Just in Time: Erwin Wagenhofer’s Appropriation of the Classical Western Genre in Black Brown White (2014)

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Discussing his first feature film *Black Brown White* (2011), director Erwin Wagenhofer notes that his protagonist was inspired by a trucker he met while making an earlier documentary, a figure who reminded the director of the western genre. For Wagenhofer “[…] wirken die Trucker wie europäische Westernhelden. Sie kämpfen mit den Tücken des Alltags, mit der Polizei, mit Gesetzen. Früher haben sie die Tachoscheiben manipuliert, heute manipulieren sie die Software der Fahrzeugcomputer” (“Interview” 8–9). In Wagenhofer’s film, the truck driver, who augments his business with human trafficking, contends not with the demands of his delivery schedule but with the legal, social, and economic dimensions of migration into the European Union. This focus on the conditions of global migration in *Black Brown White* expands the systematic critique of an unchecked capitalist system, which was a hallmark of Wagenhofer’s previous documentary work. As my reading will show, the critical perspective that Wagenhofer’s film engages must be understood through the film’s indebtedness to the conventions and thematics of a genre that has long been globalized: the western, which Wagenhofer appropriates on a formal and narrative level. After briefly locating *Black Brown White* within the contexts of European and Austrian cinema, I address the film’s transformation of the western’s generic structures first by focusing on two key aspects that resonate in the film—the depiction of the landscape and the thematic conflict regarding justice—and in the final section turn to a limitation to the film’s appropriation of the genre. This analysis will show how the film productively appropriates the classical western’s thematic concern with
the establishment of the law and justice in the contested, unfinished space of the frontier to raise critical questions regarding the justness of European migration. With a protagonist, who, like his western forbearers, delivers justice beyond the law, the film lays bare the inequities and contradictions in the erection of the so-called Fortress Europe.

Appropriating the Western within Migrant and Diasporic Cinema

Over the past thirty years Europe has been a space in motion. The collapse of the Iron Curtain and the integration and expansion of the European Union has undone Europe’s previous geopolitical coordinates. Simultaneously, the movement of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees both from the global South and, since 1989, from Eastern Europe has transformed allegedly stable national identities, particularly in Western Europe, with its significant immigration from former colonies and the influx of guest workers. These societal shifts have long been a subject in European cinema. In analyzing the international scope, focus, and production and exhibition practices of this cinematic trend, critics have employed numerous conceptualizations, such as “transnational cinema” (Ezra and Rowden 1), cinema of “double occupancy” (Elsaesser 118), “cinema of the periphery” (Iordanova, Cinema at the Periphery 5), and “accented cinema” (Naficy 2001: 10). Given the transnational nature and diversity of European and Austrian films, the term “migrant and diasporic cinema” (Berghahn and Sternberg, “Locating Migrant and Diasporic Cinema” 12) may encompass this trend best. With its Austrian crew, international cast, multiple languages, and border-crossing story stretching from Vienna to Morocco, Black Brown White clearly engages in this cinema. With its focus on a trucker’s smuggling of African migrants into the EU, the film contributes specifically to a subcategory of migrant and diasporic cinema that examines human trafficking.

While the transnational dimensions of Black Brown White complicate its placement in a nationalized framework, the film remains significant in the context of Austrian cinema: The film’s decentralized focus and engagement with global human trafficking illustrate Dina Iordanova’s argument that such a film cannot be read from the national context alone but demands a “watching across borders” in order to arrive at a better understanding of the “global processes that bring the whole phenomenon of migratory and diasporic cre-
ativity into existence” (“Migration and Cinematic Process” 61). At the same time, however, the traces of the cultures and contexts from which such a film emerges cannot be erased completely, which reiterates the significance of the national for international migratory and diasporic cinema. Migration and the global flows under way in Europe since 1989 have been central to Austrian cinema since the 1990s, the critical thrust of which is also a response to the electoral successes of the extreme right and the drifts in public discourse and national policy regarding migration and integration. *Black Brown White* contributes to this trend in Austrian cinema and illustrates many of its characteristics. First, the film participates in Austrian cinema’s preoccupation with the country’s external borders, even if many films reflect on broader global issues and often have international settings. Indeed, *Black Brown White* greatly expands this discourse by depicting a crossing from Morocco into Spain to reflect on Austria’s effective external boundary since the signing of the Schengen Treaty. Second, a major characteristic of migrant and diasporic cinema in Austria is the problematized depiction of Eastern Europeans in Austria. In *Black Brown White*, the national context becomes particularly significant through the film’s portrayal of a Ukrainian migrant. Third, as in a majority of Austrian films dealing with migration, *Black Brown White* revolves more around the challenges of the migrant’s passage and entry rather than his or her integration or assimilation. Fourth, *Black Brown White* also continues a recurring constellation of Austrian cinema in that its main migrant character is an unmarried female with a child, a construction that turns on gendered conceptions of victimhood and serves to highlight the migrant’s burdened past and future aspirations.

What sets *Black Brown White* apart from many Austrian migratory and diasporic films is the absence of an unflinching, even abrasive realism. Whereas many works of Austrian cinema since the 1990s offer viewers a deliberately provocative cinema of shocking imagery and a predilection for society’s darker aspects, *Black Brown White*, while treading similar terrain, offers a conventional mainstream realism. Wagenhofer explicitly distances himself from Austrian fictional cinema, which he criticizes as having too much of a documentary impulse. Reflecting on his first fictional film *Black Brown White*, Wagenhofer stresses how the medium offered freedoms previously unavailable: “[es] macht aber den Reiz und den Reichtum des fiktionalen Kinos aus, dass da viel mehr möglich ist als im Dokumentarfilm, weil es so phantasievoll sein kann” (“Erwin Wagenhofer über die Entstehung” 3). Wagenhofer’s stress
on fictional cinema’s “richness” and “imaginative” qualities is perhaps best re-

lected in the diversity of the genre patterns on which his film draws.

Genre fluidity is a stylistic trait common to many works of migrant and
diasporic cinema. In their study of this cinema in Europe, Daniela Berghahn
and Claudia Sternberg note that alongside a predominant realist strain of this
cinema there is another characterized by a willingness to play with genre,
which they describe as “an aesthetically hybrid cinema which juxtaposes and
fuses stylistic templates, generic conventions, narrative and musical tradi-
tions, languages and performance styles from more than one (film) culture”
(“Locating Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe” 41).
Not mutually exclusive, these two strains seek to engage and challenge both
by confronting spectators directly with social issues surrounding migration
and by unsettling fixed categories through a blending of different stylistic and
structural forms or playful intertextuality (41). Black Brown White is indeed
propelled by the engine of multiple genres, and Wagenhofer has even noted
that he wanted this to be a film, “der nicht einzuordnen ist” (“Black Brown
White—Interview” 3). The film’s producer, Helmut Grasser, directly outlines
key generic impulses, stating:

Vordergründig ist er eigentlich mehr eine Lovestory, die sich dann
aufgrund der vielen Stationen zu einem Roadmovie verwandelt.
[. . .] Der Film hat aber auch etwas von einem Spaghetti-Western,
es wurde ja in der Landschaft gedreht, wo auch Motive des von mir
sehr geschätzten Spiel mir das Lied vom Tod zu finden sind (25).

Perhaps aiming at broad marketing and distribution opportunities, Grasser’s
comments primarily foreground plot structures common to numerous
generes—a romance, a journey by automobile—and refer to a shared locale
but do not address the transformative potential of genre in Black Brown White.

For an understanding of how the film productively appropriates genre
to establish its critical positioning within migratory and diasporic cinema,
the most significant genre is the classical Hollywood western, which Wagen-
hofer’s film refashions on a formal level and especially on a narrative and the-
matic level. To be sure, the Italian “spaghetti” westerns Grasser mentions are
only a useful comparison in terms of the filming locations. These films, which
were often shot in Spain, are themselves a critical response and even a re-
jection of the classical western. Classical westerns, as I will define them, are
westerns produced in Hollywood in the 1940s up to the early 1960s, and they
provide the most productive frame of reference for examining the appropriation of the western in *Black Brown White*. The classical western has an inherent concern with the entry into and, to varying degrees, the mastery over a new, uncharted space where the protagonist demonstrates the skills needed to thrive (Corkin 68). These features, in addition to the genre’s negotiation of justice, allow the classical western to open an insightful perspective on this film and its critique.

*Black Brown White* does not present itself as a western, nor does it attempt to employ the genre’s historical contexts or surface conventions and props. It neither features the cowboys, gunfights, horses, and open cattle ranges that commonly define westerns (Warshow 656), nor is it set in North America in the second half of the nineteenth century before the closing of the frontier (Rebhandl 10). The film’s core story and its character constellations, however, function like those of a western. The film opens as Don Pedro arrives in Vienna for his next assignment.7 His partner Jimmy informs Don Pedro that he must work with a newcomer named Alf, a Ukrainian driver. They will transport Ukrainian garlic to Morocco, where it will be repackaged as a Spanish product and then shipped back to Vienna. The trucking company uses these deliveries for a profitable human trafficking business as well, and Don Pedro’s trailer is concealing undocumented African migrants on his return into the eu. This illegal passage becomes a problem for Don Pedro when the Ghanaian Jackie and her son Theo refuse to get into the hidden compartment. Don Pedro agrees to take them only to the border but eventually resolves to help smuggle them into Europe and later to Switzerland, where Jackie aims to take Theo to his real father, a Swiss un relief worker now back in Geneva. When Don Pedro meets up with Alf at a hothouse facility in Almería, however, their plans go awry as Theo is detained after wandering off . Don Pedro secures his release by pretending to be Theo’s father but raises suspicions with the Spanish *Comisario*, Gutiérrez, who begins his pursuit. Don Pedro’s plans are further thwarted when the previously uninformed Alf bribes him after realizing that he is transporting undocumented migrants in his trailer. Aware that the authorities are closing in, Don Pedro calls Berndt, a doctor he met in Africa, knowing that only he can help Jackie and Theo reach Switzerland. Despite the contemporary setting, the conflict over the validity of the law creates a parallel with the classical western.8 This genre’s thematic concern with justice is the central touchstone for unlocking the film’s critical positions on global migration. *Black Brown White* both adopts yet also rewrites the genre’s motifs and
constellations not only in the film’s narrative conflicts but also in its representation of the spaces in which these conflicts are staged.

**Western Landscapes**

The iconography of the landscape is one of the most distinctive and definitive aspects of the western genre. The terrain of the American West is central not only to the western’s mise-en-scène and to the figurative mirroring of the characters’ psychic states but also to the genre’s thematic concern with the frontier as a space of transition. For its depictions of the landscapes of southern Spain, *Black Brown White* adopts many of the classical western’s formal strategies of depicting the landscape but subversively shifts its thematic functions.

The establishing shots between various sequences reveal the film’s most obvious adherence to the classical western’s mise-en-scène. Virtually all the extensive scenes showing Don Pedro driving to his next station are composed as extreme long shots that stress the placement of his black truck in front of the imposing backdrops of rugged and largely barren mountain ranges that resemble the topography of the American West. The soundtrack, which consists of the melancholy strumming of a solo flamenco guitar, lends the early landscape images a romanticized sense of the freedom and openness associated with the frontier. As the story progresses, however, the landscapes more clearly function, as Warshow locates in the classical western, as representation of obstacles and limits, as “a great empty waste, cutting down more often than it exaggerates the stature of the horseman who rides across it” (660). This can be seen in the sequence in which Don Pedro, attempting to avoid random highway controls, switches to smaller roads, where he has an accident that forces him to unload his cargo to free Jackie from the hidden compartment. The nighttime scenes reveal only glimpses of dark mountains, but the morning scenes, mostly long shots, show the characters in the foreground encircled by shadow-covered mountains that reinforce the risks of their journey. Later, images of the imposing mountains are used to portray the conflicts between different characters. When Alf confronts Don Pedro after discovering the Africans hidden in his trailer, for instance, their conversation is filmed through the truck windshield. Placed at a low angle outside the vehicle, the camera focuses on Alf and Don Pedro, but their image is overlaid by the windshield reflection showing the mountain range before them. In the subsequent scenes, which are shot from various positions around the truck,
the mountains surround Don Pedro completely as he stands atop the trailer. This encirclement by the mountains echoes the enclosure of the Africans in the trailer, whom Don Pedro attempts to help through a hole in the roof.

On a thematic level, *Black Brown White* also overturns the western’s treatment of the landscape by appropriating and re-envisioning two key western sites: the ghost town and the garden. The ghost town is a physical space associated with the western and the historical West. In many westerns such a town has been decimated by attacks by outlaws or Native Americans or has been abandoned after failed speculation or economic changes such as the closing of a mine. These deserted spaces facilitate the characters’ confrontation with history or past experiences and visually dramatize the dangers of the frontier.11 *Black Brown White* sends its characters to a different type of ghost town: namely, a luxury condominium complex where they spend the night illegally. The real locations used for these condominiums were familiar to Wagenhofer from *Let’s Make Money* (2008), his documentary on capitalistic excess. This ghost town is striking in that it has not been abandoned per se but has actually never been occupied. These empty homes were constructed as investment properties but became unprofitable and unsellable during the speculative Spanish real estate crash in 2008. The depiction of this “ghost” town stresses not its abandonment but its artificiality. While the exterior establishing shots suggest a canyon landscape through which Don Pedro’s truck slowly drives, the large and immaculate white buildings with identical, neatly manicured trees and shrubs lining the street emphasize the complex’s sterile uniformity. In a later scene Don Pedro and Jackie appear in a medium shot while standing on a balcony overlooking a golf course bordered on the opposite side by more condominiums. Shot from this angle, the golf course resembles a lush valley—an artificial oasis in the otherwise arid space. The interior scenes of the showroom apartment further stress its artificiality, for example, by showing Theo playing with a piece of plastic fruit or Jackie confused by a bookcase that contains cardboard boxes with pictures of book spines on them.

The depiction of the condominium complex bends genre expectations to reveal the film’s concern with global migration. As a residue of the ruins of speculations, the condominium complex is much like a deserted Gold Rush town from a classical western, where the portrayal of a failed settlement underlines the frontier’s risk and uncertainty. This condominium ghost town, however, bears no traces of a real past, only a simulated present. As a migrant from the global South, Jackie notes that she is driven by hopes for better eco-
nomic and educational prospects, stability, and standard of living that she believes can be found in the North. Speculating about the apartment’s owners, she says, “Diese Leute müssen glücklich sein.” Don Pedro then proceeds to explain to her why the complex is uninhabited, offering an indictment of capitalist speculation. He closes his assessment with the greeting, “Welcome to Europe,” that he first made when she stepped onto European soil for the first time. This sarcastic repetition, however, now directs its criticism at the West and seeks to dispel the mythic promise of European prosperity, which, through Don Pedro’s exposition and the scenes stressing the apartment’s artificiality, is shown in this complex to be decadent and grotesque.

The significance of the ghost town-condominium becomes complete through its contrast with the scenes at the shantytown settlements. If the condominiums serve as the dream image for some migrants, the shantytowns reveal the real space in which many migrants land. These illegal shantytown settlements in Almería, again actual sites that were featured in Wagenhofer’s earlier documentary work, are dwellings erected next to the hothouse facilities where undocumented migrants work. In the two sequences in which Don Pedro stops here to prepare for the trafficking, the film offers viewers a limited glimpse at the exteriors of these makeshift shelters, which are seemingly constructed out of garbage and discarded materials. At the apartment complex, the vertical heights of the multiple stories and the simulated valley of the golf course physically allude to the site’s power and wealth yet also its jarring presence into the surrounding arid landscape. In contrast, the shantytown is flat and is furthermore distinguishable from the adjacent workspace only by its haphazardness. The virtually nonexistent separation between places of work and residence underscores the precarious, exploitative context in which the undocumented migrants are allowed to remain. Due to this site’s illegal status, the shantytown sequence was the only one that required covert filming, because the landlords—the managers of the hothouses—denied Wagenhofer permission to film there (“Interview” 12).

The hothouses where the migrants work appear as a garden in the desert, and this space thematically opens another critical dialogue with the classical western. As Douglas Pye notes, many classical westerns revolve around the issue of land, in particular the future transformation of the frontier into a secure, inhabitable, and sustainable settlement, which also indicates an opposition between the conceptual spaces of the desert and the garden (148). The classical western generally does not portray an actual garden, as its realization is the
ultimate goal of the film’s narrative, one that can only be achieved through the establishment of law and order. With its portrayal of an already transformed garden in the hothouses near Almería, then, *Black Brown White* subverts this expectation of the classical western. In doing so, the film questions the conditions that allowed and continue to maintain this radical transformation.

The hothouses, and the shantytowns as well, were featured in Wagenhofer’s documentary, *We Feed the World* (2005), in which localized agriculture and production are contrasted and valorized against industrial farming and food processing. The first images of the hothouse stress its artificiality. As Don Pedro’s truck drives down a road lined by structures draped in white sheets, the extreme long shot makes this concealed landscape appear to be a vast grayish desert. The initial scenes at the facility are then tightly edited to keep the interior a mystery, which is only revealed when Jackie frantically enters the hothouse after Theo goes missing. With her entry, the barren white tones that have dominated the exterior shots are jarringly replaced with the vibrant greens and reds of the tomato plants, which are shot to emphasize their arrangement in well-manicured rows that seemingly stretch endlessly into the distance. Jackie’s search through the hothouse, shot with documentary thoroughness, enables the film to detail how this environment can only exist through human manipulation. This is evident in both the images of workers pruning, harvesting, watering, and spraying the plants with chemicals and the images of the white plastic sheets draping the entire facility to regulate temperature and sunlight.

Just as the film highlights how the hothouse can only operate through invasive intervention, it stresses that the facility cannot exist without the labor of undocumented migrants. Before Jackie is shown entering the hothouse, the exterior shots of the loading areas are almost devoid of people. The interior, however, bustles with workers, virtually all of whom appear to be African, except for the light-skinned Spanish managers inside the surveillance cubicles. When the junior officer who has apprehended Theo wants to take him into custody, Comisario Gutiérrez retorts that if they were to do that at the hothouse, they would have to detain the entire city. As Albert Wirthensohn has explained, the hothouses in Almería are a notorious example of an EU site of extreme exploitation of undocumented migrants, mostly from Africa, who, in addition to their precarious legal status, are subject to poor wages, Third World living conditions, and prolonged exposure to toxic pesticides and fertilizers (14–15). As depicted in the film, the workers in the hothouses...
are also strictly controlled, not by armed guards but by surveillance equipment: When Theo is lost, Don Pedro assures Jackie that he cannot get away because the space is tightly cordoned off. That same control, however, leads to Theo’s detainment, as he is indeed located through the surveillance technology. With this hothouse “garden,” Black Brown White subverts the classical western’s idealized gardens where the advent of law and order functions as a guarantor of prosperity, freedom, and stability, of the establishment of civilization on the frontier. The hothouses in Almería here represent the European frontier to which thousands of migrants, like those fictional ones depicted in the film, have endured great hardship to venture. The garden that this film depicts, though, has more in common with a prison camp than the verdant valleys or farms, which, in the classical western, will blossom after the transformation of the lawless frontier. In Black Brown White the frontier has already been secured, and its laws selectively allow, bar, or tolerate entry into this garden. The justness of this situation becomes central to the conflict facing the film’s protagonist.

Western Justice

As noted earlier, what interested Wagenhofer about westerns when he was conceiving the film was precisely “dass sich das Geschehen in einer Art gesetzlosem Raum bewegt” (“Interview” 8–9). In many classical westerns, for example, the frontier is a space where the law has not yet been solidified or is undermined, and the films’ heroes are those who establish it, for which they must often turn to illegal means. In Black Brown White, the law exists, but it is not respected and is shown to be inadequate. Truckers become human traffickers, migrants are needed but denied entry, and police look the other way when it serves the interests of capital. If classical westerns, as Robert Shandley has noted, “take as their fundamental conflict both questions of how the subject deals with ‘his’ history and how communities are brought back into legal discourse” (139), then what is at stake for the film’s appropriation of the genre is not the establishment but the legitimacy of the laws and contexts governing migration in Europe.

The film’s implicit challenge to legal discourse is signaled by both its actual and original titles. As a comment on the larger issue of migration, the film’s title, Black Brown White, indicates a rejection of simplistic binary oppositions of right/wrong or black/white that suggest an indisputable clarity. The film’s
title counters that its subject matter, migration, is too complex to be limited to such a clear-cut opposition. The replacement of the expected “gray” with “brown” as the intermediary term remains ambiguous. While it might loosely allude to the predominant color in the western’s mise-en-scène, brown references the racial signifier attributed to the film’s African migrants. This allusion, however, becomes problematic for its reduction to a simplistic racial marker that repeats rather than deconstructs binary logic.\textsuperscript{15} The film’s original title, “Just in Time,” signals its concern with justice more obliquely (Wagenhofer, “Black Brown White—Interview” 3) as it appears throughout the film as the name of Don Pedro’s company. What may first seem a reference to the shipping company’s logistical strategy thus becomes an expression of hope for a more just and fair future for migrants.

The film most significantly raises questions about the conditions of migration through its appropriation of the classical western for the protagonist’s characterization and narrative functions. Initial images of Don Pedro place him in a pseudo-western environment: He is first shown in long shots outside his truck, which is parked under a convoluted overpass that resembles a secluded canyon. Medium long shots then show him preparing his truck by checking underneath or washing its exterior, actions that resemble how a cowboy might prepare a horse. Don Pedro fulfills further expectations of a classical western character.\textsuperscript{16} He is a restrained and reticent figure, yet he is strong; he proves to be highly skilled in his profession; he has a troubled past that separates him from his family and, to a certain extent, society in general; he is a loner who dismisses the need for relationships, yet has desires for a female companion who embodies stability and an end to his nomadic ways. Like those of western heroes, too, Don Pedro’s actions ultimately prove selfless, driven primarily by individual moral obligations rather than contractual or legal ones.

To reach this conclusion, the film traces Don Pedro’s evolving attitude regarding migrants. His change is mapped onto a prototypical western narrative of delivery across a treacherous space.\textsuperscript{17} In helping Jackie and Theo, Don Pedro endangers himself and his smuggled passengers through the risky border crossing. He makes extensive stops, such as the night spent at the condomini-ums, which interrupts his schedule. His encounter with the police leads him to the unplanned maneuver of switching trailers with Alf, who has not left the EU, to reduce the chances of the police finding the Africans. After an accident, Don Pedro is forced to unload his trailer’s produce, which is then stolen. In
the end, Don Pedro has become a trucker transporting nothing and deviating from his planned destination. This radical shift is a reversal of Don Pedro’s original views. Initially, he sees smuggling strictly in a contractual sense. He is concerned about logistics and his compensation, but the hidden passengers remain only cargo for him, not individuals whose fate is his concern. After his initial doubts about newcomer Alf, Don Pedro is pleased by Alf’s lack of interest in knowing the contents of the trailer: “Ich bin Trucker, kein Händler.” This attitude is foregrounded by tightly framed shots of Don Pedro readying the hidden container, but no image of the Africans whatsoever. This changes when Don Pedro sees Jackie and Theo waiting outside his truck. He indifferently tells the Moroccan trafficker that they are not his problem. When they insist that they have paid for this journey, however, Don Pedro reluctantly agrees to take them no farther than the border. Confronted with actual people inside his truck, Don Pedro slowly entwines himself in their fate.

For two stages in this transformation, the film undoes two iconic moments of the western, the ambush and the showdown. In both instances, the film’s hero is placed in the role that the western would assign to the villain, which underlines the film’s critique of the problematics of migration. First, the film has Don Pedro enact an ambush to reveal his initial decision to help Jackie and Theo across the EU border. Like a western hero, Don Pedro does not explain his actions, which are obscured to Jackie and the viewer. Within the iconography of the western, Don Pedro’s actions make sense. As in a generic ambush scene, Don Pedro stops atop a ridge, binoculars in hand, to survey the valley road below, where he knows that Berndt, the doctor, will soon be arriving en route to Spain. Don Pedro then exploits Berndt and the diplomatic plates on his car for Jackie and Theo’s passage. Second, the film adapts a showdown sequence to underscore Don Pedro’s profound transition when he actually takes responsibility for Theo by pretending to be his father. After a scene in which Comisario Gutiérrez questions Don Pedro while both stand next to each other observing busy workers inside the hothouse, the next scene uses western blocking to place them outside Don Pedro’s truck, where Gutiérrez clearly suspects trafficking. Tracking from the classical western shot—the plan américain—to a medium close-up showing Don Pedro and the Comisario facing each other in profile, the scene clearly mimics a showdown.18 The expected “shootout” resulting from this tension will occur later, but the confrontation demonstrates Don Pedro’s clear challenge to the legal order as well as his further transformation.
A significant motivation for Don Pedro’s change can be found in the film’s appropriation of the classical western’s construction of the female lead as the target of the hero’s desires. To be sure, Don Pedro is motivated by his payment for trafficking of the Africans, but he will forfeit part of this to placate Alf and will presumably be responsible for the incurred costs of taking Jackie to a different destination. She herself cannot understand his actions and says that he is making a “schlechtes Geschäft.” When viewed in light of the classical western, Don Pedro’s “bad deal” can be read as originating in part from his desire for Jackie. As in the classical western, this desire is not primarily sexual but revolves around what Jackie potentially represents: constancy, the fixed space and stability of home, and the promise of a future and settlement, all of which are antithetical to the loner world of the cowboy, gunslinger, or, in this case, trucker.19 As a migrant, Jackie does not yet have a secure home, but she is seeking one. Early in the film, Don Pedro states that his truck is his home, but he later says that he wishes to quit his nomadic business. Jackie thus presents him with a potential refuge. The intimacy developing between them is indeed conveyed through scenes of caring and cohabitation rather than sexual desire.20 When their brief union does occur in the condominium sequence, scenes of domesticity predominate as they prepare dinner and wash dishes and as Don Pedro puts Theo to bed. But just as everything in this apartment is artificial, their relationship will ultimately prove to be illusory.

Jackie fulfills another generic expectation of the classical western through her impact on Don Pedro’s transformation. As Martin Holtz contends, the female lead in the classical western is not the passive figure many critics suspect, but is instead at the core of the story because she “urges the hero to change his individualistic ways. The woman becomes the moral and ideological center of the film by actively reforming the male hero” (60). Even if Jackie’s character remains secondary to Don Pedro, she does assume the role Holtz describes. Jackie’s presence and her plight are significant catalysts for Don Pedro’s replacement of his initially indifferent, contractual views regarding trafficking with a more humane perspective. Her influence is visually conveyed in the sequence in which they head out to meet Alf. Concealed in the trailer’s hidden compartment, Jackie, via walkie-talkie, tells Don Pedro about her trek across the Sahara. During this journey, her brother became ill with dehydration and was left to die by the Africans, who are now in Alf’s truck. Most of the sequence features a low angle exterior shot of Don Pedro’s windshield, in which the reflection of the clouds dominates the screen, leaving only one
dark spot through which the viewer can see the tears welling on Don Pedro’s illuminated face as he listens to Jackie’s disembodied voice. With Don Pedro’s face surrounded by the cloud’s reflections, the shot clearly suggests a substantial evolution in his character, if not his spiritual enlightenment. The subsequent reverse shot of the road ahead returns the film to a more earthly, immediate level as dark mountains on the horizon signal the obstacles ahead.

For Jackie’s most direct attempt to influence Don Pedro, the film modifies the role assigned to many female western figures: the advocate against violence. Female figures in classical westerns often urge the male leads not to commit violence against the lawless villains. In *Black Brown White*, the violence against which Jackie is pleading would be directed not at Don Pedro’s antagonists but at the Africans, the innocent characters in the film’s overall dynamics. After Don Pedro grudgingly pays off Alf, who has discovered the Africans hidden in his truck when some become ill with dysentery, Jackie recognizes the same dilemma that killed her brother and warns Don Pedro that not releasing the Africans will make him a murderer. Indicting the laws and the systemic dependencies and inequities between the global North and South that have led and then entrapped these migrants in the trailer, Jackie’s plea reiterates the film’s critical views on European migration policies and their economic underpinning.

While the focus of Jackie’s plea deviates from the classical western, Don Pedro’s response conforms to the genre’s expectations to reinforce the critique implicit in the character’s development. Don Pedro namely rejects Jackie’s demand, just as the classical westerns’ male heroes often do not respond to the concerns of the female character and choose to commit a violent act that eliminates the villain’s threat to the community. In doing so, they violate the legal or moral code they represent, an action that André Bazin describes as the western’s “inevitable and necessary contradiction” (146), one that is not resolved but often deferred by the hero’s removal or the abandonment of his violent ways. In *Black Brown White*, Don Pedro does not directly commit violence, but he dismisses Jackie’s plea to release the Africans because this would take too long and raise suspicions, endangering everyone. From a hole in the roof, he provides fresh water but then leaves the Africans to their fate in Alf’s truck. Don Pedro’s actions, though unclear whether they lead to harm, resemble those of a western hero in that he accepts this possibility in hopes of ensuring that all the migrants reach their destination rather than face apprehension and deportation. Don Pedro clearly acknowledges this contradic-
tion in the subsequent scene. After discovering and then removing the police tracking device from his trailer, Don Pedro calls Berndt for help and disguises his vehicle by removing the “Just in Time” logos, symbolically deferring their implicit advent of justice. Watching the signs burn, he tells Jackie that although she finds his actions criminal, “Kriminell ist das System, das uns in diese beschissene Lage bringt.” Don Pedro’s assessment reveals his critical awareness of the change in his own views and his recognition of his limits given the systemic constraints. The scene’s setting imbues its character’s development with a hopeful tone: Unlike the film’s predominant brown, barren landscapes, the exterior shots here conspicuously feature a verdant valley and green mountains as backdrops.

For the resolution of the conflict between Don Pedro and the authorities, *Black Brown White* continues its undoing of the western’s expectations of violence by staging a symbolic shootout to further its critique. With the genre’s violence diffused toward the African migrants’ potential fate, the film’s completion of the showdown between Don Pedro and the law replaces weapons with the antagonists’ differing conceptions of justice. Don Pedro stops at the truck stop where he intends to deliver Jackie and Theo to Berndt, but before he can return to the truck, he is apprehended by the police. Sent by the *Comisario*, these officers complete the action he began in the earlier showdown sequence. When the authorities enter his truck hoping to arrest smuggled passengers, however, they find only an empty trailer and truck cabin. Without any concrete evidence of trafficking, the police presumably will be unable to prosecute Don Pedro, denying the enforcement and power of the law. When Don Pedro sees Jackie and Theo riding away in Berndt’s car, he effectively prevails in the figurative shootout. Instead of firing a bullet, Don Pedro strikes his opponent by executing his plan, as the migrants succeed in evading the authority of the law and moving on toward their destination.

The sequence of images that closes the film employs an intertextual reference to underscore the protagonist’s victory while also dampening it by revealing its limitations. This closing raid scene is profoundly enhanced through its parallel to the closing scene of John Ford’s classical western *The Searchers*. After Don Pedro shows the police officer the empty compartment, the film presents a long shot taken from inside the trailer, and its darkness frames the silhouettes of Don Pedro and the officer as they walk out toward the bright parking lot. This image is a quotation of the famous “inside-out” scene from *The Searchers*, which is shot from inside a darkened doorframe.
that looks out onto the desert. In that film, the hero overcomes his racist hatred of the Comanche and instead of murdering his abducted niece, returns her to her family and then, as the inside-out shot reveals, walks away into the desert, a gunslinger unable to enter the community he has restored. As in *The Searchers*, the hero of *Black Brown White* has also shifted his views, now caring deeply for Jackie and Theo instead of regarding them as someone else’s problem. Similarly, with the secure deliverance of the threatened figures, he then exits the trailer into an uncertain future, having overcome both his own prejudices and the tactics of his opponents.

This quotation of one of the most highly regarded westerns, however, does not merely punctuate the protagonist’s success, it actually undercuts it through a reverse shot, which turns the camera onto the trailer’s interior, tracking in to a medium close-up of Don Pedro’s face, smiling slightly as he watches Berndt’s car drive off. Don Pedro’s face is illuminated brightly, and behind him is the darkness of the trailer. The film then ends as Don Pedro steps out of the picture, leaving a freeze frame on the interior of the truck, in which the empty hidden compartment can clearly be seen. If Don Pedro has gained a more empathetic perspective and has succeeded in ensuring passage for Jackie and Theo, this final image—by giving the migrants the last word and returning us to the space where they have been concealed—suggests that his development may be insufficient. The final image also illustrates Dina Iordanova’s argument that films about trafficking transform the liminal spaces of migrants into Pierre Nora’s concept of “memory sites,” which attempt to give voice to an unimaginable moment that could only be communicated by those who experienced it (“Trafficking” 93). Foregrounding the spaces where Jackie was confined and where the Africans remain in Alf’s truck, the image of the compartment prohibits the viewer from ignoring the injustice and inequities remaining in European migration. Through the reminder that the final image engages, the film reinforces its most productive appropriation of the classical western: It has its protagonist be unjust to deliver justice beyond the law, and at the same time, it reveals the limits and contradictions of this justice. By having Don Pedro reject the existing legal codes and also risk an act of violence to help Jackie and Theo, his actions demonstrate what Bazin calls the genre’s crucial “conflict between the transcendence of social justice and the individual character of moral justice, between the categorical imperative of the law which guarantees the order of the future city, and the no less unshakeable order of the individual conscience” (147).
In the film’s intense focus on the conscience and actions of its hero, however, it betrays one of the shortcomings of its appropriation of the western. If the film aims to raise questions about the systemic issues of migration and trafficking, this endeavor is hindered by its appropriation of the emphasis on the heroism of the western protagonist. For virtually the entire film, Don Pedro is the focal point, and the story provides example after example of his feats that illustrate, if not the strength of a gunslinging cowboy, then his savvy skills and intelligence as a trafficker and trucker. The narrative focus on his heroics similarly inhibits the film from directly addressing the questions that illuminate issues surrounding migration: What push and pull factors motivate migrants to leave their homes, for example, and how do they negotiate their new destinations? Why has the receiving space enacted its protective laws and who benefits from them and their abuse? The absences that emerge through the intense focus on the hero are perhaps most clearly indicated by the visual absence of the African migrants hidden in the trailer. The film may grant the final image to their physical space, but they themselves never appear on screen, their presence limited to unintelligible speech or banging sounds.

An Eastern European in an Appropriation of the Western

If having the primary focus on the hero’s exploits is a limitation resulting from the film’s appropriation of the western, this is further compounded by the adoption of the western’s use of contrastive relief to highlight the protagonist, which informs the film’s portrayal of Alf and reveals contradictions in the film’s engagement with migration and in regard to its place in Austrian cinema. Within the narrative constellation, the figure of Don Pedro’s trucker colleague Alf could easily have been fulfilled by a fellow Viennese character, but the film casts this role with a Ukrainian migrant, marshaling national and ethnic identity for negative contrast. As mentioned above, the depiction of Eastern European characters is a common feature in Austrian migratory and diasporic cinema. Many films place Eastern European characters into illicit milieus, such as organized crime or prostitution, but their representations are constructed to shed a light on the socioeconomic constraints that restrict the characters to such enterprises.24 Alf enters the criminal world of trafficking in the course of the film, but, strikingly, the film does little to problematize this transformation and instead associates it with his identity, which the film employs as a contrast to its hero.
Within the dynamics of the film’s appropriation of the western, Alf is cast in positions that are akin to different figures in the genre: namely, rival cowboys and “Indians.” Initially he can be likened to a younger cowboy who antagonizes and challenges the older hero. Before he even appears onscreen, Alf is a subject of contention between Don Pedro and his partner Jimmy: Don Pedro dismisses Alf as Jimmy’s “champion” and finds him too inexperienced and untrustworthy to become involved in their trafficking. Jimmy, however, sees Alf’s punctuality and his motivation to earn money as proof of his suitability and recruits him, despite Don Pedro’s objections. When Alf first enters the frame, however, he becomes unambiguously associated with the Native American. During the truck stop bar scene in which Don Pedro meets him, Alf is first shown describing the Ukrainian wilderness where, Alf alleges, one could easily hunt a bear or catch huge wild sturgeon. While his boasting locates Alf’s origins in a seemingly untamed frontier, he is directly associated with the Native American through the T-shirt he conspicuously wears throughout the film. This T-shirt features a prominent imprint of a Native American sitting backwards atop a galloping buffalo. This implausible image unmistakably reveals the film’s appropriation of the western character constellations for its portrayal of Alf. As Native Americans are often opponents of the hero, if not the primary villains in classical westerns, this image foreshadows the antagonistic role that Alf will later play. It is striking, however, that the film, which is already drawing on this migrant character’s ethnic and national difference as a contrast, is overlaying that contrast with an additional marker of ethnic difference, particularly one overdetermined by a legacy of racism, exclusion, and genocide (Hoffman 46).

That the Native American on Alf’s shirt is riding the buffalo backwards suggests a different perspective on the marking of ethnic or national identity: namely, with West European views of the East. Common to Austrian and Western European stereotypes of Eastern Europe is the notion of backwardness, of non-synchronousness with a presumed Western modernity. Including sociocultural differences as well as differences in political structure, societal organization, and capacity in the realms of technology and security, this backwardness is often imagined in Austrian discourse as unreliable or even threatening (Liebhart and Pribersky 117). Alf’s untrustworthiness is already stressed in Don Pedro’s dispute with Jimmy, but Don Pedro reiterates it when he tells the Spanish dispatcher Paco that Alf’s hiring was a “Sparmaßnahme,” explicitly denigrating the Ukrainian as inferior to Austrian or Western Eu-
ropean drivers. The threat that this backwardness poses is evoked later by the garlic that Don Pedro transports to Morocco, where it gets repackaged as a Spanish product and then shipped back to Austria for sale to unsuspecting consumers. Don Pedro cynically describes this process as “Veredelung,” implicitly suggesting that Austrians would likely avoid Ukrainian produce because of its origins in a country with non-Western agricultural standards or, even worse, because of its link to the specter of Chernobyl. Stressing the imagined threat that this garlic harbors, the film casually repeats what it has already suggested about Alf: that things from the Ukraine are unsafe.

Alf’s most significant contrastive function becomes evident when he assumes the role the classical western assigns to a corrupt fellow cowboy or gunslinger. The negative traits assigned to such figures serve to heighten the hero’s stature. When Alf bribes Don Pedro about the Africans, he confirms Don Pedro’s early suspicions about his untrustworthiness, which reinforces the portrayal of the hero’s intelligence and intuition. Alf’s most direct contrast emerges when, after the bribe, he himself becomes a trafficker. In the scenes in which Don Pedro helps the sick Africans, Alf can be seen wandering in the background, waiting for him to finish. As with Don Pedro before his transformation, Alf’s primary concern with the migrants is the monetary amount their delivery will earn him. As a greedy, indifferent trafficker, Alf has most strikingly become antithetical to the transformed Don Pedro. The film’s stress on Alf’s national identity points to a similarity with other films depicting traffickers. As Dina Iordanova writes, fictional traffickers are often ethnically different from the film’s implicit audience, in this case the Austrian and German markets, because the difference intimates that “the rings are set up by ‘others,’ the criminals are as foreign as the victims, and therefore the problem that is shown, while awful, does not have much to do with ‘us,’ the viewers” (“Making Trafficking Visible” 97).

Within the dynamics of the film’s treatment of migrants, the figure of Alf presents a contradiction that emanates from its appropriation of the western. Alf’s assumption of roles and elements that the western inscribes onto Native Americans and rival cowboys may intensify the film’s positive portrayal of Don Pedro, but when linked to Alf’s ethnic and national identities, this requires the film to deviate from its otherwise largely sympathetic portrayal of migrants and their struggles. Furthermore, the film is implicitly advocating that, in the world outside the cinema, the complex of migration becomes more just and equitable. None of this should suggest a proscriptive demand that artists portray only undifferentiated characters, good or bad, migrant or
not. Nevertheless, the film’s stress on Alf’s alterity remains surprisingly contradictory. As a migrant in Austria who is at first poised to become more integrated, Alf is portrayed in a manner that does not challenge but actively draws on negative discourses surrounding Eastern Europeans in Austrian society. While this negative depiction may have a function within the film’s appropriation of the western’s generic elements, it lays bare the film’s marked incongruence within Austrian cinema’s portrayal of Eastern Europeans.

Shortly after the release of *Black Brown White*, Austrian director Anja Salomonowitz released her multi-narrative film *Spanien* (2012), in which the main story also adopts the western on a thematic and stylistic level. This narrative centers on a Moldovan migrant who mistakenly lands in Austria while being trafficked to Spain. As in *Black Brown White*, the heavily policed and regulated yet simultaneously shifting and fluctuating European landscape becomes, via the appropriation of the western, imagined as a frontier space hostile to its new arrivals. Long a globalized genre, the western has been adopted frequently because of its ability to speak to conditions of uncertainty and instability. On the internationalization of the genre, Olivia Khoo writes:

> the use of the Western by so many national cinemas implies that the “frontiers” of these national cinemas have always been moving, or blurring. The frontier, signifying unclaimed territory and the unfinished business of nation building, involves more than simply the question of history; it also invokes myth, [. . .]. It is not only the (re)conceptualization of the West that is important, but also the mythology surrounding “how the West was won.” (86)

The multiple contentious issues surrounding migration continue to stir debate in Austria and across and within the European Union, where changing global flows, supranational partnerships, and each member state’s own internal issues and pressures demand a constant negotiation of frontiers and identity. For filmmakers, this space certainly constitutes a “moving, blurring” realm, where “unfinished business” remains. With its narrative of a trafficker’s transformation into an advocate for humane justice and of two migrants’ entry and presumed settlement in this frontier space, *Black Brown White* offers not merely a myth depicting the characters’ mastery of this frontier. More importantly, through its reinterpretation of the classical western’s focus on establishing justice beyond the law, the film highlights deficiencies and inequi-
ties that incite the viewer to question the validity of the laws and institutions that govern and exploit migration. Despite the genre’s limitations that remain inherent, the appropriation of the classical western in *Black Brown White* illustrates a striking cinematic remapping of genres and patterns from one cultural context onto another. Through its protagonist’s transformation of his views on trafficking and migrants, the film productively adapts its borrowed genre to reflect on the genre itself and especially on the meanings it reveals in the new context, opening a productive outlet for the film to pose critical questions about the justness of contemporary migration in Europe.

**Notes**

1. Prominent examples of films dealing with trafficking include Xavier Koller’s *Reise der Hoffnung* (1990), Michael Winterbottom’s *In this World* (2002), Steven Frears’s *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002), and Damjan Kožole’s *Reservni Deli* (*Spare Parts*) (2003).

2. Many films, such as Albert’s *Nordrand* (1999), Allahyari’s *Geboren in Absurdistan* (1999), Flicker’s *Suzie Washington* (1998), and Mader’s *Struggle* (2003), explicitly depict both legal and illegal border crossings. Nearly half of both *Geboren in Absurdistan* and Seidl’s *Import Export* (2007) are set outside Austria’s borders—in Turkey and the Ukraine, respectively.

3. Such female figures appear in numerous films of this type, including Mader’s *Struggle*, Kalt’s *Crash Test Dummies* (2005), and Seidl’s *Import Export*. This context also features in Moschitz’s documentary *Mama Illegal* (2011).

4. The terror and intensity of the border crossings depicted in Mader’s *Struggle* or the raids in that film and in Albert’s *Nordrand*, for example, are nowhere to be found in the seemingly easy smuggling of hidden migrants in *Black Brown White*. To be sure, some Austrian films do take a less rigid approach when depicting a border crossing. Allahyari’s *Geboren in Absurdistan* and Kalt’s *Crash Test Dummies* both depict somewhat farcical checkpoint scenes.

5. Examples of the more realist films include Yavuz’s *Aprilkinder* (1998) and Kassovitz’s *La Haine* (*Hate*) (1995). Examples of films with hybrid strategies include Gurinder Chadha’s *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993), which inserts Bollywood musical numbers into its melodrama about South Asians in Britain, or Anno Saul’s *Kebab Connection* (2004), with the embedded kung fu cinema sequences in its depiction of intergenerational conflicts.

6. As Christopher Frayling has demonstrated, spaghetti westerns enact a “rearrangement of the ‘codes’ of the Western within the context of Southern Italian society” (191), presenting highly stylized rituals of violence whose nihilism engages a critique of capitalism and of the universal moral codes of the Hollywood western and its heroes concerned with establishing or restoring social justice.

7. Because of his experiences working in Spain, the protagonist is referred to with the Spanish title of honor, “Don Pedro,” a nomenclature that parallels that of fictional western heroes, who often are given new names once they have established themselves in the West (Krauth 317–18).
8. Will Wright’s structural study of the classical western isolates sixteen functions of the genre that are useful for illuminating the parallels of *Black Brown White* to this genre. If we recast Wright’s “society” with “Jackie and Theo” and then change “villains” to the Spanish *Comisario* and his agents, then Wright’s functions provide the basic story of the film, with slightly different chronological placement of functions 10 and 15:

1) The hero enters a social group, 2) The hero is unknown to the society, 3) The hero is revealed to have an exceptional ability, 4) The society recognizes a difference between themselves and the hero; the hero is given a special status, 5) The society does not completely accept the hero, 6) There is a conflict of interests between the villains and the society, 7) The villains are stronger than the society; the society is weak, 8) There is a strong friendship or respect between the hero and a villain, 9) The villains threaten the society, 10) The hero avoids involvement in the conflict, 11) The villains endanger a friend of the hero, 12) The hero fights the villain, 13) The hero defeats the villain, 14) The society is safe, 15) The society accepts the hero, 16) The hero loses or gives up his special status. (Wright 48–49)

9. This entire sequence has clear visual parallels with classical western: Pursued by the villains, the characters hope to elude them by choosing a less traveled but treacherous route. Along the way, they set up a makeshift camp, where they converse under the stars around a lantern, and there is even an ambush, as Don Pedro is awakened by the sounds of hooting screams that recall the stereotyped sounds of Native Americans in westerns. As Don Pedro then observes from a promontory position on a nearby ridge, the screams are coming from the looters stealing the cargo from his trailer.

10. This shot also playfully modifies the road movie genre’s meta-cinematic association of the windshield with the movie screen in that the viewer is not looking from the driver’s perspective but nevertheless sees the road ahead (Laderman 16).

11. Filmic examples include the eponymous site in Miner’s *Ghost Town* (1956) or the settlements abandoned after attacks in Ford’s *The Searchers* (1956) and Boetticher’s *Comanche Station* (1960).

12. Wyler’s *The Westerner* (1940) and Ford’s *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962) both explicitly point to the transformation of the land into a fruitful, inhabitable space at their resolution. Hawks’s *Red River* (1948) shows an earlier transformation, but its economic viability becomes threatened.

13. See Murray and Heumann for a more detailed reading of the contrastive “nostalgic” approach that they locate in *We Feed the World* (51–53).

14. The massive dimensions of these hothouses can easily be seen in online satellite imagery, such as Google Earth, where, even from distanced resolution, the hothouses render the peninsula from Adra to Almería a vast white space.

15. As Wagenhofer notes, the film’s title is an allusion to one of his favorite pieces of music: Duke Ellington’s jazz symphony, *Black Brown Beige*, which reflects on the history of African Americans from the period of slavery up to the 1940s (*Presseheft* 13).

16. A quintessential example is John Wayne’s Ethan Edwards in Ford’s *The Searchers*.

17. Classical westerns that revolve around delivery narratives include *Stagecoach* (1939) and *The Searchers*, both by Ford, as well as Boetticher’s *Comanche Station*. 
A similar shot is used when Don Pedro later confronts Berndt, who, though sympathetic to Jackie's plight, is initially uneasy with the illegality of her journey and especially of Don Pedro’s tactics.

This constellation can be seen in films such as Wyler’s *The Westerner* and Ford’s *Stagecoach* and *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*.

For example, this can be seen in the sequence in which Don Pedro labors after the accident to remove the tomato crates and check on Jackie’s injury. We can also note this element in Don Pedro’s irritation by Paco’s insinuation that he wants to help Jackie because he presumes Don Pedro is in a sexual relationship with her. Similarly, Don Pedro’s accident occurs precisely when he attempts to drive and assume the role of caregiver to a carsick Theo.

Two prominent examples of this function can be found in the female characters in Ford’s *Stagecoach* and Zinnemann’s *High Noon* (1952), both of whom urge the male figures to flee rather than confront the villains bent on revenge.

For a detailed reading of the complexity and ambiguity of the closing image of *The Searchers*, see Pippin (135–40).

This image obtains added significance through its contrast with the opening of the film, which, also in medium close-up, begins in the total darkness of the truck and then partially illuminates Don Pedro’s face as he opens a curtain. With Don Pedro’s frontally illuminated face, the closing shot culminates the more enlightened perspective he has developed throughout the film. The transitions between darkness and illumination that bookend the film are a further parallel to Ford’s *The Searchers*.

Prime examples of this strategy can be found in Barbara Gräftner’s *Mein Russland* (2002), in which a Ukrainian immigrant cannot seem to escape her past as a nightclub dancer even as she tries to assimilate into Austrian society, and Seidl’s *Import Export*, which traces a migrant’s passage through the demeaning jobs available to her, all the while employing a visual construction that foregrounds the power dynamics of the West’s gaze on Eastern Europeans. In mainstream, commercially oriented feature films from Austria, Eastern Europeans are regularly cast in unproblematized roles as agents of crime and illicit behavior, as can be seen in films like Murberger’s *Der Knochenmann* (2009) or Prochaska’s *Die unabsichtliche Entführung der Frau Elfriede Ott* (2010).

This dynamic is apparent in classical westerns, such as Hawks’s *Red River* and, in less antagonistic relationships, in Ford’s *The Searchers* and Stevens’s *Shane* (1953).

Paco’s comments also foreground the notion of Alf’s otherness. He jokingly asks Don Pedro when his company started hiring “extraterrestre.” The term, alien is an allusion to Alf, the American sitcom with an eponymous extraterrestrial character, but in the contexts of defining otherness or international migration, this term carries highly negative connotations.

Examples of these figures can be found in Boetticher’s *Comanche Station*, where rival cowboys pursue the same goal as the hero but have nefarious intentions, or in Stevens’s *Shane*, where treacherous cattlemen hire a gunslinger to defeat the title hero, who has sided with the homesteaders.

To be sure, one can certainly argue that the film fails to meet the filmmaker’s stated goal of representing the migrant “nicht Stereotyp als Opfer” (*Presseheft* 11). If the western genre may attribute to female characters the central role of reforming the male, its conventi-
onal gender ordering often leaves its females conspicuously underdeveloped characters restricted to secondary roles (Shandley 144–45). This characterization clearly applies to Jackie, who is literally rescued numerous times by Don Pedro and finally by Berndt.

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