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Special Guest: Constantin Parvulescu



Constantin Parvulescu specializes in Eastern European studies and film and media studies. He earned his Ph.D from the University of Minnesota and taught at Washington University in St. Louis. Presently he holds a tenured senior lecturer position in European Studies at West University of Timisoara and a visiting professorship at University of Saint Gallen, Switzerland. He is the coeditor of *A Companion to the Historical Film* (Blackwell-Wiley, 2013) and the author of the forthcoming *Orphans of the East: Postwar Eastern European Cinema and the Revolutionary Subject* (Indiana University Press, 2015). He has published two novels, co-authored the best-selling nonfiction book *Timisoara Blues* (*Blues de Timisoara*), and edited a collection on the *Garana Jazz Festival*.

Parvulescu has extensively written on Romanian film culture in both Romanian and in English. His academic articles address topics such as the representation of

1989 in feature and documentary films, the rise to authorship of the film director during socialism, and the nostalgic effect of post-socialist reruns of socialist comedies. He has mapped the scholarly reception of Romanian cinema for the Oxford Bibliographies in Film and Media Studies, and has theorized the way in which the New Romanian Cinema represents the socialist past. He has written a seminal article on the videotheques phenomenon of the mid-1980s, has recently finished a study on the reception of Radio Free Europe and has started a new research project that rethinks the impact of the 1975 Helsinki Accords on Romania and Eastern Europe. One of his most recent articles, republished in this newsletter, brings to the fore the specificities of the Romanian migration film. A complete list of his publications can be found at: <https://uvt-ro.academia.edu/ConstantinParvulescu>





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Challenging Communities of Values: the Peripheral Cosmopolitanism of
Marian Crișan's *MORGEN*

In collaboration with Ciprian Nițu

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Inconclusive Endings

Morgen (Romania, 2010, dir. Marian Crișan) tells the story of the assistance a Romanian citizen provides to an illegal Turkish border crosser. Set on the margins of the European Union, *Morgen* insightfully introduces illegal emigration, hospitality, cosmopolitan ethics, and the way in which Europe envisions its others. The aim of this article is to discuss how Crișan's film engages these issues from a peripheral perspective, decentering cosmopolitan ethics and its Western, white and middle-class formats. It also aims at questioning the efficiency of individual ethical acts of assistance and suggests that they need to obtain international legislative and political translation. In order to emphasize the originality of *Morgen*'s approach, this article compares its depiction of hospitality and the construction of the foreigner with that of other films, in particular with *Welcome* (France, 2009, dir. Philippe Loiret). *Morgen* is read here making use of concepts and theories from contemporary

cosmopolitan discourse. Theorists of political cosmopolitanism have been preoccupied over recent decades with attempts to bridge the gap between the moral justification of human rights, their prescription in national and international law, and the respect for human rights in practice. In other words, there has been an ongoing interest among cosmopolitans in finding a way to bring together the three dimensions of human rights: ethics, law and politics (in the particular area of international migration). *Morgen* not only reflects on these concerns, but also provides an intelligent twist on them.

Like most border-crossing art films, *Morgen* ends inconclusively. It is set on the border between Romania and Hungary, the eastern gateway to the Schengen area, the utopian space of free European movement. Its denouement reflects the unsolved and perhaps unsolvable issue of undocumented immigration into 21st century Europe. Irregular immigration into the EU peaked in the summer of 2008 — approximately

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at the time when the film is set. According to a European Commission report, approximately 600,000 undocumented immigrants were apprehended in Europe during that year. (1) Daily media updates regarding their arrival from the Middle East, coupled with reports of abuse and loss of life in the process, placed EU policy makers under pressure to reduce the inflow and protect the trespassers. Surveys conducted at that time revealed that the host populations were deeply concerned about the way immigration affected their welfare along with how humanitarian agencies were coming to terms with the well-being of the migrants. (2)

Behran (Yilmaz Yalcin) the migrant character in *Morgen* embodies one of these undocumented fugitives from the Middle East who might soon enter the statistics of apprehended persons in the EU. He is on his way to Germany to be united with his son. *Morgen* shows how he makes it over the border, but also suggests the many obstacles which still lie ahead. Closure, a happy ending, would be inappropriate and unrepresentative for the high numbers of arrested migrants and for the even larger numbers of those who live and work — unhappily and often exploited — under legal and

civilization radars. Europe's immunization mechanisms are multi-layered, and the border remains only one among them, perhaps the most perceptible, but not necessarily the hardest to overcome. Race, class, language, economic, and cultural barriers are next in line.

In order to defetishize border-crossings as the end of the migrant's problems, *Morgen* — like many recent migration films — shifts the emphasis from the traveler to the host or the helper. Its protagonist becomes thus a resident of a Romanian border town. By focusing on the helper, the film invites its viewers to reflect on issues of hospitality and opening toward the other, and, more importantly, on the assistance well-intended individuals, local, national and international organizations (including national governments) provide to migrants in the spirit of cosmopolitanism. This shift in emphasis adds a footnote to the commentary on migration made by the inconclusive endings of border-crossing films. The migrant's story is qualified not only as never-ending — eternalizing their exceptional state of being both inside and outside the law of the nation state — but also as unsolvable. Migrants challenge the basic political suture between man and citizen, between nativity and



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nationality, which legitimizes the truly original fiction of the sovereignty of the nation state. (3)

Many such films which represent the helper have been critically acclaimed, among them *The Visitor* (US, 2007, dir. Thomas McCarthy), *Welcome* (France, 2009, dir. Philippe Lioret) and *Le Havre* (France, 2011, dir. Aki Kaurismäki). They depict not only the support their heroes provide to the migrant, but also how, as hosts, as residents of the first world, their protagonists overcome their indifference to aliens, recognize and learn to respect their exceptional individual humanity, enter into personal relationships with them, and make the decision to assist them. At the cost of breaking the law and suffering punishment, they intervene precisely in the interstitial juridical zone between man and citizen which, as Giorgio Agamben emphasizes, has often been abandoned by the state and the law to humanitarian organizations, the police, and we would add, criminal organizations. (4) Among these films, *Morgen* is in all probability the most complete cinematic study of such an intervention, reflecting on both the reasons that underpin it and on the value of the helping project.

The protagonist of *Morgen* is Nelu (András Hatházi), a middle-aged introvert working-class man from Salonta, a border town in western Romania. He speaks with a thick regional accent and works as security guard in the local supermarket (part of the Penny Market transnational chain). He is in his fifties and lives with his wife slightly above the poverty line only a few miles from the border. His house has a leaking roof, no running water, no central heating, and no other modern sanitary conditions. He is a practicing Christian, drives an old motorcycle, spends his free time fishing in the small rivers and canals between the two countries, is proud of his house and his college-educated son, and is regarded as slightly eccentric by his fellow townspeople and even by the members of his family. Nelu runs into Behran during one of his fishing trips to the no-man's land between Romania and Hungary, where the latter has been abandoned by smugglers. Although later in the plot, a financial reward is actually offered to him (which he will use to fix his leaking roof), *Morgen* presents Nelu's decision to help Behran as ethical, from man to man, from father to father, from



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underdog to underdog, and from one border-crosser who hates borders to another. Nelu hides Behran in his house, takes care of him and befriends him. In so doing he exposes himself not only to criticism from his family, but also to explicit threats from the border police who know he is hiding the illegal, but who are too understaffed and underfunded to intervene.

Nelu's help is fuelled not only by an ethical decision to assist a person in need, but also by an impulse that, even if not clearly articulated, is political. His ethics of hospitality clash with the reality of a law which discriminates between citizens according to their origin. This clash scandalizes Nelu and engenders his impulse to challenge the law. The threats he receives from the border police and the later search of his house — the enforcement of the law — only heighten his determination. Not being able to change the law, the only thing he can do is assert his sovereignty as an ethical subject over it: that is ignore, defy or break it, assuming the risk of punishment. When his house is searched, he vehemently asks the policemen to leave. "Get out!" he cries. In his home, in the perimeter that is under his jurisdiction, which is governed by ethical norms,

by the rights of man and not of the citizen, the order they represent has no legitimacy. In the logic of his ethics, Behran has done nothing wrong. He is merely a father who is forced into illegal border-crossing because he wants to be reunited with his son who lives in Germany. If laws obstruct a father from seeing his son, they are consequently questionable, unjust and not to be respected on an individual level.

Morgen's plot depicts a fundamental aspect of democracy. It reveals the possibilities of the perfection of the law with the help of ethics. It also addresses the state of exception, which is a response within the law to the extraordinary predicament of the migrant (who is neither citizen nor subhuman). An individual actor ignores or suspends the rule of law in order to act according to a superior and universally accepted moral decision. It is not, however, the presentation of either of these processes which make *Morgen* stand out as a political film. As we shall see, its originality rests in the way in which it nuances the contradictions between ethics and law and makes them reflect on the predicament of contemporary cosmopolitan discourse, on its shortcomings and paradoxes, on its inconclusive closures, even



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suggesting a certain way of rethinking the law. The peripheral location of its plot in a rural, working-class area becomes the starting point for re-envisioning cosmopolitan hospitality.

How Can One Help?

Morgen's depiction of the encounter between the helper and the migrant emphasizes a fundamental tenet of cosmopolitan hospitality, addressed by all theorists of hospitality. (5) Opening towards the stranger, respect for their otherness and empathy are presented as being the precondition for effective aid. With each attempt to smuggle Behran over the border, Nelu's perception of Behran becomes more nuanced, breaking through language and cultural barriers. Each attempt marks a step forward in the development of the protagonist's moral engagement to fight for the cause of the foreigner. From ignorance to ambivalence, from schizophrenia to full embracement of an ethical stance toward the stranger, *Morgen* shows how Nelu gradually identifies with Behran's plight. The last border crossing, concluding the film, comes about with full moral resolve. Nelu drives Behran straightforwardly and determinedly across the border on his old motorcycle. In the

previous attempts he has tried to trick the law. In the last attempt, he willingly defies it. He smashes the barrier which blocks the police service-road across the border with an axe and drives further into the prohibited territory. Behran's cause has become his.

This interpellation of the other as a face, as an individual, as the object of neighborly care is limited, however, to the relationship between Nelu and Behran. The last sequence of the film reminds the viewer that this ethical stance is not reflected within the law. And it is the law that has the last say. After the two men, now turned friends, say goodbye, the camera follows Behran alone, trying to find his way to his son within the Schengen space. Nelu has completed his project to help, but his ethical individual assistance is limited in space (to the crossing of the border) and in power, as it is only a punctual suspension of the law. The epilogue shots aim at assessing the effectiveness of Nelu's assistance and ask the question as to what extent ethical individual help in the name of cosmopolitan hospitality is not only unusable but can even turn into its opposite. In other words, to what extent the limitation of cosmopolitan discourse to the ethics of hospitality is nothing more than a feel-



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good gesture which prioritizes the exception in order to obfuscate the rule, this being the legal, impersonal collective treatment (as juridical subjects and only secondarily as objects of humane treatment and neighborly care) of the many other migrants stranded in no-man's lands?

In its final shots, *Morgen* employs a variety of cinematic techniques to ask such questions. The camera abandons Nelu's perspective and adopts an impersonal one (a change from the ethical to the legal). Thus far the story has been primarily told in the First person, from Nelu's point of view. The last sequence narrates it in the third. The film increases the framing distance and crosscuts between Nelu and Behran, redirecting the emphasis on the latter's condition. After saying good bye, Nelu pulls out his fishing gear and pretends he is fishing in one of the canals in the no man's land in order to cover up his complicity with Behran's escape. In contrast, a panting Behran struggles to make his way through the water of such a canal, then emerges from the water and runs through a barren field until his silhouette exits the frame. A helicopter approaches the place where Nelu is fishing. Its deafening noise is mixed with that of police car

sirens, and its propeller upsets the landscape and almost blows Nelu to the ground. While the rugged disorienting landscape Behran sees in front of him makes reference to the endless challenges he will face in his future, the helicopter embodies the higher powers which have the last word on the destiny of border crossers. These powers, ranging from economic interests to xenophobic extremism, can not only contain and override individual projects to provide help, but also suppress them violently.

The film undoubtedly persuades audiences that laws are unjust and that the current borders exist not to defend political communities, but to discriminate between them. But as one sees Behran lost in the grey light of dawn, trying to find his way to his son, unanswered questions return. If Nelu's help can be regarded as an act of cosmopolitan compassion, proponents of cosmopolitanism need to ask themselves, on the one hand, whether a theory of openness to the other, of good hospitality, and a cosmopolitanism founded primarily on morality is not in fact just another way of sticking one's head in the sand in tacit complicity with the liberal capitalist order — the latter profiting from the gap between ethical,



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legal and political paradigms in the protection of human rights. (6) They, in contrast, also need to realize that there are several other ways of envisioning transnational human solidarity than those included in the scenarios of mainstream ethical cosmopolitanism. Most importantly, they need to contemplate to what extent these scenarios are rooted in urban, Western, northern-hemisphere, middleclass mindsets, uncannily harking back, as we shall see, to discourses of colonialism.

Nelu’s Cosmopolitan Ethics

Envisioning all humans as equals, cosmopolitan ethics builds upon several normative engagements such as individualism (individual human beings are the main units of moral concern, and not the states, nations or ethno-cultural groups), impartiality (every human being is situated symmetrically in relation to all other persons), inclusivity (no human being can be excluded from moral evaluation or decisions) and generality (every human being is the object of all other people’s concern). (7) Ethical cosmopolitanism calls for an increased interest in foreigners, positing a moral imperative of minimizing differences in behavior toward men

and women who do not belong to one’s family, nation, race, ethnic or religious group. Reducing such differences can be achieved not only by the refusal to harm the vulnerable other (violation of human rights)(8), but specifically by helping them.

When the stranger is rather the “visitor” than the “visited,” cosmopolitan theory often envisions hospitality in the framework of human rights. This approach benefits from international legal support through the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), *The Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951) and its *Additional Protocol* (1967). This version of cosmopolitanism recognizes the right to emigrate, to leave a country, but less the right to enter another one. A story like that of *Morgen* reveals this limitation. Human rights cosmopolitanism does not recognize the right to immigrate and addresses the issue of asylum and the (restrictive) circumstances in which it can be granted, but does not take into consideration the duty of states to grant such a right. The Geneva Convention recognizes the protection of refugees under the principles of non-refoulement (no refugee should be returned to any country where he or she would be at risk of persecution) and standards of treatment (freedom from penalties for illegal entry or expulsion). It calls on



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states to provide certain facilities to refugees, including administrative assistance, identity papers, and travel documents, permission to transfer assets and the facilitation of naturalization. A state is not, however, exposed to international pressure to treat refugees in the same way as it treats its citizens; that is, as men and women in the pursuit of happiness. The best a state offers is shelter from violent persecution: “The Convention does not deal with the question of admission, and neither does it oblige a state of refuge to accord asylum as such, or provide for the sharing of responsibilities [...]” Moreover, it “also does not address the question of ‘causes’ of flight, or make provisions for prevention.” (9)

With its limited provisions to help the unhappy, the discourse on human rights can be regarded instead as a document justifying and even legalizing a certain degree of indifference toward foreigners. Consequently, more radical versions of cosmopolitanism call for more proactive ways to reduce difference in behavior towards strangers. This second cosmopolitan call is the one Nelu also responds to, as it addresses *the duty* to help foreigners. He views the migrant’s predicament from within a cosmopolitan ethical discourse, transcending the

national. His deeds conform to the major tenets of cosmopolitanism in this particular situation, displaying tolerance, a spirit of justice, pity, generosity toward the needy, and the willingness to take action to improve their condition. (10) It is merely a moral call, currently without any translation into national and international law. (11) In the existing legal context, individual actors, such as Nelu, or non-governmental ones (everything from soup kitchens to diaspora organizations) can make a difference. This difference, however, is often achieved, as *Morgen* demonstrates, in the grey zone between the legal and the illegal, or between legal provisions and their enforcement.

In *Morgen*, the border police know about Behran’s whereabouts, but turn a blind eye toward him as they do to many others who, like him, attempt to cross the border every day. The Romanian state lacks the manpower to render the border impenetrable and manage all the migrants caught in this process, from arrests, incarceration, identity checks, and temporary shelter to expulsion. This is the sector in which individuals such as Nelu can carry out the cosmopolitan duty of hospitality. Unfortunately, this is also the terrain in which other actors such as smugglers and illegal employers exploit the



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predicament of refugees, profiting from the latter's exceptional status of being both inside and outside the law, at the mercy of and exposed to the brutality of forces that may or may not act within the limits of the law. The state itself makes use of its sovereign power in this context and sometimes chooses to obey and enforce the law and sometimes to ignore it.

In this grey area, there is room for a variety of responses to the presence of foreigners, others than the ones mentioned above. In the film, the most telling is the reaction of the people of Salonta. They know Behran is being cared for by Nelu, but pretend they do not notice him walking on the town streets, playing pool in the local pub, or wrapping sliced bread for a living in the local bakery. While for Nelu, Behran is "an unfortunate guy," a "father who wants to be reunited with his son" and "a man who tries to make it to Germany," for them he does not really raise to a full human condition. He inhabits not only the grey zone between the legal and the illegal, but also that between being human and something less, which one cannot label as "an animal," but which is closer to such a predicament. This envisioning of the migrant as "less than human" is the indirect consequence of the "no harm" premise and the minimal help

stipulated in the Geneva Convention, with its failure to address life as a good life, and the migrant's right to be happy and improve his or her condition. (12)

The most revealing aspects of Nelu's cosmopolitan behavior are its particularities. Indeed, Nelu's interpellations of Behran as "guy," "man," and "father" indicate that he notices the human in the other before nationality, race or religion. He regards Behran as an equal and acknowledges his right to desire a better life, to fulfil this desire and become happy, something that the Geneva Convention does not acknowledge. Nelu reaches his decisions, however, in a different way than most of the literature on cosmopolitan ethics envisions it. This mostly Western literature assumes a certain narrative in the development of the subject's consciousness which Nelu does not follow. It assumes a certain transgression which Nelu does not undergo. Becoming cosmopolitan means that the subject's "loyalties and [...] ethical duties [...] transcend the local and even the national, focusing on the needs of human beings everywhere." (13) This narrative does not apply to Nelu, and perhaps theories of cosmopolitanism could learn from the way *Morgen* depicts his experience.

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Nelu's response to Behran's condition is not the outcome of enlightenment toward one's global condition. Nelu does not imagine himself as a citizen of the world with loyalties to human beings everywhere. When the Salonta soccer team plays against its rival from a neighboring Hungarian border town, both regional and national allegiances are intensely activated. No trace of cosmopolitan sensibility here. These allegiances trigger sufficient passion among the fans — with Nelu among them — to spur a fistfight which ends with bruises and visits to the local hospital. A cosmopolitan position, the film suggests, does not override other allegiances, but cohabitates with or within them sometimes in explicit contradiction. Cosmopolitanism becomes, at least in border areas, a hybrid discourse and not an either-or position. It functions as an ethical tool-kit, as a guide toward more appropriate and humane ways of responding to a situation in which the individual actor is no longer envisioned as regional, national, not even as global, but first and foremost as a neighbor. (14) It is not the host whose consciousness undergoes a global transgression. The visitor is territorialized,

adopted into the local culture and, through it, acknowledged as a neighbor. When asked by a relative who Behran is and what is he doing on his porch, Nelu casually explains that Behran is just a gypsy helping him out in the vegetable garden.

Peripheral Cosmopolitanism

Nelu's hybrid cosmopolitanism is also peripheral. Nelu never becomes cosmopolitan in the Western middle-class sense of the word. He merely acts as such in a given context. His particular peripheral habitat faces global challenges. Like never before, it is exposed to flows of migrant bodies. The world and its global situations have entered his backyard and are challenging him to respond. And Nelu reacts accordingly, although his reaction is grounded in traditional, rural, perhaps Christian ethics of hospitality and not in a self-improvement project of responding to "the global challenges of the twenty-first century," as the lingo of globalization likes to interpellate cosmopolitanism. (15) Nelu's empathy and generosity confront the assumption that cosmopolitanism constitutes an extension of



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metropolitan multiculturalism, that the diverse experience of a large Western city is the necessary milieu to undo ethnic or racial anxieties, forge a global horizon for one's actions and shape cosmopolitan consciousness as an exit strategy out of the crumbling national-state paradigm. Nelu's actions indicate that the duty to help the stranger and treat him like an equal is not necessarily rooted in urban, Western, northern-hemisphere and middleclass mindsets. His treatment of Behran proposes a new way of talking about hospitality, which, in its turn, can become the basis for a different way of understanding cosmopolitanism. (16) This "new cosmopolitanism" is peripheral, accented and works socially bottom up. It is sensitive to particular and diverse loyalties of non-Western, non-urban and non-middle class communities of values and might be the answer to the rise in racism and xenophobia at the margins of Europe and among its lower strata. It defends hybrid ethical acts of hospitality and rooted cosmopolitanism against a certain universalism of cosmopolitan ethics, which works socially top-down and might be even a reaction to colonialist discourse itself. (17)

The character of Nelu seems constructed to question the "superior detachment" of universalist cosmopolitanism and its unawareness of the distinctive ethno-cultural and social values of particular communities, being thus "unable to deliver the vital goods that nationalists, provincials, parochials, tribalists, and other proudly down-to-earth persuasions claim to retail." (18) Nelu is not, however, the only cinematic example of this kind. Even films produced in Western Europe or the US, such as the ones mentioned previously, *The Visitors*, *Welcome*, and *Le Havre*, are sensitive to accented articulations of hospitality. In its own way, each presents peripheral cosmopolitans. Crişan's story is just the most radical and the more de-centered in terms of location and social stratification within the European Union.

While *Morgen* constructs the peripheral as rural and working-class, the above-mentioned films use age and psychology as marginalizing elements. Like Nelu, their protagonists are recluses over fifty. Their behavior either borders on the anti-social (*The Visitor* and *Welcome*) or psychological oddness (*Le Havre*). As with Nelu, they do not necessarily seek a global



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consciousness or engagement in a project of self-improvement (although the protagonist of *The Visitor*, a scholar of international relations, pretends he does). Located in different places on the planet (in New York and in French harbor towns), the gender, age, psychological profile, and daily concerns of these characters present them as slightly outside of history. In compensation, their image is enriched with a strong sense of loyalty to a lost cause (a lost relationship, a deceased, dying or divorced spouse). Only the collision with the foreigner awakens their sense of empathy and pushes them to think (and feel) globally and act accordingly.

The age and psychology of their protagonists help these films suggest that they are scrutinizing a consciousness which has not kept up with socialization in the global village. Their protagonists belong to a generation that is globally inexperienced, conservative in allegiances and a less competitive human resource (as migrants could, for example, represent an economic threat). (19) Their recluse lifestyles refer to unease with diversity and to provincial habits. (20) The optimistic message these films carry is that ordinary people

are not callous, but merely powerless or ignorant with regard to the condition of migrants. They are not essentially racist, but only out of touch and out of answers regarding the global challenges their communities face. Their psycho-social profiles speak for communities of caring Europeans and North Americans who might not be particularly knowledgeable about foreigners, but who have the moral backbone to react appropriately when placed in a concrete face-to-face situation with them.

WELCOME by Philippe Lioret

In spite of these and other similarities, there are also significant differences in the way these films articulate their discourse on hospitality. A North American production such as *The Visitors* is informed by certain insular perceptions concerning contact with people from the Middle East. These perceptions are different from French ones, and even more dissimilar from those of Romanians. *The Visitors* also differs from the films above because it is made by a different industry and sold on a different market. Its visual style, its redemptive message, the transnational solidarity it proposes, and its plot structure respond to the forces in the product's home and



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global markets, where it must attract distributors and the public. Similar contrasts are noticeable on a European level. A comparison between *Morgen* and *Welcome* by Philippe Lioret will serve to reveal them. *Welcome* is shot with a significantly higher budget than *Morgen* (9.5 million Euro vs. 800,000 Euro). While *Morgen* is an art-house film with a limited exhibition circuit, *Welcome* caters to a broader audience and more than a million people saw it in its first two months in cinemas. (21) Form plays a more important role in *Morgen*. *Welcome* is shot in the mainstream cinematic style. While stylistically *Morgen* can be easily integrated into the audiovisual language of the New Romanian Cinema (aka Romanian New Wave) (22), in terms of content, it is an unusual film both in terms of its generation and its geographical location. Unlike France, Romania, a country which exports its work force, does not focus on immigration in film and even less the transit of illegal border crossers. While France and Western Europe have a long tradition of such films, Romanian audiovisual culture in general — in which I would include documentaries, television programs and newscasts — is quite deficient on this topic. There are not all that many emigration films and the ones that do

address the subject are not set abroad. They primarily present preparations and struggles to leave the country. (23)

Welcome is set in the Western outskirts of the Schengen area, in Calais, the closest French city to Britain, from where, as a reviewer puts it, “on a clear day the cliffs of Dover are visible like a glimpse of the promised land.” (24) But even if marginal like Salonta, it is, unlike Salonta, part of “Core Europe” (25) and of a country (France) that has dealt with the issues of post-colonialism and illegal immigration for decades (unlike Romania). While *Morgen* presents Salonta as a rural culture in a country that has just joined the European Union, the port town of Calais comes through as a more multicultural environment with long urban human mobility traditions. (26)

The migrant character in Lioret’s film is Bilal (Firat Ayverdi), a 17-year-old Kurd from Mosul (Iraq), who has crossed all of Europe to the English Channel to be reunited, like Behran, with a loved one — Behran with his son, Bilal with his girlfriend. (27) Since he cannot cross the Channel on a ship or, through the Eurotunnel, by truck or train, Bilal comes up with the unachievable and suicidal plan to swim across it.



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Since, until the release of *Welcome*, France did not expel refugees from war-stricken countries such as 2008 Iraq (28), the story of Bilal is inspired from the real-life experiences of a number of “clandestines.” For Bilal and others like him, Calais is an interstitial place, between acceptance and rejection. Migrants are stuck in it, as they wait to make it to England. Hoarded by authorities, they kill time in an area tellingly called “the jungle” — an involuntary reference to the exceptional predicament of the refugee, being exposed to the law and to lawlessness. To increase dramatic tension, the film seasons Bilal’s predicament with a melodramatic ticking clock: Mina (Derya Ayverdi), the girl he wants to be reunited with, is about to be married (against her will) to a businessmen from London.

In order to accomplish his project, Bilal needs to take swimming lessons, and this is how he meets his helper, Simon (Vincent Lindon), the protagonist of the film, a middle aged instructor at the local pool, whom the same reviewer describes as a typical loner: “granite-faced and baggy-eyed, his mouth set in a tight line” epitomizing “a solid, stoic Gallic masculinity in the mold of Jean Gabin.” (29) Simon’s character arc is similar to Nelu’s. Until his face-to-face

encounter with the stranger, he has passively observed the illegal border crossing phenomenon in his town. The encounter turns him into a helper (and actor). In this new situation, he must overcome his indifference and hesitations toward others. In spite of his “cynicism and sense of caution,” (30) and spurred by the desire to show himself in a better light to his ex-wife who runs an outdoor soup kitchen feeding the stranded migrants, Simon decides to coach Bilal in strengthening his swimming strokes. Also, like Nelu, “in agreeing to help an illegal immigrant, Simon is breaking the law. [...] If it can be proven that he is sheltering the boy, Simon faces arrest and possible incarceration.” (31) He breaks Article L622-1 of the French penal code, which finds him guilty of providing “assistance to the entry, travel or undocumented stay of a foreigner,” a felony that can lead to up to a five-year prison sentence. (32) Simon defies this “bizarre and stupid” law, however, as the director of *Welcome* calls it, (33) and provides Bilal with material and logistical aid. He shelters him, mediates his communication with his girlfriend, provides him with a neoprene suit to protect him against the cold water, and, like Nelu, ends up befriending the stranger and symbolically

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adopting him (since Simon and his ex-wife had a childless marriage).

Welcome represents peripheral cosmopolitanism, celebrates the moral behavior of its protagonist, but at the same time, like *Morgen*, gestures toward the limits of individual ethical help. *Morgen* shows Behran reaching Hungary, but suggests that he will be facing numerous obstacles in the future, including immediate arrest. Bilal almost makes it to the shores of England, but drowns after being harassed by the British coast guard. The dramatic scene showing Bilal swimming across the Channel suggests, like *Morgen*, that higher powers determine the destinies of border-crossers and not individual assistance. (34) Here is how a reviewer describes the border-crossing scene:

“Aerial views reveal the currents Bilal will be fending off, while sea-level shots in the choppy grey water, in which vessels loom like predatory monsters bobbing in and out of view, make you feel like a fragile, shivering dot. The same sense of visceral immensity is conveyed by scenes of giant trucks lined up to make the ferry crossing at twilight [... evoking] a world of overwhelming

forces, both natural and social, plying the waters of history.” (35)

MORGEN and WELCOME

In spite of the many similarities between the two films, there are also significant differences in the way in which they address the predicament of migrants and Europe's reaction to their plight. The differences range from the visual style and plot structure to the perspective from which they articulate their social commentary. *Welcome* is overtly militant, ritten and directed by an activist director with ties to the French Left. *Morgen* is evocative, made by a director-artist primarily interested, as he himself argues, in depicting the people of Salonta and the dynamics of their lives. (36) While in France immigration has been a mass phenomenon for years, contemporary Romania still has a negative human intake - outtake balance sheet. While the topic of immigration control is high on French political agendas, particularly in terms of closing the country off from border-crossers, the issue has no visibility in Romania, which is more concerned with the rights of its citizens working abroad. Romania has only recently been fully accepted in the European Union in terms of



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freedom of movement and kept out of the Schengen community. One of the reasons is the porosity of its borders and the authorities' failure to contain the migration of men and women such as Behran.

The question of hospitality is evidently more urgent in the "Core Europe" of *Welcome*. It also shows that in Europe cosmopolitan discourse emerges mainly as a response to the immigrant problem and thus only secondarily to other global ethical, political or religious concerns (such as climate warming, fair trade or outsourcing). Even if peripheral, the cosmopolitan world-view expressed by *Welcome* is articulated within a more urban space (Calais), in a climate of urgency, and in the context of the protagonist's loneliness and individual guilt (the divorce). It is emplotted as the drama of a middle-class man, whose hospitality is psychologically motivated (he is lonely and wants to redeem himself in front of his wife). He also helps a differently looking and acting stranger. Unlike Behran, who is in his fifties and who speaks only his native tongue, Bilal is visibly urban, and a young, likeable and easily adaptable (Westernized) stranger.

In contrast, the cosmopolitan solidarity

Morgen presents is one between more marginal people. While Simon is a teacher and a former gold medalist swimmer in good social standing in terms of Western standards of wealth, Nelu works an unskilled job, drives a rusty motorcycle and lacks the few hundred Euros he needs to fix the leaking roof of his house. While Simon speaks English fluently and is supposed to have made it on to the French Olympic team, Nelu is an invisible citizen of the world with no global awareness, no knowledge of foreign languages, living in an underdeveloped province of Europe whose only window to the world is the National Geographic show he sometimes watches on TV.

Very importantly, Nelu does not redeem himself in any way by helping. Hospitality is for him a matter of choice, a disinterested gesture with no reward in sight. It is traditional, rooted in rural customs and, the film hints, in Christian ethics predicated on love of one's neighbor. Nelu is a poor man from one continent helping another poor man from another continent. Nelu and Behran cannot even communicate properly. While the act of being hospitable and charitable toward Bilal serves to rebuild Simon's self-esteem, Nelu approaches the stranger with the consciousness of a member of the working class,



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himself marginal and oppressed, an underdog in his community, both included and excluded from the European good life (his wife and brother-in-law view him as a loser, the latter being a small business owner who has learned to sail the turbulent waters of fresh-faced Romanian capitalism).

Since it aims at addressing a mass audience, *Welcome* employs a wide range of cinematic devices specific for commercial filmmaking to spread its message. They include straightforward storytelling, explicitly outlined causation, omniscient narrative perspective and conventional visual characterization. While these cinematic techniques are commendable in their project to reach the many Westerners indifferent to the plight of migrants and thus catalyze public intervention on the issue, they also reify the figure of the stranger, the object of one's cosmopolitan reflection. One can even argue that, since the stranger, the other, is mostly encountered via audiovisual media, the way in which *Welcome* constructs Bilal is symptomatic of a number of the shortcomings of Western-rooted discourse on hospitality and cosmopolitanism. While one can say that any representation has a reifying effect — and this

effect is enhanced by the very act of trying to render a representation commercial — the main virtue of *Morgen* is to minimize this reification and show that true hospitality needs to be predicated on the very strangeness of the stranger and not on common denominators or on the rendering of the stranger as useful to the hosting culture.

Compared to *Morgen*, *Welcome* is faster-paced, more (melo)dramatic, with easily decipherable characters and more redemptive toward its protagonist. Its adherence to commercial techniques of storytelling and representation, however, construct Bilal as a fetish of otherness. He is portrayed as a potential social and economic asset, and his middle-class demeanor introduces him as psycho-socially and even racially acceptable. Unlike Behran, Bilal is handsome and looks European. In terms of his physical presence, he is hardly a foreigner. He is white-skinned, healthy, fluent in English, well-mannered, and knowledgeable about the world. All these features and his age recommend him as a socially desirable stranger, bearing the promise of allowing himself to be integrated into the host culture, obey its customs, accept its supremacy and not challenge

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or undermine its ways of life. Simply put, he is commodified.

Bilal's presentation as human capital stresses the fact that he shares the ethics of work with the Western world. He is determined, disciplined, goal-oriented, and willing to follow orders (the coaching of a Westerner). Most importantly, he has a special skill that makes him stand out: he is a talented swimmer (and football player), better than anyone else in Simon's pool. This becomes another reason why Simon accepts training him. He sees a potential swimming champion in Bilal and wants to put him on a productive path. The scenes showing Bilal improving his swimming become metaphors of his training as an economic actor in Europe and a proof to all sceptics that foreigners are not an economic burden. The more familiar Bilal feels in Simon's pool, the smoother and more efficient his strokes, the more convincing the promise that he can be a useful fellow-citizen. In a (capitalist) society and global order predicated upon economic contribution (and exploitation), anyone who is economically beneficial and exploitable can, for the price of subalternity, render their strangeness transparent and

become a fellow citizen (of a nation and of the world).

The object of Bilal's love, Mina, is visualized similarly. While her father exemplifies the reactionary immigrant, who, still adheres to the questionable practices of arranging his daughter's marriage, Mina reproduces the same standards of visual appearance, language skills, and demeanor as Bilal. More than just being adaptable, they also embody the positive construction of the migrant (one that harks back to primitivism) as a rejuvenator of the ageing and devitalizing Western world, represented by Simon (and all the other middle-aged childless characters in the film). Not only are Bilal and Mina under twenty, but their Romeo and Juliet story can teach an alienated and slightly cynical Westerner such as Simon, the virtues of genuine love: "He is willing to cross the Channel to be reunited with his love," a pensive Simon tells his ex-wife. "And I... I was not even able to cross the street to bring you back."

In *Morgen*, in contrast, the face of the stranger is dark. His features are almost indiscernible, as if Behran lacks individuality. A thick black beard and a hat that reaches down to his eyebrows cover his face. He appears as a



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clownish, disoriented man in his fifties, bearing no promise of integration. He is short, vocal, agitated, poorly dressed, and speaks no language other than his own. While in *Welcome* the camera often comes close and in good lighting to Bilal's smooth face and sensual lips, Behran is shown from a distance most of the time and often in obscure lighting. While commercial cinematic techniques construct Bilal as an object of desire and, through close-ups of his facial expressions, his otherness as comprehensible, Behran's identity remains arcane and alien. To enhance the cinematic experience of an encounter with an actual foreigner, the makers of *Morgen* had the brilliant idea of not subtitled Behran's lines (all in Turkish or Kurdish), allowing Romanian and international audiences to experience first-handedly the linguistic barrier of an encounter with a foreigner. (37)

The cinematic style of *Welcome* consequently engenders a certain illusion of empathy upon which the colonialist undertone of the cosmopolitan discourse is predicated. This illusion is reflected in the reviews of the film. A *New York Times* critic and US resident confesses in his review that he is seduced by Bilal's "sweetness" and praises the work of the film-

makers for the fact that they are able to put the spectator "so completely into [Bilal's] shoes [...]" that you feel a profound empathy not only for him but also for all who are ready to risk everything for the dream of a better life." (38) This illusion is furthered even more by the fact that the dialogue between Simon and Bilal, Bilal and the authorities, and Simon and Bilal's family and friends is conducted in English. It emphasizes the universalizing models of cosmopolitan discourse which *Morgen* aims to resist. While the title of *Welcome* is an English word from a language that both characters speak, *Morgen's* is a German one (meaning "tomorrow") from a language neither protagonist understands.

Welcome uses a third language to allow the migrants and natives to communicate. Apparently this seems empowering for the migrant since it estranges the native as well. At least linguistically, it mediates a meeting between equals in an interstitial place where the migrant is not forced into linguistic embarrassment. It also suggests a promise of integration without assimilation. This interface language "allows them to exchange cautious reciprocal hospitality, without necessarily taking the final step into the other's [linguistic] space." (39) This is a tempting



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solution to “linguistic power struggles” associated with migration, one that offers a model of hospitality based on restoring the reciprocity and equality between host and guest through a linguistic means. (40) It produces hyphenated (linguistic) identities, a basis for a multiculturalist understanding of Europe. Every subject speaks at least two languages: one the one hand, a trans-ethnic, trans-racial, transnational, and even trans-regional one (if we think of accents and dialects), and on the other hand, one to communicate within one’s ethnic group, region or social class.

The reliance on English as a lingua franca of global encounters limits, however, one’s understanding of cosmopolitanism and hospitality and engenders new hegemonies. How can it be used in more marginal contexts, where individuals are not able to speak an “international” language? Are these subjects doomed to exclusion from global enlightenment and thus prone to reproduce cultural misunderstandings and prejudices? *Morgen* does not make use of a “threshold language.” (41) Each character speaks their own. *Morgen* emphasizes, however, that they somehow manage to understand one other even in their

roles as underdogs. Crişan makes an inspired choice to solve “linguistic power struggles” in the context of the meeting of marginals. Unconditional (and non-symbolic) solidarity among underdogs becomes the main interface. The presentation of Nelu suggests that the values of cosmopolitanism can be articulated differently than merely in a homogeneous and universalizing global project which does not take class, location and accents into consideration.

Conclusion... Still Inconclusive

Morgen consequently not only asks conventional cosmopolitan questions such as “Why should I care?”, and “Why should I help?” It also poses, as mentioned at the beginning of the article, the question of the effectiveness of individual help. It suggests a better way of understanding moral cosmopolitanism, arguing that it needs to become more de-Westernized, accented, peripheral, (also) working-class-rooted and resist the temptation to reify the foreigner. It does not claim to have an answer, however. It has complicated the issue, localizing cosmopolitan ethics in the poor margins of Europe, but also suggests there is more to be done. It seems to invite the international community to combine a



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peripheral ethical cosmopolitanism with the creation of a global political space (through laws and institutions) which is equally open to all, and in which everyone is an underdog and a stranger. It at the same time expresses doubts that an ethical approach can lead to such a result.

If, as the ending of *Morgen* suggests, ethical cosmopolitanism is commendable but insufficient, two questions emerge. First, whether the issue of cosmopolitan theory can be separated from issues of migration, labor, and transnational forms of capitalist exploitation. If not, then the answer might have already been suggested by Marxist and Leninist discourses on imperialism and on the global emancipation of the exploited. Consequently, from a perspective that calls for a radical change of the world order, ethical cosmopolitanism — regardless of whether peripheral or not — comes through as a feel-good theory. It rationalizes the actions of individual subjects who happen to be born in the right corner of the world, provides an ideological framework for their charitable actions, but does not address the issue of exploitation. Such ethical helpers harbor an inner contradiction (which one might also refer to as a false consciousness). They try as individual subjects to

act as good hosts, but can at the same time be aware of and even in cynical complicity with the limits or the utter failure of their endeavors. It is consequently not surprising that the protagonists of both *The Visitor* and *Welcome* are melancholic (post-traumatic and post-utopian) figures, acting with *Weltschmerz* against the unfairness of the world order they live in. They not only struggle with family loss, but also witness how their immigrant protégées are repatriated or respectively killed. They also enjoy a secret almost perverse compensation in their private lives for their ill-starred effort to help. It has not served the stranger, but it has worked for them, leading to the cynical conclusion that the only palpable reason for helping a stranger is to improve one's own moral and psychological condition (the feel-good hypothesis mentioned above).

The second question is a corollary of the first. It addresses the practice of achieving political difference through an international legal effort within the existent international legal order. With this assumption one connects to a group of normative theories developed in contemporary political thought which either conceptualize the idea of world polity or



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cosmopolitan democracy, or theorize a cosmopolitan citizenship and rights with a decreased importance attached to territory and collective identity. (42) “Political cosmopolitanism” (43) as “realistic cosmopolitanism” claims to identify the limits of domestic and international laws and institutions, and, most importantly, is normative (prescribes better laws and institutions aware of the factual impediments towards realization of a more just global order, such as power politics, divergent interests and values, etc.). The Western world does little, however, to support it and elaborate and enforce transnational institutional agreements which cultivate, on a large scale, the “deficit” of “human flourishing” engendered by the borders that protect global disparities. (44)

Since *Morgen* presents insights into the social, political, economic and cultural constitution of our world, with its centers and margins, privileged and subalterns, its portrayal of the predicament of border-crossers can also become the starting point for a critique of the European Union as a cosmopolitan political space. To its merit, the EU has transferred political and economic rights traditionally associated with national citizenship to foreigners

(members of other European states), undoubtedly a remarkable evolution in the direction of cosmopolitan hospitality. (45) This transnational opening of the political is nevertheless as restrictive for a foreigner like Behran as the previous intra-European paradigm. It would seem that the wider the EU expands as a space of inclusion of its internal others (citizens of new member states, various minorities — in particular the Roma minority), the less willing it is to integrate its external others, such as migrants and refugees. The recent rise of xenophobia throughout Europe reveals that this political space has problems turning into a flexible, porous, multicultural one. Viewed from outside, it becomes more and more a cosmopolitan fortress, whose walls thicken up against discourses of “unrestrained [global] human solidarity.” It reminds viewers of Martin Bertman’s observation that “if Europe is to be finally ethical on the foundation of human rights beyond an isolated cultural solidarity and political unification, if Europe is finally of ‘the party of humanity,’ it must seek humanity’s betterment,” (46) and arise to the challenge of becoming a space in which anyone, no matter where they come from, can pursue their happiness.



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Notes:

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11) The minimalist expression of this call to help is the duty to offer temporary shelter to alien individuals, but not even this call has any juridical translation.

12) See Andrew Shacknove, 'Who Is a Refugee?,' *Ethics*, vol. 95, no. 2 (1985), pp. 274–284, where the narrow reading of the term "refugee" by the Geneva Convention is discussed. See also Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), who criticizes Western countries' practice of hiring laborers from nearby and treating them as political "un-equals," as a political underclass exposed continuously to practical threat of deportation. Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's theories of capabilities also offer good insight into discussing migration as a means for "a good life." Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (Cambridge — Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009); Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge — Massachusetts: Belknap, 2006).

13) Martha Nussbaum, 'The Capabilities Approach and Ethical Cosmopolitanism: The Challenge of Political Liberalism,' in Maria Rovisco and Magdalena Nowicka (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 403.

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14) See Siobhan M. Hart, 'Heritage, Neighborhoods and Cosmopolitan Sensibilities,' *Present Pasts*, vol. 3 (2011), p. 26: "Cosmopolitan values — referring to a sense of interrelatedness with and responsibilities to others — can be used to orient participants navigating the complexities of 'neighborhood'. [...] I use 'neighborhood' to refer to shared space and landscapes that root present day people. Communities form around shared interests, but they do not always share the spatial nearness that is a defining aspect of a neighborhood. While communities can transcend both space and time, neighborhoods attach people to places and localities. Neighborhoods are not bounded isolates, but rather multidimensional nodes in complex social networks". See also Slavoj Žižek, Eric L. Santner and Kenneth Reinhard, *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

15) The phrase produces more than 1.5 million hits on a Google search.

16) See Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, p. xii.

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19) In fact it is specifically the ageing population of Western Europe and the USA which needs immigrant influxes to replace the negative birthrates of their countries.

20) *The Visitor* takes place in NYC, but its protagonist lives in a small campus town in Connecticut.

21) Richard Phillips, 'Welcome from France: A compassionate exposure of anti-immigrant measures', World Socialist Web Site, 17 April 2010, <<http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2010/04/welc-a17.html>>, [accessed 2 April 2013].

22) Low budget, observational, slowly paced slice-of-life dramas, abruptly edited and cinematographically innovative; belonging to a generation of directors born between the late 1960s and 1970s and receiving a host of awards at international festivals.

23) Some of the more insightful films on this topic are *Asphalt Tango* (*Asfalt tango*, 1996), *Occident* (2002), *Francesca* (2009), and *First of All, Felicia* (*Felicia înainte de toate*, 2009). One exception is *Crulic: The Path to Beyond* (*Crulic — drumul spre dincolo*, 2011), an animated docudrama film which tells the unhappy story of a Romanian emigrant in Poland.

24) Stephen Holden, 'Channel Crossing of the Urgent Kind', *The New York Times*, 6 May 2010, <http://movies.nytimes.com/2010/05/07/movies/07welcome.html?_r=0>, [accessed 15 April 2013].

25) Jürgen Habermas made this phrase popular. See Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida, 'February 15, or, What Binds Europeans Together: Plea for a Common Foreign Policy, Beginning in Core Europe', in Daniel Lévy, Max Pensky and John Torpey (eds), *Old Europe, New Europe, Core Europe: Transatlantic Relations After the Iraq War* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), pp. 3–12.

26) It is the largest municipality in the region, with 75,000 inhabitants, compared to Salonta's 18,000.

27) It is worth noticing that both films avoid representing straightforward economic migration.

28) Things have changed in the meantime. The Sarkozy government introduced harsher anti-cosmopolitan legislation, which provides for automatic detention and repatriation for undocumented immigrants seeking asylum from war or political persecution. See Richard Phillips, 'An interview with Philippe Lioret, director of *Welcome*', World

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Socialist Web Site, 17 April 2010, <<http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2010/04/lior-a17.html>>, [accessed 2 April 2013]

29) Holden, 'Channel Crossing'.

30) Ibid.

31) Ibid.

32) Phillips, 'An interview with Philippe Lioret, director of *Welcome*'.

33) For lobbying purposes, the film was screened in the French and European Parliaments (the latter granting it the Lux Prize), but with no positive effect on legislation in France (see Phillips, 'An interview').

34) Another similarity is the titles of the two films. They are both foreign words that make an ironic comment on the condition of the migrants. The words are in the languages of the target countries of the migrants — German for Behran, English for Bilal. "Morgen" suggests the infinite postponement to which Behran's happiness is exposed. "Welcome" is an inscription on a door mat and comments on the hospitality of Western Europe to refugees.

35) Holden, 'Channel Crossing'.

36) "The fact is that I wanted to make a film about my hometown Salonta and about the people living there. I had lived there for 20 years. The idea was to depict the people and the places there that I knew like the palm of my hand. For me, places are very important in film." (Marian Crişan, 'An interview with Marian Crişan, director of *Morgen*, Romania's Oscar entry.' by World Cinema Reports' Editors, *Cinema without Borders*, 22 January 2012, <<http://cinemawithoutborders.com/european-cinema-in-u-s/2914-an-interview-withmarian-Cri%C8%99an,-director-of-Morgen,-romania%E2%80%99s-oscar-entry.html>>, [accessed 2 May 2013]).

37) In a private conversation, Marian Crişan has told us about the different experience of screening the film in Turkey, where the audience could understand Behran. He was less of a stranger, which shows another insightful aspect of *Morgen*, whose story is much stronger localized, accented, than the one of *Welcome*, whose protagonist is experienced in a more similar manner in every theatre around the world.

38) Holden, 'Channel Crossing'.

39) Alison Smith, 'Crossing the linguistic threshold: Language, hospitality and linguistic exchange in Philippe Lioret's *Welcome* and Rachid Bouchareb's *London River*', *Studies in French Cinema*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2012), pp. 76–77.

40) Ibid., p. 81.

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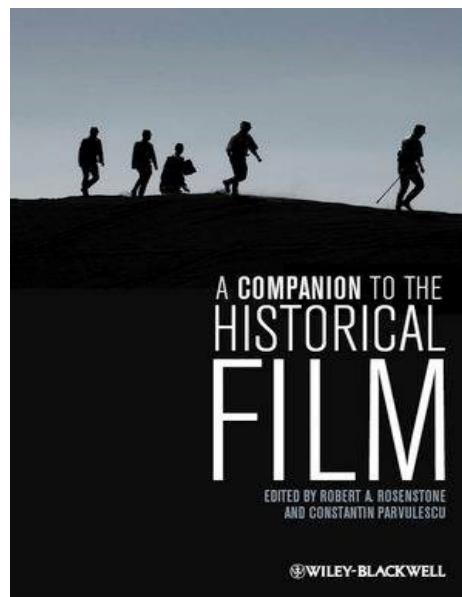
42) Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination. The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 56–57.

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44) Christine Sypnowich, 'Cosmopolitans, cosmopolitanism, and human flourishing', in Gillian Brock and Harry Brighouse (eds), *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 55–74.

45) Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 36.

46) Martin Bertman, 'Europe's Walls and Human Rights', *Human Rights Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2004), p. 108.



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Contact: lenuta.giukin@oswego.edu
