This World* is dominated by the journey itself, so that insights into Jamal and Enayat's subjectivities are furtive and fleeting, subordinated to the inexorable march towards Europe that lies at the heart of the narrative. By contrast, *Roadblocks* focuses on the experiences of Kurdish refugees who find themselves in a legal limbo that keeps them from migrating to other parts of Europe. With their journey interrupted, Ahmet and his companions have more time for conversation, remembrance, songs of protest, and sharing of dreams about the future.

Both films end with despondency and death: in *In This World*, Enayat expires in a harrowing boat journey from Turkey to Italy and Jamal is denied asylum to the U.K.; in *Roadblocks*, we find out that Ahmet died on his way to Italy and Ahmet's brother and his friend Zirek commit suicide by lighting themselves on fire in the middle of an Athens street. Prevented from staying in Europe by exclusionary state policies, these films' protagonists are left with no options. Their deaths and the end of their narratives feel inexorable, so that we seem to have reached a point at which representation itself breaks down. The fate of those migrants who do manage to enter European societies seems to lie outside of the purview of these films, and it remains unclear whether documentary realism will be the appropriate form by which to represent their

stories. In other words, while documentary realism has allowed us to better understand the dangers of the migratory journey, the unequivocal collapse of agency that occurs at the end of these films suggests that a different aesthetic approach will be required to represent the experience of immigrants once they establish a foothold in European society.

Stephen Frears' *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002) and Constantine Giannaris' *From the Edge of the City* (1998) feature minority characters struggling to survive on the margins of European society. Taking place in cosmopolitan centers (London and Athens respectively) these films show the vulnerability of recent immigrants to exploitation and cooptation by the criminal underworld. *Dirty Pretty Things* tells the story of Okwe, a Nigerian doctor and political exile who, along with his Turkish friend, Senay, gets mixed up in a black market organ transplant ring at the hotel where they both work. *From the Edge of the City* tells the story of Sasha, a young Kazakh immigrant of Greek ethnicity, who prostitutes himself to wealthy Athenians of both sexes, and spends much of his time cruising around with other disaffected immigrant youths, who, like him, struggle to reconcile their prostitution with the hyper-masculine expectations of male street culture.

Whereas in *Roadblocks* and *In This World*, European societies reject immigrants' offers of their labor power, *Dirty Pretty Things* and *From the Edge of the City* show the exploitation of immigrants whose offers are accepted. Both films deal with the commodification of



A double suicide provides the final searing image of Stavros Ioannou's *Roadblocks*.

immigrant bodies, whether through prostitution, sex slavery, rape in the workplace or organ removal. They show how the cycle of exploitation depends on the cooperation of members of minority and immigrant communities, who are called upon to oversee acts of exploitation or simply turn a blind eye to them. Okwe is asked to perform an illegal organ transplant operation on other immigrants lured into selling their organs in exchange for fake passports. Sasha pimps out Russian-speaking immigrant women, buying and selling them to and from other pimps as if they are property. By the end of these films, Okwe and Sasha renounce these roles for themselves, instead risking their lives to end the exploitation they see around them. Okwe tricks the leader of the transplant ring and thus saves Senay from being operated on and Sasha attempts to elope with Natasha, a woman he has been pimping out. By investing Okwe and Sasha with agency, Frears and Giannaris elucidate the social hierarchies and internal sites of oppression of minority communities and the ethical responsibilities of recent European immigrants as they gain status and power.

Where documentary realism was deemed appropriate for the representation of the migratory journey, Frears and Giannaris employ popular genres to represent the experience of immigrants once they arrive in Europe. Frears uses suspense thriller conventions to depict Okwe and Senay's attempts to escape police attention and unmask the leader of the transplant ring, replete with near misses, surprise plot twists, odious villains, humorous dialogue and a climactic narrative structure. Okwe's decision to help Senay sets in motion a series of events that fulfill audience expectations of suspense thriller conventions. By predicating the film's actualization of its generic conventions on Okwe's moral awakening, Frears mediates minority subjectivity through the pleasures of popular culture. Giannaris depicts the frenzied emptiness of Sasha's milieu through fast motion photography, disjointed editing, a pulsating club music soundtrack and a loose narrative structure punctuated by brief interview segments in which Sasha responds to questions posed by Giannaris from behind the camera. The disjunction between the sparse intimacy of the interview segments and the visual excess of the rest of the film allows Giannaris to interrogate the appropriateness of urban mythologies for the articulation of minority identity.

The incorporation of immigrant narratives within popular genres is made possible by the tawdry appeal of bodily exploitation, and both films run the risk of replicating the commodification of immigrant bodies through their own representations.

The four films discussed so far present their narratives almost entirely from the perspective of immigrant or minority characters. In so doing, they occlude the structural relationship between audiences and the forces of oppression in their narratives<sup>1</sup>. Firmly sutured into identification with these films' suffering protagonists, audiences are filled with a sense of "moral-ideological rectitude", which, according to Michelle Aaron, displaces our ethical responsibility for the horrors depicted on screen onto society as a whole: "[w]hen we are moved, we are absolving ourselves of responsibility. Our 'tears' are 'our bit' – they show we are able to recognise what is awful or wrong but that is usually all."<sup>2</sup> These films' mechanisms of identification collapse rather than explain the differences that structure contemporary European societies.<sup>3</sup> The documentary realism of *In This World* and *Roadblocks* obscures the social distance between their subjects and spectators, and thus fails to articulate the fears and desires that inform dominant conceptions of minorities and immigrants. *Dirty Pretty Things* and *From the Edge of the City* are more reflexive, acknowledging audience investments in minority culture by employing popular genres that foreground spectatorial pleasure. In *Dirty Pretty Things*, visual ironies are used to remind viewers of their preconceived notions about minorities such as when Okwe inspects the penises of his fellow cab drivers, a scene whose seeming sexual content is upended when we discover that Okwe is a trained doctor. In *From The Edge of the City*, gratuitous shots of Sasha's naked body and the interviewer's interrogation of Sasha's love life remind audiences of their investment in minority masculinities. But the mechanisms of identification in these films threaten to foreclose audience recognition of our ethical responsibility for the social injustices depicted on screen. This recognition is made possible in a set of films that construct their narratives around the class and racial identity of their audiences.

### Disidentification

Gianni Amelio's *Lamerica* (1994) and Yesim



Immigrant bodies for sale and on display in Constantine Giannaris' *From the Edge of the City*.

Ustaoglu's *Journey to the Sun* (1999) feature protagonists who are members of dominant groups, reflecting the class and racial identity of the majority of their viewers. Rather than identifying directly with immigrant or minority characters, audiences of these films are aligned with members of dominant groups who become sympathetic to minorities or immigrants after being mistaken for them. *Lamerica* tells the story of Gino, an Italian man who visits Albania in search of an Albanian man who can serve as chairman of an Italian-Albanian sham company established for tax evasion reasons. When Spiro, the Albanian man selected, goes missing, Gino frantically searches for him amid the throngs of Albanians traveling to the Adriatic coast in the hope of migrating to Italy. Amid the social chaos of this mass migration, Gino loses his car and passport: stripped of his identity, he becomes a de facto Albanian migrant, imprisoned, struggling to survive, herded from one mode of transport to another. *Journey to the Sun* tells the story of Mehmet, a man of Turkish ethnicity from western Turkey, who is arrested in Istanbul after a man leaves a gun under his seat on a public bus. Mistaken for a Kurdish rebel because of his dark skin, Mehmet is blackballed after his release from jail, losing his job and apartment. With the help of Breslan, his Kurdish friend, Mehmet takes on a series of menial jobs in the impoverished parts of town where many Kurds live.

Instead of criticizing state policies of exclusion as *In this World* and *Roadblocks* do, *Lamerica* and *Journey to the Sun* focus on the fallacies of national 'common sense', such as the apathy of national majorities to the plight of immigrants and minorities. In *Lamerica*,

we discover that Spiro is in fact Michele Talarico, an Italian man who deserted Mussolini's army when it occupied Albania on the eve of World War II. After the Communists took over, Michele was imprisoned for fifty years and changed his identity to Albanian in order to escape further persecution. Michele's story reveals how quickly social hierarchies can be inverted with the changing of regimes, destabilizing the notion that Italians will always dominate Albanians. In *Journey to the Sun*, the dislocation felt by Kurds who move to Istanbul is also felt by ethnic Turks who move to the city from rural areas – both groups are separated from their families and their homes. In fact, Mehmet is aided by the extensive Kurdish political network that Breslan belongs to in order to find work after his imprisonment. The inversion of social hierarchies in both of these films suggests to audiences that the dislocation, destitution and persecution that immigrants and minorities face could happen to them too, challenging the complacency of privilege.

Another aspect of national 'common sense' that is challenged by these films is the denial of personal responsibility for the plight of immigrants and minorities. At the beginning of *Lamerica*, we hear Gino's boss, Fiore, talk condescendingly about Albanians' lack of work ethic and disorganization, ignoring the structural inequalities of the European nation-state system and the role of predatory Italian capitalism in Albanian underdevelopment. In the course of his harrowing journey with Spiro/Michele, Gino becomes intimately acquainted with the limited agency of Albania's disenfranchised masses, making blaming the victim no longer tenable. In *Journey to*

A Kurdish village flooded in  
Yesim Ustaoglu's *Journey to  
the Sun*



*the Sun*, after Breslan is beaten to death by police, Mehmet decides to take his corpse back to Zorduch, Breslan's home village in southeastern Turkey. When he arrives in Zorduch he finds the village completely under water, flooded due to government-sponsored development projects. By discovering the complex realities of Kurdish persecution and marginalization in Turkey, Mehmet comes to realize the role of his own ignorance in perpetuating them.

What is harrowing about *Lamerica* and *Journey to the Sun* is the extraordinary loss of rights and privileges engendered by their sudden collapse of social difference. But the everyday traumas of multiculturalism for members of majority groups are more a function of increased social proximity to difference rather than a function of its complete erasure. It is this more common form of multicultural anomie that Michael Haneke's cinema investigates.

In Michael Haneke's French-language films, *Code Unknown* (2000) and *Caché* (2005), multiculturalism engenders a systematic and pervasive destabilization of social hierarchies, suggesting a significant realignment in societal relations. In these films, bourgeois privilege is challenged during traumatic multicultural encounters that reveal the breakdown of spatial demarcations between majority and minority groups in postcolonial France. Haneke keeps the identities of these groups distinct but reduces the social distance between them so that societal inequalities are foregrounded and rendered untenable.

Haneke's cinema references contemporary French anti-immigrant discourse that has presented

immigration as an invasion threatening French national culture, cohesion and security. *Caché* features a home 'invasion' that threatens the reputation of its bourgeois protagonist. A series of menacing videos and notes are sent to the home of the Laurents, a bourgeois family living in Paris. Georges, the family patriarch, suspects Majid, who as a child was briefly adopted by Georges' parents after his own parents disappeared; likely killed in the infamous slaughter of Algerian immigrants by Paris police on October 17, 1961. As Georges zealously searches for Majid, his relationship with his wife, Anne, is compromised when devastating secrets are revealed about his culpability in Majid's childhood expulsion from his family home. In Haneke's cinema, traumatic multicultural encounters animate the public sphere as well. In *Caché*, Georges is unable to intimidate a bicyclist of African descent after they almost run into each other. In *Code Unknown*, the film's protagonist, Anne, a Parisian actress, is mercilessly harassed by an Arab man in the subway. The state is absent during these encounters, suggesting that multicultural antagonisms will increasingly animate the public sphere so long as social inequality persists in European societies.

Unlike the films already discussed, Haneke's cinema is not centered around the humanization of immigrant or minority characters. Instead they are represented in a way that reveals the distorting lens of bourgeois fears and anxieties over multiculturalism. Immigrant or minority characters exhibit an agency that seems inscrutable and unpredictable to bourgeois characters and audiences alike. In *Code Unknown*, the



## EUROPEAN CINEMA

harassment that Anne suffers through in the subway remains unexplained for her and viewers alike. In *Caché*, Majid's denial of culpability for Georges' harassment and his later suicide upend Georges' preconceived notions about Majid's guilt. The appearance of Majid's son towards the end of the film comes as a surprise to Georges and audiences alike, challenging antiquated bourgeois conceptions of immigrants as isolated individuals without a family and a permanent, intergenerational claim on French citizenship. A similar effect is engendered by the incident that opens *Code Unknown*, in which Amadou, a French citizen of African descent comes to the defense of Maria, a destitute Romanian woman without residency papers, signaling unforeseen allegiances between immigrant and minority characters.

Instead of enjoying a privileged access to the subjectivities of immigrant or minority characters that allows us to (think we) better understand them, spectators of Haneke's films are mired in the flawed perspectives of bourgeois characters, an effect heightened by narrational ambiguity that renders narrative events indeterminate and opaque. In *Caché*, the mystery at the heart of the narrative remains unresolved as we never find out the identity of Georges' harasser. In *Code Unknown*, a series of traumatic scenes involving Anne seem to be really happening to her only to later be revealed to be acting scenes. Here, as in *Caché*, we are made to initially overvalue the bourgeois protagonist's distress only to discover that it is the product of bourgeois privilege (the catharsis of acting in Anne's case, colonial-era hierarchies in Georges' case). In these ways, Haneke's films are characterized by radical particularism and epistemological relativism that challenge the pretense of universality of French Republicanism and European cosmopolitanism.

Mechanisms of identification are here short-circuited in favor of an unrelenting criticism of dominant conceptions of multiculturalism and immigration. By denying audiences access to the subjectivities of immigrant and minority characters, Haneke stifles the potentially deleterious implications of identification that seeks to collapse rather than understand difference. Yet the immersion in bourgeois subjectivity reduces immigrant or minority characters to mere symbolic placeholders in the narrative structure. As Paul Gilroy says with regard to *Caché*,

When the Majids of this world are allowed to develop into deeper, rounded characters endowed with all the psychological gravity and complexity that is taken for granted in ciphers like Georges, we will know that substantive progress has been made towards breaking the white, bourgeois monopoly on dramatizing the stresses of lived experience in this modernity.<sup>4</sup>

Yet well-rounded depictions have their own problems given the inability of empathetic identification to articulate the ethical responsibilities of spectatorship across axes of difference. A third way is presented in the films of Tony Gatlif, whose strategies of self-representation aim to navigate between the twin perils of identification and disidentification.

### Self-Representation

In the films of Romani director Tony Gatlif, the emphasis is on Romani cultural performance, whose popularity has garnered Gatlif's cinema international attention and acclaim. The Roma are Europe's largest and most persecuted minority, more socially marginalized, impoverished and politically disenfranchised than any other people on the continent. They have been disproportionately affected by the rapid marketization and resurgent nationalisms of Eastern European states, leading to widespread destitution, an increase in racist attacks and heightened levels of westward migration. Paradoxically, Romanies have been objects of fascination for hundreds of years in European literature and scholarship, coming to symbolize a utopian alternative to the social constraints of mainstream society. Anikó Imre says that "[r]omanticized Gypsy freedom is often called upon, worldwide, to represent a collective or individual desire to escape from the shackles of civilization."<sup>5</sup> Because of their statelessness, Romanies are typically not perceived as a threat to dominant ethnic or national groups, who instead have projectively identified with Romani culture in order to express idealized forms of national or transnational identity.

In Gatlif's cinema, musical performance is used to negotiate the projective identifications of dominant groups with Romani culture. In *Vengo* (2000), Caco, the patriarch of an Andalusian Romani



**Bourgeois anxiety and guilt distort colonial memory in Michael Haneke's *Caché*.**

family embroiled in a bitter feud with a rival clan, the Caravacas, undertakes the task of looking after his nephew, Diego, who is physically disabled and the likely target of the Caravacas' retribution. In order to lift the spirits of the family and allay Diego's fears, Caco organizes a series of parties attended by famous Romani musical acts at his home and at prominent restaurants and night clubs around town, leading to increasingly ominous and violent encounters with the Caravacas. In one scene, the singer La Caita sings for Caco and his family at a restaurant as a group of Spanish soldiers looks on ominously from another table. As she sings, they approach and stand around La Caita's table looking on impassively, the tension finally broken when the soldiers erupt in applause. This scene metonymically reconstructs the history of Romani persecution and foregrounds the distinction between internal and external demands on Romani culture.

Throughout *Vengo*, performances serve as sites of agency for Romani characters, who are given the power to embrace or disavow their performativity according to their own interests. Diego's physical disability destabilizes essentialist expectations of Romani performativity. Gatlif's decision to cast internationally renowned flamenco dancer Antonio Canales in the lead dramatic role of Caco thwarts audience expectations of him as a musical performer. The tension between commercial and affective uses of Romani music is evoked by the Caravacas bodyguards who also work in the music industry and by La Caita's manager who is also a street-cleaner. In these ways,

Gatlif debunks the myth of the carefree Romani whose only vocation is to entertain non-Romani audiences. Musical performances are organized by Caco in order to retain a sense of normalcy within the family, despite the external pressures that threaten it with dissolution. This is starkly reminiscent of the function of Romani performance in Nazi concentration camps:

Sometimes the performances temporarily sustained their will to live in the nightmarish concentration camp setting in which they were trapped. As Alvin Goldfarb states: 'If the outside world provided no support or sustenance, theater was another attempt by the victims to sustain one another and to try to preserve a semblance of normality in an obscenely abnormal universe'.<sup>6</sup>

Gatlif's cinema foregrounds the uneven social dynamics shaping interactions between Romanies and members of majority groups. *Gadjo Dilo* (1997) and *Swing* (2002) both begin on the road with young non-Romani males on their way to Romani encampments in search of cultural knowledge. In *Swing*, Max is a young boy who wants to learn to play the jazz guitar in the style of the Manouche, like the famous Django Reinhardt. In *Gadjo Dilo*, Stephane is a young man who wants to record Romani music like that of Nora Luca, a Romanian Rom singer who was his father's favorite musical artist. Both Max and Stephane become strongly influenced by Romani



Spatial demarcation between internal and external audiences politicizes performance in Tony Gatlif's *Vengo*.

father figures (Miraldo and Izidor respectively) who teach them about the Romani way of life. Gatlif shows how Romani culture and identity are sites of exchange, as Miraldo and Izidor attempt to use the communication skills and symbolic value that Max and Stephane possess in order to improve their relations and interactions with the state and their non-Romani neighbors. Initially seeking only cultural knowledge, Max and Stephane soon come to realize that the affective components of Romani identity are more important than the abstracted forms of culture in which they had first been interested. Both films end with death (as does *Vengo* when Caco is murdered) with the murder of Izidor's son by the villagers and the sudden death of Miraldo. Death serves as a stark reminder of the limits of cultural understanding and exchange for Romanies given the incommensurable differences between them and interested outsiders in a world in which they continue to face widespread dislocation, impoverishment and persecution.

**Conclusion**

While this essay has focused on the comparative analysis of strategies of identification, there are other frames of reference that can be brought to bear on the films discussed here, elaborations of which could constitute essays in their own right. By way of conclusion. I would like to briefly discuss two of these. First, the extent to which minority and immigrant representation alters the way we look at European cinema bears further investigation, even

though the films discussed in this essay employ aesthetic strategies long associated with European film practice: *In This World* and *Roadblocks* follow in the tradition of Italian neorealism and social problem documentaries; *Lamerica* and *Journey to the Sun* revive the tradition of dissent of European national cinema; *From the Edge of the City* and *Dirty Pretty Things* use cosmopolitan settings and sexual themes in order to overcome European popular cinemas' historical difficulties in reaching international audiences; Tony Gatlif's cinema uses musical performance in order to popularize the oppositional aesthetics traditionally associated with European minority cinema; and Michael Haneke's films follow in the footsteps of Buñuel and Godard in their critique of bourgeois society through the language of art cinema.

Second, more can be said about the way the films discussed in this essay act as critical interventions in the political discourses and public policies shaping the lives of immigrants and minorities in contemporary Europe. The emphasis on the denial of entry, asylum, and residency for immigrants in *In This World* and *Roadblocks* highlights the increasingly draconian and exclusionary immigration controls of western European nations since the economic downturn of the 1970s and again after the fall of Communism. These policies have taken an increasingly racist form since they have had to co-exist with continental integration, which has allowed European Union residents to travel, work and reside in any country in the union. A tiered system of rights has emerged, with local citizens and immigrants from European



Union countries, immigrants from non-European Union countries, and undocumented workers on a sliding scale, further subdivided along axes of ethnic, religious and gender difference.<sup>7</sup> This hierarchy is invoked in the variegated minority social spaces of *Dirty Pretty Things* and *From the Edge of the City*. Exclusionary state policies are enabled by the racism and xenophobia rampant among members of Europe's national majorities, often expressed through a defense of existing societal hierarchies and an apathy toward the plight of immigrants, something exposed in *Lamerica* and *Journey to the Sun*. European political discourse is currently dominated by calls for the assimilation of immigrants and minorities into normative national cultures, denying their right to difference and the lingering inequalities of European societies, something we are reminded of by the multicultural antagonisms in Michael Haneke's films. For minorities, exclusion in the political sphere

is often combined with intense interest in the cultural sphere, a paradox explored in Tony Gatlif's cinema.

If a comparative frame of reference has helped us to understand the stakes involved in different strategies of identification, perhaps it can also elucidate the relationship between public policy, political discourse and minority representation. What I hope to have shown in this essay is that the uneven dynamics of power shaping majority-minority interactions in the social and political realms inform the representational strategies of European films dealing with minority and immigration issues. By addressing these films' strategies of identification and disidentification we can begin to create an ethical framework through which to evaluate contemporary European cinema across axes of social difference. These are not issues that are likely to fade into obscurity nor should we let them.

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### End Notes

1 The films discussed in this essay have not been targeted to minority audiences, as were American minority films in the 1970s, because in Europe today there do not exist production, distribution and exhibition circuits dedicated to specific minority groups. I therefore assume that the audience for these films has the same demographic profile as European societies as a whole, and hence is predominantly composed of members of majority groups. By contrast, American minority film studies reasonably assumed that the primary audience for minority films in the 1970s was the minority community itself. The assumption that minority cinema was made primarily for internal consumption was based on the existence during this period of alternative distribution and exhibition circuits for minority media such as television programs, independent production companies, national film festivals, and national syndicators for public programming, as well as outlets for minority media advocacy such as newsletters, protest coalitions (against industry practices), academic conferences and manifestos. See, for instance, Chon A. Noriega: "Between a Weapon and a Formula: Chicano Cinema and Its Contexts" *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance*, ed., Chon A. Noriega, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992b) pp. 143-144.

2 Michelle Aaron: *Spectatorship: The Power of Looking On* (London: Wallflower, 2007), p. 117. Aaron argues that films with morally upstanding characters with whom we are encouraged to identify prevent viewers from recognizing the role of projective desires in our understanding of the 'other': "The films that trace each gradient of the moral high ground to intone the grandeur of their protagonists' actions, be they noble or dastardly, underwrite their moving tales with cast-iron allegiances between the spectator and the tragic but triumphant hero... Just as ethical reflection was connected to recognition of the other, and a taking of responsibility for this recognition and of one's own desires, so such films are unethical precisely because they seem to foreclose recognition and responsibility as well." *Ibid*, p. 114.

3 Homi Bhabha has criticized liberal discourses of multiculturalism for recognizing cultural differences only after they contain them within an ethnocentric grid. Bhabha argues that societies which celebrate cultural differences will have to live with the necessary incommensurability of these differences and the antagonism that this will engender. He supports a notion of politics based on uneven, multiple and sometimes antagonistic identities that acknowledge and grapple with, rather than ignore and deny, the existence of social inequality and injustice. See Jonathan Rutherford: "The third space: interview with Homi Bhabha", *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed., Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).

## EUROPEAN CINEMA

4 Paul Gilroy: "Shooting crabs in a barrel", *Screen* 48: 2 Summer (2007), p. 234.

5 Anikó Imre: "Screen Gypsies", *Framework* vol. 44 no.2, (2004), p. 21.

6 Michaela Grobbel: "Contemporary Romany Autobiography as Performance", *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 2 Spring (2003), p. 145.

7 For more on the stratification of rights in contemporary Europe, see Lydia Morris: Managing Migration: Civic Stratification and Migrants' Rights (London: Routledge, 2002).

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