

The Same, but Different: Young Protagonists and Their Space of Possibilities as Portrayed in Turkish-German Migration Literature - A Transcultural Perspective

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*The Same, but Different: Young Protagonists and Their
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Migration Literature - A Transcultural Perspective*

by

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I, Arezou Ghasemzadeh, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this dissertation with the title "*The Same, but Different: Young Protagonists and Their Space of Possibilities as Portrayed in Turkish-German Migration Literature - A Transcultural Perspective*" and that no part of it has been either used elsewhere or presented elsewhere to obtain a degree or other qualification.

I further declare that any help I have received has been fully acknowledged and that references used as sources have been fully mentioned.

I also confirm that I have followed the Regulations for Good Scientific Practice of the Carl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg.

Oldenburg,
Arezou Ghasemzadeh

A copy of this declaration in German is to be found on page 371

***The Same, but Different: Young Protagonists and Their Space of Possibilities as Portrayed
in Turkish-German Migration Literature - A Transcultural Perspective***

***Gleich aber verschieden: Junge Protagonisten und ihre Handlungsmöglichkeiten wie sie
in türkisch-deutscher Migrationsliteratur dargestellt werden - Eine transkulturelle
Perspektive***

Abstrakt

Diese Dissertation kombiniert transkulturelle Studien mit literarischen, um die Situation türkischer Immigranten in Deutschland aus einem neuen Blickwinkel zu betrachten.

Die Grundannahme dieser Arbeit ist, dass Kunst im allgemeinen und Literatur im besonderen im Vergleich zu den üblichen Ansätzen empirischer Sozialwissenschaft eine neue Perspektive liefern.

Auf einer theoretischen Ebene werden die allgemeinen Definitionen und der Forschungsstand in diesem Arbeitsbereich untersucht, um als Ausgangspunkt für diese qualitative Studie zu dienen, welche, auf der Erzähltheorie basierend, Migrationsliteratur türkischer Herkunft aus den Jahren 2001 bis 2011 analysiert. Themen wie Migration, Aufnahmegesellschaft und Erzählungen, die von jungen Protagonisten mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund aus der zweiten Generation handeln, werden erörtert. Die Textanalyse wird auf der Grundlage der Konzepte von Martinez und Scheffel durchgeführt. Die für diese Untersuchung ausgewählten Kriterien sind von der Verfasserin dieser Dissertation erarbeitet, wobei kritische Rassismustheorien, Diskriminierungsanalyse und ausgewählte Narrative herangezogen werden. Nachdem deduktiv Kriterien formuliert werden, die auf der vorhergehenden theoretischen Diskussion basieren, werden ausgewählte Abschnitte in vier Kategorien (Familie, Schule, Gesellschaft und soziale Netzwerke) unter Anwendung von Holzkamps Theorie subjektiver Möglichkeitsräume/ Handlungsmöglichkeiten analysiert.

Die Ergebnisse reflektieren die aktuelle akademische Diskussion über die Stellung von Immigranten in der Hoffnung, neue Impulse für die pädagogische Praxis zu liefern und eine besser informierte Interaktion zwischen Pädagogen und in Deutschland ansässigen Migranten mit türkischem oder genauer gesagt, muslimischem kulturellem Hintergrund zu unterstützen.

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Abstract

In this research transcultural studies and literary studies are combined to create a view of the situation of Turkish migrants in Germany through a new lens.

The essential assumption is that art in general and specifically literature delivers a different perspective compared to the usual approaches of empirical social research. On a theoretical level the general definitions and the state of research in this field are reviewed and discussed to serve as a starting point for the present qualitative study which analyses Migration Literature of Turkish-German authors¹ from 2001 to 2011, based on Narrative Theory. The work covers the topics of migration, the receiving society and the narrated stories, which deal with second-generation young protagonists with a Turkish immigrant background in Germany. The analysis has been carried out based on the concepts of Martinez and Scheffel. The selected elements for this research have been compiled by this researcher, with the assistance of critical racism theories, analysis of discrimination and selected narratives. After forming criteria deductively based on the theoretical discussion, chosen paragraphs are analysed taking cognizance of Holzkamp's Subjective Spaces of Possibility in four categories: family, school, public contacts and communal networks.

The results reflect current academic discussion on the position of migrants in the hope of delivering new impulses for pedagogical praxis and providing an aid to inform interaction between educationalists and residents in Germany of a Turkish or more specifically of a Muslim cultural background.

¹ It is necessary to mention that the analysis of the selected books in this work is solely at the textual level. There is no author's intention included and the perspective and only the point of view of the narrators or protagonists has been given attention.

Central Research Questions

1.a) To what extent does the selected literature illustrate and examine the encouragements and obstructions in young Turkish-German protagonists' lives? 1.b) Have the selected texts social implications in the reproduction of institutional discrimination regarding family, school, society and social networks?

2.a) How do the texts show the use of spaces of possibility to come to terms with various situations? 2.b) What resources are available to make the best use of spaces of possibility illuminated by the narrations?

3) In the context of the analysis of selected novels with Turkish-German young protagonists, what implications for pedagogical and social interaction can be deduced from fictional life?

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² Das Niedersächsische Ministerium für Soziales, Gesundheit und Gleichstellung

³ *Gewalt gegen Frauen und Mädchen, Frauenhäuser, Angelegenheiten nach §§ 218, 219 StGB*

these years and for tolerating the geographical distance between us and still being able to empower me mentally from far away, and never giving up her belief that this work would be completed successfully; my father Ahmad Ghasemzadeh, who unfortunately passed away before I began this book, would have certainly provided the same encouragement. Although has been years since my father died, I still take his lessons with me, every day. It was my parents who originally generated my social conscience by engaging the whole family in helping in orphanages, refugee camps and slum schools.

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I hope that not only the educational system in Germany, but also other countries will benefit from this work so that young migrants find the empathy, resources and support needed to flourish with less risk of experiencing racist, sexist and class discrimination. If this work can, in small way, encourage gender equality, whether institutionally or interpersonally in culture and society, then it has met with success. We are, after all, the same, however different.

⁴ DAAD-Preis - Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst

⁵ für hervorragende Leistungen ausländischer Studierender an den deutschen Hochschulen

Introduction & Structural Framework

Learning German, I found myself reading books written by Turkish immigrants, which spoke powerfully concerning the situation of immigrants. Not only was there a cross section of authors, attitudes and quality of literature available but they also dealt directly with themes concerning migration and its associated constellation of problems.

The strategies individual characters adopted deal with problems proved fascinating and inspired further reading and, in fact, taught me how better to cope with my own situation.

If one wishes to consider modern Migrant Literature in German, choosing Turkish-German literature is something of a necessity, because Turks make up the majority migrant community in Germany and are the migrants who, up to now, have faced most difficulties in Germany, especially in education (Steinbach, 2015, p. 335ff.). Turkish authors have been inspired by the difficulties of migration and are now a majority of migrant writers writing in German. In this work, there has been no distinction made between texts whose writers are of a Turkish or Turkish-Kurdish origin because the book deals with the problems migrants face in Germany and not with the contradictions inherent in areas of origin in Turkey itself.

Doctoral study in English literature began with work on theoretical analysis with a transcultural perspective. At the same time, the literature referred to above showed the value of dealing with migrant problems, in a way which gave credit to the ideas and imagination of the authors, whose work revealed so much of the issues of transculturality. This made a change of direction into an area, which could best be described as Educational and Social Sciences / Diversity Education imperative. I am grateful and flattered that Professor Doctor Rudolf Leiprecht felt able to accept and work with the proposal, and that Professor Doctor Martin Butler was able to support the literary part of the work.

An initial challenge was the choice of books and it was clear that only Turkish authors had written sufficient to provide enough variety and quality of texts to choose from. A choice was made to consider only those books, which directly dealt with social-cultural themes and were clearly not purely entertainment. This entailed reading up to twenty books before deciding on the six volumes considered here. The selected books were written between 2001 and 2011, and are all autobiographical or semi-autobiographical, with young protagonists, and gained respect from critics. Some were prizewinners and sold well, although sales were not a criterion of choice.

The books selected which form the basis of this work as, documents of their authors' imagination are "a complex involvement of actors and institutions in literary and cultural

production” (Butler, Hausmann and Kirchhofer, 2016, p. 9f.) and themselves a form of transcultural study, a documentation of the crossover of cultures. They deal with non-real individuals to provide a proxy for society.

The inspiration of the books, of course, came first and encouraged the examination of the necessary theoretical information for this project, followed by detailed literary analysis of the text.

This research involves two different disciplines, literary studies and transcultural studies and is intended to be a resource for those involved with migrants, in particular those migrants, whose faith is Islam. The importance of Islam here is because the differences of cultural codes compared to German are relatively broad, rather than because of the religion itself. The application of both the above disciplines in this work provide transcultural perspective with a new and resourceful pedagogical viewpoint, which has not been given sufficient attention in transcultural studies so far. This work regards narrative as a life-science, which provides a basis for living (Ette, 2010, p. 29f.), as a bridge between cultures through sympathy and understanding (Roche, 2004, p. 25f.), and as an elemental resource and aesthetic approach to the world. Narratives, with their vast amounts of figures of speech, symbols, idioms, metaphors are seen as equipment for life, which provide a wide space of possibilities (ibid., p. 218). The books themselves can be taken to be educational resources, enabling the reader to identify with the main characters and draw parallels between various situations in which protagonists find themselves and their own ‘reality’. This has the benefit of giving support through reading to someone with similar issues and problems in their own life. The present work should be regarded as a new perspective on the problems of migrants and as a pedagogical resource of use in enabling educationalists and others to better understand and ameliorate the problems of migration with a degree of insight that can less easily be obtained from statistical analysis.

There is empirical research that comes to a certain conclusion and there is a fictional world in which such a conclusion can also be generated. Although these can be correlated, one is not the evidence for the other. Literature is not a mirror. It is a discourse of its own that, of course, references the outer world while constructing its own reality, individualized and emotionalized. It is not the evidence of an empirical work. An author may read, research, and articulate this through the voice of a character so that the research is given a new expression and emotion. And this makes the difference. The difference is the potential for identification and is reflected in the title of the work “The Same, but Different [...]”. Literature refers to

both the outer world and the fictional world, takes knowledge from the former and reformulates it through the latter, the eyes and the mind of the fictional character. It is not a source for decision, or evidence, but an entry into something else, which is art. Literary text has the capacity to individualize ideas: a face, name, shape, and history at a fictional level invite an emotional response from the reader.

Literary text is not empirical evidence, though it might provide evidence that, in fact, certain discourses have become so important or so prevalent, that the text takes them up and reproduces them. Literature and pedagogy are, in this sense, on the same plane and interact. Literature reacts to and takes up elements of discourse, expressed with narratives. This provides a sophisticated form of case study through names and characters, which cannot only formulate strategies of protagonists, but also of readers at the moment of reading. That is the power of telling stories. However fictional, they are based on a mixture of empirical research and the experience of the author. However ephemeral they seem, they produce narratives illuminating how people behave. But this, the literature, also becomes part of a general discourse, so that a hierarchy of literary expression over informed discourse (or vice-versa) cannot be established. Both produce narrators, in literature voiced through a character, in discourse through media, experts and so on. Literature manages to formulate the voice and mind, and to hear and to feel with the character. The narrations of social studies can thus sometimes be seen as less expressive.

Where there is often no general solution to a problem, an event accessed in autobiographical memory can give specific ideas to confront a new challenge (Williams, et. all., 2008, p. 21ff.). Autobiographies and fictional narrations, such as the six books studied in this work demonstrate how the literary world can open up a fictional space for revealing personal and public personas and their aspirations for a better future. As seen in an imperfect mirror, these diegetic autobiographic worlds are designed to show the vicissitudes and hindrances as well as positive impacts of migration on an immigrant's life in Germany. It is because of this power that I decided to use literature as a transcultural medium in these books rather than for example, interview formats in transcultural contexts. For this author, there is no more objectivity in interviews than there is in literature. Both are reconstructed narrations requiring analysis in an attempt to discover with more objectivity what lies under the surface.

With the aid of literary analysis, the interaction and the simultaneity of different categories (e.g. gender, ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, education, subculture, place of residence, etc.) have been examined in this work. It can be assumed that individuals in each autobiographical

work are positioned at intersection points of various bipolar difference lines (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2005). Depending on which side of the difference line the subject is, he or she has more or less possibility for action and more or fewer social privileges and thus will be categorized as fulfilling social norms or diverging from them. In this way, social positioning itself determines the possibilities for action and the treatment of the respective people (in an objective space of possibilities). At the same time individuals develop their subjective perspectives of thought and action (subjective realm of possibilities) in the light of this wider objective space. The present work illustrates that subjects (here young Turkish migrant protagonists) are not deterministically delivered into a conflictual situation in life, but, as part of the subjective possibilities of action which they recognize, attempt to take control of their lives and widen the space of action allowed them. Psychologically, this is referred to as practical competency (Holzkamp, 1983, p. 334ff.). Because protagonists in the books considered here are of from second-generation Turkish immigrant families, their experiences are necessarily a transit of cultures, a permanent movement between cultural codes, which represent both problems and enrichments, made visible within the books chosen and the analyses of this book.

This study has five chapters, structured as follows: Chapter One is concerned with research content and deals with migration regarding youth with Turkish immigration backgrounds.

Next, Chapter Two discusses theoretical background in five sections; discrimination, intersectionality and an interdisciplinary review of narration in the context of ‘Othering’; then the term ‘culture’ and the importance of transcultural studies are discussed; the final sections refer to literary studies and Turkish Migration Literature in Germany.

Chapter Three is a review of research methodology for this book; Holzkamp’s Critical Psychology - the Subjective Space of Possibilities followed by a discussion of the use of Martinez and Scheffels Narrative Analysis in a transcultural perspective.

Chapter Four deals with empirical analysis of a selected number of quotes from the six books chosen. Before detailed analysis of quotes an overview of the six books is provided. Detailed analysis of the main sources of influence on the characters and their reaction to their situations regarding their space of possibilities follows, and this deals further with interpersonal and institutional discrimination.

The conclusion of this work is presented in Chapter Five under “Summary: The Same, but Different”. This chapter has three sections namely; “A Comment on the Use of Literature in Sociological Analysis: Benefits & Challenges”; “The Case for Migrant Literature” and

“Possible Ways Forward: Impulses & Implications for Pedagogical Praxis”, in which the applicability of this study to educating educators is discussed.

The intention of the work is to provide educators and educational services with an understanding of the transcultural base behind narrations, which can be used pedagogically and can contribute insights to agencies involved with migrants. This would assist in ensuring that educators and schools are aware of the impact they have on migrant children and adapt not only what they do, but why and how they do it in order to get the best interaction possible with students, are able to support them without unknowingly suppressing or labelling them and enable a wider spectrum of communication between students with and without migration backgrounds. In clarifying the role of pedagogy, a deeper understanding of what informs the practice of teachers should be developed in a framework that provides guidance for both teachers and educators of any origin. Concepts from Australia are of interest here and seek to ensure as outcomes: “Secure and respectful relationships, partnerships, high expectations and equity, respect for diversity, on-going learning and reflective practice” (Lynn, 2014, p. 3). These ideas support the belief that pedagogy encompasses a spirit of inquiry and professional dialogue and this work is an attempt to encourage educators to make use of it in the light of the key points above. “Effective pedagogy not only produces outcome results in relation to input, but also represents a common core of values and objectives to which all those involved can subscribe” (Moyle, Adams & Musgrove, 2002, p. 3). Pedagogy evolves through on-going research and reflection at all levels in the environment of both educators and students. This ensures continuous improvement in educators’ practice with the aim of supporting the best possible outcomes for all children and recognises the special importance of the educator in the learning and development of pupils of migrant origin. However, in order to achieve this goal a level of transcultural knowledge is required of pedagogues and therefore this work contains a chapter on Transcultural Studies (p. 72).

Successfully bridging cultural differences in the classroom requires cultural intelligence. This does not involve specific rules for each ‘culture’. Rather, it necessitates the development of a flexible skill-set, a listening intelligence and the ability to adapt. It also requires an awareness of and willingness to challenge cultural assumptions. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that cultures are heterogeneous, overlap and can both oppose and intersect. No person as an individual can be taken as a representation of ‘their culture’, based on class, ethnicity, region or gender (see the sections on: “2.2. Narration in the Context of ‘Othering’”, p.64ff.; and “2.3. Cultural & Transcultural Studies”, p. 72ff.).

Organization of the Book

Today's global world is filled with interdisciplinary science and knowledge, with satellite TV that transcends the borders of countries and with migratory movements that result in an increasingly transcultural society in which anyone, coloured or white, educated or illiterate, rich or poor, can be a citizen. This new world has weakened political, economic, social and religious borders, necessitating a more pluralistic way of life and requires a literature in which writers and readers interact globally. The impact of literature in this world is not to be underestimated in its power to, directly or indirectly, influence and alter social attitudes. Society and literature interact in a combination of multiple cultures and people in continuous exchange. Literature reflects society, in a distorted and smoky fashion. Its roots are always in society and its elements expressed in people and organizations. The use of literature in this study is not a breach of the rules of social science; it is rather an attempt to expand social science into literature.

The work first gives an outline of the theoretical building blocks on which the analysis is based, reviewing research in areas pertinent to the circumstances which form the lives of the protagonists in the selected books, including the various forms of discrimination which are prevalent in everyday life and which have a disproportional impact on migrants.

There is then a detailed analysis of the books chosen divided, in so far as such division is possible, in four categories: Family, School, Contact with Communal Networks and Contact with the Public. A summing-up of this analysis follows, and finally discussion of how the work can be of use in a society, which must come to terms with immigration not seen in Europe since the Second World War. In 2015 alone 476.649 new asylum seekers were registered by the German Office for Migrants and Refugees (Bamf: Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl, 2016), while in the first three months of 2016 there were a further 181.405 asylum seekers registered. These are the statistics, which make the experiences analysed in this work (of the generation following that of the 'Guest Workers'⁶) (Schulz-Kaempf, 2015, p. 241) especially meaningful today. It is likely that the experience of this generation will be a predictor of that of the new 'refugee generation' and thus it is hoped that this work can be used as a source of information to help in ameliorating the problems of this new migrant generation.

⁶ The concept 'Guest Worker' gives the impression that economic migrants are guests. In view of the hard and frequently unhealthy work assigned to these economic migrants, this is a highly cynical term. Who would normally expect a guest to perform such work? Besides, the word suggests that such migrants will not stay long - guest most leave soon - and are supposed to be thankful to their hosts. This is thus a concept, which indicates the opposite of participation on an equal basis.

1. Research Context

This book started as a fascination with novels and autobiographies written in German by authors of Turkish origin and the cultural problems they depicted. Because it deals with overlapping academic disciplines, it is written so as to be comprehensible to those not familiar with sociology, pedagogy and literary studies, although elements of specialist language in these disciplines can be found in the sections of theory and the literary analysis of quotations.

The basic material is in German, so that the book also contains information for non-Germans on the history of Turkish migration in Germany, immigration law and the school system to provide explanations for non-German readers. A certain amount of patience is however required from the reader not familiar with, or not interested in an narratological approach to literature.

1.1. Theories on Migration in the Frame of This Research: The German Background

The term “migrant background” was coined by the Essen pedagogy professor Ursula Boos-Nünning in the 1990s (Sandro, 2006), and came into scientific discourse and educational policy through PISA (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium, 2002). In Germany today it encompasses two generations: people with migrant background of the first-generation who migrated when they were children, youngsters or adults; or the people with migrant background who are of the second-generation. In the second-generation, at least one of the parents is immigrant, but the person her/himself was born in the society of immigration and has been able to take up German nationality if they wish (Rösch, 2013, p. 63).

In literature, Rösch distinguishes between migrants- and migration literature. Migration literature is a form of literature in which migration is thematically, linguistically and aesthetically reflected. This literature, however, can be written by authors with, and without, immigrant backgrounds. Migrant Literature can involve an author with an immigration background but what is narrated is not necessarily related to migration themes. However, themes such as migration, multilingualism, Multi-culturalism, domination criticism, etc., are focused on and dealt with in the books selected here written by authors with a biography of immigration (ibid., p. 64).

The Oxford English dictionary (2017) defines migration as renewing or shifting of places. This is in connection with things or objects, but by the 1650s it was being used for movements of peoples and involves movement of human populations. People move for different reasons and these differences affect the overall migration process. The conditions under which a migrant enters a receiving population can have broad implications for all parties involved. The expression ‘migration experience’ refers to the fact that different causes for migration will produce different outcomes observable from a sociological perspective (Anthony, 2015, p. 11).

Migration is a complicated concept to define because it includes people who move for different reasons across different spaces. A migrant can be a person who moves to another city or town within a nation; a refugee who crosses an international border to escape religious, political or war persecution or a jobseeker who moves to another country for better economic opportunities (ibid.).

As used at present, the first meaning of the word involves movement of human populations. Interest in international migration in the social sciences has tended to ebb and flow with various movements of emigration and immigration. Europe has experienced an exchange of

population that began, in some countries, as early as the 1940s (Brettell, 2015, p. 1), but these were not a ways culturally foreign to the receiving nation.

Historically Germany has been both a source of migrants and a host for migrants. The expansion of German trade and Prussian hegemony eastwards meant that many areas of present Poland and the Baltic States and also Russia had sizable German speaking populations by 1900. There was a long history of migration from Germany mostly to the United States, which intensified during periods of economic hardship for example in the 1920s and 1950s. Germany was forced to absorb millions of German speakers displaced by the Second World War and the Cold war. In consequence the history of a large number of German families contains at least one story of migration (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). The flows of people have been positive and negative both in number and in their socio-historical effects.

Migration has always been a way to help humans to overcome problems and adapt to the environment (Schami, 1989). But if this historical movement has provided an autonomous regulator of resources and people, its negative aspect is also revealed when socio-economic effects arising out of migratory currents on the economic framework of development have been taken into account. Since the first stage of human evolution, that is food gathering, to be secure and protected against natural disasters and enemies, mankind has had to move from one place to another. In the next stage, that is food production, humans could be sedentary and find a fixed and constant location to settle. Even so, certain groups, because of their nomadic lifestyle, continued to be migratory. If we put nomadic migration aside, major social problems caused by migration emerged following the establishment of individual ownership and the fixing of borders which, both predated and accompanied the industrial revolution in Europe and the ensuing social and economic evolution of industrializing nations. However, because of low growth of population in Europe and migrants' attraction to novel and developing urban industries, population relocation could be managed within these societies. In developing countries, however, migration movements either from villages to cities or small towns to big cities have manifested as serious problems, due to rapid population growth on the one hand, and unequal facilities and slow and unbalanced economic growth on the other. Social and political science have contributed different insights to explore the mechanisms and motivations of these human movements to determine whether migration can be regulated in a way, which secures a legitimate status for migrants. Politicians and public opinion often lag behind, so that in the case of Turkish immigrants in Germany both German

and Turkish law did and still does not make the situation simple for Turks who were born or grew up in Germany to attain German citizenship even though they have permanent residence permission. In the books selected for this work it is not mentioned if the characters are German citizens or not, so that it is impossible to determine the immigration status of a protagonist. It is clear that all have a background of immigration from Turkey but there is no way of knowing if their passports are German, Turkish or both.

Although every human being is the product of migration at some time or other, as DNA analysis shows, the description ‘with immigration background’, is used in this book to denote a recent background of immigration. It describes the large numbers of Turks, who, even in 2017, were born and resident in Germany, but were still without a German passport. If they are males of military age and want dual citizenship, they had only one option up to 2016, which was to pay around 6.500 €⁷ for exemption from mandatory military service in Turkey. Without this payment they could be regarded as deserters and be unable to revoke their Turkish citizenship. This was necessary because dual citizenship was only permitted from 2016. The protagonists in the books studied here could only become naturalized German citizens by applying for a German passport first and giving up their Turkish citizenship. It is understandable that many Turks for both financial and patriotic reasons would not want to take this step. Besides this, before 2016, they also would have had to pay a large of administration fee, 1.287 Euro⁸, attend an “Integration course” and pay the course fees and exam fees for this, which is bizarre and contradictory when they grew up in Germany, attended German schools or universities and speak German better than their mother language which is Turkish/Kurdish. In spite of this all the protagonists in the selected books feel themselves to be “Turkish-German” or “Germans with an immigration background”. Complicated as it is, throughout the book the awkward terms “with Turkish immigration background” and “Germans without immigration background” or “Turkish-German” and “German” are used as a reflection of the lack of a proper status for so many migrants in German law at the time of writing.

It is interesting to examine some pertinent theoretical viewpoints on migration in the following sections.

⁷ Since 2016 Turks can purchase exemption from military service with reduced amount, which is 1.000 Euro. Internationale Arbeit für Kriegsdienstverweigerer und Deserteure (2016). *Freikaufsregelung, Ausbürgerung, Ausmusterung und Asyl*. Connection e.V. In: <http://www.connection-ev.de/article-1609>

⁸ Since 2016 the course costs 1.023 Euro. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2016. *EU-Bürger: Anspruch auf Teilnahme*. In: <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/Integrationskurse/TeilnahmeKosten/EUBuerger/eubuerger-node.html>

Theorists have long been concerned with two categories of factors, those, which repel humans from a region of origin, and those, which attract humans to a chosen destination. Thus, unacceptable physical and economic elements in one location make people leave their location and move to another place, which provides better conditions. Unjust laws, heavy tax, lack of favourable climate, unfair social conditions and even coercion are influences on the emergence of migration, but none of these factors are superior to material and economic considerations (Hermann & Schmidt, 2000).

Migration involves surmounting barriers. There are a series of these between the site of origin of migrants and their destination that are low in some cases and are high in others. The most important of these is distance, but this of course is relative depending on the means of transport available at the time. Potential immigrants are influenced differently by different barriers. Elements, which are less problematic for some people (for example, travel costs), may be prohibitive for others. The focus is on the advantages and disadvantages of a source site and a potential destination and also on prohibitive barriers between two sites (Hunter, 2005). Elements contributing to a decision to migrate and the process of migration, include:

- Factors relating to source domain
- Factors relating to destination
- Inhibiting obstacles
- Personal factors

It is clear that negative and positive elements in areas of origin and destination differ for migrants. At the same time, categories of people who respond to elements in the same manner can be distinguished. The effect of each element, based on personality and personal traits such as age, gender, education, skill level, 'race', ethnic group etc. will be different. These factors, positive, negative or neutral, will be different for various people in both area of origin and destination. For instance, good weather is an attracting factor and bad weather is a repulsive element. A good education system may be positive or negative for families with children and adolescents, because higher taxes may be payable to supply the education budget of that region, while the education system can be considered as a neutral factor for someone who is not taxable (Smith & Edmonston, 1997).

Education is a significant factor, in helping positive adaptation to migration. "Problem analysis and problem solving are usually instilled by formal education and likely contribute to better adaptation. Education is a correlate of other resources such as income, occupational

status etc. education may attune them [immigrants] to features of the society into which they settle, it is a kind of pre-acculturation to the language, history, values and norms of the new culture” (Berry, 1997, p. 22).

1.1.1. Motivating Forces for Turkish Migration to Germany

Both common understanding and theories of migration regard economic considerations as a paramount factor in immigration, and this must also have been the case in the uptake of ‘Guest Worker’ jobs in Germany.

Akgündüz (2008, p. 14-42), notes surveys asking Turks their reason for migration to Germany. Between 3% and 18.4% gave “desire to know European countries and/or learn European language” as their reason and between 7.4% and 26.7% said “desire to study and/or have vocational training and progress in Europe” was their reason.

There must have been a mixture of motives for the migration in which remittances home by ‘Guest Workers’, and stories, sometimes exaggerated, of what awaited the new immigrants would of course have played a part. All these motives and indeed the motivations suggested by the theorists mentioned in this section can be seen in the novels selected for this work to have played a part in the families of protagonists deciding to come to Germany.

A prime factor in migration, is obtaining higher standards of living. Family satisfaction and welfare result from not only increasing economic consumption, but also in comparison to other families in a reference society. It means not only that families perform and work to improve their income, but they also wish for higher income than other families in the society. Families are variously motivated to migrate if their income is low, but when income levels are low everywhere, their motivation will be decreased. If some families earn higher incomes, while poor families feel deprivation both relatively and absolutely, their motivation for migration will be increased. Given more deprivation in one region relative to others, the potential and actual feasibility of enjoying other benefits accompanied by the relative elimination of income differences, as outlined in the foregoing approach, explains migration movement. This is particularly applicable to Turkish migration to Germany, which has been almost exclusively from poor regions of Anatolia. A migration of elites from Turkey, which might be advantageous to them, has been hindered by the lack of mutual recognition of professional qualifications and this can be seen in several novels selected for this work (Gallina, 2006, p. 12-15).

The migration process not only influences population growth of a society, but also creates significant changes in formation and distribution of population. Village-city migration leads to increases in the number of young men in big cities and disturbs the balance of men and women in both rural and urban districts. Given that the youth wish to migrate more than other age groups, this topic is of a great importance for rural communities in the long run. Because their migration causes decreased births in rural communities, followed by an adverse age structure in villages, damaging the rural economy, villages can suffer from cultural and social depression and breakup (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2010).

One immigrant may attract several others, who then attract others. Consistently, a chain of migration drives immigrant numbers up. In Germany, there are many empirical studies analysing the living conditions and integration of foreign workers (Angenendt, 1992; Diehl and Haug, 2003), but few explicitly consider chain migration, although there are some pointers in this direction (Haug, 2000, p. 163). Migration can be based on technical knowledge and education, which prepare some people to better become involved in the labour force. Information on localities and available opportunities may stimulate movement. Feeling and understanding of lifestyles, other things like goods, which an individual may wish to possess, his willingness to obtain them, and also friends and relatives may influence individual decision-making. This model is known as “Chain Migration” which in Germany, is in the form of family migration, is the major form of migration to Germany today. However as in many countries with ‘unwanted migration’ the education system was poorly prepared and possibilities for migrant children in Germany to reach higher levels of education are still inadequate (Radtke, 2006, p. 172).

Not only do the German states not readily recognize each other’s qualifications, but also the education system has for a long time not been fully adapted to the needs of a society of migrants (Leiprecht, 2015, p. 8). Migration has been regarded as almost completely negative in spite of the fact that around 30% of pupils in German schools are of an immigration background. Although there have been some adaptations for migrants, the richness that such children could bring in terms of languages, transculturality and broader perspectives of the world is not reflected in the educational system (Leiprecht, 2015, p. 14) which Mecheril (2010, p.136) regards as inflexible.

Reliable Turkish data on migration flows seem not to exist (Icduygu, 2005a). Any usable data can only be found in reports and statistics from receiving countries (Fargues, 2005, p. 329). Around 80% of the four million Turkish migrants live in Europe, with the largest

concentration in Germany. It has been estimated that by the mid-1990s large numbers of emigrants left Turkey annually for long family visits (up to three months), long-term residence or for family reunification (Gallina, 2006, p. 12). In Germany, Turkish migrants comprise 24% of the total migrant community and 2% of the total population. Within Germany about a third live in Nordrhein-Westfalen, another third in the South of Germany (Bavaria and Hessen) and some 320,000 in Baden-Württemberg. Family reunification declined substantially in the 1990s and it is expected that the overall annual migration flow from Turkey will decline by half in the coming years (ibid.).

1.1.2. Acculturation

From the point of view of the dominant group, both in everyday life, and political discourse, the terms integration and acculturation are often used as a synonym for assimilation. There is critical debate about these terms, but in the minds of the public, it has hardly taken place. Berry (1997, p. 9-11) presents an alternative model, which does not involve the imposition of a 'Leitkultur', a leading/dominant culture. However what Berry proposes, which is varying levels of co-existence between individuals with and without migration backgrounds, unfortunately cannot always be a two-sided process. The dominant belief by the majority in the inherent superiority of their 'culture', means that the migrant is responsible for working almost alone upon his/her own integration. This almost unspoken demand for conformity with the majority invalidates any statement that 'we are the same' this is hypocritically regarded as true but is frequently a racist façade in practice. Hence the title of this work.

In terms of the 'Leitkultur', culture is a never-ending dance of the marionettes; a show for the majority and this fixed form is the opposite of how cultures are. This view denies culture's heterogeneity, flexibility and life. The very word 'Leitkultur' describes something fixed and very possibly dead (see the section on: 2.3.6. Culture, p. 78). In contrast to 'Leitkultur', 'culture' is a process, not a static fact; it is a system, which is open to changes, adaptations and overlaps. Predetermined images of 'culture' in the every-day usage of the concept are rather like having a fixed geography or map. This deterministic assumption can easily lead to the discrimination of particular groups by other members of society, as group members become categorized in a manner which denies their individual characteristics and forces them to hang like a marionette by the threads of their 'culture', allowing no room for individual differences or change. These classifications aggravate problems rather than resolving them (Leiprecht, 2004, pp. 3-8).

Culturalisation, in the predeterminist sense of the word, is a pattern of explanation in which situations or modes of behaviour are explained with reference to an essentialized notion of “culture”. The term ‘non essential’, however, can be misinterpreted as a negative version of the word “essentializing”. There is no intention of denying the damaging essentializing use of the term ‘Race’ to ascribe negative characteristics to ‘Others’. The usage of the word ‘race’ in public discourse in Germany and much of the rest of Europe about migration has been replaced more and more by ‘culture’, to the extent that, ‘cultural differences’ have become a linguistic euphemism, which disguises dislikes and hatreds concerning racial origin. According to Leiprecht, this has resulted in a racialism without race (2011, p. 28). The use of the term ‘national culture’ also raises the question of the meaning of ‘Leitkultur’. In this context, racism is an extreme ascription of overly negative and frequently incorrect attributes to make an ‘Other’ out of a social group, with all the negative consequences, that ensue from this. To prevent this, there should be a continual process of conscious reflection. In this form, culture appears as static and is bound to (adopted and ascribed) nationalistic affiliations. Even ethnicizing and culturalizing argumentation can be understood as “an implicitly racial exclusionary differentiation” (Mecheril and Melter, 2010, p. 150).⁹ This description of the encounter between “cultures” is reminiscent of the formulations of pedagogical “intercultural approaches”. Early in specialist literature these concepts were already open to criticism as “tourist tendencies” celebrating diversity, thereby hiding differences and socially discriminating behaviours (Derman Sparks, 1989, p. 6f. and Schmidt, 2009, p. 32ff). However they still seem to retain their attraction and of course remain in use in pedagogic contexts (Reindlmeier, 2010, p. 235ff.).¹⁰

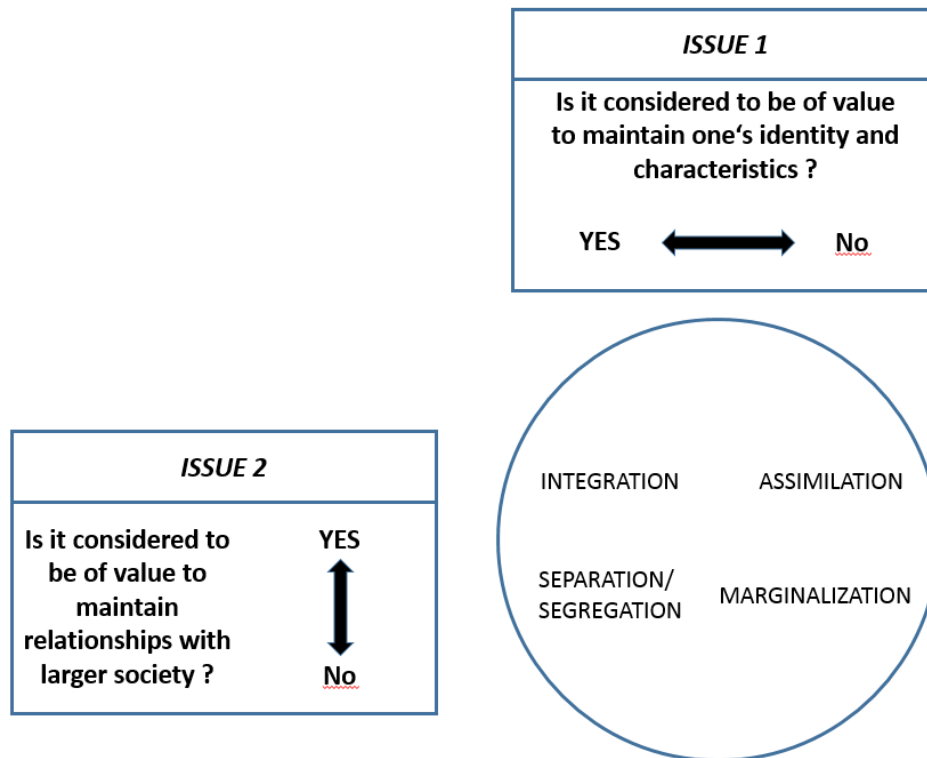
Berry presents a useful theory of the integration or acculturation process implicit in immigration, from a migrant’s perspective. He proposes four stages, which are illustrated in the diagram below, are self-explanatory, and can be seen in the life stories of the characters of the novels studied here. Berry adds that a second movement of migrants usually follows the first, as has been the case with Turkish ‘Guest Workers’ in Germany where

⁹ Kulturalisierungen sind wiederum Erklärungsmuster, in denen Situationen oder Verhaltensweisen unter Bezugnahme auf eine essentialisierende Vorstellung von „Kultur“ erklärt werden. Kultur erscheint hierbei als statisch und wird an (angenommene und zugeschriebene) nationalstaatliche Zugehörigkeiten gebunden. Sowohl (selbst-) ethnisierende als auch kulturalisierende Argumentationsfiguren können als „implizit an Rassekonstruktionen anschließende Unterscheidungen“ (Mecheril/Melter, 2010a, p. 150) verstanden werden.

¹⁰ Diese Beschreibung der Begegnung von „Kulturen“ bei einer GWA-Veranstaltung erinnert an Herangehensweisen aus begegnungspädagogischen oder auch „interkulturellen“ Ansätzen. Diese wurden in der Fachliteratur schon früh als „touristische“ Ansätze, die „Vielfalt feiern“ und dabei Differenzen und gesellschaftliche Ungleichheitsverhältnisse ausblenden kritisiert (vgl. Derman Sparks 1989: 6f.; Schmidt 2009: 32ff.), gleichwohl scheinen sie weiterhin attraktiv zu sein und kommen in pädagogischen Kontexten selbstverständlich zur Anwendung (vgl. Reindlmeier 2010: 235ff.).

families and relatives follow the original migrants. Frequently, there is a dilution of links to the home country at this time because the migrants have clearly become very different and cannot easily reconcile the changes, which have taken place, both in them personally and in their home country. This often leads to identity problems, in a Turkish-German context, the people concerned can no longer feel Turkish, but neither do they feel German. In particular second-generation migrants where compared to the population of the home country, may often have levels of education and health care available that they might not find in Turkey (Berry, 1989, pp. 185-206). The importance of these changes is clear in the novels chosen.

Acculturation Strategies



Berrys' Acculturation model (1997, p. 10)

Improving education will improve the quality of life for both Germans with and without an immigration background. It does help that both groups share many values, such as family, friendship, and the use of the German language and media; this assists integration. While the majority of Turkish immigrants came to Germany for a life of more opportunity, they are at a disadvantage because the effort involved in integration is disproportionately greater for the Turkish immigrants than Germans without migration backgrounds, who are basically not required to do more than acknowledge the existence of immigrants. According to Berry, successful integration requires a more mutual accommodation (involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples). Not only is there still a lack of integration, but also a lack of a psychological element in the study of integration, specifically in acculturation and inter-group relations (Berry, 1997, p. 9f.).

Acculturation is (in Berry's view) how either group balances their own with other group's cultures. Although this implies accepting at least some of the norms of each cultural code it does not go so far as assimilation and does not prescribe any particular dress or behaviour. According to Berry there should be acceptance of a wide variation in these in a spirit of tolerance. The four possible strategies in the diagram are referred to as assimilation; where the old identity is replaced with the new one, separation; where the old identity is kept and the new avoided (forced separation is known as segregation), integration; where the new and the old are balanced, and marginalization; when both identities are lost. Successful integration requires a society that accepts diversity, has little prejudice, a positive attitude between groups, and a sense of unity beyond the individual groups (Berry, 1997, p. 10f).

There have been numerous studies concerning acculturation strategies. Additional strategies noted by some researchers include bi-cultural, where individuals are involved in different cultures, cultural assimilation (preservation of the dominant culture) and structural assimilation (contact and participation). Research shows that in a given society an overall coherent preference for one particular strategy can exist, in parallel with a variety of strategies in different smaller contexts (e.g. at home, school, or the workplace). National policy may sometimes conflict with personal preference in acculturation strategy. There is no recognized pattern for individual preference of strategy, other than utility and satisfaction. For some individuals, such as males, or youth with access to education, acculturation is easily accomplished, psychologically speaking. This is known by many terms, one of which is culture learning. Otherwise, if the individual experiences difficulty, it is known as cultural shock (ibid, p. 10ff.). Although the idea of 'being integrated' is normative there should be no attempt to impose particular ideas of integration or ascription of 'good' or not 'good' to them. 'Integration' is a relative concept, an aim, believed to be beneficial to both immigrant and host society. But, as Salman Rushdie adds: "at first, we were told, the goal was 'integration'. Now this word rapidly came to mean 'assimilation': a black man could only become integrated when he started behaving like a white one" (1992, p. 137).

Acculturation as a model is relatively undifferentiated as studies with young children show (Leiprecht, 2015, p. 140ff.). It is possible that an acculturation takes place, forming groups acculturated to the broader society but defining themselves by their origin, gender, 'race', skin colour and so on (ibid., p. 142). The worst-case result of this is when a group recognizes itself as German, but is proud of its marginalization. Diversity and difference must be taken into consideration, but not necessarily those, in the minds of teachers and social workers or

indeed ‘normal’ members of the majority society. It is necessary to step aside from one’s own preconceptions of society and observe every interaction with great sensitivity (Leiprecht, 2015, p. 144), if acculturation problems are ever to be overcome.

1.2. Migration to Germany since 1945 – Background

There have been a number of sources of migration into Germany since 1945. These include refugees and deportees after World War II, people of ‘German’ origin who managed to leave communist regimes before 1990, Germans from the old USSR¹¹ who were resettled after 1991 (the Aussiedler), East Germans who resettled in West Germany after the reunification in 1991, foreign workers (‘Guest Workers’) and finally asylum seekers (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). This section focuses on Turkish/Kurdish migration to Germany, but it is worth noting that these Turkish migrants do not form anything like the majority of those who have resettled in Germany since 1945. The stereotypical German idea of migrants is that they are of Turkish origin but this is far from the truth¹².

1.2.1. Turkish-origin Migration - Phase 1

As a result of the German economic boom at the beginning of the 1950s there was a huge demand for additional workers in all branches of industry (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). Post-War refugees, expellees (from Poland and Czechoslovakia, and other East European states, and citizens of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had become a part of the West German economy but unemployment was still minimal (Luettinger, 1986), and a rate of economic growth of 12.1 percent proved the need for new labour. To provide this the German government hired foreign ‘Guest Workers’ from south European countries and later also from North African countries and Turkey (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). A formal contract named “Agreement on the Recruitment and Placement of Workers” “Abkommen über Anwerbung und Vermittlung von Arbeitskräften” was first signed with Italy in 1955. Other agreements were also signed: with Spain and Greece in 1960, with Turkey in 1961, with Morocco in 1963, with Portugal in 1964, with Tunisia in 1965, and finally with Yugoslavia in 1968 (Rudolph 1994). Excluding the refugees and expellees of the years 1945-1948, foreigners from Mediterranean countries became the biggest section of West German immigration after 1955. As a result the West German unemployment rate fell during a fairly short period from

¹¹ Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

¹² About 2.6 million ‘Guest Workers’ and 8 million refugees and deportees (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 66)

11 percent in 1950 to less than 1 percent in 1961 (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). The immigration was started and encouraged by the government itself in the mid-1950s out of economic necessity. In the agreements mentioned above it was always intended that the mostly young male workers, who were usually unskilled or semi-skilled workers involved in piece-work, shift work and assembly-line jobs, should return to their country after working for a while in Germany. Based on this concept the authorities could ignore the need to develop any socio-political or infrastructural facilities, which could enable a longer-term residence for these people (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). During this time the percentage of foreigners in Germany doubled from 1.2 percent to 2.4 percent, with around 2.6 million 'Guest Workers' in Germany. A significant number of these people worked in Germany for longer than originally intended and started to bring their families to Germany rather than to return (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). Employers, not wishing to lose trained workers, did not discourage this. In 1950, before the influx of 'Guest Workers', around 8 million of the whole population of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) were post-war refugees and expellees (Vertriebene). Since then, 16 million people have been added to the population of West Germany (66 million in 1994). Net migration gains can explain 80 percent of this increase (12.9 million between 1950 and 1994) (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 66).

During the recession in the mid 1960s and the high unemployment rate linked to that, many 'Guest Workers' in Germany lost their jobs, so that only 0.9 million foreigners were in work between 1966 and 1969. Because of the oil price shock from 1973 and the ensuing economic crisis, the German government felt forced to implement the so called "Anwerberstopp" which banned recruitment of further 'Guest Workers' (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). The highest employment of guest workers was in 1973: 2.6 million, or 12 percent of the entire employed population of West Germany. The largest group of Labour migrants were from Turkey (605,000), then Yugoslavia (535,000), and Italy (450,000), in all, 7 percent of total population. During 1954 to 1965 the average number of annual immigrants to the FRG outnumbered foreigners leaving the country by 136,000. Following the recession of 1966 to 1967, there was a considerable decrease of immigration to Germany and the number of foreigners returning to their countries increased. The migration balance of West Germany that was positive (97,000) in 1966, became negative (-198,000) in 1967 (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, pp. 81-84).

1.2.2. Turkish-origin Migration - Phase 2

A rotational model of 'Guest Worker' employment, that initially functioned, began to fail in the late 1960s. Many labour migrants could not save the money they expected in one or two years and West German employers, continuously forced to revolve their foreign staff, because the work and residence permits of those recruited earlier had expired, were not willing to employ and train new workers. The governments of some states started to criticize and so did German trade unions, employers, and other groups (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 81f.).

The West German government removed some limitations on the renewal of residence permits. Starting in 1971 worker migrants who had worked in Germany for at least five years could claim further special five-year work permits. This change improved many foreigners' legal status. Increased family reunification was one of its consequences. A huge change in Germany's migration history took place during 1973 (ibid., p. 81f.). Foreign labour recruitment to West Germany was ended by the recruitment ban 'Anwerbestopp', in which the entry of 'Guest Workers' was completely blocked for countries not members of the European Economic Community (EEC) (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). The government tripled the fees that employers had to pay for the recruitment of foreign labour, even before the onset of oil price shock and its consequent recession (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 82). Between 1973 and 1979 the only legal means of migration to Germany was family reunion of 'Guest Workers', which brought wives and families from Turkey to Germany. This made problems at school apparent and the first steps towards integration of migrant children were taken by setting up 'foreigner classes'¹³. It also became clear that there was no legal right to residence for foreigners in Germany (Bade & Oltmer, 2004).

1.2.3. Turkish-origin Migration - Phase 3

In this phase in addition to the families an increased number of asylum seekers and refugees arrived in Germany. A new wave of immigration was set in motion after 1987, because of an increase in the number of asylum seekers before the fall of the Iron Curtain, war and ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia, and the increasing pressure on the Kurds in southeastern Turkey. Both the number of asylum seekers and regular migration increased, due to ethnic conflicts and bloodshed in former Yugoslavia and South-eastern Turkey. Many foreign

¹³ 'Ausländerklassen'

workers from these regions decided to bring their family members to stay in Germany (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 84). Increasing unemployment and poverty and the lack of government coordination led to the first acts of violence against foreigners since the Second World War in Germany. In 1983 the Federal German Government introduced a law named “Law of Limited Support for the Return of Foreigners”¹⁴. The objective of this law was the restriction of family reunion and the financial support of foreigners willing to return to their countries. In 1991, under a CDU¹⁵ Government, a first “Law Regulating Foreigners”¹⁶ was introduced. This gave migrants in the second-generation with Turkish passports a residential status for the first time and facilitated the naturalization of young migrants who grew up in Germany. The law was seen as progress but it was still too complicated: It allowed exceptions for hiring ‘Guest Workers’ in spite of the “Employment Stop”¹⁷ and held, despite all evidence to the contrary, that Germany was not a country of immigration (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). This official stance also reflects the viewpoint of many Germans as described in the German Constitution and the law of citizenship, and means a majority of them consider their country as an ethnically defined nation-state (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 65).

1.2.4. Turkish-origin Migration - Phase 4

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the number of foreigners in Germany increased by leaps and bounds. Most originated from Eastern Europe, had German ancestors and were immediately naturalized. During this period the number of refugees from Asia and Africa increased sharply. Later in this period refugees from the former republic of Yugoslavia joined them (Bade & Oltmer, 2004).

Because of the hatred of German population without migration backgrounds the situation of ‘foreign’ workers in areas, which had become the new German states after the Wall fell, became unsafe so that many of them returned to their countries. The “Law Regulating Foreigners” of 1981 embedded the discrepancy between the long residence of ‘Guest Workers’ and their families in Germany and their insecure status. At this time even children born in Germany to ‘Guest Workers’, and quite possibly speaking no other language, could not easily obtain a German passport (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). The 1981 Law also restricted application for asylum in two ways. First, applicants who had come to Germany through the

¹⁴ Gesetz zur befristeten Förderung der Rückkehrbereitschaft von Ausländern

¹⁵ Christliche Demokratische Union, Bavarian conservative party

¹⁶ Ausländergesetz

¹⁷ “Anwerbestopp”

states that belong to the EU or any other so-called safe country such as the Czech Republic, Poland, and Switzerland could be forced to return to that country and apply for asylum there. Secondly, asylum seekers had to go through a simplified procedure for refugee status, with no recognition of persecution as a reason to grant a right to remain. This mostly led to immediate rejection of the application and possible deportation (Münz & Ulrich, 2001, p. 89). From 1991 right wing extremism grew in Germany and led to acts of violence against foreigners (mostly those of a different skin colour) in, for instance, Rostock and Mannheim (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). Once immigration rates started to decrease in the mid-1990s, violence against residents with migration backgrounds also reduced (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). In 1993 all parties in the German parliament voted for the so-called “Compromise on Asylum”¹⁸, denying the right of asylum to those who had entered Germany via a third country. Asylum law in Germany is still the same, and still politicians regard Germany as not being a country of migration (Bade & Oltmer, 2004).

In 2005 there was a new Immigration Law (Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integration von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern). This recognized, in spite of the attitudes of politicians, that Germany was a country of immigration and defined the integration of immigrants as a legal duty (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). With this German policy recognized the facts on the ground and established a law of citizenship which is valid today. This allows children born in Germany to gain German citizenship if one of the parents has lived in Germany for 8 years. Moreover foreigners living in Germany for 8 years are now allowed to apply for German citizenship (previously 15 years) (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). With the new law the number of new naturalization applications increased by 30 percent. Over 40 percent of the people taking German citizenship were from Turkey, over 8 percent from Iran and over 5 percent were of Yugoslavian origin (ibid.)¹⁹.

The late availability of dual citizenship has ensured that two generations of migrants were legally regarded as ‘Others’, besides clearly being different from the majority population in appearance. The problems arising from this ‘Othering’ are dealt with in the next section.

¹⁸ Asylkompromiss

¹⁹ Nationality Act

1.3. Youth with Turkish Immigration Background: Pedagogical Aspects, Statistics & Evaluation

As the majority of the immigrant families in Germany are Turkish, this study focuses on youth with a Turkish immigration background. Put into a broader perspective, this discourse deals with the social and emotional development of youth in the context of education and social environment. Communication between youths and their parents, friends, society and also the response, which this provokes, are the focal points of the analytical part of this research. This will be analysed by considering exchanges between the characters, both fictional and biographical, of selected books.

In order to provide a view of success or otherwise of the German education system where immigrant children are concerned, a brief overview of their educational progress is needed. After the initial migration, the 'Guest Workers' resolve to stay was strengthened once their families had joined them. They invested more of their income on living in Germany, while drastically reducing their remittances to the home country, and actively seeking to maximize the educational success of their children in German schools. However, there were no special facilities in those days for the education of 'Guest Worker's' children in Germany (Rist, 1978, pp. 57-88). This meant, and can still mean, a struggle for immigrant children in the education system.

According to Stanat (2006) youth with immigrant backgrounds are significantly worse off in school than those with German parents. In current evaluation of Germany's educational system, resulting from the publication of the first PISA evaluations, and ensuing discussion, the relative disadvantage of students with immigrant backgrounds has gained in importance. The starting point of the analysis is typically the significant differences in the patterns of participation in school that exist between students of German and foreign origin. Although the situation of children and young people with immigrant backgrounds has improved over the years as a whole, they still had significantly lower educational achievement than their peers who have 'German' parents (Diefenbach, 2002; Gogolin, Neumann, & Roth, 2003; Herwartz-Emden, 2003). During the period between 1991 and 2000, 38.7 percent of German youth without a migration background attended a 'Gymnasium'²⁰, while only 18.9 percent of youth with migration backgrounds did so. In the same period 40.8 percent of foreign origin students

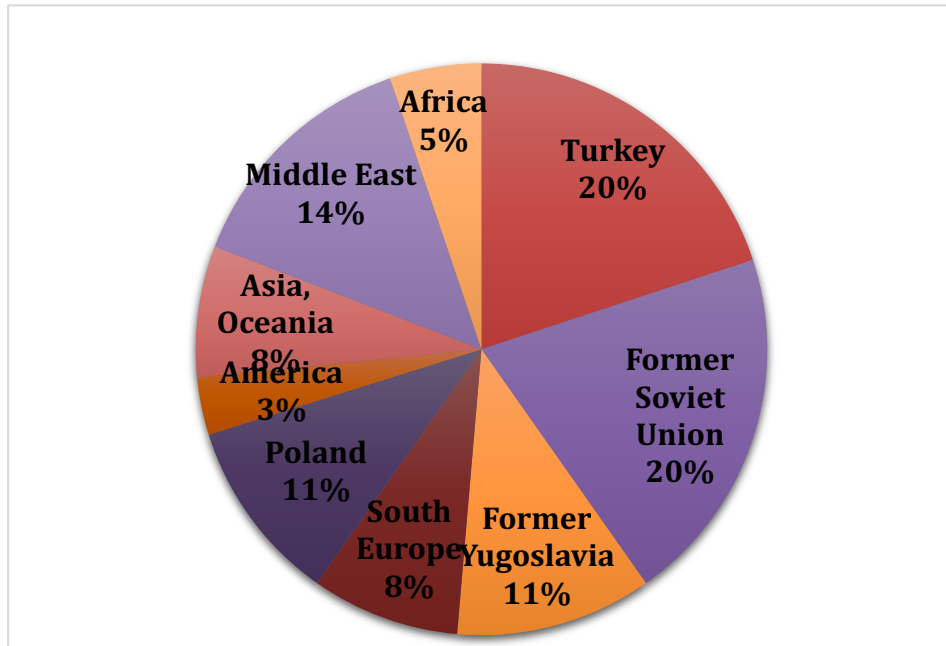
²⁰ Special type of school in Germany, which is comparable with upper secondary school or rather a top school form.

attended a 'Hauptschule'²¹, while only 16.3 percent of German youth (without migration background) did. Young people of Turkish origin achieved on average the lowest grades in school (the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2002, p. 22). In 2014-2015 blatant differences between pupils with and without migration backgrounds were still observable. In that school year 44 percent of pupils of no migration background attended a 'Gymnasium' while only 24 percent of pupils of migration backgrounds did. The figures for 'Hauptschule' were 8 percent and 25 percent (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, 2016, p. 173f.).

In the statistics, a distinction is made between Turkey as a home country, the former Soviet Union, Poland, the former Yugoslavia and other countries (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015). More precisely, the statistics provided by Federal Statistical Office in Germany, reveal that a large share of immigrant families in Germany is represented, (at 20%), by families in which at least one of the parents has a Turkish background. Ethnic German immigrant families from the countries of the former Soviet Union constitute a similar group at 20%. This is followed by families settled in Germany from the former Yugoslavia (11%) and then families from southern European countries of labor recruitment such as Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece (total 8%) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015). The coming chart illustrates the above information in more detail.

²¹ Special type of school in Germany, which is comparable with lower general secondary school and is an integrated, comprehensive school, which many migrant youth interred to this form of school.

Families with Children under 18 with an Immigration Background – by Origin



Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2, 2015²²

Regarding the scholastic attainment studies mentioned, the question arises as to how reliable such assessments are. The PISA test as well as other studies such as Diefenbach, Statistisches Bundesamt etc. have positive as well as problematic approaches, and it is essential for the purposes of the present thesis to achieve maximum clarity about any uses and possible misconceptions in such studies. Some observers have suggested that PISA (for instance), in its very composition, is culturally biased. Moreover, rankings based only on test scores, construct a partial measuring system, which in spite of its aim of assessing progress, plays a part in nothing more than turning young individuals in to test-taking machines (Fehlen, 2011, p. 1).

²² Statistisches Bundesamt, (2015). *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2015*. Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2

1.4. Youth with Turkish immigrant Background: Educational Challenges

In contrast to the idea of production of further test taking machines in German society, this study observes the situation from another perspective. More precisely, it deals with emotional situations and observes at a deeper level the search of immigrant youth for a safe and socially recognized place for their productive activity. Additionally, the immense space of possibilities for the youth depicted in the selected works is part of this consideration.

According to Daatland, one of the essential tools for effective development is education, however, there is a considerable difference in how pedagogical purposes and demands are related to individual requirements. In fact, to be educated to live in a multicultural society is more complex than being educated to live in a modern and specialized world, which is normally the aim of education systems. In the multicultural context, presumably, one of the main concerns of present education at should be the search for and creation of personal identities, so that young people are capable of functioning in the framework of a modern and specialized world (2004, p. 28). Daatland continues:

The emphasis would have to be put neither on the assimilation of privileged culture, nor on the preparation of demands from the labor market, but on the strengthening of individuals. The educational function of school would come about when the possibility of questioning known social and cultural influences was offered as well as elaborating on alternatives and being able to take decisions autonomously (ibid., p. 28).

Youth of a foreign or a Turkish immigrant background are observed as immigrants, despite the fact that most of them were born in Germany and many have German nationality. “The tag of immigrant serves to underline their social difficulties; it is an essentially negative representation, which feeds from different stereotypes and serves in order to group certain people together, a fact of great importance when referring to their social insertion and city life coexistence” (ibid., p. 27). The first generation adults are the agents and conveyors of a certain and distinct referential system different from that of German society, so that the perplexity of their children in the society in which they are living remains particularly marked. The second and third generations after emigration embody a specific subject for analysis, different from their parents, and their dissimilarity from their parents generation poses new difficulties as it evokes complex problems regarding identity, violence, racism and integration.

In the segments of German society dealt with in the books which form the subject of this research, the youth of the second and third generations are often considered culturally the same as their parents, independent of their nationality, or where they have grown up. This causes them complex problems, not least, the experience that they are categorized, observed and treated like immigrants who do not yet belong to Germany. This is a disorientation which is felt as a form of rejection and discrimination (ibid., p. 27).

2. Theoretical Background

This is intended to facilitate the understanding of concepts and their interaction in a combination of two fields, transcultural studies and literary studies and to provide a path to a pedagogy of diversity. The theoretical background of this research is intended to form a comprehensible platform for readers and connect this research to relevant existing knowledge, which is used as the basis of choice of research methods in Chapter Three (p. 111). As an interdisciplinary approach, Chapter Two deals not only with the theoretical assumptions of relevant researches, but it also deals with the understanding gained from Migrant Literature and its contribution as a source of sociological evidence of migrant lives via the narrations of this literature.

This chapter consists of five main sections; 2.1. The Multiple Combination of Discriminations: Intersectionality (p. 42); 2.2. Narration in the context of 'Othering' (p. 64); 2.3. Cultural & Transcultural Studies (p. 72); 2.4. Literary Studies (p. 83); 2.5 Turkish Migration Literature in Germany (p. 92).

It is assumed that there will be an English audience for this study, so sections on migration law and the history of migration to Germany in the latter half of the 19th century have been included. There is a focus on the institutional discrimination migrants find in their everyday lives. The significance of the term culture and what this research understands under the definition of culture and transculturality are discussed. A section on Literary Studies, in this chapter deals with Migrant Literature in general and Turkish migration literature in particular.

2.1. The Multiple Combination of Discriminations: Intersectionality

“There is no such thing as a single- issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives.” (Audre Lorde)

A recent film, *Hidden Figures*, tells the true story of three black female mathematicians at NASA, Katherine Johnson, Dorothy Vaughan and Mary Jackson. They are at the leading edge of the feminist and civil rights movement and their calculations helped enable some of America’s greatest achievements in space. The film is a powerful description of intersecting discriminations and has been met with great acclaim as a piece of restorative justice: “Restoring the truth about individuals who were at once black, women and astounding mathematicians, in a world that was constructed to stymie them at every step, is no easy task”²³ (Bookreporter.com).

Johnson calculated flight trajectories for Project Mercury and the 1969 Apollo 11 flight to the Moon at a time when the United States was rife with both racial discrimination and sexism and when scientific professions were barred to women of whatever origin. She is not the only intelligent woman of colour highlighted in the film, and the plot shows why intersectional feminism (i.e. the intersection of multiple discriminations) is something that must be acknowledged.

In one scene, Katherine is mistaken for a cleaning lady by a load of white guys because she’s a black woman (at 16:09-16:15 minutes). In another, Mary raises the issue of interracial relationships as she flirts with a white astronaut (at 37:25 minutes). Later she points out that if she were a white man no one would ask her why she wanted to be an engineer, and be unwilling to believe that she was one already (at 14:42-15:07 minutes). Her own husband, who is also black, expresses doubts that NASA would hire her as a “black’ ‘woman’” (at 32:09-33:11 minutes).

A white female character, Vivian Michael, plays a race card to assume a position of higher authority telling her black colleague Katherine Johnson “don’t embarrass me” (at 15:38-

²³ In this case an American rather than German example has been chosen, as Intersectionality developed originally in an Afro-American context and has relatively recently become internationally studied. The film encapsulates both the origin of the concept and its social implications.

115:45 minutes), despite the fact that Vaughan has proven herself to be more than an equal in terms of intelligence.

The film refers to Rosa Parks and the Civil Rights Movement and to the need of patriarchal society to relegate women to the domestic sphere. *Hidden Figures* shows that there are double the issues for black women to deal with, compared to their white counterparts, having to justify what they are, first to white and then black communities.

To become an engineer, which Mary Jackson's husband does not think she can (at 32:09-32:50 minutes), because she is a woman, Mary Jackson has to get a court order to be able to take classes at an all white university, because she is black (at 1:07:52-1:10:13 minutes). The main character Katherine Johnson is stopped from going into a NASA briefing, because she is a woman, not to mention black (at 1:17-1:19:08 minutes).

The film is close to a manual of the effects of what is called intersectional discrimination. Although previous chapters have illustrated different types of discriminations, discrimination never occurs in only one category and the multiple combinations of discriminations is well described in the term 'Intersectionality', first used by Civil Rights advocate and critical scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. This is the subject of the present section. Intersectionality is originally black feminist theory, connecting the areas in which oppression acts in interconnected societal categories, like 'race', gender, religion, class, etc. It acknowledges and studies how multiple forms of discrimination co-exist and is now no longer exclusively feminist.

Intersectionality was primarily explained by Crenshaw through the analogy of a traffic jam of intersecting discriminations and explains that the United States' anti-discrimination law follows a unidirectional pattern of discrimination ignoring the interacting effects which intersectionality describes. She sees it as being rooted at the intersection of 'race' and gender and gives three foci: (1) structural intersectionality, which entails intersected forms of subordination that render the experiences of women of colour qualitatively different than those of white women or men of colour; (2) political intersectionality, which includes actions that fail to recognize women of colour as unique (including anti-racist and feminist coalitions that look at only one axis of subordination); and (3) representational intersectionality, which includes the imaginary and symbolic practices that perpetuate the discursive invisibility of women of colour (p.458f.)²⁴.

²⁴ Theoretical Criminology 17(4) Crenshaw (1991).

In spite of obvious common ground, there has been, as yet, hardly any dialogue between legal and social studies in this area, and the question arises of where the difficulties of interdisciplinary 'translation' lie. Perhaps the individual nature of legal cases versus the concentration in social studies on structural categories plays a role, however in the light of the large number of empirical studies of intersectionality in micro-sociology this explanation is rather implausible (Lutz et al., 2013, p. 15f.). Legal scholars and social scientists concerned with gender find few points of contact, especially in Germany, where there are problems in relating inequality with discrimination (Lutz et al., 2013, p. 16). Crenshaw's study concerning the case of black women against General Motors in the 1970s shows the effects of a single business decision on all black women working there, the court disallowed a claim for unfair dismissal by black women workers on the grounds that the claim was discriminatory against woman and workers in general.

Academic analysis of intersectionality has given rise to two schools of thought. One is deconstructionalist and inter-categorical and seeks to merge all the previous categories of discrimination into an interacting combination of all discriminations (Hooks 1992, Mohanty 1993 quoted in: Lutz et al., 2013, p. 17f.). However, this presents problems in attempting discussion and analysis and thus the second intra-categorical school of thought informs this work. Two factors must be kept in mind. The first is that a general category (e.g. gender) contains many sub-categories and that a restriction of definition should never be used to obscure variation (e.g. gender identities) (Leiprecht, 2010, p. 97ff.). The second is that, as in mathematics, all variables act upon each other and each change will change every variable, so that discrimination is multi-acting and multi-faceted. No person should ever be reduced to an object, for instance, of racial discrimination only, when they will also suffer other multiple interacting discriminations. The power structures these discriminations generate write themselves deep into history and politics (Lutz et al., 2013, p. 16f.). However, emphasis on deconstructionist thinking should not be allowed to prevent the formation of alliances between pressure groups and hinder political action, where single-issue campaigns could combine together (ibid., p. 17).

Intersectionality is a term to convey that different forms of oppression observed within a society can be influenced by each other. These forms of oppression, such as racism, sexism, classism, ableism, homophobia etc., interrelate in a way, which creates an intensified system of oppression as a result of different forms of discrimination (Leiprecht, 2010, p. 99f.). Laws and policies normally address one form of marginalized identity only, instead of considering

the intersection of multiple oppressed identities, and as a result combined effects often go overlooked. Intersectionality describes a dynamic and developing process caused by complex social inequalities and its being open ended, and lacking a clear-cut definition has enabled intersectionality to be used in almost any context of inquiry. It aims to unsettle common mindsets, challenge oppressive power, and clarify the structure of inequalities and unequal life opportunities and therefore seek a more just world (Leiprecht, 2010, p. 99ff.).

Intersectionality provides improved understanding of interlocking systems of oppression, which must be challenged simultaneously. Crenshaw (1991), criticized antidiscrimination law, activist theory and movements which marginalized black women due to a focus on racism and sexism separately, instead of considering them as interconnected forms of oppression. There is a concern that these important aspects of intersectionality, which are necessary for structural changes to improve social justice, may not be given enough attention by academics who are currently dealing with the subject (Rosenthal & Kazak, 2016, p. 475). It was claimed by Edward Said (1983, pp.31-53) that the originality of theories and their critical stance can be lost as they travel from one domain to another. However Intersectionality has not weakened the anti-discriminatory disciplines, which are combined in it. Power relations and social inequality have been central to intersectional knowledge projects and have provided new analyses of discrimination. Theories can change in positive ways as they become interdisciplinary and combine, and intersectionality is an example of this (Carbado, 2013).

Cho et al. (2013) view intersectionality as an analytical sensibility, arguing, “what makes an analysis intersectional is not its use of the term intersectionality, nor its being situated in a familiar genealogy, nor its drawing on lists of standard citations. Rather, what makes an analysis intersectional... is its adoption of an intersectional way of thinking about the problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power” (p. 795). An important factor of intersectional scholarship is to rethink work, family, identity, the media and other similar major structures. Intersectional scholarship on work constitutes one important concept that contains highly nuanced scholarship on how labour market organization, occupational segregation, work-family balance, and other aspects of paid and unpaid reproductive labour underpin complex social inequalities (Amott & Matthaei, 1991).

Analyses of capitalism demonstrate how the ‘good’ jobs and ‘bad’ jobs of labour markets were organized using social inequalities of gender, ‘race’, and economic class. Studying domestic work particularly revealed that how work was structured was central to the

exploitation of women and men of colour (Glenn, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001).

The focus on 'race', class, and gender can be expanded to incorporate sexuality, nation, ethnicity, age, and ability as similar categories of analysis (Kim-Puri, 2005). Specifically, a sustained attention to the themes of nation, nationalism, nation-state, and national identity has aimed to align the power relations of nations with structural analyses of racism, capitalism, and patriarchy (Yuval-Davis, 1997). As Leiprecht remarks, the concept of intersectionality can be applied at a macro, meso and micro level corresponding to national/international, social and individual discriminations (Leiprecht, 2010, p. 100). It is also pertinent in any study of migrant society.

Broader conceptions of complex social inequalities, and how heterogeneous forms of violence are essential in maintaining them, have been catalysed by recasting violence as a social problem for many groups (Collins, 1998). Since violence against women has been such a powerful catalyst for intersectionality itself, intersectional analyses of this topic not only are vast, but also have informed political activism and public policy (Alinia, 2013).

A further area deals with identity. A lot of scholarly attention has been paid to this, ranging from a strong interest in the theme of studying how intersecting identities produce distinctive social experiences for specific individuals and social groups, to claims that intersectionality constitutes a feminist theory that deals with issues of identity (Goldberg, 2009). In contrast, scholarship that examines identity in relation to social inequality, such as the possibilities of identity categories as potential coalitions (Carastathis, 2013) or case studies on how attending to intersecting identities creates solidarity and cohesion for cross-movement mobilization (Roberts & Jesudason, 2013), remains in the minority.

The intersectionality has developed into an important means of framing identities and the numerous and complex sites of contestation around them. The importance of intersectional approaches in struggles for social justice, and in the making of inclusive public spaces, has been underscored by critics and activists from a myriad of socio-political milieus (Hill Collins, 2015).

Recently, psychology has been increasingly interested in intersectionality which presents a valuable opportunity for the field to make social justice and equity more central agendas and to be at the forefront of calls for radical structural changes to promote well-being. Leiprecht notes the relevance of spaces of possibility in theoretical consideration of the problems of young migrants in examining structure and conferring agency (Leiprecht, 2010, p. 100). Directly teaching about power and privilege at a structural level in psychology courses (Case,

2013) is an example of how intersectionality can be applied in multicultural and diversity curricula to address social justice and equity issues.

May (2014, 2015) has asserted the importance of the use of intersectionality to challenge dominant perspectives that are entrenched in societal inequalities and therefore inherently biased. This direct exploration of the effect of biases is valuable for qualitative researchers (Clarke & Braun, 2013). These are examples that illustrate how intersectionality enables understanding of the experiences of diverse groups of people at the intersections of both oppressed and privileged identities and directly addresses the critique that intersectional work reinforces the very identity categories it seeks to disrupt by focusing on “prototypical intersectional subjects” (Nash, 2008, p. 8).

Intersectionality is represented in the approach of this book in its transcultural use of literary analysis as a contribution to pedagogical issues regarding migration. Intersecting problems are part of the lives of Turkish-German protagonists in this work whether female or male. It is difficult to pin intersectionality to particular incidents in the scenes analysed for this book, however the constellation of discrimination, which affects protagonists, lives and the way they decide to behave highlight intersectionality. The next sections deals separately with the subsections of intersectionality and a further section deals with ‘Othering’ which is itself intersectional labelling (see page 64ff.).

2.1.1. Racism & 'Race'

“The first thing you do is to forget that I'm black. Second, you must never forget that I'm black [...] And if some Black person insults you, mugs you, rapes your sister, rapes you, rips your house or is just being an ass please, do not apologize to me, for wanting to do them bodily harm. It makes me wonder if you're foolish.”
(From *Movement in Black* by Pat Parker, 1978).

This chapter discusses current discourse concerning the concepts of discrimination divided into sections on 'race', sex and class. These discriminations frequently overlap but it is useful to examine current theory concerning them separately. The following section on 'race' is concerned with the way in which racism can occur at cultural, institutional, and individual levels and also with investigation of ways of dealing with essentialism in racialized categorizations.

As well as so-called classical forms of racism that operate with biological explanations and impose a naturalizing effect, there are forms of racism, which rely on cultural explanations and have a culturalizing effect. Both are frequently applied simultaneously (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 15). Human beings were and, unfortunately still are, classified by means of the term 'race', but also at the same time (in conformity with a particular, and frequently colonial, distribution of power) this became hierarchized and an evaluator of the moral worth of a group. Ideas about 'race' and appropriate forms of cultural practice support the social constructs of dominant groups. The British racism researcher Miles refers to these constructs using the idea of the term 'race' as racialization. Thus, 'race' is not something natural, but it is about a process of the constitution of meaning (Miles, 1991, p. 99).

Racism is a culturally shared system of beliefs typically characterized by negative attitudes and can also reflect a paternalistic orientation that promotes the dependency of a group or a set of beliefs on such attitudes. Beliefs like this might seemingly be favourable in some ways, however they systematically limit the opportunities for out-group members and weaken their dignity. Racism typifies an organized system of privilege and bias, which disadvantages

people by regarding them as belonging to a specific, and usually inferior ‘race’. It typically assigns values, usually negative, to the group’s physical appearance, ethnicity, or religion, regarded as heritable qualities. According to Devido, Gaertner and Kawakami the term ‘race’ not only constructs negative attitudes and assumptions but also has a dominating position regarding social power, transforming these attitudes into outcomes that destroy social cohesion and competence (Devido, Gaertner & Kawakami, 2013, p. 113ff.). The usage of the word ‘race’ in public discourse in Germany and much of the rest of Europe about migration has been replaced more and more by ‘culture’, to the extent that, as Leiprecht argues, ‘culture differences’ have become a linguistic euphemism, which disguises dislikes and hatreds concerning racist origin. This assertion refers back to what Fanon declared in 1970 in his book “*Toward the African Revolution*” (p. 42f.).

In Germany, the National Socialist (NS) ideas of racist separateness and biologically determined inferiority have been replaced by an increasing emphasis on cultural differences between population groups, which serves to legitimize most of the old racist constructs of ideology. This has resulted in a *racialism without race* (Leiprecht, 2011, p. 28 – quoting Barker 1981 and Balibar 1989 p. 373). In Anglo Saxon discourse the term ‘race’ is in more common use but, as in Germany, cultural differences are brought into the foreground in discussions concerning immigrants, so that the problems cultural differences cause in the social system and a ‘pressure’ of immigrants on housing and education are levers used in anti-immigrant politics (United Kingdom Independence Party manifesto (UKIP), 2014). Culture is implicitly defined by such groups as UKIP, as a naturally acceptable and static set of homogenous attributes, which predetermine social relations. In Germany, however, it is often said that other cultures cannot be compatible with German culture. These foreign cultures should be retained and encouraged preferably in their home country. This preserves the ‘purity’ of both sides, especially that of the supposedly pure German ‘culture’²⁵ (Leiprecht, 2001, p. 29). Even if the term ‘culture’ is used rather than ‘race’, ‘culture’ is considered as “different cultural ways of life” which “ultimately reduce to genetic and naturalistic values (ibid.)”.

The publication of Hall’s book *Rassismus als ideologischer Diskurs* (2000) in Germany was highly influential in the sociopolitical and historical context of that period in which migrants

²⁵ In Diskursen um Migration und Flucht verdrängt der Begriff ‚Kultur‘ immer mehr den Begriff ‚Rasse‘. Leiprecht führt aus, dass ‚Kultur‘ ein sprachlicher Deckmantel für ‚Rasse‘ sein kann. Oft wird in Deutschland von anderen Kulturen gesprochen, die sich nicht mit der deutschen Kultur vereinbaren ließen: Die fremden Kulturen müssen ebenfalls bewahrt werden – aber bitte im Heimatland – damit die jeweilige ‚Reinheit‘ fortbestehen kann, vor allem aber soll die angeblich ‚reine deutsche Kultur‘ erhalten werden (vgl. zu dieser Diskursformation Leiprecht 2001, S. 29).

were constructed as a ‘problem’ and officially labelled and addressed as ‘foreigners’, especially through the notion of *Ausländerarbeit* (foreigner’s jobs) and *Ausländerpädagogik* (education concerning foreigners) (see also Mecheril & Melter, 2010). Drawing on Hall’s conceptualization of racism as an ideological discourse, various authors have argued that the notion of ‘*Ausländerfeindlichkeit*’ (hatred of foreigners) had the consequence of rehearsing ethnocentrism and reproducing racism without, naming this as ‘race’ but rather cultural difference. It should be also noticed that terms such as “xenophobia” or “hostility towards foreigners” mean considering all foreigners as being on the same level (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 3ff.).

Racism and anti-racism feed from each other to stabilize and reify the radicalized construction of a collective ‘we’ (the ‘natives’) and ‘they’ (the ‘foreigners’). The fact is that all foreigners are not the same and all those who, regarding the norms of society, are unacceptable/not properly behaved/ improper etc., are not automatically foreigners.

At present the opposite dominates: people with immigration background (here young people with Turkish immigration background) are made ‘others’, as so-called foreigners and become a frequent target of racism, independent of their passport or how long they have lived in Germany. This raises the tendency to generalized disadvantage and limitation of the ‘other’ and moreover, decreases social commonality and increases distance so there is no ‘we’, only ‘they’ and ‘us’ (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 3ff.). The same language can also reinforce the power of a larger minority groups against smaller, and that this results in an ordering of minorities in a multidimensional fashion (Leiprecht, 1996, pp. 187-9).

Brah argues that the repeated use of pejorative discourse embeds rather than challenges the power of majority groups even when used by anti-racists (1996, p. 187ff.). The interplay between racism and anti-racism presents itself as totally contradictory, embedded in what Rommelspacher (2006) denominates ‘dominant culture’, understood as a powerful system of ideas that structure social relations and hierarchies between groups and which are based on the privileged position of “white” Germans. Kalpaka and Mecheril (2011) proposed the notion of transcultural openness, which aims at the reconfiguration of organizations and institutions and attempts to break down the barriers to the acceptance of immigrants. Thus, it is an anti-racist intervention and its emphasis lies in criticizing institutional discrimination and promoting the reform of institutions.

'Race' and ethnicity are produced and animated by changing, complicated and uneven interactions between social processes and individual experience and cannot be categories of 'objective', stable and homogenous characteristics (Gunaratnam, 2003, p. 8).

In considering human beings as members of the construct of 'races' a process of categorization takes place. This defines groups implicitly or explicitly as 'natural units /inherent units'. However, Miles points out that these classifications are not justified. For instance, French academics at the time of French invasion of Egypt declared that Semitic languages were incapable of further development (Said, 1978, p. 139ff.). As it has been mentioned before, Miles calls this categorization process 'racialization' or rather 'race constructions' (Miles, 1991, p. 99).

Robert Miles considers racism as an analytical theoretical term. He criticizes the use of frequent imprecise definitions to illustrate the term 'racism', making it too broad (ibid., p. 57). Consequently, this leads, for instance, to no particular distinction between racism, nationalism and sexism (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 13). The marginalization process involves exclusion, inclusion and containment. A marginalizing practice automatically leads to the definition of delimiting criteria. Examples include actions or processes that prevent immigrants finding work, while simultaneously determining the characteristics of those who get the jobs (Terkessidis, 1998, p. 72f.).

Racism arises from the attribution of negative characteristics, biological or cultural, to a group (Miles, 1991, p. 96). The term 'racism' should be used in practice (in contrary to the non-essential and completely superfluous term 'race') to analyse and criticize this extremely complex process of production of otherness (ibid., p. 99). Yet, as racism is not a static concept, the present theoretical analysis of this phenomenon cannot be considered as complete. Although the term 'race' is no longer a persuasive and scientifically accepted term, racist ways of thinking and forms of practice still exist and have not yet disappeared (Leiprecht, 2016).

An appropriate understanding of racism should identify different forms and levels of racism. It should incorporate the analysis of emotions, thoughts, images and attitudes as well as the study of behaviours, debates, texts, institutions and organizations. Furthermore, this understanding should include an analysis of the practices of institutions and organizations and the society's structures and processes (Miles, 1991, p. 197). A definition of racism should be applicable on an individual level and for collective forms of practice as well as in structural and institutional relations. Moreover, such terms should be acceptable both for

those who are the targets of such evaluations, assaults, prejudices and marginalization processes and those who evaluate other people in the light of such terms and act with a degree of prejudice, which sometimes becomes physical violence, but always represents repressed forms of violence. A definition should appropriately contribute to representing the complexity of the processes that identify the term 'racism' without using reductionist concepts of culture (Leiprecht, 2005, p. 12ff.).

In the debate on anti-racism there are several interesting positions which seek to move away from the construction of fixed dichotomies such as 'victim/perpetrator', 'Black/White', 'we/they', Germans/foreigners, and instead attempt to include different inequalities that are not circumscribed by racism but intersect with exclusions based on sexuality, gender, class, religion and generation. In this context, racism is the furthest extreme of the attribution of overly negative and frequently incorrect attributes to make an 'other' out of a social group, with all the negative consequences, that ensue from this.

The current use of highly polarizing language in connection with immigrants for instance 'economic migrants', swarms, streams of medical tourists, benefit tourists and the setting up of polarization between Muslims and Christians, Orient and Occident and backward and modern all promote racism, both covert and overt. This sort of polemic has been prevalent for some years (Leiprecht, 2015a, p. 144) and can only have negative social effects.

An amusing reference to racism in Germany is provided by the film, "Black Rider/Schwarzfahrer", which won the Oscar for Best Short Film in 1994. This is a short drama in black and white, with a large dose of black comedy, written and directed by German filmmaker Pepe Danquart (1992). It depicts an incident of colour-related racism on a tram in Germany in order to highlight the problem of racism in Germany. An elderly lady launches into a tirade of verbal abuse against a black passenger, bringing up a whole host of prejudices against asylum-seekers and immigrants. The other passengers listen, but do not intervene. When the conductor turns up to check everyone's tickets something unexpected occurs and the tables turn, giving the end of the film a humorous twist that plays on the double meaning of the word "Schwarzfahrer" (the literal translation is "Black Rider" but the term generally means fare dodger), and allows the viewer to reflect on what the message of the film is. The 'Black Rider' steals the old lady's ticket, and swallows it (9:33), so that she is taken to be a

fare dodger and removed from the tram by the conductor, protesting, “the nigger²⁶ has eaten my ticket” (9:56). Not one of the passengers comments and the conductor just does not believe her.

Of the scenes chosen for analysis under the rubric of racism in this study, none is as amusing as “Black Rider”, but they are intended to indicate gradations in racially influenced experiences of the protagonists within them and have been specifically chosen to exemplify a spectrum of racially influenced attributions in the novels.

²⁶ In contemporary English, using the word ‘Nigger’ is considered extremely offensive, and the word is often replaced with the euphemism ‘the N-word’. It should be noted that there is no attempt here to reproduce this term pejoratively, but only to present it as it is cited in the dialogue quoted.

2.1.2. Gender in the Turkish Immigrant Context

[I want a country] where my daughter can walk in the street as free as a boy. I want her to experience everything in her life and no one would look at her and say: “you are a girl, why are you doing this?” [...] where she can climb mountains, play boxing if she wants to and no one would look at her and ridicule her because she is a girl and not a boy, and at the same time, not to be always told, “may you be a bride.” That is not the goal of your life (Amira, woman in a self-defense workshop, in: Eltahawy, 2015, p. 233).

Because of the brevity of the term, it is current practice to use sexism to indicate discrimination on the grounds of constructs based on gender. Sexism is used to describe both the idea and the practice of inequality between men and women. The different characteristics, capabilities and preferences assigned to men and women on the basis of supposedly biological facts are used to explain and justify why women tend to have less power, influence, wealth and opportunity than men. A hegemonic ‘real man’/‘real woman’ paradigm summed-up in the term sexism is likely to mean that any departure from this norm will frequently result in a discrimination and devaluation of those concerned that is damaging and even fatal both to individuals concerned and society in general. In this paradigm, the alpha male stands permanently at the top of the pyramid, in spite of increasing social acceptance of the heteronormative nature of sexual desire in many societies. Traditional sexism, which expresses itself in clearly negative stereotypes, is today still prevalent but frowned upon in many European countries. Wherever the normative thresholds are reduced – in bars, football stadiums, public transport etc. it quickly surfaces in comments and jokes and sometimes in overtly aggressive behaviour. The modern face of sexism is more ‘respectable’. For example, evolutionary explanations for gender differences enjoy great popularity in public discourse. They enable traditional prejudices to reappear in scientific guise, explaining observed gender-typical behaviour as the outcome of biological factors. Cultural explanations that acknowledge learned patterns of behaviour or socialization conditioned by external structures are under-represented. Instead the subordinate status of women (as manifested in income

differentials and promotion to top jobs) is presented as a natural state of affairs (Zick et al., 2011, p. 41). Gender is of course one of the central categories on which the prejudices and stereotypes of everyday life are based. The lack of equality between men and women in all spheres of life is a persistent deficit, for women continue to suffer massive structural disadvantage. Women are affected by prejudice and discrimination, and unlike the other social groups such as migrant men, they are not a minority. In fact, in all of the countries considered here women represent a slight majority (ibid., p. 22).

There has been little concerted effort to incorporate gender into theories of international migration, yet understanding gender is critical in the migration context. In part because migration theory has traditionally emphasized the causes of international migration over questions of who migrates, it has often failed to adequately address gender-specific migration experiences. Developing a gendered theory of migration has been difficult because the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, demography, law, and history have tended to focus on only a few types of migration and stress different explanations (Boyd, 2003).

In the everyday context, the word that first comes to mind in terms of gender and sexuality is of course sexism. But this is a relatively modern word having first been used by the American author and feminist Caroline Bird in a speech, "On Being Born Female", which was published on November 15, 1968, in *Vital Speeches of the Day*. Bird expanded this theme both explicitly, connecting it to the act of judging a person based on their sex, and highlighting hierarchical imbalance by talking about how sexism has helped to keep power in the hands of those men who already have it (Bird, 1968, p. 90).

Sexuality and sexism have traversed a circuitous historical route as a topic for social research in general and as a unit of analysis in migration studies in particular. While the female gender has been particularly stereotyped, in many works and, until very recently, sexuality has almost always been relegated to, and equated with, heterosexual reproduction and family life. Additionally, sexuality has been submerged under, or closeted within, concepts like gender roles, morals, deviance, and pathology. Recent works on sexuality and migration have emphasized not only the viability and importance of sexuality as an object of study, but also pointed to its constitutive role in the formation and definition of transcultural society (Manalansan, 2006, p. 224).

It is important to highlight some general trends that are relevant to the discussion of sexuality and migration. Manalansan notes that female sexuality is not merely the conduit for

biological reproduction but also the site for the contestation of various group and institutional norms. In other words, female migrant sexuality is an arena in the fight between tradition and assimilation amid the tribulations of transnational migration (Manalansan, 2006, p. 233). Muslim migrant women are not only innocent victims of their situations but are complicit with and, paradoxically, at the same time, active resisters of patriarchal traditions.

It is noteworthy to briefly focus on the specific theme of migrant women in Germany, involved in a stereotyped form of sexism, which makes them the victims of suppression by men, who assume all responsibility in their family, even for second-generation young women. According to Manalansan (ibid., p. 228) shifts in understanding sexuality and gender, particularly in terms of their cultural and social inflections, have found their way into the second generation. These are reflected in the body of literature that emerged out of the original transcultural studies concerning Turkish migration.

Fatih Akin's dark film, "Head-on"²⁷, (2004) is a contemporary account of the confusion that cultural conflict causes in sexual relations for some of the present generation of Turks in Germany. Although this could be considered to be a stereotype, it encapsulates the problems discussed in this chapter. It includes a self-harming girl with a Turkish migrant background who cannot accept her restricted role in her traditional Turkish family. She marries a dissolute young Turkish man who who takes pity on her, and enables her to escape from the pre-determined rules of her Turkish family traditions and norms. After the marriage, which is never intended to be consummated, he talks to his brothers-in-law who are all extremely sexist and discovers how sexist their attitudes are. They talk of their wives as traditionally, almost virginally, perfect and, on the other hand their girlfriends as providing sex, both wife and lover being there to provide a service. In the second half of the film, inspired by her emancipated aunt who manages her own hotel in Istanbul, she flees to Turkey. In spite being raped and mishandled she finds love and stability there. Although this is fictional, it is clear that it has a basis of reality within it. Schrötle (2008), notes that migrant women of Turkish origin (29%), were twice as likely to be the victim of sexual violence inflicted by a male partner than German women of similar age group. The author ascribes this to the reluctance of Turkish women to divorce.

In a transcultural perspective (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2009), it can be assumed that different suppression of women and discriminatory structures and practices shape the daily lives of

²⁷ Gegen die Wand

female migrants in different ways. Focusing only on racism rather than sexism is therefore theoretical, in attempting to make a nuanced analysis of racist/sexist structures.

There are two sources of pre-judgment and discrimination regarding women with Turkish immigration backgrounds. One is the stereotyped image of Muslim women as victims of patriarchal domination and the other, from within migrant society, the distrust of women that demands their suppression by men. In both cases they have a minimum of fundamental human rights. In the first case they are pre-judged, in the second, they are judged and there is, in both cases, no escape without contradictions.

In a Turkish-German context, a feminist critical point of view blames patriarchy for women's downgraded status, both in Turkish tradition and in the parallel Turkish society in Germany. In the minds of both men and women in this society, power structured relationships and arrangements exist whereby women are controlled by men, whether with or without the use of violence. Some men (in the name of social, religious and traditional norms) use force, as an instrument of patriarchal repression and believe it to be a part of the logic of the patriarchal, fatherly system (Walby, 1990). This imposes compulsory restrictions on women's freedom of action and is discriminatory because of the denial of almost all basic human rights, such as the rights to privacy, to education, freedom of expression and personal security, liberty or even sometimes employment, simply on the basis of cultural conceptions of a woman's proper role (Mathew, 2001, p. 676). Their only remaining object in life is seen as their being good housewives and mothers.

In the Turkish-German context, the term 'Muslim women' evokes a stereotyped image of Muslim women shrouded in black, covered by face veils or wearing a headscarf. The German dominant group homogenizes the minority, 'Othering', objectifying and at the same time sexualizing Muslim women and promoting the stereotype that they are victims in need of rescue, suppressed by men. They, even in the second generation, are regarded as naïve and as being oppressed by a patriarchal Turkish society, and not 'modern' or 'integrated' enough to accept western values. This is not only humiliating but also presents an obstacle to women's social development and diminishes their basic human rights. These forms of mediated culturalisation and ethnicization of racism are by no means entirely new formations, but in their argumentation, they tie in existing racist discourses and other discriminatory practices, such as sexism. As Valerie Batts points out, an evaluation of racism is also applicable to all forms of suppressive effects in power relations (Batts, 2005, p. 5f.).

Negative references to culture and ethnicity are used as explanations for social problems, while in reality being the cause of such problems, and thus giving racist sexism a power to structure social realities. It follows that racism/sexism is further focused by the question of its structuring effects, not only in normal discourse but also in transcultural work (Lorenz, 2013, p. 17).

Shooman states that, “modern women” (in this case of Turkish migrant origin), are only modern in so far as they are a construct of the “modern West” as opposed to Islam. This means that “Muslim women” (Shooman, 2012, p. 2) are effectively seen on a social ‘split screen’, in which two antagonistic images are produced. This antithesis of the “very modern woman” and the “conforming Muslim woman” (Scharathow, 2009, p. 186), presents two polarizing pictures. This opposition is clearly the prevalent picture of Turkish migrant women in the mind of the host society. The question arises as to which of the two pictures is more sexist. In reality migrant women take positions between these two poles.

In a specialist discourse on domestic violence, Schahrzad Farrokhzad (2012) notes that there is no common understanding of the term in academic literature. Violence occurs at different levels in hegemonic social structures. In the broad concept of violence, there is a lack of differentiation between the severity of a particular form of duress and little regard to the fact that women are affected more often than men by long-term physical and psychological abuse in family situations (Lorenz, 2013, p. 38f.).

Anti-Muslim racism is historically associated with colonial racist constructions of the “Orient” (Attia, 2009). This orientalism can still be found and, according to current anti-Muslim discourses, manifests itself, for example, in sexist structured ideas about the “foreign” woman who is suppressed or imprisoned by the men of ‘their’ group and is to be ‘freed’ by men of the “We” group (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2009, p. 185).

One characteristic of anti-Muslim racism is a (perceived) legitimacy conferred by references to women’s rights (Shooman, 2012, p. 3). According to Reyhan Sahin, this functions in current anti-Muslim everyday discourses in Europe in particular those about Muslim dress (particularly headscarf) “as an abstract characterization” (Sahin, 2011, p. 1; also Scharathow, 2009, p. 187). It is noteworthy that this debate includes neither the complex meaning system of Muslim women’s clothing, nor the individual importance of many aspects of women’s headgear and, instead, results in a continual and racist pre-occupation with headscarves as associated with backwardness and oppression of Muslim women (ibid.). Visible racist stereotypes always need gender constructs, as here, to exclude “the others”. Prejudice against

headscarves can be interpreted to mean that the concept of emancipated, progressive “Western women” requires a counter-image, created by means of a reductionist vision of the oppressed “Muslim woman” (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2009, p. 186).

These criticisms of patriarchy are already part of the field of transcultural studies and scholars are beginning to recognize the need for a critical analysis that includes sexuality as part of migration research, thereby venturing into new theoretical and conceptual terrain, which will hopefully result in relevant empirical research and interventions. However, more work remains to be done, and researchers should remain aware of the need to guard against the reification of the heteronormative and be active in advancing alternative ways of understanding sexuality and gender in transcultural migration studies (Luibheid, 2005, p. 224).

Social and sexual coexistence is shaped by pre-conceptions on both the male and female side. Society will be enriched by attempts to remove, ameliorate and change these only when this takes place in a spirit of genuine communication and is not pre-determined. However, when embedded power relations intervene, they only cement sexist positions and intensify conflicts. It should be noted that the sexism and gender discrimination cannot be erased from people’s lives and will remain to be faced on an everyday basis. However the harm sexism causes should be reduced to a minimum, especially in the context of the transcultural conflicts and contradictions, which run like a web through society.

2.1.3. Classism

We want one class of persons to have a liberal education, and we want another class of persons, a very much larger class of necessity in every society, to forgo the privilege of a liberal education and fit themselves to perform specific difficult manual tasks (Woodrow Wilson - president of the United States 1913-1921).

Modern society has been often divided into classes and the variable used has been, and still is, wealth, as a proxy for power. In the past both were inherited, but since the industrial age the power of inheritance has waned. The myth of the American Dream supposes that everyone can raise his/her status and income in the next generation if not in the present one by dedication and hard work. Although the social mobility of the American Dream is more an ideological construction than a practical reality, it is ideologically in total opposition to the fixed strata, which defined the class system of medieval society, in that change of class is now expected and wished for, even if not easily achieved.

The present concept of class stems from the pioneering work of first Karl Marx and then Max Weber. Marx produced a ground-breaking critical analysis of class structures under the pressures of a rapidly developing industrialization of production in Europe. He defined what he perceived as a fundamental opposition between those providing the means of production (i.e. capitalist class) and those providing labour (i.e. working class). In the Communist Manifesto, he called for a unified identification of this later group in opposition to the former to force a radical and utopian change of society in the interest of the working class and reform an unjust and repressive capitalist society. The class free society envisaged in his work has proved to be a dream and, unfortunately, later provided a justification for totalitarian government, in particular under 'Communist' regimes (Marx & Engels, 1848).

Almost a generation later, Max Weber, found Marxist argumentation too simple and deterministic. Certain groups have a rational interest in capitalistic economic structures and will not identify with a unified working class (Kreckel, 2004, p. 60). Capitalists, administrators, skilled workers and unskilled workers, as separate groups (classes), each have their own interests. According to Weber, a re-formation of social structures cannot be based solely on class identification but rather through the application of a work ethic (ibid., p. 61).

The word classism, arose in the 1970s in the United States along with sexism and many other isms to indicate discrimination of people by class background and was specially connected with the Black Power Movement (Kemper & Weinbach, 2009, p. 33). While the term is also sometimes associated with Marxist ideas it has come, in parallel with sexism, to be used to indicate discrimination of various groups because of their economic status.

It is closely correlated as a descriptor of discrimination with a cluster of attributes as described by Bruce E. Blaine (2007, p. 139f.) in which the dichotomy Poor/Middle class is categorized, as for instance, uneducated/hard-working, embarrassed/intelligent, alcoholic/responsible, and so on, delineating the 'poor' as an irresponsible underclass. According to *The Collins English Dictionary*, classism refers to prejudicial beliefs and or behaviour towards "groups of persons sharing a similar social position and certain economic, political and cultural characteristics" (1986, p. 293). This labelling dis-incentivises any improvement in their economic condition of the poor, regarded as themselves incapable of improvement (Núñez & Gutiérrez, 2004, Introduction). A working definition of classism is provided by Adams et al. (1997) as "An individual, cultural and institutional repertory of practice and expectations which assigns to those of different economic status a different value in the context of a system of economic organization, which produces massive inequality, extending to poverty" (Kemper & Weinbach, 2009, p. 15).

Discrimination in its various forms can be based on various forms of oppression and the resulting stigmatization can be based on spectrum of characteristics including 'race', sex, ethnicity, appearance and of course, class. In any form it is in conflict with the meritocratic principle of equal opportunity, prevents social mobility and maintains economic inequality.

Prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination are used in present day societies as a tool to oppress members of many minority groups. This intolerance of 'others' allows injustice and inequality between groups of people to grow. Intolerance of 'others' at the individual level, can be a part of systematic oppression and silencing of groups of 'others' (Lott & Maluso, 1995).

Classism is especially prejudicial to women and also, in particular, to migrant group women becoming more virulent in combination with religion and gender. Women lose status on the basis of sexism; individuals of minority ethnicities lose out because of racism. Religious intolerance may result in a bias against certain faiths. In many cases, all these factors can combine to ensure that someone of low status remains of low status. Encouraging intolerance on the basis of classism encourages every form of intolerance, in combination with it. The

constructs of sexism, racism, sexual prejudice, classism, and religious intolerance are strongly correlated (Aosved & Long, 2006). Interestingly, this study reported higher sexism in men, as compared to women and also higher racism in 'Whites' as compared to racially diverse participants (ibid.).

Aosved et al. report that the intensity of intolerant beliefs varies, but that class intolerance is associated with many different personal characteristics. Class-intolerant attitudes, albeit unconscious, correlate with multiple intolerant attitudes. An exploration of the role of politics, upbringing, and personality characteristics in addition to class-based intolerance would be useful in improving a general understanding of intolerance (Aosved et al., 2009).

According to Núñez and Gutiérrez, class as an individual's socioeconomic background of origin, is important in determining earnings in the labour market (2004, p. 14). Turkish migrants irrespective of their class origins in Turkey, were automatically assigned a low class status in German society (Horrocks & Kolinsky, 1996, p. 131). However, within the Turkish migrant population there is a parallel definition of status groups not directly equivalent to western ideas of class but more related to kinship groups, ethnicity and level of education (Kurdish/Turkish), so that the analysis of the section is more directly pertinent to German society than to Turkish in so far as the term classism is concerned.

From the beginning of the 'Guest Worker' program, human machines were hired to be used in the hardest and often most dangerous work and given no opportunities to learn the language or access to education. This creation of an 'underclass' has had spin-off effects in the following generations and entrenched relative deprivation. A documentary film by Günter Wallraff (1986) *At the Very Bottom*²⁸, in which he altered his appearance to look foreign and make contact easily with Turkish 'Guest Workers', shows Turkish workers at the bottom of the German social hierarchy. In one scene (at 25:43 minutes) Wallraff, disguised as a 'Guest Worker' is ordered to give his safety helmet to a new German colleague or be dismissed. Both are exposed to the same danger because burning particles of coke are raining upon them. In another even crueller report on the discriminatory social order in 1986, (at 1:15:50 minutes) a job agency is willing to find workers of Turkish origin, in particular peasants, to work in a highly radioactive environment and then be returned to Turkey so that any damage to their health will not be discovered. They were not to be informed of any danger and would be paid much less than any German recruited for this job. It can be assumed that this film is

²⁸ Ganz Unten

indicative of the status of Turkish workers in terms of both the class and 'race' discrimination revealed here. It is an open question how much better the situation for migrant workers is today.

Present statistics indicate that the current young Turkish-origin generation are improving their attainments in education and show a small increase in their educational success, while still not catching up with the majority (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, 2012, p. 40).

2.2. Narration in the Context of ‘Othering’

The ‘Other’ and ‘Othering’ were archetypically discussed by Edward Said in his pioneering work, *Orientalism* (1978). Bhabha in ‘Postcolonial Criticism’ (1992) asserts that (Said’s book) “Orientalism inaugurated the postcolonial field”. Gayatri Spivak calls it ‘the source book in our discipline’ (In: Moore-Gilbert, 1997, p. 34). Orientalism is a characteristically the West coming to terms with the Orient. For this the Orient must first be known, and scholars, from various Western nations contributed to this end. This was embedded in the power structures of colonialism and imperialism. The Occident/Orient relationship is now one of “power, of domination, of varying degree, of a complex hegemony” (Said, 1978, p. 5). The representation of the Orient in the European literary and cultural canon has created a binary opposition between Europe and its ‘Other’, however imaginary the geographical line between West and East is. This binarism with the West as privileged and the East unprivileged has gone unquestioned by Western scholars, who define Orientalism as the study of the Orient, (i.e. of the East) by the Orientalists or Western scholars. This definition presupposes that Orientalism is a purely intellectual field of study by European scholars. But this ignores the many political, commercial, and scientific interests which influence the study. Thus Orientalism forms an “ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of time) the Occident” (ibid.). This discourse has been used to legitimize ‘civilizing’ missions, expansionism and imperialism and, at the same time, to convince Oriental peoples of their own inferiority (Moosavinia, Niazi & Ghaforian, 2011, p. 104). It is by no means limited to Arab lands or the Levant but is often taken to cover all cultures influenced by Islam. Its ‘civilizing’ mission has been repeated in every colonized country.

As Said observes, Orientalism is the Western concept of the Self and the ‘Other’ in colonialist clothing. It makes a distinction between the Occident, i.e. self and the Orient, i.e. the ‘Other’, and the analysis of this is the heart of Postcolonialism, which looks anew at the interaction between the colonizer and colonized. As Ashcroft states, Orientalism, which constructs the East as the ‘Other’ is a Western invention. In Said’s formulation, it is principally a way of defining and ‘locating’ Europe’s ‘Others’ (Ashcroft, 1995, p. 50). The result is a binary opposition between ‘Occident’ and ‘Orient’, in which the latter is exotic, alien, dangerous, unreliable, to be tamed, or exhibited, a threat, but also fascinating. Western metaphysics, based on binary oppositions, produces binary hierarchies in which one side is privileged, the other unprivileged. These range from light/dark, white/black to more complicated and culturally weighted concepts such as man/woman, colonizer/colonized,

enlightened/traditional, progressive/conservative and self/Other. Binary opposition is prominent in feminist, psychoanalytic, postcolonial and queer theory (Moosavinia, Niazi & Ghaforian, 2011, p. 105). The Self – often male, white, European – is positive while the ‘Other’ – female, black, non-European is its negative binary (Childs & Fowler, 2006, p. 165). The self is the colonialist and the ‘Other’ is the colonized. Anything outside the self is the ‘Other’ (p. 144). The Self is the familiar (Europe, the West, ‘us’) and the ‘Other’ is strange (the Orient, the east, ‘them’) (Said, 1978, p. 43). An analogous series of binaries can include; Occident/Orient, us/them, the West/the rest, centre/margin, metropolitan/colonial subjects, vocal/silent. Western literature and culture defines “its other” in relation to itself, the ‘Other’ is alien and inferior compared to Europe. ‘Othering’ allows colonizers treat the colonized as dehumanized, ‘not fully human’. The self is the true human and the ‘Other’ not fully human. The Colonizers are the embodiment of “proper self” and the colonized ‘savages’. The ‘savage’ is, as Tyson mentions, ‘demonic or exotic’ to be considered as evil as well as inferior, but perversely admired for a “primitive” beauty or nobility while remaining ‘Other’ and not fully human (Moosavinia, Niazi & Ghaforian, 2011, p. 105). Orientalism must create this ‘Other’ to strengthen its own identity and superiority and help ‘Westerners’ to define a European self-image (Said, 1978, p. 3). He believes that the idea of European identity and culture is made superior to all others and Orientalism can be seen as a collective identifier for the European as ‘us’ against the non-European them to suppress an unsaid interior self-doubt (ibid., p. 7).

Othering can be found in the power relations between researcher and subject, in which participants can be exploited. Providing information makes the participants dependent on interpretational accuracy, ideology and writing styles when the research is reported and a researcher should be aware of choices and risks here (Armstead, 1995). A strategy to resist or minimize Othering in narrative, dialog and reflectivity is a necessity.

For psychology the ‘Other’ is as primary as consciousness itself (de Beauvoir, 1949) in order to distinguish the Self from other people (Riggins, 1997). In psychoanalysis the ‘Other’ contains our projection of that which is undesirable repressed or buried in our unconscious (Kristeva, 1991). However, a sociological, definition of Othering/Otherness, used here, is the ascription of moral codes of inferiority to difference (Pickering, 2001), to discriminate and exclude marginalized individuals (Boreus, 2006; Riggins, 1997; In: Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin, 2012, p. 300).

Distinctions between self and ‘Others’ can be value judgments (good/bad), indicate social distance (psychologically and physically), and differences in knowledge (history and culture) (Todorov, 1984). The process of Othering makes heterogeneous groups into a homogeneous unit (Riggins, 1997), with the exception of those ‘Other’ group individuals known personally to the Self, whose existence still leaves the perceptions of the rest of the ‘Others’ unaffected (ibid.). Hegemoneous groups set rules of behaviour and discourse concerning Otherness.

2.2.1. ‘Othering’ in Narrative & Its Avoidance

Writing about immigrants that resists the production of Othering puts the participant and his/her history into the foreground and is specific and particular, using reflectivity as an organizing principle. It is written out of a situated position and, using reflectivity, brings to mind social injustice, while making a commitment to protagonists who must come to terms with a society full of contradictions (Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin, 2012, p. 300).

Three modes of writing can contribute to resist Othering. Narrative, which enables the preservation of the subjectivity of the ‘Other’ is one; dialogue, which places the personal history of the ‘Other’ in the foreground and prevents objectification and de-historization is another. Thirdly, reflectivity should be used to reduce the authoritative stance of the text. A narrator should turn inwards to give voice to his/her feelings, experiences, and history. In this way reflectivity can give power to the text as a personal document (Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin, 2012, p. 300f.).

Interestingly, Othering as a reaction to the hegemonic position of Germans also takes place from the side of the Turkish family of the main protagonist in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*. The narrator recounts that she and her German boyfriend met “before school, in the break, after school. They were inseparable until the final exam [graduation]. Only her parents could not be allowed to know anything about him. They wanted a Turkish guy for her. Birds of a feather flock together, her mother said. At the same time, she felt closer to him than anyone before and she had feelings for him like she had never had for anyone before” (ibid, 2003, p. 62).²⁹

This is an unfortunate result of rejections of the migrant family as “Other” summarized in phrases such as “Garlic-eaters” and “Caraway Turks” (ibid., p.21).

²⁹ Sie trafen sich vor der Schule, in der Pause, nach der Schule. Bis zum Abitur waren sie unzertrennlich. Nur ihre Eltern durften nichts von ihm erfahren. Sie wollten einen Türken für sie. Gleiches gehört zu Gleichem, sagte die Mutter. Dabei fühlte sie sich ihm so gleich wie niemandem zuvor.

Richardson (1990) describes the medium of narrative as that which “displays the goals and intentions of human actors; makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes; humanizes time; allows us to contemplate the effects of our actions and to alter the directions of our lives” (p. 20). “Narrative” locates the participant in context in a story, in the role of protagonist in the development of events. It provides a context of time and place which, explicitly or implicitly, usually includes other protagonists and gives the protagonist an intrapersonal reality and inter-subjective context. It provides a combination of the subjectivity and context of the protagonist’s life and reveals the relationship between the participant and social institutions. The narrative of the life of a migrant enables the reader to explore its subjectivity and illuminate coping processes.

2.2.2. Dialogue & ‘Othering’

A variety of voices are best expressed in literature through dialogue. It enables the creation of closeness, cooperation, and kinship. It expresses agreement or disagreement to uncover the nature and character of the participants and lead the narration to either antithesis or synthesis. It may, of course, be doubting and full of internal criticism, as a foundation for self-awareness and attempts to find possibilities for change (Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin, 2012, p. 302). Dialog allows the expression of a variety of perspectives and options, which challenge the status quo, and outline an alternative reality. It is a strategy of potential resistance to Othering, since “the translation of difference into Otherness is a denial of dialogue, interaction and the possibility of change” (Pickering, 2001, p. 49), but is vulnerable to power relationships (Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin, 2012, p. 303).

Narration should be sensitive to how readers will then interpret the narrator’s intention, and dialog, in which various interpretations are represented, enables a richer picture of a situation (ibid., p. 305).

For instance, the scene in *Selam Berlin*, when a German colleague asks the protagonist “‘Tell me, just between the two of us, what’s it like?’ –‘What?’ –‘To be dragged back and forth between the two cultures and languages like that. That must be hard. Other values, beliefs, traditions [...]’” (Kara, 2003, p. 221f.).³⁰ By asking, “‘What’s it like?’” the colleague probably believes there are differences and a gulf between the protagonist as an ‘immigrant’ and the ‘German natives’. He almost certainly does not know whether these are represented by a

³⁰ “Sag mal, so unter uns wie ist es denn?” -“Was?” -“Na, so zwischen den Kulturen, Sprachen hin- und hergerissen zu sein. Das muss hart sein. Andere Werte, Vorstellungen, Traditionen...”

crack or a crevasse. For him the German society of “us” includes its own “values, beliefs”, and “traditions”. So does the Turkish. Integration and merging of different cultural codes have inevitably cost the loss of (many) traditions, especially for an immigrant such as the protagonist in the quote above. It is not difficult to see how Othering happens in the interplay between cultures and distinguishes specific groups, white/coloured, Turk/German, ‘you’/’us’, etc. In the scenario of the quote and the book from which it comes, ‘all’ immigrants, hence ‘all’ Turks, are of diminished status, whether drug dealer, thief, taxi driver (ibid., p.217; p. 220; p. 115), engineer or university professor.

The concept of Orient and Orientals contains an otherness (Said, 1978, p. 97), which should be avoided but often is not. Colonial novels, which ascribe negative attitudes and clichés to those colonized, propagandize otherness. For Said stereotyping is common to all Orientalists, so that they describe Orientals or Arabs as gullible, “devoid of energy and initiative”, full of “fulsome flattery”, intrigue, and cunning (Moosavinia, Niazi & Ghaforian, 2011, p. 111); they are inveterate liars, “lethargic and suspicious”, and in everything “oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race” (Said, 1978, p. 39). The world, however, is not binary, and nor should prejudicial ascriptions of character be a part of literature.

One example of ‘Othering’, is the scene analysed, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, where the whole narration takes place in a hospital, as the protagonist lies in bed, recalling past experiences and waiting to give birth to her child. The quote below is from a scene when she recalls going to the immigration office, and being treated badly by an employee. The scene is an analepsis or flashback to the past. The protagonist is tired of the assumed supremacy of the whites, from whom, there is no escape. She is in hospital, in a room with ‘white’ walls, gripping ‘white’ bed sheets, and remembers confronting a ‘white’ employee (ibid. p.96). Using a first person point of view to produce closeness to the reader and show her anger at being classified and discriminated as a non-white. Here the scene underlines racist barriers to communication, by interposing the physical barrier of the grille between the speakers. The ‘Othering’ shown here, can only increase the distance between the two people. The civil servant is misusing her power.

2.2.3. Reflectivity

Using literature to project identification, the narrator’s fantasies and feelings are made visible to the reader and are interpreted and thus ‘acted out’ in the reading and interpretation of the work mindfully (Waska, 1999; see also Gemignani, 2011; in: Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin,

2012, p. 306). One of the main objects of the present work is to create reflectivity in the reader concerning the situation of Turkish migrants, with it is to be hoped, positive outcomes. The reflectivity of the protagonist in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* (p. 119ff.), is used to shine a light on acceptance, or not, of the ‘Other’, clearly expressed as she explains the future she is thinking of for her children. To interpret this, she ties it to her history and biography, as she describes in the context of her childhood, her own hardship, wishes and desires. The narrator explicitly and sensitively analyses her own story, which includes both the material and social context of her life and the internal-psychological-emotional context. According to the protagonist, her children should feel they are within a society without any kind of distancing, discriminatory racial behaviours, which can provide for their needs and happiness. In the book the narrator, Fatma, is a Turkish-German, woman who leaves her family and her Turkish and Turkish-German friends and even her name behind, hoping for a better life in her husband’s German family, his network of friends and the environment around him. She struggles against an established and organized social structure in her husband’s family, one that determines whether she belongs to ‘them’ or not and how her children get treated comes into question for her as her father-in-law does not even want to see his grandchildren at his deathbed (Bläser, 2001, p. 201)³¹. By the end of the book there is a cultural reconciliation. She finds she can accept being an ‘Other’ in both Turkish and German worlds and use the best of both to the benefit of her children, but pays a price in anguish before achieving this.

The gulf between Occidentals and Orientals keeps them fixed in their own positions, the former as superior and the latter inferior. For instance in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*, the narrator reports how the German neighbour gives the name “Bosphorus”, (the strait between Europe and Asia), to all Turks. This somewhat racist usage implies that he does not see the protagonist as unique individual but only a herd of similar ‘creatures’ in the background. This quote draws a line between between two poles, ‘non-natives’ and ‘natives’, marked by stereotypes and clichés. They, the immigrant Turks, are reduced to the level of objects, animals, or strange creatures.

In one of the scenes in another book studied here, *Selam Berlin* the protagonist’s neighbour says: “These Tuurks have been living here for such a long time and cannot even get two words together. The neighbour stressed the word Turks as if they were annoying insects”

³¹ Ich will keine Türkenbrut in meinem Haus! So sah der Kommentar zu seinem künftigen Enkelkind aus; er hat unsere Tochter nie gesehen. Selbst auf dem Sterbebett war er nicht bereit, sein Enkelkind anzunehmen.

(ibid., p. 337)³². Othering dominates a narration where the Turkish-German protagonist talks of his 'normal' daily life. 'All' Turks are too lazy or too dumb to be capable of learning German even after living in Germany "for such a long time" (ibid., p.337). This representation of the Self and the 'Other' follows Said's model in his book 'Orientalism'. For Said, as for characters in the novels studied here, there is no escape from such binary opposition and no way of pretending that it does not exist by disregarding the Orientalist distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Said, 1978, p. 327). Othering is considered as an essential differentiation of the Self from Others, but the above observations show it in a harsher light, as the attribution of inferiority to difference (Schwalbe et al., 2000). It is thus of political significance both in psychology and sociology as part of a hierarchical social order. Academic writing is not immune from this, and reflects the domination of paradigms so that "How we are expected to write affects what we can write about", says Richardson (1990, p.16).

Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin (2010) have analysed Othering in various in transcultural studies and found that its production or reproduction can be reduced in certain participatory research or, at times, in ethnography. Writing can best avoid or resist Othering by: Reconstructing the lives of immigrants in the context of the history of the people described; making space for their voices and knowledge; placing the narrator as an interpretative authority within the text. It must be remembered that immigration is a condition brought about by structures and organizations and not by any faults of immigrants themselves (ibid.). These conditions are fulfilled unconditionally in the books analysed for this work.

Othering is only partially in the hands of the writer, a significant part is in the reader, and subject to changes of time and social conventions which contribute to it, even if not originally intended. An increased self-awareness in the textual stance (Derrida, 1982, cited in Richardson, 1990) cannot provide a definitive solution for the problems and challenges of Othering. However writing should preserve a moral commitment in spite of the power relationships an attempt at representation inevitably brings into play. It is necessary to walk the line between the self and the 'Other', in dealing with the complex realities of relationship and involvement to produce the growth of a new awareness (Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin, 2012, p. 308f.).

³² „Diese Tüürken leben schon so lange hier und kriegen nicht zwei Wörter zusammen“. -Rosa betonte Türken so, als wären sie störendes Ungeziefer.

The present work has as its intention the opening of a space for creative and critical dialogue in German society, in particular though influence on education. It attempts to use literature to think in more dynamic ways about migration and concepts of identity and home. Brubaker's exploration of the use of the concept of diaspora, Brubaker (2005) is important here and its core points are worth noting. He states that, while peoples are dispersed across space and borders, a real or imagined homeland remains as a source of identity and connection. Maintaining a distinctive identity in the host 'culture' with a sense of community is used to preserve this over time. He proposes using diaspora as a practical concept that can "seek to remake the world" instead of simply to describe it (p. 12) and ask "questions of home, belonging, continuity, and community in the context of dispersal and transnational networks of connection" (Fortier, 2001, p. 406).

If this can remake the world, (Brubaker, 2005, p. 12) then it is also relevant to the protagonists of the six books analysed here, who need to find a sense of home, across and between borders, as a young Turks or Turkish Germans.

2.3. Cultural & Transcultural Studies

The main focus of this section is to introduce some theoretical dimensions of Transcultural Studies and the definition and use of the term 'culture' in this book. The perspective of this section is that cultures are not contained within ethnically closed, nationally bounded linguistically homogeneous spheres, but are constituted through transformation and association, involving the dynamics of transcultural exchanges. This helps to explain the relationships between the two fields, transcultural studies and literary studies, related to this work and to provide a path to a pedagogy of diversity. The discussion in this section and later the analysis of Germany's educational system are used to indicate if there has been dynamic change in cultural practices in Germany.

2.3.1. Cultural Studies in the Context of Germany

This section provides information on the topic of cultural studies in consideration of fundamental elements like power, language, identity, otherness, nation, minority, 'race' and gender. Further details provided will serve to support the analytical framework in accordance with the purposes of transcultural discourse. Regarding cultural studies as a distinct field, this research will examine transcultural analysis in general and in a later section the connection between 'culture' and 'meaning' in the context of Holzkamp's Critical Psychology (see "Meaning, Culture and Holzkamp's Critical Psychology", p. 115). The section ends with a brief introduction to cultural difference and its related factors such as prejudice, stereotype, racism etc., which will also be elaborated afterwards (see Discrimination on the Grounds of Stereotypical Beliefs Around Gender, Class and 'Race', p. 242). Detailed discussion of each category is not undertaken here, as all these subjects will be discussed later on in the empirical section of the discourse.

It is both complex and an abstraction to consider the everyday culture of the people in the form of cultural studies, either empirically or theoretically. This chapter seeks to clarify various points regarding theoretical inquiry in order to regard cultural studies as applicable to everyday life (see Fiske, 1992, p. 154). The present research deals fundamentally with educational and social sciences - diversity education and this chapter is intended to serve as a brief overview of cultural studies by introducing key elements and describing some of the major studies in the field. It will also give a short description of pedagogical studies, which have already been completed regarding Turkish citizens of the second and third generation in Germany. The statistics cited later, emphasize areas of education and can help to provide a

better understanding of the nature of Germany as a multicultural society in general, and, in particular, the problems teaching in such a society involves and, last but not least, to find new ways to deconstruct the clichés which prevent mutual understanding between migrants and majority.

Culture is a broad concept, which cannot be limited to written texts or discourse only. It contains all cultural practice and therefore also the various forms of popular culture. It is associated with everyday life and reflects class differences, which have always played an role in cultural studies. This is due in part to the analyses encouraged by the development of extramural education schemes during the 1950s (for instance in Britain under the aegis of the Workers Educational Association) which began a valuable project, concerning everyday life (Ochsner, 2011, p. 176f.). Cultural studies (CS) were first established in 1964 by pioneers, such as Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams (Procter, 2004). This area of study has a broad influence in sociology, anthropology, psychology and literary criticism. Among its central concerns are the place of ‘race’, class, and gender in the production of cultural knowledge (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017).

By studying specific aspects like class, gender, nation or ‘race’ expressed by the authors with Turkish immigration backgrounds in their novels, the reader will be made familiar with cultural studies approached through literature. Besides embodying the individuality and uniqueness of each of the selected novels, it will be argued that the accounts share similarities, such as the time of publication, the immigrant background of the authors, working-class settings etc. (Ochsner, 2011, p. 178). In the light of this discourse and the setting of the selected novels, a short summary of the historical context of immigration in Germany is necessary.

Before defining the key elements of this study and undertaking the close reading of the selected novels from a cultural studies perspective, a brief historical overview will enable better comprehension of the social changes that have influenced cultural formation in Germany since the 1950s.

2.3.2. Cultural Studies from the Transcultural Perspective

Cultural studies is an academic field of critical theory and literary criticism initially introduced by British academics in 1964. It was only in the middle 1970s that cultural studies received some recognition in Germany. To draw a parallel to the early history of cultural studies in Britain, it should be added that British cultural studies have performed an

outstanding role in the academic establishment of cultural studies internationally. Stuart Hall the pioneer of this field regarded cultural studies as “an experimental mode of analysis focusing broadly on the cultural aspects of society” (Bennett, 2008, p. 229).

Cultural study is a diverse and manifold field, embodying numerous different approaches and methods such as feminist theory, social theory, political theory, literary theory, communication studies etc. An attempt to define this complex term is aided by the definition given by Grossberg. Grossberg explains cultural studies as a “certain kind of intellectual practice, a certain style of doing intellectual work, a certain way of embodying the belief that what we do can actually matter” (Grossberg, 1997, p. 253). The field’s aim is, nevertheless, to achieve an appropriate relationship between context, knowledge and power (Horak, 1999, p. 110).

It is not simple to set boundaries for cultural studies. Although it can be considered to be a defined, coherent discipline with definite substantive subject matter and concepts that distinguish it from other disciplines, in fact, cultural studies is a multi/post -disciplinary field of inquiry, which shades the borders between cultural study itself and other subjects. This field is not psychology, linguistics, literature or philosophy, though it draws upon these subject areas. The thing which marks this discourse as a distinct field, different from to other discourses, is the connections that it seeks to make. In other words, it deals with “marginalized social groups and the need for cultural change” and this is the particular element, which makes this discourse different (Barker, 2012, p. 4f.). Cultural studies seeks to understand how meaning is produced, expressed, and formed within a given culture through the social, political and economic discourse. Thus it does not speak with one voice, it cannot be spoken with one voice, and there is no one voice with which to represent it (ibid., p. 4).

2.3.3. Cultural Studies as an Interdisciplinary Approach

As an interdisciplinary approach, cultural studies focuses on how a particular medium (for instance literature) presents a certain ideology, social class, nationality, ethnicity and gender. The focal points used in the present study are: first, youth characters with Turkish immigrant backgrounds; second, the environmental conditions and educational system in Germany for the youth in the books chosen; and third, the dialogue between cultures for young characters with Turkish immigration backgrounds within a German compass. Cultural studies is of use to better understand these issues and, so far as this specific research is concerned, this field is invaluable for the connections it makes. More precisely, in the context of groups finding an

identity between cultures, transcultural studies can examine marginalized social groups in a way that leads to cultural change. This allows cultural studies to be considered as a coherent, unified and academic discipline with assured concepts and methods (Barker, 2012, p. 5).

Culture deals with questions of shared social meanings or as Hall explains, it is a “contradictory form of common sense which have □has□ taken root in and helped to shape popular life” (Hall, 1996b, p. 439). That is, the distinctive ways people make sense of the world; therefore, in order to better understand the concept of ‘culture’, it is essential to examine how ‘meaning’ is formed and to analyse the way in which it is presented. This is accessible through studying language as a ‘signifying system’ (Barker, 2008, p. 7). Significance is discussed in section “3.1.1. Meaning, Culture & Holzkamp’s Critical Psychology” (p. 115) and Language problems are dealt with further in section “4.2.2.1. Language Barrier” (p. 204) which considers immigrants’ problems with language.

The research in this book coheres conceptually around the major ideas of culture, power and ‘race’. The key elements can be varied with more emphasis on particular elements due to the scenes used from the chosen novels, but the prime focus lies on Turkish migrant youth literature.

As a ‘signifying system’, it is important first to consider both definitions of and the interplay between meaning and culture through the lens of Critical Psychology as developed by Holzkamp (see section: 3.1. Holzkamp’s Critical Psychology and the Subjective Space of Possibilities p. 112).

2.3.4. From Cultural Studies to Literary Studies

Cultural studies have had a broad effect on each and every discipline regarding humanities and social sciences with an impact on literary studies too large to be ignored, giving the two disciplines a mutually complicated but at the same time inseparable connection. In the late 1950s, cultural critic, Raymond Williams criticized the Arnoldian aesthetic recognition of literary and cultural artifacts and its concept of culture as only accepting “the best that has been thought and said”. Matthew Arnold in “Culture and Anarchy” regards a sense of culture as a high and superior field, necessitating the study of a hierarchy of accomplishment in all intellectual, aesthetic and moral pursuits (Ochsner, 2011, p. 176). In Williams’ opinion, culture contains more than canonized works, and literature deserves more than being stamped by Arnold’s censorship. Indeed, “the focus should not be put on the intrinsic and transcendental value of literature and other forms of so-called ‘high art’ but on the ways in

which culture is lived” (ibid). For the new discipline of cultural studies, the culture of everyday life became, simultaneously, text and theory. Culture is a vast concept, which cannot be limited to written texts or discourse only, which are, of course part of the canon, but must include cultural practice, forms of popular culture and fiction. A new ‘high art’ or rather high literature specifies itself not only in sub-genres such as crime fiction, historical fiction, science fiction, inspirational literature and romance but also as it re-forms and brightens, writing introducing everyday issues from the common perspective of people’s lives (ibid., p. 177).

Conceptually, his kind of reading of culture is concerned with questions about the essentiality of language, the production of meaning, and the connection between literature and various discourses, which form human experience and history. Deconstruction as applied by Williams et al and also Derrida (Derrida, 1979), provides cultural studies with an effective analysis by promoting the treatment of works of art as representative of conflicts between meanings of different types (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017). In this connection, deconstruction is taken into consideration throughout this research, wherever a deconstruction of stereotypes is involved.

2.3.5. Transcultural Studies

A proper grasp of the terms culture and cultural differences enables a better understanding of culture’s role and its impact in a multicultural society, not only by learning how to recognise and deal with its role in a social context but also by providing some cultural insights into an international framework. Therefore, it is essential to examine the concept of culture and to define it closer in this section.

The second term that will be defined in this section is the term transcultural. In a multicultural society like Germany, a proper definition of this influential and significant term is much needed. In transcultural studies the main focus is on ‘every-day understanding’ of culture and its effect on social interactions. Hence, the aim is to gain further individual knowledge of other nations or groups, to provide a bond between cultures and an interest in interaction with others (Leiprecht, 2008, p. 12).

The third issue, which is inseparably associated with the fundamental part of this research, is the term *dialogue*, which will be mentioned here briefly only. In early 13th century, the term was derived from the Greek *dialogos* meaning “conversation, dialogue” related to *dialogesthai* meaning “converse, discourse” (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2017). According

to Lieberman, *dialogue* is a process that builds bridges of understanding between groups; and thereby naturally helps to reduce misunderstandings, tension and conflict between individuals. Furthermore *Dialogue*³³ has a positive impact on individuals due to its productivity and its effective role in providing comprehensible and favourable communication (Lieberman, 2004, p. 1).

With a clear focus on the material of the selected novels, the afore-mentioned terms, with all their ambiguities, form a frame of reference to the textual analysis of the work. The selected novels, written by authors with Turkish backgrounds in German, as multi-layered narratives, may appear different to one another, although all of them deal with content such as education, family, relationship, religion, transcultural interactions, competence, stereotypes, racism, etc. Although the narratives are cohesive in their global content, they show fundamentally different attitudes towards specific themes, and the perspectives from which these themes are represented are likewise variable. The aim of this research is to use this literature as an aid in bridging the existing gaps between people of different cultural backgrounds and to indicate another cultural vision of the world, which promotes a rapprochement between individuals and within German society.

The focus is on having an educational and social environment, which is sensitive to a young generation with Turkish immigration backgrounds and their need for a successful and willing settlement in Germany as their homeland. To better enable this to succeed transcultural study is needed and hence this work compares the selected novels with each other and analyses them regarding the current situation, prospects and perspectives of young generations in Germany. Various analyses, mentioned in the theoretical background studies for this work, examine the room for interpretation and communication between protagonists with different backgrounds and life stories. This includes characters' responses to problems of both social and cultural identity and competence in situations of both crisis and of contentment. In order to do this it is necessary to define more clearly how the terms *culture* and *transcultural* are understood in the present research project.

³³ The term dialogue is similar to the material dealt with in next chapter, that is, Dialogue in literature. However dialogue in literature is a literary work consists of a conversation between two or more persons and the voice always follows the speech patterns, word choices, and attitude of the main character and is tightly connected to the plot (cf. Fields, 2008).

2.3.6. Culture

‘Culture’ as practices and processes of forming shared meaning does not mean that cultural studies regards cultures as harmonious, organic wholes. The ‘text’ from which cultures are made is ‘multi-accentual’ (Volosinov, 1973), which can be made to mean in many different ways. Conflict on the ‘right’ meaning(s) is almost inevitable. It is this conflict in relationship between ‘culture’ and power, which is the core interest of cultural studies. How cultural studies deals with the relation between ‘culture’ and power is informed by the work of Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. As Stuart Hall observed in one of the foundational essays of British cultural studies, “Foucault and Gramsci between them account for much of the most productive work on concrete analysis now being undertaken in the field” (Hall, 1996a). Although Hall wrote this in 1980 and cultural studies has since been influenced by feminism, post-structuralism, post-colonial theory, psychoanalysis, postmodernism, intersectionality and queer theory, the work of Gramsci and Foucault is still fundamental to cultural studies as it is practiced in the UK³⁴ (Storey, 2008, pp.3-5).

This section is intended to illustrate various concepts of the term culture in the context of transcultural studies and thus, different forms of analytical insight and various perspectives on social and cultural developments need to be combined. When it comes to the term culture, Raymond Williams, who is known as one of the British pioneers of transcultural studies has perceptively noted that culture is too complicated a term to be defined. He regards the concept of culture as “one of the two or three most complicated words” which one can define (1984, p. 87). According to Williams, this complexity of the term ‘culture’ is partly because of its historical development in numerous European languages, but the main reason for its complexity is that ‘culture’ is now used for differing concepts in various intellectual disciplines and incompatible systems of thought.

Because the term culture is generally complex and widely used in everyday life, falling into the trap of an every-day understanding of the word leads to some inevitably heated debates. The term is therefore delineated in this section in the light of critical viewpoints of scholars such as Auenheimer, Leibrecht, and Welsch. The debates and critical views given contribute to a more concrete definition to get a precise image of what should be properly understood by of the term. A final definition will be suggested at the end of this chapter.

³⁴ The introduction of Gramsci’s concept of ‘hegemony’ (1971) into British cultural studies in the early 1970s brought about a rethinking of popular culture (Story, 2001)

In order to supply an important basis for understanding the concept of transcultural studies, Georg Auernheimer declares that the culture of a society or social group consists of its repertoire of symbolic interpretations. That means its range of means of communication and representation. This includes the symbolic utilization of daily life objects. Ritualized modes of communication, for instance, refer to group memberships and social relations; whereas living arrangements and styles belong to social self-assignments and ways of life. Culture serves as an interpretative framework for social interaction and provides orientation for behaviour and action (1996, p. 110f.)

“Experiences in the socialization process result in the creation of an emotional and cognitive system specific to the cultural background of a group which is distinguishing to the society in which it belongs. Thereby culture gets unconsciously absorbed, internalized and almost “forgotten” and is therefore perceived as obvious, normal and natural. For this reason, a person is unaware of his own cultural background”³⁵ (Barmeyer, 2002, p. 205).

However, regarding a multicultural society like Germany, everyday social interaction is formed by each individual as a cultural background and is not restricted to any particular origin. This cultural procedure is not only a process of interaction, selection and rejection (White, 1975, p. 30f.) but as Wicker asserts, it is a person’s own making (1996, p. 121). Indeed culture is a system with multiple-layer discourses, which should be regarded not as a determined and limited system but a coherence, which constantly changes and is fundamentally dynamic. Hence, the term culture has no simple single origin and is deeply subjective, personal and individual (Hall, 2000, pp. 13-35).

However concerning the perception of the term, and the establishment of a clear delineation of it, any definition of the concept remains elusive, and, regarding everyday understanding, it is vague. A sphere model (Kugelmodell) is adopted by Johann Gottfried Herder (1967), in which he argues that each nation has its own culture that, and with an ensemble of nations, diversity is manifested. To be precise, Herder delineates the sphere model as “Each nation has its centre of felicity in itself alone, as every sphere has its centre of gravity” (Herder,

³⁵ “Durch die sozialisatorischen Erfahrungen wird vom Menschen ein emotionales und kognitives System aufgebaut, das für seine Gesellschaft spezifisch ist. Dabei wird Kultur unbewusst aufgenommen, verinnerlicht und wieder ‘vergessen’ und somit als etwas Selbstverständliches, Normales und Natürliches empfunden. Aus diesem Grund ist sich der Mensch seiner eigenkulturellen Prägung nicht bewusst” (Barmeyer, 2002, S.205).

2002, p. 233). This statement has been criticized on the grounds that culture is not to be understood under such a homogenous and delimited definition. According to this criticism, cultural spheres, refer to a national collective, reducing this to a mechanistic model, and culture a closed and predefined phenomenon. It also creates clear distinctions among national cultures, which may not be real. According to Herder, my sphere remains permanently yours and mine permanently yours, with no overlaps. Herder points out that national sentiment may bring a collective strength and a profit with it, but that prejudices against other already formed cultures can also arise (1967, p. 45f.).

In contrast, Welsch argues that cultures are involved with both objective and subjective norms at the social macro-level as well as the individual micro-level. Furthermore, societies are formed from multicultural origins and are part of an on-going process of transculturation, resulting in cultural hybridity (Welsch, 2009, pp. 2-6). More explicitly, “the cultural identity of individuals today is a patchwork identity”³⁶ (ibid., p. 6) and “...not only that ... there are diverse excellencies, but that diversity itself is of the essence of excellence” (Lovejoy, 1936, p. 293).

It is essential to notice that a theory such as Herder’s is not far from current theories such as Huntington’s and the seven to eight cultural categories, which he claims. According to “The Clash of Civilizations”, these numbered cultural and religious identities establish the growing primary source of conflicts around the world (Huntington, 1993, p. 25f.).

Categorizing a person in a certain group and applying Huntington’s stereotypes, may lead to a feeling of exclusion by the majority and alienation from them. Obviously such a feeling of lack of acceptance will have a negative effect and work as an obstacle (Tabatabai, 2010, p. 267), making it difficult for an individual with migration background to participate in healthy, positive and open communication with those without migration backgrounds in German society. Kluckhorn shows similarities with Herder when it comes to the term culture; he simplifies human life in general and limits it to identical biological behaviour in each country by assigning various archetypes to people of that country. He stresses that there is a concrete relationship between the environment and the people, and that each country has its definite cultural area. He moreover claims that the area in which the person grew up has the major and determinant role in his forthcoming reactions to certain situations (Herder, 1967, p. 2).

³⁶ Die kulturelle Identität der heutigen Individuen ist eine patchwork-Identität (Welsch, 2009, p. 6).

Last but not least, Alexander Thomas' assertion of cultural standards must be noted. According to this approach, culture can be observed as a community of shared values, reflected by the people of the society (2010, pp. 19-22). However, such positions as Herder's, Huntington's, Kluckhorn's and Thomas' limit the role of individuality and restrict it to a predetermined and unmoving cultural space. Consequently, such a space can preserve no room for subjectivity; within it there can only be a culturally constructed homogeneity.

There are common concerns associated with the uses of the terms culture, and transcultural, which very often do not function properly, despite efforts in this field to harmonize them. As a product of transcultural research in which the term culture plays a significant role, a special emphasis this is put here on definitions such as those of Hans Rudolf Wicker, which is close to the goal of this research, and relates to successive discourse:

Culture as a condition and consequence of human action, interaction and thought, accordingly, enables people to form their opinions, to take decisions, to be angry, be sad, to cheat, to do good, to differentiate themselves and to identify themselves. In this sense culture is not a homogeneous whole, which can be captured and described, but is part of being human, which predestines woman and man, both to subjectively construct and build unique worlds of their own, and also to feel as part of a collective, respectively following or withdrawing from it, and [which enables them] to approach one another³⁷ (Wicker, 1996, p. 121).

What is meant by culture depends fundamentally on the context in which the term culture is used. To conclude these remarks, it is worth giving an indication of what Leiprecht states regarding the major aspects of culture. According to him, cultures are to be considered as open systems, which can change, adopt and overlap with each other. One may define culture as a certain repertoire of patterns of meaning, which contrives to provide an orientation in a society. This orientation, however, is not one of behaving in accordance with uniform principles pre-provided on base of fixed assumptions. It is essential to be aware that culture is not unchangeable but progressive and adaptive (2004, pp. 3-7). As Jantz and Mühlig (2003, p. 4) describe, culture is "always permeable, changeable and contradictory" and there is a

³⁷ Kultur als Bedingung und Folge menschlichen Handelns und Denkens befähigt demgemäß Menschen, zu interagieren, sich Meinungen zu bilden, Entscheide zu fassen, zornig zu werden, traurig zu sein, zu betrügen, Gutes zu tun, sich abzugrenzen und sich zu identifizieren. So gesehen ist Kultur kein homogenes Ganzes, welches sich erfassen und beschreiben ließe, sondern Teil des menschlichen Seins, das Frau und Mann prädestiniert, sowohl subjektive, damit einzigartige Welten zu konstruieren, als auch sich als Teil von Kollektiven zu fühlen, beziehungsweise sich von einem Kollektiv zu lösen und sich einem anderen zu nähern. (Wicker, 1996, p. 121).

variety of cultures which is not determined to certain forms or nations; people could identify themselves with several cultural groups, therefore Leiprecht coined the term *cultural flexibility* (2004, p. 12). In this process, which is certainly individual, new elements are brought to the existing culture and old items are changed depending on a person's decision and selection. In other words, people learn and relearn culture in an unlimited process and this reveals a cultural characterization in which constant changes and developments are combined.

The understanding of educationalists must include a consciousness of the concept of culture, so that they retain a perception of it as flexible, and are thus able to adapt to its changes. This recognition would be an important first step, to assist a process of structural, institutional and political changes which ensures equal opportunity of education and for all, accompanied by an awareness that much remains to be done (Leiprecht, 2008, pp. 19-22).

To ensure that educational changes are implemented with sensitivity and foresight, it is not sufficient just to keep hoping for a better transcultural future but, necessary also to pursue the study of cultural phenomena as precisely as possible. Transcultural study should neither be limited in its geographical and national reach nor its historical intelligence. It must also expand through association with individual members of society. Culture is fluent, dynamic, vast and free from any limit of strict rules. It is not to be understood as a static system, but a fluent and varying procedure and an on-going process of innovation experiencing constant changes and creating new meanings.

Culture is an individual and complex achievement of man's own making; a life-long learning process, wherein people learn and relearn continuously; a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by members of society. It is a process of interaction, selection, rejection, and accumulation, which is free from being bounded or limited to a strict pattern, but, however, enables people to gain a tolerant orientation in their own way of life. It, like DNA, can be transmitted between and change individuals and societies. Culture is characterized as dynamic, heterogeneous and process-based change, which depends on different factors, such as organization of production, family system, style of upbringing, and also evolving social constructs which can lead to new and diverse constellations of society.

2.4. Literary Studies

The following two sections (2.4. Literary Studies and 2.5. Turkish Migration Literature in Germany, pp.78-105) aim to explain the meaning and context of literary studies in general, and Turkish migration Literature in particular.

An interdisciplinary a view of literary and transcultural study aims to encourage readers to combine experiences in daily 'real' life, which 'normally' go unmentioned, with imaginative descriptions available in literature as a means of sensitizing them to the daily world of migrants and the use of spaces of possibility in literary text.

2.4.1. Literature as a Basis for Transcultural Research in the Creation of a Space of Possibilities

Literature is a generator of spaces of possibility in the minds of the readers as, so to speak, an inheritance from the mind of the author. Pierre Bourdieu has put forward the idea that authors, and their writings, are part of "a network of a range of individual and collective actors which impact on literary production, distribution, and reception" (ibid., 1999) by 'the author' is part of a complex entanglement of literary and cultural production, which means that writing is the product of a network of individual and collective actors. Cultural work such as writing, even that of a lonely "genius" is, albeit unwillingly, an act of social collaboration, which raises questions about the idea of "genius" (ibid.).

Plot and character represent not only the mind and experience of the author, as transmitted by the narrator, but also the many spaces occupied, across time and cultures, by those people and events that have been given life in the resulting books. When involving the intersection of cultures, they can be used as descriptor, mediator and educator (see section: "3.1. Holzkamp's Critical Psychology & the Subjective Space of Possibilities", p. 112).

2.4.2. A Picture of Society & Another Way of Presenting Reality

There are many good reasons why this research is based on literature. One is that through art, we can gain the insight that enables us to get close to a truth that would otherwise remain unavailable or hidden. It is literature's ability to be inexhaustible, limitless and timeless, which gives us the chance of going through time and space in our imagination. Literature will never lose its validity, and that qualifies it for its supreme significance for our everyday life (Roche, 2004, p. 39).

Bredella considers it wrong to say that the aesthetic function of the text detaches the literary

from the real. On the contrary art has an aesthetic capacity that enables us to read the text as a presentation of a certain attitude towards reality as a whole (Bredella, 1996, p. 111). Mukarovsky has impressively compared this to a portrait. "If we perceive it aesthetically, it does not inform us about a particular individual but directs our attention to a certain vision of reality" (Mukarovsky, 1978, p. 46). Hence art has the capability lay bare an attitude towards reality as a whole. It is central to our being and it serves many hidden purposes, which allow a flowering of the enjoyment of life and an expansion of the imagination. It provides balance and it offers new modes of seeing and relating (Roche, 2004, p. 206).

Regarding the truth of literary work, Sumara states that reading literature leads him to constantly create new levels to interpret his own situation and to emphasize the importance of insight:

I read [literature] because I have learned that what is considered true about myself and my contexts is not easily accessed or represented. Truth does not exist in platitudes and clichés or moral imperatives. Truth cannot be found, directly, by asking others for advice, or from reading pop-psychology books that give directions for improved living conditions. [...] there are no grand narratives that can adequately represent the complexity of human perception and understanding [but those of insight] (Sumara, 2002, p. 4).

Literature's value for transcultural contexts is based on its ability not just to present circumstances but also to reflect at the same time. By presenting different sides of reality or imagining a fictional world, which appears strange compared to empirical reality, literature creates space for reflection. Roche remarks that, in the question of art as a reality, art does not mimic and imitate reality but reflects on a reality, which is higher than so-called reality itself. Furthermore, he argues that art is better able to express a reality that transcends the everyday external world. It contains truths that open a metaphysical dimension and which are not bound by any given age or culture. It does not always provide answers to problems, but serves to concentrate thought on the "essential" rather than the "inessential" (Roche, 2004, p. 18).

Roche also adds that the purpose of art is simply to disclose reality by revealing a higher essence through its expression, and it must not necessarily be correct, but true (ibid.). Indeed,

as Iser (1996) correctly states: “Literature is a divining rod for the hidden dimension of social organization and relationships” (ibid., p. 13). In other words, as literature reflects, modifies and produces a new re-patterned fiction of society, it always serves as ‘evidence’ of something, from the biographic exemplification of the writer’s life to a reflection on society (ibid.).

It is pertinent to consider Gutjahr’s idea about literature’s ability of reflecting socio-cultural characteristics as a focal point, expressed in language, which both generates and reflects cultural forms of expression. Thus there is a bi-directional interaction between literature and culture, which both reflects and explains culture, while remaining open to change (Gutjahr cit. in Hofmann, 2006, p. 14).³⁸

In this sense it is fair to regard literature as a picturing of society, as literature enables people to see and recognize themselves more clearly in ways they did not earlier; and as it empowers them to identify themselves with characters, transform this into self-knowledge, and consequently to overcome weaknesses in themselves (Roche, 2004, p. 211). However, it must be remembered that mirrors can not only distort, but also exchange left for right. Thus, literature can never present the reader with more than an altered reflection of real life.

An author enables the reader to enter the world of his characters from different dimensions, to know more about the real world and get to know it, as it is for another, not as he or she, the reader, wants it to be. By reflecting socio-cultural circumstances, literature makes the reader observe life through the action and reaction of characters beyond his or her imagining. Literature leads the reader to consider a person as an individual regardless of cultural background and prevents the association of that person blindly with specific categories and groups, in a purely negative fashion. The goal of literature is not to change but to present a reality. Consequently, literature is rebellious not by direct support of rebellious movements, but by questioning “the monopoly of established reality. [...] The truth of art is that the world really is as it appears in the work of art” (Marcuse, 1978, p. 13f.).

2.4.3. A Bridge through Sympathy & Understanding

Literature arouses a sense of essentiality, “emotional richness” (Roche, 2004, p. 25) and of beauty in us; it is through literature that we learn greater appreciation of what is unique. It is

³⁸ [...] mit der symbolischen Formung von Sprache vermag Literatur nicht nur kulturelle Ausdrucksformen der Selbstvergewisserung und Repräsentanz zu erzeugen, sondern auch zu reflektieren. Somit stehen Literatur und Kultur in einem spezifischen Verweisungsverhältnis. Die Literatur schreibt Wirkungsmächtig mit am Kanon symbolischer Ausdrucksformen einer Kultur, indem sie diesen zugleich in seinen Konstruktionsbedingungen reflektiert und für Erneuerung offenhält.

irreplaceable for developing a relationship with nature, and last but certainly not least, encourages individuation (ibid. pp. 225-233).

According to Roche, literature offers us an ideal essence that transcends social science. It gives dignity to the individual, enables an interpenetration of the subjectivities of society and a transcendence, which can be noble. On the other hand, it reveals individual emptiness at a loss of nobility (Roche, 2004, p. 230).

By bringing disparate individuals together, literature promotes cultural interaction which bridges gaps between people. In literature, cultures fuse with each other in all possible combinations, bringing a warmth towards different cultural backgrounds, and creating a path towards integration, so that we no longer view works from different cultural traditions as dissociated from us and as foreign (ibid., p. 210). Consequently, literature operates as a bridge over cultural distance.

Whether in the real world or in a world of literature, identity arises from our relations with others. According to Sumara, if a relationship between the reader and a literary character ends abruptly, for numerous (fictional) reasons such as an accident, death or other sudden misfortune, then the reader experiences a deep remaining grief. The sadness and the feelings evoked are significant not only due to identification with the character, but also due to involvement in the relationships of the characters. The reader's sympathy and identification with individuals of a different background is enhanced. When the literary relationship with a work ends, one is sensitized by the loss identification with it, and, through a process of interpretation, a feeling of empathy with what it depicts emerges. For a reader to make the effects of a book properly apparent, interpretation is essential, so that for better insight and engagement with literature, experience of interpreting literary text is vital to intensify the bridging effect between familiar and unfamiliar in the reader (Sumara, 2002, p. 13-16).

Literature provides an unprecedented access for researchers to the characters of everyday life through fiction. In the context of migration, mass media provides what a large amount of information on issues like racism, stereotypes, discrimination, migrants' aggressiveness, their low level of education etc. However, what is true and what is not? Who can imagine what a migrant person feels, lives, or experiences, either bitter or pleasant? Literature leads a reader to enter other peoples' lives and to get involved so deeply that he feels a part of this fictional existence, and of the characters, their deep emotions, their thoughts, their wishes and desires. The we/they structures of the mass media are no longer valid; the reader develops a sympathy and understanding for people he will never meet on a level that he might never know in

actual life. Literature does not only allow us to “see and recognize more” (Roche, 2004, p. 224), but it also “transcends selfish and obsessive limitations of personality and can enlarge the sensibility of its consumer” (Murdoch, 1971, p. 87).

In his book *Why Literature Matters in the 21st Century*, Roche (2004) declares that literature shows the reader a path to out of the abstractions of anonymous enemies into the worlds of a human beings like himself. Only then does he attain the ability to observe truths that underlie scenes that grip the imagination, and are expressions and images that say more and awaken more sympathy than any argument or citation of statistics could (ibid., p. 26). He also remarks that literature, through the stories of others, broadens understanding and perspectives and opens up new worlds. It widens sensibility and sympathy; it draws our attention to alternative frames and prevents narcissistic concentration on a private world. (ibid., p. 209).

In the words of Bredella, “literature deals with our values and experiences in such a way that we see them in a new light, so that we can become less one sided, less stubborn and less provincial” (Bredella, 1996, p. 113). However this is to assign a purpose to literature, which does not exist and also to ignore the dystopic nature of many writings. Any purpose in literature is created in the mind of the reader and differs from one reader to another.

2.4.4. Elemental Resource & an Aesthetic Approach to the World

Considering the complexity and ambiguity of contemporary subjectivity, defined as it is, by contradictory influences, literature concerns with transcultural encounters underlines its importance in transcultural literary studies. Literature can reproduce the world’s complexity in its ability to emphasize, to produce ambivalence and, at the same time, to include a textual complexity that approaches reality (Hofmann, 2006, p. 13).

Bronfen remarks that fictive communities in literary text provide a model for dealing with multiple coded identities embedded in a plural world. Thus “the intertextually shaped handling of literary texts offers a model as well as a training field for dealing with multiple coded complex identities – fictive communities settling within the plural network of relations called the “world” (Bronfen, 1997, pp. 4-7).³⁹

According to Roche (2004), art’s liveliness, unlimitedness, dynamic and inexhaustibility allow one to see and recognize more, to feel an affective sense of being and to better

³⁹ Der kulturelle Wert des literarischen Textes <...> ergibt sich aus seiner Mehrfachcodierung innerhalb einer Plural verstandenen Welt. So bietet der intertextuell geprägte Umgang mit literarischen Texten ein Modell und Trainingsfeld für den Umgang mit mehrfach codierten, komplexen Identitäten – imaginären Gemeinschaften, die sich innerhalb des Pluralen Beziehungsrahmens 'Welt' ansiedeln.

understand complex surroundings (ibid., p. 220). Literature makes visible what would otherwise stay veiled. “It draws our attention to the marginal, the less readily apparent and the forgotten” (ibid., p. 20). It identifies those elements of reality rendered obscure or unclear in the complexity of our everyday lives, which is one of the great values of art (ibid.).

Literature takes advantage of language’s “self-sufficient” and “self-contextual” nature (Halliday et al., 1964, p. 7) to express a character’s insight. Irony, symbolism, flashbacks, foreshadowing, exposition, pun, hyperbole, repetition, mood, setting and etc. are some of literature’s aesthetic effects, bringing light to a person’s unconsidered dimensions. These devices subliminally and aesthetically reveal those qualities that might otherwise remain hidden. “It suggests deeper layers of meaning, not ultimate meaninglessness” (Roche, 2004, p. 218). Emphasizing the functional role of literary devices makes Dewey’s conclusion appropriate: “The value of aesthetic experience is not only in the ideals it reveals, but in its power to disclose many ideas, a power more germinal and more significant than any revealed ideas, since it includes them in its stride, shatters and remakes” (Dewey, 1934, p. 322).

Even with assistance from literary devices, a work of art can only become a reflecting medium if the reader is receptive to such a medium and is perceptive enough to interpret “noises in the channel”:

The language of literature is an act of communication in which what is received is not exactly what is sent. There is always noise in the channel. [...] it has to be processed by the reader, who makes this artificial autonomy function in a context larger than the text itself. The noise ensuing from such a coupling may have different origins. It maybe due to the reader's code [...] noise is a constitutive factor of literature, which, however, demands to be integrated with the information provided so that meaning can emerge (Iser, 1996, p. 17).

Iser (1996) continues by stating that the noises are a mixture of the unknown to be investigated and the intelligible to be decoded (ibid., p. 18). In other words, through literature people can see themselves as they are and not how they want to be.

Technology contributes to risky, exhausting and mechanical ways of life so that one can

regard life as an “uneasy truce” between the human and the mechanical (Frank, 1969, p. 156). However, literature can sketch a variable set of answers to those problems with which other sciences are still struggling (Roche, 2004, p. 22), literature providing models for life and offering a protective shield. It is a proper means of contact with life, offering a strategy to manage the struggle for existence. Literary devices such as a doubt, irony, symbolism, scepticism embody essence and beauty, yet at the same time connect with actual life (Frank, 1969, p. 156).

According to Roche (2004) in the technological age, which favours the mechanical, it is essential to find help connected to the organic in art. This awakens the senses and gives presence to something that otherwise lost or unavailable in a world-view dominated by technology (ibid., p. 220). In resource-orientated analysis, art should be used as a source. Roche (2004) states that while technology distances us from nature, art breaks this down and encourages a spirit of awareness. As an “integrative discipline”, it relates insights to the whole rather than particular (ibid., p. 222).

Literature is an approach to “liberal learning”, rather than simple “means-end thinking” (Roche, 2004, p. 221), and its richness, variety and combining various of fields and codes into a complex vision of the world makes it instrumental in giving a reader “[a] better eye for complexity and beauty” (ibid., p. 220). Art as an intellectual activity satisfies our deeper needs and “an appetite of man, the intelligent animal” (Frank, 1969, p. 52).

2.4.5. Literature as a Life Science, Proving Ground & Equipment for Life

Literature as an interactive memory medium of life science (Lebenswissenschaft) carries the entire diversity of life on a text-internal level, incorporating a range of knowledge, from local to what is globally current (Ette, 2010, p. 29f.).

On a text-external level knowledge unfolded through literature can be adopted and utilized. Whenever literature has a proximity to real life or is experimenting with different codes of conduct of life on a fictional level, the varying and complex ways this is understood here and transposed into personal ways of living by the reader are of major importance. Thus, in this sense, literature can be influential in social change; a historical perspective instantly shows its immense influence (e.g. Fatwa against Salman Rushdie); hence the process of mediation of literature in life is always one of transformation of text-bound information into the reality of life on the one hand, and the prevention of just that on the other hand by those who oppose change (Ette, 2010, p. 29f.).

Babouin (2010) comments: “[...] the fact that people belonging to different cultures, read the same stories, react on it and can smile at the same texts or get agitated by them, is indeed an opportunity to create passages between different cultures. This is just one of the functions of art (ibid., p. 30).”⁴⁰

Ottmar Ette (2010) has created the term “Zusammenlebenswissen” (knowledge of living together). This knowledge is described as highly dynamic and adjustable, formed by the analysis of literature-based live-spaces and ways of living together, reflected in the light of a specific cultural, historical and social context. It is knowledge about the terms, prospects and constraints of living together, imparted by literature in an aesthetic way, and put to test experientially from within different cultural perspectives. This is already a central topic of literary texts around the world, but is rarely employed in the current discourse about corresponding subjects, such as the problems and opportunities involved in migration. The quest for a mode of living together in mutual respect and acceptance is one of humanity’s most important challenges of the 21st century and the criticism provided by literature is of undeniable importance for this process (ibid., p. 30ff.). There is not only a connection between art and life, but in addition, art makes life more valuable. It is possible to live through art, especially when the everyday life is bleak. “We can be different people for better or for worse. We can lead different lives that may be quite different than those we experience in the ‘real’ world. Literature can function as a ‘virtual’ reality that may in fact be just as dear to some as the one inhabited by creatures of flesh and blood” (Malcolm, 2005, p. 35).

Literature is a faithful confidant and comfort for the reader, which opens a safe place for exploring and experimenting, for dreams and desires otherwise suppressed or prohibited. This makes it the driving force in the present research as representation of the spaces of possibility for migrant protagonists. As Iser has noted, it is a “realm for exercising individual freedom” (1996, p. 14) in spite of criticism, in which people can enter a new space of experience in a symbolic form simply by reading (Burke, 1973, p. 293ff.).

In *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, Burke (1973) remarks that literature implies a pattern of experience that is adequately representative of our society and which recurs frequently enough for people to adopt an attitude towards it. Encountering different situations and attitudes enables an involvement with incidents and a response to them in a new way enabling the reader to ‘own’ these experiences and use them for dealing with real life

⁴⁰ “Ganz richtig, die Tatsache, daß Menschen, die unterschiedlichen Kulturen zugehören, dieselben Geschichten lesen, darauf reagieren, über dieselben Texte lächeln oder sich erregen können, stellt gewiß eine Möglichkeit dar, Durchgänge zwischen verschiedenartigen Kulturen zu schaffen. Dies ist eben eine der Funktionen von Kunst”.

situations.

Literature represents the desire of human beings to become disclosed to themselves. The poet and playwright Michael Mack maintains that although literature is thought of as mirrored representation of reality, it is in fact a tool to undermine our conceptions of the world and give us a means of moulding the future. Literature not only represents our world but it also shows us change and adaptation, which we have not consciously registered and aids us in meeting both present and future challenges. Literature modifies how we think about ourselves and others, especially the marginalized in society. It helps us cope with current as well as future challenges by changing the way we think about ourselves, our society and those who are excluded from or marginalized within our society, by providing a memory bank of past experience as a resource, applicable in many situations (Mack, 2012, p. 194ff.).

As this work presents transcultural issues through the medium of literature this section has been given an importance that in normal transcultural studies would be given to interviews. Its inclusion here reflects a conviction that there are more plentiful, and more multifaceted, truths, contested and subjective or not, in literature than in a multitude of interviews. It should be used as a lens through which to observe and reflect on the texts chosen for analysis. It is the conviction of this author that more can be gained educationally through the kind of literary analysis presented in this work than would normally be possible by interviews or by gathering personal stories. Each book considered in this book represents a constellation of experiences and stories that would otherwise be difficult or impossible to access. It provides the space and opportunity through which the reader is given an insight into both the vicissitudes and advantages of life within a new social environment. Each protagonist in the books studied, whether the narrator or not, presents the new society in his or her own way based on the support or discouragement he or she obtains from familial and social ties and meanwhile reveals how behavioural characteristics can assist or hinder survival in the space available to them.

The next section is a review of Turkish migration to Germany, with emphasis on difficulties migrants are faced with, and without which, paradoxically, this literature would not have found its inspiration, followed by an overview of Turkish migrant literature in Germany.

2.5. Turkish Migration Literature in Germany

The present inquiry explores cultural, social, and identity problems and conflicts in selected texts of Migrant Literature in the last two decades of the 20th century, and indicates how experiences of alienation, heterogeneity, and asynchrony show that migrants have been subjected to remarkable and rapid social changes. Migrant literature which initially came into being as part of a melancholy battle against discrimination and prejudice has succeeded in creating novel subjects, formats and linguistic variety in a short time and has been able to move from the margins of cultural discourse to its mainstream and find its own place in contemporary German literature.

This chapter will concentrate on Turkish migration rather than considering migration to Germany in general because Turkish migrants are by far the majority of migrant writers in Germany. The historical phases of Turkish migration into Germany and the literary output connected with them are outlined and genre and themes are then discussed, using various examples, including, in conclusion, the works chosen for analysis in this work.

The totality of works entitled Migrant Literature, despite its diversity of themes and styles, has common threads, the most important of which are the experience of living in cross-cultural spaces, the migrant's particular view of the host society, and identity and social problems resulting from living at the intersection of cultures. Although authors with immigration backgrounds were already active after the end of World War II, the scope of their literature, qualitatively and quantitatively, widened between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1980s. At the same time, German literary society began to pay more attention to the universality of this work and, at the same time, to sub-cultures. In addition to a change of generations, pluralism in literature, the waning interest in subjects such as war and disillusion with Germany's origin-oriented literature, are among factors, which have paved the way for the relative eloquence of Migrant Literature in dealing with the globalization process and growth of migration.

2.5.1. ‘Guest Workers’: The Beginning & Recognition of A Migrant Literature

Since 1880 Germany has been the second largest importer of foreign labour in Europe (Hoerder, 1995, p. 61). The presence and involvement of migrants in the social and political arena remained, however, highly inconspicuous until the final decades of the 20th century, after which they gradually became more recognized. There have been numerous reasons for the lack of presence of migrants in mainstream German culture and literature, of which one of the most significant is the absence of a historical background of widespread and continuous exchange of people in Germany with other nations. Compared to other European states, such as France and England, which because of colonial policies and economic interests, have had a history of encountering and interacting with nations they dominated for centuries, cultural and economic exchanges with non-European countries were not extensive until the end of World War II. Germany also had only a brief period (1883-1914) as a colonial power, but one should not underestimate the importance of this ‘short’ period, when connected with the years of Nazi power. Although the Nazis were in power for only seven years, the impact these years left behind was enormous. Germans were not free of colonial fantasies and as Edward Said mentions in *Orientalism* “they fed from the same ‘geopolitical thought’” (Said, 1981, p. 20), which assumed an inherent cultural superiority for Europeans. Fundamental transformation of German society after the end of World War II created new conditions, in which it was not possible to avoid dealing with foreigners. Over the years 1955 through 1973, a considerable number of foreign workers called ‘Guest Workers’ were imported from Italy, Greece, Spain, Turkey, and Morocco (the majority from Turkey) and assigned to different regions of Germany in order to compensate for serious shortages of labour. While apparently friendly, the expression ‘Guest Worker’ (see section: “1.1. Theories on Migration in the Frame of This Research: The German Background”, p. 20), implicitly represented the presence of foreign labour as temporary and transient. However, a large number of ‘guests’, for different reasons, refused to return to their countries of origin, and remained in Germany. The density of foreign workers’ and their families’ presence, especially in industrial regions, increased remarkably, and cultural and social problems resulting from the asynchrony and inconsistency between cultural codes appeared gradually in the suburbs of industrial cities.

A number of authors with immigration backgrounds came on to the scene in the 1950s, shortly after the beginning of arrivals in Germany, and achieved a degree of success in cultural activities, but Germany’s literary community did not have an ear for the problems of

minorities and subgroups at this time. It took two or three decades to recognize what was first described as Literature of Migrant Workers or Literature of Foreigners and later as Migrant Literature in Germany, and for it to find an appropriate place in public consciousness in Germany. For historical and social reasons, the first generation of immigrants encountered an egocentric and inconsiderate culture that showed a low capacity to accept 'Guest Workers'.

In addition to social problems, the necessities of the post-war world limited the recognition of immigrant authors, because of economic preoccupations and the need to deal with war and its consequences. Coming to terms with the past was placed in the centre of cultural discourse. After a short pause German authors succeeded in reviving the valuable traditions, which had been interrupted by the Nazis presence, to create a literature of universal popularity. The formation of elite-nurturing centres like "Group 47"⁴¹ including different spectra of authors with diverse tendencies, promoted stability, validity, and the dynamics of splendid literature. At the end of 1960s and the beginning of 1970s, through the students' movements throughout Europe, German authors began to break free of their pre-occupation with their society's specific problems and the consequences of the war, and focus their attention on the world at large. A considerable number of authors declared their affinity with liberation movements in third world countries and a small number of them such as Peter Weiss and Hans Magnus Enzenberger travelled to Vietnam and Cuba and described their experiences in works like "Vietnam Discourse" (1970) and "Interrogation in Havana" (1970). However, as Paul Lützeler correctly pointed out, in an introduction to the book "Meta-colonial" (1997), the literary commitment of German authors to the third world was less than the spirit of the time would indicate, and mostly resulted from theoretical political beliefs (Lützeler, 1997, p. 12).

Although originally it was expected that the 'Guest Workers' would return to Turkey, this did not take place on any large scale. What followed was, in fact, family reunion with dependants joining the 'Guest Workers' in Germany⁴². This produced a second-generation immigrant population, with the ability to express themselves in German and the reason to do so, because of both their experience in Germany, and that of the parents generation in the 'Guest Worker' phase.

Since the late seventies of the 20th century, German literature has seen an increasing presence of foreign-background German writers who have represented their own cross-cultural

⁴¹ www.britannica.com/topic/Gruppe-47

⁴² See also section "1.2. Migration to Germany since 1945 - Background", p. 32.

experiences around pivots such as wandering, dissociation, alienation, identity crisis, and cultural and social conflicts.

A number of factors caused Germany's literary community to pay more attention to the works of subgroups like workers and non-aboriginal authors in the 1970s and 1980s. Globalization and the growth of the phenomenon of migration played a prominent role in the genesis and eloquence of migrant- background literature. Some involved in Migrant Literature found new subjects, and brought the unpleasant situations of minorities and migrant workers to the attention of the media. One of the pioneering moves in this regard is the paper by Franco Biondi and Rafik Shami in 1981, which developed the concept of "Literature of Involvement" (Betroffenheitsliteratur), aimed at involving German public opinion. These authors demanded mutual understanding and cooperation with Germans to remove the socially imposed boundaries between migrant and aboriginal and end the unwanted isolation of migrants (Biondi and Shami, 1981, pp. 128-133). Although some such statements found a good media response, they did not have a determinative role in the creation of Migrant Literature, but they did increase the political eloquence and self-awareness of open-minded people who had gradually recognized the importance of alliance with minorities and the need to defend minority rights. During this period, the framework and characteristics of literary texts by migrants were not yet focused on or influenced by wider social and political issues. The most important mission of migrant writing was to make the howls of protest from ethnic and cultural minorities known to the German public.

The term "Migration Literature" includes a varied spectrum of foreign-born authors who have migrated from countries of different continents to Germany and have had various motivations for living in as foreigners in Germany. Some of them have left home for political reasons, but the vast majority for economic reasons, or for education in Europe. Each of the migrant authors incorporates the dilemmas of living in the host country in their characters in their own manner. The variety of these works is such that they cannot easily be included in a special framework. Applying an ambiguous term like "Migrant Literature" to them can only be justified by some common points, the most important of which are the authors' cross-cultural experiences, living in a strange or unfamiliar place, subsequent identity and cultural crises, and, above all, the migrant's view of the host society.

That is why Horest Haam (1988) recognizes the importance of Migrant Literature in the documentation of German contemporary history, since migrants sometimes narrate from the margin of society, where authors without migration backgrounds cannot have dominance.

Independence of German literary tradition and distinct language specific properties are considered features of Migrant Literature (ibid.).

In response to the dominant culture and for other reasons beyond the scope of this research, some of the migrant groups entrenched themselves inside national and ethnic palisades, and showed only a slight tendency toward integration and accommodation with German society (Berry, 1997, p. 10f.).

The history of Turkish-German literature (poetry, drama, fiction/biography) begins with the signing of the bilateral recruitment treaty between Germany and Turkey in 1961 (Rösch, 2013, p. 63). However it is only after the first generation of migration that, in over fifty years of immigration history, numerous works from almost all literary genres have emerged, which are an important part of contemporary German literature today (Hofmann & Pohlmeier, 2013, p. 8). The first generation Turkish immigrants were not normally able to attain either the language skills or the level of education to allow them to express themselves in print in German (Angelos, 2011).

At the start of their emergence, works by migrants were filed by literary critics and German readers under the heading of “Literature of Guest Workers” (Gastarbeiterliteratur) (Schulz-Kaempf, 2015, p. 241) or “Literature of Foreigners”, because the main concern of many authors was to expose cultural conflicts, to examine social and personal problems of migrants in a foreign land; and to take a frequently nostalgic, idealized or sometimes critical look at their cultural origins. Later, many literary critics and authors preferred the term Migrant Literature to similar terms, because some authors were unfamiliar with proletarian environments and their works could not be included in the category of Migrant *Workers* Literature. In addition, the word ‘stranger’ did not seem appropriate either, because it did not have a pleasant connotation, and because many authors no longer regarded themselves foreigners, after residing for some years in Germany, and had seen the dream of staying and taking root replace thoughts of return.

Since the 1980s, a comprehensive range of research has been carried out in Turkish-German literary studies (Yesilala, 2012, p. 44). Although the texts from first generation writers originally caught the attention of sociological analysis primarily because of their alleged authenticity, since then the literary reception of newer works has been increasingly shifting its focus to a more literary-aesthetic approach (Sölcün, 2000, p. 145f.).

Today, it is recognized that people of Turkish origin in the second and third generation after the ‘Guest Workers’ play a permanent part in German society. Turkish-German literature has

established itself as a central literary movement within inter- and transcultural literature. It is regarded as a “central meeting space for transcultural exchange and interaction in Germany” (Hofmann, 2006, p. 195). This has involved a paradigm shift in the reception of Turkish-German Literature (Adelson, 2005) (Cheesman, 2007), which is of primary concern in this section and represents a turning point in the way Turkish-German literature is perceived, and, with it, a recognition of the artistic contribution of immigrant culture (Yesilada, 2012, p. 44). The books considered in this work date from the period of this turning point and, written by the second-generation of the migration, were all published between 2001 and 2011. The two which contain more comment on German society date from 2003, Kara, Yadé: *Salam Berlin* and 2010, Ergün, Mutlu: *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*. The two most critical of Turkish society in Germany are from 2001, B., Fatema: *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and 2011, Tasman, Nilgün: *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. The two remaining books could be regarded as utopian descriptions of a somewhat idealized world for Turkish immigrants in Germany and were written in 2003, Demirkan, Renan: *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* and in 2008, Akgün, Lale: *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*. One of the characteristics of this literature in general is that it examines the challenges to values (ethics, habits, family relationships and others), which were clearly defined before migration and became severely challenged afterwards. A German reading this introspective literature may well be provoked into questioning the truth of Turkish perceptions of German society and, hopefully, at the same time, the pre-conceptions of his own society. In the same way, an immigrant, whether wishing to contest or to comply with new cultural codes, has to revise previous conceptions and think about the validity and efficiency of previously unquestioned beliefs. Being caught in the contradictions of being in Germany, can encourage an immigrant to adapt, but can simultaneously result in complex social and identity problems.

2.5.2. Proposing Social & Identity Conflicts in Literary Texts

In this subsection three genres of Migrant Literature: poetry, drama and prose will be briefly illustrated using works regarded by this author as relevant to the present work. The examples chosen have been the subject of literary analysis on this topic but are not necessarily representative of the total output of this literature.

Horest Haam suggests that the expression of “literature of migrant workers” mainly implies that “an exploited and humiliated minority starts talking” (Haam, 1988, p. 10). Maybe this is

why in the 1980s, the political and critical aspects of some work by authors with an immigration background exceed their literary and aesthetic aspects and often the text's political mission became so important that predetermined forms of sometimes clichéd literature are evoked in the mind of the reader. However, later works have developed a sophistication, which has turned this polemicized writing into works of literary value.

2.5.2.1. In Poetry

Duetsch colleg/ why you always turn away/ why you me never accept/ I not
shit/ I human also/ I work, you work factory/ I, you live here/ Ok, you
Duetsch/ I foreigner/ always you say I work guest/ I not guest/ I work, I
colleg, / we together work factory⁴³ (Biondi, 1979, p. 37).

The most remarkable part of this short poem is the dialogue between two characters not only around political issues, but also, in philosophical and ontological form. The dialogue, to a large extent, appears artificial and amateurish, particularly when for instance in *Not Only Guest Workers in Germany* (Biondi, 1979), quoted above, the author uses cross-cultural contradictions, for instance, saying he is unaccepted and claiming that he is not a guest but a colleague of his German co-worker. Its use of variant language serves as a paradigm for the perception of Turks in German society. However, the poem does not provide the sophistication to make it more than an unformed political statement.

In this early work, literature becomes a means of reflecting cultural conflicts and social problems and registering critical and political insights, so that the message and mission appear monochromatic and manipulative. Other authors such as Kamal Kurt employ similar techniques to draw German public attention to inequalities, conflicts, and disputes between immigrants and those without immigration background, and the status of immigrants. In the following poem, Kurt addresses the German reader bitinglly:

Sorry:

please forgive

that we are still here

⁴³ deutsche kollega/ warum du immer weggucken/ warum du mir nix akzeptieren/ isch nix schaiss/ isch menschzusammen/ isch arbeiten du arbeit fabric/ isch leben du leben hiir/ gut, du doitsch/ isch auslender/ du immer sagen isch gastarbeiteraber/ isch nix gast/ isch arbeit, isch kollega zusammenarbeiten in fabric.

pardon us
for working here
have mercy on our wives
for bearing children
and I beg you
look on our children with forbearance
as they go to school
I appeal
to your generosity
just close your eyes
and accept
that we too need shelter
since we wont leave
until the day all eyes are opened (Kemal Kurt, 1984).⁴⁴

The poet apologizes both ironically and fearlessly and announces that the immigrants are going to stay “until the day all eyes are opened” (the day of judgement). The language and the choice of material return the reader to the past, when the ‘slave’, the peasant, and the exploited became aware; dare to look in to the eyes of their ‘Lord’, address and challenge him. Referring to men’s “working” and women’s continual “bearing”, also indicate the primitivism expected of the third world human, in other words their being merely slaves and peasants. Although this poem was composed in the last decades of the 20th century, regarding language, its content precedes the ‘Guest Worker’ period and writes an alphabet of resistance anew as was done in the period of anti-colonial struggle by thinkers like Aimé Césaire (1950) or Léopold Sedar Senghor (1998), who are considered as the pioneers of “Negritude”, the enlightenment-literary movement during the 1930s. This promoted an aesthetic of amplified self-esteem and of self-examination by colonized coloured people, negating European authority and reversing the self-abasement required by the colonial powers. Kamal Kurt’s poem disguises this self-esteem, because the poet justifies his presence ironically and finally uses the phrase “the day all eyes are opened/awakening moment” to claim a permanent place in German society.

⁴⁴ ‘schuldigung; entschuldigen sie bitte/ das wir noch hier sind/ verzeihen sie uns/ daß wir hier arbeiten/ wir bitten um Entschuldigung/ daß unsere Frauen Kinder gebären/ ich bitte inständigste um etwas Nachsicht/ daß unsere Kinder in die schule gehen/ ich appelliere an ihre Großmütigkeit/ bitte drücken sie ein Auge zu/ und übersehen sie es/ daß wir ein Dach brauchen über dem Kopf/ haben sie Geduld mit uns/ wir wollen nicht gehen/ vor dem aufstehen.

If one can treat the political poem as a kind of seismograph of social conditions and relations, this poem implies, more than anything else, a lack of relationship, or at least a very vitiated and unequal relationship between those Germans with immigration background and those without, and indicates a kind of misalignment between these two groups which appears in the pronounced 'we' and also in the implicit 'you'. This kind of encounter between immigrant and aboriginal is seen in many other texts of Migrant Literature in this period with a lesser or greater intensity, and obviously it has a direct relationship to the authors' experiences and biographies.

The writings of Franco Biondi and Kamal Kurt are manifest examples of that stage of Migrant Literature in which the authors' political mission and social commitment play an outstanding role. Their texts are a reflection of the rough, hard life of an immigrant who considers himself similar to an inhabitant of the third world in a time of universal conflict, trying to survive, taking root and coming to terms with the contradictions inherent in his situation.

2.5.2.2. In Drama

The next genre, which must be mentioned here is drama, however, there are few representative works in this category. One of these, *Karagöz in Almanya* (Karagöz in Germany) is taken here as an example because of its wide popularity among Turkish-German immigrants in Germany. Emine Özdamar, a Turkish author, who first migrated to Germany as a migrant worker in 1965 and later studied acting in Berlin and Istanbul, incorporates theatrically special elements and images of immigrant life and succeeds in establishing a distance from the sharp and militant tone of some immigrant authors of the first generation and portraying cultural conflicts in a witty and ironic manner. She devised a fictional world in a comedy for the theatre called *Karagöz in Alemania* (2006), first published in German in 1982, where things and animals begin to talk and one-dimensional characters are involved with each other in a carnival-like and legend-like atmosphere. "Karagöz", meaning black-eye, and "Hisvat" are famous characters in Turkish theatre, and before Emine Özdamar other authors like Aziz Nesin had also based work on this kind of traditional classic theatre (Mecklenburg, 2006, p. 85f.).

In this genre of theatre, Karagöz is usually a naïve and honest gypsy or peasant who sometimes succeeds in defeating "Hisvat", his clever rival by raising naïve and foolish questions. In the reprocessing of these traditional characters by Özdamar, the character of

Karagöz is assigned to an immigrant ex-farmer and “Hisvat” to his donkey. Karagöz is a peasant who has left home and family to find work, migrated to Germany, and is suspended ridiculously between modernity and tradition. He hears from one of his compatriots that his uncle, in his absence, has eaten cherries with his, Karagöz’s wife, under a tree and this news is transformed into infidelity for the peasant and constantly troubles his soul. Meanwhile he himself tries in desperate and endless ways to attract German women and to deceive them. Although Karagöz does not succeed in love, he achieves ‘utopia’ through possessions. After so many years of sweat and toil in Germany, he saves enough to buy a brand-new Opel car as a replacement for his clever and thoughtful donkey. His attachment to his Opel, which is a representation of an immigrant’s eagerness to demonstrate his superiority through consumer goods, is something that somehow compensates for failure in other contexts. His car infinitely amplifies the peasant’s self-confidence against all rivals.

Among the characters of this narration, the peasant’s donkey appears as both admirable and odd. Because the donkey is unemployed in Germany and feels totally redundant, he takes up cultural issues. He constantly reads books, tends to lefty thoughts, criticizes capitalism, quotes Socrates and Karl Marx, drinks red wine, smokes Camel and analyses the conflicts of immigrants and the materialism of German society, all with an ironic tone.

The open-minded donkey continuously criticizes the materialism and greed of his Turkish compatriots who become slaves of money, work and advertising, and are deprived of many positive aspects of living in Germany, but end up doing the work with their own hands in Germany that a donkey would do in Turkey (ibid., p. 69).

The presence of traditional elements and the comedy, simplicity and fluency of this narration, however, allow a concentration on entertainment, but keep the examination of problems relatively superficial. This could cause a reader without any other reference point in Turkish literature, to develop a primitive and naïve image of Turkish-German immigrants’ lives in Germany.

Karagöz provides the reader with unusual and odd images of Germany, created by incorporating two dissimilar and asynchronous cultures. At the end of this story, the farmer returns to his home village, and although he has not earned much wealth, his relationship to his family and surroundings has been ruined completely.

Norbert Mecklenburg (2006), in criticizing this text, admires the polyphony and irony in *Karagöz in Almanya*, but proposes that the method of description of characters can amplify misunderstanding. This text, using an assembly of ridiculous and interesting quotations,

represents the painful reality of the life of migrant workers in a witty way, but in some cases it can be considered as abusive and offensive, specially when the Turks, seen not as witty humans, but as wicked people, are mocked using ironical jokes through which prejudices and stereotypes about them are reproduced (Mecklenburg, 2006, p. 91). This criticism, however displays an attitude of academic distance from literature as a means of entertainment.

Özdamar in *Karagöz in Almanya* represents a set of prejudices about those with and without an immigration background concurrently, leaving the readers to examine their accuracy for themselves. This exaggeratory and caricature-oriented picture of cultural conflicts could be viewed as one of the best methods to discredit prejudice. This technique has been borrowed from Turkish classic theatre and incorporating it into Migrant Literature is considered as Özdamar's innovation.

2.5.2.3. In Prose

One of the most prominent writers of Migrant Literature, who has a very remarkable media presence, is Rafik Shami, the Syrian author who migrated to Germany in 1971 for political reasons. His work, earlier than that of almost all other migrants from the Levant, became, because of its popularity in Germany, a yardstick for later writers. Although the main emphasis of this section is Turkish-German literature, because of Shami's pioneering status, he is worth considering here before turning to Feridun Zaimoğlu, who represents a further popular, but harsher, development of Shami's gentle mockery.

In his writings, Shami pictures lively characters, sometimes in a nostalgic and sometimes a critical manner, who, beyond the boundaries of European culture, suffer from the domination of cumbersome traditions and 'Eastern despotism'. Of course Europeans have known such pictures since becoming familiar with Oriental and Orientalist texts at the end of 18th century, and enjoy them repeated by Shami in a new light. But the images he provides of living in Damascus arise from his own life experiences, and have not been written to feed European prejudices about the East. He is well known as a 'story teller' in the manner of the storytellers of the Oriental markets, but subtly adapted for German listeners, and this ploy adds to the attraction of his texts. By using such devices, Shami has been able to become the dominant migrant author for German readers. Because of this he has become representative of Migrant Literature for Germans, and is considered among the most successful and best selling of such authors. Shami mocks both those with and without immigration background and, by irony and sarcasm, gently questions the characteristics and psychology of both.

The witty tomfoolery of his characters increases the insight of his works, disarms criticism and makes them understandable for the German reader. For example, in one of his short stories called *The Grief of the Official Named Müller*⁴⁵, a caricature-like image is provided of a strict and inflexible German employee who is constantly involved in the illegalities and irregularities of foreign clients, so that his life has been ruined forever, because of “camel cowboys” and “spaghetti eaters” (Shami, 1989, p. 374).

Shami uses common stereotyped images and experiences, which involve those with an immigration background and those without, and applies them in his narrative structure in such a way that they become free of blame. For example, the character of Mr. Muller in one short story is so ridiculous that there is nothing for the reader to do except laugh at his exaggerated thoughts or condemn his unfounded prejudices. At the end of the story the reader understands that Mr. Muller is complaining about his job routine, while drunk, and addressing the bartender who sometimes fills his glass, but does not pay any attention to what he is saying.

With the increased popularity of Migrant Literature one can claim with certainty that at least among the first generation of immigrant authors, some succeeded in attracting a wider spectrum of German readers without any connection to immigration. This is certainly because they, like Rafik Shami, have represented the difficulties of immigrants in German society using simple images and witty and ironical language.

In the same vein of irony as Özdamar and Shami, another Turkish author, who not only does not reject common prejudices, but also throws them back like a spear towards German society, is Feridun Zaimoğlu who is considered as belonging in the second-generation of Turkish-German immigrants in Germany.

The works of Zaimoğlu, who was born in 1964, are a turning point in Migrant Literature because of his extravagant and dissonant criticism of German society.

Trending to shameless, and shocking, Zaimoğlu challenges idealist literature. His narrations are of defeated, people, leeches, social riff-raff, offenders and wanderers who spend their time in humble run-down places, rejected and purposeless people, who sometimes seek comradeship in specific groups and gangs but come from no special nation and represent a hybrid identity. They are distanced from other people by clothing, behaviour and dialect, and stand as a counterpoint to the ideal image of a properly socialized immigrant or citizen. His

⁴⁵ *Der Kummer des Beamten Müller*

depiction of such subjects has caused some critics to categorize Zaimoğlu's work as "Pop Literature" (Ernest, 2006, p. 148), and as a challenge to a traditional literature.

Feridun Zaimoğlu's work, which today is one of the most exciting currents in German contemporary literature, presents an "elastic art". It is grandiosely full of vulgar and ugly images, dialects and the presence of elements of "Rap" and "Hip Hop" music. It deals with sex, violence and addiction, with youth problems at the lower levels of society and in cross-cultural spaces. All this places him in, or close to, "Pop Literature".

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This work, which provoked totally different reactions after publication, and started an alterative literary genre, is a book entitled *Kanak Sprak* (1995) in which 24 Turkish young characters from sociologist and vendor to bisexuals and madman, talk about living in Germany and give their viewpoints and opinions to a fictional questioner. It predates the publication of the books selected for this work and its massive popularity and the accompanying reaction in German society unquestionably provoked an interest in Turkish immigrant lives and their literature.

The word 'Kanake', which has varying meanings, and can be interpreted as "stray foreign", "rabble", "villain" and "lowbrow" (Zaimoğlu, 2007, p. 12) is given a special meaning in the text and is even considered as a badge of social prestige. Kanake is a curse which has lost its meaning because of repetition and the children of the second and the third migrant workers generation use it as a label to express their conflicted identity. Kanake is no longer the humiliated and humbled immigrant who performs wretched jobs for a living but is a peremptory and impudent person who goes to the streets and disturbs others. Kanake is neither Turkish or German, but rather a constantly changing creature; a gypsy, a strange human who appears in exotic environments and, as the author suggests, is not going to find an identity for himself in supermarkets or to disappear in the herd of normal people (ibid.).

The word "Sprak" in the title of this book refers to the argot of different groups of Turkish immigrants, using special codes and signs, combining German and Turkish words, and applying rhythms gained from the "free style" of "Rap music", which distinguish the 'Kanake' from other immigrants.

‘Kanake’ do not deny cultural irregularities and conflicts between them and Germans, but display and even boast about them:

Honey, let me put you in the real picture. You want to know so I’ll give it you this shit straight: all of us are totally Niggers... we have our ghetto and take it everywhere. We spew out words in foreign-ish, our sweat is Nigger, our lives are are Nigger, our gold pendants are Nigger, our big noses are Nigger, our muzzles and our own god damned style is so Nigger that we stupidly scratch our skin and then realize that is not just the crow black skin that makes a Nigger, but being and living a whole heap different. They already found our patch wonderful. Kanake here Kanake there, wherever you go, Kanake flashes in enormous letters even in your dreams⁴⁶ (Zaimoğlu, p. 25).

Identification as a ‘Nigger’⁴⁷ or ‘Kanak’, ensures that this ‘out-group’ can, after being ignored for so long, no longer be ignored. A dichotomy is set up, on one hand, a Turkish inhabitant of Germany, who is no longer a ‘Guest Worker’ nor a ‘proper member’ of society, but is lowbrow, flagrant, conforming neither to environment nor social mores, and on the other hand, a ‘native’, who does not have any choice except to deal with these ‘abnormal creatures’. The new development in this regard is the self-confidence of young inhabitants with Turkish backgrounds and their impudent and provocative tongues that disturb the calmness, and sleep of the peaceful ‘natives’. In *Kanak Sprak*, Zaimoğlu, speaking to German society, insists on the value of the cultural contributions of these young people in Germany.

Such chaos is recognized by Zygmunt Bauman, the English sociologist, who knows the disruption of ‘strangers’ presence in an orderly society as a challenge for cultural realities and a boost to social movements. He sees alienism not as an anthropological situation but as dealing with social processes and believes that each society fosters and breeds its own strangers:

⁴⁶ Honey, ich liefer dir den rechten Zusammenhang, du willst es wissen, ich geb dir das verschissene wissen: wir sind hier allesamt Nigger, wir haben unser Ghetto, wir schleppen's überall hin, wir dampfen fremdländisch, unser schweiß ist Nigger, unser leben ist Nigger, die goldketten sind Nigger, unsere Zinken und unsere Fressen und unser eigener Stil ist so verdammt Nigger, daß wir wie blöde an unsrer haut kratzen, und dabei kapiieren wir, daß zum Nigger nicht die olle pechhaut gehört, aber zum Nigger gehört ne ganze menge anderssein und andres leben. Die haben schon unsre Heimat prächtig erfunden: kanake da, kanake dort, wo du auch hingerätst, kanake blinkt dir in oberfetten Lettern sogar im Traum.

⁴⁷ See footnote 26 on the use of ‘Nigger’ on page 53.

If strangers are those who do not fit in the framework of cognitive, ethic, and aesthetic plans of the world, if they transmute what should be clear into darkness, and knock out what should be purposeful principles and increase dis-satisfactions; if they make satisfaction smeary from fear and also evoke our tendency to word the forbidden fruit, or in other words, if strangers disassemble the boundaries that should remain definite and clear, and by such presence increase the unpleasant feeling of losing self and lack of certainty so each society that encloses itself and devises certain epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic plans, also has to assign its strangers itself (Bauman, 1995, p. 15).

If a society breeds its own 'strangers' itself, whose members have not been, will not be socialized in it, are ghettoized, mentally or physically, this society should seek for the motives of such conflicts not only in immigrants but also in its own closed world view, self-isolation, and fixed social structures. The shocking and repugnant images provided by Zaimoğlu of Kanaks, as people without ideals, degenerate and destructive elements alive in the depth of German society, fell like a bomb into German society of the 1980s, fascinated it, and forced it into a horrified self-examination.

As Homi Bhabha (2000) says, an immigrant who comes from an underdeveloped society or colony and enters into a dominant culture can deny elements and relations, which seem odd or unpleasant in the new society, criticize them in a strange and alien light, or represent them in broken and discordant images. This means creating rootless characters and images whose non-appropriateness and disorder not only appear ridiculous to an immigrant, but also challenge the credibility of the dominant culture. This is achieved, more than anything else, by incorporating heterogeneous elements of dominant and dominated cultures. In cross-cultural theories, such element incorporation is referred to as "hybrid art":

Association [in an artistic work] is a representation of evolution of the dominated individual, who [has] changed into a terrible, paranoid, and deformed creature and at the same time, questions symbols and signs of the dominant culture unpleasantly (Bhabha, 2000, p. 168).

This hybridity is present in the works of both Rafik Shami and Emine Özdomar, where cultural conflicts between immigrant and aboriginal are reflected in text prominently by the use of exaggeration and story telling in the narration, so that social and identity problems are

presented in a witty and sarcastic tone. In their narrations, involvement in cultural conflicts is the inevitable part of life in migration, and it is a hallucination to believe that a commonality of values, valid for all people, is achievable in dealing with heterogeneous cultures. Hence, the immigrant in “*Karagöz in Alamania*” appears in the form of a metamorphosed creature, who has not resolved identity and social conflicts, but has incorporated them in a ridiculous and maladaptive manner, and takes them with him everywhere. Similar hybrid identities are portrayed by Feridun Zaimoğlu in *Kanak Sprak* as an expression of identity, which can be seen in groups of young people, usually living in conurbations, who developed a ‘Kanak’ identity long before Zaimoğlu gave a name to it. In his narrations, the immigrant no longer has to justify his existence through similarity and concordance to the host society, but boasts his dissimilarity and his unpleasant presence with considerable self-confidence.

2.5.2.4. Through Themes

Narrations are expressed through storytelling whether oral, poetry, drama or prose, and is not of importance whether they are nominally labelled as fiction or non-fiction. This work reflects an interest in narrative analysis used as a tool of social studies and, concurrently, cross-cultural studies. It concentrates on Migrant Literature in Germany and because the vast majority of this stems from Turkish authors, all the books chosen have Turkish immigrant authors who deal with the issues of migration to Germany. Prose works were selected because the genres of poetry and drama have produced less material to consider.

The themes available in trying to decide which books should find a place in this work were varied, they ranged from romantic novels to adventure stories to books with more social comment directly or indirectly (see more on page 13ff.) After having read more than twenty books, six were selected for this work, chosen on the basis of the themes represented in them. The first three have more feminist point of view and during the narrations attempt to gain more space for women’s right to decide the way they wish to live in Germany.

In the first, *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, the protagonist gets very little support from her family and also has some bad experiences with Germans. The novel describes the childhood of a young Turkish woman, Nilgün, who grew up partly in Germany and partly in Turkey and is torn between both worlds with their good and bad sides. Including her childhood memories she tells a wonderfully poetic story of struggle between modernity and tradition and reconciles these by self-education through reading about her rights as a woman.

In the second book, *Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds* the main character has enormous problems with her family and great deal of support from Germans. Being woman, in a traditional patriarchal family Fatma is discriminated. However, Germany offers her a space of possibility in which to change. She finds her own identity walking alone, accompanied by lost childhood memories, and wishes to provide her children everything denied her by her alienation from her own family. German society has offered her a space in which she can gain respect and authority for herself and her children. The whole novel maintains an optimistic attitude toward the future although her family's tradition presents extreme challenges.

The third protagonist, Lale, in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, gets support and praise from both sides. Lale moved to Germany with her family as a nine-year old child in 1962 and is therefore one of the Turks of the first immigrant generation. The story deals with themes such as moving from familiar surroundings into a new country and the accompanying cultural differences and problems. It shows how hard it is to find one's way when confronted with a new language, people, and everyday life. It also reveals how important it is to have a supportive and intact family, which eases the stresses of an unfamiliar environment.

Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado the forth book, is pure satire which, through the eye of a so-called 'person of colour', attacks the windmills of German society like a modern Don Quixote. The author, commenting on his book in a letter, remarked that his book was both very much liked and taken "as an empowerment of people of colour"⁴⁸, or was considerably disliked. This book is a political satire about a young protagonist, who grows up in an average Turkish family. Sesperado's three aunts play an important role in the story in opening the protagonist eyes through their criticism of society, discussing discrimination, racism, 'People of Colour', empowerment, etc. The protagonist criticizes clichés, in society, both Turkish and German and believes that there should be a revolution in order to put an end to discrimination and to clichéd correctness. He wishes to be the self-appointed leader of this revolution and in his book one can laugh at him and at how bizarre racism can be. An empowerment effect for 'People of Colour' is the aim, through honest irony and satire, which prevent the narration becoming propaganda.

⁴⁸ Letter to the author of this work by Mutlu Ergün, 08.08.2015

The fifth and sixth novels, *Salam Berlin* and *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, are less dissonant and show the issues with which immigrants have to deal in daily life.

In the first of these, *Salam Berlin*, the protagonist Hasan is in Berlin looking for an apartment, work, education, a great love and identity and describes his experiences immediately after the fall of the Wall. *Salam Berlin* illustrates and opposes stereotypes, including racism and discrimination in a narration about becoming adult. Relationships, experiences in Germany, his search for true love, and his father's betrayal by marrying a German while still married to Hasan's Turkish mother are part of his search for identity.

Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar follows the thoughts of a pregnant woman lying in bed in hospital, waiting to give birth to a child. She makes plans for the future and imagines her and her child's life in a fictional place, or rather a utopia that is both Turkey and Germany; a bridge is built between the cultures. The narrator describes a cultivated society where people respect and support each other, held together by mutual respect and tolerance. Demirkan's book proposes a cultural integration that avoids assimilation.

The selected works come out of the so-called 'Guest Worker' era, but were written later, and reveal a thematic and critical framework of thought which reflects the daily life of Turkish immigrants and the strategies required to deal with their difference from mainstream German society. The authors chosen for this work have not attained prominence, however they present a varied spectrum of immigrant life in relatively unexaggerated accounts (except perhaps in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*). Because of this they can be taken to represent a cross-section of immigrant experience from the arrival of the workers to the relative acceptance of Turkish immigrants today. In using these stories this book attempts a sociological analysis expressed in literary terms.

The novels considered (and finally selected) for this work, were published at time when Migrant Literature had gained critical acceptance and express what Raymond Williams (1977) has famously called 'the structure of feeling' of a particular generation.

3. Research Methodology

This chapter will provide an overview of the interdisciplinary and transcultural approach of this study, which uses literature in a socio-cultural context and employs the Narrative Analysis of Martinez and Scheffel with a transcultural perspective, combined with Holzkamp's Critical Psychology subjective spaces of possibility. This enables an interdisciplinary approach to analysis of six selected books of Migrant Literature to be used to highlight the transcultural problems of migrants in Germany.

The flexibility of 'meaning', the changing role 'culture' plays in the way spaces of possibility are formed and used by protagonists is described. To help the reader gain a better understanding of the theoretical methods used here, a discussion of Holzkamp's Critical Psychology is followed by a section describing Martinez and Scheffels' narratology.

3.1. Holzkamp's Critical Psychology & the Subjective Space of Possibilities

The 1960s and 1970s saw radical changes in psychology as a spin-off from the student movement of the time. A reading of the texts of Frankfurter School, of Wilhelm Reich and others can lead to a Marxist reinterpretation of psychology. In particular Klaus Holzkamp, a psychologist working at the Free University of Berlin⁴⁹, chose to combine this reading with the psychology of cognition current in Russia at that time, for example, that of Leontiev.

He developed a critical psychology, which sought to incorporate Marxist ideas of dialectic to provide a basis for a radical re-thinking of psychology, giving it a basis in social science. This Marxist methodological approach is explained in his *Foundation of Psychology* (Holzkamp, 1983).

Holzkamp, while he did make use of traditional psychological models, regarded them as limiting and wished to analyse human beings in terms of individuals interacting in a social system, so as to regard an individual as an “all-encompassing and pervasive societal synthesis”. For Holzkamp, an academic psychologist, whose prime concern was social cognition, the word ‘meaning’ important and, for him, the psychic aspect of a relationship between an organism (human being) and the environment (society). Differing meanings stem from varying psychic interpretations of environments. No individual can be divorced from this societal synthesis, which renews itself differently at different historical stages and ethnographical contexts in human development. At all times, for humans, meaning represents the possibility for activity or action, whereas on a pre-human level it is the “determinant of activity” (Holzkamp, 1983, p. 236). To quote Holzkamp:

Because (on a specific human, societal level) the mode of existence and subsistence does not depend any more on the immediate recognition and realization of a meaning [as a “determinant of activity”], individuals are not determined in their actions by any given constellation of meaning; rather, within the context of the needs of their own existence, they always have the ‘alternative’ not to act or to act differently. In this sense, they are ‘free’ to realize ‘their’ meanings, meanings here being mere Handlungsmöglichkeiten, ‘possibilities for actions’, not determinants of actions (p. 236).

⁴⁹ Freie Universität in Berlin

Holzkamp's analysis reflects three basic features of meaning. Firstly, these are relational and aspects of a relationship to the world. Secondly, they do not exist outside of a culture and its symbols; they provide the constructs which are at the centre of human society/culture. An individual does not confront the natural world directly nor the natural world mediated through others, but rather a societal/cultural and discursive structure of meanings, which have been internalized, and have transformed society. Thirdly, meanings are neither automatic triggers of action nor constraining factors. They are a signal of available options, which can, in principle, be consciously considered.

For Holzkamp meanings are a "possibility relationship", so that our relationship with the world is never direct, but mediated by cultural meanings, which we are impelled to interpret and between which we must continually choose. This is as true for small things, such as which clothes to wear, as for existential questions such as the meaning we give our lives. In this analysis deviant actions are as possible as normative ones, so that radical choices remain open. We are thrown into a world of possibilities, similar that of the existentialists. However there can be opposing factors, as Tolman (1994) states:

... that the latitude of freedom in any society (as we all know) can be restricted, suppressed, and deformed. Where this occurs, however, the possibility relationship is not extinguished. The possibility relationship is an essential characteristic of the human species and can be objectively annihilated only with the species itself (p. 106).

There is no situation in which alternatives of thought and action do not exist. As humans we are evaluating and interpreting animals (Taylor, 1985), and can never free ourselves from our ability to distance ourselves from the world, to evaluate and interpret it, and this distance is, for Holzkamp, "epistemic" (Holzkamp, 1983, p. 236).

This means that no actions, or sequence of actions, are automatic, or merely of causal origin. They are the result of human conscious determination to act in this fashion, in a societal context. For Holzkamp this is their *Handlungsfähigkeit*, an ability to participate and to control the conditions of life. There are many possible translations of this term into English, however, in the literary context of this book, *space of possibilities* provides an expressive description of Holzkamp's concept, and is hence used here in text analysis. This concept postulates a relative freedom within a space, which overlaps with other members of society. In the context of the society it offers both opportunities and hindrances, which may conflict with those of others in a group (Leiprecht, 2013, p. 189).

It is worth noting that Holzkamp introduces a critical psychology that distances the observer, who now no longer has, as is so often the case, an evaluatory and judgmental role. This allows an actor, when observed a free space in which to come to a decision (or not) and act upon situations as an agent who enters into a (sometimes internal) dialogue with the world. Paradoxically actor and observer are both subject to restrictions of their respective space of possibilities, be these constraints external, or themselves embedded in the mind and psyche (Schraube & Osterkamp, 2013, p. 14).

Cultural studies have long regarded identities as multi-faceted and constructed actively within the limits of social conditions, rather than being fixed or determined. This corresponds with the central concepts of Critical Psychology, which emphasizes the biological inborn ability in humans to change the conditions of life within the context of the environment (Räthzel, 1995, p. 47f.). These effects go beyond mere adjustment, mankind can and must learn anything necessary to conduct their lives (ibid.). This, incidentally, provides an interesting new aspect to the nature vs. nurture (genes vs. environment) debate.

The concept of 'empowerment' in the literature on cultural studies can be considered as close to that of the space of possibilities first described by Holzkamp, however, applying these terms in this work is not intended to grant an individual a freedom that exceeds the boundaries, which knowledge and social groupings impose. A space of possibilities represents only that which is possible not that which is ideal or utopian, so that the importance of culture remains. Within the textual analysis of this work cultural influences can be seen both as obstacles and encouragements to change.

The term space of possibilities is thus not employed here to exclude the concept of culture but to indicate the room given the protagonist to act, whether alone or with others, within boundaries which are flexible and always changing. In the context of this work, somewhat paradoxically, there are three spaces of possibility involved. That of the protagonist, that produced in the analysing mind of this author and hopefully another opened in the mind of the reader. However complex and contradictory this is, it represents a freedom from the more prescriptive analysis current before Holzkamp's work became accepted, and is all the more interesting because it can be of as much use to Freudians as to behaviourists. This work makes constant, if not always explicit use of Holzkamp's concepts, the implications of which work continue to inform further research.

3.1.1. Meaning, Culture & Holzkamp's Critical Psychology

The analysis of this book shows how the narrative perspective allows readers to see different options and choices of action and thus opens up subjective spaces of possibility as Holzkamp's theory describes. It engages the discourse of literary studies with the field of pedagogy within the concepts of the space of possibility, which function to enable of view of alternative actions. It is an attempt to look at chosen texts within the concept of space of possibility, both as literature and from the point of view of cultural studies and to relate them to pedagogy in a transcultural society like Germany.

To begin this section, it is useful to revisit the term 'culture' in the context of meaning and signs. 'Culture' seems to constitute networks, made concrete in shared social practices, to form what Raymond Williams (1981) regards as a "realized signifying system", embedded deeply in all social practice and inseparable from all social activity. It forms an aspect of all human activities (Storey, 2010, p. 86). Both in literature and in life, this is more than an issue of semantic difference, a simple question of interpreting the world differently. The signification, for instance, of masculine and feminine, are not merely innocent semantics, they are part of a power struggle over what might be regarded as 'normal'; a part of the politics of signification; an attempt to make what is always multi-faceted seem uni-faceted (this opens another issue, intersectionality, which this work deals with on section: 2.1. The Multiple Combination of Discriminations: Intersectionality, p. 42). In other words, signification concerns the power and authority to define and legitimize social reality and make the world mean in particular ways. Culture is however, not set in stone, but is a shifting network of signification and understanding of objects and actions (Storey, 2008). This corresponds to the subjective space of possibility, which Holzkamp presents, in which the individual plays a role in an environment full of contradictory barriers and opportunities, in which one can act and react considering the subjective possibilities which are available. According to Holzkamp, the individual confronts different contexts and meanings, interpreted and handled differently.

'Culture' also is not something essential, embodied in any context or commodity; it is the practice and process of making 'meaning' out of 'texts' we encounter in our everyday lives. For example, in one of the selected books, *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, in Turkey the older neighbours welcome newcomers and greet them. This is not the case in Germany where the newcomers introduce themselves to their

neighbours. In the quote cited, this caused offence to the Turkish mother who then regarded Germans as distanced and cold⁵⁰. This is clearly a matter of cultural codes. However, the ‘culture’ is not just in the social gesture, it is in the ‘meaning’ of the gesture. In other words, there is nothing essentially polite about who is first supposed to greet; greeting is made to signify politeness. Signification has become embodied in material practice with material effects (here offence or acceptance). Williams (1977) states that, signification, the social creation of meanings is a practical material activity. Sharing a ‘culture’ is thus to interpret the world, make it meaningful and experience it as meaningful, in shared ways. ‘Culture shock’ occurs when we encounter radically different networks of meaning in which our natural common sense is confronted by someone else’s (Storey, 2008).

A short hint of this is the scene in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, in which the protagonist narrates a situation where her parents went shopping. The lack of linguistic skill and shared networks of meaning is presented as a factor resulting in disappointment and offence. While shopping her parents cannot make the salesperson understand what they need. The protagonist’s mother who knows no German, points to bananas, which she wants to buy. The salesperson gives her the word “banana” to explain what the protagonist’s mother is pointing at, and does not mention the price of the bananas. However ‘banane’ in Turkish means, “it makes no difference” (ibid., p. 8). The reply seriously offends the mother, who then buys nothing (ibid.).

This example shows that cultures contain both shared and contested networks of meanings. Where we share and contest meanings of both of ourselves and each other, is where, in Holzkamp’s analysis, new spaces for action open.

Storey (p. 7f.) suggests that ‘culture’ constructs our sense of ‘reality’, a lived system of meanings and values with a signification that has a performative effect in that it helps bring into being what it seems only to describe. When this becomes institutional, it is even more strongly embedded in social practice. Cultural constructs do however, relate to real geographic locations and historical dimensions, and influence ‘real’ human actions (Storey, 2008).

Dealing with literary text requires a distinctive cognitive ability to give signification, even though protagonists are not real, and this contributes to the ability to empathize with them.

⁵⁰Es gibt nämlich tatsächlich einen Unterschied zwischen der Türkei und Deutschland, was die erste Kontaktaufnahme angeht. Während bei den Türken die bereits Ansässigen den Neuen den ersten Besuch abstatten, um sie willkommen zu heißen, ist es in Deutschland so, dass die Neuen sich vorstellen müssen. Da bei uns niemand aus der Nachbarschaft vorbeischaute, schien es Mama klar, dass in Deutschland eine distanzierte Nachbarschaft praktiziert würde (p.66).

The various senses in which we use ‘signification’ and ‘meaning’ can not only decipher a given and learned set of symbols in a mechanistic way, but also suggest the very human act of finding ‘meaning’, of interpreting in the sense of ‘reading’ a person or situation.

Dealing with literature is not merely decoding the text but also decoding shared and contested networks of meanings and, in so doing, draws and connects the reader to fictional protagonists. This ‘reading’ as Holzkamp’s analysis makes clear, not only opens spaces of possibility for a character, but also opens a window toward new perspectives for the reader. The contest between significations involves more than positive and neutral perspectives; the reader of post-colonial literature, for instance, will find this highly critical in considering ‘race’, gender and class as well as religion. Reading literary text opens a space for the reader to react to what is presented, which is itself a subjective space of possibility for reflection, positive or negative. At an intellectual level, this is what Holzkamp’s critical psychology describes, and makes it a tool in textual analysis in relation to “text”, “space of possibility”, “meaning” and “variety of action and reactions relating the environment (social relations) and individuals” (Holzkamp, 1992, p. I.).

According to Holzkamp, Critical psychology’s “‘historical empirical’ method of reconstituting the basic concepts (categories) of psychology yields a conception of the psychical as an objective property of a system of living organisms” (ibid., p. 193) and is an aspect of historical social structures. Humans respond to meaning structures as societal possibilities for action, or as premises for action. This action in a situation is mediated by subjective influences, by what is reasonable or appropriate for the subject. ‘Action potency’ distinguishes between reasons for an action that accommodates external demands and those that alter demands to bring them into line with subjective needs (ibid.).

Meaning structures are generalized societal possibilities for action and are a permanent set of contradictions, which, by being resolved, create a space for action and create a new set of contradictions. In this sense, regarding spaces of possibility, specific constellations of possibilities and obstacles form the subject’s available room for action. While limited by biography and current situation, the subject has to deal with the given natural and material conditions, social structures, discourses and social contexts, and react to them by confronting spaces of possibilities, which contain both expansions and restrictions (Holzkamp, 1983, p. 368ff.). Entering one such space closes others and the individual faces various barriers resulting from the decision made, so that each decision for action brings new spaces, with barriers and possibilities.

What differentiates the individuals in fictional narrations from the individuals in 'reality' is that a fictional character is set into the text by the author, whereas a 'real' individual is formed by society. The other distinction is that the individual in 'fictional' life is set in a specific setting, a written situation to which no change is possible, except through the scholar or readers interpretation of the individual's action and interactions. An 'real' individual does have choice of change but, will always use a past narrative form when describing situations for instance in an interview. In this context there cannot be said to be major contradiction between fictional and 'real' accounts. Both are in response to socially bounded possibilities and restrictions, which influence subsequent behaviour. What both interview and text analysis examine are the responses of individuals in certain settings, using relatively similar tools. Text, which deals with non-real individuals is analysed here to provide a proxy for society. What remains constant between text and interview, is the multiplicity of spaces required for interrogating, integrating, and building transcultural ideals and knowledge as a requisite for transformative social change within the limits of the possible (Storey, 2008).

This is congruent with Gramsci's analysis of social action (Story, 2008, p. 3). To argue that 'culture' can be understood as a realized signifying system is not to deny the existence of the material world with all its constraints. It contains layers of significations and how we organize these signifies our relationships with it, connoting meanings, which can be different and contradictory, so that 'culture' is an inevitable struggle over meanings. Story, quoting Volosinov (1973) notes the multi-accentuality of signs which, in practice, is frequently 'an arena of . . . struggle'. A normative process of hegemony strives to produce an apparent uni-accentuality, but meaning (in a cultural sense) varies with re-articulation in different contexts. The sets of contradicting meanings/signs, thus are part of an institutional world/society layered in signification, and these help organise our relations and actions within a subjective space of possibilities (Story, 2010, p. 84f.).

Holzkamp's critical psychology stems from the historical-materialist conception that human beings do not live in an environment simply given them, but, create the means and conditions of their lives through social labour on a historical scale. Individual existence is only possible by engaging, whether passively or actively, in creative and social relations. Psychologically speaking individuals are not one-sided products of conditioning, but are able to shape and alter their own lives. Individuals are conditioned by social relations, but it is possible for them to influence these relations. Accomplishing this constitutes the space of possibility for an individual when confronted by situations of conflict (Holzkamp, 1992, p. 194).

Likewise literary work does not stand alone in an informational vacuum, but contains signs, signals and covert information which act on the perceptions, memories and emotions of its audience. It does not offer a same view to each reader in each period (Jauss, 1982, p. 21ff.).

Literature presents multi-accentual signs. For instance a work can be described as feminist, queer, post-colonial, Marxist, etc. and different readers will impose different interpretational spaces on the text depending on their convictions and prejudices.

Gender identities, are an example of the multi-accentuality of the sign. Masculinity and femininity are objectively different but there are various ways of describing them, different ways of making them signify. Therefore, although masculinity and femininity are biological conditions of existence, what they 'mean', and the struggle over what they 'mean', takes place in 'culture' (Storey, 2008).

This is depicted in a scene in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* (p.157), where the protagonist deals with the effects of cultural interpretations of gender, which suddenly are forced on her at the age of seven⁵¹.

My pride and joy did not last long. Suddenly my skirts and dresses became longer.

The contents of my school bag were checked out by Anne almost every day. I wasn't allowed to suck a lollipop in public nor to laugh loud or wear red nail polish anymore. I even had to sit down differently when wearing a skirt. All this had changed because I had stood on my head (p.157)⁵².

The protagonist's reaction to this drastic reduction of her space of possibilities led her to change her life to open new safe spaces by going to the library and studying rather than rebelling openly as her sister had done. The result was that, while her sister was repeatedly beaten and confined to her room, the protagonist found a free space and in fact did not always go to the library as she said she would.

In the context of the contradictions seen in the clash of 'meanings' in this quote it is interesting to examine in more detail what Holzkamp contributes in defining the dimensions of actions available to an individual.

His work takes issue both with Freudian psychology and Behaviourism. In terms of the first, his answer is to emphasize a social and materialistic base to society, in terms of the second, to say that a stimulus-reaction model of humanity is not sustainable. He recognizes that

⁵¹ (ibid. p.129f.)

⁵² Mein Stolz und meine Freude sollten jedoch auch nicht von Dauer sein. Meine Röcke und Kleider wurden auf einmal länger. Der Inhalt meiner Schultasche wurde fast täglich von Anne kontrolliert. Ich durfte auf der Straße keinen Lolli mehr lutschen, nicht laut lachen, keinen roten Nagellack mehr tragen, und ich musste mich sogar anders hinsetzen, wenn ich einen Rock trug. Alles hatte sich durch meinen Kopfstand verändert (p.157).

individuals are formed by the institutional power of their surrounding world. However they simultaneously influence this world by choice and action, however narrowly defined their space is, rather than being only determined by it. Individuals have a choice of action or passivity in a given situation and Holzkamp states that the dimensions and extent of individual actions are socially determined and that all individuals can orient themselves toward a situation as a possibility, which gives them alternatives of action and inaction (Holzkamp, 1992, p. 196ff.). He further makes the point that ‘meaning’ does not determine an individual’s behaviour or action. It must be seen as a societal generalization containing the possibilities for individual action. ‘Meaning’ exists in a zone of tension between action and the alteration of patterns of ‘meaning’, is socially determined, and leaves room for individuals to take advantage of possibilities inherent in situations and have the alternative of acting or not (ibid., p. 196ff.).

The diegetic worlds of characters, narrators and protagonists as the constructs of authors are similar to the way people in ‘real’ life are the constructs of social situations. Neither characters nor ‘real’ individuals are marionettes (Leiprecht, 2004, p. 9f.) and characters, as immigrants, often see the new culture as an opportunity to break with the long-held restrictions, sometimes prejudicial, prevalent in their culture of origin and, in spite of family attempts to prevent them choosing their own way of life, are brave enough to fight for autonomy. This is exactly the zone of tension between action and alteration of meaning patterns that Holzkamp refers to (1992, p. 198), which can be clearly seen in incidents, with all the inner feelings and accompanying cruelty or kindness, which form the core of the texts analysed in this work.

By emotionalizing and personalizing the text, literature brings a zone of tension onto the stage so that the reader can interpret, feel, emotionalize or empathize with the situation of the protagonist. The feelings of the reader refer to what Holzkamp calls “meanings”, that is the “determined and determining relations of individuals to their world” given to them by the environment as a function of human consciousness” (ibid., p. 198).

In transcultural studies as well as literary text, the connection between the maintenance or extension of individual existence and its social preconditions also has a significant relevance. Storey notes that, “‘Culture’ is how we live nature (including our own biology)” in shared meanings formed and experienced everyday. ‘Culture’ is not a commodity or object or event that can be made to signify. It is the making of ‘meanings’ with and from the “‘texts’ we encounter in our everyday lives” (Storey, 2008).

For John Frow and Meaghan Morris the concept of ‘text’ is fundamental for cultural studies. It involves an interleaving of levels ranging from structural and financial to flows of power and knowledge in an ontologically mixed entity (1996, p. 355f.). Through text, the reader receives information regarding the intrapersonal reality of protagonists as well as of the inter-subjective context in which they exist. A description of the protagonist combines subjectivity and the context in their lives, including oppressive aspects, and will reveal the relationship between the participant, protagonist or reader and social institutions.

Holzkamp emphasizes this, “The only contribution the subject is permitted to make is an interpretation of this dependence [...] upon the externally fixed stimulus pattern [...] as totally directed from outside” (Holzkamp, 1992, p. 199). Individual action is not determined by social meanings but a response to them as possibilities for action, however subjective grounds for action do not imply that every action is grounded and therefore comprehensible. There will be a “connection between the subjective quality of life and the disposal over societal conditions beyond those which currently exist” (ibid., p. 199).

Neutrality or abstinence is to reinforce the status quo but to act will result in an objective reinforcing of limitation by others. However, in spite of this contradiction, individuals continually change their life conditions (ibid., p. 201f.).

The protagonists of the texts selected in this book, living in German society, change their life conditions within the limitations imposed on them as Turkish-Germans and negotiate multiple homelands, identities, and relationships. The ability to traverse borders is a skill that they apply in all facets of their life and work.

These processes are a part of the subject matter for the multiple and disputed discourses of cultural studies, as Storey notes. For Storey, cultures are made from the “production, circulation and consumption of meanings. To share a ‘culture’, therefore, is to interpret the world – make it meaningful – in recognisably similar ways” (Storey, 2010, p. 84f.). Meaning is “accented” it, like culture, is a place of negotiation and conflict, of disputed hegemony. A ‘text’ is not a source of meaning but the site of variable ‘meanings’, multi-accented and changing with different contested contexts and politics (ibid.).

The relation between ‘culture’ and literary text is illustrated in Raymond Williams’ *Keywords* (1976), which deals with the changed meaning of words with changing social, political and economic circumstances. He reports that changes occur within language in the invention and use of new terms, or the redefinition of existing words enabling the spread of new concepts.

Where they represent new beliefs and affiliations, these words are not uncontested so that changes are neither simple nor final (Storey, 2008, p. 3f.).

Literary text is a narrative medium that “displays the goals and intentions of human actors; makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes; humanizes time; allows us to contemplate the effects of our actions and to alter the directions of our lives” (Richardson, 1990, p. 20). Via the protagonist the narrative’s content, form, genre, perspective, and point of view are defined. Text is composed of a variety of voices, perspectives and options and affords the possibility of presenting, or challenging the status quo and sketching the outline of an alternative to present reality. It can interact and open the possibility of change (Pickering, 2001, p. 49). However, text is also vulnerable to power relationships as Storey (2008) comments, and is not determined at all. It depends on different interpretations and construction of meaning. The encoding or decoding of ‘meanings’ forms spaces, which give the opportunity for a variety of actions, whether undertaken or not.

The protagonist at the fictional level plays with the cards given by the author and reacts to society and institutional structures around them, as do individuals in ‘real’ life. The cards/signs/meanings dealt, whether by fictional or real life, might not all be in the protagonist’s or individual’s favour. Some provide opportunities to act positively, others bring barriers and close doors. The way both protagonist and individual use their cards forms their steps in their path through life.

Narratives, with their figures of speech, symbols, idioms, and metaphors are seen in this work as equipment for life, which provide a wide space of possibilities. Irony, symbolism, flashbacks, foreshadowing, exposition, pun, hyperbole, repetition, mood, setting, dialog etc. are aesthetic effects revealing those qualities that might otherwise be unseen. They suggest layers of ‘meaning’, rather than meaninglessness (Roche, 2004, p. 218). By emphasizing the functional role of literary devices, aesthetic experience reveals ideals, alters, shatters and remakes them (Dewey, 1934, p. 322). Through dialog, for instance, which is the most appropriate literary form for expressing a variety of voices, the characters can agree with each other’s voices to create closeness, cooperation, and kinship, or disagree and use dispute to uncover the nature, substance, and character of a disagreement and, if the narration allows, overcome it. Through the internal voices of the self or between two characters, doubt, critical thinking, and questioning, are all expressed as prerequisites for attaining self-awareness and the foundation of possibilities for change (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012, p. 302). It is these spaces of doubt, criticism and questioning which Holzkamp’s analysis illuminates and

are the reason why it is used as a guide throughout this work. This has been a permanent lens through which all observations in textual analysis have been made whether its use has been made explicit or not, it has been an invaluable accompaniment to throughout this work.

3.2. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Narrative Analysis of the Selected Migrant Literature

“Social life is itself storied and that narrative is an ontological condition of social life” (Somers and Gibson, 1993, p. 2).

Stories whether aural or written, fictional or biographical are an act of communication, which is almost never direct but winds back and forth as drama dictates. Narrative analysis takes the form of stories as its focal point and is, in effect, an investigation of storytelling, begun with the pioneering work of Labov and Waletzky, which drew language scholars to the study of storytelling. This led to stories being seen as communication events in their own right (Bruner, 1991, pp. 1-21).

History is a narration coloured and sharpened by many minds. The act of writing does not really distinguish it from oral storytelling, which of necessity changes with each telling. Writing is no different, because the author considers and rewrites, in fact reinvents the story many times before it reaches its final form. An autobiography is no different from a fiction in that both tell stories informed by the experience and emotions of their authors. Space is generated in the text to encompass ideas in the heads of both reader and writer. Even apparently wholly invented stories come out of an age-old compilation of culture and experience. What we are is our own story, no more no less. A narrative examination of literature can uncover these intertwined stories and be of equal value from the perspective of social science to the transcription and analysis of interviews. It offers a different revelation, distinguished by being filled with the many faceted lives of the characters and their creator.

This section covers the growing interest in a theoretical analysis of narrative as used in storytelling and sense-making, which is increasingly expanding to fields such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, organisation studies and history (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003, p. 1f.). Narrative analysis provides an alternative interpretation of human action and interaction and must as a part of social science. The story becomes an object of study, focusing on how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives. In this book informants' stories are captured in observation and analysis, as a subjective approach to

the influence of culture and identity on the human condition. It is part of a growing trend in the use of a multi-disciplinary narrative approach (ibid.). In the chapter on “Theoretical Background” in this work (p. 41), discrimination, ‘Othering’, cultural and transcultural issues are dealt with, because they provide a means of giving a social and pedagogical context. Narrative analysis however, remains, with Holzkamp’s theory, a basic methodology within this book.

According to Somers and Gibson (1993) “Social life is itself storied and that narrative is an ontological condition of social life” (p. 2). Baker drew on this concept of narrative and states that there are “no narrative-free perspectives” (2005, p. 12) on the world.

Social science research itself has taken a “narrative turn” in recognition of the lack of human stories in traditional social science in the 1960’s. Early work focused on life histories and oral narratives in the examination of life stories that described personal experiences of poverty, inequality and sexism, among many other social and cultural experiences (Chase, 2005).

The next section is concerned with the analysis of narration, in particular using the pioneering methods developed by Martinez and Scheffel as a means of extracting meaning from the literature studied in this work to deepen the understanding of the reader.

3.2.1. The Work of Martinez & Scheffel with a Transcultural Perspective

Becoming interdisciplinary (and international) is innately a process of going into the unknown and, more or less consciously, avoiding dealing only with the secure ground of our academic home disciplines (Weilnböck, 2004, p. 14).

Bamberg (2010) states that narrative laid out by an individual confers subjective meaning to experience and is used as a device to make sense of a communication for the narrator himself/herself or for a third party. This is equally valid for fictional or non-fictional works. Of most interest to Bamberg is how narrative can be analysed qualitatively in conferring meaning to experience, be it of a fictional protagonist, or the subject of a biography (ibid., p. 3ff.). The self is always open to change and personal narrative represented by the protagonist or a narrator enables a concentration on examining and solving problems (ibid. p. 8). The intention of the present work is to use narratives from Turkish-Germans for precisely this: to examine the problems, personal and social, which the books chosen here illustrate, and to gain insight into the strategies characters adopt. These are taken as representing the social situation of Turkish-German immigrants, presented as narrative. The organization of the quotations chosen in this book into the elements of Family, School, Public Interactions and Social Networks, combined with citations from six books under these four headings is combined with analysis of problems of sex, 'race' and class discrimination.

What narrative analysis does in this work is to create sense and meanings out of the lives of characters and transmit this to readers. Narratives make meaning in different ways: a newspaper report is different from television and both are different from the usual sources used in pedagogy. The quotations chosen here are analysed in order to gain understanding of how they make social and pedagogical meaning. This involves looking at narrative perspective, focalization and structure. To do this the tools developed by Martinez and Scheffel are invaluable.

Weilnböck (2005) criticizes Martinez and Scheffel (1999, pp. 95-107) for failing to deal in sufficient detail with the kind of subjective colouring that allows a textual narrator to convey

a narrative and/or interact with motive, process, conflict-ridden or psychotraumatic experiences and interactions, Martinez and Scheffel's method, stands out because it points to an interdisciplinary approach and goes beyond purely descriptive systems for analysing narrative phenomena. They present a model, designed to operate with freely combinable parameters (to which more can always be added), rather than a limited number of typical forms of narration. It operates with a matrix of categories with the help of which narrative situations can be described, and allows for the analysis of a diverse range of narrative. It is not a set of features of scenes within text but of categories and terms, flexible enough to make it possible to describe nearly every situation found in narration. This differentiates their approach from Stenzel's analysis of texts using stereotypical instances (Fludernik, 2009, p. 9f.).

The term "narrative constitution" normally describes the compilation of narratives. In details "narrative constitution" includes frameworks with two or more tiers dividing the narrative work into various levels and treating it as the product of a series of transformations (understood in a more or less formal sense) of incidents in the texts. It imparts a dramatic life and layering to the text as in the following example:

My speech was well received but I kept disappearing behind the lectern. I did not know that you could both lower and raise it. I didn't know that but in any case I was just too nervous. I went back to my place while my parliamentary colleagues applauded me. My thoughts were all over the place: I thought about Renate and Mariechen [Marion] from Cologne who had seriously tested me out at the voting station: Whether they were now watching TV? I imagined Renate, and Marion sitting in their well upholstered chairs, watching TV, and Renate says: I'll say it again, she really is small. And Mariechen, soothingly laying her hand on Renate's, replies: Let it be, it could have been worse. After all, she can at least speak proper German. And she doesn't wear a headscarf (p. 255).⁵³

⁵³ Meine Rede ging glatt über die Bühne, nur verschwand ich ein wenig hinter dem Pult, weil ich nicht wusste, dass man das Pulte hoch, aber eben auch hernunterfahren kann. Ich wusste das nicht, aber ich war wohl auch zu aufgeregt. Unter dem Applaus meiner Bundestagskollegen ging ich zurück an meinem Platz. Meine Gedanken waren auf Abwegen: Ich dachte an Renate und Mariechen aus Köln, die mir am Wahlstand ordentlich auf den Zahn gefühlt hatten: Ob sie jetzt wohl am Fernseher saßen? Ich stellte mir das vor: Renate und Mariechen sitzen in ihren dicken Polstersesseln, schauen fern, und Renate sagt: Ich sage es doch, sie ist ein bisschen klein greaten. Und Mariechen, die ihre Hand beschwichtigen auf Renates legt, antwortet: Lass mal gut sein, es hätte schlimmer sein k?nnen. Immerhin kann sie ordentlich Deutsch. Und sie trägt kein Kopftuch (p. 255.).

Here, in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* the narration refers to two scenes simultaneously and two separate judgments of the protagonist, who at the time is a newly elected member of parliament, one approving, after her maiden speech, the other, before she has been elected, uninformed and prejudicial. A relatively simple piece of text thus presents intertwined levels of narrative constitution.

More widely, this concept deals with the basic questions related to the structure of narratological forms and theoretical modelling, which differs depending on methodological approaches for both the relationship between incidents and narrative, and also the relationship between literary and non-literary narration (Scheffel, 2010). It is thus necessary to pay attention to the most important interaction related function of texts. This is a form of subjective colouring which enables the narrator to communicate narrative, and/or interact with a certain motif, process experiences of conflict and/or psychotraumatic interaction and attempt to re-enact conflicts in the transference between text and reader level (Martinez & Scheffel, 1999, p. 82).

In order to make this practical Martinez and Scheffel examine situations based on three differences: hetero-/homodiegetic, extra-/intradiegetic, and (for focalization) author/character/neutral (ibid., p. 95). Their system is an open one but still based on forms, not on relations and functions, but their system is an open one, which is applicable to many different narrative constellations. It is based on forms of speech rather than interactional patterns and covers criteria of time (order, duration, and frequency), mood (distance and focalization), and voice (time of narration, level of embedding, involvement of the narrator in events, and the subject and addressee of narration) (ibid., p.44). The system does not explain the functions of narrative interaction, although the consideration of subject and addressee generally depicts narration as a process of interaction (ibid., p. 64f.).

It is useful to assemble some definitions here. These are summarized below in more detail. Homodiegetic relates to a narrator who is also the protagonist or other character in the work, heterodiegetic involves a narrator who does not take part in the plot and autodiegetic pertains to a narrator who is also the protagonist. A heterodiegetic narrator is absent from the narrated world; heterodiegetic narrative is third-person narrative, whereas a homodiegetic narrator is present in the narrated world; that is, a homodiegetic narrator is a first-person narrator (also called autodiegetic), and identical with the protagonist (Genette, 1980, p. 248). For instance *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* and *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* have two types of narration, first-person homodiegetic and third-person heterodiegetic. *Kara*

Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado is a first-person narration by a narrator who paradoxically wishes to be in the third person and acts as an observer: “Now and then they take me to such events, but they don’t like it when I just follow them around and hide behind them. They want me to be fully engaged in everything and not be an observer only” (p. 19).⁵⁴

Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar is a third-person heterodiegetic autobiographical narration in which the protagonist refers to herself and characters in terms of “he”, “she” and “they” to disguise the autobiographical nature of the text and ensure a distance from the writing. The following quote provides an example: “If she was not so tall and blondly beautiful as the German girls, at least she was the thinnest with the smallest size in clothes” (p. 26).⁵⁵

Focalization is a systematization of perspective and point of view and represents a narratological response to the traditional notions of storytelling and this is used later in the analysis of individual quotes. It can be considered as external or internal. Internal focalization concentrates on the thoughts, feelings and observations of a narrator or protagonist. External focalization shows observations on an external level without insight into the minds of protagonists or explanation of their motives (Martinez & Scheffel, 1999, p. 94f.).

The concept of focalization is both complex and contentious (ibid., p.38f.) but provides a useful means of examining narrative.

Every narrative exists through a narrative act, which is external to the universe within which the events narrated take place and forms part of a matrix of narrating instances. Narrative levels can be seen as extradiegetic (narrative act external to any diegesis⁵⁶) and intradiegetic (internal to a discourse) (ibid., 23ff.) (In the examples given above, the first two are intradiegetic and the third is extradiegetic).

Martinez and Scheffel open an interdisciplinary approach to narratology (1999, pp. 84-89) and find it necessary to consider the subject and addressee of narration. They find it important that “research in literary theory has focused on the role of the imaginary narrator or the role of the reader and neglected the interaction between the two parts of communication situation that is produced in an imaginary narrative” (ibid., p. 85). As a result recent work has tried to correct this imbalance and approach literary theory through social history and pay attention to the communicative function of texts. Martinez and Scheffel firmly believe that

⁵⁴ Ab und zu nehmen sie mich auf solche Veranstaltungen mit, aber sie mögen es nicht, wenn ich mich hinter ihren Rockzipfeln verstecke. Sie wollen, dass ich voll im Geschehen drinnen bin und nicht immer nur alles beobachte.

⁵⁵ Wenn sie schon nicht so groß und blondig schön war wie die deutschen Mädchen, so zumindest die Dünne mit der kleinsten Konfektionsgröße

⁵⁶ Diegesis: narrative discourse in contrast to mimesis the discourse of characters.

social history can be part of a method compatible with primarily intratextual approaches to narratology by incorporating the issue of text-reader interaction (*ibid.*). This reveals mental and affect-related psychological and sociological aspects of individuals' interactions with texts. Martinez and Scheffel give full consideration to narratological models employed in disciplines other than literary theory in the work quoted (Martinez & Scheffel, 1999, pp. 145-159). Their work shows the limit of the extent to which narratology had become interdisciplinary at the time of publication, and presents a pioneering contribution toward this subject. Developing this approach further is challenging, and means building interdisciplinary bridges between academics formed by their home disciplines, which are well-developed institutions with little incentive to venture beyond their borders.

According to Martinez and Scheffel (*ibid.*, p. 99f.) it is necessary to attempt to include in narratological analysis those pieces of narration which do not fit the 'reliable' formats of text analysis because subjective colouring and description of trauma and emotion give a further dimension to the interaction of reader and text. They identify different degrees of narratorial involvement in the narrated events (*ibid.*, p. 82). Their scale extends from the third-person (heterodiegetic) to the first-person (homodiegetic) narrator and includes different types of narrator and character and their level of involvement in the story. For the purpose of this work it is sufficient to acknowledge the relative distances of first-person narrator and narration and third-person narrator and narration (*ibid.*, p.82f.). It is necessary to mention that the analysis of the selected books in this work is solely at the textual level. Only the point of view of the narrators or protagonists has been given attention here, and the author's intention, however interesting it might be, cannot be known and is not included in the perspective of the textual analysis.

Studying interaction outside the text concentrates not on the narrator's formal position relative to the characters but on the narrator's involvement with the reader implicitly addressed by the narrative. Weilnböck comments that interaction-related criteria for measuring narrative involvement are not defined in the models of Martinez and Scheffel and, nor is adequate attention given to the third-person narrator. Such models cover only the relation between the narrator and the narrated world and its characters and do not account for the various interactions between a narrator/text and addressees/readers or the mediated interaction of author and reader (Weilnböck, 2005, p. 12f.). However, Martinez and Scheffel (1999, pp. 83-89) have opened a new and multifaceted chapter in the analysis of literature.

They observe that “research in literary theory has previously focused on the role of the fictive narrator or the role of the reader and neglected the interaction of the two sides of the communication situation created in a fictional narrative” (ibid., p. 85ff.).

Researchers have come to understand that experiences on many levels personal, social, and cultural are mediated through the sharing of stories (Denzin, 2000, p. XI). In this book the focus is on written autobiographies (life stories) and semi- autobiographies of the authors with Turkish immigration background.

Although Martinez and Scheffel’s work marks the limit of the extent to which narratology has become interdisciplinary at this point in time (Weilnböck, 2005, p. 13) this book makes use of Martinez and Scheffel’s narrative analysis and Holskamp’s theory of “Space of Possibilities” in a pedagogically oriented transcultural text analysis of six chosen books by authors of a Turkish immigration background written in German. This is an attempt at an interdisciplinary integration of the intratextual and interaction-based perspectives of narrative analysis with other fields of academic work and has been informed throughout by the analysis of Martinez and Scheffel, however, it is as much a work of a social science as of literary analysis in terms of the questions that it raises and the aims it pursues. Having decided on the selection of books for analysis in this work and the specific categories of scenes within them of particular interest because of the immigration background of the main characters were selected, the concepts of narrative analysis are used in the discussion of the excerpts chosen. These have provided a frame of mind through which the young protagonists and their settings could be observed in a relatively neutral fashion. They enabled an academic distancing from characters and the circumstances of their lives.

Since the ‘narrative turn’ in the social sciences, narratives or stories have been the focus of considerable interest. This is because researchers have come to understand that personal, social, and cultural experiences are constructed through the sharing of stories (Denzin, 2000, p. xi). This work aims to use analytical tools, as schematized in the diagram on the previous page, in the analysis of the narratives of auto/ semi-autobiographical works of authors with Turkish immigration backgrounds, to be then utilized in trans-national pedagogy, as a means to increase educators’ awareness of the possible problems of pupils with non-western cultural codes.

The text analysis part focuses on life-historical narratives, which are partly autobiographical, partly semi-autobiographical. This work combines a narrative analysis perspective with Klaus Holzkamp's socio-psychological concept of the space of possibility from which originates the subjective construction of meaning and emphasis, which provides a background to disabilities and possibilities within a social and historical 'space'.

This 'space' into which human beings are at first born simultaneously becomes for each, through their individual biographies, their life experiences, their handicaps and opportunities, a subjective space of possibilities. The thinking, feeling and action of humans is therefore interpreted with this theoretical perspective in an almost a hermeneutical way in the context of analysis related to the respective space of possibilities. This space of possibility is at the same time a socio-historically framed and structured space for thought and action, the economic, social, cultural, political, etc. moments which are experienced in society within an individuals, own space of possibilities, are reflected, thematized and developed within the text analysis.

The narrative concepts of this section create spaces of possibility within text. Their creation of meaning is combined within this work with Holzkamp's Space of Possibility Theory, as a means to better elucidate the actions and reactions of the characters within the possibilities available to them and for the reader.

The application of the two methodologies discussed in this chapter follows in the next. This is undertaken in Chapter Four, "Empirical Analysis" (p. 133), as a more detailed discussion of selected quotes from six books by authors with a background of migration. This analysis distances itself from the authors of the books being narrated and focuses only on character and plot.

It forms an answer to the research questions⁵⁷, as it is a close examination of protagonists' lives and shows how encouragement and obstruction influences their situations.

⁵⁷ 1.a) To what extent does the selected literature illustrate and examine the encouragements and obstructions in young Turkish-German protagonists' lives? 1.b) Have the selected texts social implications in the reproduction of institutional discrimination regarding family, school, society and social networks? 2.a) How do the texts show the use of spaces of possibility to come to terms with various situations? 2.b) What resources are available to make the best use of spaces of possibility illuminated by the narrations? 3) In the context of the analysis of selected novels with Turkish-German young protagonists, what implications for pedagogical and social interaction can be deduced from fictional life?

4. Empirical Analysis

This chapter, containing text analysis forms an answer to the research questions⁵⁸. Its close examination of protagonists' lives enables discussion of their situations as a paradigm for those migrants face in Germany. It will provide a set of categories, which have been taken from sociology and transcultural studies as a structure for exploring the content of texts from the six selected books. A transcultural focus has been applied to decide categories for narratological analysis based on the work of Martinez and Scheffel (see more in "3.2.1. The Work of Martinez & Scheffel with a Transcultural Perspective", p. 125) keeping Holzkamp's Critical Psychology in a transcultural perspective in mind (see more in 3.1. "Holzkamp's Critical Psychology & the Subjective Space of Possibilities", p. 111).

An interdisciplinary lens has been used in dealing with texts and analysing quotes. Larger bodies of text have been broken up to examine specific vocabulary and situation. Syntactical patterns, symbols, metaphors are noted, as are setting colour and idiom, reusing and recombining of moments and flashbacks, and word play, its intention and 'meaning'. Focalizations, which generate impact, are noted, as are other narratological details.

It is to be mentioned here that words as seen in the quotes in this work do not have a meaning independent of context such as 'culture'. Words encode sounds and ideas, and are necessarily flexible, evolving 'meaning' over time (see more in "3.1.1. Meaning, Culture & Holzkamp's Critical Psychology", p. 114).

With a brief overview of each book, an attempt is made to provide the readers with the core of each and the development of plot and characters. Analysis of the selected quotes follows: firstly with the focus on the main sources of influence on protagonists (family, education, educational institutions, public contacts and communal networks) and their importance in the formation of their actions and reactions and their view of life. Secondly, the reactions of the protagonists to interpersonal and institutional difficulties and hindrances are dealt with. This is followed by questioning and analysing discrimination on the grounds of Stereotypical beliefs around gender, class and 'race'. Throughout the chapter a focus is kept on the space of possibilities available to a character, which he/she can use to optimize reactions in the best way possible.

⁵⁸ 1.a) To what extent does the selected literature illustrate and examine the encouragements and obstructions in young Turkish-German protagonists' lives? 1.b) Have the selected texts social implications in the reproduction of institutional discrimination regarding family, school, society and social networks? 2.a) How do the texts show the use of spaces of possibility to come to terms with various situations? 2.b) What resources are available to make the best use of spaces of possibility illuminated by the narrations? 3) In the context of the analysis of selected novels with Turkish-German young protagonists, what implications for pedagogical and social interaction can be deduced from fictional life?

4.1. Background & Overview of the Books Analysed in this Work

An indication of the historical background and the origins of the author of each of the books analysed in this study is followed by comments to indicate the plot and character development of each book. Although each quote in this chapter is accompanied by a narratological analysis, the focus of this book in general and, specifically, this chapter is on migration, education and cultural studies to provide an answer to research questions one and two: 1.a) To what extent does the selected literature illustrate and examine the encouragements and obstructions in young Turkish-German protagonists' lives? 1.b) Have the selected texts social implications in the reproduction of institutional discrimination regarding family, school, society and social networks? 2.a) How do the texts show the use of spaces of possibility to come to terms with various situations? 2.b) What resources are available to make the best use of spaces of possibility illuminated by the narrations?

4.1.1. *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*⁵⁹

Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family by Lale Akgün is an autobiographical novel about Lale and her family. Lale was born on 1953 in Istanbul and migrated to Germany with her family at the beginning of the 1960s, at a time of political and economic stability. The economic boom in the 1950s had led to full employment so that a lot of companies needed labour and hired ‘Guest Workers’⁶⁰ from southern European countries like Italy and Turkey. In 1961 East Germany began to build the Berlin wall and heavily police the border with the West, so that little new East German labour was available and immigrants from Turkey found jobs, including Lale’s father, a dentist.

Lale, the protagonist, moved to Germany with her family as a nine-year old child in 1962 and is therefore one of the Turks of what is called the second-generation. She studied medicine and psychology, was a member of the German Parliament, dealing with issues of migration and integration, and served as the SPD spokesperson for policies on Islam. Lale has one sister Peyda and was born into a well-educated open-minded family, the mother Muslim and the father atheist. She is married to a man with a Turkish immigration background, Ahmet, and has one daughter Aziza. Despite petty incidents that could have been taken very seriously, the whole family always supported each other and found discrimination ridiculous. Lale’s worldview is open to cultural differences.

The book’s title refers to “Liver cheese”, which is a specialty food found in the south of Germany, Austria and parts of Switzerland. It consists of ground beef, pork, bacon and onions with varying amounts of liver. This being a German tradition, “liver cheese land” in the book title functions as a metonym for German society and embeds Aunt Semra and the family in German society. For them everything is not resentfully divided into the binary poles of ‘friendly Turkey’/‘evil Germany’ and vice-versa. They feel financially and educationally secure enough to enjoy their lives in new socio-cultural territory. This is emphasized in the second part of the title, “*Stories from My Turkish-German Family*”. Whereas other novels such as *Henna Moon: My Life between the Worlds* and *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, highlight the dissociation between Turkish and German culture, Lale keeps an open mind and calls her family Turkish-German thus, making a concrete statement of the unification of both cultures.

⁵⁹ Tante Semra im Leberkäse Land: Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie

⁶⁰ This term is politically unacceptable but widely used as it was intended that such people should return to their countries of origin after a few years. In fact not many did (see footnote 6 on page 18).

Reading, education, and creativity are all essential components of Lale's growth, factors that help her achieve success as a member of a Germany's parliament. She believes education and self-confidence will allow her to be successful in German society. Because her father employed a tutor, Lale is able to speak German astonishingly well at a time when few people of Turkish origin were prominent in Germany. As a member of parliament, this characteristic, and her not being a very strict Muslim puzzle Germans and she is often asked clichéd questions about her religious ideology. She finds this racist and emphasizes its unforgettable effect in a scene at the end of the book (p. 255)

Throughout the story Lale opposes the forces that prevent her from finding happiness. Besides rejecting traditional views of class, she opposes society's attempts to restrict women's activities and, under the influence of her mother and aunt, argues that women need active pursuits and intellectual stimulation, just as men do. She is frank, sincere and lacking in spite. Lale's spirituality is not purely Muslim, many traditions, Christian, Muslim, Kemalist and Atheist form her ideas.

The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Lale, the narrating "I" of the story is a young female who refers to herself as "I", "me", "my" and freely reveals her emotions in a foreign land while her keen eyes also perceive without malice others' feeling and attitudes: "And with everyone [Lale's family] I always have a typical humour in my luggage, that precious commodity that has been given me and my family, and has taught me: Don't take things more seriously than they are" (p. 254)⁶¹. The penetration of the narration into Lale's inner world is not only through emotional description, but also study of her family's traits. Employing analepsis and prolepsis, the narrator manages to evoke the past and recount future events in her life. The protagonist illuminates her and her family's development within their new social milieu. Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized from without, not penetrating aunt Semra's feelings presenting her inner personality using her way of dealing with specific circumstances from without. The use of indirect personification is employed here to show the aunts sense of humor; the text focuses on the aunt's self-description, inferring that the narrator shares these feelings and wishing to convince the reader to have a similar attitude to life.

⁶¹ Und Mit Ihnen allen hätte ich den typischen Humor im Gepäck, Jenes kostbare Gut, das mir meine Familie mitgegeben hat und das mich gelehrt hat: Nimm die Dinge nicht ernster, als sie sind.

The protagonist is lovable, stubborn, quarrelsome, sympathetic and energetic and this realistic account develops her relationships and creates a character who deals with internal and external conflicts dynamically through scenes that bring her story to life.

Lale's family is educated and upper middle class and is unusual in the 'Guest Workers' generation. The father is an atheist communist and the mother a Kemalist⁶² and later a feminist and permanent student. Lale and her sister Peyda are exposed to their discussions and differences, but always has their support for instance when she beats up two boys in junior school. When she is a young teenager her aunt Semra, a tolerant but devout Muslim, settles in Germany, ignites a new fire in family confrontations, and is a further cosmopolitan influence. Aunt Semra, having come to visit Germany, likes it so much that she persuades her husband, who has a large vegetable-trading concern, to relocate his business to Germany. She plays an important role in the lives of her nieces, as she is nonconformist and surprisingly different to the parents, has no children, and therefore spoils the girls. Living in western society gives Semra the freedom to act according to her ideology and behave independent of the gender-based biases of patriarchal culture. She both takes the girls to a gay club and goes on the Haj⁶³. As the title declares, the emphasis is on Aunt Semra's role, in consolidating social status for Turkish women in the new horizons of Germany. Her name is very indicative of her origin; Semra in Turkish means dark-skinned or brunette. In her tolerance to differences, she enriches life for herself and her family including her nieces. Aunt Semra, with her patient and easy-going personality and flexible lifestyle is what encourages the young and inexperienced narrator to cope with the clichéd, generalized and unfair treatment she and other immigrants suffer. In contrast, Lale's sister Peyda cannot cope with being bi-cultural, take sides and becomes assimilated, aligning her life with that of her German husband, adopting German orderliness, and so on. In spite of their amazement at this, the whole extended family accepts having a member (Peyda) who is more 'German' than 'Turkish', feel comfortable with each other and joke about Peyda being so 'Germanized'.

This book deals with moving from familiar surroundings into an unfamiliar new environment and the cultural differences and problems this brings. It illustrates how hard it is to find one's way into language, people, and everyday life as an immigrant and the importance of a supportive and intact family, which empowers its members, especially children, to deal with the problems that confront them.

⁶² Turkish secular nationalist and founder of the modern Turkish state.

⁶³ Pilgrimage to Mecca

4.1.2. *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*⁶⁴

In *Henna Moon - My Life Between Two Worlds* Sonja Fatma Bläser writes her life story in a creative diegesis through which the reader or implied reader is informed about the narrator and her family's lives, their moving to Germany and her own experiences. She portrays the intersectionality of gender discrimination and racist marginalization which she experiences.

This book deals with the time of economic boom in Germany in the 1960s and beginning of 1970s. From the beginning of 1950s immigrant workers were necessary in Germany to ensure economic development. Despite the need for immigrant workers, the majority of Germans were against the employment of immigrants. The beginning of the oil crisis in 1973 ended the recruitment of immigrant workers and in 1983 with the "Law to Aid Returnees"⁶⁵ the German government attempted to reduce unemployment and rising poverty by encouraging Turkish workers to repatriate.

Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds is the autobiography of teenage girl, born into a prejudiced and traditional Muslim family of five children. A first-person narrative voice enables the narrator to emotively reveal inner feelings as well as personal relations and vicissitudes. Fatma is nine when she and her family move from Anatolia to Germany. The narrator, as a first person experiencing "I", explains how Fatma's parents came to Germany as 'Guest Workers' from Turkey and then brought Fatma and her brothers over to a city close to Cologne. She suffers from family pressure when she tries to transfer from a lowest grade of school to a better one "Realschule"⁶⁶, as her teacher has recommended. Due to her family's objection, she is forced to continue her studies in the lower "Hauptschule"⁶⁷, as they do not want their daughter to have a better education. Finally with her teacher's support, she finishes her schooling, gets a leaving certificate and joins the labour market. Fatma convinces her family that her contribution to the family finances in Germany would be more beneficial for their future than going to Turkey and marrying a Turkish man. This pretext of working and helping family enables her to avoid an arranged marriage.

Fatma as a main character has a certain resonance for those whose family-culture is conservative, no matter from what country. For Fatma and her sisters, there is no choice; they are second-generation Turkish immigrants living in Germany and, according to Fatma, are adrift between 'two' cultures; they inhabit the chaotic gap between 'West' and 'East',

⁶⁴ Hennamond. *Mein Leben zwischen Zwei Welten*.

⁶⁵ Rückkehrhilfegesetz

⁶⁶ British secondary modern school, now part of comprehensive schools. Has no equivalent in America.

⁶⁷ See footnote 8.

'Turkey' and 'Germany'. Fatma is a motivated young girl, disgusted by her conservative, brutal family, who do not allow her even minimal freedom in German society in education, career, lifestyle or choosing a husband. The family maintains a Turkish dress code for girls and women so that she is always someone who does not fit in school. At the age of nine, this becomes worse when she is forced to wear a headscarf against which she rebels constantly. She has permanently to confront challenges and obstacles placed in her way by her family. These are highlighted by her account of her first days at school, when she first menstruates, when she graduates from school or gets her driving licence. She is sent to therapy, overloaded with challenges and conflicts. Even her wedding is troubled; there are conflicts and threats to kill her (p. 191). She is a permanent fighter, who gets out of all this by using her limited space of possibilities intelligently to her advantage.

The world from which Fatma originates is a male-dominated society in which women are measured only for their skills in housework and child rearing. Beatings, violence, and near-purdah for women are commonplace. In the more open German society Fatma's situation remains ambivalent: At school, she is the young and able woman encouraged by her teachers, while at home she clashes with the tyrannical father who wishes her to conform to the dictates of Turkish tradition. To avoid a forced marriage to her unloved cousin, Fatma makes the excuse that the family would be deprived of her income, of which it is very much in need. Eventually, in order to marry her German fiancé, she leaves the family, which actively threatens to kill her. Only after several years and two children, does she slowly start to make contact again. In her autobiographical narrative she gives a voice to all Turkish women, imprisoned in a patriarchal society in which they are denied most of the human rights her country of origin, Turkey, claims to respect. Fatma searches for liberty, independence and respect for her gender, in spite of marginalization in German society and oppression at home. She will not give up her fight for a better life:

I did not understand that she was the only one to whom I owe thanks, to this stubborn, broken child [Fatma herself], who was still alive in me. This child was not well, she was familiar with all the abysses of life, wore the scars of violence on her heart and was infinities away from my myth of the

princess, but she had driven me with her instincts safely here, and the time had come that we looked at each other and reached out our hands (p. 217).⁶⁸

The experiencing “I” of the narrative explains the wounds that inequalities and discriminations leave in her heart with the metaphor of “scars” and “abysses”. She is determined to realise her ambitions and hopes and is well aware that the instinctive opposition to oppression of the child in her soul can help her.

Not only dark scenes are narrated here, there are tinges of humour, particularly in the dialogues and the narrator’s use of metaphors and symbols throughout the novel. Its frenetic pace also keeps the reader riveted to the story from beginning to end, barely able to blink for fear of missing some part of the action or another stunningly harsh scene.

The dominant themes of the novel are ‘integration’, intersectionality and support, woven alongside the search for identity between ‘two’ cultures, ‘Turkish’ and ‘German’ as the protagonist oscillates between them. Interestingly, she does not divide cultures into two when narrating her childhood and succeeds unifying them at the end of the novel. However when she narrates as a young woman, the reader is confronted with all the binary complexity of a dual cultural identity, which becomes an unquestioned ‘German’ identity after her marriage. At the end of the novel and having had two children, she suffers a crisis of identity and astonishingly ends by recombining her ‘two’ selves, the lost ‘Turkish’ and the assumed, assimilated ‘German’. This narration uses interior monologue, clever idioms, metaphors and symbols, to address the rebellious, little Fatma, who never had the chance to flourish given to her schoolmates at that age. She tries metaphorically to hold the hand of the little girl who is her neglected childhood self, and walk with her the further paths of her life.

The metaphors and symbols in this narration provide an entertaining surface under which are much deeper and more serious issues. They function to draw the reader in, engaging empathy for this complex, difficult character, while considering not only the effects of discrimination and its restrictions but also the support the protagonist gets and the possibilities it opens for her.

Fatma’s optimistic outlook is sustained by considerable help from her German friends and contacts. Friendship and support from them enable the Turkish narrator to feel valued and cared for, when not at home in her family. The new world this female immigrant enters offers

⁶⁸ Ich begriff nicht, daß ich es nur diesem eigensinnigen, gerissenen Kind zu verdanken hatte, daß ich noch am Leben war. Diese Kind war nicht fein, es war mit allen Abgründen des Lebens vertraut, trug die Narben der Gewalt auf seinem Herzen und war Unendlichkeiten von meinem Mythos der Prinzessin entfernt, aber es hatte mich mit seinem sicheren Instinkten hierher getrieben, die Zeit war gekommen, daß wir einander ansahen und die Hände reichten.

more social freedom, which she could not obtain in her traditional environment. Later, in search of the freedom a driving licence gives and which her family wishes to deny her, she is supported by a German driving instructor and passing her test gives her a new sense of self-worth. This is a part of a new space of possibility in which to attain what she wishes for as a woman. The narrator concludes that, since immigrant Turkish women can find a way to an alternative lifestyle, they will no longer be easily forced into discriminatory gender roles. Their way of life will make it hard to to deprive them of basic rights and hence they will enjoy more freedom, opportunities and social status in German society.

The positive attitude she takes at the end of the book clearly publicizes her optimism and hope:

I have a dream for my future: the image of a path leading from the desert into rolling green hills; a path that is easier after all the hardships and which promises refreshment, and here I see myself, Sonja in high heels and in tight, flashy clothing - just the way I love it - and, hand in hand, right next to me, side by side with me, is the small, neglected Fatma (p. 222).⁶⁹

Regarding her strict discrimination-filled Turkish/Kurdish traditional society as a “desert” and the new society with its space of possibilities as “green hills”, the protagonist presents her transcultural mobility as promising “refreshment”. Wearing high heels and tight clothes symbolizes freedom and ideological independence for this character. However assimilated she is, her past never leaves her, as the narratee has her child persona standing by her all the time.

Oscillating between two different worldviews and cultures, the first-person narrator of the diegetic world of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* discloses the inward hesitations, uncertainties, cultural ambiguity, marginalized position, and social/familial dichotomies of her situation in Germany. As the title immediately announces, Fatma’s is torn between ‘two’ worlds, one the patriarchal gender-biased Turkish ideology and the other the Western and less repressive German society of her host country. Fatma is young when she is brought to Germany, so the German cultural codes she finds in school are attractive because of the personal advantages they offer.

⁶⁹ Für meine Zukunft habe ich einen Traum, das Bild von einem Weg, der aus der Wüste in sanfte grüne Hügel führt, ein Weg, der nach allen Entbehrungen leichter zu gehen und Erquickung verspricht. Auf diesem Weg sehe ich mich, Sonja auf hohen Absätzen und in enger, auffälliger Kleidung – ganz so, wie ich es liebe – und an meiner Hand, direkt neben mir, Seite an Seite, läuft die kleine, verwaarloste Fatma.

It is important that “Henna” in the title of the book represents colour, beauty and the livelihood that she might achieve in the new cultural space. Also Henna Moon, which is a pattern of decoration for hands or feet, can symbolize her wish to design a life of love and beauty for herself.

In this story, the support and assistance given to Fatma is attributed to German society and her German friends. The first-person narrator states:

[...] I seesawed between my German and my Turkish worlds. There [in my German world] I was recognized and admired for the courage with which I handled my problems, here [in my Turkish world] I was beaten for every bit of autonomy that I wanted to win (p. 161).⁷⁰

Her patriarchal family do not allow her any sense of independence, courage and social worth, while the new Western society in which she is probably considered ‘second-rate’ citizen, admires her for all these characteristics. After a problem-filled adolescence and a failure in love, she eventually marries a German doctor, “Michael”. When her family learns of this, they confront her. The family ‘honour’ is in shreds. Her brothers chase her home to kill her. With help of her Turkish-German and German friends she involves the police but says no word to her fiancé, Michael, as she does not want him to know her shame for having such a “primitive and violent family” (p. 193). There is no ‘love at first sight’ but Fatma sees in Michael a method of escaping from her tradition-bound ‘Turkish’ life. The story then presents the other side of the cultural wall, through Michael’s German parents and neighbours. Because of marrying Fatma, Michael is disinherited. Fatma moves into his house but his parents convince the neighbours by not to have any contact with her. She conceals the ostracism and her husband is too insensitive to see this and to recognize her emotional needs after her traumatic life and break with her family.

What follows is hugely enjoyable to read. Fatma gradually falls in love with Michael as her life gets more stable and she slowly finds herself again. The reader sees an increasing bond developing between them as Fatma takes pains to understand Michael and befriend his friends, while taking care of him and making herself beautiful for him.

Both Fatma and her husband are rejected by their own families as a result of this marriage with non-compatriots. At the beginning of their marriage, she changes her name from Fatma

⁷⁰ [...]pendelte ich von meiner deutschen in meine türkische Welt. Dort war ich anerkannt und bewundert für den Mut, mit dem ich meine Probleme anging, hier wurde ich geschlagen für jedes bißchen Autonomie, dass ich gewinnen wollte.

to Sonja and makes many attempts to demonstrate her competence and wisdom to her husband. This leads in the end to her full assimilation.

Now, Fatma is satisfied. She does not have any contact with her patriarchal family that deprived her of her desires for modernity, authority and social recognition. She has two children, Laura, nine years old and Rick, five years old. The children's German names represent her total assimilation.

It is not a straightforward or ordinary romance, but it's obvious to the reader what is happening. Fatma is slow to realize that she loves Michael, but falls just as deeply as he has for her. Her wish to escape the rage of her family and her past gives her the power to cope with the situation, but she cannot completely suppress her feelings and fears, and this leads her to ever more inventive methods of self-concealment in order to ignore not only her past but also her divided self.

This self-concealment, which pursues her in this the novel from the time she marries, represents a major problem for immigrants, especially those from conservative families, namely identity. Towards the end of the novel she realizes that she cannot escape from her past into a new identity but must combine past and present, and manages to find an equilibrium, love for her husband and peace with herself. Full of questions, she tries to find her own identity by walking alone accompanied by her lost childhood memories. She wishes to provide for her children the delight in Turkish culture denied her by the estrangement from her own family, although the new society has offered her a space of opportunity in which she can gain respect and authority.

Relationships in this novel are not only destructive; they also provide redemption and hope. Fatma's German friends, colleagues, boss, teachers, etc. all help and support her and make life easier for her to cope with her conflicts with her family.

The novel covers the full spectrum of emotions; from intense joy, to violent passion to peace and acceptance. It destroys but it also renews. The whole novel maintains an optimistic attitude toward the future although her familial/traditional past proved to be very challenging to the female narrator. The book is not written chronologically; within it the narrator describes her development from childhood to a mature woman.

4.1.3. *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*⁷¹

Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar Renan Demirkan's book, written in the 1990s, is an autobiographical novel told by a pregnant woman lying in bed in hospital waiting to give birth to her child. She makes plans for the future and imagines her and her child's life in a place that has both Turkey and Germany in it, a paradise where she and all her relatives can live. The book is about first and second-generation immigrants and deals with the development of the main female character of Turkish origin, in German society.

The story takes place between the early 1960s and 1980s. It is not clear whether the protagonist's family emigrated as 'Guest Workers', but this is likely to have been the case. The family was supportive of the two daughters and the protagonist obtained a university qualification. The narration is to an unborn baby and takes place in a hospital in the few hours before the baby's birth. It recounts scenes of importance in the life of the narrator combined with a beautifully drawn picture of what her child's life should be as a citizen of two countries, Turkey and Germany, taking the best from both. There are no references to any identifiable time or to events in Germany, so it is difficult to find direct influences from contemporary events. The turbulences of the years from the 1960s to the 1980s are not to be found in this book.

The story is in three parts: the time in hospital; memories of the past; and future plans for her child's life. During the narration she talks with her child about her past, with all her memories and experiences in Germany. She grew up in a well-educated Muslim family, which has lived in Germany since she was nine years old. She graduated from university in humanities (p. 53) and works as an actress (p. 13). She has a German husband and hopes for a better life and future for her child than she has had. The narrator describes the life of a young Turkish girl who is looking for her place in life, somewhere between the dreams of her parents who wish to return to Turkey, and her own desires for life in Germany, present and future. Despite the marginalization and hostility she has experienced, she regards Germany as her homeland.

During the course of the story the narrator shows how she manages to achieve what she wants. The reader is clearly shown the narrator's ability to express different aspects of her personality in different scenes, ranging from polite to aggressive, from happy to sad. Right at the beginning of the story, the narrator depends a lot on her Turkish family and later when pregnant, on her husband.

⁷¹ Schwarzer Tee mit drei Stück Zucker

Each of the two sisters in the story has at least one major character flaw that she struggles to overcome, and the protagonist is attention seeking and thin to the point of starvation but spontaneous, high-spirited, vivacious and witty. She is a bright, complex, and intriguing individual is possessed of a realistic idealism, which can be blunt at times. The reader sees her anger about being the victim of ‘Othering’, which she does not tolerate lightly.

Her character development can be seen in four parts. The first is family life in an immigrant family; the second her realization that her German boyfriend is not the person she wants; the third further education; the fourth getting to know her German husband.

In the novel, the protagonist proves that she is a woman both representative of her age and of German society, yet different from it. She is sometimes prone to outspoken speeches and impulsive actions; yet, she never disregards propriety. Her keen intelligence, her good sense, and her unconventional charm make her unforgettable.

The unique “black tea”, referred to in the title of the book, served with “three lumps of sugar”, is an old Turkish tradition. The practice of drinking tea is firmly ingrained in Turkish culture as a social ritual and a sign of hospitality. Its significance is illustrated in the Turkish saying that “Conversations without tea are like a night sky without the moon”. Thus the title of the book serves as a metaphor for communication.

“Tea” is at the nexus of many social events in Turkey. Hence the significance of the author’s choosing the title to express a wish for social unity in a new society in which there seems to her to be no such tradition of bringing people together. This motif is repeated in numerous passages. It thus represents a memory of Turkey as a distant home. Whenever the mother of the main character thinks about her previous life in Turkey, she dreams of the “unique Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar” (p. 43) and the atmosphere it brings back to her.

However, this also illustrates the difference the narrator finds between Turkey and Germany, where everything happens so hectically and there is no such tradition for men. The contrast of “Black” tea with the whiteness of candies is used to reveal the paradoxes of life. It provides a metaphor for good and bad, which can never really be separated. The sweet tea triggers off feelings of warmth, security and a feeling of belonging and therefore resembles a piece of the home country that can be taken with you. Furthermore, the number “three”, which is emphasized in both title and the structure of the book, represents the wholeness of life. Its roots stem from the meaning of multiplicity, from the creative power of human beings and their growth, no matter what their ‘race’ or religion. Three is a moving forward of energy, overcoming duality, expression, manifestation and synthesis that keep life going forward.

The narrative proposes a cultural integration that avoids assimilation which lets the main character of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* assert her own bicultural place both within and against her family and German society. This largely autobiographical book gives the reader an understanding as to how the Turkish–German culture-on-the-margins can become an essential and productive part of German culture. The narrator develops a new, strong and confident type of heroine in her novel and through this new figure accomplishes two goals. She provides her reader with a successful image of people of Turkish–German heritage, especially women, and at the same time she reveals to the German reader how it is to be ‘Other’. Her father challenges this ‘Othering’ by asserting: “Home can also be the place, you first have to find” (p. 49).⁷² The concept of home is an attachment to a particular piece of land, not a national belonging. The Turkish protagonist’s expecting a baby represents figuratively a new phase of Turkish-German co-existence. Thus she develops a “transcultural utopia” for the unborn child.

The narrator wishes to build a bridge between the cultures, for a cultivated society where people respect and complement each other, held together by mutual tolerance. This pluralistic society, in which nobody is marginalized, is the ideal community the protagonist longs for both for herself and the future generation, represented by her little baby. The narrator’s bridge to “Grandparent’s village” (ibid., p. 120), situated in Germany, symbolizes the roots, national and individual identity and history she strives to retain and adapt in the new society.

Narrative voice functions significantly in defining and developing the narratorial focus within a text. The main perspective of narration during the book is third-person and illustrates an external focalization on the past, present and future of the protagonist. This mode is used for the greater part of the book. The first-person narrative voice of the text, used only rarely in the novel reveals perceptions from within the mind of the experiencing “I” in a diegetic world and imaginatively shows the narrator’s mentality. She experiences the hardship of feeling inferior because she is “not tall and blondly-beautiful” (p. 26), who belongs neither to ‘German’ soil nor society and stops eating to be “at least the thinnest if not the blondest”(ibid). Home and feelings associated with home are highlighted whenever the protagonist or her parents talk nostalgically about Anatolia: “I do not know what home is, a handle to grab, perhaps, to keep from falling” (p. 74).⁷³ The use of this sentence indicates the protagonists feeling of deracination, not knowing where home is for her. The immigrant

⁷² Heimat kann auch der Ort sein, den man erst finden muß, sagte er.

⁷³ Ich weiß nicht, was Heimat ist. Ein Haltegriff vielleicht, um nicht umzufallen.

characters of this book urgently desire a home where they can feel safe and warm, comfortable and at peace, so that the pregnant protagonist talks to her child, heralding a better world that is tolerant of all cultures and religions. For her, a better future stems from multiculturalism and appreciation of diversity. The narrator uses this to discuss problem of belonging and place. She addresses her child as a narratee, who functions as the implied reader as well and tells it:

We will pick up the small hill from my grandparents' village and put it beside on the Rhine, so that the lower slope faces the cathedral. Then we will make a corn-yellow canopy with stars as a seat for you, with colourful carpets from Turkey, soft feather pillows from Austria and cuddly plush animals from Germany. We will build the most beautiful four-poster bed on earth. ... get the hot midday sun away from the dusty roads of Anatolia and hang it over the old town of Cologne. Could you imagine how it then would shine! By the way, the Rhine must be cleaned, so that we can grill fish with a pinch of salt and two to three drops of lemon, which is a wonderful lunch. For dessert there would be white mulberries. In the evening we will eat bacon pancakes and sip hot black tea with them (p. 120).⁷⁴

This idealistic description renders a multicultural society in which there is no feeling of loneliness, otherness and marginalization. This is a land and society that can be called home by an immigrant.

The protagonist's wishes for a multicultural society combine her Grandparents' Muslim village with the German Christian cathedral in order to globalize religion and culture in a way suitable for the twenty-first century. The cultural codes of German society, Austrian cushions and Turkish Kelims together offer her a place of happiness and hope. This positive tone is obvious at the end of the narrative where the voice changes to third-person, describing the immigrant family in front of a fountain:

Standing in front of the fountain father wiped his eyes with a backward movement [and] clasped his wife closer: We must tell our grandchildren the comical stories of Hacivat and Karagöz. Mother nodded: Ali as well [the protagonist's German husband who converted to Islam for her]. I'll cook a chicken in walnuts, and pressed the handkerchief in her fist. The

⁷⁴ Wir holen das Berglein aus dem Dorf meiner Großeltern und stellen es an den Rhein, so daß die Seite mit der Mulde zum Dom liegt. Dann basteln wir einen maisgelben Baldachin mit Sternen und machen deinen Platz daraus. Mit bunten Kelims aus der Türkei, weichen Federkissen aus Österreich und kuscheligen Plüschtieren aus Deutschland bauen wir das schönste Himmelbett auf Erden. ... denn wir holen die heiße Mittagssonne von den staubigen Straßen Anatoliens weg und hängen sie über die Kölner Altstadt. Was meinst du, wie die dann glänzt. Übrigens, der Rhein muß saubergemacht werden, damit wir Fische grillen können, mit einer Prise Salz und zwei bis drei Tropfen Zitrone wird das ein wunderbares Mittagessen. Zum Nachtsch gibt es weiße Maulbeeren. Abends holen wir Speckfannkuchen und schlürfen heißen, schwarzen Tee dazu.

clock on the church tower was just striking twelve as they got into the underground (p. 139).⁷⁵

In this paragraph the narrator objectively describes the movements of the characters without penetrating into their minds. The family shows an acceptance of assimilation and integration with German society in spite of being ambivalent whether they are Turkish or German. When visiting Turkey, they feel and are regarded as German while in Germany they feel that they are Turkish. This is why the tone above is somewhat nostalgic and sad, as the parents try to pass all Turkish “comical stories of Hacivat and Karagöz” to their grandchildren as well as their German son-in-law.

They plan to cook Turkish meals and when talking about it, the camera-like eye of the omniscient narrator describes her emotions as she presses the handkerchief in her hand. Although they have suffered various vicissitudes in a new country, these sentences are the herald of a bright future with a positive and pleasant echo in the characters’ voices and minds. The ending heralds a new world which is symbolized by the new-born baby just coming to this world:

The anaesthetist is here! The Dutch midwife beams at the pregnant woman. Two other green coats with hats and masks squeak on the linoleum toward the green door. The woman presses her eyes shut. She will only re-open them when a tiny croak calls (p. 139).⁷⁶

The Dutch midwife “beams” at the immigrant woman, radiating a positive attitude to the delivering mom. Although birth is accompanied by pain and tears, it is followed by a bright future represented by an innocent baby emerging into a multicultural society and being an accepted part of it. Anaesthesia, which could be considered a metaphorical death, is followed by rebirth and revival, starting with a “croak”. This rebirth and growth is emphasized more by the dominance of colour “green”. All these signs maintain hope and optimism for the main character and other immigrants.

4.1.4. Kara Günlük: *The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Vor dem Springbrunnen stehend, wischte der Vater sich mit einer ruckartigen Bewegung die Augen, drückte sich enger an seine Frau: Wir müssen unserer Enkelin die lustigen Geschichten von Hacivat und Karagöz erzählen. Die Mutter nickte: dem Ali auch. Ich koche ein Walnußhuhn, und drückte das Taschentuch in der Faust. Die Kirchturmuhre schlug gerade zwölf, als sie in die letzte U-Bahn einstieg.

⁷⁶ Uhr. Der Narkosearzt ist da! Die holländische Hebamme strahlt die Schwangere an. Zwei weitere grüne Kittel mit Mütze und Mundschutz quietschen über das Linoleum in Richtung grüne Tür. Die Frau drückt die Augen zu. Sie will sie erst dann wieder öffnen, wen nein winziges Krächzen sie ruft.

⁷⁷ *Kara Günlük*: Die geheimen Tagebücher des Sesperado

Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado is a semi-autobiographical political satire about a young protagonist who grows up in Berlin in a Turkish family, which is neither rich nor poor. The author, Mutlu Ergün-Hamaz studied Sociology at the London School of Economics and is currently working as an author, educator, social researcher and performer in Berlin. Since 2001, he is an Awareness and Empowerment Coach and, with Noah Sow, developed the anti-racist political satire “edutainment attack”. His book *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* appeared in May 2010 and focuses on Racialization and Empowerment in Germany.

This book is a Bildungsroman in which the protagonist Sesperado’s three aunts play an important role. Their criticism of society opens his eyes to topics like discrimination, racism, ‘People of Colour’ and empowerment. In the novel he criticizes all the clichés of the host society and he believes that there should be a revolution in order to put an end to them and to erase discrimination. He would be the self-appointed leader of this revolution. In this satire one can laugh at racism and how bizarre it can be. The protagonist describes himself as a kind of guerrilla fighter or an underground fighter of the POC (‘People of Colour’), who leads by taking power over the ‘whites’.

The book is written in the present tense and deals with a timeframe of around ten years. According to the author it was originally complete in 2002⁷⁸, one year after the 09.11.2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and was finally published in 2012 one year after Bin Laden’s death. However the only reference to a date in the book is 2005. Occurrences between 2002 and 2011 could thus have had some influence on the substance of the book. A reference to aircraft security checks points to the influence of the terroristic attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and increasing conflict between religions all over the world, one of the results of which is an increasing of dislike and hatred of Islam. This could be, and can still be felt in Germany. The sarcastically adversarial position the author takes to ‘Whites’ points in the alienation Muslims felt at this time. The book is silent about the upheavals of the reunification of Germany, although these were accompanied by an intensification of discrimination against what the narrator calls “People of Colour”. There is at least one possibly Islamist character named Jihad with “Allah Akbar” as his cell-phone ringtone. The protagonist himself says he does not like visiting ‘Whites’ alone. However, he

⁷⁸ Email from the author on 28.02.2017

uses this in a sarcastic fashion as a provocation and the Jihadi character may also be intended as a provocation.

Character development in this work is mostly in terms of relationship, but also in terms of becoming politically aware⁷⁹. The former is of more importance here the cover states that the book is “a funny love story disguised as a resistance struggle and a resistance struggle disguised as a love story”, which shows more love than hate for German society. References to Sesperado’s relationship with his Turkish-German girlfriend Songül are ironically interposed throughout the narration.

Sesperado breathes with the multiple dimensions of a living human being, and every reader is impelled to react to him in a personal way. The diary in which he records his beliefs, ideas and comments, poses a challenge to every reader, whether aware of discrimination or not. It presents a kind of count down, in which Sesperado counts the days until his revolution takes place. He uses radical discontent against ‘whites’ in strongly ironic way, including clichés that whites are racist and belong to a colonialist dominating group. He often characterizes whites pejoratively and offensively and asserts that the whites holding power and position are oppressors.

The conundrum that is Sesperado stems from the fact that, every time the reader looks at him, he is different and, of course, his revolution never takes place.

Sesperado’s paradoxical nature draws readers to the protagonist. At once the consummate rebel, in self-imposed exile from ‘White’ society, he simultaneously assumes he is the champion of ‘People of Colour’. He is angry, dejected, somewhat rude, and sarcastic; he is a fighter; manic, enthusiastic, and full of life. He is also a critical thinker, who accepts that he must deal with life on its own terms, that he must choose to meet challenges and tries to change the world with an imagined army.

Sesperado astutely observes daily discrimination in German society, presents it in a harshly sarcastic way, but also understands that he can blame no social ills on any one person. He decides to gather an army and begin a revolution in which no reader can really believe. *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* is aware of the ironies, barriers and contradictions experienced by both Germans and immigrants, and mocks them while, turning his sarcasm on himself through his unrealistic revolutionary message.

⁷⁹ Email from the author on 28.02.2017

He permanently makes fun of 'Others' and practices his own form of discrimination by making 'all Germans' 'Others', and using this as a deliberate ploy to make the reader aware how bizarre and destructive this is in everyday life and illuminate how 'People of Colour', 'Turks', 'Turkish-Germans' and other immigrants feel.

Sesperado is infuriatingly adept at twisting and manipulating words. He confuses his readers with his sarcastic, socio-critical point of view of the ridiculous way in which society stamps individuals and generalizes them while humiliating them. He makes Apartheid work two ways, openly mocks the 'Whites' and states that 'People of Colour' should have no contact with them because they are 'White' and 'Other'. Words are his constant companions, his weapons, and his defence.

In the middle of the story he comes across a girl called Songül, also a political activist, whom he loves. Tenderly the love, which has been sparked in the protagonist, changes him and the diary expresses how he feels for Songül and how he loves her. In the last part of the book Songül writes in Sesperado's diary that he is not the hero he thinks he is, but an arrogant top banana with boring monologues (p. 149), and actually a coward who will not dare to do what he claims he wants to. This however, does not produce any change in his behaviour.

The characters of the diary lay bare the unintentional comedy of everyday racism and counter the dominant assumption of privilege again and again. The Secret Diaries are an amusing guide on how to rebel and at the same time still something to enjoy. The overconfidence of the protagonist lets the reader feel the pain and frustration that lie behind the ironical surface. *There are hidden meanings in the title of the book. Kara Günlük is Turkish for daily blackness or darkness as opposed to the 'whiteness' of Germans who are socially dominant and have marginalized the Turkish-German protagonist. 'Race' and dark skin is repeatedly mentioned within the text, to solidify the racial marginalization against which the narrator is rebelling. However, Kara can also mean earth, ground or ivory black. Thus the provocative nature of protagonist could be related to his search for 'land and territory', in other words 'identity' in Berlin. The "secret" diary signifies his wishes for land, freedom, social status and empowerment of his 'People of Colour' in German society.*

His wish to privilege 'People of Colour' over 'whites' mean he is incapable of the balance and impartiality needed to break a binary opposition of whites and blacks and instead performs a reversal of roles in which Turks are privileged over the whites. There is an immense irony in this.

It can be said that the book is a successful anti-racist satire, combining entertainment and intelligence. A vocabulary of anti-racist war is presented to the reader as what the Sesperado calls: “critical whiteness studies”. In spite of all the overconfidence of the protagonist, the narration still lets the reader feel the pain and disappointment, which underlies its surface. Paradoxically at the end of the book, rather than at the beginning, the narrator greets all ‘People of Colour’. He asks them to stand tall in the face of the discrimination and prejudice of everyday life in Germany and in this, there is no irony. The standpoint of the narrator and the reason for his narration is made absolutely clear for the first time. The book reveals itself as a polemic in satirical form.

4.1.5. *Salam Berlin*

Yadé Kara is a Turkish-German writer who was born in Eastern Anatolia and grew up in West Berlin. She studied English and German and then drama. She has worked as an actress, teacher and journalist. *Salam Berlin* (2003), her first novel, won the *German Book Prize* and the *Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Förderpreis* in 2004.

This book starts in 1989 at a time when Berlin was strongly affected by the fall of the Berlin Wall, which reshaped both the city and Germany. With the fall of Wall the Turkish migrant community had to deal with new people from the former East Germany. There was an increased number of attacks against people with brown or black skin colour, some of whom were recent refugees. At this time Berlin began to develop into a cultural centre of Europe, with a cosmopolitan population. At the beginning of the book the Berlin Wall has already fallen, however payments are mentioned only in Deutschmarks, which fixes the time frame of the book to the years between 1989 and 2002 before the Euro became the currency.

In this story Hasan is both narrator and participant. His skill as observing narrator is shown in the way he cleverly makes Layla, his uncle Breschnew, Kazan, Cora and other characters focal points of the action, while remaining in the background. Although he initially seems outside the action, Hasan slowly moves to the forefront, becoming an important vehicle for the novel's message. On one level, Hasan represents every young person with an immigration background and the issues that accompany this. He, however, comes from a fairly educated background and is a complex character with his own individuality. Given this background, Hasan has fewer problems than classmates with an immigration background, who need more support than him. He is portrayed as a caring man, enough of a dreamer to set goals, but practical enough to know when to abandon his dreams.

Salam Berlin is a metadiegetic story with a first-person narrator, the 19-year-old Hasan Kazan, called Hansi by Germans, which he dislikes. He is in search of an identity at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall, when new, and often cosmopolitan, perspectives are opening up. Raised in Kreuzberg, a suburb of Berlin, by, at first his father and mother, and later by his father because his mother divorced and returned to Istanbul having discovered that her husband has two wives one Turkish, one German, Hasan tries to find his balance. He feels primarily that Berlin is his true home. This is a novel with an open ending, which concludes with hope, new perspectives, unity and an emphasis on transculturality (p. 382), summarized in the following quote:

Actually, I had all of both. From East and West, of German and Turkish, from here and there. But the people like Wolf could not understand or did not want to understand it. They saw me always as a problem case. Someone pulled back and forth between cultures, someone who did not belong. *Piss off!* (p.223).⁸⁰

The paragraph above illustrates how the protagonist often feels throughout his narration.

During the book the narrator Hasan is in Berlin looking for an apartment, work, a great love and self-honesty. It is a symbolic search for identity and homeland. In describing his experiences after the fall of the Berlin Wall, he narrates his feelings about the drastic changes that German reunification brings with it, and how he and his family cope with the transformation of the Berlin Hasan knew.

The story is about growing up, relationships and experiences in Germany, his search for true love, his father's betrayal of his mother and his search for identity. *Salam Berlin* is a cosmopolitan book that illustrates and opposes stereotypes. Xenophobic slogans frighten the narrator and make him simultaneously aggressive. The cold Cora, who he loves and who breaks his heart, or his father's hidden affair with a German woman on the other side of the Wall, are difficult for the young Hasan to cope with, but make a perfect plot for a fast, tragicomic novel such as *Salam Berlin*. The first-person narrator whose focalization is the window, through which the audience can see and feel re-unified Berlin, presents a diegetic world. Hence the narrative is a multifaceted account of a young immigrant's life within a newly created socio-cultural milieu.

The narration is in fine detail describing the history of the city, streets and people with a cosmopolitan emphasis. What this Turkish-German young man experiences, makes the reader reflect on the effects of the fall of the Berlin Wall in the heads of people with a permanent backdrop of discrimination. During the book, Hasan repeatedly makes clear that he wants to study Archaeology but never starts. This is symbolically related to Hasan's inner world, since through archaeology he desires to dig up the old roots and the magnificent and powerful past not only of Turkey, but also Berlin as a contrast to his present marginalized status. Hasan's honesty of language shows his openness to feelings, with a vital sense of adventure and a dry sense of humour threaded through the whole novel.

⁸⁰ Eigentlich hatte ich alles von beidem. Von Ost und West, von deutsch und türkisch, von hier und da. Aber das konnten Leute wie Wolf nicht verstehen oder wollten es nicht verstehen. Sie sahen in mir immer einen Problemfall. Jemanden, der zwischen den Kulturen hin- und hergerissen war, jemanden, der nicht dazugehörte. *Piss off!*

As the book portrays, the Turkish-German members of German society find themselves after the Wall falls in a cultural fabric that has changed. The larger society forces immigrants to gain, or at least to come to terms with as many characteristics of the changing host society as possible, although many immigrants resist and retreat into their own shells and several characters in the book do this. However, the title is suggestive of hope, since the word “Salam”, which is used as “hello”, is both a greeting and a welcome. When greeting a new person, this word helps to begin communication. Thus in this novel, the narrator addresses a Berlin which he greets and is greeted in return with “Salam”, the Muslim salutation meaning “peace”, as a confirmation of the narrator’s final peace with his new social milieu.

Hasan is a stylishly cool protagonist, who narrates what he experiences and has experienced with almost no direct comment, whether positive or negative. However using metaphors, change of settings and irony, he creates an atmosphere, which makes reader think more deeply and develop empathy while reading. What helps make him remarkable, is the way that although he is fashion-conscious and bit of a socialite, he does not allow himself to become blinded by this superficiality, unlike some of his Turkish-German and German friends. When he realizes that people who regard themselves as his social or rather ‘racial’ superiors, such as his roommates, Wolf, Ingrid, Rosa, and even his love, Cora, are shallow, hollow, uncaring and insensitive, he is disgusted and distances himself. This makes Hasan in many ways an outsider, who, half willingly and half forced, blanks out his discriminatory and racist experiences. He deals with life in his own way by pretending indifference, trying to ignore what is negative in order to remain able to function while conscious of the problems of his immigrant community.

The dominant theme of *Salam Berlin*, woven alongside that of the search for identity is acceptance, whether from his father, German society or the girl he loves.

Hasan has what many of the other characters in the book lack, personal integrity and a sense of right and wrong which distinguishes him from others by his patience and tolerance. Through the course of *Salam Berlin*, Hasan grows, from a man dreaming of a fortune, unsure of what he wants to do into a man who knows by the end of the story how he wants to live his life.

4.1.6. *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*⁸¹

This autobiography tells the story of Nilgün Tasman, who was born in Turkey and grew up in Germany. She knows all about the old Turkish traditions of her grandmother and, at the same time, enjoys the freedom of growing up in Germany. Her parents struggle to cope with ‘two’ cultures, but Nilgün succeeds in reconciling both worlds.

The book is set in the 1960s and 1970s at a time of economic boom in Germany ensured by the use of ‘Guest Workers’. Despite this majority of the public in Germany were against hiring them. The beginning of the oil crisis in 1973 ended the recruitment of immigrant workers in Germany. By this time, Nilgün is a trainee hairdresser, and is studying psychology.

I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds is a book filled with complex character development and interesting relationships.

“Girls are born as brides”, says a Turkish adage quoted in the book (p.86). This pre-conception follows Nilgün and her sister Mine throughout the book. Nilgün longs for freedom and this never leaves her as she attempts to live the best of Turkish and of German life; while wanting to respect Turkish traditions, she is fascinated by of the German way of life. She feels the disruption her parents live through everyday, in living between ‘two’ cultures and is able to distance herself from the more brutal of her father’s attitudes, and experience what it means to have roots in Turkey and at the same time wings in Germany that grow and lift her over the many obstacles in her path. Through childhood memories she tells a wonderfully poetic story which could be taken to represent the conflicts of ‘Guest Worker’ children. As a child she cleverly copes with a life full of limitations, by much reading and writing. She study, qualifies, and works as a hairdresser. The story is narrated with clear intelligence, with plenty of humour to bridge potential divides.

In *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, Tasman’s world is divided between two cultures: German and Turkish. As a very young immigrant in a new geographical setting, she is forced to struggle between Turkish norms and the new German ones and gradually copes by adopting German cultural codes more than Turkish. For her socially liberal Germany seems like a “dream” and the title reflects this. However, from puberty, her reality becomes cold and harsh as her father imposes strict Turkish traditions. Her experiences in the German side of her life present a problematic contrast to traditional Turkish life. In the end, her

⁸¹ *Ich Träume Deutsch und Wache Türkisch auf: Eine Kindheit in Zwei Welten*

“wings” (p. 166) take her out of the “dream” of the title and into a new reality, which reconciles both.

The world depicted is that of a child able to open possibilities in spite of restrictions, with an open-ness to adaptation and a capacity to integrate surprising in someone so young. She observes that her elder sister, Mine has accepted the fetters of her traditional family, and decides to live her own life differently. The narrator beautifully portrays her oscillation between the ‘two’ cultures in process of finding her own way through life.

The narrative voice of this diegetic world oscillates between first person narrator and omniscient. The omniscient narrator provides the space to talk about other characters’ personalities and inner feelings, while the experiencing “I” talks of her secrets and challenges:

I laughed a lot while writing and also cried now and then, but thought above all very deeply about my family and me, my background and my attachment to two nations. I am very happy that I have decided for both cultures and even more, because, in this way I have learned to fly (p. 172).⁸²

As the story develops the reader sees relationships from different aspects. For the protagonist Nilgün, the child of a ‘Guest Worker’, there are a series of formative incidents, which mould the character the reader sees at the end of the book. The first of these is her first day in a Catholic kindergarten, when a racist Sister throws her out. The second is her friendship with a neighbour’s daughter, Helen, a German. The third is her divorced feminist aunt, Birsen, who the men of the family hate and both sisters love. The last is watching how her sister Mine is punished in the family when rebelling as a teenager, which changes family relationships drastically.

Nilgün and her sister Mine, are motivated to prove themselves in school and society, however there are unpleasant and racially tinged incidents, which make the girls worry and instil doubts about the future. However, there are also kind German sub-characters, a butcher who is a good friend of Nilgün; Helen, her best friend and neighbour; Helen’s mother, the smiling Mrs. Schäufole, and a librarian, who give Nilgün hope for a better future and feeling of acceptance and support.

⁸² Ich habe beim Schreiben viel gelacht und auch hin und wieder geweint, aber vor allem sehr gründlich über meine Familie und mich, meine Herkunft und meine Verbundenheit mit zwei Nationen nachgedacht. Ich bin sehr glücklich darüber, dass ich mich für beide Kulturen und noch mehr entscheiden habe. Denn so habe ich fliegen gelernt.

In her struggle, between modernity and tradition Nilgün visits the library frequently and reads as much as possible to learn her rights as a woman and find out the “truth” (p. 168) for herself. Her Aunt Birsen Teyze and her grandmother Babaanne insist that she and her sister do this (p. 160). “ ‘Remember the words of Birsen Teyze and Babaanne. You must burn the midnight oil and get good grades, then you will have more freedom!’ - I whispered. Tears ran down Mine’s face: ‘How are you supposed to fly with broken wings’, she asked, and smiled”⁸³ (p. 166).

These lines describes the sisters struggle for their rights while the parents, because of their conservative beliefs, insist on restrictions.

The reader can see the decline of a happy family into a home of confusion, lies, and accusations. This poisons the relationship between Nilgün’s parents and between Mine and her father. As the story progresses, it becomes hard for Nilgün to watch her sister being beaten for wanting the life of a normal teenager and she makes a decision to retreat into reading in the library to preserve a space for herself.

As Mine and Nilgün grow up the accusations of the father and their Turkish relatives, that Mine is associating with boys, result in her being brutally treated so that she gives up any attempt to struggle for freedom and eventually accepts an arranged marriage. Nilgün uses the library and every trick possible not to end up like Mine. This leads her into an education, although this was not originally her intention, and by the end of the book she has a qualification in psychology and is happily married to a Turkish-German man who she loves.

Optimism is a leitmotiv of this book, where the narrator talks so often about “freedom” and “flying”. At the end of the novel she confesses that: “I am very happy that I chose for both cultures and more. This has taught me to fly” (p.172)⁸⁴. She achieves this only through warm cross-cultural relationships and bonds with both Germans and Turkish-Germans. The narrator states at the end of the book that she and her Turkish-German husband wish, through the book, to provide their children with their own “wings to fly” (p. 160) into their own lives.

⁸³ Denk an die Worte von Birsen Teyze und von Babaanne. Du musst Tinte lecken, gute Noten bringen, dann hast du mehr Freiheiten!’ flüsterte ich. Mine liefen die Tränen über das Gesicht: „Wie soll man denn mit gebrochenen Flügeln fliegen?’ fragte sie und lächelte.

⁸⁴ Ich bin sehr glücklich darüber, dass ich mich für beide Kulturen und noch mehr entschieden habe. Denn so habe ich fliegen gelernt.

4.2. Analysis of the Selected Migrant Literature

This chapter deals primarily with the difficulties and hindrances, but also chances and opportunities that the young protagonists are faced with. To remain coherent, this chapter is divided in to four major parts: firstly mainly dealing with interpersonal influences. The second part is concerned with the reaction of protagonists to their difficulties, personal and institutional. Thirdly discrimination, overt and covert is analysed through the texts. In the third section, three major areas are brought into focus; racism, sexism and classism, that is, forms of discrimination. Fourthly on a more positive note, the chances and opportunities, which enable the protagonists to enlarge their space of possibilities, are considered. This division has been used as it has been found appropriate in various works of social science, and has proved its validity here. Each part begins with a short preface followed by an analysis, which considers detail from all six books. This examines different aspects of transcultural adjustment for the protagonists and involves consideration of the literary devices for example figurative language⁸⁵, sarcasm, irony, symbols etc. employed by authors in the quotes chosen (see sections on: 3.2. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Narrative Analysis of the Selected Migrant Literature p. 124 and 3.2.1. The Work of Martinez & Scheffel with a Transcultural Perspective, p. 126).

⁸⁵ Figurative language uses word association to convey emotion in a different way from the ordinary every-day language and conveys meanings in a more expressive and effective manner (Roberts and Kreuz, 1995, p. I).

4.2.1. Main Sources of Influence on the Characters

The work of the following chapter provides answers to the first research question: “1.a) To what extent does the selected literature illustrate and examine the encouragements and obstructions in young Turkish-German protagonists’ lives? 1.b) Have the selected texts social implications in the reproduction of institutional discrimination regarding family, school, society and social networks?” It deals with four categories: families, school, public contacts and network of social interaction chosen after a several preliminary readings of the selected books.

4.2.1.1. Importance of Family in Protagonists' Lives

A family is the first community for any individual, in which he or she is born and grows up. Parents, siblings and grandparents as well as aunts and uncles can affect the lifestyle and ideology of a person. Since they first mould the children, what the family group accepts or rejects will form the outlook of a young person. That is why the family can never be fully excluded from literature, in particular autobiographies and bildungsroman/coming of age novels.

In the novels at hand, the Turkish protagonists, who are mostly the first-person narrators, recount their experiences, feelings and events around them. They cover stories of their families, schools, the new society in which they now find themselves, and social networks. Since immigration has many different influences on the family members, each behave uniquely and thus are analysed uniquely. Parents adopt the new cultural codes in Germany in their own special way, as do the rest of their families. The way they deal with different issues in the new society is played out in the life of their children, whether positively or negatively.

The families face unique challenges as they adapt to their new geographical location and social customs and codes, yet they also bring with them the strengths of strong familial bonds. These can be intensified because not knowing the dominant language and culture limits them to contact among family members only. This restricted contact can also be caused by feelings of alienation and estrangement from the 'natives' or those without migration backgrounds, who are thus, for them, the 'Other' (Said, 1978, p. 39 and p. 97). Paradoxically what can be seen in the novels studied in this work is a double-sided 'Othering', in contrast to Edward Said's classic treatment of 'Othering', considered as a one-sided colonialist phenomenon. The novels show a 'self-othering' from the Turkish side as rather frequent (p. 89, in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* or very frequently in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* for example p. 9f. p. 28, etc.). This however, might be an automatic reflection of the permanent 'Othering' the protagonists experience by virtue of being seen as different in the majority society. However, the way the families react in the new society and influence their children varies widely.

The mother figure in *Salam Berlin*, for instance, never allows herself to even begin to accept German culture and considers herself and the other members of the family as guests in Germany. Her hope of returning to her country of origin keeps her separated and alienated from the new society. She always refers to her feeling that "We are only guests here, she said.

And guests must also return home again. She was always ready to leave” (p. 65).⁸⁶ She feels part of a diaspora and tries to transfer this feeling to others. Germany and German society never become a home for her, and she never feels the sense of belonging. This attitude toward the host country heavily influences Hasan, the protagonist in this book, as he continuously observes how his mother suffers from feelings of alienation and of being out of place. In the face of other barriers and challenges in the majority German society, a protagonist such as Hasan, influenced by his mother, can frequently sway between the feeling of belonging to what he perceives as Turkish traditions or what he perceives as German ones. However, Hasan is looking for a home, love and work in the new environment and considers Berlin as his new home. His well-educated father is the reason for their immigration because he is offered a scholarship to study at a distinguished university: “Then Baba got a scholarship to study aeronautical engineering at the Technical University of Berlin. Mom, who was at the time very pregnant, landed at Tempelhof Airport. And it was here in Berlin that I came into this world” (p. 163).⁸⁷

The protagonist of *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* is massively influenced by his aunts. As he states, he is taken to various political events: “Now and then they take me to such events, but they don’t like it when I just follow them around and hide behind them. They want me to be fully engaged in everything and not be an observer only” (p. 19).⁸⁸ Sesperado’s Aunts eagerly try to socialize him to be an active member of the immigrant as well as German society. They are successful, because, when he grows up, he establishes a kind of satiric, ironic attitude to life that makes him a self-announced leader of dissidents. He mentions how his aunts “grinned triumphantly, but secretly, and shook each other’s hand. Yes, they had raised me well” (p. 20).⁸⁹ The aunts have tried hard to “politicize (ibid.)” him and are pleased when he gives an answer to a German in a conference on immigration. The education, in the widest sense of the term, they give to Sesperado is about the various barriers and challenges immigrants have to overcome in the new society, challenges such as racism, discrimination, being ‘People of Colour’, lack of empowerment and social issues regarding immigrants (p. 31).

⁸⁶ Wir sind nur Gäste hier, sagte sie. Und Gäste müssen auch mal wieder gehen. Sie war immer auf Weggehen eingestellt.

⁸⁷ Dann bekam Baba ein Stipendium für Flugzeugbau an der Technischen Universität Berlin. Hochschwanger landete Mama auf dem Flughafen Tempelhof. Und hier in Berlin erblickte ich das Tageslicht der Welt.

⁸⁸ Ab und zu nehmen sie mich auf solche Veranstaltungen mit, aber sie mögen es nicht, wenn ich mich hinter ihren Rockzipfeln verstecke. Sie wollen, dass ich voll im Geschehen drinnen bin und nicht immer nur alles beobachte.

⁸⁹ Meine Tanten grinsten triumphierend, aber unauffällig, und gaben sich Shakehands. Ja, sie haben mich gut erzogen.

The mother of the unknown protagonist and her sister, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* (p. 40) is similar to Hasan's mother in *Salam Berlin* in sharing alienation and a lack of sense of belonging as she tries to make her daughters understand her emotions when she says:

She looked at her daughters sadly: if you could be in my shoes a day and see the day with my eyes, you would understand: it is not about the way out of the dust to shiny asphalt, not the 3,000 km, which can be measured. But it is about looking back, which becomes increasingly blurred. The time is lost to us and leaves us with the memories alone. With each step I became blinder (p. 40).⁹⁰

The narrator uses direct definitions in naming the problems of displacement. An indirect personification is employed, displaying the mother's pessimism in speech. For her, all the luxury of modern life in Germany is of no importance and she longs to go back to her country Turkey, which is her true home. Time has lost its meaning and she is obsessed only with her memories of Turkey. She feels alienated and homesick so deeply and severely that she uses the metaphor of becoming blind. However, her immediate problem is the teenage crisis of her daughters: "If she could only get her daughters through the risky hippy-period safely, until graduation. The worst would then be overcome" (p. 42).⁹¹

She is always worried about her children and their future like any other mother. However, unlike some other parents in selected novels, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* the parents regard education of their daughters as a priority: "Their daughters should study at a scientific faculty and after graduation they should go back with their parents to their home country and participate in social and political welfare" (p. 49).⁹² The parents clearly wish to go back to their own country and prepare their children for this. However, as the children grow up in Germany, and make new friends and careers there, they (the parents) find that they prefer Germany and its lifestyle so much that they never move back to Turkey. A similar transition is observable in all other selected novels. Only one parent, Hasan's mother in *Salam Berlin*, returns to Turkey and she still spends a considerable period of time in Germany.

⁹⁰ Traurig sah sie ihre Töchter an : Könntet ihr einen Tag in meinen Schuhen gehen, einen Tag mit meinen Augen sehen, ihr würdet verstehen: Es ist nicht der Weg aus dem Staub zum glänzenden Asphalt, nicht die 3000 km, die man messen kann, es ist der Blick zurück, der immer verschwommener geworden ist. Die Zeit verliert sich in uns hinein und läßt uns mit den Erinnerungen allein. Mit jedem Schritt bin ich blinder geworden.

⁹¹ Wenn sie nur die Töchter heil durch diese vom Weltuntergang bedrohte Hippiezeit bis zum Abitur brächte. Wäre das Schlimmste überwunden.

⁹²Töchter sollten an einer wissenschaftlichen Fakultät studieren, dann mit ihren Eltern zurückgehen und am sozialen und politischen Wohl des Herkunftslandes mitarbeiten.

Educational ambition becomes a motivator for the children to study hard in order to fulfil their parents' desire, and school a point of contact between communities. Although Turkish lifestyle and tradition involve many restrictions where the relationship between girls and boys is concerned, the protagonist in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* breaks down this Berlin Wall and makes friends with a German boy. The narrator recounts that "They met before school, in the break, after school. They were inseparable until the final exam [graduation]. Only her parents could not be allowed to know anything about him. They wanted a Turkish man for her. Birds of a feather flock together, her mother said. At the same time, she felt closer to him than anyone before and she had feelings for him like she had never had for anyone before" (ibid, p. 62).⁹³

Her revolt against Turkish traditions and love for a young German oppose familial values. Gradually, she goes through a process of integration and observes that "within two years, the boundary between 'us' and 'the others' had already got so blurred for the girls that they felt the habits of the villagers [Germans without migration backgrounds in the village, where they live] as a very natural part of their own life" (ibid., p. 114).⁹⁴ The protagonist's integration happens rapidly, since her desire for a space of opportunities, or rather room to breathe, necessitates this. Although the contradiction between parental teaching and social norms and codes postpones the sister's total integration, they eventually become a part of German society.

Familial relations and rules are quite different in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*. In this autobiography, Fatma, the protagonist, suffers a duality that bisects her way of life, since; "Whether we liked it or not, we had to follow and accept certain rules" and then the problems begin when, "we began to question only when we had come to Germany, where our Turkish-Kurdish value-system could help us no further" (p. 38).⁹⁵ These rules mostly restrict children, especially the girls. The standards of the family are patriarchal and strict, and differ from the more liberal society outside the home. The influence of family is not as positive as in other stories, so that Fatma envies her German friend for enjoying a liberal and supportive family. Here Helene, Fatma's friend arrives home after school:

⁹³ Sie trafen sich vor der Schule, in der Pause, nach der Schule. Bis zum Abitur waren sie unzertrennlich. Nur ihre Eltern durften nichts von ihm erfahren. Sie wollten einen Türken für sie. Gleiches gehört zu Gleichem, sagte die Mutter. Dabei fühlte sie sich ihm so gleich wie niemandem zuvor.

⁹⁴ Aber für die Mädchen hatte sich innerhalb von nur zwei Jahren die Grenze zwischen wir und den anderen bereits so verwischt, daß sie die Gewohnheiten der Dorfbewohner als ganz selbstverständlichen Teil ihres eigenen Lebens empfanden.

⁹⁵ Ob es uns gefiel oder nicht, wir lernten gewisse Regeln einzuhalten und zu akzeptieren und fingen erst dann zu fragen an, als wir nach Deutschland kamen, wo uns unser türkisch-kurdisches Wertesystem nicht mehr weiterhelfen konnte.

It was obvious that they had been expecting their daughter. In this greeting there was an intimacy and warmth that made me unspeakably sad all at once. In that brief moment, I knew what has separated the worlds of this girl from mine: they have a real home, she was allowed to be a child. She had parents who were caring and they never sent her to a strange place, from which she did not know the way back home. As soon as I got into our apartment, my day of work would begin: The school bag would be placed in the corner, as my mother needed help with cooking cleaning and washing (p. 116).⁹⁶

While Fatma's German classmate can enjoy her childhood and the affections and allegiance of her parents, Fatma's parents regard her as a household help. Instead of playing or studying, there is "cooking, cleaning and washing". This environment affects her so much that when she grows up, she totally disconnects from her family, suffers from a lack of self-confidence and is insecure both in her Turkish community and with her German husband. She later, regains confidence and establishes contact with her Turkish family. In this autobiographic narration, the narrative voice is first-person "I" who gives details about the surrounding events using internal and external clues such as "I knew what has separated the worlds of this girl from mine" or "my mother needed help" to describe feelings. The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Fatma, the narrating "I" of the story is a young female who refers to herself as "I", "me" and "my". In the scene, an extradiegetic perspective is adopted to present a life style arranged from without for Fatma, compared with the external action presented in the description of her friend's life, to emphasis how the two differ. An indirect personification is employed here as the protagonist displays the atmosphere in a way which leaves to the reader the task of inferring the inequality implied in the narrator's observations. The narrator steps outside herself to emphasize a difference in upbringing, which her distancing in the narration shows she finds almost impossible to accept.

Unlike those of the protagonist of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, Fatma's parents in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* are not at all supportive of her education, as she enviously says "My parents by no means supported my educational career, but on the

⁹⁶ Es war offensichtlich, daß sie ihre Tochter schon erwartet hatte. In dieser Begrüßung lagen eine Innigkeit und Herzlichkeit, die mich mit einem Mal unsagbar traurig machten. Ich begriff in diesem kurzen Moment die Welten, die dieses Mädchen und mich voneinander trennten: Sie hatte ein wirkliches Zuhause, sie durfte Kind sein. Sie hatte Eltern, die fürsorglich waren und die sie wohl nie an einen fremden Ort schickten, von dem sie den Nachhauseweg nicht kannte. Wenn ich gleich unsere Wohnung betreten würde, finge mein Arbeitstag an: Die Schultasche würde in die Ecke gestellt, denn meine Mutter bräuchte Hilfe beim Kochen, putzen und Waschen.

contrary, did everything to make it difficult for me to get on” (p. 119).⁹⁷ The lack of assistance and encouragement makes study a serious challenge for her. Her father believes in traditional role of a woman as only a housewife and mother, as she describes:

For my father, it was important to make a good housewife, cook and mother out of me. To this end I needed neither German nor knowledge of mathematics [...] She [the class teacher] assigned me to junior high school, but in spite of her protests, my parents registered me for the lowest grade of high school, in which even the minimum level of education that was taught there, in their eyes was already too much (p. 119).⁹⁸

Although Fatma is a very hardworking student, her father does not appreciate this and enrolls her in the lowest grade of school. He considers her study as “superfluous” (p. 120) and “natural science was a modern emissary of the devil (ibid.)”. When he notices a picture of female genitals in her school biology book, he slaps her and burns the book (ibid.). The dominant patriarchy results in a life of secrets and lies as she mentions: “I believe that we were all so entangled in lies that we could not distinguish between right and wrong. I longed for a sincere life, a life without secrets and distortions, for clarity and air I could breathe” (p. 123).⁹⁹ Fatma’s life has become a miserable net of concealments used to gain liberty and a space of possibility, so she takes refuge in her school and this becomes her new life.

Compared to Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, Nilgün’s parents in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* are more supportive concerning study and education. Fatma’s parents are not only discouraging about education, but also demoralize her continuously throughout the book. However, in issues such as communication, integration and finding space in the new German society, Nilgün’s parents have a similar attitude toward change to Fatma’s parents.

Nilgün’s mother in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* is very supportive and informative but she insists on keeping distance from the Germans. When her little daughter Nilgün tells her how she has found a friend, the mother warns her “Do not

⁹⁷ Meine Eltern unterstützten meine schulische Laufbahn in keiner Weise, sie taten im Gegenteil alles, was mir das Mitkommen erschwerte.

⁹⁸ Für meinen Vater war es wichtig, aus mir eine gute Hausfrau, Köchin und Mutter zu machen. Dazu benötigte ich weder Deutsch- noch Mathematikkenntnisse. [...] Sie (die Klassenlehrerin) stellte mir die Beurteilung für die Realschule aus, aber meine Eltern meldeten mich trotz ihres Protestes auf der Hauptschule an und schon dieses Minimum an Bildung, das dort vermittelt wird, war in ihren Augen zuviel.

⁹⁹ Ich glaube, wir waren alle so sehr in Lügen verstrickt, daß wir selber nicht mehr zwischen richtig und falsch unterscheiden konnten. Ich habe mich nach einem aufrichtigen Leben gesehnt, einem Leben ohne Heimlichkeiten und Verbiegungen nach Klarheit und einer Luft, die ich atmen konnte.

try to be like the Germans. You are a Turk. Be proud of it. We are different from the Germans! Anne was angry with me, and I didn't know what I had done wrong" (p. 21).¹⁰⁰ The mother opposes her acceptance of German society and tries hard to prevent this. She hugs her and whispers into her ear that she should not dream of being like the Germans: "She put her arms around me while crying and whispered in my ear that she was very sad about this, and the thing was that we could never be like the Germans. I nodded and hugged my Mom tightly" (p. 43).¹⁰¹ Here the first-person narrator uses direct definitions, using adjectives "she was very sad" to characterize the protagonist's mother. An indirect personification does not directly mention the inner feelings of either the mother or the protagonist. The personification displays the mothers' opinion, emphasizing how alone and 'Other' she feels herself to be. The external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized from both within and without, penetrating the mother's feeling and thoughts and emphasizing her external commands. The mother's discouragement has an effect on Nilgün, and leaves her in a state of confusion. She would like to accept the new society in which she is now a part and her mother's conservatism has affected her.

Nilgün's father also wishes to return to Turkey and live in Istanbul and thus he does not care about the school grades and certificates that their children get in Germany. Her family also suffers from patriarchal violence; the father brutally beats his wife and older daughter, Mine. His violent behaviour means that sometimes Mine does not go to school because her face is so bruised (p. 130f.).

Unlike Nilgün's and Fatma's fathers in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish* and *A childhood in Two Worlds* and *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, Lale's father in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* is well-educated and interested in political philosophy, including Marx and Lenin. He and his wife are very supportive of their children and when Lale has returned home beaten and bruised, the mother goes to school to complain to the principle. However, it is Lale who has been the aggressor and beaten two boys, but she does not mention this part of the story. When the principal is looking for a word to criticize Lale, the mother interrupts her with: "'She is very lively' my mother completed the sentence, then she stood up. There was a short farewell, which seemed

¹⁰⁰ Versuch nicht, wie die Deutschen zu sein. Du bist eine Türkin. Sei stolz darauf. Wir sind anders als die Deutschen! Anne war böse auf mich, und ich verstand nicht, was ich falsch gemacht hatte.

¹⁰¹ Sie nahm mich weinend in die Arme und flüsterte mir ins Ohr, dass sie sehr traurig sei, aber dass wir nie so sein könnten wie die Deutschen. Ich nickte und drückte mich fest an meine Anne.

to be very cool, and she was gone” (ibid. p. 29).¹⁰² Possibly because of the total allegiance and support of her parents Lale later becomes an important politician. Compared to other protagonists in the selected novels, Lale also has more self-confidence and a positive attitude toward the various problems facing her in daily life (ibid. p. 39 and p. 225). She is completely aware of this and confesses to it by saying: “Who had supported me all these years? I thought of my father, who gave my political attitude along the way. He would be very proud of me today. You can do anything you want if you want to. Falling down is allowed, but to remain down is not!” (ibid, p. 253f.).¹⁰³

In combination with other influences family plays an important role in forming the characteristics of the protagonists and determines the speed and relative success of the young person’s integration and adoption into German society.

Families like Hasan’s in *Salam Berlin*, Lale’s in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* or like Sesperado’s in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, are more supportive when it comes to education, integration and adaptation to the new cultural codes and norms of the German society. This includes not only being open to changes in their educational and social norms but also being open-minded about the traditional norms of German society.

Knowledge of living in a society in cultural transition is essential in order to become integrated. Support must be available to give a feeling of protection when confronted with new behaviours, norms and cultural codes (whether positive or negative in outcome) which make a protagonist helpless or frustrated. In this way the young characters can gain a wider space of possibilities within which to adapt to the host society. On the other hand, if this consciousness of transition is lacking, it can lead to assimilation, accompanied by a lack of self-confidence and anxiety, and this is what Fatma goes through in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*. This protagonist has not only to struggle with new challenges in German society, but also to overcome all those obstacles, which her family unknowingly put in her path towards integration. In the end she integrates the divisions in her personality, but only after overcoming difficulties, barriers and frustrations.

¹⁰² Dass sie sehr lebhaft ist, ergänzte meine Mutter den Satz, dann stand sie auf. Noch eine kurze Verabschiedung, die sehr kühl ausfiel, und weg war sie.

¹⁰³ Wer hatte mich alles unterstützt? Ich dachte an meinen Vater, der mir die politische Einstellung mit auf den Weg gegeben hat, er wäre heute sehr stolz auf mich. Du kannst alles schaffen, was du willst, wenn du es willst. Hinfallen ist erlaubt, liegen bleiben aber nicht!

A less extreme example is Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, who is supported by her family when it comes to school and education but not in integration in German society. Her parents are as traditional as Fatma's in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and forbid her to have German friends or socialize with Germans outside school.

All the stories depict the lives of characters within the theatre of their familial relations. Family members are presented as playing an important role in defining the identity and character of protagonists, which affects all their future, whether for good or for ill. Family support can build a strong personality, while discouragement has the opposite effect. The protagonists in the books are mainly strong enough to successfully negotiate the obstacles posed by life in an immigrant family.

The six families in the books considered were on a spectrum: At the worst end, the families of Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, show outright and, sometimes, violent suppression of their daughters but not their sons. Two families, those of Lale in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* and unknown protagonist in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, were highly supportive of the integration, education and rights of their children who were all girls. The centre ground is occupied by Sesperado's family in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, who were integrated, educated and also not afraid to criticize German society. It is notable that Sesperado is the character who is most critical both of German and Turkish society. Hasan's family in *Salam Berlin* also belongs in this middle category; his parents are educated as well but relatively indifferent to his academic success.

This section indicates how important the family's influence on the protagonists is in order to give them a stable identity and sufficient self-confidence to cope with the challenges they meet as immigrant children. This influence can be for good or bad and it is interesting that in the most authoritarian families the children struggle to conform to family values and at the same time to break free of the restrictions imposed upon them. The texts in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* make clear that German society provides them with the support and assistance which their families have denied them.

One of, if not the most important of these supporting factors, is school.

4.2.1.2. Education as an Issue in Protagonists' Lives

The socioeconomic status of immigrants in a new country and society is defined by several features, most of all, by educational attainment and occupation. As one of the encounters with institutions in a foreign community, schools play an important role in the lives of young immigrant characters. Since they enter the new society at an early stage of life, they are more accepting of changes and integration. Schools and colleges can help impart a more open worldview and mentality; educational institutions contribute to forming positive or negative opinions about the dominant group.

Teachers and the other children's attitudes toward the immigrants are many sided. Some are very supportive and friendly while others are sarcastic, racist or antagonistic. Hasan, the protagonist of *Salam Berlin* suffers from the latter in his fifth grade: "When I was in fifth grade my teacher asked me: 'When will you go home for good?' What did he mean? I paused and shrugged" (p. 65).¹⁰⁴ In this monologue by a naïve child, the first-person narrator, Hasan, does not even comprehend what the teacher implies. The narrative voice is first person "I" who gives details about the surrounding events using internal clue "I paused and shrugged" to describe his feelings. The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Hasan, the narrating "I" of the story is a young boy who refers to himself as "I", "me" and "my". He unconsciously presents an internal perspective of a social confrontation, unanalysed and incompletely understood. The teacher's indirect racist reference has such a lasting impact on the student that he is unable to forget it when he is older. This scene is one of the most influential incidents in *Salam Berlin*. However innocent, immigrant protagonist children are aware of the dominant contempt against them and feel they have to conceal their real nationality and identity, and this is also noted in other books. Hasan recounts this attitude by mentioning "We were the only kids with black hair. The rest were blond or brown. When the kids asked us where we were from, we told them that we were Spaniards, Italians or Greeks, but never Turks" (p. 97).¹⁰⁵ During the novel Hasan gradually starts to observe how differently people treat him when they know he comes originally from Turkey, and notices that Turkish identity and appearance are not respected either in society or among his school classmates, and tries to disguise his origins. As a young man in search of an identity, placed between two worlds of west and east (as symbolized by the Berlin Wall. p. 34), Hasan/Hansi

¹⁰⁴ In der fünften Klasse fragte mich mein Lehrer: « Wann werdet ihr für immer in die Heimat zurückkehren?» Was meinte er? Ich schwieg und zuckte mit den Achseln.

¹⁰⁵ Wir waren die einzigen Kinder mit schwarzen Haaren. Der Rest war blond oder braun. Wenn die Kinder uns fragten, woher wir kamen, dann erzählten wir ihnen, daß wir Spanier, Italiener oder Griechen waren, aber nie Türken.

experiences the influence of school as the first social group that tolerates him reluctantly (p. 65).

In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the unknown protagonist tries to gain approval of the other girls in her classroom as she feels herself unlike them, and not accepted by them: “If she was not so tall and blondly beautiful as the German girls, at least she was the thinnest with the smallest size in clothes” (p. 26).¹⁰⁶ Or when the narrator states her feeling as “She wanted to look like the others, not to be obvious, wanted to be like the bouncing, giggling girls, and wished to be like those girls who are of easy virtue. Yet she was accepted by none” (p. 15).¹⁰⁷ These scenes are elements, which shape part of a character’s being in the world and will be analysed and discussed later more in detail in a further chapter.

Socio-cultural hindrances in schools are not at all rare in *Salam Berlin*. Leyla, a character in this story, experiences similar racist attitudes and is affected so deeply that she changes school:

The most unbelievable part was when her physics teacher was explaining the absorption and reflection of solar radiation on the basis of light and dark skin. Light skin reflects and dark skin absorbs the sun’s rays. That is why dark-skinned people sweat more and smell worse than light-skinned people. That was the moment when Leyla decided to leave Wilmersdorf. She moved to Kreuzberg, which was where she finished high school (p. 98).¹⁰⁸

In this narrative situation, the authorial voice presents Leyla’s inner feelings and decisions through a third-person external perspective. She is extremely insulted by the physics teacher whose racist prejudice against non-white people is obviously manifested, whether consciously or not (ibid.). This bitter experience discourages her from continuing her education at this school. She prefers to move from what was a familiar school district to Kreuzberg where she feels less discriminated and upset. The schoolteacher’s attitude has heightened a sense of inferiority that she, as an immigrant child, feels.

However, discrimination is not always one sided and can be influenced by parental attitudes, which create a self-reinforcing vicious circle. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the

¹⁰⁶ Wenn sie schon nicht so groß und blondig schön war wie die deutschen Mädchen, so zumindest die Dünne mit der kleinsten Konfektionsgröße

¹⁰⁷ Sie wollte aussehen wie die anderen, nicht herausfallen, wollte wie die hüpfenden, kichernden Mädchen sein, in deren Mädchencliquen sie sich hineinwünschte. Doch sie wurde in keine aufgenommen.

¹⁰⁸ Der Hammer war dann, als ihr Physiklehrer das Absorbieren und Reflektieren von Sonnenstrahlen anhand von weißer und schwarzer Haut erklärte. Weiße Haut reflektiert und schwarze Haut absorbiert die Sonnenstrahlen. Deshalb schwitzen Schwarze und stänken mehr als Weiße. Das war dann der Moment, wo Leyla beschloss, Wilmersdorf zu verlassen. Sie zog nach Kreuzberg und machte dort ihr Abitur.

Turkish parents prevent contact and interaction between their children and their German fellow pupils. The protagonist of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* regrets that “They were allowed to participate neither in school trips nor the celebrations of classmates” (p. 41)¹⁰⁹. Although school parties and trips can help to establish a positive attitude between children, these students’ forced retreat from these delays their learning social interaction.

Whereas some parents play a negative role in the education of their offspring, some others (who are mostly well-educated themselves) foster it, as in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, whose narrator recounts that, “After elementary school, they [the protagonist and her sister] were enrolled by her father in the humanistic [not connected to any church] secondary school of the town” (p. 53).¹¹⁰ Her father not only does not disapprove higher education, but also enrolls the girls in the secular secondary school.

Supportive behaviour by some teachers is also noteworthy in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* as the protagonist Fatma narrates:

I did not know where and to whom I should turn. After a long and anxious waiting period, a teacher came down the hallway and was about to open one of the classroom doors as she spotted me. She had a very kind expression and attentive eyes, such as I had never seen in Turkish teachers. When she noticed that I hardly understood a word of German, she took my hand and led me into my new classroom (p. 115).¹¹¹

Responding to a very positive attitude, the Turkish student is pleased when the German teacher takes her hand and leads her. Fatma even details that she has never seen her “kind expression and attentive eyes” in Turkish teachers. The student is so touched by this supportive gesture, that she cannot forget it, so that many years later, she still remembers it and includes it in her narrative. Attentive and reassuring behaviour is once again remarked on in Fatma’s fourth grade when she wants to choose a secondary school.

When I first started in fourth grade and the decision had to be made about which secondary school I would be allowed to attend in future. My former teacher, who was a great supporter of mine, suggested registering for the

¹⁰⁹ Sie durften weder an Schulausflügen noch an den Feiern der Mitschüler teilnehmen.

¹¹⁰ Nach der Volksschule waren sie vom Vater in das humanistische Gymnasium in der Kleinstadt eingeschrieben worden.

¹¹¹ Ich wußte nicht, wohin und an wen ich mich wenden sollte. Nach einer langen, bangen Zeit des Wartens kam eine Lehrerin den Gang entlang und wollte gerade eine der Klassentüren öffnen, als sie mich entdeckte. Sie hatte einen sehr freundlichen Gesichtsausdruck und aufmerksame Augen, wie ich es von den türkischen Lehrern überhaupt nicht kannte. Als sie bemerkte, daß ich kaum ein Wort Deutsch verstand, nahm sie mich bei der Hand und führte mich in mein neues Klassenzimmer.

junior high school [Realschule] [...] She [the class teacher] assigned me to junior high school, but in spite of her protests, my parents registered me for the lowest type of high school, in which even the minimum level of education that was taught there, was, in their eyes, already too much (p. 119).¹¹²

The teacher is more supportive than her parents. While she believes in Fatma's abilities and intelligence, the parents think her level of education "was already too much" (ibid). The teacher's confidence in her is suggestive of her sympathy and equal treatment of the students, regardless of their nationality and skin-colour. For Fatma, the school becomes a shelter, albeit a hard one in a life that had a far harder taskmaster, her family:

My life was my school, a school of hard knocks, which taught me things which I could have learned nowhere else. Although I was just nineteen years old, I had experienced the utmost extremes of life: I had seen people being killed and women giving birth to children, I had suffered from hunger and endured mistreatment (p. 161).¹¹³

Although she has suffered so many difficulties, the school is a refuge for her, a centre of knowledge and multiculturalism and a path to integration. As she reports, she has endured many pains and seen other people's vicissitudes and that has informed and guided her during her life. Her experiences at school help her gain what she could never have gained elsewhere. A further positive impact of education is emphasized by the grandmother in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, when she counts the advantages of hard study: "When you grow up and live in a big city, you have to go school there, in order to be as smart as my father once was. Only those who burn the midnight oil [study hard] in life are people with intelligence" (p. 5).¹¹⁴ As an old lady from a developing society, she recognizes the connection between intensive study and intelligence that might result in a better life. This

¹¹² Als ich in die vierte Klasse gekommen war und die Entscheidung getroffen werden mußte, welche weiterführende Schule ich in Zukunft besuchen durfte, erfuhr ich von meiner damaligen Klassenlehrerin große Unterstützung. Sie stellte mir die Beurteilung für die Realschule aus. ... Sie (die Klassenlehrerin) stellte mir die Beurteilung für die Realschule aus, aber meine Eltern meldeten mich trotz ihres Protestes auf der Hauptschule an und schon dieses Minimum an Bildung, das dort vermittelt wird, war in ihren Augen zuviel.

¹¹³ Mein Leben war meine Schule gewesen, eine harte Schule, die mir Dinge vermittelt hat, die ich nirgendwo hätte lernen können. Obwohl ich erst neunzehn Jahre alt war, hatte ich die Extreme erfahren, zwischen denen sich das Dasein auf dieser Erde bewegt: Ich hatte Menschen morden sehen und Frauen Kinder gebären, ich hatte Hunger gelitten und Mißhandlungen ertragen.

¹¹⁴ Wenn ihr groß seid und in einer großen Stadt lebt, müsst ihr dort unbedingt in die Schule gehen, damit ihr so klug werdet, wie es einst mein Vater war. Nur Menschen, die in ihrem Leben Tinte geleckert haben, sind kluge Maschen.

leads her to adopt an attitude that will ensure her granddaughter's future success in modern German society.

Sharing customs and traditions, which the school encourages, indicates the role of school in integration. These are small gestures with a large impact. The scene here is also from *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*:

It was now the same for them [the protagonist and her sister] as other school children had described. They had also brought their parents presents; a glasses case for her father and a new purse for her mother (p. 113). [...] He hugged his daughters hard and wiped their faces dry [they were crying with happiness]: Thanks for your gifts (p. 115).¹¹⁵

It is worth mentioning that in Islamic countries, there is no tradition of giving parents presents on religious festival days such as Eid and this unexpected action on the part of the children initiated by the school, has an emotional effect on the parents (for more details see page. 307f.).

The positive impact of school authority figures on immigrant students is illustrated when Nilgün (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*) and her sister return to Germany after some time in Turkey: "A few days later Mine went back to her former class. The teacher even took her in her arms, overjoyed" (p. 126).¹¹⁶ This warm welcome surprises the character, who is astonished to be hugged by her teacher. Nilgün, the little protagonist also remembers her first day at school where she has to translate German into Turkish for her mother. Thus school becomes a centre for learning language and communication where the teacher consoles those children who are upset at being left alone. No racist or antagonistic behaviour is reported and the narrator talks of her joy there:

Our classroom was large and on the windows hung dark green curtains. I sat with my Mom in front. Our teacher, Mrs. Mayer, was very nice. She had henna coloured hair, green eyes and was almost as big as my Baba. She greeted everyone and I had to translate what Mrs. Mayer told my Mom. My Mom was delighted that I could speak German so well. After the welcoming ceremony the teacher sent the parents home. We the children

¹¹⁵ Bei ihnen war es jetzt genauso, wie es die anderen Schulkinder beschrieben hatten. Auch sie hatten für ihre Eltern Geschenke eingekauft, für den Vater ein Brillenetui, für die Mutter ein neues Portemonnaie (p.113). [...] Er drückte seine Töchter fest an sich und wischte ihnen die Gesichter trocken: Wir freuen uns auf eure Geschenke (p.115).

¹¹⁶ Einige Tage später ging Mine wieder in ihre alte klasse. Die Lehrerin nahm sie sogar in die Arme vor lauter Freude.

had to remain on our seats. As soon as the parents were gone, some children started crying. But Mrs. Mayer consoled them and allowed all of us to snack from our school bags. She gave each of us a small golden star. Actually, only the good and hardworking children were given a star, but as it was the first day of school, everyone was allowed to have one. A person, who had five stars, was allowed to sit on the Mrs. Mayer's chair for ten minutes (p. 131).¹¹⁷

In this metadiegetic text, the narrators' feeling and memories are well described. Green curtains remind the reader of the symbolic meaning of the colour green. Green symbolizes self-respect, well-being, a healing life force. As change and transformation is necessary for growth, the green curtain and also green eyes of the teacher are symbolically a leading and healing force. The teacher gives the students "a small golden star" as a symbol of her goodwill and also of success and later accomplishments. She lets hardworking students, regardless of their gender and 'race'; sit on her chair, which signifies the seat of authority and power. The teacher vacates her chair for the 'Turkish' girl, Nilgün quite often, as she joyously recounts "Mrs. Mayer had to leave her chair to me more and more often. I also learned to read and write very quickly. My teacher always patted me on the shoulder and praised me in front of the whole class. She called me 'my hardworking little one' I loved my teacher!" (p. 133).¹¹⁸ This praising accelerates Nilgün's desire for learning and increases her feeling of acceptance in her new environment. Nilgün and her older sister Mine are motivated to improve themselves first in the school community and later in the larger scale of society. Nilgün's struggle for growth and acceptance gives the narration a positive and hopeful tone. In contrast to the supportive behaviour of some schoolteachers (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, p. 131), others use physical punishment in their classes, so that their pupils often react in terror and anxiety and consequently hate school, teachers and lessons. This kind of punishment is not exclusive to any special country and is practiced in both Germany and Turkey (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, p. 150, and *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-*

¹¹⁷ Unser Klassenzimmer war groß und an den Fenstern hingen dunkelgrüne Vorhänge. Ich saß mit meiner Anne ganz vorne. Unsere Lehrerin, Frau Mayer, war sehr nett. Sie hatte Henna gefärbte Haare, grüne Augen und war fast so groß wie mein Baba. Sie begrüßte uns alle, und ich musste meiner Anne übersetzen, was Frau Mayer sagte. Meine Anne freute sich, dass ich noch so gut deutsch sprechen konnte. Die Lehrerin schickte die Eltern nach der Begrüßung nach Hause. Wir Kinder mussten sitzen bleiben. Kaum waren die Eltern weg, fingen ein paar Kinder an zu weinen. Aber Frau Mayer tröstete sie und erlaubte uns allen, aus der Schultüte zu naschen. Sie gab jedem von uns einen kleinen goldenen Stern. Eigentlich bekamen nur die braven und fleißigen Kinder einen Stern, aber weil es der erste Schultag war, durften alle einen haben. Wer fünf Sterne hatte, durfte zehn Minuten auf dem Stuhl von Frau Mayer sitzen.

¹¹⁸ Sie nannte mich mein fleißiges Lieschen' Ich liebte meine Lehrerin!

German Family, p. 37). One punitive teacher is a Turkish man, who has been sent by Turkish government because the children are allowed to learn Turkish. His bad temper and lack of patience terrifies his students and he fails to respect German laws prohibiting physical punishment:

For the last two months a Turkish teacher came to our school. The Turkish government had sent him to Germany especially because of us. Once a week Duman [teacher] Öğretmen, was allowed to teach us [Turkish] in the German school. There was only one class. Duman Öğretmen was very strict and the very first day he told us that he was not interested in German laws. If someone did not follow, then he would tear off his ears. Though he had never done this, he had pulled some boys' ears so that they were almost in tears of pain (p. 150).¹¹⁹

Not only does he not respect the children, but also he creates un-necessary and disturbing feelings of fear and diffidence. Such feelings are also created in the class of a priest who is sent to teach religion in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*:

I noticed immediately, that the fat man was not a tiger, but a priest, and we all had to get up and pray. That was new to me! I had never prayed in school. The fat man was also very loud and strict. Even stricter than Mama but at least the sound was different. But even worse: In the middle of his speech, he suddenly arose from his desk, walked to the back of the room and struck one of boys in the class. I did not even know properly what the poor boy had done. First of all I was sitting at the front of the classroom, second, I did not understand what had been said. But while striking the boy, the fat man also scolded him. That was new to me! I had never before seen a child beaten in our class (p. 37).¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Seit zwei Monaten gab es bei uns an der Schule einen türkischen Lehrer. Den hatte der türkische Staat extra wegen uns nach Deutschland geschickt. Ein Mal in der Woche durfte Duman Öğretmen, Lehrer Duman, uns in der deutschen, Schule unterrichten. Es gab nur eine Klasse. Duman Öğretmen war sehr streng und sagte gleich am ersten Tag, dass ihn die Öğretmen Gesetze nicht interessierten. Wenn einer nicht folgte, dann wurde er ihm die Ohren ausreißen. Das hatte er zwar noch nie gemacht, aber er hatte einigen Jungen so fest an den Ohren gezogen, dass ihnen vor Schmerz die Tränen gekommen waren.

¹²⁰ Schnell sollte ich mitbekommen, dass der dicke Mann kein Tiger, sondern ein Priester war, den wir mussten alle aufstehen und beten. Das war mir neu! Ich hatte noch nie in der Schule gebetet. Der dicke Mann war auch sehr laut und streng. Noch viel strenger als Mama, jedenfalls war der Ton ein anderer. Aber es kam noch schlimmer: Mitten in seinem Vortrag stand er auf einmal von seinem Pult auf, ging nach hinten und drosch auf einen Jungen ein. Ich hatte gar nicht richtig mitbekommen, was der arme Junge ausgefressen hatte. Erstens saß ich ganz vorne, zweitens verstand ich nicht, was gesprochen wurde. Denn während er auf den

In this narrated text, Lale, the protagonist, details the visit of a priest whom she at first takes to be a tiger. The narrative voice is first-person “I” who gives details about the surrounding events using internal clues such as “I noticed immediately”, “I had never prayed in school”, “I did not even know properly” etc. to describe her feelings. The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Lale, the narrating “I” of the story is a young female who refers to herself as “I”, “me” and “my”. Her depiction reveals her specific figurative perspective, which is pertinent to her own interpretation and evaluation. Thus the word “tiger” suggests that the priest is seen by the children to be threatening. In this clever simile Lale compares the priest’s strictness to her mother’s. Her mother is a strict authority figure at home while the priest is a stricter one at school, possibly with even more authority than a parent. This “fat man”, instead of teaching kindness and love, beats and scolds a pupil, for reasons, which are unclear to the narrator.

The two quotes above show that harsh behaviour is not limited to any specific ethnic or religious group but, rather, depends on the individual.

Sometimes the young immigrants suffer from discrimination not by school authorities, but by the other children. In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, the narrator, Lale includes an account in which Aziza, Lale’s daughter, is discriminated by her classmates out of envy, because of her religion and the special Muslim food she is provided with at the kindergarten:

The said child grew up, and joined the kindergarten. One evening at the beginning of Advent, Aziza sat with lowered head at dinner. “The other kids in kindergarten are very mean to me”, she said, terribly sad. “What has happened?” I asked, startled. “They say that [Saint] Nicolas will not come to you because you get a Muslim-plate.” Now I have to explain what a Muslim lunch-plate was. It was not about the plate, which a Muslim child was being served with, but the food on the plate, none of which contained pork. On the Muslim lunch-plate there were cheese, beef sausage and other things. And all the children who had been registered under the religion “Islam” got a Muslim lunch. A small, well-intentioned contribution by the kindergarten to inter-religious understanding. This lunch was very popular among all the children, as it was a privilege reserved for a few children.

Jungen einschlug, schimpfte der dicke Mann auch noch. Das war mir neu! Ich hatte noch nie erlebt, dass in unserer Klasse ein Kind geschlagen worden war.

And now came the counter-attacks. Now my poor child, who sat there in immense misery, was to be discriminated against by Nicholas, because she actually enjoyed the privileged Muslim-plate. “Muslim lunch-plate” plus presents from Santa Claus, that was too much of a good thing. At least the other children believed so (p. 245).¹²¹

Here the first-person narrator uses direct definitions using the adjectives “terribly sad” or “very mean” characterizing the protagonist’s daughter, Aziza and other children in the kindergarten. An extradiegetic view is employed in Aziza’s speech, illustrating how sad and ‘Othered’ she feels. Although the recognition of religious difference the kindergarten authorities show is to be praised, the other children do not understand it and see it as a privilege for Muslim children only. This is the reason why they consider her as ‘Other’ and treat her meanly which causes her sadness and disappointment. Whether this text is intended as lightly sarcastic or is to be taken literally, or both, must be decided by the reader. The narrating or rather experiencing “I” presents cultural differences through the homodiegetic narration in which she is involved. It should be noted that this distinction in school food is normally no longer made and a choice of dishes is often offered to all pupils.

Schools and kindergartens play a major role for immigrant protagonists, as centres of knowledge and technology, which may not have been taught to their parents, as is the case for Nilgün’s in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* and Fatma’s in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, besides teaching language and culture. They can speed up acculturation, aid integration and help communities. Hence, they form the attitudes of immigrants at very early stages of life before more conscious conceptions or misconceptions are formed. The behaviour of teachers as role models whether supportive or discouraging, forms the character of young people who will be the new members of German society and who will transmit their attitudes to education to the next generation.

¹²¹ Das besagte Kind wurde größer, kam in den Kindergarten. In der ersten Adventssaison saß Aziza eines Abends mit tief gesenktem Kopf beim Abendessen. Die anderen Kinder im Kindergarten sind ganz gemein zu mir, sagte sie furchtbar traurig. Was ist den passiert? Fragte ich erschrocken. Sie Sagen, der Nikolais kommt nicht zu dir, weil du schon den Moslem – Teller kriegst. Jetzt muss ich erklären, was ein Moslem – Teller war. Es war nicht etwa ein Teller, auf dem ein Moslem serviert wurde, sondern ein Teller, auf dem nichts aus Schweinefleisch war. Auf dem Moslem – Teller lagen Käse, Rindwurst und andere Dinge. Und alle Kinder, die bei der Anmeldung als Religionszugehörigkeit Islam angegeben hatten, bekamen den Moslem – Teller. Ein kleiner und gut gemeinter Beitrag des Kindergartens zur interreligiösen Verständigung. Dieser Teller war unter allen Kindern sehr begehrt, weil er ein Privileg von wenigen war. Und jetzt kam die Retourkutsche. Jetzt sollte mein armes Kind, das dasaß wie ein Häuflein Elend, vom Nikolaus diskriminiert werden, weil es ja das Privileg des Moslem – Tellers genoss. Moslem – Teller und dazu noch Geschenke vom Nikolaus, das war zu viel des Guten. Meinten jedenfalls die anderen Kinder.

The next section presents a wider view across the general influences on Turkish immigrants of their exposure to the public and administrative structures of Germany with which they must come to terms.

4.2.1.3. Influence of Public Contacts on Protagonists

Social relationships and contacts can affect individuals in an extreme way. As new members of German society, Turkish immigrants are encapsulated within the larger groups of those without migration backgrounds and exposed to the mentality and culture of the larger society which, intentionally or not, forces the new members to accept many characteristics of this society, although various immigrant characters in the books analyzed resist this.

Given names are linked to the cultural and religious background one comes from. Although not a benchmark for acceptance, changing names, as several characters in the texts chosen for this work do, can imply changes in personality and identity, as mentioned in “Language Barrier”, (see section: The Reaction of the Protagonists to Interpersonal & Institutional Difficulties & Hindrances, p. 203) Language barriers, educational system and officialdom may enforce a change of name at times without the immigrant character’s consent. This happens to Hasan Selim Khan, the first-person narrator of *Salam Berlin*, whose name has been Germanized to Hansi, although he does not like it. His resistance against the new name and identity given to him (as a symbol of assimilation) is obvious when he objects that, “In Berlin, some people call me ‘Hansi’ even though my parents gave me the beautiful name Hasan Selim Khan” (p. 5).¹²² Berliners assign him some German qualities, to absorb him within their own culture and insist on using a German name, and this includes Cora, the German girl he loves. However, the experiencing teller of the story insists on his individuality by repeatedly using pronouns such as “my” and “me” to hold on to the sense of being Turkish. Hasan being the name of his “great-great-grandfather” is a symbol of his origin, roots and of Turkish history. He insists its use as much as possible and clearly dislikes the short form “Hansi”. This incident is used here as a metaphor for deracination. The major motivations for changing names are simplicity, convenience and acceptance, on the side of the individuals with and without migration backgrounds. In Hasan’s case this is not his own wish for more acceptance in the new society, but the Germans’ tendency toward simplifying ‘others’ unfamiliar names and consequently incorporating him as a ‘normal’ member of society. This seems to be bitter for him although the name change is almost certainly made out of friendliness.

In the selected books interaction between individuals with and without migration backgrounds goes further than names as symbols of new identities. The majority group

¹²² In Berlin nennen mich Meinige Leute (Hansi), obwohl meine Eltern hatten mir den schönen Namen Hasan Selim Khan gegeben haben.

sometimes appears unwelcoming in its insistence on fixed spatial boundaries. Immigrant characters perceive this as a discriminatory attempt to maintain spatial distance from them even when sitting near them. As the first-person narrator of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* narrates:

But Germany still had many surprises up its sleeves in addition to the Catholic school with its special program and its eternally occupied places. That was also a German specialty: seats were occupied mentally, and then it was: This place is occupied! Although the place was visibly free. But apparently somebody else had, perhaps an hour ago, or at a time shrouded in the mists of the past, made a claim to this seat, and from then on that was his place. This custom followed me around my life long, at school, in the café, in the cinema, in the auditorium and then even in the Plenary Hall of the German Parliament (p. 39).¹²³

Whether this is a custom of being reserved, taken as normal by many Germans, or a phobia of sitting next to strangers or immigrants, is unclear, but, the narrator complains about the way Germans try to keep a distance from her as an immigrant. She reads this as a sign of a probably hostile attitude toward the minor Turkish group. The parliament, which is allegedly the place of democracy, tolerance and liberty, is no exception in treating immigrants in this way. In the above quote words such as “school”, “café”, “cinema” and “auditorium” are all representative of public life and function as a synecdoche for the larger society. It has to be said that different cultures adopt different distances when in contact with others and this difference might explain Lale’s comment.

The phobia of the ‘other’ is manifested here, and implicitly questions the general acceptance of ‘others’ regardless of their origin, in German society. Lale deliberately exaggerates this attitude to indirectly raise this question and indicate that an immigrant might take this as discrimination. Lale’s use of “This custom followed me around my life long (ibid.)” indicates sarcasm and shows at the same time, how it is possible to take this behaviour as offensive. Lale says that she chooses dignity over victimhood as a response in such matters but cannot rid herself of the feeling of discrimination (ibid).

¹²³ Deutschland hielt aber noch weitere Überraschungen parat außer der katholischen Schule mit ihrem Spezialprogramm und den ewig besetzten Plätzen, auch das war eine deutsche Spezialität: Sitz plätze wurden mental okkupiert, und dann hieß es: Dieser Platz ist besetzt! Obwohl der Platz sichtbar frei war. Aber anscheinend hatte jemand anders irgendwann mal, vor einer Stunde oder in grauen Vorzeiten, das spielte keine Rolle, darauf platz genommen, und von da an war das sein Platz. Diese Besonderheit sollte mich nun ein Leben lang begleiten, in der Schule, im Café, im Kino, im Hörsaal und dann im Plenarsaal des deutschen Bundestages.

Lack of consciousness about religious differences can intensify such phobias. The first-person narrator of *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, Sesperado, includes an event, which happened to him in the subway, that surprises him: “Afterwards, we sat together in the subway. Suddenly his cell phone rang ‘Allah Akbar’. The people in front of us went very pale and got off right away at the next station. Maybe they thought we wanted to hijack the subway and ram it straight into the Europa-Center” (p. 13).¹²⁴ The narrative voice is first-person “I” who gives details about the surrounding events here using external clues such as “people in front of us went very pale and got off right away” or “they thought we wanted to hijack the subway” to describe feelings. The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Sesperado, the narrating “I” of the story is a young man who refers to himself as “I”, “me” and “my”. The islamophobia implied in this incident, results in the German passengers getting off the train at the next stop, which is reported as before their destination. Fear and terror created in the train is caused simply by an Islamic ringtone, coming from an observant Muslim. However, the reaction shown to it by the passengers is exaggerated. Fear and lack of trust is bilateral between the major and minor groups. It could well be that the passengers concerned who were clearly surprised by the ringtone, did not get off train because of it, so that the analysis that the Germans travellers are full of fear and loathing, is entirely in the mind of the character. However, the scene is representative of the whole book, because Sesperado sees Germans through sarcastically suspicious eyes. Here an indirect personification avoids mention of the characteristics of any person in this scene but displays and exemplifies differences and fears via action and setting.

The narrators of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* and *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* record Germans’ distrust toward immigrants and the feelings this produces in a spectrum which ranges from puzzlement in the first book through a sarcastic distancing in the second to an outright wish for separation in a third, *Salam Berlin*. Here the protagonist, Hasan, talks of his feeling of comfort and safety when he sees Turkish immigrants: “I was so glad when I got out at Kottbusser Tor that so many black-haired people were at the station. I took a deep breath ... I felt safe” (p. 334).¹²⁵ The first person experiencing protagonist is expressing his individuality and inner feelings by using the pronoun “I” four times in this paragraph. By “black-haired people” he is using a

¹²⁴ Danach saßen wir zusammen in der U-Bahn. Auf einmal klingelte sein Handy “Allah Akbar”. Die Leute uns gegenüber wurden ganz blass und sind gleich an der nächsten Station ausgestiegen. Vielleicht dachten sie wir wollen die U-Bahn entführen und ins Europa-Center reinrammen.

¹²⁵ Am Kottbusser Tor stieg ich aus und war so froh, daß sich so viele schwarzhaarige Menschen auf dem Bahnhof befanden. Ich atmete tief.. fühlte mich sicher.

metonymy to refer to immigrants, who look different. Sesperado's happiness and security among his 'own people' represents the immigrant's feeling of insecurity among white skinned or blond people. Whatever the reason might be, fear and distrust towards each other can result in discriminatory interactions on both sides, with an accompanying destructive impact on social relationships.

Difference in skin colour and the evaluation of skin colour are factors that motivate discriminatory incidents. These racist differences are much emphasized in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* when the narrator gives an account of 'People of Colour' being despised in German society, as he says "We discussed together that loving being P.O.C. in a society in which blacks and 'People of Colour' are despised and controlled is tantamount to a revolution, because it acts against lack of autonomy and places such people at the centre" (p. 25).¹²⁶ The words "despised" and "controlled" reveal how he believes the members of the dominant society regard characters with an immigrant background. Whether true or imaginary, this feeling postpones cultural integration and increases alienation. The antipathy between the majority and immigrant minority, based on appearance, heightens revolutionary ideas on the side of the narrator, and he suggests a kind of displacement into a binary opposition of P.O.C. and White people. In fact, separating people on the basis of physical characteristics over which they have no control, like the colour of their eyes, hair and skin is illogical. Eye, hair and skin colour are caused by chemicals and there is no logic in judging people by the amount of the chemical in their skin. Pigmentation should have nothing to do with how one treats another person (Jane Elliott, 2009). Sesperado believes that such racist ideas as his would de-centre the Whites and place 'People of Colour' at the centre. He later refers to hegemony in German society and observes that, "Hegemony always sets the definition of normality. Thus, the basic paradigm is still valid in Germany: Germans are white. Anyone who is not white is not considered to be a 'normal German' and must therefore be marked in a certain way" (*Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, p. 82).

¹²⁷ Although cultural integration by the immigrants is possible, if they are not white, they are treated differently. This is what bothers Sesperado and many other immigrant characters in the selected novels.

¹²⁶ Wir erörtern gemeinsam, dass P.O.C.-sein zu lieben, in einer Gesellschaft, welche Schwarze und People Of Color verachtet und beherrscht, in gewisser Weise einer Revolution gleicht, weil es gegen die Fremdbestimmung wirkt und sich selbst ins Zentrum stellt.

¹²⁷ Die Hegemonie setzt immer die Normen fest. So gilt in Deutschland immer noch das Grundparadigma: deutsch ist Weiß. Wer nicht Weiß ist, gilt nicht als 'normal-deutsch' und muss daher auf bestimmte Art und Weise markiert werden.

The feeling of distrust, anger, inferiority and fear on the part of minorities is sometimes unjustified and is the product of gossip, imagination and lack of knowledge about the majority. At times the characters with a migration background exhibit anger towards those without this background only because of differences in appearance, language and normative social rules and standards. For instance when Sesperado's mother in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, tries to exchange the product she had bought, the salesperson refuses, because the package has been opened, however, the mother does not understand this and insists on the exchange, and this results in anger: "... Mom said that she wanted to exchange the thing. The saleswoman said, "No, only original Packaging. [...] I don't give a shit for your original Packaging!" (p. 10).¹²⁸ Her feeling of anger and anxiety is exacerbated only because of her lack of knowledge of the rules of exchanging products. The first-person teller of the story, unusually, renders a quite objective treatment of the event by not involving his own point of view and not judging the characters involved.

The impact of society can be so deep that it can speed up immigrant characters' integration into the new cultural codes to the maximum (In *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, p. 154), or so negative and hostile that can intensify ghettoization and even distancing from the majority society (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, p. 10; p. 89). A more positive impact of the majority society can however be noticed in some of the protagonists or their families. The more positive their attitude towards new cultural and social values and norms, the more integrated the immigrant characters become. This can develop to the extent that the new members of the society with migration background become almost indistinguishable from those without migration backgrounds. This is the case with the narrator of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* when she states that, "... within two years, the boundary between us and them had already got so blurred for the girls that they felt the habits of the villagers [in Germany] as a very natural part of their own life" (p. 114).¹²⁹ Integration has occurred so well that they do not recognize any kind of boundaries between Germans and Turkish-Germans. Their absorption in the new major group is a sign of their incorporation into the local social norms and lifestyle.

In *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, the protagonist develops roots in the new society, and she confesses that; "I have not only grown roots in my family, but also in

¹²⁸ "... Mama sagte, dass sie das Ding umtauschen wolle. Die Verkäuferin sagte "Nein, nur originalverpackt".... Ich scheiß auf dein originalverpackt!

¹²⁹ "... für die Mädchen hatte sich innerhalb von nur zwei Jahren die Grenze zwischen wir und den anderen bereits so verwischt, daß sie die Gewohnheiten der Dorfbewohner als ganz selbstverständlichen Teil ihres eigenen Lebens empfanden.

German culture” (p. 145).¹³⁰ Fatma not only does not resist the dominant culture, but also welcomes it eagerly. She is completely aware of the process of gradual assimilation and records her alienation from her Turkish side: “So I oscillated between my German and my Turkish worlds. In one, I was recognized and admired for the courage with which I was conquering my difficulties, in the other I was beaten for every bit of autonomy which I wanted to win” (p. 161).¹³¹ She appreciates and values the courage and autonomy allowed to individuals, especially women, in Germany, while Turkish culture condemns this very autonomy. Her new values encourage her to accept intermarriage, which indicates a deep social integration that consequently will make the children that form the next generation transcultural.

I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds depicts the difficulty of being stuck between different cultural codes, which can be overcome by the cooperation of members of both groups. The protagonist pictures the friendly relationship between Germans and the Turkish-German family in their neighbourhood. The scene depicts the time when Nilgün and her family return to Germany from their holidays in Turkey. She returns to her neighbourhood to find that “Even the German butcher had missed me and gave me a very big fat piece of pork sausage! Anne and Baba’s friends came to greet us, and each brought some sort of present. It was almost as nice as at Bayram [the Eid festival after Ramadan]” (p. 127).¹³² The German butcher offers Nilgün pork sausage which is forbidden in Turkish Islamic religious tradition, however, she enjoys and appreciates hospitality and kindness and understands the transcultural issues. Offering someone food is a symbol of support and goodwill. The butcher does not know Nilgün’s cultural codes and religious background but likes and accepts her as an individual. His behaviour, and also that of friends visiting the parents after their arrival, signifies the willingness of the society around the protagonist to accept and welcome the immigrants, whether for of business reasons or just out of friendship, and provides an example of how integration on both sides should be.

A scene in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, which gives a similar picture of neighbourliness, is worth mentioning. The father of the protagonist Lale, is also very open to change and integration, which is shown by his willingness to communicate, and his tolerance. He visits their German neighbours, is invited

¹³⁰ Wurzeln habe ich nicht nur in meiner Familie geschlagen, sondern auch in der deutschen Kultur.

¹³¹ So pendelte ich von meiner deutschen in meine türkische Welt. Dort war ich anerkannt und bewundert für den Mut, mit dem ich meine Probleme anging, hier wurde ich geschlagen für jedes bißchen Autonomie, das ich gewinnen wollte.

¹³² Sogar der deutsche Metzger hatte mich vermisst und gab mir eine ganz dicke, fette Scheibe Schweinewurst! Die Freunde von Anne und Baba kamen, um uns zu begrüßen, und alle brachten irgendwelche Geschenke mit. Es war fast so schön wie an Bayram.

to drink with them and gets a basket of cookies for his family (p. 71). Here again offering food is a symbol of support, encouragement and goodwill. This kind of friendly relationship creates a positive attitude both in him and his family and encourages his daughters, Lale and Peyda to decide to visit the German family the day after. Their communication represents a warmth and openness, which welcomes the protagonists and their family as immigrants into the new culture.

Peyda, Nilgün's sister in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* has gone through a subtle assimilation and has absorbed many German characteristics. Nilgün narrates that:

“My sister does not have an allotment, nor a garden gnome, and also no antlers hang over the Gelsenkirchen [a town in the Ruhr area] Baroque sofa. However, she is subtly assimilated: She loves for example walking [...] which other Turkish woman loves walking? And she loves “coziness” - a word that there is not even a translation for in Turkish. Each year, when Christmas draws nearer she thinks about what the Advent wreath should look like. In the spring she ponders the Easter decorations. She has also read all the novels written by Hedwig Courths-Mahler (both in the Bastei-Lübbe series and as paperback editions)” (p. 152).¹³³

The above paragraph is narrated by Nilgün, the major narrator of the story. The words such as antlers, gnome, Advent wreath and Easter decorations are symbols of German cultural codes and symbolize western life. Her love for German culture such as Easter decorations and reading German female novelists proves Peyda's absorption within the new society. The familial and social liberties and comfort she has gained from Germany have been strong motivators in her assimilation.

Although Nilgün disagrees with her sister's assimilation, she gradually integrates as a child, as a result of her love of communication with her classmates. Unable to function as a completely autonomous immigrant individual with no interest in the new culture, she decides to open up to transculturality and gain both friendship and a wider cultural background. To

¹³³ Meine Schwester besitzt keinen Schrebergarten, keinen Gartenzwerg, und es hängt auch kein röhrender Hirsch über dem Sofa aus Gelsenkirchener Barock. Sie ist subtil assimiliert: Sie liebt beispielsweise Spaziergänge welche Türkin geht sonst spazieren. Und sie liebt es gemütlich ein Wort, für das es im Türkischen noch nicht einmal eine Übersetzung gibt. Jedes Jahr, immer wenn Weihnachten vor der Tür steht, denkt sie darüber nach, wie der Adventskranz aussehen könnte. Im Frühjahr grübelt sie über die Osterdekoration. Auch hat sie alle Romane Hedwig Courths - Mahlers gelesen (und zwar im Format der Bastei - Lübbe - Heftchen und als Taschenbücher).

further the positive relationship with her German classmates, she takes on some German characteristics such as taking sausages to school:

Although at that time the word integration was unknown to me, I was absolutely determined to participate and adapt myself to the class community. To be honest, I had never thought of the reason; for me, it was simply important to do so. So I made sure that the coming Friday I also put something from the sausage category into my lunchbox [bread and butter] and went to school full of joy (p. 50).¹³⁴

Nilgün is too young and naive to even know the reason for her action, but she fully understands the importance of adapting herself to the class community and has begun in an unspoken fashion to prepare herself to be accepted by the dominant German society. She uses words such as sausages, that function as a metonymy for German life. Also “class community” is an indirect reference to the larger society. These young protagonists, as well as the sub-characters of the narratives, wish to gain a sense of belonging in the majority community. If the characters are treated well and respectfully, they are hopeful and maintain a motivated, positive tone toward the dominant German society.

It is clear that social forces work to produce various types of immigrants. There are those like Hasan in *Salam Berlin* (See the later section on: Racism: Racist Discrimination, p. 267) who, from whatever motives, move to a position of indifference, and possibly rejection of the majority. There are those, like Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, who, driven by disputes and differences within their families, are virtually forced to assimilate and may well later begin to regret it (p. 217f.). Or, rather like Lale in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, there are those who, because of their family background, find it easy to integrate and become a functioning part of the majority society. Finally, there is Sesperado in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, who wants to be accepted for himself, without being required to become a ‘white Turk’ and represents the people the wider society should make efforts to accept. Such people may in the end prove to be of the most value to society because they retain their ability to be critical of both Turkish-Germans and Germans.

¹³⁴ Das Wort Integration war zwar damals unbekannt, aber ich war wild entschlossen mitzumachen und mich der Klassengemeinschaft anzupassen. Über den Grund hatte ich mir ehrlicherweise keine Gedanken gemacht; wichtig war für mich schlicht und einfach das Machen. Also sorgte ich dafür, dass ich am folgenden Freitag auch irgend etwas aus der Familie der Würste auf meinem Botterahm hatte, und ging voller Vorfriede in die Schule.

All of the characters who move in the direction of acceptance of, and assimilation into, German society are clearly only able to do so because of a considerable amount of assistance and friendship from within it. Without such help from outside there is no choice for an immigrant but the ghetto (*Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds*, p. 198). In this sense literature documents what is clearly necessary for life in the 'real' world.

4.2.1.4. Communal Networks in Protagonists' Lives

Tell me, just between the two of us, what's it like?" -"What?" -"To be dragged back and forth between the two cultures and languages like that. That must be hard. Other values, beliefs, traditions [...] (Kara, 2003, p. 221f.).¹³⁵

The above quote from *Salam Berlin* (p. 221f.) where Wolf is talking with Hasan neatly delineates the series of dilemmas that arise from transcultural social contacts. Because this takes place in the context of minority and majority cultures, it has effects within both, but the larger clash the contact causes is within the minority culture. This section attempts an examination of some of these Janus-like¹³⁶ issues.

Cultural dichotomies made apparent in conversation between two characters are frequent in the selected books. In this case, Wolf, talking directly in the first person voice, asks Hasan "What's it like? (ibid.)" Wolf probably believes there are differences and a gulf between those with and without migration backgrounds but "how wide?" He almost certainly does not know whether this is represented by a crack, or a chasm. The German society of "us" includes its own "values", "beliefs", and "traditions". So does the 'Turkish'. His question illustrates an 'Othering', whether Wolf intends this or not, however, both sides should recognize that integration and merging of cultures inevitably has costs in adaptation. The most basic element in a bilateral relationship is communicating in the same language, but Rosa, a neighbour refuses to recognize the problems of learning German: "These Tuuurks have been living here for such a long time and cannot even get two words together. - Rosa stressed the word Turks as if they were annoying insects" (ibid. p. 337)¹³⁷. Language has here become an obstacle, impeding, but not necessarily totally blocking, any sort of verbal communication. However, being "dragged back and forth between cultures and languages" (ibid. p. 221f.) cannot be pleasant and creates a brittle transcultural identity for the immigrant characters in a German society new to them. This new society at times does not seem welcoming for the protagonists, so the loss of old values will be felt as less tolerable, and as a result identities based on previous values will be shaken without anything obviously positive

¹³⁵ "Sag mal, so unter uns wie ist es denn?" -"Was?" -"Na, so zwischen den Kulturen, Sprachen hin- und hergerissen zu sein. Das muss hart sein. Andere Werte, Vorstellungen, Traditionen..."

¹³⁶ Janus was a Romano-Celtic god with a face on both sides of his head.

¹³⁷ Diese Tüürken leben schon so lange hier und kriegen nicht zwei Wörter zusammen. (Rosa betonte Türken so, als wären sie störendes Ungeziefer.

to replace them. In spite of this, in the selected novels, the characters attempt building their own lives and surviving amid the clearly observable clichés and restrictions represented by the norms of both societies. In *Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds*, Fatma narrates: “We children got to know a life there that was independent from tradition and manners, that our parents never understood. Because what they wanted to pass down to us children was preserved by the community, tried and true in application for centuries as a practical survival concept” (p. 35).¹³⁸ In fact what the parents could neither understand nor accept was that taking up new cultural norms was an absolute necessity for their children to survive and function in this second world of Germany.

As Wolf mentions in *Salam Berlin*, being caught between these two worlds “must be hard” (p. 221), being torn between the different cultures and not having a single origin. Socio-cultural disparities can militate against the normative desires of the individual causing either his retreat from the majority society or aggressive behaviour. The protagonist becomes “the other” because of his “other values, beliefs, traditions [...]” (p. 221). Here the German speaker, Wolf, seems more dominant, because it is his *own* society, nation, language and country, thus his voice is heard more loudly than that of the Turk. Although Wolf makes the clichéd reference to Turks as though they were not individuals, he seems to be quite friendly, understanding and able to think about cultural difficulties for immigrant individuals.

There is a stereotyped picture here of two different distinct German and Turkish cultures and the belief that young protagonists growing up in Germany with Turkish backgrounds are those “being torn between the different cultures”, as Wolf presumes. ‘Othering’ clearly happens here and Wolf is persistent about differentiating between cultures. He is a filmmaker who always places Turkish actors in macho or criminal roles and cannot dissociate Turks from the roles he gives them in his films. In a different but comparable situation, the girls who Hasan shares his apartment with again pigeonhole him into a traditional Turkish category by claiming to know how Turkish families are, and that they slaughter sheep in the bath (p. 201f.). Hasan, however, listens but refuses to be convinced, the same way as he does in his interaction with Wolf.

He takes this ‘Othering’ not personally and negatively by feeling discriminated, but as a resource. Hasan tries to deconstruct this type of clichéd form of thought by reacting “cool” (p. 233) and wearing his favourite brand of clothes, which gives him a good feeling (p. 195).

¹³⁸ Wir Kinder lernten dort ein Leben kennen, das von der Tradition, der Sitte unabhängig war, was unsere Eltern nie verstanden. Denn das, was sie an uns Kinder weitergeben wollten, war durch die Sippe schon jahrhundertlang erprobt und erfolgreich in der Anwendung gewesen, hatte sich als ein sinnvolles Konzept des Überlebens bewährt.

He keeps calm and in one of the scenes (p. 201ff.) instead of reacting aggressively or behaving as if he is upset, and in one scene in the book, because of his German flatmates, he even cleans up the apartment thoroughly, before moving out. He states: “Earlier, in the apartment, I had tidied up the refrigerator, cleaned the bathroom and my room. I did it to keep the 3D girls from calling me a Turkish slob behind my back” (p. 275).¹³⁹ The “three-D-women” refers to the three flatmates, whose names all start with the letter D, the 3Ds (Doris, Dora and Dörte). Hasan regards them all as stupid peasants and categorizes them as cruelly as the German girls categorize him. However, it should be noted that this denigration of girls by generalizing them is not necessarily on the same level as the girls’ prejudice. Throughout the book, Hasan succeeds in retaining a sense of dignity in his sarcastically indifferent attitude and deflects feelings of victimhood. There will be more space to discuss this subject in the section on “Racism & ‘Race’” (p. 48).

Cihad, a member of Sesperado’s circle of friends, presents his ideologies in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*. For Cihad, the West is the “Satan” (p. 13), especially when talking of America. A Western lifestyle cannot be accepted and made one’s own, even when it concerns food. However, it should be noticed that *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* strikes a more ironical tone than the previous work (*Salam Berlin*) and the characters have a more radical attitude to Westerners. The dichotomy, however, is similar; the protagonist goes to extremes with every single point in his attempt to show how superficial it is to live out clichés and degrading generalizations of human beings regarding their background, whether German or Turk. He also shows how awkward it is to be an illogical extremist and follow the clichés of a sub-group blindly. Here, Cihad attempts to avoid any financial support of America by avoiding McDonald’s or Burger King. The widespread popularity of fast food in various countries reveals the depth of penetration of Western culture into Eastern lifestyles, which is unpleasant for Cihad, whose name, in fact is pronounced Jihad and symbolizes the struggle implied in the text. McDonald’s and Burger King are symbols of American life to be found all around the world. Cihad’s resistance against the western society in which he finds himself shows his lack of tolerance for other cultures. This could easily result in his alienation and retreat from social contact with Germans, his taking an opposing stand against this society, and declaring war against it. However, the book presents this in a spirit of sarcasm and farce to ridicule both German and

¹³⁹ In der WG räumte ich vorher noch den Kühlschrank auf, reinigte das Bad und mein Zimmer. Damit die Drei-D-Mädels mich nicht hinter meinem Rücken einen türkischen Schmutzfink nannten.

immigrant society and make a joke of the concept of ‘Otherness’. In another later scene, Sesperado narrates how Cihad’s family goes on holiday:

She didn’t arrive in a spaghetti strap top and shorts, but rather was entirely wrapped in a Burka, Cihad also didn’t look like he was flying to Mallorca, but rather like he was on a pilgrimage to Mecca. And, although they were frisked from head to toe, people still threw them nervous glances in the airplane (p. 41).¹⁴⁰

Now the situation has become a pure farce (See more in section on: Minority versus Majority, p. 294). Cihad and Sesperado’s adversarial attitude toward German society is comparable to the protagonist’s parents’ view in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* but not that of the protagonist herself. The generational gap between the female protagonist and her parents has been broadened by her acceptance of the values and standards of German society. The parents, feeling homesick prefer to find a Turkish husband for their daughter; however the girl has adopted German social norms and secretly has a German boyfriend. The new socio-cultural openings, of which the girl’s love life is a part, result in a positive view of German society, which is reflected in the narrator’s hopeful tone. Despite marginalization and hostility imposed on her as both a Turkish immigrant and a Muslim woman, she has accepted Germany as her homeland. Germany is the country where she is tied to her love. When she doubts this, her boyfriend counters with “long live the International” (p. 62)¹⁴¹. This metadiegetic story is narrated by a third person omniscient voice that makes it possible to relate the story through different people from different perspectives. This enables the narrator to examine private thoughts and hidden events such as: “She felt closer to him than anyone before. He understood her escape from home and tried to calm her bad conscience (ibid.)”. This method helps disclose the unknown protagonist’s inner feelings toward those connected to her. Her feelings of love for the boy enable her to feel positive about German society. The narrator confronts the problematic theme of belief in clichés and suffers discrimination from those who are unable to understand either individuality in a human being or the beauty of the world as a transcultural sphere (p. 120). In another scene she symbolically employs the words such as “colour” and “white”, mentioning her eagerness for

¹⁴⁰ den sie kam nicht in Spagetti-Träger-Hemd und kurzen Hosen an sondern hatte sich vollkommen in eine Burka gehüllt, und auch Cihad sah nicht so aus, als würde er nach Mallorca fliegen sondern eher so, als sei er auf einer Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka. Und obwohl sie am Flughafen rauf – und runtergefilzt wurden, warfen ihnen die Leute im Flugzeug immer noch nervöse Blicke zu.

¹⁴¹ Es lebe die Internationale

a multicultural colourful life rather than the binary intolerance of people in her surroundings and finds the concept of having two defined and separable German and Turkish cultures, which live in parallel, problematic. “This white everywhere. She scratched nervously at the sheets. A few colour stains [...], and I would feel better immediately” (p. 96).¹⁴²

In contrast, in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, although the various vicissitudes caused by sociocultural differences make Nilgün’s and her sister Mine’s life difficult, she is amazed by the differences and combines them like a puzzle in her life. She and her sister enjoy their good relationship with an old German couple who they get to know in the nearby park and represent the type of parents the girls would wish to have. Music becomes a shelter for the Turkish girls and their new German friends. They listen to Turkish as well as German music, and listening to the Turkish music brings back to the girls their fond memories of events back in Turkey. The fruitcake, which the old man’s wife bakes every time the girls come for a visit, symbolizes the fruitfulness of tolerance, communication and acceptance of one another as individual human beings, which make life sweet as a piece of cake. They can all take refuge in the world of music and enjoy their time regardless of social clichés and barriers, as the narrator states: “Ever since they had begun to meet more often on the playground, his wife had quickly thrown a fruitcake together, and the three would creep away into the paradise of sound [music]” (p. 87).¹⁴³ “Playground,” “fruitcake” and music create a happy world of fantasy where they can escape from the sometimes-bitter realities of immigrant life. An indirect personification is illustrated here as the narrator does not directly mention the trait but displays and exemplifies it in various ways, leaving to the reader the task of inferring the quality the neighbours imply via their action.

A paradoxical manifestation of neighbourly support is demonstrated by the old German lady in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* (p. 109), who the protagonist and her sister visit. The protagonist uses the word “aunt/the old lady” for her in a sarcastic way because she was a restricted woman with restrictive rules. The neighbour instructed the girls on table manners in a very commanding fashion. The scene on page 9 presents the insensitivity of the old woman and her lack of knowledge that there are different cultural codes in each country, as she reacts as if the children do not know table manners (they had their own which were quite acceptable and proper in their own Turkish family). However, the reaction of the girls to the

¹⁴² Dieses Weiß überall. Sie kratzt nervös auf dem Bettlaken. Ein paar Farbklecke und ein Tee, und ich würd’ mich sofort besser fühlen.

¹⁴³ Seitdem trafen sie sich öfter auf dem Spielplatz, seine Frau klopfte zu neuem Obstkuchen hoch, und die drei verkrochen sich ins Paradies der Töne.

old German neighbour was not negative but, rather the opposite. The next day at home, the protagonist and her sister are not “lively” at the table as usual; they are “sitting stiffly, taking small bites and chewing properly, without smacking their lips or gulping down the food, exactly as their ‘aunt’ had told them” (p. 108f).¹⁴⁴ The neighbour or, rather the ‘aunt’, is another authority figure who teaches the children how to behave and influences them, thus solidifying their socio-cultural restraints. However, the girls can look beyond table manners and appreciate the freedom of the more internationally oriented German society, although these liberties can encounter with Turkish social norms and values. The protagonist, when older, sees the new German cultural codes as an opportunity to break away from the long-held prejudices present in her Turkish family’s cultural norms.

Fatma, the first person narrator of *Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds* shares the positive attitude illustrated in the previous paragraph. She had stolen a stuffed animal from her German friend, Nicole, but then got a bad conscience and, as she liked Nicole a lot, she decided to tell her the truth in broken German and return the toy. When she was as good as finished, Nicole’s mother “entered the room, looked at me inquiringly and asked what had happened. It turned out that my new friend took my side and told her mother: Fatma borrowed one of my stuffed animals and wanted to return it!” (p. 117).¹⁴⁵ This lie saves Fatma’s honour and makes her grateful to Nicole. Fatma is delighted to find a friend in whom she can trust and confide. At this point, German society starts being pleasant to Fatma, although the language barrier is an obstacle to any easy success.

In this scene language becomes a huge hindrance preventing communication for Fatma. She can barely make herself understood as she confesses: “in my broken German I could only make myself very poorly understood (ibid.)”. A lack of verbal communication neither discourages nor isolates this strong character. Gestures and body language play an important role in Fatma’s life where she later narrates that “it was then not possible to understand their words, but I could read their faces” (ibid. p. 116). By reading the other children’s faces she can connect with them (though not all) but she can make only one friend, Nicole.

Later, the protagonist is brave enough to fight for autonomy and liberty although her family does not let her choose her own way of life. In this autobiographical novella, the prejudices of Turkish society are antagonistic, and unable to break with these limitations, Fatma’s

¹⁴⁴ Die bis dahin lebhaften Kinder saßen nun stocksteif am Tisch, die kleinen Häppchen ordentlich kauend, ohne zu schmatzen oder zu schlucken, wie es ihnen die Tante aufgetragen hatte.

¹⁴⁵ betrat Nicoles Mutter das Zimmer, sah mich prüfend an und fragte, was passiert sei. Es zeigte sich, daß meine neue Freundin zu mir hielt: Fatma hatte sich eines meiner Stofftiere ausgeliehen und wollte es zurückgeben!

parents create serious problems for her. German society and her German friends seem to be more understanding, helpful and respectful. This sustains the hopeful optimism of the narrator. Friends such as Nicole, Peter and Rudolf give sympathy and support. This is much emphasized in various paragraphs; as in “Rudolf was twenty years older than me and took care of me like a father” (ibid., p. 170). Unlike Fatma’s own father, Rudolf becomes a supportive surrogate German father who takes care of her while allowing her maintain her individuality and independence. At the end of the story, she does not have any contact with her family because of their extreme prejudices. She sticks only to her German husband and two children, Laura and Rick (ibid., p. 218) and she distances herself from her Turkish roots as much as possible by changing her name from Fatma, which was too reminiscent of her Turkish immigrant origin, to Sonja (ibid., p. 205).

Fatma’s divided life is well represented in the title of the book, *Henna Moon: My Life between The Two Worlds*. As the title suggests the protagonist’s life, values, traditions, beliefs and ideology are split between the cultures of Turkey and Germany. Socio-cultural disparities challenge Fatma all her life and this challenge is diminished only when she decides to leave her Turkish origin behind and start anew. Her new German name, Sonja, symbolizes her new adopted German identity and total assimilation. However, she exchanges exclusion by her family for exclusion by some of the Germans in her new neighbourhood (p. 201), but this is less extreme than the violence of her family (p. 120).

The process of assimilation, adoption of a new identity or set of beliefs and values, and challenge of living between cultures are significant themes in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. Nilgün is the first person narrator of this autobiographical metadiegetic story (referring to herself as I, me, us) in which the duality of a character’s desire and reality is portrayed. As was observed in the case in Fatma’s life in *Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds*, the protagonist here also suffers the vicissitudes of being caught between two cultures and being left in a no-mans-land between them. This in-betweenness (p. 120) creates two worlds; on one side, the dream world of Turkey and on the other, the palpable world of Germany. Although Nilgün is struggling to define and maintain an identity for herself amid the modernity and tradition, her family is not as conservative and unsupportive as Fatma’s traditional, prejudiced family. Nilgün’s parents are relatively open-minded. Apparently she has a good relationship with her mother as she states that she can say everything to her: “I was so proud of myself and wanted to tell my Anne” (p. 20). However, at times the father presents his harshly patriarchal side and punishes

the girls because Mine, Nilgün's sister wanted to widen her space of possibilities and go out with friends after school. However, this dream world of Germany and the palpable world of Turkey do not remain unchanged. At the end of the book their Turkish world retreats more into the background as they grow up and the influence of their parents and of Turkish communal networks wane. Both protagonists, Fatma (p. 221f.) and Nilgün (p. II), learn how to enjoy the taste of their multicultural life and surroundings; they rediscover themselves and start to feel comfortable in their lives, getting the benefits of all their experiences, whether bitter or sweet.

I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds also depicts the problems of immigrants with the new language. Nilgün's mother is better at communicating with German people as in "Anne spoke much better German than our Baba. And when they could not understand something, Mine [Nilgün's sister] did the translation" (p. 31).¹⁴⁶ The ability of social contact to replace verbal communication when words fail is also presented, as in; "Mrs. Huber was also very nice, but sometimes I could not understand her well, because one half of her face was a bit awry" (p. 31).¹⁴⁷ Although Mrs. Huber had had a stroke, and is not able to speak properly, she bakes a cake for Nilgün's family and a friendship develops out of this.

Whereas the protagonist Nilgün makes good contact with the Germans such as Helene, as well as shop-owners, her older sister, Mine, who suffers more from her father's fanatical attitudes, is driven into introversion and maintains a distance from German society, as seen in the phrase she "had no German friends" (p. 73). The reader can even feel the depth of her despair during puberty, displaced into her dolls (p. 153)¹⁴⁸ as she mutilates them, rips out their eyes and cuts their hair, as a surrogate for herself. She is reacting to criticism from the Turkish community of her making up and briefly having a boyfriend, which leads her father to beat her up at the slightest sign of rebellion. The influence of the two communal networks in Nilgün's life is clear. She learns from the fate of her sister Mine, become more secretive in her contact with German society and uses subterfuges in order to reduce the restrictiveness of the 'Turkish' side of her life and gain more freedom.

¹⁴⁶ Anne sprach viel besser deutsch als unser Baba. Und wenn sie etwas nicht verstehen konnte, übersetzte es Mine.

¹⁴⁷ Frau Huber war auch sehr nett, aber manchmal konnte ich sie nicht gut verstehen, weil die eine Hälfte ihres Gesichts ein bisschen schief war.

¹⁴⁸ Mine spielte auch nie wieder mit ihren Puppen und nähte weder für meine noch für ihre Puppen Kleider. Sie hatte all ihren Puppen die Augen mit dem Küchenmesser ausgestochen und ihnen die Haare mit Wasserfarben ganz bunt an gemalt.

Nilgün is fascinated by the hospitality of the Germans such as Mrs. Huber who “had baked a cake specially for us although I did not find it tasty” (p. 31)¹⁴⁹ and Mr. Boehringer who is very helpful, and “had pressed an envelope in my Anne’s hand and wished her all the best. That was the money for my plane ticket and a month’s pay, said Anne, crying: I have never experienced so many good things from a Muslim. This man is an angel” (p. 118).¹⁵⁰ Not only Germans, but also Nilgün’s Italian friends Giuseppe and Paola influence her multicultural attitude to life; they “were so delighted that they made presents for Ablam [sister in Turkish] and me [on our return to Germany]” (p. 127) and even the German butchers who “had missed me and gave me a very big fat piece of pork sausage! (ibid.)”. All these instances indicate the possibility of recognizing Germany as a country that is different from her own homeland, and accepting German society and its norms as being open and friendly to Nilgün and her family as immigrants. In contrast to this, being a woman in her Turkish, traditionally biased Islamic family means wrestling against a multitude of familial and social barriers that are totally and perplexingly destructive to her from the time she starts her menstruation and becomes adult (p. 156). However, by the end of the book, she is able to take her life into her own hands, read and study a lot, and open herself to influences gained both from her Turkish social networks, such as her aunt and grandmother, and all her German friends who support her throughout.

Some contradictions, however, remain in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, going back to when Nilgün was young girl, such as Mr. Schäufole’s prejudice. She cannot make sense out of all the events around her and only can understand superficially. When Helene’s family moves to their neighbourhood, her father, Mr. Schäufole, does not allow his daughter to play with the Turkish girl, although they are the best of friends, but the narrator cannot discern the racist reason behind this. The protagonist goes on to explain that, “Helene was not allowed to play with us. Her dad did not want that. I did not know what he had against it, but maybe it was because they were only recently moved into our street and did not know us” (p. 13).¹⁵¹ A sense of alienation does not arise in Nilgün at this stage, since she talks of this street as “our street” which conveys a sense of belonging. However, Mr. Schäufole’s racist preconceptions can be inferred from the

¹⁴⁹ [...] trotzdem hatte sie extra für uns einen Kuchen gebacken, den ich überhaupt nicht lecker fand.

¹⁵⁰ Herr Boehringer hatte meiner Anne einen Briefumschlag in die Hand gedrückt und ihr alles Gute gewünscht. „Das war das Geld für mein Flugticket und ein Monats Gehalt“ sagte Annem weinend. „Von keinem Moslem habe ich jemals so viel Gutes erfahren. Dieser Mann ist ein Engel“

¹⁵¹ Helene durfte nicht mit uns spielen. Ihr Papa wollte das nicht. Ich wusste nicht, was er dagegen hatte, aber vielleicht lag es auch daran, dass sie erst vor kurzem in unsere Straße gezogen waren und uns nicht kannten.

rest of the diegesis when he thanks Nilgün for looking after Helene, when she had to be left alone and permits her to “visit Helene from time to time. But not too often! He said with a raised index finger” (p. 20).¹⁵² His “raised index finger” reveals his attitude of superiority toward the Turkish family whom he does not welcome and possibly even distrusts. Nilgün gives a report of how the Schäufole family treats her and is positive about Mrs. Schäufole, but Mr. Schäufole does not seem amicable and gracious: “Her Mum greeted me also, but Mr. Schäufole just shook his head and took the suitcases out of his car” (p. 127).¹⁵³ Mr. Schäufole reduces his contact with the immigrant family to the minimum level and only communicates with them through cold and unfriendly body language while trying to avoid them as much as possible. Mrs Schäufole breaks the racial barriers, and approaches them as she “took us both [Nilgün and Helene] by the hand and we walked together” (p. 132)¹⁵⁴, putting them at the same level. She is independent and opposes prejudice whether it is gender-based or racial. Her friendship with the Turkish family puts her at odds with her husband. Mrs. Schäufole makes friends with Anne (the mother) who is upset when she and her daughter have to move somewhere else, because she leaves her husband: “My Anne asked if we could help her, but Mrs. Schäufole only hugged my Anne firmly and both began to cry” (p. 137)¹⁵⁵

I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds diverges from the previous narratives in the amount of independence and educational liberty the girls are allowed. The protagonist, Nilgün, succeeds in her studies and her parents, especially her mother, are very supportive of her education in contrast to Fatma’s parents in *Henna Moon: My Life between the Worlds*, who did not want to allow her to study beyond the basic secondary school. Fatma, however gets a massive amount of encouragement both to educate herself and to integrate from her German social contacts, for instance just before her driving test. “Before I got into the car, my driving instructor’s wife took me in her arms. She held me tight and said in a calm but firm voice: Fatma, until now you have done everything, you will be able to take this last step too!” (p. 154).¹⁵⁶

In Nilgün’s case, her interest in education as the path to success, individuality, independence and liberty is boosted and encouraged by her aunt and grandmother. Although Nilgün and her

¹⁵² Herr Schäufole bedankte sich bei mir und versprach, dass ich ab und zu Helene besuchen dürfe. „Aber nicht zu oft! sagte er mit erhobenem Zeigefinger.

¹⁵³ Ihre Mama begrüßte mich auch, aber Herr Schäufole schüttelte nur den Kopf und räumte die Koffer aus seinem Auto.

¹⁵⁴ Manchmal nahm Frau Schäufole uns beide an die Hand und wir liefen zu dritt.

¹⁵⁵ Meine Anne fragte sie, ob wir ihr helfen könnten, aber Frau Schäufole umarmte meine Anne nur ganz fest und beide fingen an zu weinen.

¹⁵⁶ Bevor ich ins Auto stieg, nahm mich die Frau meines Fahrlehrers in die Arme. Sie hielt mich ganz fest und sagte mit ruhiger, aber bestimmter Stimme: Fatma, du hast bis jetzt alles geschafft, diesen letzten Schritt wirst du auch noch schaffen!

sister Mine have little support from their parents for integration into German society, they do get support from their aunt Birsen Teyze, who had suffered from gender inequalities herself. They also get continual encouragement from their grandmother Babaanne, to learn more and more in order to gain freedom. Gender inequalities are widespread and not unique to their Turkish culture: “There were words against men, against the oppression of women and physical violence towards women, not only in Turkey, but all over the world” (p. 160).¹⁵⁷ Such biases and the physical and mental violence against women that accompany them are frequent around the world and must be fought against according to both the narrator and some female characters in the story. Feminist convictions can be noticed in Nilgün’s aunt, Birsen Teyze (p. 161f.), and grandmother Babaanne (p. 166). These are critical in Nilgün’s own progression toward feminism (p. 167).

One of the elements focused on in this story is religious ideology and beliefs. Being a young, naïve child, Nilgün’s religious learning is influenced by the two cultures she is living in and thus divided. In her mind, God loses his unity and is split into Allah and God, to whom she prays separately as she confesses, “I prayed again to Allah and to God. Only both together were strong enough to help us, as we had such a big problem” (p. 141).¹⁵⁸ Like her own identity, which has lost its unity because of the socio-cultural disparities and differentiations, her religious conscience has also been split. Born to and being raised in a Muslim family, she naturally gains her parents’ beliefs and values. However, her family is an atom in the larger Christian world, and they are surrounded by Christianity. Consequently, her religious belief cannot remain in a vacuum and has traces of Christianity; her religious ideology has become an amalgam of the ideologies around her and causes a state of confusion. Paradoxically, this symbolizes both cultural and religious diversity and unity, since Allah and God are essentially the same, but have different names in different religions.

All the stories in the selected novels, whether metadiegetic or extradiegetic, share transcultural attributes. In *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, Nilgün is praised by an old lady when she answers her question about the truth in books: “Like a shot from a pistol I replied that I would have my own truth. The woman was surprised about my answer and said: “You are a true Eurasian” (p. 168). “Eurasian”¹⁵⁹ couples Asians with Europeans referring to and resulting in plurality and transculturality as

¹⁵⁷ Es waren Worte gegen Männer, gegen die Unterdrückung der Frauen, über die körperliche Gewalt, die Frauen nicht nur in der Türkei, sondern auf der ganzen Welt angetan wurde.

¹⁵⁸ Ich betete immer wieder zu Allah und zu Gott. Nur beide waren stark genug, uns zu helfen, da wir ein großes Problem hatten.

¹⁵⁹ This term might however be used by the old lady as a substitute for the prohibited word ‘Arian’

manifest in Nilgün's status as an immigrant female. Although the Turkish-German protagonist, voluntarily abandons some features and values of the cultural codes of her conservative family, she gains others in their place, which bring about a hybrid and richer environment. (It is clear that the use of the word 'Eurasian' here does not convey any negative connotations as it could possibly do in some circumstances).

These narratives encapsulate the individuation, however difficult, of the main characters, which shapes and strengthens their unique personalities. Likewise, individuality is the main point of emphasis in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* in which the protagonist is the first person narrator as well. Having moved to Germany, Lale, a nine-year-old girl from Turkey, lives with her well-educated mother and father. Her parents are symbols of individuality, each having a unique, specific identity. While the mother is an observing Muslim who "had spurned" the Breuers' "onion-pie because of a certain ingredient" (p. 45), the father is an atheist who enjoys the transcultural elements of living in a new country. He rejoices in Western music, Christmas carols and cookies while his wife is not at all pleased with the noise the neighbours are making on Christmas Eve. The protagonist is welcoming when faced with the new culture and its features including religion and language. However, she is at times both inquisitive and sarcastic about some Christian ceremonies such as Holy Communion, where she speaks of a priest talking about a non-baptized child:

"Not exactly problems, how shall I say it, when I was giving Holy Communion, one of the parishioners whispered in my ear that the child was not baptized then I had to take the Holy Communion out of her mouth. - Did you seriously take a wafer from a five-year-olds mouth? This can't be true! My voice sounded sharp again. - Not the wafer, dear lady, the Holy Communion!" (p. 248).¹⁶⁰

Lale is curious how Christianity works here and how they justify Christ's mercy in this way. She is in a position to build her identity based on what she sees around her. A compilation of events and cultural affinities influence her understanding of herself and the world around her. The protagonist is keen on learning the German language. Her father is a key element in teaching her the new language with which she can astonish others "Papa changed my Turkish

¹⁶⁰ Nicht direkt Probleme, wie soll ich es sagen, ich habe die heilige Kommunion verteilt, als mir jemand von den Gästen zuflüsterte, dass das Kind nicht getauft sei, da habe ich ihr die heilige Kommunion aus dem Mund nehmen müssen. Sie haben einer Fünfjährigen ernsthaft die Oblate aus dem Mund genommen?

Das gibt es doch nicht! Jetzt klang meine Stimme wieder so scharf.

Nicht die Oblate, gnädige Frau, die heilige Kommunion!

words into German. Apparently my clarification shocked the Breuers” (p. 45).¹⁶¹ The language is not an impossible barrier in this story, since the parents are highly educated and help the little girl to overcome this obstacle quite soon (p. 49). The girls learning German was largely because of their father’s support; he arranges private German lessons for the girls. Unlike many parents in the previous stories, the father knows German very well and he chats with the German neighbours; it seems they enjoy his company too.

A multicultural vision of society drives the characters of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* to learn as much as possible about each culture. In spite of all the socio-cultural disparities in the way, the protagonist can handle being in Germany in a short time because Lale’s family, including her father and her Aunt Semra, encourage her to enjoy her new environment as her father does. In one scenes, he is sent to the neighbours by his wife to ask them to turn the music down, but instead he returns home after many hours “in a very good mood. His eyes are shining, and in his hand he waves a small bag” (p. 71)¹⁶² breaking the news that “people are celebrating Christmas! (ibid.)”¹⁶³, and he does not see it as polite to ask them to turn down the music. He drinks with them and even comes home with an invitation from the family to see the Christmas tree. The father is and always has been westernized and the mother more resistant to the new and different traditions. She hangs on to Turkish values more seriously and avoids bacon, although this is only referred to indirectly, as avoiding un-Islamic ingredients. As aunt Semra states, “We don’t feel alienated. Look at me and your uncle, we are as much at home Cyprus as in Istanbul, or in London and now in Germany and we have to thank you that we feel so at home in Germany” (p. 98).¹⁶⁴ Her openness to the new socio-cultural differences results in an enriched variety of life and is not something to be afraid of or disappointed about. Lale and her family can feel at home wherever they are and this fact gives them joy and appreciation of new things, such as new culture and technology. She refers to herself and her husband as “Cosmopolitan!! (ibid.)” and that, as the naive narrator suggests; “sounds good, although... has that anything to do with politics? I asked, Mum is always cursing about politics. Aunty nearly died of laughter. No, that has nothing to do with it, you are not a politician you are a cosmopolite!” (p. 98).¹⁶⁵ That politics is mentioned in this text is a

¹⁶¹ Papa übersetzte meine türkischen Worte ins Deutsche. Anscheinend schockte meine Klarstellung das Ehepaar Breuer.

¹⁶² Seine Augen leuchteten, und in der Hand schwenkte er eine kleine Tüte

¹⁶³ Die leute feiern das Weihnachtsfest!

¹⁶⁴ Wir fremdeln nicht. Schau dein Onkel und ich, wir sind auf Zypern zu Hause, in Istanbul, in London, und neuerdings auch in Deutschland, das mit Deutschland haben wir euch zu verdanken.

¹⁶⁵ Kosmopoliten!! Dass hörte sich gut an, obwohl... Hat das was mit Politikern zu tun? Fragte ich, auf die schimpft Mama immer.

foreshadowing of what she will achieve in her future career, in becoming a politician and gaining a prestigious position in society. Aunt Semra's positive thinking provides an opportunity for both the young protagonist Lale and her sister Peyda to see the possibilities ahead and follow them enthusiastically.

Lale's desire to be accepted and involved within German society makes her an active female voice that highlights other female immigrant voices in German society. Trespassing beyond the limits and borderlines of the isolation of immigrant life depicted in other books, she longs to reduce the cultural prejudice between any individuals within society, whether it is Turkish or German. When the realities of her family are represented, they can cause culture shock. In the scene when the protagonist explains about the Breuers finding out that Mama is a Muslim and Papa is an atheist: "They looked at us as if thunderstruck; their eyes had grown to the size of a large plate. It had been too much culture shock for the Breuers. They had probably known neither Muslims nor atheists so far" (p. 45).¹⁶⁶ Clichés of all Turkish people being Muslims and all Muslims being strict and prejudiced are broken down in front of the Breuers' eyes to their complete astonishment. The culture shock is so immense that it is likened to being "thunderstruck" to show the prejudged conceptions people hold about other traditions and cultures (possibly also about their own). In this interaction it is clear that stereotyped ideas are severely shaken. Pigeonholing is not always a disturbing influence for Lale directly, but rather an irritation, against which she reacts frequently throughout the book. This shows the maturity that the support from her wider environment and her family has given her.

The protagonist Lale's openness toward globalization and being cosmopolitan decreases her feeling of isolation and alienation. She asserts that, "Thanks to Karin... as far as Christmas is concerned, I have made up everything I could possibly have missed previously"¹⁶⁷ (p. 121). Obviously she has been able to make German friends who teach her about their culture. Social-cultural hindrances are overcome through her flexible personality. Her integration in the larger host culture is thorough and voluntary, and her story is that of the most nominally successful of the characters considered.

The novels chosen generally portray the success of the main protagonist, but this is clearly only enabled by the support of at least one strong character in their social network, either within their Turkish family or close to the main protagonist in German society. More often

Tantchen lachte sich kaputt. Nein, sagte sie, das hat damit nichts zu tun, du bist keine Politikerin, du bist eine Kosmopolitin!

¹⁶⁶ Sie schauten uns an wie vom Donner gerührt, ihre Augen waren tellergroß geworden. Es war zu viel Kulturschock gewesen für die Breuers. Sie hatten bis dato wohl weder Muslime noch Atheisten gekannt.

¹⁶⁷ Ich kann behaupten, dass ich dank Karin, was Weihnachten angeht, alles nachgeholt habe, was ich vorher versäumt haben könnte.

than not, the support comes from key characters on both the ‘German’ and the ‘Turkish’ sides. To be able to network, in the modern use of the word, is clearly more necessary for protagonists with Turkish backgrounds, needing to obtain entry to German society, than it is for a German without migration background. It is of most importance for the characters moving towards German culture and norms, as can be seen in Hasan (*Salam Berlin*), Fatma (*Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds*) and Nilgün’s (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*) situations. The better the characters are able to communicate and are influenced positively by their German networks, the better they can overcome problems, gain support and become integrated. This influence is important in shaping the reaction the reaction of the protagonists to their various problems and these influences are the subject of the next section.

4.2.2. The Reaction of the Protagonists to Interpersonal & Institutional Difficulties & Hindrances

This chapter is primarily concerned with those problems, which can be characterized as obstacles over or around which the protagonists are forced to navigate. They could be considered as cumulative micro-aggressions, defined in an Economist article as being “too small for the speaker to notice, yet too big for the hearer to ignore” (The Economist, 13.Feb.2016, p. 80). In some way or another, protagonists must come to terms with these, which can be deliberate on the part of the person giving offence, but may not be. These perceived insults can be accepted with dignity or expanded into a state of victimhood. Not all obstacles are of this nature and some are more in the nature of mountains to climb rather than bumps in the road.

Sociological and empirical studies consider immigration and the difficulties accompanying it as an important field of research, especially concerning the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which are marked by globalization and population mobility. Although this section concentrates on social difficulties rather than considering immigration as a positive development, this is covered positively later in “4.2.4. Chances & Opportunities with Regard to the Protagonists” (p. 303). Difficulties can include identity challenges, settlement and integration, health care, housing, education, social participation and experiences of racism; this chapter is divided into five parts: Language Barrier; Socio-Cultural Disparities: Othering; Tradition versus Modernity; Aspiration and Resistance and Feelings of Alienation.

4.2.2.1. Language Barrier

This section examines how literary text in the books studied renders the effects of language barriers. It emotionalizes and personalizes the experience of the new language and describes how the lives of young immigrants are transformed by the support they get from both school and society in coping with German. Several generations of children of immigrant origin have now been through the school systems in Germany so that the massive barrier presented by the German language that immigrants of Turkish origin faced is gone for them if not for their parents. However the texts studied here are from a generation nearer to the original migration. They describe language as the first hurdle most immigrant characters have to overcome.

This is dealt with differently in each book; the only Turkish immigrant parents who learned German before coming to Germany are in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, and the family does not suffer from a shortage of money and could get private language tuition for their two daughters. At the time when the books considered here were written, language courses were only available for those with time and money, so that, unsurprisingly, language is also the most prominent hindrance for protagonists in the selected novels. Language attainment usually is a time-consuming and difficult task that requires special attention. Different linguistic structures and phonetics make learning the new language a rather cumbersome process. Turkish immigrant protagonists are no exception. They have to solve this problem as the first step in communication with the new society.

It must be remembered that, at the time dealt with by the texts chosen for this work (1960s and 1970s.), anyone not speaking German (as still the case today) was automatically disenfranchised and vulnerable. Unlike today, there were no German courses available to those without the means to pay privately and free time to attend. Schools as institutions made no effort to help immigrant pupils with German. Any help, such as Fatma and Nilgün got, was provided by good-hearted teachers and was by no means the rule. It is extremely judgmental of some Germans that they felt able to condemn the Turkish families for not speaking correct German after years in Germany: "These Tuuurks have been living here for such a long time and cannot even get two words together. - Rosa stressed the word Turks as if they were annoying insects" (*Salam Berlin*, p. 337).¹⁶⁸ Only with new laws for foreigners in

¹⁶⁸ Diese Tüürken leben schon so lange hier und kriegen nicht zwei Wörter zusammen. -Rosa betonte Türken so, als wären sie störendes Ungeziefer.

2004 did German courses become widely available and by 2013 foreigners had the right to attend free German courses and in some cases could be compelled to do so (Para. 43 Aufenthaltsgesetz – Residence law).¹⁶⁹

The language barrier is a prominent feature of the autobiographical literature that comprises this work. In order to build any kind of connection with Germans, the Turkish immigrant has to deal with the German language. One would assume that the more proficient at the German language, the more accepted the immigrant is in German society. However, the level of discrimination is such that if one speaks very good German and reads newspapers and communicates with those Germans without migration backgrounds, one begins to read between the lines and to understand subtle messages which say that however much one knows and tries to be part of the community, one is still likely to be kept out (see the section on “4.2.3.3.1. Language as a Means of Racial Discrimination”, p. 267).

Although the new language should, if possible, be mastered before beginning the journey into the new life ahead, many immigrants do not take it seriously and end up emotionally and psychologically frustrated by having to make do with broken phrases. All immigrants in Germany face the challenges of adjusting to a new society, learning its norms, values, and customs, and learning a new language in order facilitate living in a different political, social, geographical domain. Language therefore plays a unique role in the life and integration of immigrants.

Almost all the protagonists of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, *Salam Berlin*, and *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* have recorded their experiences of the barrier of language. Some are taken to the foreign country at a young age (before or during elementary school), some of them later, however. Most suffer an emotional block to communication, verbal and nonverbal, with German children, classmates, and adults. One of these young newcomers is Fatma, the protagonist of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*. Language becomes a huge hindrance to communication for her. She can barely make herself understood as she confesses: “in my broken German I could only make myself very poorly understood” (p. 117).¹⁷⁰ However the problem neither disappoints nor isolates this strong character. Gestures and body language play an important role in Fatma’s life where

¹⁶⁹ Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet (Aufenthaltsgesetz - AufenthG). 2004, §43 “Integrationskurs. In: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/aufenthg_2004/BJNR195010004.html

¹⁷⁰ In meinem gebrochenen Deutsch konnte ich mich nur sehr notdürftig verständlich machen.

she later narrates that “it was then not possible to understand their words, but I could read their faces” (p. 116).¹⁷¹ By reading the other children’s faces she can connect with them (though not all and she can make only one friend, Nicole). Even in the contact with Nicole, she at first has to use gestures and body language but this does not prevent her apologizing for taking Nicole’s doll (p. 116f.).

I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds also depicts the problems of the immigrants with the new language. Nilgün’s mother is better at communicating with German people, as Nilgün says, “Anne spoke much better German than our Baba. And when they could not understand something, Mine did the translation” (p. 31).¹⁷²

Reading facial and body language as alternative ways of communication are employed when necessary as Fatma does in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* (p. 115-118) to communicate with her classmates. Unable to speak German, Fatma’s level of verbal communication and interaction remains very low, although she is relatively successful non-verbally.

On a different occasion, the lack of linguistic skill is presented as a factor resulting in disappointment and offence. For instance in Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, while shopping Nilgün’s parents cannot make the salesperson understand what they need:

She [Nilgün’s mother] pointed to everything with her finger and spoke Turkish. My mother pointed to bananas. Muz she said in Turkish and the saleswoman replied Banana? Banane is the Turkish term for, ‘It makes no difference’. My mother pointed to the bananas again and the saleswoman said again banana. My parents felt offended and just moved on (p. 8).¹⁷³

Since Nilgün’s mother and father cannot communicate in German and, cannot make the purchase, they are forced to retreat from positive communication. Unfortunately, they assume they are being insulted rather than the more rational assumption that there is a communication problem. Perceived micro-aggression has trumped rationality. Although the immigrant family are at times not able to interact with the dominant society, they are more

¹⁷¹ Es war mir damals nicht möglich, ihre Worte zu verstehen, doch in ihren Gesichtern konnte ich lesen.

¹⁷² Anne sprach viel besser Deutsch als unser Baba. Und wenn sie etwas nicht verstehen konnte, übersetzte es Mine.

¹⁷³ Sie zeigten auf alles mit dem Finger und sprachen türkisch. Meine Mutter zeigte auf Bananen. Muz, sagte sie auf Türkisch und die Verkäuferin antwortete: Banane? Banane heißt auf Türkisch, mir egal. Meine Mutter zeigte erneut auf die Bananen und die Verkäuferin sagte wieder: Banane. Meine Eltern fühlten sich beleidigt und liefen einfach weiter.

successful in contacting other minority ethnic groups such as Italians or Africans. Nilgün's family makes friends with another immigrant group, an Italian family. Although none of these families can speak the same language and they are unable to communicate in German, they establish a positive interaction with each other:

Paola and Giuseppe went to the same school as we did. Mine and I were together with them almost every day. Although our parents didn't know any Italian or German and Paola and Giuseppe's parents could only speak Italian, they liked each other very much. They could still communicate in their own language. "People do not need to speak the same language in order to like each other", Anne said (p. 12).¹⁷⁴

These immigrant families of different cultural codes have established a special code of communication without knowing each other's language. This is a significant example of how minority ethnic communities evolve strategies to build useful connections, whether verbally or emotionally.

While the minorities with migration background are challenged by language barriers in the German society, the Germans without migration backgrounds sometimes racist or sarcastic and hostile behaviour can worsen the situation. This hostility is shown by some kindergarten or school authorities in selected novels, and causes deep emotional wounds. For instance, when Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* is taken to the kindergarten for the first time, the sister shows disrespect to her and her mother by, her harsh behaviour:

You are surely the little Turkish girl, what was your name again? Mülgin or something? -"Please, my daughter's name is Nilgün" said Mom very friendly and probably hoping for a smile in return [from the sister]. The woman still looked angry and straightened her robe. When Anne was excited or nervous, she spoke bad German and I could not even swallow as a lump was growing in my throat. The woman took me by the hand and

¹⁷⁴ Paola und Giuseppe gingen in die gleiche Schule. Mine und ich waren fast jeden Tag mit den beiden zusammen. Obwohl unsere Eltern kein Italienisch und kein Deutsch sprachen und die Eltern von Paola und Giuseppe auch nur italienisch konnten, mochten sie sich sehr. Sie konnten sich sogar, jeder in seiner Sprache, verständigen. Menschen müssen nicht die gleiche Sprache sprechen, um sich zu mögen, sagte Anne.

dragged me away from Mom. I began yelling and clung even tighter to my Mom (p. 51).¹⁷⁵

The sister does not care about pronouncing the name correctly, and instead of showing a supportive face, she gives an angry look. Here the external focalizer presents the focalized from without, penetrating mother's feeling and thoughts and her external actions. Sister Annemarie however is only presented via her external actions. The use of direct definitions is employed here, like anger, anxiety and excitement. An indirect personification is also used as Nilgün narrates what she observes and leaves to the reader the task of inferring the qualities of the mother and Sister Annemarie as implied in their actions. The narrator uses this perspective to imply a lack of humanity on the part of the Sister. Nilgün's mother "hoping for a smile (ibid.)", discouraged by the sister's behaviour, is, because of distress and anxiety, unable to communicate effectively. The little Nilgün is so scared that she feels a "lump" in her throat, a symbol of forced silence and her inability to speak German. This sort of humiliation can be a day-to-day experience for immigrants. Immigrants can often assume humiliation, in a situation where none is intended, but this is clearly not the case in this quote (See the section on: Minority versus Majority, p. 294).

In the metadiegetic narrative, *Salam Berlin*, the narrator, Hasan or so called Hansi by Germans, quotes Rosa expressing her racist assumptions about Turks. She derogatorily refers to them as "these Tuuurks" (p. 337)¹⁷⁶ to emphasize her xenophobic attitude about immigrants who cannot speak German well although "they have been living in this country for a long time (ibid.)". The choice of words reveals her disapproving tone. She disparaging about their linguistic abilities, with the inference that that they are not intelligent enough to learn the language of the host country, because they; "cannot even get two words together (ibid.)". The implication is that Turks are grotesquely supposed to be unable to absorb education. Rosa's colonialist arrogance poisons any kind of attempt to bridge the gap between her and Turks.

Language barriers are not only limited to the children but affect the adults as well and these difficulties have often impinged on the capacity of individuals to access services, gain

¹⁷⁵ Du bist sicher die kleine Türkin, wie heißt du doch gleich? Mülgin oder so? Nilgün heißen meine Tochter, bitte" antwortete Anne sehr freundlich und hoffte wahrscheinlich auf ein Gegenlächeln. Die Frau schaute immer noch böse und zupfte ihr Gewand zurecht. Wenn Anne aufgeregt war, sprach sie ein schlechtes Deutsch und ich konnte nicht mal schlucken, weil der Kloß in meinem Hals immer größer wurde. Die Frau nahm mich an der Hand und zerrte mich von Anne weg. Ich fing an zu schreien und klammerte mich noch fester an meine Anne.

¹⁷⁶ Diese Türken leben schon so lange hier und kriegen nicht zwei Wörter zusammen. -Rosa betonte Türken so, als wären sie störendes Ungeziefer.

employment and communicate with the host communities. However, many adult characters in these books prove inadequate in language attainment. In *Salam Berlin*, Hasan observes that her father “Although he had lived here for over twenty years, he still lisped out the “sch” in German words like “Straße” (road) and “Spiegel” (mirror). Baba was a Turk, and he of course knew how other Turkish men thought” (p. 69).¹⁷⁷ Adult characters sometimes do not make enough effort to acquire new language skills and are therefore more likely to encounter difficulties finding higher wage employment, talking with their children’s teachers, and accessing health and other social services. Some of the immigrants live (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*) in linguistically isolated households where no one aged fourteen or older has a strong command of the German language.

It must be said that the host community does not always display willingness to use immigrant names properly, or even distorts them deliberately. The result of this mispronunciation can lead to names being changed as a means of bowing to the expectations of the new community and to prevent exclusion. Since some immigrant’s names may sound difficult or strange for the dominant German society, it is relatively natural that members of this society choose to give the immigrants more familiar names. (See the section on: Influence of Public Contacts on the Protagonists’ Lives, p. 180). Sometimes this change happens willingly and is made by the immigrant himself or herself in order to cope with the major ethnic community and be more integrated and assimilated, such as Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between the Worlds* who changed her name to Sonja (p. 205). The need for acceptance by the larger society causes Turkish actors to choose German or European names; as in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* where the narrator mentions this point: “I know, but I’m familiar with some actors who are of Turkish origin, and have given themselves European names. They say it is much more difficult with a Turkish name to find a decent job. He tapped the ash off his cigarette” (p. 75).¹⁷⁸ As he observes, a Turkish actor has to forsake his or her Turkish origin and name like tapping the ash off a cigarette in order to meld in and be accepted as a member of the new society. There is an inherent loss of dignity in the need to make such gestures towards assimilation. Integration would leave people with their names.

The narrator of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* recounts the process of language attainment. The protagonist, Lale, is keen on learning the

¹⁷⁷ Obwohl er seit über zwanzig Jahren hier lebte, sprach er immer noch Wörter wie Straße und Spiegel Scheteraße... Schiipiigeel aus. Baba war Türke, und er mußte wissen, wie andere türkische Männer dachten.

¹⁷⁸ Ich weiß, aber ich kenne einige Schauspieler, die türkischer Herkunft sind, und die habens sich europäische Namen gegeben. Sie sagen, es ist viel schwieriger, mit einem türkischen Namen eine ordentliche Arbeit zu finden. Er sachte ab.

German language. Her father is a key element in teaching her the new language with which she can astonish others “Papa changed my Turkish words into German. Apparently my clarification shocked the Breuers” (p. 45).¹⁷⁹ The language is not an impossible barrier in this story since the parents are highly educated and help the little girl to overcome this obstacle quite soon. Unlike many parents in the previous stories, Lale’s father knows German very well. He chats with the German neighbours, and his ability to interact in the official language of the larger community is an advantage for him and his family, especially his children as the second generation:

Dad was the only one from our small stranded family, who spoke German, so he had to translate for us in the beer garden. He asked the waitress what one could eat here, and translated: White sausages. By this time one ate white sausages. But please ask whether there is pork in white sausage, Mama whispered. –“Pork?” Dad was confused. “Who cares?” (p. 16).¹⁸⁰

Through being able to speak perfect German and long years of living in Germany, he has gone through a cultural process that has made him, it seems, approved and accepted by the dominant German society and approving of it. This includes eating pork and drinking beer in spite of his wife disliking it.

In complete contrast, in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* the narrator is too young and does not have a good enough command of language to make herself understood. At school when she has a cultural question (she wonders why the boys are separated from the girls in the breaks in the school) she anxiously wonders, “Who I could ask and in particular, how I could ask?” (p. 38).¹⁸¹ Lale is anxious not to voice her question in the wrong way and cause misunderstanding or even be ridiculed by the Germans without migration backgrounds. Hence she is silenced and cannot resolve her contradictions about her Catholic school.

Turkish immigrants are socialized in cultures different from mainstream German culture. Culture can be defined as “an integrated pattern of human behaviour including thought, communication, ways of interacting, roles and relationships, and expected behaviour, beliefs, values, practices, and customs” of a social group (Taylor, 1997, cited in Denboba et al. 1998,

¹⁷⁹ Papa über setzte meine türkischen Worte ins Deutsche. Anscheinend schockte meine Klarstellung das Ehepaar Breuer

¹⁸⁰ Papa war der Einzige aus unserer kleinen gestrandeten Familie, der Deutsch sprach, also musste er im Biergarten für uns übersetzen. Er fragte die Kellnerin, was man hier essen könne, und übersetzte: Weiße Würste. Um diese Zeit äße man Weißwürste. Frag doch bitte, ob in den Weißwürsten Schweinefleisch ist, raunte Mama. -Schweinefleisch? Papa war konsterniert. Wen interessiert das?

¹⁸¹ Wen konnte ich fragen, vor allem wie?

p. 47). There are many ways in which culture affects individual and social behaviour including in educational systems or health care systems. Thus Lale is not culturally familiar with Catholicism and the rules and regulations of Catholic schools. It takes a while to gain this knowledge and recognize cultural differences and she requires language to do so. The fact that she questions, where most children, German or Turkish, merely accept speaks volumes in her favour.

Gradually, the majority of the foreign-born population starts learning the dominant language and their problems of effective communication are eradicated. The protagonist Lale narrates that she overcomes this challenge and is finally able to interact effectively with the Germans and comments “For me, this episode [a private German course which her father paid for.] was like an open door to everything: Finally I could talk to Germans a little bit and understand them and especially speak myself. That was so important to me as I could hardly hold my tongue” (p. 49).¹⁸² Lale uses the “door” as a symbol of a path and entrance into the new society. She is so excited that she no longer needs to “hold her tongue”. Tongue is a metonymy for the language she has learned and life in Germany and she is thrilled to be able to communicate.

Among the many challenges facing education in Germany is the role of language and cultural barriers in communication in schools that affect access to and quality of education and training. When this occurs in the context of a new culture and new language, the characters are confused and discouraged. The protagonist of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* is challenged by cultural and linguistic barriers in an unsupportive community:

When I found out that I was going to be sent back to the first class because my language skills were inadequate, it was the end of the world for me. I had hoped to find friends of the same age in school, with whom I would share all my worries. But now, at the age of nine I would have to go to the first class, even though I had completed three school years in Turkey with distinction (p. 114).¹⁸³

The above passage is narrated from the first person point of view of the main figure. The general notion of language in context of integration is problematized here and illustrates that

¹⁸² Für mich war diese Episode wie eine offene Tür: Endlich konnte ich mit Deutsche eine wenig sprechen, sie verstehen und vor allem: selbst reden. Das war für mich wichtig, den ich konnte wie gesagt nur sehr schlecht den Mund halten.

¹⁸³ Als ich erfuhr, daß ich wieder in die erste Klasse zurück versetzt werden sollte, weil meine Sprachkenntnisse unzureichend waren, brach für mich eine Welt zusammen. Mit neun Jahren sollte ich jetzt in die erste Klasse gehen, obwohl ich in der Türkei schon drei Schuljahre mit Auszeichnung absolviert hatte.

language plays a significant role in integration and that if one does not speak the language one is not accepted. Besides, the passage says something about the character of Fatma, who is saying this. She indeed feels inferior to others because of her lack of linguistic skills, now made painfully apparent. There are two elements that can be read out of this passage. One is the barrier language directly poses to communication and success at school. The second is the effect on Fatma's character, in that she takes this very personally and, as every school child would do in this situation, feels both inferior and angry that her hard work at school in Turkey was for nothing. The words "sent back (ibid.)" by somebody else and "it was the end of the world for me (ibid.)" dramatically show the level of emotion involved here. Institutional regulation forces something upon her that she cannot cognitively resolve. She had to go to school for three years and now she has to repeat all this again. For a little child that is the worst that can happen and is described dramatically through the eyes of someone who is now a young woman, but who can still see the pain of the child she was. The institutional and the personal have combined here in a manner that would destroy the hopes of many children, but Fatma finds the strength to continue and succeed in spite of this.

This institutional framework of language constitutes a barrier to entrance to the world of education and possibly also causes a premature exit. The very personal issues of inferiority, discrimination and an associated anger are left to be dealt with not only by Fatma but also by the school, as is subsequently made clear during the novel. How language is viewed is important. Not only for Fatma but also for the institution of school, which should recognize that people have a very personal way of reacting to institutional regulation. The dissonance between institutional and personal disturbs and embarrasses Fatma. The text portrays mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in German society in very personalized ways and illustrates how the character adopts inner ways of coping.

Linguistic diversity is always a contributor to educational disparities such as those between the young immigrant and her German classmates. Her relegation to the first grade is the symbol of a compulsory retreat from a position she is eager to gain. Language as a proxy for culture affects interactions between individuals and inter-group relations.

To sum up, the narrators of all these autobiographies have depicted how Turkish immigrants challenge linguistic and social disparity. For all characters in the selected books, skills to understand the content of spoken communication, feel that they are understood and are able to articulate thoughts related to an encounter, are of the utmost importance. All hope that no questions and thoughts will be left unexpressed for lack of the ability to communicate on

their part. Sufficient time and patience should be given to the communicative process, as a means of gaining better contact with the majority German population. In a society, which operates a high speed, there is not always time to slow down and take the problems of individual immigrants into consideration. Frequently there is not the interest to do so either, so that immigrant characters often do not see themselves as belonging in the larger society. This is the subject of the next section.

4.2.2.2. 'Othering' Narrated

This section is concerned with the processes that may transform an immigrant into the 'Other'. This 'Other' is formed in the perception of 'German' society in general and in the self-perception of 'Turkish' immigrants. A study by the University of Oldenburg (2012, p. 5)¹⁸⁴ makes clear that the feeling of being 'Other' is widespread among young men of a Turkish immigrant background who have German nationality, and that the 'Othering' is thought by them to be the result of purely racist judgment.

Migration as a period in an immigrant's life has many facets. Economic, regional, cultural and psychological changes come with it, which have special effects on the immigrant's life and mentality. The vicissitudes immigrant protagonists experience during the process of their psychological and sociocultural adaptation to the new cultural codes have numerous effects in terms of mental health, employment and in benefits gained and lost for the whole society, both the majority and the minority. Sociocultural disparities are one of the major intangible problems from which immigrant protagonists suffer. In this study, these disparities are investigated through various Turkish autobiographical narratives chosen for the research.

Several scenes in the selected novels indicate how the protagonists confront social-cultural disparities that verge on conflicts. For instance, in *Salam Berlin*, the sub-character Kazan attempts to rent a room by pretending to be a 'normal German': "Katz ... is my name, I'm calling about the room. Is it still available? I left out the "an" from Kazan [...]. It worked" (p. 87).¹⁸⁵ The differentiation of people happens a great deal through names and the minor groups have to change names, which is symbolic of changing national, traditional identity, in order to be accepted by the society. The "room" he wants, can symbolize a space he longs for in the new society, a place that he can call home and feel at home in it. However, the fulfilment of this wish comes at a great price; the denial of his cultural identity. When the German woman sees him at her door, she rejects and isolates him by taking a step back: "On the telephone the poor bastard thought I was a blond, blue-eyed Hans. I spoke quickly and sounded hurried, just like a Berliner. As soon as she saw me at her doorstep she took a step backwards, as if I had syphilis. There must be some mistake [?!] Refugee! Foreigner! Criminal!" (p. 190).¹⁸⁶ Kazan feels alienated because of his appearance and origin,

¹⁸⁴ Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 62. Jahrgang, 49-50/2012 (not yet published).

¹⁸⁵ Katz... ist mein Name, ich rufe wegen dem Zimmer an. Ist es noch zu haben? (Das - an) von Kazan ließ ich weg- [...]. Es funktionierte.

¹⁸⁶ Am Telefon dachten die Spießer, ich wäre ein blonder, blauäugiger Hans. Ich sprach schnell und klang gehetzt halt wie ein Berliner. Sobald sie mich vor ihrer Türschwelle sahen, traten sie einen Schritt zurück, als hätte ich die Syphilis. Falsch kombiniert! Asylant! Ausländer! Messerstecher!

considered a foreigner, or even a criminal, who is not welcome. There is no sense of trust or respect.

In another passage in *Salam Berlin*, Hasan, the protagonist, wants to rent a room in a shared house with three German girls. The girls are curious in a very insensitive manner and pigeonhole him as a typical Turk and not an individual:

Why do Turks drink tea? Why do they eat olives for breakfast? Why do Turkish women wear a headscarf? Why? Why? Why? Were these girls that stupid? Is that typical for Turks? Is this and that typically Turkish? Are you typically Turkish? I don't know how Turkish I was for these girls (p. 204).¹⁸⁷

The girls have so many questions about his culture and religion that he feels he is being classified and defined by a few social attributes as 'scientific' westerners seem always to try to do, rather than to accept him. This kind of classification is not restricted to 'Germans', it is manifested by Hasan, who sarcastically calls the three German girls, whose names start with the letter D, the 3Ds (Doris, Dora and Dörte). The girls indulge in racially tinged generalizations such as "What we want is that you give your word, that you won't have family visits with eight children, barbeque parties on the balcony or organize the slaughter of a goat in a bathtub" (p. 201)¹⁸⁸, supposing that Hasan will bring his large family with eight other children to stay when, in fact he is an only child (ibid.). In order to disprove the clichéd opinions of the girls, when he moves out of his apartment he cleans up his room. This scene provides an ironic comment on the absurdity of having preconceived opinions about people, especially those based on appearance or origin.

Socio-cultural problems are intensified in places with smaller immigrant communities. Kazim, Hasan's friend confesses that in multi-cultural cities they might feel secure and less visible because "Many Indians, Blacks and Chinese live there. You don't stand out with black hair there, like you do here. No one asks you where you come from because everyone comes from someplace else" (p. 329).¹⁸⁹ They feel less obvious, and therefore safer, in cities such as London where there are immigrants of every colour and creed.

¹⁸⁷ Warum trinken Türken TEE? Warum essen sie Oliven zum Frühstück? Warum tragen türkische Frauen ein Kopftuch? Warum? Warum? Warum? Waren diese Mädels so dumm? Ist das typisch türkisch? Ist jenes typisch türkisch. Bis du typisch türkisch? Ich weiß nicht, wie türkisch ich für diese Mädels war.

¹⁸⁸ Also, was wir wollen, ist dein Wort, daß du keine familienbesuche mit acht Kindern, Grillparties auf dem Balkon oder Hammelshlachten in der Badewanne veranstaltest!

¹⁸⁹ So viele Inder, Schwarze und Chinesen leben dort. Ey, da fällst du ja nicht auf, mit schwarzen Haaren wie hier. Keiner fragt dich, woher du kommst, weil jeder von irgendwoher kommt.

To handle such clichéd situations, the characters find individual strategies to cope and carve out their own space in which to feel comfortable. In *Salam Berlin*, for example, Hasan narrates his own story as the young protagonist in search of identity in the majority society. He comes across many difficulties that are dexterously pictured in the novel. Hasan is the first-person narrator through whose eyes his own life and his family's friends' lives are presented. The use of first-person narration enables the revelation of natural inner feelings and the reader can sense this. Hasan presents his point of view to make socio-cultural disparities and their effects on him as clearly visible as possible. The protagonist reports his hurt feelings when the Germans examine him like a strange animal: "I [Hasan] felt they [passengers in metro] examined me as if I were a camel in Berlin Zoo. What was there to stare at? So strange, people from the east [of Berlin]. Curious and alert" (p. 21).¹⁹⁰ Words such as "camel" and "zoo" show his entrapped situation. His looks seem to be very strange to the Germans so that they stare at him. For 'white' people, the appearance of a dark-haired Asian seems to be as exotic as seeing a camel. The use of similes in: "like a strange animal" or like "they examined me" help the readers have a better understanding of his feelings. This immigrant is depicted as isolated by others and made to realize that he is considered as "the other", because of his different appearance.

Sociocultural differences continue to be important in the text when the young narrator, Hasan, starts playing the game of discrimination and differentiation himself. Observing Berliners, he ironically finds it amusing to try to point out the differences between the people from West and East Berlin and mentions that "I thought up a game: try to differentiate between people from East and West Berlin. Everyone stared astonished. What's that for? I thought, the people from East Berlin still have a lot to learn. Welcome to the West!" (p. 22f.).

¹⁹¹ In this irony he attempts to reveal the absurdity of differentiating between people as being from East or West, especially as these people belong to the same country. As Hasan sarcastically observes, East Berliners, like Easterners [which includes Asians as well as Africans], "have a lot to learn". He plays this mental game secretly since discrimination and racism are not publicly approved or encouraged: "I carefully examined the crowd and tried to tell the easterners apart from the westerners. My secret game" (p. 78).¹⁹² Feeling insulted by the Westerners, he creates this game in order to make an imaginary world in which he can

¹⁹⁰ Ich fühlte mich begutachtet wie ein Kamel im Berliner Zoo. Was gab es da zu glotzen? So fremd, Ostleuten. Neugierig und wach.

¹⁹¹ Ich dachte mir ein Spiel aus: Ostberliner von Westberlinern unterscheiden. Alle schauten erstaunt. Was soll's, dachte ich, die Ost Leute müssen noch viel Lernern. Willkommen in Westen!

¹⁹² Ich blickte prüfend in die Menge und versuchte Ostler von Westlern zu unterscheiden. Mein heimliches Spiel.

take a superior position to examine the people of the host society and play them at their own game and so decrease his sense of inferiority. He replaces the spectrum immigrant-native or black-white with differences among the Germans without migration backgrounds, the most notable being those between people from the old East Germany, and those from West Germany. Hasan suffers from the lack of understanding between the ‘immigrants’ and the ‘native’ people and comments, “You just can’t understand, as a white... So just explain why to me! It doesn’t make sense” (p. 172).¹⁹³ Although language is a huge barrier in many cases, this problem is not limited to language since he knows the language. The problem seems to be more cultural than linguistic. Indeed, this could be a result of ‘Othering’, which the protagonist tries to make his German friend understand, but the German friend clearly does not realize this.

As another form of rebellion, Sesperado, in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, ironically pretends to not feel safe and to be permanently insulted as an immigrant, when in the whites’ company:

I have kept away from whites for a long time now. Mecun’s white girlfriend Lena had invited him to a dinner in her apartment. Honestly, I had absolutely no desire to go, because Lena’s roommates are all white, and not very clever. Anyways, I would never go into a white room without the necessary equipment¹⁹⁴ (p. 8).¹⁹⁵

These ironical sentences present Sesperado’s lack of trust and confidence as a young Turk in German society. Sarcasm and ridicule are permanently present in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*. The environment, which the text presents, is intended to make palpable for the reader how ridiculous and absurd, but also embarrassing, it is to get labelled as an immigrant.

Sesperado complains about this in an angrier way in referring to white hegemony as an unchangeable fact: “Hegemony always determines the norm. That’s how the basic paradigm is always applied in Germany: German is the same as white. Whoever isn’t white isn’t considered [normal-German] and has to be marked in certain way” (p. 82).¹⁹⁶ Using words

¹⁹³ Das kannst du gar nicht verstehen, als Weiße... Na, dann erkläre es mir doch! Es hat keinen Sinn.

¹⁹⁴ This implies that he needs something like a pepper spray in order to defend himself against ‘whites’

¹⁹⁵ Ich habe mich schon lange nicht mehr unter Weißen bewegt, Mecnuns Weiße Freundin Lena hatte ihn zu einem Abendessen in ihrer WG eingeladen. Ehrlich gesagt, hatte ich gar keine Lust mitzugehen, den Lenas Mitbewohner sind alle weiß, und nicht sehr weise. Außerdem würde ich niemals ohne die nötige Ausrüstung in einen Weißen Raum gehen.

¹⁹⁶ Die Hegemonie setzt immer die Normen fest. So gilt in Deutschland immer noch das Grund Paradigma: deutsch ist gleich Weiß. Wer nicht weiß ist, gilt nicht als normal-deutsch und muss daher auf bestimmte Art und Weise markiert werden.

such as “determined,” “always,” “certain” reveals how this fictional character comprehends the western world. Such characters seem to be sarcastically pessimistic about the process of integration, as they are eternally condemned to be unalterably ‘People of Colour’ and consequently the “other”.¹⁹⁷

Socio-cultural disparities do not only limit Sesperado in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* or Hasan in *Salam Berlin*, but continue to be problematic in other narratives as well. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the female narrator explains the cultural differences and emphasizes that immigrants are considered strangers and foreigners no matter how hard they try to be accepted in the new society. She reports, “They [the German friends of the protagonist] were a sworn-in like-minded community that shared all the same secrets. And that hurt the most, not to be allowed into their secrets. “They don’t trust you,” she thought. A German saying came to mind: Every man for himself. Like master, like man” (p. 16).¹⁹⁸ In this omniscient-perceptive narration, the narrator relives the group-identity among the schoolgirls as they share and keep secrets and then enters the protagonist’s mind to report how she is left out and distrusted. The third-person omniscient narrator has access to her inner feelings and lets the readers know about them when she is hurt (p. 21). The idiom in this passage reveals her depth of feeling about Germans, both grown-ups and children. She assumes that the Turks never can belong to German society as: “Every man for himself. Like master, like man (ibid.)” For the protagonist this is an inescapable vicious circle that she and her family can never break.

Societal norms and familial values differ from culture to culture. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, although the girls of this Turkish family can appreciate the close familial relationships they have, they certainly know that their traditional families do not welcome open conversations about puberty and sex.

The girls felt certainly more cared for and in good hands than their classmates. They interpreted the loose togetherness in German families as indifference, but, while their classmates could speak openly about

¹⁹⁷ Letter from the author to the writer of this work on 08.08.2015

¹⁹⁸ Sie waren verschworene Gemeinden von Gleichgesinnten mit gleicher Geschichte und gleichen Geheimnissen. Und das tut am meisten weh, nicht teilnehmen zu dürfen an ihren Geheimnissen. „Sie mißtrauen dir“, dachte sie. Deutsche Sprichwörter fielen ihr ein: Jeder ist sich selbst der Nächste. Wie der Herr, so das Gescherr.

everything in puberty, the children of immigrants just sat quietly, staring at their moist hands in shame (p. 50).¹⁹⁹

Unlike German girls who can talk relatively easily to their parents about everything, the young female protagonist is aware of cultural taboos and limited intimacy between the family members. These children have to get through the difficulties of puberty with neither support nor information from their families, and without information to the contrary can only feel ashamed of the natural development of their bodies.

The narrator's usage of words such as "speak", "openly", "quietly" and "staring" implies the silence the immigrant girls have to keep instead of voicing their worries and feelings in puberty. Discriminated because of their gender, the girls are separated from the communication possible for others when the signs of their femininity are becoming obvious at puberty. The biased immigrant families interpret "the loose togetherness in German families as indifference" but at least reduced sexism in German culture gives the girls the opportunity to express themselves and talk about their different issues, whether sexual or educational. Hence, cultures play an important role in defining gender stereotypes and assigning special roles based on gender. While Western girls and women have more freedom to talk about their feminine biology, many Turkish immigrants consider this a taboo, which is never supposed to be mentioned, either in the family, or in public. Not only in this book but also in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, the main protagonist, Fatma experiences a similar problem because her father finds a biology book with pictures of human sexual organs in the room, tears it up, burns it and knocks her unconscious (p. 120f.). Attitudes to sexuality and freedom of speech erect walls between the generations in the protagonists' Turkish families and also similar barriers between Turkish pupils and their German classmates.

Another type of alienation and Othering is manifest in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*. As a result of a long absence and ignorance of new ideas in Turkey, the protagonist's father unexpectedly feels uneasy about his country of origin and traditions. This kind of self-alienation happens on his return to his homeland. During his long stay in a different country, he has become alienated from other Turkish people. He is so worried about returning that he packs a big suitcase full of medicine and pills:

¹⁹⁹ Die Mädchen fühlten sich zwar von ihren Eltern mehr umsorgt und aufgehoben als ihre Mitschüler-das lose Miteinander in deutschen Familien interpretierten sie als Gleichgültigkeit - aber während ihre Mitschülerinnen offenherzig über alles sprechen konnten, saßen die Kinder der Emigranten in der Pubertät stumm da, den Blick auf die vor Scham feuchten Hände gerichtet.

The meeting with his long-planned twilight years had been postponed till two years before his retirement. The traveling medicine chest filled half a suitcase: drops for gastrointestinal infection, cardiovascular medication, pills for head and joint aches, medications for every imaginable infection and sickness. The final return should be prepared during the three-month stay.... He became ill. Irregular heartbeat, circulatory failure. After a week he left on his own (p. 134).²⁰⁰

The narrator gives a complete record of her father's premonitions about returning to Turkey. These worries are reported without internal explanations, which render the contradictions the father feels quite obvious for the reader. He unconsciously considers returning to his country to be full of dangers and sicknesses, a place with "every imaginable infection" The "irregular heartbeat and circulatory failure" symbolize this character's comprehension of his country of origin and economy as turbulent and untrustworthy. They also might represent his state of mind as an assimilated person who is no longer 'the Other' in Germany, but is now the 'Other' in Turkey. This reversal of social-cultural disparity is felt by immigrant characters when returning to Turkey, who are exposed to their society of origin after long years of absence. Overcoming it requires tolerance and adjustment on their part (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*, p. 93) (*Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* p. 134) (*Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, p. 79). In *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* a very similar logic is reproduced. The first-person narrator, Fatma, understands the marked social differences between her own 'native' people and 'German society': "The perception of people in my homeland was fundamentally different from the sober rationality that I got to know in Germany"²⁰¹ (p. 64). Fatma recognizes that at least one cultural difference is the rationality of thought common in Germany. The young protagonist continues by mentioning other differences she sees between the traditions and cultures such as hospitality and openness to communicate with other people. Fatma recounts that:

²⁰⁰ Die Begegnung mit dem lange geplanten Lebensabend hatte er bis zwei Jahre vor seiner Pensionierung aufgeschoben. Die Reiseapotheke füllte einen halben Koffer: Tropfen gegen Magen- und Darminfektion, Kreislaufmittel, Tabletten gegen kopf- und Gelenkschmerzen, Medikamente gegen jede erdenkliche Infektion Krankheit. Während des dreimonatigen Aufenthalts sollte die endgültige Rückkehr vorbereitet werden. Sie waren bereit. ...Er wurde krank. Herzrhythmusstörungen, Kreislaufkollaps Nach einer Woche reiste er allein wieder ab.

²⁰¹ Die Wahrnehmung der Menschen in meiner Heimat unterschied sich grundsätzlich von der nüchternen Rationalität, die ich in Deutschland kennen lernte.

In V. the door was always open for us. The neighbourhood was almost like a family. All the women of the village had become like aunts to me, all the men like uncles. In Germany, everyone kept their doors shut, that was my first lasting impression that my new homeland made on me (p. 112).²⁰²

Open doors are symbols of friendliness and connection between people. She compares “all women in the village” to her aunts and “all men” to uncles to reveal the close association between the villagers in Turkey. With this simile, she shows familial connections in a small traditional community. In Germany however, the first impression she gets from German society is the closed doors that symbolize discomfort with or possibly opposition to tighter social relationships. The narrative voice is first-person “I” who gives details about the surrounding events here using external and internal clues such as “neighbourhood was almost like a family” or “my first lasting impression” to describe behaviours and feelings. The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Fatma, the narrating “I” of the story is a young female who refers to herself as “I”, “me” and “my”. As she insists, this is the “lasting impression” on her, which proves an influential differentiation between these two social contexts. She believes not only that Germans are alienated within their own society, but also that, as an immigrant, she will always remain a “predestined outsider” (p. 118) because of her foreign outlook and appearance, wearing “unusual clothing, the shalwars and the long, colourful skirts” that not only marked them but also “gave them reason to laugh [in her school], also the flawed language ability and the huge difference in age were grounds for ridicule (ibid.)”.²⁰³ Appearance, clothing, behaviour and language are all factors of discrimination in the host society. Not only Fatma’s appearance, shalwar and skirt, but also the feeling of permanent separateness, rubs salt into the wound of her despair and are instrumental in causing her, by the middle of the book, (p. 205) to have assimilated. She retains enough of her old identity to try to reconcile her un-assimilated child-self and her assimilated adult-self by the end of the book, which ends in reconciliation of these two personalities.

Fatma tracks various socio-cultural disparities in her and her family’s life. One of them is the violence that exists in some Turkish families. Although immigrants have chosen a new

²⁰² In V. stand jede Tür für uns offen. Nachbarschaft war fast gleichbedeutend mit Familie. Alle Frauen des Dorfes waren für mich Tanten gewesen, alle Männer Onkel. In Deutschland hielt jeder seine Tür verschlossen das war der erste, bleibende Eindruck, den meine neue Heimat auf mich machte.

²⁰³ In der Schule war ich zur Außenseiterin prädestiniert. Nicht nur meine ungewohnte Kleidung, die Shalvars und die langen, bunten Röcke gaben den anderen Grund zu lachen, auch die fehlerhafte Sprache und der gewaltige Altersunterschied waren Grund für Hänseleien.

country of residence, some are not eager to accept the new culture's positive points such as the freedom that Germans give their children, especially daughters, to choose their own life and fate. The first-person narrator in this diegetic text mentions her worries about the violence used to punish her, Fatma, for intermarriage, including a shopkeeper's warning about a possible murderous attack:

Today two Turks who I didn't know came in to my shop. They asked for Fatma...Cetin went, and I [Fatma, who narrates here] felt beaten and hung back. Should I go and tell Michael [Fatma's husband] about the threat? I was embarrassed about this development that made the divide between our cultures so clear as well as the harsh mentality of my family (p. 192).²⁰⁴

The narrator refers to herself as "I", "our" and "my" which reveals her sense of belonging to this culture and suffers from the honour-bound mentality in her family. She is "embarrassed" because of this but still does not say anything to her husband-to-be. This silence is because of her sense of solidarity with her family's culture, however contradictory this might be. This contradiction is resolved in her finding enough strength to ignore the threat.

The first person narrative voice, Nilgün, of *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds* recognizes the social differences between her Turkish family and Helene's German family. As soon as she enters Helene's house she can see how individuality and independence is considered important, since each person has their own room:

Sure, come with me, I'll show you my room, said Helene. She had a room of her own, completely to herself! My heart leapt into my throat and I was very excited. It was the room of a princess. On her small bed sat a lot of dolls and stuffed animals. The table and chair were pink and posters of baby animals hung on the walls (p. 18).²⁰⁵

Helene has a room "completely to herself" which symbolizes the independent space that seems, in the eyes of Nilgün, to be a right for most girls in German culture. The experiencing "I" describes the room as "the room of a princess" which signifies the power and individual importance Helene, is accorded in her family relationships, while Nilgün is never offered a

²⁰⁴ Am Morgen sind zwei Türken in mein Geschäft gekommen, die ich nicht kenne. Sie haben nach Fatma gefragt... Cetin ging, und ich blieb zerschlagen zurück. Sollte ich hin untergehen und Michael von der Bedrohung erzählen? Ich schämte mich für dieses Vorkommnis, das die Kluft zwischen unseren Kulturen so deutlich machte und die rauhe Mentalität meiner Familie Schonungslos offenlegte.

²⁰⁵ Ja, komm, ich zeig dir mein Zimmer, sagte Helene. Sie hatte ein eigenes Zimmer, ganz für sich alleine! Mein Herz schlug bis zum Hals und ich war sehr aufgeregt. Es war ein Prinzessinnen Zimmer. Auf ihrem kleinen Bett saßen ganz viele Puppen und Stofftiere. Der Tisch und ihr Stuhl waren rosa und an den Wänden hingen Poster von Tierbabys.

space of her own and her social values do not recognize this kind of individuality and independence as necessary.

Nilgün reports other instances of cultural disparities experienced in connection with Germans and their ‘culture’. She narrates how she and her mother were frankly asked to leave Mr. Huber’s house because it was time for his wife to rest:

I was happy that there were no Turks around us. No one among us baked sour cake, nor would any Turk have eaten it. But naturally we had to eat it all up and repeatedly say how good it tasted, although lying was *gunah* [sin and forbidden action]. What was even worse, though, was to be impolite. After we washed down our cakes with a lot of water, Mr. Huber said that unfortunately we weren’t allowed to stay so long because his wife had to sleep around midday every day. Mine and I looked across at our Anne shocked. We hadn’t been there very long at all, and asking guests to leave was for us an awful insult. Uncle Ali, whom we had known for years, would often sit with us late into the night. My Baba had to get up early for work the next day, and although Baba otherwise did not like Ali, neither Anne nor Baba had asked uncle Ali to leave. My Anne didn’t noticeably respond, although her cheeks turned bright red. She looked at the clock and said that we had to go anyway because our Baba had the nightshift. It was only an excuse; of course, garbage was always collected during the day (p. 32).²⁰⁶

This kind of frankness is considered impolite in Turkish and many other Eastern cultures while seeming very rational in German society. Such socio-cultural differences can be supposed offensive by Turkish immigrants, as happens here. The frankness should not be necessarily taken as impolite. However, the mother is insulted and shocked “her cheeks turning red” as a symbol of her shyness, hesitance and distress. As Nilgün says, offering compliments and being hospitable is very important in her Turkish culture while this is not

²⁰⁶ Ich war froh, dass es bei uns Türken keinen gab. Bei uns backte niemand einen sauren Kuchen, den hätte auch kein Türke gegessen. Aber wir mussten natürlich aufessen und mehrmals sagen, wie gut es geschmeckt hätte, obwohl Lügen *Günah* war. Aber noch schlimmer war es, unhöflich zu sein. Nachdem wir unseren Kuchen mit viel Wasser runtergespült hatten, sagte Herr Huber, dass wir leider nicht so lange bleiben dürften, weil seine Frau jeden Mittag schlafen müsse. Mine und ich sahen entsetzt zu unserer Anne hinüber. Wir waren noch gar nicht lange da, und dass man seine Gäste zum Gehen auffordert, war bei uns eine große Beleidigung. Onkel Ali, den wir seit Jahren kannten, saß oft bis spät in die Nacht bei uns. Mein Baba musste am nächsten Tag früh zur Arbeit und obwohl Baba den Onkel Ali außerdem nicht mochte, hätten weder Anne noch Baba Onkel Ali zum Gehen aufgefordert. Meine Anne ließ sich nichts anmerken, obwohl ihre Wangen ganz rot wurden. Sie schaute auf die Uhr und sagte, dass wir sowieso gehen müssten, weil unser Baba Nachtschicht hatte. Das war natürlich eine Ausrede, der Müll wurde immer tagsüber abgeholt.

valued the same way German culture which values individuality and rationality more. The narrator uses both direct definitions such as the family being “terrified” and indirect personification, as the protagonist displays the situation in a way, which leaves to the reader the task of inferring emotional effect of the cultural contradiction and misunderstandings of this scene.

In Nilgün’s Turkish family, violence and beating the wife and children seem normal, and she reports how her mother and daughters were hit by their father. However, the mother does not complain about this violence and blames Germans and the Turkish government for it, not social/cultural attitudes:

Men hit because they can’t handle words, she [Mine, Nilgün’s sister] whispered. Watch your mouth! My mother shouted and went into the kitchen. Anne blamed the “evil Germans and our government in Turkey that had sent us so unprepared into this foreign culture (p. 166).²⁰⁷

In her naivety, Anne, Nilgün’s mother is not able to comment on the brutality of violence in the family so instead she paradoxically attempts to blame both Germans and the Turkish government. However, she also recognizes how important it is to be properly prepared about the culture of a new society.

Cultural disparities about religion are much reflected upon in the literature of immigrants in Germany and in books chosen here. Just as eating pork is forbidden for Muslims, eating meat is also forbidden for Catholics on Fridays. However, the young protagonist of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* is not culturally aware and is embarrassed when she takes sausages to school to show assimilation with the Germans and how German she has become:

But Lale! You don’t need to announce that you eat meat on Friday, that’s only forbidden for Catholics. Forbidden? Sausage on Friday is forbidden? Like pork for Mom? Mom can eat meat any day, except pork, which she may not eat, and my classmates are allowed to eat all kinds of meat, but no

²⁰⁷ Männer schlagen, weil sie mit Worten nicht umgehen können, flüsterte sie. Hüte deine Zunge! , schrie meine Mutter und ging in die Küche. Anne gab die Schuld den bösen Deutschen und unserer Regierung in der Türkei, die uns so unvorbereitet in diese fremde Kultur geschickt habe.

sausage on Fridays. That is, they are not allowed to eat any meat, which includes sausage (p. 51).²⁰⁸

These religious differences can give offense to either side, especially when not discussed. Hence, all the protagonists of these autobiographies find instances of their lack of knowledge Christian customs, and the discomfort and embarrassment, which accompanies it.

Besides religious differences patronizing phrases, which seem innocent in themselves, can activate the protagonist sharpened sense of being categorized as inferior.

In a paragraph concerning this, the protagonist, Lale, explains how her mother is offended when her German friend introduces them emphasizing their origin:

When the round of introductions began with our host saying, “may I introduce my Turkish friends?” my mother went in for the attack. May I also know where you come from? The guests were mostly annoyed. Yes, what do you mean? Quite simple, we are introduced to you as the Turkish friends; may I know where you come from? Yes, hmm, from Germany! After this answer, which she expected, Mama turned in feigned rage to the host and asked: Why don’t you introduce the others with the correct antecedents? Aren’t they your German friends? (p. 104).²⁰⁹

For her, mentioning foreignness is not necessary and she is quite ready to use the same weapon to offend others. Highlighting being Turkish or German seems racist and inappropriate when people gather in a friendly manner. The narrators of all these autobiographies are very sensitive in recognizing socio-cultural differences and consider discriminations in this regard quite offensive. This is part of an accumulation of micro-aggressions, which can influence fictional characters’ spiritual, mental, physical, emotional, and psychological being and thereby affect the balance in the relationship between the majority and minority societies.

The permanent harassment that immigrant characters can feel is illustrated in this section in citations that range from clichés highlighting differences, to strategies necessary to cope with

²⁰⁸ Aber Lale! Du brauchst doch nicht zu trompeten, dass du am Freitag Fleisch isst, Das ist doch nur für die Katholiken verboten! Verboten? Wurst am Freitag war verboten? So wie für Mama das Schweinefleisch? Mama durfte alle tage Fleisch essen, außer Schweinefleisch, das durfte sie nicht essen, und meine Klassenkameraden durften alle Fleischsorten essen, aber am Freitag keine Wurst. Das heißt, sie durften überhaupt kein Fleisch essen und folglich auch keine Wurst.

²⁰⁹ Wenn nämlich die Vorstellungsrunde von Seiten der Gastgeber mit den Worten: Darf ich vorstellen, unsere türkischen Freunde begann, setzte Mama sofort zum Angriff an. Darf ich dann auch wissen, wo sie herkommen? Die Gäste waren zumeist irritiert. Ja, wie meinen sie das? Ganz einfach, wir sind Ihnen als die türkischen Freunde vorgestellt worden, darf ich wissen, woher Sie kommen? Ja, hmm, aus Deutschland! Nach dieser – natürlich von ihr erwarteten – Antwort drehte sich Mama in gespielter Erbostheit zum Gastgeber und fragte: warum stellst du die anderen nicht mit korrekter Abstammung vor? sie sind also die deutschen Freunde?

a situation of difference. On one hand we have the sarcastic rejection of Sesperado, on the other, the attempted total assimilation of Fatma. Both in their way show the continuous sense of otherness immigrants have, whether in the foreground in the case of Sesperado, or kept in the background by Fatma. It, of course, has its parallel in the majority society's wish to assert that it is *not* the 'Other'. While a similar fear drives both communities, it is clear that the majority has, and always will have, the upper hand. This will continue unless, somehow, people can find it possible to rejoice in diversity and look at the disparities between groups with the wry tolerance, incorporating tradition and modernity that many characters in the selected books show.

4.2.2.3. Aspiration & Resistance

There are numerous elements in the analysis of immigrants' attitudes and mentality described in recent literature. Whether legal or illegal, asylum seekers or refugees, the immigrant population shows multiple aspirations for a new life in the new society. At first only venturing on the borders of new cultural codes and traditions, immigrants gradually enter a multiculturalism, which itself slowly becomes characteristic of host societies, as the migrants become absorbed. As presented in the selected novels, Germany, which is the destination of many immigrants from Turkey/Kurdistan, has to deal with aspiration, longing and resistance on 'two sides'; one of that of the 'natives', or rather, those without immigration background, the other of the 'newcomers', or rather those with an immigration background.

Similar factors are considered in various forms and differently dealt with in the books chosen for analysis here. The characters, whose experiences are recorded through literature, are deeply familiar with immigration, its bitter difficulties and sweet hopes. These hopes and desires can be for, among other things, a good education, individual recognition and liberty, racial tolerance, and being accepted as a citizen in the new social environment.

Education, especially higher education, is one of the things young Turkish immigrants want. In *Salam Berlin*, the protagonist, Hasan, is eager to have an academic education and asks his father to let him attend university, but this is regarded sceptically by his father and uncle as they do not believe he is capable coping with this. He recounts his father and uncle's reaction to his demand as they are looking at him:

All these things crowded together in me, and the customers were impatient, but I just wanted that Baba understood me at least once....

Father: "Study?" They [Hasan's father and his friend uncle Breschnew] looked at me sceptically (pp.29-32).²¹⁰

Although the father had qualified as an engineer in Turkey, the family seems to assume that they are of an inferior status to Germans and therefore that Hasan would not be successful. This passage is full of contradictions, and presents a paradoxical situation and resulting dialog between the son and his father. There is a dichotomy between aspiration and defeatism. This might result from the father's own experience when his German qualification as an engineer did not lead to employment in Germany. Hasan's father longs for his son's to be successful, but he consciously or unconsciously feels that this is doomed to fail, and therefore, he discourages Hasan (ibid.), who is the son of his first marriage. However, there is also a second son, Hasan's half-brother who has a German mother.

Education is a door to a new world, a global world that welcomes all ethnicities and appreciates openness to socio-cultural variety. Exposure to new ideas produces a questioning which changes those involved. This in fact happens not only to Hasan but also to many characters of the selected novels. Hasan's worldview is influenced by Karl Marx, because his father and uncle frequently mention Marx: "The philosophers have interpreted the world differently. It is however important to change the world. Yes, I wanted this. To change my life, not the world, I had no illusions. I carved it into my brain" (p. 51).²¹¹ His tendency toward a philosophical interpretation of the world has encouraged him to be positive about it and attempt to create changes in it, at least on a personal level. These are what he dreams of.

Hasan has been caught between two different worlds, the world of Istanbul and the world of Berlin. He perceives the difference and wants to conquer the new Berlin in a time of upheaval [the end of the Cold War]. "I wanted to conquer it" (p. 45).²¹²

This desire to prevail and, if necessary, change the new social space reminds the audience of immigrants' sense of purpose. Establishing a new home in a new environment spurs them on. Like the streets of Berlin, which are divided between East and West, Hasan's personality and identity are divided between his country of origin and traditions bound to it and the new country where he has chosen to live. These streets are symbols of his state of mind and life: "There were streets in Berlin, which on one side they belonged the east [side of Berlin] and

²¹⁰ alle diese Sachen drängten sich in mir, und die Kunden drängten auch, und ich wollte, daß Baba mich einmal versteht. „Studieren?“ Sie sahen mich skeptisch an.

²¹¹ „Die Philosophen haben die Welt verschieden interpretiert. Es kommt aber darauf an, sie zu verändern“ Karl Marx. ... Ja, das wollte ich. Mein Leben ändern (nicht die Welt, ich hatte keine Illusionen). Ich meißelte es mir ins Hirn.

²¹² Ich kam aus Istanbul, und vor mir stand ein Berlin im Umbruch. Ich wollte es erobern.

from the other side to the west. I lived directly on such a road - on the border” (p. 34).²¹³ With this statement, Hasan makes clear that he lives in a state of in-between-ness and feels torn between the ‘two cultures’ he knows. This is so extreme for him that it is virtually a Berlin Wall. This sort of state of mind can be traced in other characters of this novel as well. Hasan’s friend, Leyla’s desire to retain her Turkish roots while simultaneously going through a process of forced Germanization complicates the situation as the narrator poses it:

I think the only things Turkish in Leyla were her father and her black hair. She did not even know how to prepare a proper Turkish tea. She complained about her mother. She [the mother, who will not allow her to be in any way Turkish] simply erased a part of me by ignoring him [Layla’s father who is Turkish]. And my father didn’t do anything about it (p. 103).²¹⁴

She oscillates between cultures and is at times both disappointed and distressed.

In another scene in *Salam Berlin*, Hasan shares the same feeling, but more sharply. The protagonist and his friend’s (with Turkish backgrounds) longing to hear Turkish words and names is revealed when they talk of their love for fairy tale movies:

We loved these fairy tale movies because, sometimes, Turkish words occurred in them. We always looked for something Turkish in newspapers, on television, in school textbooks. Like back in the seventies in Germany. I was looking for something like my Turkish shadow (p. 282).²¹⁵

Hasan’s Turkish identity and tradition is likened to a shadow. This simile represents the uncertainty and transparency of the protagonist’s identity both past and present. His desire to return to his past and his subtle resistance to becoming totally assimilated is dexterously pointed out.

Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar unfolds the yearning of characters to be considered an equal and accepted part of the society. The protagonist does not look like German girls

²¹³ Es gab Straßen in Berlin, da gehörte die eine Seite zum Osten und die andere zum Westen. Ich wohnte in so einer Straße direkt an – auf der Grenze.

²¹⁴ Ich glaube, das einzig Türkische an Leyla waren ihr Vater und ihre schwarzen Haare. Sie wußte noch nicht einmal wie man einen richtigen türkischen Tee zubereitet. Schimpfte sie auf ihre Mutter. Sie hat einen Teil von mir einfach ausgelassen, sie hat ihn ignoriert. Und mein Vater hat gar nichts dagegen getan.

²¹⁵ Wir liebten diese Märchenfilme, weil manchmal türkische Worte darin vorkamen. Wir suchten immer nach etwas Türkischem in Zeitungen, im Fernsehen, in Schulbüchern. Damals im Deutschland der siebziger Jahre. Ich suchte so was wie meinen türkischen Schatten.

therefore she is regarded as different. She adopts a strategy to cope with this situation in her own way: “If she [the protagonist] was not so big and beautifully blond as the German girls, at least she was she the thinnest with the smallest size in clothes” (p. 26).²¹⁶ She expresses her desire for integration and fitting in by emphasizing that she conforms to at least one of the standards of feminine beauty in Germany.

The characters display a longing to communicate. Communication, whether to speak or to be understood and gain sympathy, is an inherent need for all the main protagonists. For instance, the narrator’s longing for communication and for interaction is depicted in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, when the protagonist mentions that “If only I could just talk to someone. Each of us [the protagonist and her sister] has created in their dreams, another family different than their own. They withdrew together into the closed world of their apartment” (p. 51).²¹⁷ The protagonist longs for a family in which she can talk and also be in communication with the outside world. The exclusion described in this quote is both influenced by linguistic obstacles and a lack of social similarities between her family and Germans that prevented effective communication. Unable to build a strong connection with the people around them, they have, on both sides, withdrawn into their closed individual spaces. Her desire to talk with someone about her fears and concerns is clearly shown by “If only I could just talk to someone (ibid.)”. This shows the frustration and helplessness of the protagonist and her sister, who are unable to communicate with German children and therefore only have the narrow world of their family.

In contrast to *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, a longing to fit in becomes a desire toward assimilation and is pictured in Fatma’s attempt to make her German husband happy by acting exactly as he or his German friends do: “I watched him carefully to make everything right as he does and to make him happy. I accepted things that were strange and incomprehensible to me”²¹⁸ (p. 203). This drive toward assimilation is seen as a success through imitation of German societal norms and standards. Her desire to belong with him in German society constitutes her willingness to accept the things that seem weird and “incomprehensible” (ibid.) and this later causes problems of identity.

²¹⁶ Wenn sie schon nicht so groß und blondig schön war wie die deutschen Mädchen, so zumindest die Dünkste mit der kleinsten Konfektionsgröße.

²¹⁷ Wenn ich doch nur mit jemandem reden könnte. Jede für sich schuf in ihren Träumen eine neue Familie, in der es anders zugeht als in ihrer eigenen. Sie zogen sich in die abgeschlossene Welt ihrer Wohnung zurück.

²¹⁸ Ich beobachtete ihn aufmerksam, um ihm alles recht und ihn glücklich zu machen. Ich akzeptierte Dinge, die mir fremd und unverständlich waren.

In *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, Nilgün's chance to be a part of a kindergarten community, which she very much desires, and for which she has put on her best clothes and had a sleepless night, is wrecked by nuns. She recounts her memory of the first day at the kindergarten: "We also went to kindergarten to introduce ourselves, but the nuns didn't want to take a 'Muselmanin'. I was glad, because I liked it at home better, when I was alone with Tekir, our Turkish tomcat" (p. 10).²¹⁹ Since she is not accepted by a racist nun, unable to respect other ethnicities, she decides to take refuge in her home where she can at least communicate with her Turkish cat 'Takir' (ibid.).

Later on, she yearns for more assimilation on the part of her family, especially her father. She asks her father why he does not wear a tie like German men: "Baba why do you never wear a tie? That looks much nicer!" (p. 22).²²⁰ Nilgün wishes to be proud of her father's smart outfit but he, however, resists what he feels to be a mock assimilation and considers it ridiculous: "Baba began to laugh, shook his head and patted me on the shoulder: On the garbage truck, a tie? Should I make a fool of myself? I have to laugh when I tackle this idiot²²¹ [the neighbour Mr. Schäufele who is antagonistic to foreigners] every morning (ibid.)."²²² The father's resistance is not socially acceptable to the little girl because she considers German office dress as superior:

Of course he meant Mr. Schäufele. I could not agree and banged my soup spoon on the tray. Then I shouted: "Mr Schäufele is not an idiot. You're just jealous of him! Look at you, you look like the beggars in Istanbul!" I can remember neither an answer nor his reaction. When I opened my eyes again, I felt a terrible burning sensation on the cheek and a beating in the ear. Anne [Mum] and Mine [sister] sat next to me. Even Tekir [the cat] stared at me angrily (ibid., p. 22).²²³

²¹⁹ Wir gingen auch mal in den Kindergarten hinein, um uns vorzustellen, aber eine, Muselmanin wollten die Nonnen dort nicht aufnehmen. Ich freute mich darüber, da es mir zu Hause alleine mit Tekir, unserem türkischen Kater, viel besser gefiel.

²²⁰ Baba warum trägst du nie eine Krawatte? Das sieht doch viel schöner aus!

²²¹ Esolesek: son of a Donkey (insult)

²²² Baba fing an zu lachen, Schüttelte den Kopf und klopfte mir auf die Schulter: Auf dem Müllwagen eine Krawatte? Soll ich mich zum Idioten machen? Ich muss schon lachen, wenn ich diesem Esolesek jeden Morgen begegne.

²²³ Baba warum trägst du nie eine Krawatte? Das sieht doch viel schöner aus! Baba fing an zu lachen, Schüttelte den Kopf und klopfte mir auf die Schulter: Auf dem Müllwagen eine Krawatte? Soll ich mich zum Idioten machen? Ich muss schon lachen, wenn ich diesem Esolesek jeden Morgen begegne. Er meinte natürlich Herrn Schäufele. Das konnte ich nicht hinnehmen und knallte meinen Suppenlöffel auf das Tablett. Dann schrie ich: „Herr Schäufele ist kein Idiot. Du bist nur eifersüchtig auf ihn! Schau dich doch mal an, du siehst aus wie die Bettler in Istanbul!“ Ich kann mich weder an eine Antwort noch an seine Reaktion erinnern. Als ich meine Augen wieder öffnete, spürte ich ein schreckliches Brennen auf der Wange und ein Klopfen im Ohr. Anne und Mine saßen neben mir. Sogar Tekir starrte mich böse an.

Her desire for her father to fit in with an office dress code rather than looking like a garbage worker, which he is, is opposed by all the members of family and ironically, even by her Turkish cat. The background to this is the minimal desire for integration on the part of the whole family, who regard Germans as distant and thus keep their distance from them, while Nilgün wishes to be more of a part of German society. Purely and honestly, but bitterly, as every child in real life might do, Nilgün expresses her longing to see her father well dressed and not like a beggar in Istanbul. Punishing Nilgün, the father reveals his frustration not being able to measure up to social expectations, or not wanting to, as he feels, anyway, no sense of belonging to German society. Naming Mr. Schäufole, as “idiot” shows his angry confusion and frustration about feelings of ‘Othering’. In this autobiographic narration, the narrative voice is a first-person “I”, who gives details about the surrounding events using external clues to describe the father’s inner feelings about criticism from Nilgün who uses direct definitions such as “You’re just jealous”, “you look like the beggars” to characterize her father. Here an indirect personification is also employed as the narrator illustrates the father’s character and his behaviour via his action and speech. She “can remember neither an answer nor his [the father’s] reaction”, however the reader knows what has happened. This extradiegetic perspective enables the narrator to express her shame at her father’s appearance and underline the violence of his reaction, which has been caused by his feelings of inferiority in Germany.

In contrast, the family is enabled to feel ‘superior’ or more ‘German’ in Turkey. This and their desire to return home to Turkey is expressed well in a scene at the border of their home country. When they reach Turkey, their mood totally changes and they become inspired and cheerful:

Immediately after the Turkish border, in the city of Edirne, many people rushed out of their cars, knelt down on the ground and touched the ground with their foreheads, some unrolled their prayer rugs, and began to pray. Anne sighed every year: “Finally, the desire and longing of people is fulfilled!” It was like magic. Once we were in Turkey, our parents were quite different. Good cheer reigned in the car, and everyone was kind and

funny. Yet everyone was crying on the way back to Germany while we were crossing the Bosphorus Bridge (ibid., p. 45).²²⁴

Homesickness and longing for Turkey and their family there, is obvious in this passage. Nilgün's Mother's desire to return to her homeland is fulfilled once a year when they are in Turkey. Nilgün describes how differently her parents react when it comes to the theme of visiting Turkey and deliberately compares it to leaving the country. Kneeling down on the ground, touching the ground with their foreheads and praying mirrors how great Nilgün's family's longing for Turkey is. However, in returning to Germany, as the family crosses the Bosphorus, feelings of happiness fade to sorrow and grief. Here the external focalizer presents the scene from without, not penetrating feeling and thoughts of the family directly but via feelings when returning to Germany. An indirect personification is employed, as the protagonist describes the feelings of the family indirectly through external description. This usage of perspective enables the narrator to illustrate the longing of characters, who feel 'Othered' in Germany which, paradoxically, is their home.

It should be mentioned that in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood, in Two Words*, Bosphorus is the symbol of separation and borders. In fact, Mr. Schäufele, the neighbour, gave Nilgün the racialized nickname 'Bosporus', which his daughter Helene misunderstood. "No let me show you something much prettier; come Bosporus. Why do you call me this? My name isn't Bosporus, it's Nilgün! - My dad always says that, and I thought that was your name." (p. 19).²²⁵

As mentioned before, all characters with migration background as well as the characters without migration backgrounds, have their own desires to fulfil and resistances to unacceptable social values or behaviour. Some long for the feeling of belonging, being at home, for acceptance in the new culture and identity, job or education, for liberty or some other personal requirement. Others try to resist the new boundaries that are imposed upon them, whether by the family or the new society. The selected passages in this section illustrate a continual 'tug of war'²²⁶ in the protagonist's minds. They feel that they frequently take a position on one side of the line or the other, but internally are on both, which can be

²²⁴ Gleich nach der türkischen Grenze, in der Stadt Edirne, stürmten viele Menschen aus ihren Autos, knieten sich auf die Erde und berührten den Boden mit ihrer Stirn, Einige rollten ihre Gebetsteppiche aus und fingen an zu beten. Anne seufzte dann jedes Jahr: „Endlich ist die Sehnsucht der Menschen erfüllt!“ Es war wie Zauberei. Sobald wir in der Türkei waren, waren unsere Eltern ganz anders. Ausgelassene Fröhlichkeit herrschte im Auto, und alle waren lieb und lustig. Auf der Fahrt zurück nach Deutschland mussten wir beim Überqueren der Bosporus-Brücke trotzdem alle weinen.

²²⁵ Nein, ich zeige dir etwas viel Schöneres, komm, Bosporus. -Warum nennst du mich so? Ich heiße nicht Bosporus, ich heiße Nilgün! -Mein Papa sagt das immer, und ich dachte, das wäre dein Name.

²²⁶ Tug of war is a game of two teams pulling on a rope, to pull the opposition over a line.

seen in the titles of two of the books, *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. This applies to social class, education, class position and language, sense of belonging and even religion. To be on the winner's side of the line requires a positive space of possibilities, whether in the environment or internalized in the person concerned, or a lucky combination of both. If this does not occur, sadness, frustration, violence and embarrassment, or even a retreat into loneliness and alienation can follow.

4.2.2.4. Feeling of Alienation

Migration inevitably involves a process of changes, whether culturally, economically, politically and more importantly, changes in identity; this is reflected throughout the texts chosen. Although immigrants have different reasons to leave their country behind and live in a foreign land, which might include economic betterment, political upheaval, education or other purposes, it must be emphasized that in the case of most books, the immigration was for economic reasons. Whatever the reason, this process involves leaving one's (here Turkish) communal networks behind and experiencing at first a sense of loss, dislocation, isolation and alienation. Based on the ability or otherwise of an individual to deal with the stress of the new culture, and his or her personality traits, an immigrant can establish either a sense of settling down, or a more permanent sense of feeling isolated and alienated.

Some characters of the stories investigated in this work are brought to this new country unwillingly, mostly following the rest of the family. This is the case with three out of six female mother figures, such as Hasan's mother in *Salam Berlin* or the mother in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* and the mother in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*. These middle-aged women had to leave their country just because their husbands or children wanted access to higher education or to find a job. Although they have long lived in Germany, they consider themselves and their families as neither permanent residents nor future citizens. Hasan's mother keeps repeating that, "We are only guests here..."²²⁷ (p. 65) and never develops a sense of belonging to the new society. She prepares the children's minds to return to Turkey as she says that, "guests must also return back home again (ibid.)". Her unwillingness to be integrated or acculturated justifies why Hasan says "She was always ready to leave (ibid.)". As a first-generation immigrant, she

²²⁷ Wir sind nur Gäste hier, sagte sie. Und Gäste müssen auch mal wieder gehen. Sie war immer auf Weggehen eingestellt.

feels more alienated than second-generation immigrants such as her son Hasan, who was born in Germany. Adolescents who are first-generation immigrants have higher scores on the social isolation subscale than the younger immigrants. Age seems also to be a significant multiplier of alienation (Lane and Timothy, 1999).

Whereas Lane and Timothy, writing about alienation and the impact of gender, found that women report less social alienation than men, it seems that the number of older women feeling alienation in these narratives is higher. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the narrator's mother cannot associate herself with the dominant society and looks back to her origin in a different land by warning her children that "One should never leave his roots" (p. 41)²²⁸. Her dissociation from German society and German social values brings an estrangement and along with it a pervasive feeling of sadness, as the narrator revealingly describes her opinion:

Here we will remain strangers. The word stranger had a sad and at the same time a helpless sound, not only that she felt as a stranger here, and not really because the locals as stranger didn't respect her, but also she felt at the same time, a growing alienation in her homeland (p. 41).²²⁹

Here the third-person narrator uses direct definitions in adjectives such as "sad", "helpless" or the noun "stranger" to characterize herself and her feelings. An indirect personification displays the narrator's situation leaving to the reader indentifying with this estrangement. As an individual in two societies with different norms, cultural codes, traditions and values, her sense of alienation broadens, even when in her homeland, Turkey. She lingers in her past, does not really participate in life in the new country and cannot participate in life in her country of origin. She values the old traditions of her Turkish roots and tries to live within those standards, but when they return to Turkey, they cannot remain untouched by the criticism and satire of the Turkish people about being westernized.

Likewise, Hasan's father in *Salam Berlin* never feels at home in Berlin, although he knows all the streets even better than he knows Turkey. The narrator states that, "Baba knew this old Prussian Berlin with its East and West parts better than any Turkish city. In spite of these freedoms and opportunities he never felt at home here. Was Berlin such a cold-hearted place?"

²²⁸ Ein Mensch soll nie seine Wurzeln verlassen.

²²⁹ Hier werden wir Fremde bleiben. Das Wort Fremde hatte einen traurigen und zugleich hilflosen Klang nicht nur, daß sie sich hier fremd fühlte, von den Einheimischen als Fremde nicht wirklich respektiert wurde, sie spürte gleichzeitig eine wachsende Entfremdung in ihrer Heimat.

Did he never miss the cafes or squares of this city?" (p. 67).²³⁰ East and West is a metonymy for Turkey and Germany. It encapsulates a paradox in that he cannot bring himself to dream of the Berlin he knows so well, compared with his embedded dreams of a Turkey he no longer knows. The narrator wonders if his father, after living so long in this city of Berlin, would ever miss it. Since his friends ended up in prison in Turkey, probably due to political pressures or upheavals, returning back home is out of the question. This background boosts the pressure even more and heightens his alienation and sense of dispersion of his being, as the narrator explains:

Many former college friends of my father ended up in prison. The issue of a return home fell away, and with it, for Baba, came the longing. The longing for the past, longing for Istanbul, washed by the sea, for waves, warm wind, fishing, magnolia trees, longing for tavernas, friends, meze, raki, longing for mother, family, earth, home and roots ... This longing grew and grew and became larger than the Television Tower in West Berlin (p. 68).²³¹

Hasan's father continues by comparing everything with an earlier time. He stated again and again: "The youth in this country is kaput" (ibid. p. 68).²³² He didn't understand the No-Future-Punks (ibid.). His sense of longing for his past environment is so acute that it is symbolically higher than the Radio Tower of Berlin. The narrator uses these symbols as metonymy help him to present the magnitude of his father's desire for his roots in Turkey. For Hasan as a young, motivated protagonist who is eager for new and experiences, it is hard to see his parents suffering from an alienation he finds so enormous that he can only describe it as a "Television Tower in West Berlin" (ibid., p. 68).

Hasan differs from his father in the image of Istanbul they picture in their minds. Hasan believes that Istanbul has changed and is not at all like the one his father and his friend retain. This belongs to the past and is long-since out-dated, however, unwilling to acknowledge that their past memories are in the past, they resist accepting the reality of the new modern Istanbul:

²³⁰ Baba kannte sich in diesem alten preußischen Berlin mit Ost- und Westteil besser aus als in irgendeiner türkischen Stadt. Trotz dieser Freiheiten und Möglichkeiten fühlte er sich hier nie heimisch. War denn Berlin so ein kaltes Pflaster? Vermißte er nie die Cafés oder Plätze dieser Stadt?

²³¹ Viele ehemalige Studienfreunde meines Vaters landeten hinter Gittern. Das Thema Rückkehr fiel damit weg, und dafür trat dann die Sehnsucht bei Baba ein. Die Sehnsucht nach früher, nach Istanbul, nach Meer, Wellen, warmen Winden, Fischen, Magnolienbäumen, nach Tavernas, Freunden, Meze, Raki, nach Mutter, Familie, Erde, Heimat und nach Wurzeln... Diese Sehnsucht wuchs und wuchs und wurde größer und größer als der Funkturm in Westberlin.

²³² Die Jugend in diesem Land ist kaputt. Er verstand die No-future-Punks nicht.

The feeling of homesickness that Baba and Breschnew were permanently afflicted by wasn't new to me. ... Baba and Breschnew stuck to an image of Istanbul, which had long been gone. But they didn't want to believe it. I didn't take seriously whatever they said about the past. I had my own understanding and image of Istanbul (p. 126).²³³

Thinking only of their idealized picture of Istanbul, their homesickness increases to the point that it, to Hasan or probably to any member of the younger generation, represents a fantasy. As a member of the second, more integrated younger generation, Hasan considers his father's memories as useless illusions, when he says that "The grass is always greener on the other side. All pray for illusions [of being in a place they cannot be] and burn this desire into their hearts" (p. 170).²³⁴

In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the protagonist's family are displaced from their country (Turkey) and, like Nilgün's family in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*, as immigrants, detach themselves from the outside society and retreat into the closed area of their apartments like prisoners: "They withdrew into the closed world of their apartment" (p. 51).²³⁵ Their withdrawal from the host community prolongs the process of integration and also their acceptance in the dominant German society, perhaps indefinitely. To some extent this is consciously done in order to live more effectively in the shelter of a separate Turkish social group, in a sort of self-imposed apartheid. This is a sad ending, in disappointed hopes, of the initial optimism of the father when first in Germany.

The feeling of alienation is not limited to grown-ups only. Children also suffer from this for various reasons. One these is the new language, which has not become natural to them and isolates them from other the members of society who do not share a language with the immigrants. Fatma, the protagonist of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, is distanced from the other children because she cannot speak German: as she innocently describes; "Nobody paid me much attention, just sometimes I noticed an appraising, scrutinizing glance from the side with the shameless curiosity that comes naturally to children. I felt completely lost, I did not even understand the language in which the children

²³³ Es war nichts Neues für mich, daß Baba und Breschnew ständig Heimweh hatten. ... Baba und Breschnew hielten an einem Istanbul fest, das schon längst passé war. Aber sie wollten es nicht wahr haben. Ich nahm ihnen das ganze Gerede über früher nicht mehr ab. Ich hatte mein eigenes Bild von Istanbul.

²³⁴ Ich begann zu verstehen, daß man sich was vormacht. Immer da, wo man nicht war, war es am schönsten. Alle beten von Illusionen und brannten sich diese ins Herz ein.

²³⁵ Sie zogen sich in die abgeschlossene Welt ihrer Wohnung zurück

talked” (p. 115).²³⁶ Here the first-person narrator uses direct definitions employing the adjectives such as “appraising”, “scrutinizing” or “I felt completely lost” characterizing herself and her feelings. An indirect personification is employed as the protagonist does not mentioned her feelings directly but illustrates them in a way which leaves the reader to infer the disregard of Fatma by her classmates. Language barriers are important factors in separating individuals since they do not have the tools to communicate. Her parents also cannot adjust in the host society and as mentioned, “My parents found a piece of home in a foreign country, by keeping in contact with relatives. This connection gave them the feeling of stability” (p. 124).²³⁷ The only connection Fatma’s family forms is with their Turkish relatives, who can understand them, and their united sense of belonging together gives them stability.

Fatma’s family intentionally retreats from German society and social behaviour as much as possible. As Fatma narrates, “The ignorance of German culture and way of life had brought my parents and my elder brother into a position of isolation that had resulted in unemployment and crime” (p. 221).²³⁸ Their avoidance of integration affects them negatively to the extent of criminality. Her family’s coping mechanisms are not positively inclined toward assimilation, integration or adjustment, so that even if it wished to, the new nation would not be able to welcome them open-heartedly.

Distress, homesickness and alienation are shared experiences between characters mentioned above and the characters of *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*. The first-person narrator explains that, “We were poor, but happy. We had Turkish earth under our feet, my mother always said later [when we were in Germany]” (p. 7).²³⁹ Although they were financially in distress, they felt a sense of belonging in Turkey. Now that they are in Germany, they feel it as a foreign place that is not home, and this is reinforced by their mother’s perpetual repetition of idealistic memories. Here literature mirrors the tendency of expatriates, and often their children, to magnify the virtues of their homeland out of all proportion (p. 170, p. 68). In this book Nilgün’s desire for home and dissociation from the German community of her kindergarten is represented in her description of her first day at the nursery, when she is hit by a nun because she wet her bed. Nilgün explains how she just

²³⁶ Niemand beachtete mich, nur manchmal traf mich ein abschätzender, musternder Blick von der Seite mit jener schamlosen Neugier, wie sie Kindern eigen sind. Ich fühlte mich grenzenlos verloren, ich verstand ja nicht einmal die Sprache, in der die Kinder miteinander redeten.

²³⁷ Meine Eltern fanden in dem Kontakt zu unseren Verwandten ein Stück Heimat in der Fremde, das Stabilität gab.

²³⁸ Die Ignoranz gegenüber der deutschen Kultur und Lebensweise hatte meine Eltern und auch meinen ältesten Bruder in eine Position der Isolation gebracht, aus der Arbeitslosigkeit und Kriminalität resultierten.

²³⁹ Wir waren arm, aber glücklich. Wir hatten türkische Erde unter den Füßen, sagte meine Mutter später immer.

longed to go back to Turkey, where she, along with her mother and sister, went shopping in the Turkish market.

I remember that I felt nothing any longer. I did not even feel longing for Anne, Tekir, Helene and all the people that I still loved so much. I saw suddenly the bazaar in Istanbul in front of me, my Anne and Mine, as we were laughing, with a Simit²⁴⁰ in our hands, ran from one shop to the other laughing. My Anne laughed and bought us everything we wanted (p. 54).²⁴¹

The narrative voice is first-person “I” who gives details about the surrounding events here using external and internal focalization such as “My Anne laughed” and “I felt nothing any longer” to describe behaviours and feelings. The focalization here is from the first person point of view. Nilgün, the narrating “I” of the story is a young female who refers to herself as “I”, “me” and “my” and covers her sadness behind the dream of laughter and happiness in her country of origin. She repeats the word “laugh” three times as if she is desperately in need of happiness and a state of forgetfulness. This passage presents the near impossibility of integrating in a situation in which one is clearly so unwanted, something which scars for a lifetime and touches any reader, especially those who have experienced exclusion themselves.

Unfortunately, these immigrant protagonists experience exclusion in Turkey as well. Nilgün and her sister are isolated and differentiated even when in Turkey. The Turkish people around call them “alamanci Kizlar”, “the German girls” because everyone knew that we came from Germany” (p. 80).²⁴² Since the processes of adjustment by immigrants occur in a number of different areas, throughout their long stay in the new socio-cultural environment, these immigrants slowly lose the sense of home and familiarity connected to Turkey. This is what happens to Anne’s (Nilgün’s mother) friend (not named), who talks of her weird experience of returning to Turkey after twenty years:

I’m very hesitant when I want to use the word “homeland”. Twenty years living in Germany have made us “German-Turks”. Here [in Turkey] people recognize us from a considerable distance. At the butcher, at the

²⁴⁰ Sesame seed bread ring

²⁴¹ Ich weiß noch, dass ich auf einmal nichts mehr fühlte. Ich spürte nicht mal Sehnsucht nach Anne, nach Tekir, nach Helene und all den Menschen, die ich doch so lieb hatte. Ich sah plötzlich den Bazar in Istanbul vor mir, meine Anne und Mine, und wie wir lachend mit einem Simit in der Hand von einem Stand zum nächsten liefen. Meine Anne lachte und kaufte uns alles, was wir uns wünschten.

²⁴² Weil alle wussten, dass wir aus Deutschland kamen.

bank or at the doctor we were always asked if we were Alamanci [Germans]. As if it was written on our foreheads (p. 170).²⁴³

It is particular painful to be made a stranger in a place you think of as your own country. Nilgün and her sister Mine are regarded as strangers in just this way, being integrated, and living in Germany, the sisters are “German-Turks” and that creates an unbridgeable distance between the girls and other Turks which mirrors the ‘Otherness’ they experience in Germany. In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, Lale’s mother always tries to make her protest against moving to Germany apparent, since she has had to move to this only country only because of the rest of the family. Her dissatisfaction with her life makes her resistant to adjustment and assimilation, hence establishing a sense of alienation from the major socio-cultural group. Ordering drinks in a café, she criticizes her husband for ordering beer because she considers it a Western behaviour:

A beer in the morning? Mom shook all over. “For me a cup of tea!” The waitress took the order. [Father] Do you want to emphasize your protest against Germany by your over-emphasized Muslim practice? Or how should I understand your behaviour? (p. 17).²⁴⁴

Lale’s father, who is assimilated in the new culture and tradition, accepts its social codes and norms and does feel himself to be between two traditions. He sees Germany as home and homesickness is foreign him. He does not approve of his wife’s protest against the dominant culture and parodies her for that. She however changes radically and, towards the end of the book, becomes a permanent student, a feminist and politically active. However, there is no mention of whether she gives up her religious opposition to pork and alcohol.

Alienation can also create a barrier between an immigrant and people in their country of origin, including relatives. Due to the long stay in the new society they have gradually adopted German cultural codes and fail to recognize changes in Turkey until confronted with them. The way literary text in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* deals, with this phenomenon is worthy of mention here. The way the narrator pictures her father, while preparing himself for his vacation in Turkey, is interesting. By emotionalizing and personalizing the experience of alienation in different paragraphs, she begins with a vacation,

²⁴³ Meine Zunge ist sehr zögerlich, wenn ich Heimat sage. Zwang Jahre Deutschland haben aus uns „Deuschtürken“ gemacht. Hier erkennt uns jeder von weitem. Beim Metzger, auf der Bank oder beim Arzt. Wir werden immer gleich gefragt, ob wir, Alamanci sind. Als würde es auf unserer Stirn stehen.

²⁴⁴ Am Vormittag Bier? Mama schüttelte sich. Für mich bitte einen Tee! Die Kellnerin zog mit der Bestellung ab. Willst du deinen Deutschlandprotest durch eine betont muslimische Verhaltensweise unterstreichen? Oder wie darf ich dein Verhalten verstehen?

which directly refers back to feelings of alienation (pp.134-137). She describes her fathers's behaviour when packing his luggage for his holiday to Turkey during which he starts to feel alienated:

He had postponed coming to terms with his long-planned retirement until two years before his twilight years [to save money and have a long holiday in Turkey]. The first-aid kit filled half of his suitcase: drops against gastro-intestinal infection, circulatory drug; Tablets against head and joint pain, medication for every possible infectious disease. During the three-month stay, the final return was to be prepared. They were ready. [...] He got sick. Cardiac arrhythmias, circulatory collapse. After a week he travelled back alone. [...] Despite all the courtesy and respect that the relatives had shown him, a strange feeling had sneaked in between them (pp.134-137).²⁴⁵

His sickness is the embodiment of his estrangement and feeling of discomfort in his homeland, which shortens his stay in Turkey and he is forced to return to Germany after only a week. His illness has answered the question of identity and belonging for him. He is a German of Turkish origin, and no longer a Turk.

Individual traits, cultural background, familial relationships, language attainment, together with acceptance and respect in the new society and stress or comfort in a new socio-cultural environment are major factors in the process of either assimilating, adjusting or of developing a sense of alienation. An alienated person is less effective socially and is dissociated from the standards and goals of the new society in which he or she should belong. This feeling heightens detachment from other members of the society. It brings with it feelings of distress, homesickness, hatred, despair or anxiety. However if an individual is continually exposed to an environment of distrust, insults and frequently of racialism, as described in some passages selected, this may very well result in an alienation which turns to a form of radical Turkish identity.

It is interesting that, in the end, most of the texts chosen show reconciliation with German society and ways of life, and recognition of change in immigrants themselves, in that they

²⁴⁵Die Begegnung mit dem lange geplanten Lebensabend hatte er bis zwei Jahre vor seiner Pensionierung aufgeschoben. Die Reiseapotheke füllte einen halben Koffer: Tropfen gegen Magen- und Darminfektion, Kreislaufmittel, Tabletten gegen Kopf- und Gelenkschmerzen, Medikamente gegen jede erdenkliche Infektion Krankheit. Während des dreimonatigen Aufenthalts sollte die endgültige Rückkehr vorbereitet werden. Sie waren bereit. [...] Er wurde krank. Herzrhythmusstörungen, Kreislaufkollaps Nach einer Woche reiste er allein wieder ab. [...] Trotz aller Höflichkeit und Achtung, die ihn die Verwandten gezeigt hatten, schlich ein fremdes Gefühl zwischen ihnen herum.

realize that they now belong more in Germany than in Turkey. This reflects very positively on immigrants' experience of Germany. The fact that most protagonists experience this sort of positive change, were it to be taken to represent sociological analysis, would be evidence of the best possible outcome for immigrants to Germany. This literary evidence cannot be extrapolated directly into the real world, but the various narrations leave the impression of positive outcomes more often than not. This, however, might also be for commercial reasons on the part of the authors, who want their books to appeal to a German audience.

4.2.3. Discrimination on the Grounds of Stereotypical Beliefs Around Gender, Class & 'Race'

This section deals with class, 'race' and gender discrimination. However, it is difficult to pin down exactly which discrimination is on grounds of class, which of 'race' and which of gender. It is possible to find two or all three simultaneously (see section on "2.1. The Multiple Combination of Discriminations: Intersectionality", p. 42). This work has attempted to examine the chosen books to differentiate discriminations, but a clear differentiation has proved impossible, as narrators naturally do not make distinctions between these three elements, between which there are, in any case, no natural boundaries. An attempt has been made here to make these distinctions in order to be able to discuss the chosen texts with more clarity and structure, but this has resulted in quotes being referred to more than once as class, 'race' or gender discrimination.

4.2.3.1. Sexism & Gender Discrimination

Gender discrimination is prejudice against an individual's sex or gender and can affect both men and women. However, since discrimination has mostly been against women, when the term is used, any form of sexual violence and harassment of women, whether verbal or physical, comes to mind. Sexism or gender discrimination is a topic that is frequently addressed in various accounts analysed in this book. In *Salam Berlin*, the narrator Hasan states how one of the characters, Leyla has put a picture of a veiled woman on the wall and has written that, "chador is sexy" (p. 169). In Islamic traditions such as the Turkish one, the clothing women have to wear is different from that of men, especially in liberty and modesty. Women have to cover their bodies and hair with a chador or burka while men do not suffer these obligations. Leyla believes this kind of clothing is "sexy" probably because it is different from her own outerwear, but Hasan, the Turkish narrator, does not agree with her:

La femme orientale [eastern woman] was her [Leyla's] new motto. On her bedroom door hung a photo collage of veiled women, and below she had written 'Chador is Sexy'. Definitely, I thought, as long as you do not have to wear it yourself (p. 169).²⁴⁶

Leyla's fascination with everything Turkish and the irony used in "as long as you do not have to wear it yourself" is intended as a sign that Leyla, as much as Hasan, is looking for an identity. She has opted to socialize mainly in Turkish culture although her household is totally German. Her reverence for the chador is the result of her wanting to be a part of her Turkish culture of choice. However she is unable to see that, as women's faces are veiled, so are their tongues. For protagonists such as Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* or Nilgün and her sister Mine in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* this is clear; are not given the opportunity to express their own ideas about what they think and wear. This long muteness induces a horror of giving voice to their own opinions, even in the company of women (see *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, p. 164 and *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, p. 158). As the narrator reports, the photo on the wall is a collage; a piece of postmodern art. Leyla's unthinking admiration of Turkish culture is visible in the objects around her and is not clear if

²⁴⁶ La femme orientale war ihre neue Devise. An ihrer Schlafzimmertür hing eine Fotocollage von verhüllten Frauen, und darunter hatte sie geschrieben: Tschador is sexy. Bestimmt, dachte ich, solange man ihn nicht selber tragen mußte.

her appreciation of an Islamic outfit is merely Western orientalising, but the narrators comment implies that she never considers wearing it herself.

For Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* (p. 121), a chador or veil is a symbol of gender discrimination, because she has been beaten up for not wearing a headscarf. A veil for her symbolizes the state of being unseen, being invisible in society, of being denied social status and position by being made invisible under a chador. This sexist invisibility is what the patriarchal, mostly misogynistic, part of Turkish society requires.

In conservative cultures, a woman dressing in attire deemed insufficiently modest can suffer serious violence at the hands of her husband, father or relatives, with such violent responses seen as appropriate by most of the society. The narrator of a later text in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, explains one of the harshest incidents in the novel. She narrates how her father tortures her for not wearing a scarf to cover her hair:

Everything I hated was bound up in this symbol – my dependence, my mother’s servile life. There was an implacable fight at home. In my own way I profaned and degraded this symbol, even converted it into its opposite by wearing it around my neck as a fashionable accessory instead covering my hair as a sign of my chastity, honour and fear of God. I was beaten as I had never been beaten before. My father seized me by the hair and pulled me for several minutes around the kitchen floor, but I didn’t give up (p. 121).²⁴⁷

In contrast to Leyla, for the experiencing “I” of this story, wearing a headscarf symbolizes servitude and dependence against which she is resists. This symbol, although a religious sign, is “bound up” with hatred. As a woman who is clearly influenced by trends of modernity and Western life, the narrator starts a fight against headscarves as a symbol of other implications of gender discrimination in a traditional patriarchal family. In her family, the father figure is a bigoted and authoritarian patriarch who severely punishes any kind of resistance and hostility against his traditional power and its structures. The narrator is attempting to break down the tall walls of prejudice and sexism, held in place by strong and long-held sexist traditions and ideology inherited by her father. This fight is not just symbolical, but as the father’s actions

²⁴⁷ Mit diesem Symbol war alles mir Verhaßte verbunden – meine Abhängigkeit, das geknechtete Leben meiner Mutter. Es gab unerbittlichen Kampf zu hause. Ich habe dieses Symbol auf meine Art geschändet und degradiert, ja geradezu in sein Gegenteil verkehrt, indem ich es als modisches Accessoire um den Hals trug, anstatt damit als Zeichen meiner Keuschheit, Ehre und Gottesfürchtigkeit das Haar zu verhüllen. Ich wurde geprügelt wie selten zuvor in meinem Leben, mein Vater packet mich an den Haaren und schleifte mich minutenlang über den Küchen Boden, aber ich gab nicht nach.

show, it is absolutely physical. The narrator complains how she is “beaten” and “pulled by her hair” in the sort of act of domestic violence that runs the risk of girls running away, committing suicide or self-harming. The narrator uses here both direct definitions and indirect personification. Employing direct definitions by using different expressions “my dependence” or “my chastity, honour and fear” characterize the protagonist. Here an indirect personification is employed as the protagonist does not mention the father’s character directly, but displays it in a way, which leaves to the reader the task of internalizing the violence presented in his action.

While the headscarf serves as a symbol of “servile life” and “dependence” on masculine power for the narrator Fatma, who is harshly beaten, it functions as a symbol of “chastity” and “fear of God” (ibid., p. 121) for the traditional members of the family, especially the father. Not wearing the scarf indicates her resistance against the yoke of patriarchal judgements and rules, and hence her rejection, in her father’s eyes, of every moral restriction. The headscarf seems to be a chain to subjugate her, and when she resists against it the father pulls her around the room by her hair. It seems that her hair has become a new symbol of her subjugation once the headscarf-chain no longer functions. However, she does not give up the war against gender discrimination and stereotyping. If wearing the headscarf is to preserve the chastity of women, and to ensure that they feel safe in society, it has only a limited efficacy. Women in Muslim countries widely report being felt up or flirted with in public whenever the opportunity arises. It is clear that no number of chadors or headscarves are protection (Eltahawy, 2015, p. 76).

As feminist scholars have proposed, the root causes of domestic violence lie social structures characterized by severe inequality, in which the male is dominant and the female exploited (ibid.) and references to domestic violence against women are repeated in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish*. This is concisely presented by the narrator when the father likens women to televisions: “This television is like a woman said Baba. When it doesn’t work you just have to hit it one. Anne found that not at all amusing, and shook her head” (p. 139).²⁴⁸

In this first sentence, the narrator uses a simile, which makes women into inanimate objects to show the father’s view. Although personal violence is not reported, this reveals much about the power hierarchy in this family and how men within it, and men in general, treat women. This kind of domestic violence can be viewed as a particularly severe form of patriarchal

²⁴⁸ Dieser Fernseher ist wie eine Frau. Wenn er nicht funktioniert, muss man einfach einmal draufhauen, sagte Baba. Anne fand das gar nicht lustig und schüttelte den Kopf.

domination and oppression where the woman is, or can potentially, be beaten into obedience. The simile used here conveys a lot about the father's objectification of women (his wife and daughters as well as other women around). Many features of objectification can be read between lines: instrumentality, denial of autonomy, ownership, denial of subjectivity, and violability. The mother's dislike and disappointment is presented in a periphrasis. The narrator describes her physical motion, "shook her head" instead of revealing her inner side using words. This can be representative of women's silence both in the book, and more widely, where she is not really given the opportunity to speak out and can be violently robbed of the very breath to speak out (p. 158).

There are, however, voices against this in the same book *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* where the self-educated aunt Birsen is quoted: "Birsen Teyze liked neither the educational methods of our parents nor of other Turks: 'you don't give your girls room to breathe' she always said, "and then someday, they will die inside and you won't even notice it!" (p. 158).²⁴⁹ This can be clearly seen in another scene when Nilgün's sister, Mine, after many punishments and house arrests for merely the suspicion of being with German children, not to mention boys, mutilates her dolls. This quiet response to being forced to conform is a sort of death of the soul. Having refused to talk to anyone for some time, "Mine also no longer played with her dolls, and sewed clothes neither for mine nor for hers. She had dug out the eyes of all her dolls with the kitchen knife and painted their hair in many colours with water colours" (p. 153).²⁵⁰

It is certain, in comparison, that Leyla in *Salam Berlin*, in her secure German family neither experienced such punishments nor felt the need to indicate, as Mine does here, that her eyes have been blinded because she is, literally or metaphorically, wearing a Chador.

Domestic violence in the selected books can take a number of forms including physical, emotional, verbal, economic and sexual, which can range from subtle, coercive forms to physical abuse, which results for one character, Mine *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* in death of the soul. In the above quote an indirect personification is employed as the Nilgün displays Mine's behaviour towards her outer world and her once beloved dolls, leaving to the reader the task of inferring her mental state. An extradiegetic perspective establishes here a distance which acts to intensify for the reader the

²⁴⁹ Birsen Teyze mochte die Erziehungsmethoden unserer Eltern und anderer Türken nicht: „Ihr nehmt euren Töchtern die Luft zum Atmen“ sagte sie immer. „Und irgendwann werden sie innerlich sterben und ihr werdet es nicht einmal merken.“

²⁵⁰ Mine spielte auch nie wieder mit ihren Puppen und nähte weder für meine noch für ihre Puppen Kleider. Sie hatte all ihren Puppen die Augen mit dem Küchenmesser ausgestochen und ihnen die Haare mit Wasserfarben ganz bunt an gemalt“

level of the narrator's own fear of a similar fate. In two of the selected novels, *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* and *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, domestic violence is not only a problem for the mother but also for the young girls in the family. In this conflicted world, Mine represents feminist world-views of equality and freedom in the following quote:

Mine's classmates were allowed to do a lot more, but they also weren't Turks. -Without his honour a man might as well be buried. You are not a child anymore: said Baba again and again. -So what! In spite of everything I'm still your daughter and not your slave, shouted Mine. -As Baba approached her with a raised hand, she ran into the toilet (p. 154).²⁵¹

The omniscient narrator renders a panoramic scene, in which the girl's situation is compared with that of the German girls, and the father's traditionally strict ideology is manifested, the girl's feministic views and finally the father's over-reaction are pictured. Domestic violence often occurs because the abuser believes that abuse is justified and acceptable. Here, the father uses traditional patriarchal ideas to justify his abuse. However, Mine resists by announcing that she is his daughter, not his "slave (ibid.)". Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized Mine from without as an observer, not penetrating her feeling and thoughts, but then suspends the action of the scene and leaves the wild reaction of the father to the readers' imagination. Direct definitions using nouns "I'm still your daughter and not your slave" which characterize Mine, are employed here. Quoting a common saying, the father defines a sense of honour for men as even more important than their life, by using the word "be buried" instead of the shorter word death. But this honour seems to function only to restrict women and discriminate greatly against them. The father insists that Mine (who is about thirteen in this scene), is not a child anymore and this requires that, in growing up, the girl's femininity should be suppressed and she should not be allowed the freedom she enjoyed before. When she cries out for her autonomy and self-determination, she is countered with "a raised hand" that tries to suffocate any kind of deviation from patriarchal traditions. The symbol of a raised hand documents an abusive, controlling patriarch. Faced with a violent father, "she ran into the toilet" to protect herself.

²⁵¹ Die Klassenkameraden von Mine bekamen viel mehr erlaubt, aber das waren auch keine Türken. Ein Mensch kann sich ohne seine Ehre begraben lassen. Du bist kein Kind mehr! Sagte Baba immer wieder. Na und? Ich bin trotzdem eure Tochter und nicht eure Sklavin! schrie Mine. Wenn Baba dann mit erhobener Hand auf sie zuing, rannte sie auf die Toilette.

In complete contrast, the first-person narrator Nilgün and her sister Mine, visit her aunt Birsen Teyze who encourages feminist views. The girls, who form the new generation of immigrants, listen to this woman very carefully and find her information to be true of all the Turkish women around them:

Every sentence she spoke reminded me of Anrie, of Hayriye Jeyze, Gönül Teyze, Ayse Teyze the newly married Sibel Teyze, of my Babaanne and the other women we knew. Birsen Teyze pulled another book off her shelves and held it up. The title made me shudder; “Women have no Names”. Evet, Kizlar, we have no names! She slammed the book onto the table. Mine and I cringed. “That shows how many rights we have as women. In fact, absolutely none! (p. 160).²⁵²

Here, the feminist character talks about all the oppression the Turkish women suffer. She has books on her bookshelf, which represent the knowledge, openness and intelligence, which are characteristics of modern women aware of their rights and autonomy. The title “Women have no Names” reveals the generality of the problem in Turkish life and also how gender discrimination, domestic violence, sexual violence and gender stereotypes are prevalent in the world, especially developing countries. The young narrator’s shuddering and cringing is indicative of the hatred and horror she and her sister feel upon being told the reality about the invisibility and objectification of their gender.

Birsen Teyze belongs to the newly emerged feminist generation in Turkey and shows her anger about inequalities in the society and family by slamming the book on the table. She appreciates feminist ideas being made public by its author, Duygun Asena. The first-person narrator who now refers to herself, her sister and Birsen as a united “we” and “us”, quotes Birsen talking about the Turkish feminist, using an external focalization showing the feminist aunt’s influence on her nieces:

We prepared our evening meal together and laid the table just for us three women. While we ate Birsen Teyze told us about her books. Girls, she said, Duygun Asena is the answer to all our questions. She is a feminist and all men hate her for this. She is the bravest woman in Turkey and our

²⁵² Jeder Satz aus ihrem Mund erinnerte mich an meine Anrie, an Hayriye Jeyze, Gönül Teyze, Ayse Teyze und die frisch verheiratete Sibel Teyze, an meine Babaanne und an die anderen Frauen, die wir kannten. Birsen Teyze zog ein anderes Buch aus ihrem Regal und hielt es hoch. Der Titel des Buches ließ mich schaudern: “Frauen haben keinen Namen”. „Evet, Kizlar, wir haben keinen Namen!” Sie knallte das Buch auf den Tisch. Mine und ich zuckten zusammen. „Das zeigt doch, wie viel Rechte wir als Frauen haben. Nämlich gar keine!

idol and our hope. Long live Duygun Asena! And raised her wine glass (p. 159).²⁵³

The misogynistic views of Turkish men made clear in this text. Birsen's identification with books signifies her modernity and search for empowerment through knowledge. Books here function as metaphors for social and political power, and for the individual autonomy of which many women are deprived. She raises her wine glass to Duygun, which symbolizes her deep regard for her and reveals her own openness to the traditions of Western culture. She is far less conservative than other immigrant female characters in the story and fights for women's rights and autonomy.

Family violence is an extension of sexism that leaves permanent scars. Child abuse is the physical, sexual or emotional maltreatment or neglect of a child or children. Parental child abuse is variously reported in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* by the narrator, Nilgün, who experiences it, and also witnesses how her rebel sister is battered by her father because of neglecting traditional religious customs of her family:

My father flung the door open, I flew against the wall and he attacked Mine. He hit her, cursed and dragged her through the room by her hair. My mother tried to keep him off, but it was no use. I stood by the wall and didn't have the strength to move one millimetre. After a while that felt like an eternity, Mine lay on the floor, covered in blood and sobbing. My father grabbed a cigarette and left the house. Crying, Anne brought a bowl of water and sat by Mine. "Niye yaptın²⁵⁴, why did you do it, my child? Why? Why is Allah punishing us so severely? And in such a holy month!" Mine smiled and wiped her bloody nose on her white top (p. 165).²⁵⁵

The father cruelly attacks and beats Mine because she is reported to have been seen with a German boy. He drags her by her hair, which again symbolizes a chain around her head, a chain that must be used to control the teenage girl. In societies that approve honour killing,

²⁵³ Wir bereiteten gemeinsam das Abendessen vor und deckten den Tisch, nur für uns drei Frauen. Während wir aßen, erzählte uns Birsen Teyze von ihren Büchern. Mädchen, Duygu Asena ist die Antwort auf unsere Fragen, sagte sie. Duygu Asena sei eine Feministin und alle Männer würden sie deshalb hassen. Sie ist die mutigste Frau in der Türkei und sie ist unser Idol, unsere Hoffnung. Es lebe Duygu Asena! Rief Birsen Teyze und erhob ihr Weinglas.

²⁵⁴ Why

²⁵⁵ Da drückte mein Vater auch schon die Tür auf, ich flog gegen die Wand und er fiel über Mine her. Er schlug auf sie ein, fluchte und zerrte sie an den Haaren durch das Zimmer. Meine Mutter versuchte, ihn davon abzuhalten, aber es war vergeblich. Ich stand an der Wand und hatte nicht die Kraft, mich auch nur einen Millimeter zu bewegen. Nach einer Weile, die mir wie eine Ewigkeit vorkam, lag Mine blutüberströmt und schluchzend auf dem Boden. Mein Vater schnappte sich seine Zigaretten und verließ das Haus. Anne holte weinend eine Schüssel mit Wasser und setzte sich zu Mine. „Niye yaptın, warum hast du das getan, mein Kind? Warum nur? Warum straft Allah uns so hart? Und das auch noch in so einem heiligen Monat! Mine lächelte und wischte sich die blutende Nase an ihrem weißen Oberteil ab.

there is the risk of the girl being murdered for not obeying the patriarchal rules forced on females. However, although the father feels shamed by her, he does not go that far, but is prepared to considerably mishandle her in the month of Ramadan. She wipes her bloody nose on her symbolically white shirt that reveals her purity and peace seeking in contrast to her violent father. The other female members of the family are powerless as the “mother tried to keep him off, but it was no use. I stood by the wall and didn’t have the strength to move one millimetre (ibid.)”. In the struggle, even if she had been strong enough to defend the girl the mother, would, almost certainly, not do so, because she is bound to the traditions of patriarchy, and blames Allah where it would be more humane to blame her husband.

Here the external focalizer presents the focalized from without to keep distance from the scene and let the reader be alone in the atmosphere it creates. This penetrates the mother’s feelings and thoughts, yet presents Mine only through external actions. The father’s action is externally focalized and Allah is blamed instead of him. Direct definitions using adjectives show how weak Mine is, and how Nilgün feels the passing of time. In cultures where machismo is prevalent and men are considered a head of the household in control of their family, wife battering may be not perceived as in any way a crime. Victims of domestic violence may thus be trapped in abusive domestic situations through isolation, lack of power and control, insufficient financial resources, fear, shame or in order to protect children, who, in the end, they cannot protect, as these quotes show. As the narrator states, the mother is accustomed to this violence against her and the children and only blames the government for this harassment:

‘Men beat, because they can not deal with words’ she [Mine] whispered.

‘Hold your tongue!’ cried my mother and went into the kitchen. Anne blamed the evil Germans and our government in Turkey who had sent us so unprepared into this strange culture (p. 166).²⁵⁶

Here the external focalizer presents the focalized character, Mine’s mother, from without, via her external actions, not penetrating her feelings directly to show her fear, even in the absence of the father. The use of direct definition shows that the mother is unprepared for life in Germany and uncertain of the rules in the new country.

²⁵⁶ Männer schlagen, weil sie mit Worten nicht umgehen können, flüsterte sie. Hüte deine Zunge! , schrie meine Mutter und ging in die Küche. Anne gab die Schuld den bösen Deutschen und unserer Regierung in der Türkei, die uns so unvorbereitet in diese fremde Kultur geschickt habe.

As the mother's words reveal, people who have experienced subtle forms of abuse, or have lived through patterns of abuse over many years, begin to see it as acceptable. She even hushes her daughter Mine, who rebels against this violence, to silence. The statement "Men beat, because they can not deal with words" (ibid.) clearly shows that Mine has the courage to act directly while the mother is now too submissive to risk more than an indirect comment. The statement presents Mine's accurate analysis of a typical male response to a challenge to patriarchy. The characters' conversations are representative of their victimization in a situation in which their only reaction is "whispering" and hiding in the kitchen. Anne sees the root of the problem as social stress, not socially conditioned behaviour. Stress is increased when a person is living in a family situation, with the pressure of the majority culture on the minority. Social stresses, due to inadequate finances or other problems such as immigrants' special vicissitudes in a new society and their impact on the family further increase tensions. As opposed to the silent, inactive, tolerating mother-character in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*, Nilgün emerges in this book as tough, successful and equal. This is remarkable because, as a result of such sexist abuse, victims may experience physical disabilities, chronic health problems, mental illness, shortage of money and poor ability to create healthy relationships. Victims may experience post-traumatic stress disorder. The conformity with her family's demands that her sister Mine later shows is taken by the narrator as a clear result of her treatment.

Sexist mistreatment of women does not always come from traditional men; sometimes modern men are not immune. In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, Lale's father, who is a westernized educated immigrant, treats a Muslim woman with verbal violence when she refuses to take off her headscarf. His use of sexist stereotypes, criticizing the women as "Kapali" reveals his biased views of women.

This male dominance condemns both emancipated and religious women. Contradictorily, it is not about wearing Hijab or not; it is about power over women. In other scenes it has been shown that those who do not want to wear a hijab (for instance Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*), get condemned for being whores but in this scene, those who do, in this case the dentist father's patient in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, are condemned for being secret whores underneath their chador.

Although not religious, the father is not exempt from the patriarchal misogynistic preconceptions, which classify women into pre-defined groups and deprive them of integrity and agency:

He hated headscarves, not only because he cared nothing for religion. No, when he was a student he had almost gotten a beating because of a woman wearing a headscarf. It was like this: in the final semester in the school of dentistry, every student had to practice on something living, and a woman with a headscarf sat down in my father's chair to be treated. Wanting to examine her for swollen lymph nodes, he asked her to remove her headscarf. The woman vehemently refused and behaved with some insolence, then papa yelled: Would you just take your headscarf off! That is so typical for you kapali²⁵⁷. In the doctor's office you are very moral and outside you open your legs! (p. 22).²⁵⁸

In this analeptic paragraph, the omniscient narrator underlines the father's historical gender discrimination when considering a special group as sexually 'easy'. He does not associate this woman with religious ideology, but with some superstitious morality that enables him to degrade her. It is not clear why he feels that such women are 'opening their legs' when not in his surgery. He is outraged that a woman may feel the need for the protection of being a "Kapali", and is saying this as a direct insult. In any case there, is a perversion of values, which represents a repressed sexuality in his behaviour.

In a later incident in the book, the narrator's mother is described as an extreme feminist, but the following quote is taken from a time in the book before her conversion to feminism. At this stage, she is a militant Kemalist (Turkish secular nationalist). Although she is a woman, she does not approve of femininity and equates it with the weakness and victimization of women:

With the same vehemence she denied sexual differences and the discrimination of women. What do you mean by discrimination? She asked sanctimoniously, we weren't discriminated against in those days. That's just a stupid excuse by unsuccessful women. Mama wanted to be a complete woman as Atatürk had wished: tough, successful and equal. Every expression of femininity was thus a dreadful miss-deed. Even the

²⁵⁷ Kapali means covered, and refers to women that wear headscarves, a long dress or chador

²⁵⁸ Er hasste Kopftücher, nicht nur, weil er mit Religion nichts am Hut hatte. Nein, als Student hätte er wegen einer Kopftuchfrau beinahe eine Tracht Prügel bezogen. Das kam so: In den letzten Semestern an der zahnmedizinischen Fakultät hatten sich alle Studenten am lebenden Objekt zu versuchen, und im Behandlungsstuhl meines Vaters hatte eine Frau mit Kopftuch platz genommen. Als er sie auf geschwollene Lymphknoten hin untersuchen wollte, bat er sie, das Kopftuch abzunehmen. Die Frau aber weigerte sich vehement und verhielt sich etwas schnippisch, worauf Papa rief: Jetzt nehmen sie endlich das Kopftuch ab! Das ist doch wohl typisch für euch Kapali (übersetzt heißt das bedeckt und meint Frauen, die Kopftuch, einen langen Mantel oder Tschador tragen). Beim Arzt macht ihr einen auf moralisch und draußen die Beine breit!

smallest gesture which could have been seen as feminine behaviour, was criticized as girly and the prophecy of a future without happiness under the lash of a man. Mama was more feminist than any German feminist from the seventies (p. 25).²⁵⁹

Here the external focalizer presents the focalized from within and without simultaneously, penetrating the feelings and thoughts of the narrator's mother and presenting her punitively feminist point of view. The use of indirect personification describes the mother's wishes for being "tough", "successful", and being "equal" and "feminist". It is not clear if the statement in this quote is ironic or not. She insists that there is no gender discrimination and blames "unsuccessful women" for using discrimination as an excuse. She denies any type of sexual differences, which according to her may render women weak and insufficient. Atatürk here is a metaphor of the modernization of Turkey, and its abandonment of the strict prejudices of the past. The mother responds to the objectification and stereotyping of women by producing another and absolutely denying feminine characteristics in a woman or a girl, which could be described as Maoist²⁶⁰. In the context of this quote, it makes not the slightest difference whether the discriminatory ideology is Kemalist or Islamist. The outcome is the same.

As the analysis of all these narratives shows, sexism and gender discrimination is prevalent in all the stories, varying only in extent. A large number of female characters of the diegetic texts are reported to have been mistreated or verbally abused by male members of their family or a wider group. Feder and Brougher define gender identity as "the gender-related identity, appearance, or mannerisms or other gender-related characteristics of an individual, with or without regard to the individual's designated sex at birth" (*Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Discrimination in Employment: A Legal Analysis of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA)*, July 15, 2013). Sexist attitudes have long been rooted in society, so that many women have accepted and internalized them, and, therefore, are condemned to inaction and silence, as is Nilgün's mother. That the narrators of the books address these issues highlights the importance of the matter, especially in the immigrants' world where modernism and tradition cross each other. This confrontation results in characters such as

²⁵⁹ Mit gleicher Vehemenz leugnete sie die Geschlechtsunterschiede und auch die Diskriminierung von Frauen. Wieso Diskriminierung? Fragte sie dann scheinheilig, wir sind schon damals nicht diskriminiert worden. Das ist doch nur eine faule Ausrede von erfolglosen Frauen. Mama wollte ganz Frau sein, wie Atatürk es sich gewünscht hatte: zäh, erfolgreich und gleichberechtigt. Jedes Betonen der Weiblichkeit war für Mama daher ein abscheuliches Vergehen, jede noch so kleine Geste, die als weibliches Verhalten hätte durchgehen können, tadelte sie als weibisch und prophezeite eine freudlose Zukunft unter der Knute eines Mannes. Symbol für die Selbstunterdrückung der Frau war für sie der Nagellack. Mama war feministischer als seine deutsche Feministin der siebziger Jahre.

²⁶⁰ In China, under the totalitarian rule of Chairman Mao the society was totally regimented and the same uniform had to be worn by all.

Mine and Birsen in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* or the mother in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* who voice, indeed shout out, feminist slogans for equality, freedom and autonomy. However, these stories are replete with instances of domestic violence as a strategy, conscious or unconscious, to gain or maintain power and control over the victims.

Attitudes prevalent in families are also manifest in public, and male assumptions of the right of control over women are by no means only seen among Turkish Germans. The first-person narrator of *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* records a humiliating sexist approach by a “hulking blond blue-eyed broad shouldered guy” who calls his three aunts “sexy Arab mares” (p. 14). The narrative voice is first person “I” who gives external focalizing details, “hulking blond blue-eyed...” and “sexy Arab mares” and uses the first person point of view. Sesperado, the narrating “I” of the story is a young man who refers to himself as “I”, “me” and “my”. The confrontation reveals the attitude of the ‘white’ man, who can be taken as representing an average German male, toward women, especially when they are from a different ‘race’. Therefore, the boy’s racial, sexist view is well articulated, when the narrator mentions that: “A hulking blond blue-eyed broad shouldered guy: Skin colour unhealthy cheesy, pale pig-pink approached my three aunts with a comatose moronic grin. How about it, you three sexy Arab mares” (p. 14).²⁶¹

The man’s sexist language and gender-specific pejorative description insults the three women because of both their gender and ‘race’. Calling these women as “Arab mares” implies his lack of respect for them as human beings, and that he considers them as animals. The man is objectifying these women by denying their agency. This sexual objectification of Sesperado’s aunts happens because they are viewed primarily in terms of sexual appeal, not human characteristics. The alliteration of “blond,” “blue” and “broad” is an emphasis of the Western figure of the boy and of his ‘race’. His physical appearance is described in negative associations such as “unhealthy”, “cheesy”, “comatose”, “moronic” and, alliteratively, as “pale pig-pink” representing the narrator’s contemptuous attitude of him. The man employs a metaphor to address the Turkish women. The metaphor of “mare” is very suggestive about the young would-be stud’s immature gender-biased mentality. Using dirty language is considered by him to be a way to produce a sexually attracted response, but is sexual harassment although it is not physical violence.

²⁶¹ Ein großer blonder, blauäugiger, breitschultriger Typ, Hautfarbe: ungesund-käsigt-hell-Schweinchen rosa, bewegt sich mit einem komatös-debilien Grinsen auf meine drei Tanten zu. “Na, ihr drei rassigen Araber-Stuten”.

Later Sesperado narrates the story of his encounter with Thomas, a heterosexual boy who is open to the idea of equality of cultures but points out the racial, sexist prejudice of many other 'white' men:

When I was in university, I met Thomas by chance. Thomas is a white heterosexual. I asked him how he sees it, when POC and whites are together. He said that he doesn't have any problem with it but he could imagine that many white men unconsciously think that when a white man is together with a coloured-woman he is a hero; a successful exotic conquest. But a white woman, being with a coloured man, can very quickly be regarded as someone who fouls her own nest and thus run the risk of being sanctioned and excluded from the white collective (p. 95).²⁶²

The bias about relationships between people from different 'races' seen in the quote about 'mares' is explained clearly in this text. The experiencing "I" of the diegesis is reporting another character's judgement of this relationship. Although he is not biased about it, he explains that there are many white men who consider their relationship with a coloured woman an "exotic conquest." This racist attitude is mingled with a sexist one that renders the coloured woman as more of a conquest than a white woman, an object won and conquered in battle. This gender objectification presents coloured women as instruments white men's sexual satisfaction. Due to the long history of patriarchal colonial cultures, it can even happen "unconsciously" as Thomas says. Thomas speaks of the sexual heroism of a white man conquering a coloured woman, in a re-affirmation of colonial times, the white man considers the coloured woman an exotic piece of property that, can be gained, occupied, subjugated and colonized. He becomes a "hero", as were the European colonialists of 16th to 19th century, emphasizing the supremacy and culture of their people (Adair and Powell, 1988, p. 17).

On the other hand, if a white woman marries a coloured man, she is despised by society for being disloyal to the white traditions of supremacy. The woman (regardless of her 'race' and colour, so long as she is not 'white') is objectified, her very being is thought to be polluted because she has allowed herself to be subjugated and possessed by a man of colour, which

²⁶² Als ich in der Uni war, traf ich zufällig Thomas. Thomas ist ein weißer, heterosexuell. Ich fragte ihn, wie er es sieht, wenn P.O.C und Weiße zusammen sind. Er sagte, er selber habe damit nicht so die Problem, aber könne sich vorstellen, dass viele Weiße Männer unbewusst denken, wenn ein Weißer mit einer P.O.C Frau zusammen ist, dann ist er ein Held, dann ist eine exotische Eroberung gelungen. Aber bei einer Weißen Frau, die mit einem P.O.C Mann zusammen ist, kann es schnell passieren, dass sie als Nestbeschmutzerin, gilt und somit Gefahr läuft, vom Weißen Kollektiv sanktioniert und ausgeschlossen zu werden.

the traditions, rules and regulations of patriarchal white society find impossible to accept. Instrumentalization, denial of autonomy, ownership and denial of subjectivity are all features of treating a woman as an object whose individuality, personality and mentality is neither respected nor considered.

The relationship between a white woman and coloured man is abjured because she can “be regarded as someone who fouls her own nest”. Nest is the symbol of her country and homeland as well as ‘race’, and her intermingling with other ‘races’ is supposed to threaten the purity of her ‘race’ and of her country. This symbol re-emphasizes the downgrading of women’s status to an animal, a bird, who needs ‘wings to fly’ in order to escape, as Mine says in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. (p. 166). A white woman’s intermarriage and intermingling with other ‘races’ is regarded an insult to the white society and “runs the risk of [her] being sanctioned and excluded” from the community.

Physical violence against women is reported quite prevalently in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, in which the third person narrator gives a generalized voice to treatment of women in a violent family environment:

Women are not much better treated than their animals: If they didn’t obey at once their obedience was enforced by violence. The men did not understand that it [menstruation] was a natural occurrence that was repeated every month, for which their women could not be held to be responsible (p. 47).²⁶³

Here the external focalizer presents the focalized treatment of women by men. The narrator describes the low status, equivalent to animals, of the women in her Turkish family. The objectification of women can go so far as to regard them as not being human and explains bitterly how obedience is “enforced by violence” and that women’s menstruation is not only a taboo, but also a sin, for which women are responsible. A simple biological difference, such as menstruation, is completely incomprehensible to these men. Even the narrator is embarrassed to talk about this matter and instead of naming menstruation; she only talks of a “natural occurrence that happens every month”. This phrasing shows how deep gender taboos penetrate within the culture and beliefs of people.

²⁶³ Frauen nicht viel besser behandelten als ihr Vieh: Gehorchten sie nicht sofort, wurde ihnen der Gehorsam mit Gewalt beigebracht. Die Männer begriffen nicht, daß es ein natürlicher Vorgang war, der jeden Monat wiederkehrte und den ihre Frauen nicht zu verantworten hatten.

Almost every female protagonist in the selected books has at least once experienced sexist behaviour and suffered because of her gender at the hands of men, mostly Turkish-Germans but also Germans. It is worth noting that only Lale's family in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* and the unknown protagonist's family in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* were not restricted by patriarchal traditions in a fashion that troubled other families who have daughters. The parents in these two families are open-minded. Men's desire, no matter whether German or Turkish, to make women conform like dolls to their ideal, or have their behaviour described as inappropriate and be the subject of character assassination, runs as a thread through the books analyzed. There are only three female characters who are contented with a 'normal' Turkish housewife status: Nilgün's Mother in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, who is passive; her first daughter Mine who, after all her punishment, eventually submits and enters into a 'normal' Turkish domesticity; and Fatma's mother in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*. The struggles against patriarchy of many other female characters (including Mine) are richly recorded throughout the texts. It is clear that feminist ideas have triumphed in a somewhat restricted fashion in the six books considered in this work. They can neither be taken as a representative selection of those by Turkish origin authors, nor can their content on the subject of gender discrimination be taken as representative of the Turkish population of Germany. There is a desire in most societies not to openly discuss issues of discrimination, where sexuality is concerned, so that, while the narrators of the books must be praised for being open to writing about this subject, it would not be correct to conclude from their work that Islam does more damage to the rights of women and girls than any other belief. It is possible, even likely, that very many instances of abuse similar to those discussed in the books remain hidden and still to be dealt with in the wider German society, and the current scandals in the Catholic Church point in this direction. At the same time, after reading this section, a feeling of disquiet remains, a feeling that can only confirm prejudices about the extremes of patriarchy practiced in some households. It is certain that a head-on judicial confrontation with such families would lead only to feelings of religious victimization and a retreat from society at large into extremist thinking, and at the same time destroy the families in which the victims live, rather than changing them. This is a struggle which, as the analysis in the section shows, can only be fought out by those directly concerned, the victimized girls and women, with the aid of friends, and the forces in society that can offer protection where

required, and initiate patient discussion with families where possible. The law should be the last intervention considered.

4.2.3.2 Class Discrimination

Communication between members of society depends on, among others, social, cultural, educational, religious, financial, citizenship, racial and gender factors. These affect the relationship between the members of society, including those with an immigration background. Interaction between individuals is deeply influenced by their attitudes toward others. All kinds of psychological, physical, racist and gender clichés and discriminations distort the relationship between the individuals in a society. In this section, class clichés, in the novels are analysed, and these are often racially influenced.

Holding to racial clichés and classifications is common among individuals with or without migration backgrounds. However, this does not always refer to non-Turkish communities, as seen in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, where a Turk exhibits racialized discrimination against another Turk. Because they suppose the young man is not from a big city, such as Istanbul, or from a well-educated family compared to theirs, he is consequently of less social value. The narrator presents him as black Turkish peasant from an underprivileged rural area:

“Nihal was in love with a dark-skinned Turkish guy from the underprivileged rural area of Anatolia. That was the litmus test for the social preferences and prejudices of my family!” (p. 173).²⁶⁴ In this selected passage of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* the scene gives Lale’s comment as she informs the reader that her cousin is in love. The narration uses the first-person point of view. The protagonist’s cousin’s name, Nihal, which means ‘a young tree’ in Turkish, symbolizes new hopes, growth and desire. The next line describes the young man she is in love with. It contains closed and irrational judgements, condemning the young Turkish man who does not seem to have the proper social status compared to the family. The usage of the words ‘black’, ‘underprivileged’, ‘rural areas’, ‘the litmus test’, and ‘our social preferences’ are repeated, which conveys an impression of stereotypes to the reader. This litmus test, however, is not a measure of chemical, but rather of social ‘acidity’, a test of fitness to be included in a specific group. It is concerned with establishing the suitability of those who might fit, for those who

²⁶⁴ Nihal hatte sich in einen schwarzen Türken verliebt, einen unterprivilegierten Türken aus den ländlichen Gebieten Anatoliens. Das war der Lackmустest für die soziale Ader meiner Familie!

believe they are 'better' and 'more legitimate'. When the result is of the wrong colour, it can lead to discriminatory practices and racism. The narrator comes from Turkey and has black hair; yet mentioning 'a black Turkish guy' in her speech shows instability and conflict (ibid. p. 193). The sentence is full of the ambiguity of happiness at seeing the fire of young registering and the need of others to stamp it out as, for the family, socially, and psychologically unacceptable (ibid., p. 20). A feeling of distance and confusion is conveyed to the reader. The conflict in the sentence mirrors the tension behind the words the narrator uses, and these words imply a criticism of her family by the narrator.

Sesperado in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, also emphasizes his racist classification of "the other", not against Turks, but against white people. He often gives racist opinions about the Germans and confesses that he does not teach whites. However, after lots of study and consideration, he starts seeing the problem within the non-whites themselves. They have succumbed to colonialist attitudes and have accepted the racist superiority of whiteness.

After the seminar I [just] wanted to hide myself in my books because I could still think only of Songül. Do you know that in the past your ancestors in Europe did something? They had the idea that the lighter your skin, the more you can do. This was naturally rubbish, but they made it become true. And now the white skinned ones are a lot richer and have more power than the others. Because of this, I began for the first time to think about how racism and neo-colonialism have affected your life and I stopped thinking that you were the problem and began to take responsibility myself. Then we could be in a position to talk again about friendship. I think I should get my tongue gilded. Yeah, I'm the man with the plan, I have the vision, the breadth of knowledge (p. 54f.).²⁶⁵

Here the internal focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents himself from within, penetrating the narrator's feelings and thoughts, attempting to get nearer to the reader by reducing distance and using internal focalization. Direct definition is employed here as the narrator describes

²⁶⁵ Nach dem Seminar wollte ich mich in meinen Büchern verkriechen, weil ich immer noch nur an Songül denken konnte. Weißt Du, vor einiger Zeit haben deine Vorfahren in Europa etwas gemacht. Sie hatten so eine Idee, dass je heller du bist, du mehr machen kannst. Das war natürlich nur gesponnen, aber sie haben es wahr gemacht. Und jetzt sind die Weißen viel reicher und haben mehr Macht als die anderen. Also fang erst mal an dich mit deiner Vergangenheit auseinanderzusetzen, überleg erst einmal wie sich Rassismus und Neo-Kolonialismus auf dein Leben auswirken, hör auf, dich schuldig zu fühlen, und fang an. Verantwortung zu übernehmen. Dann können wir gerne noch mal über Freundschaft reden. Ich glaube, ich sollte mir meine Zunge vergolden lassen. Ja, ich hab die Übersicht, die Weitsicht, ich bin der Mann mit dem plan.

his ability in speech and his quick wits. This enables him to show his anger at being classified and discriminated as a non-white. At first he wishes to “hide” himself in his “books” which signifies his intolerance of communication and interaction with ‘white’ people until they accept his point of view. Although he is an educated man, as the words such as “seminar” and “my books” reveal, he feels incapable of an effective interaction with others. Then he wonders about the roots and reasons of racism and neo-colonialism, which absurdly start with “the lighter your skin, the more you can do”. Apparently this slogan gives the ‘whites’ the right to colonize other countries and impose their rights as pre-eminent because they suppose their skin colour empowers them with a god-like authority. He continues using an idiom “I should get my tongue gilded”. Tongue is a metaphor for thoughts. He exaggerates, saying that his thoughts and sayings are so precious that his tongue must be gilded like a golden statue. This character is satcastically optimistic since he claims that his plan and vision will make the future a bright one for the ‘People of Colour’. His analysis of skin colour is correct but his reverse apartheid is perverse and pernicious, although used ironically.

This is unlike Lale in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, who is educated, future oriented and judgemental, in her comments that the majority of Turks behave differently to her family. Although she is a Turk, she categorizes other Turks, except her father and mother, as an uneducated, illiterate crowd who are not aware of their own rights:

Papa fetched the tea and declared the discussion open. Everyone slurped tea, but nobody began to speak. ‘Now friends’, said my father encouragingly, ‘I look forward to your comments and questions hot off the press’. But nothing came. Now my poor father had spent an hour erecting golden bridges for these workers into a proletarian consciousness, and no one had set foot on them. They had just looked forward to a sociable afternoon, which threatened in this moment to become rather less so. The silence in the room was, for Turks, both unusual and unpleasant. Eventually someone took pity on Papa. I couldn’t believe it, it was Mama!!! As Papa spoke, she [Mum] had observed these simple people and it was clear to her that the majority had not understood a word he had

said. Besides, they didn't trust themselves to say anything for fear of making fools of themselves (p. 79).²⁶⁶

External focalization illustrates the focalized form without describing the narrator's father. Direct definition is employed as the adjective "poor" characterizes the father's situation. Indirect personification is employed here as the narrator describes the speech, leaving to the reader able to laugh at the scene. The experiencing narrator Lale describes how her father attempts to initiate a discussion between the Turkish workers, who are, however, not knowledgeable enough to participate in it, or, as he believes, do not trust themselves to speak. It seems that the narrator believes the discriminatory clichés held against Turkish immigrants as being uneducated, and 'lower class' because she states that these workers do not understand one word about the father's proletarian ideas! In this, the Turkish narrator Lale generalizes these workers with no reference to individual educational or social background, but also takes an ironic look at her father's political assumptions. The group is left in a state of by puzzled silence by a 'leading member' of the same community, because of his assumption of a collective class-consciousness. His political convictions come out of German culture rather than Turkish and are a foreign import for his audience. Culturally he appears here as far more German than Turkish. Clichés of simplicity and illiteracy are referred to elsewhere in this book, when the narrator states, with some arrogance, that: "I could tell you something about the theory of functions, but you don't look to me as if you could begin to understand", in this case referring to Germans (p. 105).²⁶⁷

Religious classification is a prejudice related to that of class, from which all groups can suffer. As the repository of the narrator's wisdom about social-cultural behaviour, stories illustrate prejudice well. In terms of religion the following text in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* is a well-described example;

'What kind of people are they?' Mom asked cautiously. 'Have you asked yourself? Not that you fall into the hands of some sects!' 'I might fall into the hands of some sects?' Auntie is infuriated. 'These people are faithful

²⁶⁶ Papa holte den Tee und sagte, dass hiermit die Diskussion eröffnet sei. Alle schlürften artig den Tee, aber niemand meldete sich zu Wort. Nun, meine Freunde, sagte Papa auf muntern, bitte Frisch von der Leber weg, ich freue mich auf eure Fragen und Kommentare. Aber es kam nichts. Jetzt hatte mein armer Papa eine Stunde lang den Arbeitern goldene Brücken zur proletarischen Bewußtseinsbildung gebaut – und niemand ging darüber. Die Leute hatten sich einfach gefreut, einen geselligen Nachmittag zu verbringen, der allerdings im Moment drohte, eher ungesellig zu werden. Die Stille im Raum war für Türken ziemlich ungewöhnlich und außerdem sehr ungemütlich. Endlich erbarmte sich jemand Papas. Ich glaubte se nicht: Es war ... Mama!!! Sie hatte, während Papa voller Überzeugung sprach, diese einfachen Menschen beobachtet, und es war ihr klar geworden, dass sie das meiste von dem, was Papa gesagt hatte, gar nicht verstanden hatten. Außerdem trauten sie sich nicht, weil sie Angst hatten, etwas Falsches zu sagen und sich zu blamieren.

²⁶⁷ Ich könnte ihnen ja was zu funktionstheorien erzählen, aber sie sehen mir nicht so aus, als könnten sie was damit anfangen.

and comfort me'. 'If you want comforting', said Father sharply, 'just let us know. We are responsible for comforting you. We are your real family, not that comical mosque with its Muslim yokel farmer-trappers' (p. 129).²⁶⁸

This diegetic text includes discrimination, again by Turkish immigrants against other Turkish immigrants of a different religious ideology. The first-person narrator's family, who are worried about the aunt's religious beliefs, use clichés against possible Islamists as if they themselves are Islamophobic, which is ironic because they come from the same social-cultural background. The text starts with a rhetorical question by the mother who asks, "what kind of people are they?" The word "kind" suggests her tendency towards negatively classifying these people as a special group and of not understanding their philosophy. She labels them as a sect. The second question is, again, not a real question, but it functions as a warning, urging the aunt to be suspicious about these people. The father is also responsible for this kind of racially oriented class prejudice. He derogatorily calls these people "yokel farmer-trappers" to indicate that those who do not share his religious ideology cannot be respectable individuals.

'I saw it coming', shouted Mama, raising her arms theatrically toward heaven. 'My sister-in-law, your aunt, is in the jaws of the Islamists!' As a Kemalist, mother had her own theories about the pilgrimage, and Mecca was for her, literally, [only] a Mecca for Islamists (ibid., p. 130).²⁶⁹

In this metaphor, the mother figure exaggeratedly likens the Islamists to a dangerous shark into whose 'jaws' the inexperienced aunt might fall. As a Kemalist, she does not agree with practising Muslims and considers them a threat to other members of society. The next quote uses the Haj as a metaphor for Islamism, but it becomes clear that her connection with these 'Islamists' is only gain to security in her belief, and has no influence on her lifestyle. The narrator reports that:

Although Aunty had, as a Hadji²⁷⁰, altered her Islamic status, she hadn't changed her lifestyle and, in no way, her attitude to life. She was ready for

²⁶⁸ Was sind das für Leute? Fragte Mama vorsichtig. Hast du dich erkundigt? Nicht dass du irgendwelchen Sekten in die Hände fällst! Ich soll irgendwelchen Sekten in die Hände fallen? Erbotete sich Tantchen. Diese Menschen sind gläubig und spenden mir Trost! Wenn du Trost brauchst, sagte Papa streng, sag uns Bescheid. Für den Trost sind wir zuständig, wir sind nämlich deine Familie und nicht dieser Moscheeverein mit seinen muslimischen Bauernfängern.

²⁶⁹ Ich sah es kommen, schrie Mama und hob dabei ihre Arme theatralisch gen Himmel. Meine Schwägerin, eure Tante ist in den Fängen der Islamisten! Als Kemalistin hatte Mama so ihre eigenen Theorien über die Pilgerfahrt, und Mekka war für sie im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes ein Mekka für Islamisten.

²⁷⁰ A Muslim who has been to Mecca as a pilgrim.

every thrill, even for a visit to a gay bar. It happened this way: She was often at our place at weekends, as also on this particular weekend, on which a small sensation awaited us. Reinhard, a gay friend had promised us a visit to a gay club in Cologne (ibid., p. 143).²⁷¹

Although the family members classify these Islamists as dangerous people, she is by no means affected by Islamist prejudice and even pays a visit to a gay club! The narrator's family's almost racial dislike of other Moslems is portrayed well throughout these quotes.

The narrator of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, Lale, the book from which the previous quotes come, is conscious of the racist and class prejudices characters, whether with or without migration backgrounds, hold against each other. Her father is arrogant enough to assert that women who wear headscarves are sluts and immoral and generally, in this book, the whole family looks down on people like this as members of a 'lower social order' (ibid., p. 22. See also the section on: Sexism and Gender Discrimination, p. 243).

In an analeptic paragraph, quoted on page 22 of the same book,²⁷² the narrator reveals that although her father is a Turk is probably a Muslim, and is an assimilated doctor, he still classifies covered women as 'easy'. It is clear that this is class discrimination, because the father feels able to insult such women in the knowledge that they are likely to be of 'lower class'. However, he should know better because medical ethics do not allow such behaviour toward patients.

Racist classification is not restricted to the adults, nor to Turks. The younger generation of the immigrants can be another target of this phenomenon. In *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*, the narrator reports how their racist German neighbour always tries to affront the Turkish immigrant family and their young daughter who is a close friend of his daughter:

“No, I'll show you something much much nicer; come [with me] Bosphorus” “Why do you call me that? I'm not called Bosphorus, my name is Nilgün!” “My father always says that and I thought that was your

²⁷¹ Tantchen hatte als Hadschi zwar ihren islamischen Status geändert, aber nicht ihren Lebensstil. Und schon gar nicht ihre Weltanschauung. Sie war weiterhin für jeden Spaß zu haben, sogar für einen Besuch in einem Schwulenlokal. Das kam so: An den Wochenenden war sie oft bei uns, so auch an diesem bewussten Wochenende. Wobei um seine kleine Sensation bevorstand. Reinhard, ein schwuler Freund, hatte uns einen Besuch in einem Schwulenlokal in Köln versprochen.

²⁷² See translation on page 214 of this book

name.” Helene looked at the floor, ashamed. “Does Mr. Schäufole really think that all Turks are called Bosphorous?” (p. 19).²⁷³

Mr. Schäufole, the German neighbour, gives the epithet “Bosphorus”, which is the name of the strait between Europe and Asia, to all Turks. Using this word as a racist name for all Turkish immigrants implies that he does not see them as unique individuals but only a herd of similar ‘creatures’, who are ‘Othered’, made into ‘them’ and can never be ‘us’. Bosphorus symbolizes the distance between Asia and Europe, consequently the distance between Asians and Europeans such as Schäufole. Mr. Schäufole, in so classifying all Turks, insists on keeping these two nations separate, with no intermingling. By generalizing the immigrants, he proves to have no respect for them and tries hard to stop his daughter communicating with the Turkish neighbours. Unlike her father, Helene is more open to the immigrants and, as the narrator records, is ashamed of her father’s racist behaviour. Her “looking at the floor” reveals her embarrassment and disapproval of racist clichés.

The narrator uses here an external focalizer to present the focalized from without and enable tension between what the protagonist hears and what she believes about her friend. A direct definition, “Bosphorus”, is employed which characterizes Mr. Schäufole more than the immigrants as being willing to use this description knowingly for ‘all Turks’ and attempt to get innocent children to accept his racist labelling.

Gender prejudice related to class is strongly highlighted in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, when the roles of girls and women are portrayed. Nilgün’s Turkish family considers that only doing house chores, marriage and obedience are the proper roles of females. As Nilgün, the young narrator of the text, reports, her teenage sister has to accept suitors, although against her will:

Anne told us that we would have company this weekend that was coming for a very specific reason. These people would come in Allah’s name to ask for Mine’s hand in marriage. I stood there like a statue of Atatürk and couldn’t believe it at all. My sister was 14 years old and was receiving her first suitor? She did have a large bosom and armpit hair, but I couldn’t imagine that any person in this world would marry my sister. Mine was just always so mean and stupid. “Anne. Do I [Nilgün] have to get

²⁷³ “Nein, ich zeige dir etwas viel Schöneres, komm, Bosphorus.” “Warum nennst du mich so? Ich heiße nicht Bosphorus, ich heiße Nilgün!” “Mein Papa sagt das immer, und ich dachte, das wäre dein Name. Helene sah beschämt auf den Boden.” “Dachte Herr Schäufole Wirklich, dass alle Türken Bosphorus hießen?”

married?.” “Yavrum [my Baby], you’re still a child, but we need to receive these people. Many will knock on our door because out of daughters come brides” (p. 149).²⁷⁴

An extradiegetic perspective adopted here presents an arranged marriage from without, through the external action of the scene, to emphasize unexpected nature of the situation for both Nilgün and the reader. The protagonist uses an external focalization to distance herself as an observer, which later enables her to adopt strategies to prevent the re-occurrence of treatment similar to Mine’s. In this family, the role of the girls is limited to becoming future brides and housewives, nothing else. No other social status, such as becoming a doctor, a nurse or a teacher would be acceptable to the family of these Turkish girls. Mine has to marry, although she is only a teenager and not mature enough to be involved in a marital relationship. The young narrator uses a simile to describe her astonishment upon hearing the news as she says “I stood there like a statue of Atatürk”. She cannot believe the news and likens herself, in her frozen immobility, to a statue. However, this is the statue of Atatürk who enacted many reforms in his country, Turkey, including in women’s social roles, but must be a statue in the face of this premature marriage. The inclusion of Atatürk in this text is quite ironic, because the sisters share his view liberal attitudes, however they, like statues, are powerless to do anything against this. “Knocking on the door” is the symbol of having suitors for the young girls, which is considered auspicious for the parents. The social clichés become at times so intolerable that Mine wishes she was not a woman as the narrator records her confessing bitterly that “ ‘I wish that I wasn’t a woman’ said Mine quietly and threw her school-bag into the corner” (p. 157).²⁷⁵ Throwing her school bag into a corner signifies her disappointment with her life, her family’s attitude toward education and the parallel society in which she must live. As a woman, she has to yield to the clichés of female virtue and chastity. Mine is so torn apart by the gender restrictions within her family that her only response is helplessness and misery. The disempowerment she experiences is continued through the account and results in a defeated retreat into total conformity with her family by the end of the book.

²⁷⁴ Anne erzählte uns, dass wir am Wochenende Besuch bekommen würden, der aber aus einem ganz bestimmten Grund käme. Diese Menschen würden im Namen Allahs kommen und um die Hand von Mine anhalten. Ich stand da wie die Statue von Atatürk und konnte es gar nicht glauben. Meine Schwester war vierzehn Jahre alt und bekam ihren ersten Heiratsantrag? Sie hatte zwar schon einen großen Busen und Haare unter den Achseln, aber ich konnte mir nicht vorstellen, dass irgendein Mensch auf dieser Welt meine Schwester heiraten wollte. Mine war doch immer so gemein und dumm. „Anne, muss ich heiraten?“, Yavrum, du bist doch noch ein Kind, aber wir müssen diese Menschen trotzdem empfangen. Es werden noch viele an unsere Tür klopfen, denn aus Töchtern werden Bräute.

²⁷⁵ Ich wünschte, ich wäre keine Frau’ sagte Mine tonlos und warf ihre Schultasche in die Ecke.

As observed in the novels analysed in this section, the reader can retrace racial and class discrimination in all the conflicting worlds, trials and tribulations of Turkish immigrants' lives in a foreign country. The first-person narrators frequently present their unease when exposed to consciously malignant forms of discrimination by the Germans without migration backgrounds (xenophobia), or at times by their 'own' people of different strata (inter-minority discrimination). Discriminatory behaviours and beliefs are frequently rooted in, and result in, cultural, national, ethnic, caste, or religious stereotypes. The discrimination the Germans or Turkish-Germans hold against each other is prejudice accompanied by power. This power can be political, economic, cultural or social. The selected fictional characters are sometimes discriminated because of their 'race' and colour, whether by westerners who feel an inherent racial superiority or by some Turks who feel socio-culturally or economically superior. Gender-biased stereotypes are depicted in the novels, as in the case of Mine and some other female characters, and make life almost intolerable for these characters. Other girls, for instance in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* and *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, are allowed more autonomy. Class and gender discrimination can be aggravated by different religious ideologies. Since religion often brings about a kind of fanaticism and prejudice against other religions or ideologies, it can be a source of class-biased and discriminatory behaviour. In the stories, as told by both first-person narrators and omniscient narrators, racist behaviour and 'Othering' is often seen. Suffering from stereotyping and discrimination is often associated with personality problems in the characters, which affect their lives and the people surrounding them. Although some characters try to project racial-cultural discrimination onto others, three merely retreat into misery; Mine in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* (p. 153); Kazim (p. 348ff.) and Leyla (p. 101) in *Salam Berlin*.

The next chapter deals with another form of discrimination namely racism, which has a malign and destabilizing influence on protagonists' state of mind.

4.2.3.3. Racism: Racist Discrimination

Throughout the history of Migrant Literature in Germany, beside class and gender discrimination, the factor of ‘race’ is highlighted and cannot be ignored because it reported in most Migrant Literature. Many of the most painful or problematic issues in daily life for immigrants, such as violence, exclusion and even simple misunderstandings, can be seen as racially discriminatory by immigrants even when not intended as such. There is no account studied in this book, which does not make reference to outright racist or racially tinged situations. Mostly this is communicated through use of language or by excluding immigrants in some way or other. There are, however, one or two incidents in which physical violence is a feature, but linguistic means of discrimination predominate.

4.2.3.3.1. Language as a Means of Racial Discrimination

One of the first and most difficult hindrances for the immigrants in a new country is attaining fluency in the new language. Although some immigrants start gaining this skill before immigration, many enter the new culture and environment without the necessary linguistic competence, which makes communication difficult and at times almost impossible. While the protagonists with Turkish immigrant backgrounds wish for a ‘normal’, easy relationship with the Germans without migration backgrounds, the latter sometimes try to build up obstacles by speaking too fast or using many idioms and jargon, or even by grammatically wrong sentences, in order to insult them and discriminate them. This however, may often not be intended, because many native speakers are unable to adapt their use of language for foreigners, so that immigrant protagonists may gain the impression of discrimination where this is not actually happening.

Although intermarriages occur between Germans and Turkish-Germans, some of the Germans involved make no attempt to acquire or even to accept their spouse’s language. This is obvious in *Salam Berlin*, when Uncle Breschnew’s German wife does not allow Turkish to be spoken:

Ingrid had been living with Uncle Breschnew for a long time, and yet she could not adjust herself to him. She insisted that we spoke German at her place. She herself spoke no Turkish. “It has too much ooey ueeey, too complicated”, was always her excuse. We all had to adjust to Ingrid. At the dinner table, I had to ask Mom in German to pass me the salt and

pepper. This was corrosively artificial. That's why we rarely went to Ingrid's home (p. 129).²⁷⁶

Hasan, the first-person narrator, gives a thorough description of how Ingrid, his uncle's wife, has forbidden Turkish in her house. The narrative gives external focalizing details "she could not adjust herself to him" and "She insisted that, in a focalization from the first person point of view. Hasan, the narrating "I" of the story refers to himself as "I", "me" and "my". In the quote above, he focalizes on how Ingrid's house is a synecdoche for German society, which is not, in general, accepting of multilingualism. The protagonist mentions that Ingrid's insistence on speaking German at her place prevents the establishment of a close relationship with her Turkish relatives, and is happy to keep them and all things Turkish at a distance. The experiencing "I" of this metadiegetic passage complains, "we all had to adjust to Ingrid (ibid.)". This reveals the unwillingness of one side, and possibly of both, to adjust to the other culture. Any integration thus seems difficult for both sides. Table manners function as an example, to explain the simplest words in Turkish that Ingrid could have learned, but had not, and illuminate the coldness of the situation. In this paragraph, the narrator observes that Ingrid uses language as means of racially discriminating against her in-laws. There is something strangely paradoxical here, because, after all, she married a Turk. Perhaps she feels her husband is more acceptable than other Turks, because, under her influence, he has bowed to a 'superior culture'. The use of only the German language in the shared Turkish-German home makes a statement about the inferiority of Turks. The question is, how much racialism and how much colonialism there is in this. If Ingrid were really racist she would refuse to accept any Turk. However, she finds it possible to reject every possible Turkish element in Breschnew. Hasan is disgusted and concludes by saying that they prefer not to go to Ingrid's house because of the uncomfortable and prejudiced atmosphere she creates.

Another character in *Salam Berlin* whose racist assumptions about Turks are expressed is Rosa, as she states that: "These Tuuurks have been living here for such a long time and cannot even get two words together. - Rosa stressed the word Turks as if they were annoying insects" (p. 337).²⁷⁷ She derogatively calls Germans with an immigration background "these

²⁷⁶ Ingrid lebte schon lange mit Onkel Breschnew zusammen, und trotzdem konnte sie sich nicht auf ihn einstellen. Sie bestand darauf, daß wir bei ihr zu Hause deutsch sprachen. Sie selber lernte kein Türkisch. „Es hat zuviel öö, üüü, zu kompliziert“, war immer ihre Ausrede. Wir alle mußten uns auf Ingrid einstellen. Am Eßtisch mußte ich Mama auf deutsch um Salz und Pfeffer bitten. Das war so ätzend künstlich. Deshalb gingen wir selten zu Ingrid.

²⁷⁷ Diese Tüüürken leben schon so lange hier und kriegen nicht zwei Wörter zusammen. -Rosa betonte Türken so, als wären sie störendes Ungeziefer.

Turks” to emphasize her racist attitude about immigrants who cannot speak German well, although “they have been living in this country for a long time”. The comparison of ‘Turkish people’ with ‘insects’, or rather, ‘annoying insects’ leads to the reader becoming annoyed as well and unpleasantness haunts the reader until the end of the scene. Stressing the vowel “U”, while pronouncing the word Turks as ‘Tuuurks’, intensifies the tension already in setting. Rosa’s disapproving tone is revealed by her selection of words. She is quite deliberately undermining their linguistic abilities, inferring that they are not intelligent enough to learn the language of the host country when they “cannot even get two words together (ibid.)”. This racist behaviour implies that Turks are unable to learn the majority language; her creation of an artificial language barrier paralyzes any kind of attempt at, or wish for communication. The narrator uses a simile to depict Rosa’s hatred or disgust with the immigrants which indicates her facial gesture when saying; “as if they were annoying insects (ibid.)”. The reader can almost see Rosa’s disgusted gesture as the narrator mentions the “annoying insects”. Language becomes a racist problem when some native speakers use it as a weapon to insult and humiliate immigrants. It must be noted that at this time there was no easy access to German tuition. Those courses that were available were financially out of reach of most immigrants.

Like Hasan in *Salam Berlin*, the protagonist of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* is tired of the assumed supremacy of the whites, from whom there is no escape. She is in hospital, in a room with ‘white’ walls, gripping ‘white’ bedsheets and remembers confronting a ‘white’ civil servant:

It wasn’t worth it [being patient] any more: “I not wait there. You do stamp, soon, or I smash you through the grille!” I roared. “This white everywhere”. She scratched nervously at the bed sheets. “A few colour stains [...], and I would feel better immediately” (p. 96).²⁷⁸

In this novel, the whole narration takes place in a hospital, as the protagonist lies in bed, recalling all her past experiences and waiting to give birth to her child. The quote above is from a scene when she recalls going to the immigration registration office and being treated badly by an employee. The protagonist, narrating here “I” of the story who is a young female,

²⁷⁸ Mehr hat’s nicht gebraucht: Ich nix warten da. Du machen Stempel, aber dalli, oder ich passier’ dich durch das Gitter! hab’ ich gebrüllt. Dieses Weiß überall. Sie kratzt nervös auf dem Bettlaken. Ein paar Farbklecke und ein Tee, und ich würd’ mich sofort besser fühlen.

who refers to herself as “I”, “me” and “my”. The scene is an analepsis or flashback to the past. Although the whole story is told from the third-person omniscient point of view, this part, however, adopts the first-person point of view. The narrative gives external focalizing details “She scratched nervously” or internal one such as “I would have felt better”. The registration office is open, there is no queue, and no one is on their coffee break. The employee, however, is knitting and has put the “closed” sign on the counter. The protagonist waits on the bench, then she starts walking around, but the employee still keeps knitting. Here the word knitting symbolizes tying up something, meaning restriction and limitation (de Vries, 1981, p. 287). This forewarns the reader. After ten minutes, the protagonist knocks at the grille. The employee does not turn, but says that the protagonist should wait on the bench. The tone of voice, the gestures and the language used, convey racism, disrespect and discrimination (ibid., p. 95f.), in a language that mimics primitive, incorrect speech, which is stereotyped as the language of ‘foreigners’. The scene is based on deliberately distorted communication, language barriers and stereotypes, and contains unpleasant and insulting moments. The narrator ends her description with a deliberate metaphoric and symbolic assertion: “This white everywhere [...]. A few colour stains [...], and I would feel better immediately” (ibid.). In the protagonist’s later years, after spending a while in Germany, she gains linguistic skills and can interact sarcastically in a more meaningful way. In this scene, however, sick of her treatment as the protagonist is, she uses imperfect German at this time to express her feelings and protest when she has had enough of this bad treatment. The white sheets and walls mentioned are a powerful symbol for white people and the stains for immigrants.

The scene refers to two situations, and two different timings, present and past. The protagonist re-experiences an episode of discrimination and transfers this to the present while in bed in a hospital where everything is ‘white’. The external focalization expresses the narrator’s feelings by combining the both past and present, using the metaphoric ‘white’ referring both to white people and ‘Germans’ as well as white sheets and the colourless lack of tolerance she perceives. An indirect personification is employed here, displayed through the narrator’s reaction to the situation of “everything white” confronting her.

The narration crosses the line into abuse, as a response to the insulting tone of the employee, and the protagonist flies into a rage to deflect the insult. The employee does not expect this explosive reaction.

Tension and fear is increased, as the employee's narrow horizon does not allow her to foresee the reaction of the protagonist. The narrator formulates the terms of the exchange and consequences of further inaction, as noted in the text. Although the protagonist, in fact, speaks German perfectly, she yells at the employee using the same primitive incorrect language, or rather baby talk, the employee used. The narrator uses this abbreviated code as parody and sarcasm, to convey frustration, impatience and anger. Here the scene underlines language and communication barriers by interposing a physical barrier of the grille between the speakers.

The protagonist scratches the bed sheets nervously, and through this image the narrator transmits the frustration of the protagonist to the reader. The focus on the word 'white' symbolizes the visible absence of colour, something being colourless is implied to be heartless (Ferber, 2007, p. 234). The word "white" for the colour of the walls, bed sheets, uniforms and the whole hospital is a symbol for the white people who are everywhere. Although the tone is ironical the symbolism describes a lack of tolerance for coloured people. The protagonist wants more colourful, transcultural and tolerant surroundings. Colour is here a symbol for a multiplicity of cultures, for being cosmopolitan and open to diversity and alternative lifestyles (de Vries, 1981, p. 107). In a world of colour, she can feel relief. In a more colourful world she would feel better immediately.

The quote is ambiguous when talking of white. The word 'white' can have a double meaning: the actual white colour of sheets and walls and also the white-skinned people of Germany. The narrator feels imprisoned within the white room and is bored. The focus is on the whiteness everywhere and the impatient patient complains about lack of other colours. The colour white carries different symbols in European and Asian cultures: while it symbolizes purity and virginity in European cultures it symbolizes death in many Oriental ones. The word "colour" refers to her wish for something other than white; even stains of any other colour would make her feel better. The protagonist longs for identification with, and the recognition of people of other skin colours. In the eyes of the 'other', the unified whiteness of the society brings about racist discrimination of other ethnic groups such as people with an immigration background.

Cultural and linguistic differences amplify educational and communicational disparities between immigrants and their German classmates, colleagues and neighbours, and can be a cause of racist discrimination. As the first person narrator of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, Fatma reports, embarrassed and sad, of her first period in a German school:

“[...] my incorrect language and our gigantic age difference were the reasons for ridicule. To understand this, I needed neither the knowledge of German, nor of mathematics” (p. 118).²⁷⁹ Besides her different clothing, her lack of knowledge of German creates a large gap between her and her German classmates and gives them a reason to make fun of her. Language as a proxy for culture affects interactions between individuals and inter-group relations. Among the many challenges facing protagonists involved in education in Germany, language and cultural barriers to communication in school play perhaps the greatest role, which affects access to, and quality of, education and training (*Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, p. 114f.) When trapped in the context of a new culture and new language, the characters are confused and discouraged. The protagonist of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, Fatma challenges cultural and linguistic barriers in an unbendingly bureaucratic school: “When I found out that I was going to be sent back to the first class because my language skills were inadequate, it was the end of the world for me” (p.114f)²⁸⁰ (see also the section on: Language Barrier, p. 204). Fatma is depressed and angry, because linguistic difference is a major, and possibly the only, contributor to the disparity between the young immigrant and her German classmates. Her being sent back to the first grade is the symbol of her compulsory retreat from a position of equality she is eager to gain.

Language as a proxy for culture affects interactions between all members of the society including both the majority and the minority. Nilgün, the young, naive protagonist of *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, reports racist discrimination practised even in kindergartens by some sisters and nuns. While the ethnic minorities must overcome language barriers in the new society, some of the Germans’ (without migration backgrounds) racist or sarcastic hostile behaviour can worsen the situation.

You are surely the little Turkish girl, what was your name again? Mülgin, or something? -“Please, my daughter’s name is Nilgün”, said Mom very friendly and probably hoping for a smile in return [from the sister]. The woman still looked angry and straightened her robe. When Anne was excited or nervous, she spoke bad German and I could not even swallow as a lump was growing in my throat. The woman took me by the hand and

²⁷⁹ [...] anderen Grund zu lachen, auch die fehlerhafte Sprache und der gewaltige Altersunterschied waren Grund für Hänseleien.

²⁸⁰ Als ich erfuhr, daß ich wieder in die erste Klasse zurück versetzt werden sollte, weil meine Sprachkenntnisse unzureichend waren, brach für mich eine Welt zusammen.

dragged me away from Mom. I began yelling and clung even tighter to my Mom (p. 51).²⁸¹

The sister does not care about pronouncing the name correctly, and instead of showing a supportive face, she gives an angry look. The Turkish mother, discouraged by the sister's behaviour, and in a state of distress and anxiety, is unable to communicate effectively. The little girl is so scared that she feels a "lump" in her throat, which is the symbol of forced silence and inability to make herself understood. The passage shows how full of suffering the setting is for Nilgün. The narrator uses direct definitions in the phrases "Mom very friendly" or "still looked angry" characterizing her mother and Sister Annemarie. An indirect personification is employed in a factual description of Nilgün's observations, which is continued in the extradiegetic perspective with her crying. This externality is what gives the scene its power, with a child seeing the situation and reporting what she later states to be the worst experience of her life (p. 53).

Racist discrimination of immigrants because of, and through language, is also one of the themes of *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*. This novel is generally marked by a totally positive attitude toward immigration, and during the narration the reader gets the impression that Lale and her family are completely safe from racist behaviours and clichés. However, the scene in which Lale refers to a media interview before she was elected to parliament, surprises the reader:

I went back to my place while my parliamentary colleagues applauded me. My thoughts were all over the place: I thought about Renate and Mariechen [Marion] from Cologne who had seriously tested me out at the voting station: Whether they were now watching TV? I imagined Renate, and Marion sitting in their well upholstered chairs, watching TV, and Renate says: I'll say it again, she really is small. And Mariechen, soothingly laying her hand on Renate's, replies: Let it be, it could have been worse. After all, she can at least speak proper German. And she doesn't wear a headscarf (p. 255).²⁸²

²⁸¹ Du bist sicher die kleine Türkin, wie heißt du doch gleich? Mülgin oder so? Nilgün heißen meine Tochter, bitte" antwortete Anne sehr freundlich und hoffte wahrscheinlich auf ein Gegenlächeln. Die Frau schaute immer noch böse und zupfte ihr Gewand zurecht. Wenn Anne aufgeregt war, sprach sie ein schlechtes Deutsch und ich konnte nicht mal schlucken, weil der Kloß in meinem Hals immer größer wurde. Die Frau nahm mich an der Hand und zerrte mich von Anne weg. Ich fing an zu schreien und klammerte mich noch fester an meine Anne.

²⁸² Unter dem Applaus meiner Bundestagskollegen ging ich zurück an meinem Platz. Meine Gedanken waren auf Abwegen: Ich dachte an Renate und Mariechen aus Köln, die mir am Wahlstand ordentlich auf den Zahn gefühlt hatten: Ob sie jetzt wohl am

This scene is an analepsis, as it, in fact, refers back to the beginning of the book (p. 11). Lale remembers the day of her interview with two German women whose clichéd behaviour shocks her since they believe any Turkish woman must wear a headscarf and that Turks are unable to speak proper German. Here the narrator continues by adding: "...After all, she can at least speak German properly. And she doesn't wear headscarf (ibid.)". The narrator restates the interviewers' attitude sarcastically to reveal the absurdity of their image of the protagonist as a Turkish immigrant (ibid.). Here Lale presents a situation, which is quite unexpected and unpredictable. The scene deals ironically with Lale's status and, at the same time, indicates that it can be read, as a confrontation with cultural stereotypes. Here again, German's skilful use of their language and Turks' supposed deficiency in using it becomes a discriminatory weapon applied against immigrants. Although Lale can speak perfect German, the interviewers, Renate and Mariechen regard her immigrant background as a reason to be condescending to an extent that borders on racism, discriminates and isolates her. Here, language as a proxy is employed in order to label the protagonist as having an immigration background and 'Other' her whether consciously or unconsciously, most probably unconsciously. The narrator employs direct definitions of aspects of her character (ability to speak German and not wearing a scarf) and extradiegetically presents the focalized scene, illustrating what she supposes to be Renate and Mariechen's feelings about her. This is then projected forward in a highly effective reference to their condescension.

All the protagonists mentioned in this section, can speak perfect German (except Nilgün's mother), however, they are treated as if they cannot, and it must be assumed that this is because of their Turkish appearance, and that prejudgments follow them around where ever they go. As immigrants, knowledge or presumption of this linguistic discrimination makes dealing with German society much more difficult. The prison of presumed incapacity hinders the protagonists flourishing in a new society and developing, as they would like. Instead demotivation, anger and frustration can be seen in the irony and sarcasm of these quotes. Any assumed defect in an immigrant's German or deviation from a normal 'German' in appearance or language can be used to their detriment by the majority.

Fernseher saßen? Ich stellte mir das vor: Renate und Mariechen sitzen in ihren dicken Polstersesseln, schauen fern, und Renate sagt: Ich sage es doch, sie ist ein bisschen klein geraten. Und Mariechen, die ihre Hand beschwichtigen auf Renates legt, antwortet: Lass mal gut sein, es hätte schlimmer sein können. Immerhin kann sie ordentlich Deutsch. Und sie trägt kein Kopftuch.

The next section deals with the changes and challenges, sometimes, racially tinged, that face the immigrant characters of the books of this study; the attitudes involved in making the changes and overcoming the challenges, and the consequences of failing to do so.

4.2.3.3.2. Changes & Challenges

The lives of immigrant characters in this work are full of change and challenge within their new environment. As mentioned in other chapters, racist discrimination is not unusual when these new members of the society try to secure themselves a job, education, income and social rights. Challenges are built-in for them, since they come from different traditions with different cultural codes. One of the hurdles they have to surmount in order earn a living is finding a decent occupation based on the experience and training they have. Although a Western country seems to be promising in offering jobs, many immigrants suffer inequalities in this regard, as the narrator of *Salam Berlin*, Hasan, recounts concerning his father and his friend's vicissitudes in finding a job:

Baba and his best friend Halim, had been students at the Technical University of Berlin. They studied aeronautical engineering and engineering. However, they landed full of enthusiasm in the wrong part of town. Enthusiasm didn't last long, and as all immigrants on earth do, they had to summon up all their resourcefulness. So they opened a travel agency! They were strangers in West Berlin and needed money (p. 24).²⁸³

Hasan, as a first-person narrator, explains the educational background of his father and his friend, Halim, non-judgementally but with implied irony. Because of their qualifications in aeronautical engineering and engineering, they should have been able to get professional jobs related to these fields, however, as strangers they do not find these. The narrator's sarcasm, makes their frustrated hopes clear. He believes that racist discrimination in Germany turns Kreuzberg, where they live, into "the wrong part of town". This expression beautifully underlines the narrator's opinion about how racial inequalities burn the immigrants' enthusiasm to ashes. Gaining a job with status becomes a wish that never comes true in a majority community in which the strangers are neither trusted nor approved. The sarcastic

²⁸³ Waren Baba und sein bester Freund Halim Studenten an der Technischen Universität Berlin gewesen. Sie studierten Luftfahrttechnik und Ingenieurwesen. Voller Enthusiasmus im falschen Teil der Stadt gelandet. Enthusiasmus nicht lange anhielt und, mußten sie sich wie alle Immigranten dieser Erde auf ihren Einfallsreichtum besinnen. Und der sagte Reisebüro! Sie waren Fremde in Westberlin und brauchten Geld.

tone changes into a mode of despair and hopelessness in the next sentence when the protagonist shows the absurdity of a future in which “Enthusiasm didn’t last long”. This enthusiasm is representative of all the educational, financial and social hopes, which inspire immigrants upon starting out in a new country. Encountering the often harsh and bitter realities of the host society that is infected, to a greater or lesser, extent, by racist discrimination, disillusioned these once hopeful immigrants. Opening a travel agency seems a natural profession for a “traveller” or a “stranger” such as Turkish immigrants not totally accepted by German society. This kind of racialized problem in obtaining employment can prove to be a very difficult obstacle for German citizens with an immigrant background (Salam Berlin, p. 239f.; p. 250)

New social values and standards along with the new environment and culture bring various changes to the lives of immigrant characters in the texts. Some of the changes are wanted while some are feared and unwished for, often by the protagonist, and certainly by his or her community. One of these changes, in the personality of the Turkish uncle Halim, is described by the mother of Hasan, the main character, in *Salam Berlin*:

“There are worlds between the joyful Halim of those days and the broken Halim of today. No, this woman has ruined him. She has made him a German Hans. A puppet-Hans. He has become so serious. The way she remade him! The poor man! ... [there has been a] Germanization of Halim” (p. 128).²⁸⁴

An external focalization uses Hasan’s Mother’s perspective, not penetrating Halim’s feeling and thoughts as, through external, action the mother describes Ingrid’s (Halim’s German wife) treatment of him, which is intended to make him into a ‘proper German’. An indirect personification is employed, as the mother uses examples of Halim’s behaviour to show indirectly how he has been changed by Ingrid’s dominance, and illustrate his subservience. Halim’s German wife has played an important role in his assimilation, a change that is not approved by other Turkish immigrants such as Hasan’s parents. The narrator compares the Turkish Halim of past with the German Halim of the present. The tone is negative and sarcastic with ironical words such as “broken,” “ruined,” “serious,” and “poor”. The traditional resistance against this change is very obvious, but this character has been

²⁸⁴ Es liegen Welten zwischen dem lebensfrohen und dem geknickten Halim von jetzt. Nein, diese Frau hat ihn ruiniert. Sie hat ihn zu einem deutschen Hans gemacht. Zu einem Pantoffel-Hans. Er ist so ernst geworden. Wie sie ihn zugerichtet hat! Der Arme! ... Germanisierung von Halim.

assimilated without much resistance on his part. The implied reader seems to be someone who is familiar with expressions such as “A puppet-Hans” in order to appreciate the speaker’s irony. The distance between Halim’s different personalities before Germanization and after Germanization is shown in the phrase: “There are worlds between the joyful Halim of those days and the broken Halim of today”. The word “worlds” reveals the massiveness of the changes he has gone through as seen through the clearly far from impartial eyes of the narrator.

Depending on age, gender, personal characteristics and ideology, the immigrants face changes and challenges differently. One of these challenges is change of identity, such as Halim has undergone, which sometimes starts with changing names. For instance, in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*: “I know, but I know some actors who are of Turkish origin, and they have given themselves European names. They say it is much more difficult to find a decent job with a Turkish name. He flicked off ash [from his cigarette]” (p. 75).²⁸⁵

Whether just to simplify foreign names, or as a part of the process of assimilation, many Germans with an immigration background use European names in order to be better accepted as a member of society or find a decent job. Like flicking ash from the cigarette, the immigrants have to flick off their identity and name in order to better survive within the new social environment. The gravity of this process is exceptionally well transmitted in the experience of Fatma, in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* who changed her name to Sonja (p. 205), or of Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, who, when a woman asked her for her name, introduced herself as “My name is Helene. Helene Schäufole and my father is an important man in the city! (p. 49)”²⁸⁶, which was actually was her friend’s name. Similarly, Kazan in *Salam Berlin*, changes his name to Katz “My name is Katz ..., I am calling about the room. Is it still available? (p. 187).”²⁸⁷

Making changes to improve their situations and widen their spaces of possibility, result in immigrants changing their names. This shift is not something that leaves the protagonist feeling satisfied, or secure. On one hand it is facing new changes, on the other, it is a challenge to their identities. In Fatma’s case, for instance, she reflects expressively on this later on: “Had my decision been correct? Was this new world in which everything felt so

²⁸⁵ Ich weiß, aber ich kenne einige Schauspieler, die türkischer Herkunft sind, und die haben sich europäische Namen gegeben. Sie sagen, es ist viel schwieriger, mit einem türkischen Namen eine ordentliche Arbeit zu finden. Er aschte ab.

²⁸⁶ Ich heiße Helene. Helene Schäufole und mein Vater ist ein wichtiger Mann bei der Stadt!

²⁸⁷ Katz... ist mein Name, ich rufe wegen dem Zimmer an. Ist es noch zu haben?

empty, a freer, happier world? (p.196)²⁸⁸. Adopting another name may often be the result of a lack of self-confidence caused by racist discrimination, a longing to belong, or an attempt to reduce feelings of ‘Otherness’. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the protagonist deliberately shows the paradox involved in a new environment in Germany, which is not only pleasing but also unwelcoming, as the incident quoted next illustrates.

Accounts by many of the narrators discussed in this work show that immigrants enjoy the beauty, development, order and cleanliness of Germany when they first arrive in the country. Compared to their native developing country, a country such as Germany can be extremely attractive. This change of environment can be very influential. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the third person narrator describes the characters’ surprise at seeing the beauty of the new land:

“How beautiful”, mother was surprised with her mouth open, as a squealing car frightened her. “See you nothing? Traffic light red!” Yelled a face out of the wound-down window of the car. The two girls [sisters] were fascinated by the big people [Germans] who walked in small groups holding hands or arm in arm and continued on their way. Like elephants, connected trunk to tail, the younger ones wedged between them. In contrast, they [protagonist family] came from the land of goats, which, even if they kept together in herds went searching for food individually (p. 19).²⁸⁹

In the universe of this narrative, this character’s gaze is described as enjoying the scene she observes. The new land seems to be pleasant to the eye; however, the scene is followed immediately by a German driver’s shouting at her, using bad grammar that implies his racist behaviour in using the language in a way that is rude and offensive to the Turkish family. The driver uses the language in a way that he implies he is talking to idiots or children. The narrator uses a metonymy when instead of saying a driver shouted he says a “face” shouted. A confrontation with the angry the anonymity of the face makes the shock that much greater. Then the protagonist continues to register differences. The sisters are interested in the size of Germans and their behaviour when walking together. The narrator uses direct descriptions

²⁸⁸ War meine Entscheidung richtig gewesen? War diese neue Welt, in der sich alles so leer anfühlte, eine freiere, zufriedenerere Welt?

²⁸⁹ Wie schön, staunte die Mutter mit offenem Mund, als ein quietschendes Auto sie erschreckte. Du nix sehen? Ampel rot! Brüllte ein Gesicht aus dem heruntergedrehten Fenster. Die beide Mädchen waren fasziniert von den großen Menschen, die in kleinen Gruppen Hand in Hand oder eingehakt ihren Weg gingen. Wie Elefanten, den Rüssel mit dem Schwanz verbunden, die jungen zwischen sich verkeilt. Sie dagegen kamen aus dem Land der Ziegen, die, wenn auch in Herden zusammengehalten, einzeln auf Futtersuche gingen.

“The two girls [sisters] were fascinated” or “big people” characterizing the protagonist and her sister and the ‘Germans’. Here an indirect personification is employed as the protagonist does not mention the characterization of either her family or the ‘Germans’, but displays and exemplifies it through contrasts, the fascination with Germany broken by the driver’s curses and the extradiegetic comparison between the group behaviour of ‘Turks’ and ‘Germans’. Similes such as elephants and goats are applied to exemplify the collective behaviour of Germans and the individuality of Turks. Although the previous sentences involve the racist attitude of the driver, the next sentence gently satirizes the isolation and segregation of the Turks, unlike the united sense that the Germans and German families seem to possess. The team spirit of Germans is praised by the narrator, who reads a sign of mutual support in the way these Germans walk.

The changes that the immigrants undergo sometimes perplex them because they cannot easily decide what is right and what is wrong; there are many dilemmas in their lives about which they have to make decisions continually, and sometimes they feel the absurdity of the decisions they have made. While challenging herself to see if her decision to marry Michael, a German, was correct or not the narrator of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, wonders “Had I taken the correct decision? Was this new world, where everything felt so empty, really a freer, and a happier world for me?”²⁹⁰ (p. 196). After being assimilated, she is confused by having to justify her decision to go through such a massive change as accepting a non-Turk, non-Muslim as her husband. The experiencing “I” of the story is disappointed by “this new world” and feels the emptiness and absurdity a great deal. She questions if it is really “a freer, and a happier world” for her as a lonely female character. She feels discriminated and alone in German society, where her German husband is busy with his German friends as well as his job.

The new world that the immigrants enter has various challenges for them, with individuals of course deal with differently. The challenges mentioned in the books have multiple effects on the lives of the immigrants, including new conflicts, violence, and lack of trust and self-confidence. This is the case with the mother figure in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* as the narrator records how her father has become verbally violent because the mother is working overtime:

²⁹⁰ War meine Entscheidung richtig gewesen? War diese neue Welt, in der sich alles so leer anfühlte, eine freiere, zufriedenerere Welt?

Suddenly Baba shouted at my Anne again. I held my ears quite firmly. Mine jumped out of bed and tried to go between them. Anne had been working overtime more often recently and Baba now thought she was staying there longer to be in the company of her rich boss. Both [my parents] were yelling so loud that I could hear it under my blanket (p. 130).²⁹¹

Challenges in their new life in a new place have resulted in the father's inability to trust his wife. However, the challenge for the mother is making more money and keeping her job. The first-person narrator, Nilgün, who refers to herself as "I", attempts to avoid the conflict by hiding under her blanket, but she is soon aware that a blanket is too thin to block out the quarrel. The narrative gives external focalizing details "Baba shouted at my Anne" or "Mine jumped out of bed and tried to go between them". The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. The protagonist, narrating here, the "I" of the story, a young female refers to herself as "I" and "my". The text shows the trauma of a child watching her parents fighting in a way that might put her own future into question. This trauma persists and later in life Nilgün recounts that she still cries when she remembers those scenes (p. 172). The mother's decision to work overtime is not entirely voluntary but because of her need for job-security and of the money for the family. She has to work longer although her husband disagrees and is seriously distrustful. He cannot imagine his wife's need to be work overtime when requested in order to keep her job, and instead ascribes the basest of motives to her. Even happiness and contentment bring their own challenges and contradictions. In *Salam Berlin*, Hasan's father, who has remarried, is happy in Germany and has a German wife whom he likes. However, he, being a qualified engineer, is unhappy with being forced to work in a travel agency (p. 163). In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the immigrant family is attracted by the beautifully laid out streets, but not the abrupt racism of the driver yelling at them. They are also happy about their new home, but unhappy that the neighbours do not want them around (p. 21). In *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, Nilgün likes her teacher at school, but not the racist nun at her Kindergarten (p. 133 and p. 54f.). There are two sides to every coin.

Changes can be good, profitable and constructive but also, at the same time, when things do

²⁹¹ Plötzlich schrie Baba wieder meine Anne an. Ich hielt mir ganz fest die Ohren zu. Mine sprang aus dem Bett und versuchte dazwischen zu gehen. Anne hatte in letzter Zeit öfter Überstunden gemacht und Baba glaubte nun, dass sie wegen ihrem reichen Chef länger in der Firma bleiben würde. Beide schriegen sich so laut an, dass ich es unter meiner Bettdecke hören konnte.

not go well, ugly, sad and destructive. The more the public area, social networks, school and the family work hand in hand, the better the result for the immigrant protagonists. This can be seen to function for instance for Lale in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, or Hasan in *Salam Berlin*, who both get the chance to flourish and are more or less prosperous. Changes can also be less beneficial to the protagonists and bring more challenging circumstances, such as for Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* or for Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. Here the protagonists' lives are under more pressure from others and it requires more energy for them to overcome not only social discrimination but also familial recrimination in order to gain a place in society and reach their goals. The adaptations required in the new host country can be so bitter side that people do not integrate, but rather feel forced to live in a parallel society. This can be seen in the case of Nilgün and Fatma's families, which are hardly integrated and remain in their own small Turkish groups, and this self-isolation proves to be the greatest problem in Fatma and Nilgün's lives. These contradictions are further discussed in the next section "Socio-Cultural Discriminations".

4.2.3.3.3. Socio-Cultural Discrimination

Socio-cultural differences inevitably influence the positions that people take against each other. Sometimes these can initiate racist discrimination or racially biased treatment against minority ethnic groups or cause these groups to treat the majority in a biased fashion, or, frequently, both. All kinds of deviations and dissimilarities can open up a distance between people from different cultures. The German protagonists with Turkish immigrant backgrounds are genetically, mentally, traditionally, culturally, and in religion different from the dominant social group. The autobiographical writers considered for this study frequently refer to these disparities.

Salam Berlin narrates the vicissitudes that Hasan and his family and friends endure in the new country due to racist discrimination. Although this has been discussed in section on "The Reaction of the Protagonists to Interpersonal & Institutional Difficulties & Hindrances" (p. 203), with an emphasis on difficulties and hindrances, it is worth re-examining here in terms of racially tinged experiences. The use of the first-person narration technique in *Salam Berlin* makes the revelation of inner feelings possible; all the problems that can affect the narrator, positively or negatively are rendered in this diegetic narrative. The protagonist reports how he is offended when the Germans examine him like a strange animal: "I [Hasan] felt like they

[passengers in the metro] examined me as if I were a camel in the Berlin Zoo. What was there to stare at? So strange, people from the East [the old East Germany]. Curious and alert” (p. 21)²⁹² (This scene takes place shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall). His Eastern looks seem to be very strange to the white Germans so that they stare at him as they would stare at an unfamiliar animal such as a camel. For the white people, the appearance of a dark-haired Asian is as eccentric and exotic as seeing a camel. The narrator uses similes such as “like a strange animal” or “like they examined me” in order to facilitate understanding of the protagonist’s hurt feelings. Hence, this immigrant is racially differentiated, and possibly discriminated against, or, at the least, regarded in a manner, which the protagonist finds potentially and possibly actually hostile, by Germans with no immigration background, who consider him as “the other”, but who may well feel “others” in West Germany.

Racist discrimination is not only expressed by Germans with no immigration background. A form of racism continues when the young narrator of *Salam Berlin* starts playing the game of discrimination and differentiation himself, imitating the Berliners. Focusing on the Easterners and Westerners, he ironically finds many differences between the people from West and East Berlin as and then; “I thought up a game: try to differentiate between people from East and West Berlin. Everyone stared astonished. Why be astonished? I thought the people from East Berlin still have a lot to learn. Welcome to the West! (p. 22f.)”²⁹³. In this ironical passage, he attempts make racist discrimination absurd especially among people who belong to the same country. He takes pleasure in the act of secretive discrimination as a counter reaction to his own difficult situation. “I carefully examined the crowd and tried to tell the Easterners apart from the Westerners. My secret game” (p. 78).²⁹⁴ Feelings of inferiority encourage him to involve himself in this game in order to feel superior to at least some German people and to compensate for the inferior status he repeatedly experiences.

The racist discrimination of characters with immigration backgrounds sometimes starts simply with names, since they represent a difference from the dominant culture and society. The minority groups have to alter names in order not to be so easily differentiated and isolated by the society. The “room” he wants in the following quote can symbolize a space of opportunity where he feels appreciated. However, racism continues when the German woman sees him at her door, she rejects him by taking a step back:

²⁹² Ich fühlte mich begutachtet wie ein Kamel im Berliner Zoo. Was gab es da zu glotzen? So fremd, Ostleuten. Neugierig und wach.

²⁹³ Ich dachte mir ein Spiel aus: Ostberliner von Westberlinern unterscheiden. Alle schauten erstaunt. Was soll’s, dachte ich, die Ost Leute müssen noch viel lernen. Willkommen in Westen!

²⁹⁴ Ich blickte prüfend in die Menge und versuchte Ostler von Westlern zu unterscheiden. Mein heimliches Spiel.

On the telephone the poor bastard thought I was a blond, blue-eyed Hans. I spoke quickly and sounded hurried just like a Berliner. As soon as she saw me at her doorstep she took a step backwards, as if I had syphilis. There must be some mistake [?!]! Refugee! Foreigner! Criminal! (p. 190).²⁹⁵

Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) describes from outside the protagonist's external action and appearance. Direct definitions are used in adjectives such as "Refugee", "Foreigner" and "Criminal", characterizing the protagonist and the way he is observed by the German landlady and his observation of her. An extradiegetic perspective distances the narrator from the landlady, to describe the contradictory situation, which her obvious racism has produced. The narrator is discriminated because of his Eastern appearance, "black head" and non-German origin. He is considered an outsider who is despised and repelled. The simile of "syphilis" reveals how the German woman regards the immigrants, although this is the first time she has met him and does not have real information based on his behaviour or personality. Racist pre-judgments and presuppositions do not allow people get a proper, fair understanding of each other (for more analysis of this quote please see page 214ff.).

Immigrant families are sometimes in a position to play an invaluable role in supporting, educating and comforting the newcomers. Recently immigrated young children should be properly informed about the discriminations they may face and should be psychologically prepared for these kinds of events. Sesperado's aunts have a crucial role in training him and building his mentality as he comments:

My Ablä [Sesperado's mother] was much too non-political, to have been able to initiate me in this world. That came through my aunts. I could always turn to them with questions about politics and, in times of insecurity, they always helped me get back on the right track. I really owe them a lot. For that, they are the diamonds in the family to me. I can still remember very well when they took me with them to an event. It was about anti-racism training for whites and empowerment for people of colour. When a white started complaining about how in Kreuzberg they also experience racism from all the Turks, my aunt suggested that maybe

²⁹⁵ Am Telefon dachten die Spießler, ich wäre ein blonder, blauäugiger Hans. Ich sprach schnell und klang gehetzt halt wie ein Berliner. Sobald sie mich vor ihrer Türschwelle sahen, traten sie einen Schritt zurück, als hätte ich die Syphilis. Falsch kombiniert! Asylant! Ausländer! Messerstecher!

they should have anti-racism training for the P.O.C. and empowerment training for the whites. I have laughed myself to tears about that day. Since then I have always listened very carefully to what my aunts had to say (p. 31).²⁹⁶

In this first-person narrative, which is emphasized by pronouns such “I”, “my”, ”me”, the narrator focalizes externally on the political education he had from his aunts and in a metaphor likens his aunts to “diamonds of the family”. Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized from without through their external actions, without either penetrating the aunts’ feelings and thoughts, or expressing his own (Sesperado’s). Indirect personification is employed here as the protagonist does not mention inner feelings but emphasizes their intellectual support for the protagonist, as activists. Traces of their attitude can be seen in Sesperado’s sarcastically critical analysis of the society in which he finds himself.

In the scenes analysed so far, some protagonists assume a tough and stable attitude while being discriminated against, as in the scene above, in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* (p. 31), where the narrative leads to a satirical situation and the character’s reaction is represented in an exaggerated manner, so that the effect on the reader is one of grim irony. The narrator plays with words, uses irony and different figures of speech, and laughs at specific moments instead of getting distressed or depressed. In this case, the protagonist uses his space of possibilities in such a way as to regard the different scenes of discrimination ironically, but at the same time react in such a way as to minimize harm to him. He does not over dramatize the situation. Moreover, he not only keeps cool and controls his temper but also shows his amusement to the extent of laughter, when, ironically, the aunts suggest that there should be anti-racism training for Turks since a German complains about Turks’ racist behaviour.

Sesperado feels tormented by racial clichés dominant not only in German society but also all over the world. He believes that this is a global problem, not restricted to one nation or culture:

²⁹⁶ Meine Abla war viel zu unpolitisch, als dass sie mich in diese Welt hätte initiieren können. Das kam durch meine Tanten. In politischen Fragen und Zeiten der Unsicherheiten konnte ich mich an sie wenden, und sie haben mir immer geholfen, zurück in die richtige Spur zu kommen. Ich habe ihnen wirklich sehr viel zu verdanken. Daher sind sie für mich die Diamanten in der Familie. Ich kann mich noch sehr gut daran erinnern, wie sie mich einmal auf eine Veranstaltung mitgenommen haben. Es ging um Anti-rassismus Trainings für Weiße und empowerment für people of color. Als eine Weiße anfing sich darüber zu beschweren, dass sie in Kreuzberg ja auch Rassismus von den ganzen – Türken erfahre, da schlugen meine Tanten vor, vielleicht die Anti-Rassismus-Trainings für die P.O.C. zu machen und die Empowerment-Trainings für die Weißen. Ich habe Tränen gelacht an diesem Tag. Seitdem habe ich immer sehr aufmerksam zugehört, was meine Tanten zu sagen hatten.

Instead, I label myself “P.O.C.”, as people of colour, what basically only summarizes everything that isn’t white. We are not all the same! If we are at all of equal value, it isn’t reflected in the reality in which we live. The lines are drawn by racism. Racism means nothing other than white supremacy, not only in Germany, but globally (p. 105).²⁹⁷

In this passage he defines racism as a global white supremacy that labels other nations as “P.O.C” as if all of non-white people can be categorized in the same class. He is aware of the bitter reality of inequality that is prevalent all around the world, no matter how the fake slogans of equality are spread around, but he does not seem to be able to see the racism inherent in ideas of superiority present in other cultures, including those implicit in his own idea of ‘People of Colour’.

In the scenes that encapsulate racist discrimination, the subject is sometimes begun delicately, but often ends awkwardly, as in one of the following scenes in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* (p. 21) or in another, in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* (p. 125f.). (see section “4.2.2.2. ‘Othering’ Narrated”, page 214ff.). Various mechanisms play a part in alienation and isolation in scenes selected for this work, as examples mentioned in this chapter show. They portray how the protagonists use their spaces of possibilities to survive in their situations of alienation and isolation.

In this respect, it is pertinent to refer to one of the scenes in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* (p. 21) in which the narrator explains how clichés lead to the unwarranted social exclusion of her Turkish immigrant family:

They [protagonist’s family] lived in simple conditions, without excesses, quiet and polite. This life in their enclave must have irritated some observers, for despite all this, many locals²⁹⁸ regarded them as “Garlic-eaters” and “Caraway Turks”. She was not let in on the secrets of the other girls. Her parents were ‘foreigners’²⁹⁹, and consequently so were she and

²⁹⁷ Statt dessen bezeichne ich mich als P.O.C, als people of color, was im Grunde nur alles zusammenfasst, was nicht Weiß ist. Wir sind nicht alle gleich! Wenn überhaupt, sind wir alle gleich an Wert, aber das spiegelt sich in der Realität, in der wir leben, nicht wider. Die Grenzen sind durch den Rassismus gezogen. Rassismus bedeutet nichts anderes als Weiße Vorherrschaft, nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern global.

²⁹⁸ Germans without immigration background

²⁹⁹ A problematic term, which is used for the non-German citizens. It conveys a negative impression.

her sister. As the tree is, so is the fruit. Everyone looks after themselves first. Cobbler stick to thy last. Harm set, harm get ... (p. 21).³⁰⁰

Here the internal and external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized from within and without, penetrating the protagonist's feelings and thoughts and presenting her external action. The narrator employs direct definitions using different phrases "Garlic-eaters", "Caraway Turks" and "foreigners" characterizing the protagonist and her family and the impression they get about the Germans around them because of their mutual lack of interaction, and showing the feeling of 'Otherness' that they are trapped in. The changes that have intruded into the protagonist's life and the challenges that she has to face are visible not only in this scene, but also throughout the entire book. It is also clear that the narrative voice and the character come together and collapse into one. The narrator begins with a neutral tone, focusing on the way of life of the family. The explanation is given from the narrator's perspective. The tone changes as the focus changes, when she illustrates the nature of the relationship between the family and the German (without migration backgrounds) neighbours. In saying that the family lived in simple conditions, without excesses, quiet and polite, the narrator emphasizes the simplicity and the courtesy of her family (p. 21) and the way their kindness is not returned. The scene points out ironically that, despite the family's efforts, their quiet, family-centred life must have somehow caused anger, as many locals regarded them as "Garlic-eaters" and "Caraway Turks (ibid.)". The use of the term "enclave" symbolizes a border between things and being separated (De Vries, 1981, p. 59). The term also refers to the isolation and segregation that the family goes through. Their alienation is creatively emphasized.

In the cited paragraph, it can be seen that the story comes to a turning point. The first part of the phrase is a third-person omniscient point of view by illustrating "They lived in simple conditions..." or "She was not let in on the secrets of the other girls..." Here, 'voice', 'person' and 'place' relate to the pragmatic dimension of the narrative.

However, in the middle of the quotation, the phrase transforms into a different means of storytelling; that is, free indirect speech. Thus, there is a split between the omniscient narration point of view and free indirect speech. In the second part of the quotation, the focus

³⁰⁰ Sie lebten in einfachen Verhältnissen, ohne Ausschweifungen, ruhig und höflich. Dieses Leben in der Enklave muß einige Beobachter irritiert haben. Denn trotz alledem waren sie für viele Einheimische "Knoblauchfresser" und "Kümmeltürken". In die Geheimnisse der anderen Mädchen wurde sie nicht eingeweiht. Ihre Eltern waren 'Ausländer', demzufolge auch sie und ihre Schwester. Wie der Herr, so das Gescherr. Jeder ist sich selbst der Nächste. Schuster bleib bei deinen Leisten. Wer anderen eine Grube gräbt, fällt selbst hinein...

change gives us a look into the protagonist's mind. There is a break in the paragraph. Suddenly, with the feeling of entering the protagonist's mind and listening to her articulating idioms, a very different phrasing is made possible. Thus, an omniscient point of view is gone and an inside view into the protagonist's feeling is portrayed, accompanied by sarcasm and irony. This transition disrupts the reading process. This form of objective narrative is used to imply criticism of the protagonist's exclusion, which the text effectively shows. Although she and her family live their lives without disrupting others, there are still observers who are disturbed by them, as indicated with some irony by the stereotyped prejudices ("Garlic-eaters", "Caraway Turks"). The word 'irritation' is, however, equivocal and functions as a literary device; here the intended use of sarcasm is clear. While reading, one gets a sense of discrimination and even segregation. The impression of alienation and consequently isolation of the young protagonist is also obvious. Is it the local Germans who get irritated by seeing "Garlic-eaters" and "Caraway Turks" or is it that the Turks get irritated when the Germans cast them in their prejudiced mould? The irritation mentioned might be completely imaginary, and involve prejudices on both sides of the enclave, both looking into it and looking out from it, but the narrator's feeling is real, as are her problems in achieving acceptance and a sense of integration. By mentioning that "Her parents were 'foreigners', and consequently so were she and her sister", the narrator achieves the intended effect in the passage quoted through use of figurative agencies. Moreover, the term "cobbler" has an ironic meaning. The family is regarded as cobblers, cobblers are lower class and should remain in this position; "Let the cobbler stick to his last"³⁰¹. The narrator has concretised this discourse in applying the chosen idioms and has made the protagonist's situation seem almost natural. At this point the paradigm of losers and winners in a performance-oriented society suggests that the family should remain closed and not mingle with the rest (here Germans without an immigration background). The emphatic mention of the protagonist's parents, herself and her sister is a repetition, which, together with the cobbler and his last, symbolizes a permanence over generations, which in the eyes of their German neighbours, means they will always remain 'Garlic-eaters' just as their ancestors were, parents and children are, and even the next generations will be (De Vries, 1981, p. 181). The message is that prejudice is permanent and will continue. The idioms used in describing that the other girls did not let her

³⁰¹ Schuster bleib bei deinen Leisten

in on their secrets re-inforces the feeling that being stereotyped would continue; for the protagonist, the unwanted segregation will not cease.

However, the narration opposes acceptance of this, and ironically places several idioms at the end in a sarcastic tone, in which the focus and vocalization is changed, so that the reader now has the voice of the protagonist. The narrator shifts from hers to the protagonist's point of view: "As the tree is, so is the fruit. Everyone looks after themselves first. Cobbler stick to thy last. Harm set, harm get". In this passage, the presence of selfishness in a performance-oriented society, a neutralization process of 'strangers' and a two-sided alienation are portrayed (p. 21). The narrator employs an additional sub-structure and framework within that already existing, by changing the focus. Thus the full sentences shift to short clips and this makes the text unstable and disrupting as it continues in a cascade of different sentences, so that during the narration the phrasing changes radically. That gives rise to the idea that there is another perspective and focus in the quotation. Thus another emotional aspect, one of opposition, of not giving up is expressed through the new phrasing in spite of the implication that the clichés and the suffering they bring will be continual. This character is not going to retreat into isolation.

The narrative is made unstable at the end of the quote by the inclusion of sarcastic idioms to form a new idea that hints at a view both into and out of the enclave. The Germans are irritated, the Turks are irritated and this irritation is obvious to the reader. The disruption is expressed, not only by the content but also by the incomplete frame of the quote. The enumeration of several idioms, which are similar in meaning, is intended to denote an unexpected absurdity to the reader, and reveal the essentially absurd nature of the prejudice the protagonist experiences. Even though the family wishes to be friendly and loving to the Germans, sarcasm establishes a harsh distance in the quote. The shift to sarcasm itself changes the framework of the setting and enables the visualization of differences while retaining an ambivalence. This change of tone in the protagonist's narration directs the reader to a change of emotions; from good, loving and simple, to bothersome, irritated and difficult. Nevertheless, one can never really ascertain the intention of the protagonist and it can be read and interpreted in several ways. Because the irritation and the idioms can be understood bi-directionally, the narrator indulges in mind-games with the reader.

The same problem is well depicted in a paragraph in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* when the protagonist is addressed by a racist German:

Because you not white, you not can be German. So: Where from you? I be white, I here before, you come after. Because I here before, I more rights. [...] Besides anything else, the question implies: Where are you from? Then directly the second question: When are you going back? Of course, the strategies in the POC – guerrilla warfare against whites/Western hegemony should be spread widely. So, here they are, my top 5; the five best answers on the coloured colonial question: Where are you from? Yet, if they repeat their question, then I'd just coolly answer, that the question was too personal. I give no information about my cultural background. – Where are you from? –From Berlin? –What do you mean, Berlin? –I come from Wedding. Before that I was in Neukölln. –And where were you born? –In Moabit Zoo. In Kreuzberg I went to elementary school, to high school in Schoeneberg, I started to study in Zehlendorf and now I'm in the middle of Berlin. Guys, this is all nonsense, of course. The Sesperado was born in Wedding, keep this in mind (p. 10).³⁰²

In the first part, the sentences are short and grammatically incorrect, which is intentional to ridicule the Turks by implying that they cannot understand long German sentences. The supremacy of whites is accentuated a the direct relation between being German and being white is emphasized. In this monologue, Sesperado is attempting to satirize the racist behaviour of some Germans when they insist on knowing the origin of a person, in order to emphasize this person does not belong. The question “Where you from? (ibid.)” is repeated many times to show how often an immigrant is asked about his/her background. For Sesperado this is the “coloured colonial” question. Although our present era is recognized as post-colonial, the angry Sesperado calls the Turks' situation colonial. Colonialism was based on white supremacy and racist discrimination of the ‘other’ and this definition seems relevant to the characters' condition here, within the dominant society. The narrator uses an extradiegetic perspective with indirect personification to display and exemplify behaviour

³⁰² Weil du nicht weiß, du nicht sein kannst deutsch. Also: Wo kommst du her? Ich sein weiß, ich schon vorher hier, du gekommen später. Weil ich schon vorher hier, ich mehr Rechte. [...] Außerdem impliziert die Frage Wo kommst du her? Gleich die zweite Frage: Wann gehst du wieder zurück? -Natürlich müssen die Strategien im P.O.C – Guerillakampf gegen die Weiße/westliche Hegemonie verbreitet werden. Also, hier sind sie, meine Top 5, die fünf besten Antworten auf die Colonia gefärbte Frage Wo kommst du her? - Doch wenn sie ihre Frage wiederholen, dann sage ich nur kühl, das sei viel zu persönlich. Ich gebe keine Auskunft über meine kulturelle Herkunft. -Wo kommst du her? -Aus Berlin? -Wie Berlin? -Ich komm' aus dem Wedding. Vorher war ich in Neukölln. -Und wo bist du geboren? -In Tiergarten-Moabit. In Kreuzberg bin ich zur Grundschule gegangen, in Schöneberg aufs Gymnasium, in Zehlendorf habe ich angefangen zu studieren und jetzt bin ich in Mitte. -Leute, das ist natürlich alles Quatsch. Der Sesperado ist ein geborener Weddinger, merkt euch das.

without explicit criticism, intensify the sarcasm and provoke the reader to reflect on the scene. The narrator's sarcastic tone is represented by the five predetermined answers he has for this question, none of them involving either the truth or the reality of his background and culture. The predetermined answers are reactions to the predetermined clichéd questions members of the dominant society ask. He sarcastically refers to his birthplace as the zoo, in order to reveal how the 'natives' treat him like an animal. The protagonist's sentences are short and telegraphic as if there is no intention of communication, only a forced response to the investigation of the others.

Various characters in these novels suffer racist discrimination as their experiences record. The narrator of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, believes that, as an immigrant, she will always be considered as a "predestined outsider" (p. 118) because of her eccentric appearance, wearing "unusual clothing, the shalwars and the long, colourful skirts" that not only racially discriminated her but also "gave them reason to laugh (ibid.)". Appearance, clothing, traditions and cultural values are all factors that contribute to racist discrimination in the host society (See the section on: Language Barrier, p. 204). However, thinking of someone as an 'outsider' may not be racist but may be an objective observation.

Even though the narrators describe situations in which, as in the scenes, above fictional German characters with Turkish immigration backgrounds are discriminated by Germans with no such background, there are also various scenes presenting reverse discrimination. A scene from the book *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds* (p. 10f.) illustrates such a prejudice. Here the narrator asserts her uncle Ali's opinion that the Germans have no friends. To be more precise Nilgün narrates that:

We had many friends and often received visitors. Sometimes there were so many guests that the women were sitting on the bed in the bedroom and the men on the floor in the living room. Mostly it was cheerful and sad at the same time, and always the theme was homeland. However, our German neighbours didn't like these visits. They never had visitors. Ali Amca³⁰³ always said: 'The Germans are different. They have no friends and they only talk briefly in the street'. ... Mama said: 'Every country has

³⁰³ Uncle (the brother of the father); the elder people are called "Amca" by youngsters.

its own customs, hence the Turkish people are different and will always remain so!' (p. 10f.).³⁰⁴

The narrator uses an indirect personification here, displaying and exemplifying the family's 'Othering', leaving to the reader the task of inferring the protagonist's family opinions on integration but also using criticism of 'Germans' as a self-verification via setting, action and speech. The protagonist narrates from a first person point of view, referring to herself and her family employing words and phrases containing plural forms: "We had many friends", "our German neighbours", and including direct speech as she quotes her uncle's and mother's opinion. This allows the reader to understand the narrator's perspective, as she expresses both her and other's opinions and thoughts. In the paragraph cited Nilgün refers to her uncle Ali and her mother in order to widen this perspective. In this regard, the narrator allows the reader to experience the thoughts and opinions of her uncle Ali and her mother as well.

In the chosen passage, Nilgün refers to her family often receiving a large number of guests. The visits were always pleasant and everybody enjoyed themselves, but at the same time they were saddened by memories about the homeland. The paragraph begins with a warm, cheerful atmosphere and describes a comforting setting; however, it contains grief and ends with melancholy. Their homeland was always the subject, and the atmosphere is joyful but full of melancholy and longing.

The protagonist notes their German neighbours' disapproval of the number and the frequency of the visitors. She adds, however, that the reason is because the Germans have no friends and never receive any visitors. Here the Germans are stereotyped. In other words, the 'Turkish' relatives are of the opinion that 'all Germans' have no friends, and if they do, it is only those whom they meet in the street and greet briefly. She continues with what her mother believes, which is that each country is different from others, as they have different norms, thus Turkish people are different from Germans and they will always remain different. Here, the Germans are condemned to be alone and have no friends, in this they are and will always be different. After this statement, a tinge of happiness, but also sorrow, is clear to the reader. This dichotomy contributes to retaining the reader's attention. The complete passage, only briefly quoted here, haunts the reader until the end of the scene and is followed by

³⁰⁴ Wir hatten viele Freunde und bekamen oft Besuch. Manchmal kamen so viele, dass Frauen im Schlafzimmer auf dem Bett saßen und die Männer im Wohnzimmer auf dem Boden. Meistens war es lustig und traurig zugleich, und immer ging es um die Heimat. Allerdings gefiel das unseren deutschen Nachbarn nicht. Die bekamen nämlich nie Besuch. Ali Amca sagte immer: „Die Deutschen sind anderes als wir. Sie haben keine Freunde und unterhalten sich nur kurz auf der Straße.“ ... Anne sagte: „Jedes Land hat seine eigenen Sitten, deshalb sind wir Türken anderes und werden es auch immer bleiben!“

suspense and confusion, which is highly thought provoking for the reader. The narrative discourse of the fabula about homeland contains, from start to finish, a puzzled failure to understand the German way of life. The narrator, Nilgün, then concludes with a moral statement by her mother: “Every country has its own customs, hence the Turkish people are different and will always remain so!” (p. 10f.). With a little touch of irony, she lets the reader know that her Turkish family perceives German social customs as alienating and then uses this to allow her family to be separate and continue to live in a Turkish world. It is, however, up to the reader to agree or disagree with the stereotyped discussion. There is a dilemma at this point which further underlines how difficult it is for a character such as Nilgün to find a space in which to operate between the new world facing her in Germany and the Turkish cultural codes of her family. Even though there is dislike and discrimination in this scene, a deep sadness remains embedded in it. The picture of a group enjoying the melancholy of yearning for a home, which is no longer theirs shows a deep isolation which is only intensified by the solitude of the image of the neighbours fixed in their own loneliness. Running between the lines here is the question why neither side can manage to climb over this cultural ‘Berlin Wall’. There is something in the nature of both groups that blocks curiosity, shuts down the desire to communicate and learn something new and results in a cold toleration.

Another factor that can contribute to racism and racist discrimination is religious difference. As mentioned before in connection with Nilgün’s first day at the Catholic kindergarten, religious variations and dissimilarities can be seen to cause prejudiced behaviour. The narrator of *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, recalls when her grandmother hushes her to silence when she speaks German just because she believes that German is the language of unbelievers: “Shhh! Don’t speak the language of the unbelievers! Hissed Babaanne”(p. 71). As shown in this passage, religious differences combine with linguistic ones to cause racially defined behaviour and stereotyped attitudes toward the Germans. This clearly shows not only the socio-cultural disparities, which Nilgün’s grandmother expresses, but also the role of religious differences, which are not, however, otherwise highlighted in the novels selected.

In all the books chosen, socio-cultural disparities such as appearance, clothing, social and individual behaviour, familial relationships, guest-host relationships as well as religious differences can result in the racist discrimination of minor and sometimes of major social groups. Racism and prejudice, when they are allowed to flourish, are frequently two sided. If,

however, neither group wants extremes of conflicts, a situation can arise in which a middle ground naturally develops and both minority and majority cultures borrow from each other in a spirit of acceptance. This can be seen in all the novels except in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*. If this is not present, ‘parallel societies’, as in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds* (p. 11), with their associated feelings of otherness and even of a suppressed anger can result. The books were not consciously chosen with a feeling of hope in mind, however they show that German society, which of course includes immigrants, is taking a path of acceptance and tolerance and not one of rejection and conflict (*Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, p. 120). See more in “4.2.4. Chances & Opportunities with Regard to the Protagonists” (p. 303ff.) Although the path has been taken the road is by no means even, as the next section illustrates.

4.2.3.3.4. Minority versus Majority

With the migration of a group of people into a larger dominant group the problem of minority versus majority inevitably arises. Since the minor group possesses characteristics different from the major group, at times these differences can be contradictory and problematic for both societies. Consequently, these raise the possibility of racist discrimination of the members of the ethnic minority group.

Linguistic variations and cultural differences start on the first step with the immigrants' names. As aforementioned, since foreign names are sometimes difficult to pronounce or unfamiliar to the ear, the members of the host society (and sometimes the immigrants themselves) choose to change the name into something easier or more familiar. This is the case, as discussed before, with Hasan, the first-person narrator of *Salam Berlin*: "In Berlin, I am known as Hansi, even though my parents gave me the wonderful name Hasan Selim Khan" (p. 5).³⁰⁵ In this metadiegetic passage, the narrator is upset about this change, which is imposed on him by the German people. The narrative gives external focalizing details. The focalization of this story is from the first person point of view. Hasan narrating here "I" of the story who is a young man who refers to himself as "I", "my" and "me". Since he belongs to the minority, this is the majority that decides for the whole society; hence, German society has decided to give him a new name for reasons of simplification. His identity now seems to be prone to assimilation because of this change of name. Hasan, as a member of the minor group, does not have the right to have a say in maintaining his name and later his original Turkish identity.

Later the protagonist goes on to mention how the people without immigration backgrounds stare at him in various places such as a train:

...[the passengers] were staring at me. Was my fly down? Or did I have some left-over jelly on my face? Did I come from another planet? I felt like they were examining me as if I were a camel at Berlin Zoo. Was it my black hair? ...What was there to gaze at? (p. 21).³⁰⁶

The narrator functions from within as an internal focalizer reflecting an almost paranoid sensitivity and penetrating Hasan's feelings of being 'Other' sarcastically by using the term

³⁰⁵ In Berlin nennen mich Meinige Leute (Hansi), obwohl meine Eltern mir den schönen Namen Hasan Selim Khan gegeben haben.

³⁰⁶ ...sahen sie auf mich. War mein Hosenschlitz auf? Oder hatte ich Marmeladenreste am Mund? War ich von einem anderen Planeten? Ich fühlte mich begutachtet wie ein Kamel im Berliner Zoo. Waren es meine schwarzen Haare? ... Was gab es da zu glotzen?

“camel”. An internal monologue focuses on the paradoxes of the situation. The agitated narrator does not give his judgment of the situation but he makes use of some rhetorical questions in order to make not only the narratees, but also the implied readers think deeply. The gaze of the people makes him think himself to be very far from the society when he asks if he has come from another planet. He starts feeling alienated and estranged from the major group. Moreover, in a simile he likens his situation as being in a zoo. Berlin Zoo symbolizes his feeling of imprisonment where he cannot be immune from Germans’ gaze. His Asian appearance and black hair make him conspicuous among blond-haired people.

One of the major characteristics minorities show is a stronger attachment to their traditions and customs than a majority group. This is also the case with Germans in other countries such as Turkey where the narrator describes their characters in *Salam Berlin*:

In the German school in Istanbul, the Germans were even more German than the Germans here in Berlin. That is why the Turks here held so bitterly close to their Turkish identity that it became too much for one. I wanted to explain everything to him and tell him that it had to do with the minority existence, and not with being Turkish, German, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Arab, Japanese, Mauritanian, Afghan, Indian, Chinese and English... I had taken a long time to understand it (p. 29).³⁰⁷

As the protagonist observes, the Germans in Istanbul are a minor group, therefore, they even are “even more German than the Germans in Berlin”. Identity becomes a major issue for the minorities. The experiencing “I” continues by naming 13 nationalities in order to emphasize that this is a global phenomenon, not limited to Turkish-Germans or Germans. The Number 13 could also be used here to indicate a negative impression.

Racist discrimination based on the minority/majority relationship can penetrate every angle of social and familial life causing separation and alienation. As the narrator reports, his uncle has married a German woman who consciously or unconsciously applies racist judgments against her Turkish husband:

She [Ingrid] moved with uncle Breschnew to the well-off suburb of Wilmersdorf. He was the only Turk in the entire building, on the whole

³⁰⁷ In der deutschen schule Istanbul waren die Deutschen deutscher als die Deutschen hier in Berlin. Dafür hielten die Türken hier so bitterernst fest an ihrem Türkischsein, daß es einem zuviel wurde. Ich wollte ihm alles erklären und sagen, daß es was mit Minderheiten-Das ein zu tun hat und nicht mit türkisch, deutsch, polnisch, russisch, spanisch, italienisch, arabisch, japanisch, mauretanisch, afghanisch, indisch, chinesisches und englisch... ich hatte eine lange Zeit gebraucht, um das zu verstehen.

street. ... She often visited relatives in East Berlin. Uncle Breschnew kept away from this. He thought that all the fuss was exclusively a German-German occasion. (I have) No idea what he meant by it, anyways, he withdrew from the whole thing like an uninvited guest at a family party (p. 49).³⁰⁸

The protagonist's uncle lives in a region where he is separated from other immigrants, where "he was the only Turk in the entire building, on the whole street". It seems that by intermarriage he has gone through total integration and assimilation. However, this does not mean he is really accepted by the major group since his wife often stays with her relatives and he feels uninvited. On the other hand, distance from other immigrants increases his sense of isolation from the whole society. The narrator uses a simile to describe his situation as he mentions "like an uninvited guest". Symbolically, any Turk or immigrant in a larger foreign community, where they are not considered an accepted or desired member of society.

Leyla is another character in this book considered a foreigner, but this time by the Turks since her mother is a German.

Primarily, Leyla was seen there as exotic. She was the only cousin in the Kazan family with a German mother. She was of mixed-blood. That had never happened before in the Kazan family. Each summer Leyla was the celebrity of the group. Leyla understood Turkish, but spoke only a little. Ingrid [her mother] insisted that German be spoken in her home. She feared that later on her daughter would speak German with an accent, like her father. ... Ever since Leyla moved out from home she had badmouthed her mother. "She has forgotten a part of me, simply left out, she ignored it. And my father did not do a thing about it" (p. 103).³⁰⁹

In this metadiegetic passage, the narrator introduces Leyla as being the child of intermarriage and mentions, "that had never happened before in the Kazan family"; both minorities and

³⁰⁸ Sie (Ingrid) zog mit Onkel Breschnew ins bürgerliche Wilmersdorf. Dort war er der einzige Türke im ganzen Haus, in der ganzen Straße. ... Sie war oft zu Besuch bei Verwandten in Ostberlin. Onkel Breschnew hielt sich da raus. Er meinte, dieses ganze Tamtam wäre eine rein deutsch-deutsche Angelegenheit. Keine Ahnung, was er genau damit meinte, jedenfalls zog er sich von diesen ganzen Beschreien zurück, wie ein ungeladener Gast auf einer Familienfeier.

³⁰⁹ Vor allem war Leyla dort ein Exot. Sie war die einzige Cousine in der Kazan-Familie, die eine deutsche Mutter hatte. Sie war ein Mischling. Das hatte es noch nie in der Kazan - Familie gegeben. Jeden Sommer war Leyla dort der Star in der Sippe. Leyla verstand Türkisch, sprach aber wenig. Ingrid hatte es nicht zugelassen, daß Onkel Breschnew mit ihr Türkisch sprach. Sie bestand darauf, daß in ihrer Wohnung Deutsch gesprochen wurde. Sie befürchtete, daß ihre Tochter später Deutsch mit Akzent sprach, so wie ihr Vater. ... Seitdem Leyla von zu Hause ausgezogen war, schimpfte sie auf ihre Mutter. „Sie hat einen Teil von mir einfach ausgelassen, sie hat ihn ignoriert. Und mein Vater hat gar nichts dagegen getan.“

majorities normally disapprove of intermarriage. Her mother prefers that she be German, and insists German be spoken in her home, worrying about her daughter having a Turkish accent in German. However, the daughter mostly hangs out with Hasan and her friends with Turkish immigrant backgrounds, and has even a poster hanging on her wall, which says: “Chador is sexy”. This is in spite of Hasan making fun of it: “Sure... as long as you do not have to wear it yourself” (p. 169).³¹⁰

Racist behaviour seems to be a bigger problem in German society than in Britain as Kazim reports after his trip to London to visit Hasan and Leyla. He believes that since there are more immigrants in London, English-speaking people are used to this phenomenon and do not discriminate: “Many Indians, Blacks and Chinese live there. You don’t stand out with black hair there, like you do here. No one asks you where you come from because everyone comes from someplace else” (p. 329).³¹¹ The large population of immigrants in London makes it a cosmopolitan city with more tolerant people who never ask “where you come from because everyone comes from someplace else”. The narrator records this comparison in order to register awareness of his more racially tolerant treatment in London than in his society.

An extreme instance, of racist behaviour is the scene in *Salam Berlin*, in which Leyla is abused by a German skinhead who sets her hair on fire in a train:

Leyla looked around in panic. Nobody did anything. No Help. She screamed and tried to put out the fire in her hair with her jacket. As the train arrived in Berlin Zoo station, she rushed down the steps. The Nazi ran after her. She clung to the first person she saw and pleaded for help. The woman tried to calm her down and the Nazi spat at her helper. After this attack, Leyla lay in bed for many days with a fever caused by the shock (p. 101).³¹²

An extradiegetic perspective presents the focalized situation from without, through Leyla’s external reaction to her treatment by the thug. The use of indirect personification provokes a considerable sense of shock in the reader. The scene’s □ further□d form gives it more emphasis than a more detailed description would in highlighting Leyla’s punishment only for

³¹⁰ Bestimmt, ... solange man ihn nicht selber tragen mußte.

³¹¹ So viele Inder, Schwarze und Chinesen leben dort. Ey, da fällst du ja nicht auf, mit schwarzen Haaren wie hier. Keiner fragt dich, woher du kommst, weil jeder von irgendwoher kommt.

³¹² Leyla blickte in Panik um sich. Niemand griff ein. Keine Hilfe. Sie schrie und versuchte mit ihrer Jacke die Harre zu löschen. Als die U-Bahn am Bahnhof Zoo ankam, rannte Leyla die Treppen runter. Der Fascho hetzte ihr hinterher. Sie klammerte sich an die erste Person, die ihr begegnete, und bat um Hilfe. Die Frau versuchte Leyla zu beruhigen, und der Fascho spuckte sie an. Nach dieser Attacke lag Leyla tagelang mit Fieber im Bett vom Schock

looking Turkish. The fact that such an attack took place is deplorable, but the additional fact that nobody intervened in the train station is worse. As a result of this horrific experience, Leyla lay “in bed for many days with a fever (ibid.)”. The helplessness and suffering of the victim is shockingly. If Leyla had not looked like an immigrant, not been obviously at least half-Turkish, and had been attacked in a train station, would someone have helped? This of course remains an open question. The woman who helped her afterward was spat on, and it is to be assumed from the text that she did not offer Leyla any further help. The minimal help given gives the impression of a general low level of animosity to people of Turkish appearance.

A further scene presenting racist discrimination experienced by one of the narrators can be found in a passage in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* (p. 54f.). Compared to the scene analysed above, this is possibly harsher, as the addressee relives her childhood memory of the first day of her kindergarten when she was six years old and the racism it revealed. The discrimination it shows is partly based on the protagonist’s religion and partly on communication and language barriers. The insult and violence presented reinforce the harshness of the setting, making the feeling of isolation and alienation almost tangible. The scene demonstrates a cruel paradox, because the first day of kindergarten is supposed to be very different from what the reader is unexpectedly faced with:

“You’re a slut, only sluts wet their beds!” yelled Sister Anne Marie. “We shouldn’t have accepted any Muselmanin, but no one listens to me”, she kept on yelling and threw me my wet clothes in my face. [...] She took me by the wrist and pulled me outside. I had to wait outside in the street till my Mama came. Sister Anne Marie closed the door behind me. I sat on the stone stair all alone and was not even afraid of the wooden figure hanging over the door. I looked at the man hanging on the cross and noticed that he had tears on his face too (p. 54f.).³¹³

This passage depicts one of what must be Nilgün’s earliest experiences when she was five. The story of her first day in a Catholic kindergarten is told from the first person point of view

³¹³ Du bist eine Schlampe, nur Schlampen machen ins Bett!“ brüllte Schwester Annemarie. „Wir hätten keine Muselmanin aufnehmen dürfen, aber auf mich hört ja keiner“ schrie sie weiter und warf mir meine nassen Kleider ins Gesicht. Irgendwann drückte Schwester Annemarie mir die Kleider in die Hand, die vor mir auf dem Boden gelegen hatten. Ich musste mich anziehen, und sie nahm mich am Handgelenk und zog mich nach draußen. Ich musste an der Straße auf meine Anne warten. Schwester Annemarie schloss die Tür hinter mir zu. Ganz alleine saß ich auf der Steintreppe und hatte nicht mal Angst vor der Holzfigur, die über der Tür hing. Ich schaute den Mann am Kreuz an und mir fiel auf, dass er auch Tränen im Gesicht hatte.

as she explicitly refers to herself by using words and phrases involving “I” as the first-person singular, giving external focalizing details. She narrates here “I” of the story who refers to herself as: “I had to wait outside”, “I sat on the stone stair” and “I looked at the man hanging on the cross”. This allows the reader to see as Nilgün saw, feel as she felt and think as she thought as a lonely five-year old. Only the crucifix with its tears presents an image of shared suffering in this cruel setting. The narrator uses direct definitions emotionally naming the Sister’s description of the protagonist by using adjectives such as “slut” or “all alone” to characterize the behaviour of the protagonist and Sister Annemarie. Here an indirect personification is employed, the protagonist does not mention her feelings, but displays these through setting, action and speech. The external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) works from within and without, both penetrating Nilgün’s feeling and thoughts and her external actions, to indicate the brutality and racism in this situation.

In reading the chosen scene it is noticeable how minor details, that seem to be quite unnecessary to the story, like supplementary events and the setting, can apply abundant rhetorical leverage on how reader feels. In detail the setting is cold, sorrowful and isolated. At the same time, it is ironic and heavily tinged with sarcasm. The first days of kindergarten are generally supposed to be some of the happiest days of children’s lives, but here the protagonist experiences something different.

The usage of paradox is clear. The event in kindergarten was so cruelly sad for Nilgün, that even after about twenty years she can still remember all that happened in detail. During the progress of this sub-plot, Nilgün goes on to describe how the Sister, because she wet her bed while sleeping, insulted her in front of other children, and that the children took part. Then the Sister adds that they should have never accepted any ‘Muselmanin’ in their kindergarten. This statement is racist because the word ‘Muselmanin’, which is now relatively obsolete, is a negative reference equivalent to ‘Nigger’. The sister continued screaming at her while throwing Nilgün out of the kindergarten. The stone stair is a symbol of difficulty as well as punishment and conjures a harsh image (De Vries, 1981, p. 443). However, in spite of her isolation and having endured this harrowing experience Nilgün found the courage not to be afraid of the man hanging on the cross. This is also a symbolic expression, as the wooden figure of Jesus, a harsh image of blood and tears, here conveys peace and relief. On the other hand, the kindergarten, which is nominally a Christian one, is presented very negatively, whereas such a place is supposed to be more like a haven of peace and comfort. The word “all alone” sums up the loneliness and isolation of this infant character for the reader. The

protagonist, however, notices that the figure of Christ also has tears on his face just as she has, as a symbol for sorrow and grief (De Vries, 1981, p. 458). Here Jesus is assimilated into a five-year-old child (ibid., p. 96); a symbol for purity facing evil. The sorrow and empathy are clear to the reader. Stereotyping, as illustrated here, is deeply embedded in structures of oppression and domination, which become prescriptions for behaviours and modes authoritarian social control (Walters, 1995, p. 43).

On a rather less serious, and more ironic level, the characters in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, suffer because of their different clothing and appearance:

She didn't arrive in a spaghetti strap top and shorts, but rather was entirely wrapped in a burka. Cihad also didn't look like he was flying to Mallorca, but rather as if he were on a pilgrimage to Mecca. And, although they were frisked from head to toe, people still threw them nervous glances in the airplane (p. 41).³¹⁴

In this scene, previously discussed on page 181f., the narrator uses both direct definitions and indirect personification to characterize unwillingness of convinced Moslems to compromise on dress and the horror of the passengers at this. This extradiegetic perspective illustrates the oddity of this situation and indicates the expectation of dress codes being altered to conform. This is an ironic reflection of the fact that, had the woman been dressed as a nun, and the man had used a part of the Christian creed as his ringtone, there would have been no shock in the aircraft. The reader is left to think about whether Moslems are entitled to go on holiday in Mallorca.

In *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, Sesperado, the young disillusioned narrator, repeatedly condemns White supremacy and its system of oppression as he says: "But when the times of the white-Western supremacy are over"³¹⁵ (p. 18) or "Ultimately, all the parties represent the same white system of oppression"³¹⁶ (p. 69). He believes that the cause of all racist discrimination and non-white inferiority is a global system the whites have created for the oppression of other nationalities. He later defines this as hegemony and blames the system because he finds no way it can be avoided.

³¹⁴ den sie kam nicht in Spaghetti-Träger-Hemd und kurzen Hosen an sondern hatte sich vollkommen in eine Burka gehüllt, und auch Cihad sah nicht so aus, als würde er nach Mallorca fliegen sondern eher so, als sei er auf einer Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka. Und obwohl sie am Flughafen rauf - und runtergefilzt wurden, warfen ihnen die Leute im Flugzeug immer noch nervöse Blicke zu.

³¹⁵ Aber wenn die Zeiten der Weißen-Westlichen Vorherrschaft vorbei sind.

³¹⁶ Letztendlich stehen alle Parteien für das gleiche Weiße Unterdrückungssystem.

Hegemony always determined the norm. That's how the basic paradigm is always applied in Germany: German is the same as white. Whoever isn't white isn't considered (normal-German) and has to be marked in a certain way (p. 82).³¹⁷

For him Germans with immigration backgrounds are never considered normal-Germans, hence, they have “to be marked in a certain way”, which represents racism dominant in the system. This pessimistic and sarcastic narrator (unlike the more optimistic narrators of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* or *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*) prefers generalization and philosophizing about social issues and very effectively provokes the reader into re-examining normal social assumptions.

In a different context, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* the omniscient narrator makes a similar comment to show the isolated condition of the protagonist:

They [the friends of the protagonist] were a sworn, like-minded community that shared all the same secrets. And that hurt the most, not to be allowed into their secrets. “They don't trust you”, she thought. German sayings came to mind: Every man for himself. Like master, like man (p. 16).³¹⁸

Here internal and external focalization is employed. The narrator presents intradiegetically, through her inner feelings, and extradiegetically through the external actions of her classmates. The use of indirect personification emphasises her feelings but not her behaviour, displaying her alienation from her classmates, leading the reader to empathize with her.

The protagonist's German friends are like a united community that shares secrets and enjoys the strong relationship they have created. However, the protagonist, being a member of minority, is not included in their secrets. This kind of behaviour isolates and separates her from the dominant society that “hurt [s]” her. The omniscient narrator looks into her mind and reveals her thoughts as she feels their lack of trust. Lack of acceptance can affect immigrants negatively to the point of depression or violence (*Salam Berlin*, p. 101 and *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, p. 96).

³¹⁷ Die Hegemonie setzt immer die Normen fest. So gilt in Deutschland immer noch das Grundparadigma : deutsch ist gleich Weiß. Wer nicht Weiß ist. Gilt nicht als (normal-deutsch) und muss daher auf bestimmte Art und Weise markiert werden.

³¹⁸ Sie waren verschworene Gemeinden von Gleichgesinnten mit gleicher Geschichte und gleichen Geheimnissen. Und das tut am meisten weh, nicht teilnehmen zu dürfen an ihren Geheimnissen. „Sie mißtrauen dir“, dachte sie. Deutsche Sprichwörter fielen ihr ein: Jeder ist sich selbst der Nächste. Wie der Herr, so das Gescherr.

Nilgün, the narrator of *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, is curious about the roots and reasons of racist discrimination. She wonders:

What did the difference between Turks and Germans really consist of? Did country, language, upbringing, and environment that made us so Turkish or also European cause a problem to us? Had my Babaane given my newborn father to a German family, would nothing about my father be Turkish, aside from his black beard and dark skin? Would he have drunk beer, instead of Raki, and eaten red sausage instead of kebab? Or was the root of the difference genetic? Why should we “Eurasians” have to decide on one culture and country, when we had so many advantages from knowing more. In order to answer these questions, I had a lot yet to read and learn. Because that’s the only way to get wings! (p. 169).³¹⁹

These questions are indicative of a busy mind full of worries about racist behaviour. Nilgün wonders about differences between “Turks and Germans” (which can be considered as a metonymy for any national difference in the world). She considers imaginary situations in order to solve the ‘race’ problem. The protagonist thinks what would happen if her grandma had given his father to a German to raise. The little girl seems to be able to understand the importance of “country, language, upbringing, and environment” in the construction of humans’ personality and identity. While people choose to belong to only one culture, she thinks of the possible enrichment of the modern world as a result of multi-culturality.

The members of the major group within geographical and political boundaries maintain the power to decide and make rules and regulations. They use this power in order to rule over the whole society. Genetic, religious, traditional and other differences of minorities usually make the minority, to a greater or lesser extent, isolated from the major group, so that the major group can more easily isolate the minor ones. The division between at least two groups into majority and minority, can cause the whole society be marked by racist discrimination, which can two sided. This binary opposition must be repeatedly questioned and deconstructed in order to create a healthy relationship among all members of the society. Hostile behaviour,

³¹⁹ Worin bestand denn eigentlich überhaupt der Unterschied zwischen Türken und Deutschen? Machten die Länder und die Sprache oder die Erziehung und das Umfeld, das uns so türkisch oder auch europäisch gemacht hatte, ihn aus? Hätte meine Babaanne meinen Vater nach der Geburt einer deutschen Familie gegeben, wäre außer seinem schwarzen Bart und seiner dunklen Haut nichts an meinem Vater türkisch geworden? Hätte er Bier statt Raki getrunken und rote Wurst statt Kebab gegessen? Oder lag die Begründung für den Unterschied vielleicht in den Genen? Warum sollten wir „Eurasier“ uns denn überhaupt für nur ein Land und eine Kultur entscheiden, wenn wir doch so viele Vorteile davon hatten, mehr zu kennen? Und all diese Fragen zu klären, musste ich noch viel lesen und lernen. Denn nur dadurch bekam man Flügel!

inequality, isolation, depression, a sense of inferiority and violence (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* p. 56, *Salam Berlin*, p. 101 or *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, p. 96) can all be the direct consequences of racism that affects the lives of many members of the society and affects characters in every book studied here. Even what may be seen as a low-level innocuous expression of prejudice can, when repeated often enough, have effects that are the opposite of innocuous (*Salam Berlin*, p. 101 or *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, p. 21 and p. 96).

In contrast hope and modernity are powerful influences, which carry a power to alter the lives of the Turkish protagonists in Germany for good and such positive factors are dealt with in the next section.

4.2.4. Chances & Opportunities with Regard to the Protagonists

Although immigrants may experience traumatic situations in a host country, immigration has beneficial impacts on them too. For instance, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the pessimistic female protagonist talks about her increasing worries and haunting vexations and encumbrances, but the family doctor encourages her to “think positively” because her child “can feel everything”³²⁰ (p. 15). The immigrant characters of the split worlds described so often in this work have gone through various vicissitudes that have sometimes made them miserable, but as the German doctor believes there are positive sides as well. The coming baby can be a symbol of a hope which is to shine on the protagonist’s new life as a mother.

All the worries and difficulties of the immigrants in the chosen books are mixed with the hopes and happiness that people look for. As the title of the above-mentioned book reveals, men drink their tea with three lumps of sugar. Black tea symbolizes darkness, sadness, worries, problems and desperate challenges. On the other hand, sugar symbolizes wellbeing, sweetness, happiness, hope and optimism in life. The immigrant characters of this story experience both sides of life as people all around the world do: “Where the old men share their worries over a game of Tavla and Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar. [...] [He would emigrate] to find a better life for his wife and his girl, who was about to go to school”³²¹(p. 17). The number three, which is emphasized in both the title of this book, and in fabula, represents the wholeness of life. Its roots stem from the meaning of multiplicity, creative power, and growth. Three is a moving forward of energy, overcoming duality, it is

³²⁰ Denken sie positive, hatte der Hausarzt gesagt. Ihr Kind fühlt alles mit.

³²¹ wo die alten Männer sich bei Tavla und schwarzem Tee mit drei Stück Zucker ihre Sorgen teilten. [...] für seine Frau und die bald schulpflichtigen Mädchen ein besseres Leben zu suchen.

expression, manifestation and synthesis. Three is the first number to which the meaning “all” was given. It is The Triad, being the number of the whole that contains the beginning, middle and end. The power of three is universal and so, in many beliefs, is the tripartite nature of the world as heaven, earth, and waters. It is as human as body, soul and spirit. Notice the distinction; soul and spirit are not the same. They are not. Three is birth, life, and death. It is the beginning, middle and end. Three is a complete cycle unto itself. It is past, present, and future. Although these men have had a difficult past and present, the future is yet to come. It can herald a positive life in the new host country³²².

This kind of positive thinking and experience in the new society has penetrated the generations of immigrant families in the chosen books, no matter how old or young. For instance, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* as reported by the omniscient narrator, the girls’ hope for a better future in Germany is pictured in their drawings: “Each one of them formed for themselves a picture of the house with the flowers on the balcony once again”³²³ (p. 20). The picture of a house signifies their wish for a shelter and a society, which can spread the feeling of safety, happiness, and general homeliness. The picture of the house is beautiful, with flowers on the balcony. This is an idyllic portrayal of a space of peace and quiet. This theme reveals the strong belief of the protagonist and her sister in a beautiful future.

The hopeful pregnant protagonist in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, talks to her child, heralding a better world that is tolerant of all cultures and religions. For her, the future stems from multiculturalism and appreciation of diversity. The protagonist here takes the role of the narrator to discuss ethical issues for humanity. She addresses her child as a narratee, and, functioning as the implied reader as well, tells it:

But you will see, they will unite and the result will be a wonderful dignified unification of Gods, a new religion with more rights and less responsibilities than the one before. Then we will wake up with the Christian work ethic, live out the wisdom of the Jews in the relaxed and loving way of the Muslims and in the evening, with the hope of reincarnation, go to sleep in Buddha’s lap. You see my angel what sweet dreams there will be (p. 46).³²⁴

³²² See entry for “Three” in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2016

³²³ Each one of them formed for themselves a picture of the house with the flowers on the balcony once again.

³²⁴ Aber du wirst sehen, sie werden sich einigen, und das Ergebnis wird ein wunderbarer, würdiger Götterbund sein, eine neue Religion mit mehr Rechten und weniger Pflichten als die vorherigen. Dann werden wir mit dem christlichen Tatendrang aufwachen,

A united world and a united religion are dreams of a female immigrant who has been doubly discriminated, both because of her 'race' and her gender. However, she is neither depressed nor hopeless, since she is dreaming about a "new religion" which can unify the "Gods" of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. She gathers the positive points of each religion and blends them to create a newly combined set of beliefs, which can bring peace and comfort to all people, not war, violence, punishment and hatred. "Buddha's lap" symbolizes the kindness and love of which he preached. The use of a metaphor to refer to her child as an "angel" is congruent with the religions and ideologies she was talking about in the previous sentences.

Unity, love and compassion are not limited to one community but can also be inter-communal. In the same book, namely, *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, with many racial vicissitudes at hand, the Turkish immigrant characters seem to rather enjoy the company of a good German friend. The female protagonist's friend is "a German [girl] friend" who "went to my village [in Turkey] and asked around" (p. 79)³²⁵. The friend's helpfulness is a positive sign of native-immigrant relations, which has a great influence on the protagonist's outlook. This enables her to take an optimistic view of the Western society that mostly considers Turkish people as the 'Other'. The German friend's trip to Turkey reveals her interest in the Orient and multi-culturality. Later on a German man invites the Turkish protagonist and her sister to have some cake and cocoa with him and his wife: "Would you like some strawberry cake with cream and warm cocoa? The girls were shocked. The man had a voice like the aliens in Spaceship Orion. My wife has just baked a cake and I'm sure you will like it"³²⁶ (p. 84). This kind invitation symbolizes a willingness by Western society to accept the immigrants. Although these cases seem rare, the German man proves to be good-hearted and welcoming to people of other nations. The third-person narrator reports the girls' feelings upon this invitation. They are "shocked", which indicates how unlikely this behaviour seemed. The simile the narrator uses to describe their feeling is very suggestive as she says "The man had a voice like the aliens in Spaceship Orion" (ibid.).

The word "like" indicates a simile, which likens the German man to an alien. The estrangement of both peoples seems so enormous that they look like aliens to each other.

in liebevoller, moslemisch gelassener Art die klugen jüdischen Weisheiten leben und abends mit der Hoffnung auf Wiedergeburt in Buddhas schoß einschlafen. Was meinst du, mein Engel, was das für schöne Träume gibt.

³²⁵ Eine deutsche Freundin ist in mein Dorf gefahren und hat sich umgehört.

³²⁶ Mögt ihr Erdbeerkuchen mit Schlagsahne und warmen Kakao? Die Mädchen erschrecken. Der Mann hatte eine Stimme wie der Außerirdische in Raumschiff Orion. Meine Frau hat frischen Kuchen gebacken, der wird euch schmecken.

Spaceship Orion is referred to a German Sci-Fi TV show from the 1960s. In this spaceship both the humans and aliens can come together and have a space of possibility to get to know each other so that German society and the German man's home become a space for both strangers to start to know each other. The Turkish girls are finally able to feel accepted, which gives them a hope of feeling at home in the new society. The invitation to cake and cocoa represents the German character's hospitality and openness to other members of the society, whether with or without migration backgrounds.

The man's friendly behaviour later is emphasized by the narrator reporting about him in other parts of this diegetic work: " 'Do you like music?' He asked. The girls nodded. 'I have Turkish music as well as folk and classical', he said excitedly and showed them into the next room" (p. 85).³²⁷ His openness to other nations' music and culture represents a multi-culturality that makes him a good example of modern men who accept the space of plurality and diversity common in this era. Music, cake and warm cocoa are associated with a cosy feeling of being at home that includes the guests, even immigrant ones.

Academics from various disciplines have multiple explanations as to why people emigrate. Among them are financial stability and better future, as well as higher education and standard of life. How text illustrates this is shown by the narrator of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, who mentions a friend for whom the new country is a space of social opportunity:

The friend worked for five years in the bowels of the earth, as he put it, and sent everything he saved to his parents. Then he decided to become an architect to build beautiful houses in the sad areas around the pits. He had succeeded in finishing his studies with the best grade (p. 95).³²⁸

Germany has been, and is, a country, which offers better future prospects and higher wages to immigrants, such as this character. His reason for staying in Germany is to take care of his parents, who use his remittances. After working underground for five years he chooses to study architecture in order to make beautiful houses in the drab world of the coalmines. His previous job was explained in a clear metaphor. The narrator uses "the bowels of the earth" to indicate the difficulty of working underground and his sacrifice for his parents. He also talks judgmentally about ghetto-like company housing by calling them "sad areas". However good

³²⁷ Mögt ihr Musik? Fragte er. Die Mädchen nickten. Ich habe auch türkische Musik, Folklore und Klassisches, erzählte er ganz aufgeregt und führte sie in den Nebenraum.

³²⁸ Fünf Jahre arbeitete der Freund im Bauch der Erde, wie er sagte, schickte alles Ersparte an seine Eltern. Dann entschloß er sich, Architekt zu werden, um in den Tristen Zecheengegenden schöne Häuser zu bauen. Er hat es geschafft und sein Studium mit einer Eins abgeschlossen.

the housing, the pollution of mining areas and the unsafe conditions and health problems associated with being a miner throw an aura of sadness across them. He graduates from college in order to reach higher goals in life, which promise to be more rewarding. His excellent grades show how hard working and motivated this character is in order to open a prestigious space within the new community. He is the epitome of an immigrant driven to improve first his parents' lives, then his and the lives of those who live around him.

The protagonist's family, in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* tries to become as integrated as possible in order to have a western lifestyle: "now she could set her breakfast on the table with a yellow or red egg in it, like the other children and had something in common to talk about" (p. 109).³²⁹

The foods the girls eat at school are the same as other children, which makes them have "something in common to talk about" and this trend of integration and assimilation helps the immigrant family become part of the texture of the new society and live a different lifestyle from their traditional one. Sharing the same foods and social events helps these children have better contact with the society at large, so they experience less discrimination and differentiation and are thus not regarded as separate. The parents celebrate Christmas in order to prove their social integration: "But the girls were definitely impressed by this celebration of things in common" (ibid., p. 112).³³⁰ The same parties and celebrations give the children more reason to be accept the German 'natives' and be accepted by 'them'. In haring customs and traditions the immigrant family reveal their intention to find mutual reasons to celebrate and be happy.

It was now the same for them [the protagonist and her sister] as other school children had described. They had also brought their parents presents; a glasses case for her father and a new purse for her mother (p. 113). [...] He hugged his daughters hard and wiped their faces dry [they were crying with happiness]: Thanks for your gifts (ibid., p. 115).³³¹

They welcome Western traditions by experiencing them and feel open to them so that their lifestyle begins to resemble that of Germans more and more. Although integration might be regarded as weakening the past traditions of the immigrants, it enriches the immigrants' life

³²⁹ Jetzt konnten sie wie die anderen Kinder ihr Frühstücksbrot mit einem gelben oder roten Ei auf den Tisch legen und mitreden.

³³⁰ Aber die Mädchen beeindruckte gerade das Zelebrieren der Gemeinsamkeit.

³³¹ Bei ihnen war es jetzt genauso, wie es die anderen Schulkinder beschrieben hatten. Auch sie hatten für ihre Eltern Geschenke eingekauft, für den Vater ein Brillenetui, für die Mutter ein neues Portemonnaie (p.113). [...] Er drückte seine Töchter fest an sich und wischte ihnen die Gesichter trocken: Wir freuen uns auf eure Geschenke (p.115).

and lessens alienation and uncertainty. It is worth mentioning that in Islamic countries, there is no tradition of giving parents presents on religious festival days such as Eid, and this unexpected action on the part of the children, initiated by the school, has an emotional effect on the parents. Here the external focalizer presents the focalized extradiegetically, penetrating the father's feeling through his external action, which is wiping their crying eyes and hugging his children in a contrast to his 'normally' punitive behaviour towards them and his wife. The indirect personification emphasizes the family's surprise at what is happening to them in the new environment and the role of the school in enriching their lives (for more details see page. 165f.).

In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the protagonist who is talking to her child explains her ambitious dreams to gather all the beauty and comfort of Turkey to mix with the modernity and history of Germany:

Listen: let's take the little hill from my grandparent's village and put it on the Rhine, so that the side with the hollow faces the cathedral. Then we will make a maize-gold canopy with stars on it and that would be your place. With colourful Kelims from Turkey, down cushions from Austria, cuddly toys from Germany that would be like the most beautiful four-poster bed in the world. We will plant the Mulberry tree, under which my mother and her sisters so loved to sit [in Turkey], in the middle of the hill. On the longer side there will be a dozen hazelnut bushes. We will make our dining room out of the deer stand of my funny old uncle. It will be a bit small, but never cold, because we will get the hot midday sun out of the dusty streets of Anatolia and hang it above the old city of Cologne. Imagine how that will sparkle. By the way, the Rhine will have to be cleaned up so that we can grill the fish. With a pinch of salt and two or three drops of lemon juice, that will make a wonderful lunch. For dessert there will be white mulberries. In the evening we will buy bacon pancakes and slurp hot black tea with them (p. 120).³³²

³³² Hör zu: Wir holen das Berglein aus dem Dorf meiner Großeltern und stellen es an den Rhein, so daß die Seite mit der Mulde zum Dom liegt. Dann basteln wir einen maisgelben Baldachin mit Sternen und machen deinen Platz daraus. Mit bunten Kelims aus der Türkei, weichen Federkissen aus Österreich und kuscheligen Plüschtieren aus Deutschland bauen wir das schönste Himmelbett auf Erden. Den Maulbeerbaum, unter dem meine Mutter und ihre Schwestern so gerne gesessen haben, pflanzen wir in die Mitte des Bergleins. An die Längsseiten kommt ein Dutzend haselnußsträucher. Aus dem Hochsitz meines lustigen Onkels machen wir unser Wohnzimmer. Es wird zwar ein bißchen eng, aber nicht kalt, denn wir holen die heiße Mittagssonne von den staubigen Straßen Anatoliens weg und hängen sie über die Kölner Altstadt. Was meinst du, wie die dann glänzt. Übrigens, der Rhein muß

In this diegesis the narrator is heard speaking directly to the narratee while the voice of the narratee is not heard. The hopes and ambitious dreams she has make her both protagonist and narrator. Consequently, the child who is talked to is an implied reader as well as being the narratee. For this imaginative narrator the Rhine sits at the centre and the grandfather's village in Turkey with the warm sun of Anatolia are brought to its banks and into the sky. The Grandparents' Muslim village is combined with the German cathedral in a metonymy of a religious globalization suitable for the twenty-first century. The Mulberry tree becomes the symbol of Turkey "under which my mother and her sisters so loved to sit (ibid.)". Although the narrator wishes for a better lifestyle and freedom, she never removes Turkish elements from it. German society as well as Austrian cushions and Turkish Kelims together offer her a place of happiness and hope. Later the symbolic bacon pancakes and black tea again come together to represent the plurality and multiculturalism an immigrant thinks the best situation for life. All the kelims, cushions and cuddly toys, which show that cultural exchange is becoming more frequent, relate to a multilateral cultural world and to the increased interpenetration of cultural objects and markets between countries, defining a new identity for both with and without migration background. This paragraph is a utopian depiction of a city to live in, a place which could sincerely be called home.

In the same book, *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the narrator, has married a German, who is not totally welcomed by her family. In order to attain some familiarity, the grandmother starts calling the man "Ali". As the text shows, her wish for a Muslim husband for her granddaughter is grounded in a self-made illusionary world: "Your grandmother rechristened him. Ali was easier for her and supported the illusion of finding something Turkish in him (p. 132).³³³" Intermarriage is one of the cultural issues, which provoke resistance in many individuals with or without migration backgrounds, and, when it sometimes happens, it raises its own consequences, including the question of how open a protagonist is to the other culture (for instance Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and Peyda in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*).

The characters of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, portray their openness to the new culture even in the design of their house. Although they are somewhat conservative and

saubergemacht werden, damit wir Fische grillen können, mit einer Prise Salz und zwei bis drei Tropfen Zitrone wird das ein wunderbares Mittagessen. Zum Nachtschiff gibt es weiße Maulbeeren. Abends holen wir Speckpfannkuchen und schlürfen heißen, schwarzen Tee dazu.

³³³ Deine Großmutter hat ihn umgetauft. Ali fällt ihr leichter, und es lässt sie in der Illusion, etwas Türkisches an ihm zu finden.

nationalistic, the setting reveals a lot about their inner desire for a change from their previous traditional Turkish lifestyle to a more Western one. As is seen in many German houses, the walls are filled with photos and large portraits. This similarity is obvious in the protagonist's house:

The pictures of her daughters, had been left all over the flat, easily visible at eye level two large portraits, the younger with with camera and paintbrush in hand, the older in stage costume had been framed and stood on the sideboard. The school photos, in front of the Christmas tree, those from birthdays and of her son-in-law were hung [on the walls] (p. 138).³³⁴

Portraits on the wall, more a Western tradition than an Eastern one, are quite frequent in the protagonist's house. This modern, Western design of the house reveals the tendency of the characters to accept and be accepted in the new society. They seem very positive and open to changes and variety in their lifestyle. Their openness to other cultures predicts an easier life for them in Germany.

All the characters of the diegetic world of this book experience both sadness and happiness in German society, but the feeling that predominates over all others is a positive one. Economic gains as well as a better education system and a better lifestyle all are reasons for migration. This positive tone is clearly emphasized at the end of the narrative where the third-person narrator describes the immigrant family in front of a fountain:

Standing in front of the fountain, father wiped his eyes with a backward movement [and] clasped his wife closer: We must tell our grandchildren the comical stories of Hacivat and Karagöz. Mother nodded: Ali as well. I'll cook a chicken in walnuts, and pressed the handkerchief in her fist. The clock on the church tower was just striking twelve as they got into the underground (ibid., p. 139).³³⁵

In this paragraph, the narrator objectively describes the movements of the characters without penetrating into their minds. Here an indirect personification is emphasized, displaying the characteristics of the parents simply through action and setting, indicating their acceptance

³³⁴ Zurück ließ sie überall in der Wohnung, in Augenhöhe gut sichtbar, die Bilder ihrer Töchter. Zwei große, hochformatige Portraits, die Jüngere mit kamera und Pinsel in der Hand, im Bühnenkostüm die Ältere, hatte sie eingerahmt auf die Anrichte gestellt. Die Fotos von der Schule, vor dem Tannenbaum, von Geburtstagen und vom Schwiegersohn hatte sie aufgehängt.

³³⁵ Vor dem Springbrunnen stehend, wischte der Vater sich mit einer ruckartigen Bewegung die Augen, drückte sich enger an seine Frau: Wir müssen unserer Enkelin die lustigen Geschichten von Hacivat und Karagöz erzählen. Die Mutter nickte: dem Ali auch. Ich koche ein Walnußhuhn, und drückte das Taschentuch in der Faust. Die Kirchturmuhre schlug gerade zwölf, als sie in die letzte U-Bahn einstieg.

and care for “Ali” (who is in fact a German who has converted to Islam and has a Moslem name). Once the traditional patriarch of the house, the father is now different because of his integration into and bond with German society. He shows his emotions in that he “wiped his eyes (ibid.)” and is tender to his wife in that he “[...] clasped [her] closer (ibid.)”. Although assimilation has helped to make a better familial relationship, the parents have not forgotten their past roots, and decide to pass all Turkish “comical stories of Hacivat and Karagöz (ibid.)” onto their grandchildren as well as their German son-in-law. They plan to cook Turkish meals and, when talking about it, the camera-like eye of the omniscient narrator describes the wife’s emotions in her pressing the handkerchief in her hand. In spite of the various vicissitudes they have suffered in a new country, these sentences are the herald of a bright future, and this is evoked in a positive and pleasant tone echoing the characters’ voices and minds.

In *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, the narrator Fatma describes the differences between her village in Turkey and the new German society. While she misses the “warmth and light” of her village in the evening around the dung-fuelled fire, she talks about all the well-lit streets and houses:

There were lights everywhere, even at night the streets were so well lit that one could go for a walk without losing the way. In the flat we only has to push a switch and it was at once as light as day. But one could not see where these things came from. In V. we lit a fire in the evenings, which burnt dried dung and gave out warmth and light. I watched the crackling blazing flames, lost in thought, for hour after hour. They radiated peace and homeliness. I missed all that terribly (p. 113).³³⁶

The narrator who refers to herself and her family as “we” is astonished by the lights everywhere. The narrative gives external focalizing details; the focalization of this story is from the first person point of view of Fatma, the narrating “I” of the story. Light symbolizes the brightness of the future and the hope for that future. As Fatma says “one could go for a walk without losing the way (ibid.)” and this not losing the way can signify a path to attaining all the wishes she has. These wishes can come true through the day-to-day habits

³³⁶ Überall gab es Lichter, selbst bei Nacht waren die Straßen so gut beleuchtet, daß man spazieren gehen konnte, ohne com Weg abzukommen. In der Wohnung mußten wir nur auf einen Schalter drücken, und schon war es taghell. Aber man konnte nie erkennen, wo die Dinge ihren Ursprung hatten. In V. zündeten wir am Abend ein Feuer an, der getrocknete Mist verbrannte es gab Wärme und Licht. Die prasselnden, lodernnden Flammen habe ich stundenlang gedankenverloren betrachtet, sie verströmten Ruhe und Geborgenheit. Das alles fehlte mir hier sehr.

and changes of a new world. However, the experiencing I of the story relates her feelings about the fire in her village. She believes that the fire in her village “radiated peace and homeliness (ibid.)”. This personification of fire relates to various associations throughout cultural history. Whereas fire can represent knowledge, industrialization, divinity and martyrdom, for the protagonist, it represents peace and belonging. Her homesickness is directly connected with the symbolism of fire for her.

As mentioned in previous novels, one of the turning points providing relief in the immigrants’ lives is the positive attitude of some Germans without migration backgrounds around them. In Fatma’s case in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, her friendship with the German girl, Nicole, is a positive influence in her life in the strange new country:

Before the girl disappeared into the house, she turned towards me and waved. Happily surprised, I waved back. That was the beginning of our friendship. My new classmate and companion was called Nicole, she lived like a princess (p. 116).³³⁷

The first-person narrator describes the beginning of their friendship by mentioning behaviour and gestures, because she is unable to converse in German at this time. The narrator cannot enter the German girl’s mind, thus the only mind she reveals is hers. Because of the language barrier the focalization of scene here reflects problems of communication while penetrating the narrator’s feelings and presenting her too, via her external actions. An external focalization is used to indicate the communication problems and the euphoric beginning of a friendship. The girl waves goodbye and Fatma, as a new Turkish immigrant, feels both “happy” and “surprised (ibid.)”. Happy because as a lonely ‘non-native’ girl she is mostly discriminated against by the larger society, so finding a friend makes her really happy. “Surprised” because it is hard for her to believe that she can make friends with a German. The narrator uses a simile (like a princess) to show the wealth and lifestyle of the German girl. Nicole proves to be a good and supportive friend who takes Fatma’s side even when she finds out that Fatma has stolen one of her toys:

In my broken German I could make myself only barely understandable and exactly as I came to the end of my badly phrased confession, in came Nicole’s mother, looked at me questioningly, and asked what had

³³⁷ Bevor das Mädchen im Haus verschwand, drehte sie sich nach mir um und winkte mir zu. Freudig überrascht winkte ich zurück. Das war der Anfang einer Freundschaft. Nicole hieß meine neue Klassenkameradin und Gefährtin, sie lebte wie eine Prinzessin.

happened. It turned out that my new friend took my side: Fatma borrowed one of my cuddly toys and wanted to give it back! (p. 117).³³⁸

This friendly relationship and the supportive behaviour of the German girl make the Turkish narrator feel happy and cared for. Although language plays an important role in adults' communication, it does not affect the children's communication much. They can simply make friends by waving, smiling and taking care of each other. New relationships are made in the new society, and this proves to be very positive for the young Fatma. Here the perspective is an extradiegetic one which illustrates characteristics of both shy, embarrassed Fatma and forgiving, friendly Nicole without directly mentioning them, through focalizing on their interactions. This is a scene with a moral message of dilemma and resolution, which results in a friendship.

The new arena this female character with Turkish migration background enters offers more social freedom than her traditional family. Fatma's dogmatic father does not allow her to take driving lessons, but as a part of modern life, this is important to her and she tries hard to achieve it:

I wanted to have this bit of freedom. I talked to my boss, described my problem, and asked him to allow me to have driving lessons, both theoretical and practical, during work hours, naturally under the precondition that I would later work the hours. He said he was ready to help, and I registered with the driving school without my parents knowing (p. 153).³³⁹

Since she is deprived of family support in gaining more social rights and freedoms, she turns to her German boss to whom she explains the problem. The German shows more compassion than her father and allows her to do as she requests. The experiencing "I" of this passage portrays how a member of the host society is being more supportive than her parents. His readiness to help provides her a means to gain, in her words, "this bit of freedom (ibid.)". The new society demands a new persona; hence the characters of the stories each look for a

³³⁸ In meinem gebrochenen Deutsch konnte ich mich nur sehr notdürftig verständlich machen, und ausgerechnet, als ich mit meiner Beichte mehr schlecht als recht am Ende gekommen war, betrat Nicoles Mutter das Zimmer, sah mich prüfend an und fragte, was passiert sei. Es zeigte sich, daß meine neue Freundin zu mir hielt: Fatma hatte sich eines meiner Stofftiere ausgeliehen und wollte es zurückgeben!

³³⁹ Ich wollte dieses Stück Freiheit haben. Ich sprach mit meinem Chef, schilderte ihm mein Problem und bat ihn, die Fahrstunden und den theoretischen Unterricht während meiner Arbeitszeit besuchen zu dürfen, natürlich unter der Voraussetzung, sie später nachzuholen. Er erklärte sich bereit, mir zu helfen, und ich meldete mich ohne das Wissen meiner Eltern in der Fahrschule an.

different identity, which can vary from the previous one enormously or only minutely. In search of more social freedom and power, Fatma is most supported by Germans and this gives her an added sense of self-worth. After being successful in the driving test, it is her German driving instructor and his wife with whom she celebrates the success:

I, the little Turk Fatma from V., had done it! How very many fears had I had to overcome for this exam! Afterwards I went to a pub with my driving instructor and his wife to drink to my success (p. 154).³⁴⁰

As a woman, she is discriminated against in her traditional society and family, but the new country and society offer her a space of possibility to realize her wishes. The words such as “little Turk” and “many fears (ibid.)” display her lack of confidence, which is probably caused by lack of parental support. However, her drinking “to my success (ibid.)” presents the reader with a new picture of a young girl who tries to establish herself in the new community. She later refers to these two societies that are so far and different from each other that they are referred to as “worlds”:

So I moved between my German and Turkish worlds. In one, I was honoured and praised for the courage with which I confronted my problems, in the other I was beaten for every last crumb of autonomy I wanted to attain (p. 161).³⁴¹

Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized form without penetrating the narrator’s feelings and thoughts, via described external actions. This low-key statement transmits affect rather than a more emotional description would. The narrator of the story uses a synecdoche to liken the German society and Turkish family to “worlds”. In her Turkish society, she is not encouraged to develop an individual and independent identity and is repeatedly “beaten for every last crumb of autonomy I wanted to attain”. Her traditional family relies heavily on the old sexist ideology, which is out of place in the new society. Any kind of resistance against sexist traditions and inequalities is violently suppressed. She is not given the freedom a young woman would wish for. On the other hand, in German society she is “honoured and praised for the courage with which I confronted problems”. The new society allows her to exercise her rights and enjoy the freedom she has been deprived at

³⁴⁰ Ich, die kleine Türkin Fatma aus V., hatte es geschafft! Wie viele Ängste hatte ich für diese Prüfung durchstehen müssen! Anschließend ging ich mit meinem Fahrlehrer und seiner Frau in eine Kneipe, um auf meinen Erfolg anzustoßen.

³⁴¹ So pendelte ich von meiner deutschen in meine türkische Welt. Dort war ich anerkannt und bewundert für den Mut, mit dem ich meine Probleme anging, hier wurde ich geschlagen für jedes bißchen Autonomie, das ich gewinnen wollte.

home. Immigration brings about change and development both to the newcomers and their host country. Fatma accepts these changes and is very optimistic. She compares women's rights in German society with women's rights in Turkey: "Because in a society [Germany] in which women have the choice to decide on an alternative way of living it will become more and more difficult to take on positions which deprive women of basic rights (p. 221).³⁴²"

Fatma, the narrator in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, concludes that since women in Germany have the possibility of an alternative lifestyle, they will not be forced into special gender roles or gender discriminations as much as those Turkish women who live in a more traditional patriarchal society. The form of their lives will make it hard to deprive them of "basic rights". Hence, in German society they will enjoy more freedom, opportunities and recognition.

The search for freedom is not limited to the young female protagonist of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, but can be found in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds*. While Fatma, the first-person narrator of *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* depicts a hard-won path through suffering and vicissitudes to happiness, Nilgün, the omniscient narrator of *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds* has the space to talk about other characters' personality and about inner feelings as well:

Yes, Nilgün longs for freedom and takes it where she can, the best out of Turkish and out of German life. She knows the traditions of her Turkish grandmother Babaane and at the same time the many sided opportunities of the German way of life. She feels the rift in her parents between the two countries and reconciles them. She experiences close up what it means simultaneously to have roots and wings, which grow in her to overcome the many obstacles in her path (p. First page; without numbering).³⁴³

Nilgün like Fatma "longs for freedom (ibid.)", something that is not available to women in the Turkish culture they know. Therefore, this longing makes her dig deep into both cultures

³⁴² Denn in einer Gesellschaft, in der die Frau die Wahl hat, sich für eine alternative Lebensform zu entscheiden, wird es zunehmend schwieriger werden, Positionen durchzusetzen, die den Frauen grundlegende Rechte absprechen.

³⁴³ Doch Nilgün sehnt sich nach Freiheit und sie nimmt sie sich, wo sie kann: das Beste aus dem türkischen und dem deutschen Leben. Sie kennt die Tradition ihrer Großmutter Babaane und entdeckt zugleich die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten der deutschen Lebensweise. Sie fühlt die Zerrissenheit ihrer Eltern zwischen den beiden Ländern und versöhnt sie. Sie erlebt hautnah, was es heißt, Wurzeln und gleichzeitig Flügel zu haben Flügel, die ihr wachsen, um die vielen Hindernisse auf ihrem Weg zu überwinden.

to get the “best out of Turkish and out of German life (ibid.)”. She does not limit herself to only one culture and since she is familiar with “the traditions of her Turkish grandmother Babaane (ibid.)” and at the same time, “the many-sided opportunities of the German way of life (ibid.)”, she uses the opportunity to take advantage of both. Her multicultural lifestyle facilitates her avoidance of the rifts that her parents feel and enables her to “reconcile them”. In the next sentence, the narrator reports her desire to gain the benefits of both cultures with the words “roots” and “wings”. Roots symbolize the protagonist’s origin, which is in Turkey, while wings symbolize the opportunities for a better lifestyle in both the present and the future. In order to reach the hoped for life in the new society she makes find friends: “We embraced and my friend Helene held me [Nilgün] tightly to her” (p. 19).³⁴⁴ Like Fatma’s German friend, Helene can also provide a more relaxed environment for her. In order to be accepted as a member of the new society, she has to communicate with them and this acceptance continues to the point that she is allowed to visit the Schäufoles’ (Helene’s) house although Mr. Schäufole is racist and does not tolerate the immigrants:

Mr. Schäufole thanked me and promised that from time to time I could visit Helene. “But not too often!”, he said raising his index finger. Yes, thank you Herr Schäufole, with great pleasure, I replied ever so softly and said goodbye to all of them. I could have shouted out with joy. That was the breakthrough! I was the only one who had seen the Schäufoles’ house from the inside. I was so proud of myself, and absolutely had to tell my Anne (p. 20).³⁴⁵

Here the internal and external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized material from within and without, penetrating Nilgün’s feeling and thoughts and presenting her external action. Mr. Schäufole is present, yet only presented via external focalization from without. The indirect personification is used here as a means of distancing the protagonist from Mr. Schäufole who likes neither her nor immigrants in general, and mentions nothing internal to the character. Displaying and exemplifying the setting and characters’ behaviour leaves to the reader the task of inferring how happy the protagonist is. Even Mr. Schäufole starts to feel more comfortable with and tolerant of the immigrants as he gets to know them.

³⁴⁴ Wir umarmten uns, und meine Freundin Helene drückte mich ganz fest an sich.

³⁴⁵ Herr Schäufole bedankte sich bei mir und versprach, dass ich ab und zu Helene besuchen dürfe. „Aber nicht zu oft! sagte er mit erhobenem Zeigefinger. Ja, danke, Herr Schäufole, das mache ich sehr gerne“ antwortete ich ganz leise und verabschiedete mich von allen. Ich hätte laut losschreien können vor Freude. Das war der Durchbruch! Ich war die Einzige, die Schäufoles Haus je von innen gesehen hatte. Ich war so stolz auf mich und wollte es unbedingt meiner Anne erzählen.

Being accepted by a hostile Mr. Schäufele, is a success for Nilgün and as she reported, she “could have shouted out with joy. That was the break-through.” This immense joy and sense of pride heralds the girl’s later victories in overcoming the difficulties of an immigrant’s life in Germany.

Other characters, such as Nilgün’s mother, also attempt enhancing their relationships with the Germans. Although she cannot speak German fluently, she does not retreat totally from German society and tries to use everything in her power to understand and be understood. When needed, she asks Mine to translate words for her which is a very positive sign of a wish for a higher level of relationship:

Anne [the mother] spoke much better German than our Baba [father]. And when she couldn’t understand something, Mine translated it. Mrs. Huber was also really nice, but sometimes I couldn’t understand her properly, because one side of her face was a bit twisted. In spite of this she had baked a cake especially for us, but I didn’t like it at all (p. 31).³⁴⁶

This attempt at building a better relationship seems bilateral, because Mrs. Huber also encourages it by baking cakes for the immigrant family. By showing this friendly behaviour she emboldens them to make a visit to her house. Hence both societies act to facilitate the contact and treat each other in a way, which will build a fruitful and functioning neighbourliness in which they can bond. For them immigration increases cultural diversity, something that they, and many others, enjoy very much.

As seen in the immigrant characters of *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: a Childhood in Two Worlds* as well the main protagonists, the narrator’s family tend especially toward integration by accepting Western celebrations, such as Christmas. Nilgün, as the first-person narrator here, reports:

Afterwards my Anne cried a few tears once again, gave me a kiss, and smiled. Then she opened the fridge door: “Baba has brought a goose from the (weekly) market, and it will be in the oven soon. We are having visitors tonight” she said and showed me a goose that was even bigger than the one the Schäufeles had. It was perfect! We had a Christmas tree,

³⁴⁶ Anne sprach viel besser deutsch als unser Baba. Und wenn sie etwas nicht verstehen konnte, übersetzte es Mine. Frau Huber war auch sehr nett, aber manchmal konnte ich sie nicht gut verstehen, weil die eine Hälfte ihres Gesichts ein bisschen schief war. Und trotzdem hatte sie extra für uns einen Kuchen gebacken, den ich überhaupt nicht lecker fand.

with real plastic balls, and outside it was snowing. It was Christmas. For us too! (p. 42).³⁴⁷

Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized extradiegetically using her parent's external actions in competing with the neighbours at Christmas. The use of indirect personification is being employed here as the narrator focuses on the details of setting, describing her parents' reaction to Christmas. This describes concisely how the attitudes of Nilgün's parents are changing in Germany and the narrator's joy at the unification of her 'two worlds' if only for Christmas.

They decide to celebrate Christmas by cooking a goose, and setting up a tree with plastic balls in the living room. All of this done exactly as the Germans do; hence the Turkish family starts first by imitating and then solidifying this tradition into their own culture. The experiencing "I"-narrator who talks about her Anne and Baba using "my" and "me" and then plural "we", is extremely happy at this event and compares the goose with that of the Schäumeles. She concludes that her family, which has few contacts with German culture, has finally accepted Christmas as a celebration and has taken an important step towards integration; she happily mentions that, "It was Christmas. For us too!" The word "too" bridges the two societies, sharing traditions and ceremonies, and giving a sense of unity and togetherness.

This sense of unity finds its response in the goodness, sociability and friendliness of the members of society, majority and minority, who feel sympathy for each other and help those in need as, Mr. Boehringer does in the same book:

Mr. Boehringer asked my Anne [the mother] what he could do for her. Anne explained further that my Baba [the father] was desperately looking for a job in which he could work at night, so that we didn't have to be at home alone. The man promised Anne to help her as soon as possible. A few days later Baba was allowed to start on the night shift. Hasan [the father] naturally didn't want to give up his job as a driver, but he had no other choice, said Anne. Herr Boehringer had pressed an envelope into Anne's and wished her all the best. "That was money for my flight and a

³⁴⁷ Danach vergoss meine Anne wieder einmal ein paar Tränen, gab mir einen Kuss und lächelte. Dann öffnete sie den Kühlschrank: „Baba hat eine Gans vom Wochenmarkt mit gebracht und die kommt nachher in den Backofen. Wir bekommen heute Abend Besuch“ sagte sie und zeigte mir eine Gans, die noch größer war als die von Schäumeles. Es war perfekt! Wir hatten einen Weihnachtsbaum mit echten Plastik kugeln eine Gans und draußen schneite es. Es war Weihnachten. Auch für uns!

month's wages", said Anne, crying. "I have never experienced so much goodness from any Moslem, the man is an Angel!" (p. 118).³⁴⁸

Nilgün, the protagonist, explains how Boehringer (her mother's boss) is eager to help her family, finds a job for the father, and also offers the mother enough money for her trip to Turkey (to bring her children Nilgün and Mine to Germany). The mother compares Boehringer the Christian with Muslims and concludes that he is better than they are, and is an "angel (ibid.)". Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized form from within and without, both penetrating mother's feeling and thoughts yet Mr. Boehringer's external actions are only presented extradiegetically. The direct definition of Boehringer as an "Angel", and the comparison with "any Moslem", underline the emotionality of what has happened. An indirect personification is employed as the narrator focuses on the boss's support. This metaphor reveals the deep feelings of gratitude the mother feels about him. Mr. Boehringer has a very positive effect on the characters of this narrative and, as his actions show, he is very charitable. He is open to the immigrants and accepts them as natural members of German society. These actions convince the Turkish family that there are good-hearted German people (without migration backgrounds), who help them settle and feel at home. She later takes her children to her boss to thank him for what he has done:

The next day Anne immediately took us to work with her. She just had to introduce us to her boss, the man who had given us the money and had found Baba a job on the night shift. We put on our best clothes, and Anne was really proud of us. She knocked at his office door, and we were allowed to go in. The man looked funny. He had a bigger belly than my Baba and very little hair on his head. "Who's this? I would also have missed you two. No wonder your mother was so sad", he said amiably, and bent down to us. "I'm Werner Boehringer, who are you?" "Mine, and that is my little sister Nilgün." We thanked Werner for everything and gave him a box of chocolates from Turkey (p. 126).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ Herr Boehringer fragte meine Anne, war er für sie tun könnte. Annem erzählte ihm weiter, dass mein Baba verzweifelt auf der Suche nach einer Arbeit war, wo er nachts arbeiten konnte, damit wir nicht alleine zu Hause bleiben mussten. Der Mann hatte Annem versprochen, ihr so bald wie möglich zu helfen. Ein paar Tage später durfte Baba gleich mit der Nachtschicht anfangen. Hasan wollte natürlich seine Arbeit als Fahrer nicht aufgeben, aber ihm blieb nichts anderes übrig" sagte Annem. Herr Boehringer hatte meiner Anne einen Briefumschlag in die Hand gedrückt und ihr alles Gute gewünscht. Das war das Geld für mein Flugticket und ein Monats Gehalt" sagte Annem weinend. „Von keinem Moslem habe ich jemals so viel Gutes erfahren. Dieser Mann ist ein Engel.

³⁴⁹ Giuseppe und Paola waren sehr aufgeregt, als sie uns das erste Mal wiedersahen. Sie freuten sich so sehr, dass sie Ablam und mir sogar Anne nahm uns gleich am nächsten Tag mit zur Arbeit. Sie wollte uns unbedingt ihrem Chef vorstellen, der ihr das Geld für uns

The presence of the children who have only just arrived in Germany is only possible through Boehringer's assistance. His role in uniting the Turkish family is a direct and influential one. The children put on their best clothes as a sign of respect and go to his office to show their gratitude by giving him a present. His kind behaviour affects the children as well. They do not feel ashamed or inferior in his presence. Instead, they receive a warm welcome from the man.

Nilgün wishes to combine the best of the both countries as she says "Germany smelt of pretzels, grilled sausage and perfume, Turkey of cinnamon, garlic and flat bread. And I wanted as best of all, to have all of them!" (p. 122).³⁵⁰ She has become German enough to now find the smell of pretzels a perfume as pleasant as the smell of cinnamon and fresh bread. Her gathering all of these together proves Nilgün's optimism in the new land. Her positive viewpoint ameliorates the pressures of an unfamiliar country, which is becoming more familiar. This positive tendency is present in many parts of the narrative such as when the protagonist and her grandmother are painting:

Babaanne painted a picture with a sun, a house and a piece of sugar candy.

I painted pretzels and a double-decker bed as well, and then I made [put in] a bridge between the things in Alaca and those in Germany (p. 125).³⁵¹

While the old grandmother is homesick for Turkey and paints the "sun, a house and a piece of sugar candy (ibid.)" which all are metonymically associated with Turkey, the child narrator "painted pretzels and a double-decker bed" (ibid.) which are metonymically associated with Germany. She symbolically "made [put in] a bridge between the things in Alaca and those in Germany" (ibid.) to join the two countries and cultures, which are dear to her. The painting is the revelation of her heart and her hopes for life and future. Although combining both seems impossible, the little girl stays positive about being able to do this, and is not discouraged.

Friendly ties that the Turkish characters of this narrative world have made with their German and Italian friends are emphatically described in the book. Nilgün's family had been in

gegeben hatte und Baba eine Arbeit in der Nachtschicht besorgt hatte. Wir zogen unsere schönsten Kleider an, und Anne war ganz stolz auf uns. Sie klopfte an die Tür seines Büros und wir durften eintreten. Der Mann sah lustig aus. Er hatte einen dickeren Bauch als mein Baba und ganz wenig Haare auf dem Kopf. Na? Euch beide hätte ich auch vermisst. Kein Wunder, dass eure Mutter so traurig war, sagte er freundlich und beugte sich zu uns herunter. Ich bin Werner Boehringer und wie heißt du? „Mine, und das ist meine kleine Schwester Nilgün“. Na, Mine kann ich mir noch merken, aber mit deinem Namen wird es schwierig' sagte er. Wir bedankten uns für alles und schenkten Werner eine Schachtel Pralinen aus der Türkei.

³⁵⁰ Deutschland roch nach Brezeln, gegrillter Wurst und Parfum, die Türkei nach Zimt, Knoblauch und Fladenbrot. Und ich hätte am liebsten alles gehabt!

³⁵¹ Babaanne malte ich ein Bild mit einer Sonne, einem Haus und einem Stück Kandiszucker. Ich malte auch noch Brezeln und ein Stock Bett, und dann machte ich eine Brücke zwischen den Sachen in Alaca und denen in Deutschland.

Turkey for their holiday and when they arrive back everybody in the neighbourhood seems happy:

The first time they saw us again Giuseppe and Paola were very excited. They were so happy they gave Ablam [my Sister] and me presents. Sadly, my friend Helene was not there when we got back, she had gone to Italy with her parents, and only got back a few days later. Even the German butcher had missed me and gave me a really big piece of pork sausage (p. 127).³⁵²

Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized form without, presenting the external actions of narrator's friends. Indirect extradiegetic personification is employed here as a means to focus on her friends action and the setting, leaving to the reader the task of inferring the quality of friendship within Nilgün and her sister's neighbourhood. The multicultural atmosphere of the neighbourhood with its open-minded residents is clearly pictured in this text. The Italian friends, "Giuseppe and Paola were very excited. They were so happy they gave Ablam and me presents" (ibid.). This excitement and happiness reveals the mutual amiable connections between the Turkish immigrant children and others although these children were first considered the "other". This kind treatment is shown even by "the German butcher [who] had missed me and gave me a really big piece of pork sausage" (ibid.). The warm welcome develops the positive tone of the passage and the whole story. Cross-cultural relationships make life easier for the residents and increase the beneficial bonds among them.

Germany offers a huge range of educational opportunities, from top-class universities to vocational and other schools. The treatment of immigrants in educational institutions can play an important role in developing their identity, self-esteem and worldview. Nilgün's parents have enrolled her in an elementary school where, with her teachers and classmates, she experiences a life different to anything she had known before. She describes her classroom at length and with astonishing detail:

Our classroom was big, and dark-green curtains hung at the windows. I sat with my Anne right at the front. Our teacher, Miss Meyer, was really

³⁵² Giuseppe und Paola waren sehr aufgeregt, als sie uns das erste Mal wiedersahen. Sie freuten sich so sehr, dass sie Ablam und mir sogar Geschenke machten. Meine Freundin Helene war leider bei unserer Ankunft nicht da. Sie war mit ihren Eltern nach Italien gefahren und kam erst nach ein paar Tagen zurück. Sogar der deutsche Metzger hatte mich vermisst und gab mir eine ganz dicke, fette Scheibe Schweinewurst!

nice. She had hair dyed with henna and green eyes, and was almost as big as my Baba. She greeted us all and I had to translate what she said for my Anne. My Anne was pleased that I could still speak such good German. After the greetings the teacher sent the parents home. We children had to stay. Almost as soon as the parents had gone, a few children began to cry, but Miss Meyer comforted them and let us all snack from our Schultüte [a large decorated paper cone full of sweets for the first day at school] She gave each of us a little golden star. Really, only the well behaved, hard-working children got stars, but because it was the first day at school, everyone got one. Anyone who got five stars was allowed to sit in Miss Meyer's chair for ten minutes (p. 131).³⁵³

The first-person narrator focalizes on various external details in her classroom, such as the size and the dark-green curtains. Green is the colour of growth, the colour of spring, of renewal and rebirth. It renews and restores depleted energy. It is a sanctuary away from the stresses of modern living, a restorative giving us back a sense of well-being. The teacher also has green eyes and her hair is dyed with henna. She is described as being a kind woman, since when “a few children began to cry”, she patiently “comforted them and let us all snack from our Schultüte”. She knows the psychology of children and treats them in a friendly way as Nilgün happily explains that; “She gave each of us a little golden star. Really, only the well behaved, hard-working children got stars, but because it was the first day at school, everyone got one. Anyone who got five stars was allowed to sit in Miss Meyer's chair for ten minutes” (ibid.). No racist behaviour is reported and all children, whether immigrant or not, are respected. Nilgün develops a good relationship with her teacher and does homework voluntarily. She learns independence, as she is “allowed to go to school by myself, without my Abla”:

After a few weeks I was even allowed to go to school by myself, without my Abla [Nilgün's sister Mine]. Helene was brought to school by her mother, and then collected again. Sometimes Frau Shäufele took us both

³⁵³ Unser Klassenzimmer war groß und an den Fenstern hingen dunkelgrüne Vorhänge. Ich saß mit meiner Anne ganz vorne. Unsere Lehrerin, Frau Mayer, war sehr nett. Sie hatte Henna gefärbte Haare, grüne Augen und war fast so groß wie mein Baba. Sie begrüßte uns alle, und ich musste meiner Anne übersetzen, was Frau Mayer sagte. Meine Anne freute sich, dass ich noch so gut deutsch sprechen konnte. Die Lehrerin schickte die Eltern nach der Begrüßung nach Hause. Wir Kinder mussten sitzen bleiben. Kaum waren die Eltern weg, fingen ein paar Kinder an zu weinen. Aber Frau Mayer tröstete sie und erlaubte uns Alien, aus der Schultüte zu naschen. Sie gab jedem von uns einen kleinen goldenen Stern. Eigentlich bekamen nur die braven und fleißigen Kinder einen Stern, aber weil es der erste Schultag war, durften alle einen haben. Wer fünf Sterne hatte, durfte zehn Minuten auf dem Stuhl von Frau Mayer sitzen.

by the hand and all three of us walked together. In the evenings I set out my clothes for the next day and sorted out my satchel. Anne had to buy a lot of workbooks because I did so much voluntary homework (p. 132).³⁵⁴

The first-person diegetic narrative presents the protagonist's feelings and experiences by using external focalization very well. Her desire for independence is shown when she eagerly talks about coming home without her sister accompanying her. Mrs. Schäufele also helps the Turkish family take care of their children when she "took us both by the hand and all three of us walked together (ibid.)". Her assistance in getting the children home is a pleasant event for the little girl who enjoys the company of her German friend.

In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, women play a different role from the other novels. The mother figure is an educated woman who hates doing chores and prefers reading "clever books (ibid.)". She does not succumb to the "classical role of women (ibid.)" especially not in the Turkish culture around which her family is oriented:

Mama looked at him really angrily and her eyes flashed. It was an open secret that she not only hated housework, but also did it so unwillingly that Papa had to do a great deal in the house, while Mama read clever books. You know what I feel about the classical role of women! (p. 20).³⁵⁵

Being in Western society gives Lale's mother more freedom to act according to her ideology and behave independent of the gender-based biases of various patriarchal cultures. In this third-person narrative, the narrator uses external clues such as "her eyes flashed" (ibid.) or "Mama looked at him really angrily" (ibid.) to describe her inner feelings about traditional female work, which she considers especially unfair. Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized from within and without, both penetrating mother's feeling and thoughts from within and her external actions from without. The use of direct definition naming behaviour using nouns like angeriness, hatred, unwillingness is clear here. Indirect personification is also employed here as Lale does not directly describe roles in the family but uses housework as an indirect indication of them.

³⁵⁴ Nach ein paar Wochen durfte ich sogar morgens alleine in die Schule gehen, ohne meine Abla. Helene wurde von ihrer Mama gebracht und auch wieder abgeholt. Manchmal nahm Frau Schäufele uns beide an die Hand und wir liefen zu dritt. Abends richtete ich meine Kleider für den nächsten Tag her und ordnete meinen Schulranzen. Anne musste mir ganz viele Hefte kaufen, weil ich daheim so viele freiwillige Hausaufgaben machte.

³⁵⁵ Mama schaute ihn ganz böse an und funkelte mit den Augen. Es war ein offener Geheimnis, dass sie Hausarbeit nicht nur hasste, sondern auch sehr ungern ausführte, sodass Papa ganz viel im Haushalt erledigen musste, während Mama kluge Bücher las. Du weißt, was ich von der klassischen Frauenrolle halte!

Lale's mother is an intelligent woman who can manage to explain religious differences without being prejudiced, using jokes in order avoid religious conflict:

Oh, there isn't very much pork in it, only a little bit of bacon! Mrs. Breuer hastened to say. It's not about the amount, asserted Mama, it's about a basic decision. -"And why don't you eat pork?" -"We say because of tradition. How should I explain?" Possibly with a joke. "A rabbi and a Catholic priest are invited to a wedding banquet. Roast pork is on the menu. When asked, the Catholic reverend of the rabbi, as he stuffed piece of meat into his mouth, will you be ready to enjoy this delicious roast?" The rabbi smiled and said "At your wedding holy father". - "In the same way as you Catholic priests do not marry, so Jews and Muslims do not eat pork" (p. 44).³⁵⁶

This joke about Catholic and Jewish traditions, familiar to audience and reader, enables transmission of narrative from narrator to narratee (both fictional) and constitutes a clever parable. In this text, the mother becomes the intradiegetic narrator and enables a message about religious convictions to be conveyed in a manner free of any offence.

The support of the family is an influential factor in creating positivity in the life of immigrant characters such as Lale. The open-mindedness of Lale's mother and the financial situation of the family are important. As a young child, she is provided with a German tutor to learn German as soon as possible.

For me this episode was like an open door: I could finally talk with Germans a little, understand them and, above all, talk myself. That was important for me, because, as said, I could only keep my mouth shut with difficulty (p. 49).³⁵⁷

Here the internal focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized content from an intradiegetic perspective, penetrating the narrator's feelings to transmit the feeling of joy that

³⁵⁶ Oh, da ist nicht so viel Schweinefleisch drin, nur ein bisschen Speck! Beeilte sich Frau Breuer zu sagen. -Es geht nicht um die Menge, stellte Mama fest, es geht um eine Grundsatzentscheidung. -Aber warum essen sie Kein Schweinefleisch? -Sagen wir - aus Tradition? Wie soll ich ihnen das erklären? Vielleicht mit einem Witz: Ein Rabbi und ein katholischer Priester sind bei einem Festbankett eingeladen. Es gibt Schweinebraten. Wann, fragt der katholische Geistliche den Rabbi, werden Sie diesen herrlichen Braten genießen? Während er sich ein Stück Fleisch in den Mund schiebt. Der Rabbi lächelt und antwortet: Auf ihrer Hochzeit, Hoch würden. Verstehen Sie, so wie bei Ihnen katholische Priester nicht heiraten, so essen die Juden und die Muslime kein Schweinefleisch.

³⁵⁷ Für mich war diese Episode wie eine offene Tür: Endlich konnte ich mit Deutsche eine wenig sprechen, sie verstehen und vor allem: selbst reden. Das war für mich wichtig, den ich konnte wie gesagt nur sehr schlecht den Mund halten.

comes from being able to make sense of a language for the first time. Direct definition shows her relief had not having to remain silent all the time.

The way Lale can communicate with Germans speeds her assimilation within the new society, which makes her life easier and more enjoyable. In this simile, she likens “this episode” (ibid.) to “an open door” (ibid.), which quite clearly explains her sense of freedom and acceptance in the society. She later refers to her integration as “determined”:

The word ‘integration’ was unknown at that time but I was absolutely determined to fit in in the class. To be honest, I had not thought about why. It was quite simply important for me just to do this. Thus I ensured that, on the following Friday, I also had something from the sausage family on my bread and butter and went to school full of expectation (p. 50f.).³⁵⁸

Integration and being an indispensable member of the class community are very important to her. She is “determined to fit in into the class” (ibid.) although she naively confesses that she does not know the reason. The experiencing “I” (ibid.) of the story narrates her inner desire to become like other students.

In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, Lale’s family do not have a negative attitude to Germans, on the contrary they think of them positively, as illustrated by her Aunt Semra when visiting Germany, in the following quote:

Excuse me, I’m looking for a cinema, she said in English to the nearest available person. The effect, however, was disappointing. Most people understood no English, shook their heads, and walked on. You know, brother, the Germans are really nice, but they haven’t got what it takes in foreign languages. This afternoon was really awkward because people wanted to help us but couldn’t talk to us. It was lucky for us that Mr. Anton was there. In a soft voice she added; what a charming man! No, no, Papa threatened with his finger, laughing, think of your nice man in Istanbul! That’s what I am doing, otherwise I would go weak in the knees ... In this, as well, she was once again honesty incarnate. I gather from

³⁵⁸ Das Wort Integration war zwar damals unbekannt, aber ich war wild entschlossen mitzumachen und mich der Klassengemeinschaft anzupassen. Über den Grund hatte ich mir ehrlicherweise keine Gedanken gemacht; wichtig war für mich schlicht und einfach das Machen. Also sorgte ich da für, dass ich am folgenden Freitag auch irgend etwas aus der Familie der Würste auf meinem Botteram hatte, und ging voller Vorfriede in die Schule.

this, said Papa, that talking to this Herr Anton makes you want to learn German (p. 56).³⁵⁹

Aunt Semra is aware that she does not share the language, which causes problems in any kind of communication. To describe the Germans, positive adjectives such as “nice” and “charming” are used while judging the Germans competence in English with “they haven’t got what it takes in foreign languages (ibid.)”. Aunt Semra’s experiences at this time are so positive that, having originally come only to visit, she remains in Germany.

The father-character who has been living in Germany for longer does not have a language problem so the process of assimilation is easier for him. Long years in Germany have made him multicultural and able participate in and enjoy foreign traditions:

When Papa returned a good half-hour later, he was in the best of moods. His eyes were bright, and a small bag swung from his hand. Before Mama could open her mouth the news burst out of him: Those people are celebrating Christmas he informed us. -What do you mean? Asked Mama, who suspected an ironclad excuse behind these words, Christmas is tomorrow. -Do I have to tell you again, countered Papa. The doorbell rang, the door opened and there they were all dressed in their best and insisted I go in. There, inside you could see candles everywhere, a decorated Christmas tree, parcels of presents. The neighbours thought I had come to wish them a happy Christmas and I left it at that. I couldn't tell them I had come because the music had annoyed my wife. Anyway it was Christmas carols. Mama looked at him with her mouth open. And then? She asked. Well, we talked for a bit about different festival traditions then I had to join join in a toast. Oh. Yes, the biscuits here, he waved the bag in his hand, are for the children. Then he turned to us; By the way, you are invited round if you should want to look at the Christmas tree. My little sister took the bag of biscuits from him to have bite and decide if it would be worth taking up this friendly invitation. -And? I

³⁵⁹ Excuse me, I’m looking for a cinema, Sprach sie die erstbeste Person auf Englisch an. Die Resonanz jedoch war ernüchternd: Die meisten Leute verstanden kein Englisch, schüttelten den Kopf und liefen weiten. Weißt du, Bruder, die Deutschen sind sehr nett, aber mit den Fremdsprachen haben sie es nicht so. Heute Nachmittag war es wirklich unangenehm, weil die Leute uns helfen wollten, aber nicht mit uns sprechen konnten. Ein Glück für uns, dass Herr Anton da war. Mit einer weichen Stimme ergänzte sie: wars für ein charmanter Mann! Na, na, Papa drohte lachend mit dem Finger, denk an deinen netten Mann in Istanbul! Das tue ich, ansonsten könnte ich schwach werden... Auch in diesem Fall war sie mal wieder Fleischwerdung der Ehrlichkeit. Verstehe, sagte Papa, um dich mit diesem Herrn Anton unterhalten zu können, willst du Deutsch lernen.

asked my sister. We'll go round in the morning, she decided, her mouth full (p. 71).³⁶⁰

In this text from *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, which is narrated in the first person, the protagonist gives a comprehensive description of the way Lale's father welcomes the traditions another culture. He comes back in the "best mood" and tells the mother that he could not reject the neighbour's invitation to join their Christmas celebration. This reveals his openness to German traditions, his acceptance of these customs and his acceptance by the German members of the society without migration backgrounds. Here the external focalizer (narrator-focalizer) presents the focalized from an extradiegetic perspective, not penetrating father's feeling and thoughts yet presenting his external action. Indirect personification is emphasized here by not mentioning his characteristic behaviour, but displaying the setting and characters' actions in a way, which allows the reader to see both the contrast between the parents and their interactions and the openness of children and father. While participating in the Western custom, he also explains those of his country of origin. His attitude is transferred to his children when Lale's sister, Peyda, accepts the neighbour's invitation by announcing that; "We'll go round in the morning". Later the narrator explains how much they have "learned" about this tradition:

We learned that in Germany Christmas has already started on 24th, December, that in this celebration one made music at home, that, in whatever form, there was always a decorated Christmas tree and heaps of cookies, so many that we, as the neighbours, always got our fair share. That was the positive side [of Christmas] that we children we able to accept without envy (p72).³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Als papa nach gut einer halben Stunde wiederkam, war er bestens gelaunt. Seine Augen leuchteten, und in der Hand schwenkte er eine kleine Tüte. Bevor Mama den Mund auf machen konnte, platzte er mit der Neuigkeit heraus: 'Die Leute feiern das Weihnachtsfest!' Teilte er uns mit. 'Wieso das?' Fragte Mama, die hinter diesen Worten eine handfeste Ausrede meines Vaters vermutete, Weihnachten ist doch erst morgen! 'Wenn ich es euch doch sage, entgegnete Papa, ich klinge an der Tür, die Leute machen mir auf, sie sind alle festlich gekleidet, ich musste mit reingehen, da drin sah es aus, überall Kerzen, ein geschmückter Tannenbaum, Geschenk pakete. Die Nachbarn haben gedacht, ich wäre gekommen, um ihnen ein gesegnetes Weihnachten zu wünschen, ich habe es dabei bewenden lassen. Ich konnte ihnen doch nicht sagen, ich bin gekommen, weil die musik meine Frau gestört hat. Übrigens, es waren Weihnachtschoräle! Mama schaute ihn mit offenem Mund an. 'Und dann?' Fragte sie. 'Na ja, wir haben ein wenig geplaudert über unterschied liche Festbräuche, dann musste ich mit ihnen anstoßen. Ach ja, die Kekse hier er schwenkte die Tüte in der Hand sind für die Kinder'. Dann wandte er sich an uns: 'Ihr seid übrigens eingeladen, euch den Tannenbaum anzuschauen sollten'. Meine Kleine Schwester nahm ihm die Kekstüte ab, um schon mal zu kosten und zu entscheiden, ob es sich lohnen würde, der freundlichen Einladung zu folgen.'Und?' Fragte ich meine Schwester. 'Wir gehen sie morgen besuchen', entschied sie mit vollem mund.

³⁶¹ Wir lernten, dass in Deutschland Weihnachten schon am 24. Dezember anfängt, dass bei diesem Fest Haus-musik gemacht wird, in welcher Form auch immer, es einen geschmückten Tannenbaum gibt und haufenweise Plätzchen, so viel, dass wir als Nachbarn immer etwas abbekamen. Das war die positive Seite, die wir Kinder neidlos akzeptieren konnten.

Lale's family seems to be eager to learn about other cultures and languages as previously seen in the aunt's enthusiasm for learning German. Besides the symbolic Christmas tree, music and cookies (which the children find the best part of the party), this celebration is much enjoyed.

The young children of these two worlds enjoy various trips to different parts of Germany and Turkey, accompanying their aunt. The aunt is a modern woman who feels at home everywhere in the world. For her, the world is only a village in which you should always feel comfortable, as she advises her nieces:

Peyda [Lale's sister] and I enjoyed the summer. It is as if I had never been away, I said to Aunty Semra as we once again sailed to the great Prince's Island [in Istanbul] as part of the children's programme, and sat in the beach café. I feel as if I had always been here. That's the way it should be, my little darling, replied Aunty. When you are in Germany, you should feel as if you have always been there, and, when you are here, as if you have never been away. -What do you mean by that? -We don't get alienated. Look at your uncle and me, we are at home in Cyprus, in Istanbul, in London, and, recently, also in Germany. For Germany we have to thank you. She smiled at me. And you must be just the same, and not feel strange in Germany. And don't let yourself feel strange in Turkey, nor in the rest of the world. You are cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitan!! That sounded good, but.... did it have to do with politicians? I asked, Mama always curses about them. Aunty laughed till she nearly cried. No, that has nothing to do with them, and you are not a politician, you are a cosmopolitan! But, who knows? Perhaps you will someday be a politician, maybe even in Germany (p. 98).³⁶²

Peyda and Lale experience a feeling of being at home in Prince's Island and as the first-person narrator puts in a simile "It is as if I had never been away (ibid.)". This place feels like

³⁶² Peyda und ich genossen den Sommer. Es ist so, als wäre ich nie weg gewesen, sagte ich zu Tante Semra, als wir wieder einmal im Rahmen des Kinderprogramms auf die große Prinzeninsel gefahren waren und im Strandcafé saßen. Ich fühle mich hier wie immer. - So soll es auch sein, mein Schätzchen, antwortete Tantchen, wenn du in Deutschland bist, sollst du das Gefühl haben, als wärst du schon immer da gewesen, und wenn du hier bist das Gefühl, als wärest du nie weg gewesen. -Wie meinst du das? -Wir fremdeln nicht. Schau dein Onkel und ich, wir sind auf Zypern zu Hause, in Istanbul, in London, und neuerdings auch in Deutschland, das mit Deutschland haben wir euch zu verdanken. Sie lächelte mich an. Und genauso müsst ihr auch sein, ihr fremdelt nicht in Deutschland. Und ihr fremdelt nicht in der Türkei und in der restlichen Welt fremdelt ihr auch nicht. Ihr seid Kosmopoliten. Kosmopoliten!! Dass hörte sich gut an, obwohl... Hat das was mit Politikern zu tun? Fragte ich, auf die schimpft Mama immer. -Tantchen lachte sich kaputt. Nein, sagte sie, das hat damit nichts zu tun, du bist keine Politikerin, du bist eine Kosmopolitin! Aber wer weiß? Vielleicht wirst du mal eine Politikerin, vielleicht sogar in Deutschland!

home, somewhere you never feel strange. The widely travelled and open-minded aunt advises the girls to be “cosmopolitan” and not to “get alienated (ibid.)” anywhere in the world. The narrative gives external and internal focalizing details in a focalization from the first person point of view, the narrator, Lale, calls herself “I”. The idea of the global village and cosmopolitanism is regarded by the aunt as a modern trend of life, necessitated by the migrations taking place everywhere. Germany, Cyprus, London or even Turkey becomes a cosmopolitan community. In such a community, individuals from different places (e.g. nation-states) form relationships of mutual respect, despite differences in religion, language or culture. The aunt’s positive advice later helps the children to integrate and avoid alienation and depression. It has to be said that they can only do all this because there is no shortage of money in the family. In the case of thos family, money dissolves prejudice.

The aunt’s uniquely cosmopolitan lifestyle and mentality is much praised by the narrator. Although the aunt had gone to the Hadj (annual pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca) and made some changes in her Islamic beliefs, she was still ready for every bit of fun, even a visit to a gay club (p. 148). The family also readily visit the gay club and to their surprise they find it amusing:

We talked a great deal, they didn’t know anything about Islam, Turkey and so on: I knew nothing about gay life. Now we all know more about each other. I can certainly say that the evening had been a success for all of us (p. 148).³⁶³

They find out that both sides are seriously ignorant about each other. After the visit, the narrator confesses that “Now we all know more about each other (ibid.)”, which is close to a quantum shift in world-view and tolerance on both sides, in people whose cosmopolitan nature enables this.

The character of the aunt has had a good effect on Lale and her sister, so that the protagonist is unable to forget about her influence:

Ah, my Aunt. Naturally, my Aunt. She of the unshakeable love of not taking life so seriously. She, with iron will to gain something positive from every defeat. She, with her ability to be flexible about tradition, and thus always remain humane. Others were dogmatic; my Aunt was, in her

³⁶³ Wir haben uns ganz viel erzählt, sie wussten nicht über den Islam, die Türkei und so, und ich wusste nichts über schwules Leben. Jetzt wissen wir alle mehr voneinander. Ich kann sagen, der Abend hat sich für uns alle gelohnt! -Ja, dann, das nächste Mal nehmen wir auch Mama mit!

own way, simply unique. She was just Aunt Semra in Liver-cheese Land (p. 255).³⁶⁴

The aunt is praised for her being an easy-going woman with an optimistic view of everything and every problem. Her flexibility concerning traditions, whether hers or others, makes her an unusually “humane” person, and that is worthy of emulation. Her unique personality teaches Lale to see herself as a cosmopolitan, at home anywhere in this world, and to get the best out of life by not sticking to prejudices. Here an external focalization presents the focalized form without, describing aunt Semra’s character while presenting her through her external actions from without. The first-person narrator uses direct definitions naming her traits of not being serious, being positive, flexible and unique.

Despite the fact that many changes and challenges in the books analysed in this work seem to be of a negative nature and have harsh discriminatory effects on protagonists with Turkish immigrant backgrounds, the characters, especially the narrator, in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* maintain a very positive attitude to the changes that accompany the new culture, tradition and society. Racist discrimination is not much highlighted in this book. The narrative voice recounts the positive differences and changes in the new land, such as how Christmas is full of presents for the children and how higher education is insisted upon and valued in Germany so, that Lales’s mother starts attending a university. The young narrator is optimistic in wishing for the integration of some good German traditions with the Turkish ones as she points out:

What made me envious was the fact that all the children got presents and could even write a wish list. In oriental cultures, one got a present and one had to say thank you for it, but here in Germany one could choose. I found that very good and resolved that it should become a part of our family culture (p. 72).³⁶⁵

In the eyes of Turkish narrator, Lale, the special care given to the children and their happiness is a characteristic of the new culture that makes her envious. As she emphasises, “here in

³⁶⁴ Ach, meine Tante. Natürlich: meine Tante! Sie, mit ihrer unerschütterlichen Liebe, das Leben nicht ganz so ernst zu nehmen. Sie, mit ihrem unbändigen Willen, allen Niederlagen eine positive Seite abzugewinnen! Sie, mit ihrer Art, flexibel mit Traditionen umzugehen und dabei immer menschlich zu sein. Dogmatisch waren andere, meine Tante war – auf ihre Art – einfach einmalig. Sie war eben Tante Semra im Leberkäseland.

³⁶⁵ was bei uns Neidgefühle erweckte, war die Tatsache, dass alle Kinder Geschenke bekamen, ja, sie durften sogar einen Wunschzettel schreiben. In der orientalischen Kultur bekam man Geschenke und hatte sich dafür zu bedanken, hier in Deutschland konnte man sich die Geschenke wünschen. Das gefiel mir sehr. Ich beschloss: Diese Tradition musste in unsere Familienkultur integriert werden.

Germany one could choose". This sentence implies the power of will and the choices that an individual can make easily within German society, while Turkish tradition encourages submission much more, and the only thing the children can do is be thankful for what they are granted. This feeling that a child can be personally wanted and treated as an individual generates a very positive tone, and it is clear that this is something lacking in her Turkish culture, which Lale wishes to change.

Immigration, as described in the books studied here, is both positive and negative for the both immigrants and the host society. While disadvantages and vicissitudes in these six novels have played a major role in previous chapters, this chapter has reviewed the positive effects of immigration and immigrant life on the characters. The question of why people migrate, and whether they are net losers or gainers, is of considerable interest, but cannot be answered within the parameters of this study. Since there are many characters in these novels, studying every person's reason for migration seems impossible but the books do indicate the main incentives as being monetary, , educational, occupational and political. In the light of this chapter one more must be added, a growth of mutual humanity, tolerance and willingness to help another, which, in the novels, are increased rather than reduced by the presence of immigrants.

The immigrant characters of the selected novels have earned their place in German society. Some have continued their studies to higher levels, some have found a supportive neighbourhood in which they have been helped and welcomed by Germans, while communication with them has resulted in a multicultural atmosphere. Some have found better jobs or work situations with the help of good-hearted bosses who even helped them reunite with their families. Women have been relieved from dogmatic gender roles and stereotypes by living in a Western society and gained the ability to become a politician, or simply get a driver's licence. Multiculturalism, openness to other nations' traditions and friendly relationships are the results of contact with the diversities of the new society. To sum up, in almost all of these novels, the immigrants, particularly those in the second generation, have profited enormously from the new culture they reside in.

5. Summary: The Same, but Different

This and the following section are intended to provide an answer to the third research question of this book: “In the context of the analysis of selected novels with Turkish-German young protagonists, what implications for pedagogical and social interaction can be deduced from fictional life?” (see page 6).

The young protagonists of the selected books get support and guidance from different sources, starting with the closest unit, the family, but also from German society at large, and can, in spite of discriminations, make use of the more international and multicultural German society, although the liberty they gain can be dissonant with their Turkish familial social norms and values.

Cultural disparities continue within the autobiographical diegeses where the conversations between the characters and their interactions in society disclose many racist or class-discriminatory instances, as well as humane and friendly behaviour on both sides. The most basic element in a bilateral relation is communicating in the same language, whether oral or written. Therefore, using language in the form of narration becomes an opportunity to address the realities and inequalities in immigrant life in a less direct way than protest or debates. This work is an attempt to extend this communication through its presentation of selected scenes from the narrations chosen. It may be said that this is not a representative approach because the choice has been made with a view to maximizing the impact of the scenes chosen on the reader. If one follows literature, it is known that it is intended to have these impacts and an analysis of literature neither can nor should avoid influence on the reader.

At this point, it is worthwhile to look at the six books considered in this work taken together to obtain a social-literary overview of Turkish-German society at the time of the encoding represented in these narrations. The decoding undertaken here presents a mixture of literary and sociocultural standpoints. For a discussion of the implication of these processes see Hall in “The Cultural Studies Reader” (2001).

Before looking further at the six books, it is necessary to mention the process that led to the formulation of the categories of the analysis of this book. The first year of this research was spent in selecting the chosen books, reading them thoroughly (around six times) and in parallel going through theoretical background to decide the categories in which the analysis would proceed. The books were then read again more than once, and the scenes within them assigned to one or more categories. The assignment was considered through a sociological lens and also in terms of the development of the identity of the characters. Only then was a

decision taken about which scene was to be presented and analysed in this book. Scenes were selected for their importance in the narrative and only then a category under which to analyse them was chosen. The length of the scene did not influence its selection, but literary devices used in its description and the sociological category to which it could be fitted both had an influence. The aim was, throughout the analysis, to keep as neutral as possible, but to choose scenes which illustrate the power of literature to sensitize readers to specific issues in German society involving those with Turkish backgrounds; to include the impact of circumstances on them; and their use of the space of possibilities available to them. The first inventor of protagonists in each book who voices their characters is the author of each novel. However the author's intention cannot be read and the story is then recreated in the mind of the reader. In this sense, the quotes used in this book are a recreation and categorization of the scenes in the mind of this author and in the light of this, it must be recognized that the resonance of each scene in the mind of this author determined its choice for analysis. In this work the intention is to transmit this resonance further and enable it to make a statement about the position of Turkish-German immigrants in present day Germany within their spaces of possibility. The statements filtered by this author are now independent of the author of the original books and to some extent of the books themselves because the criteria in selection of quotes were determined externally to them to enable their analysis from a neutral but sensitive standpoint. In the sense that sociological criteria were present in the mind of this author while writing this book it presents an objective use of the data available in the original novels.

The next section presents an abbreviated overview using the four categories of the analysis.

5.1. The Six Books Combined under the Categories Used in Text Analysis

5.1.1. Family

In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, Lale has the most educated and richest family, and this helps her to better meet challenges, which other protagonists with less family wealth and education, such as Fatma and Nilgün's, find commensurately more difficult to overcome.

In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the protagonist also has an educated open-minded and supportive family as in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* and *Salam Berlin*, and these help the protagonists to be successful and reduce their challenges and hardship.

The very negative experiences regarding family and family members are those of Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and Nilgün and her sister Mine in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* in which the parents are conservative and uneducated people and greatly hinder the protagonists, although at the end they too finally are able to make a career and, in spite of all hardships and problems, find their place in German society.

Of the six main protagonists, four are female and have to struggle more for a place in society than the two male counterparts. The hurdles they have to clear are mostly erected by their family traditions. The protagonists do not show similar behaviour patterns and react individually; girls in particular react against parental restrictions. Only Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* deconstructed and reversed behaviour patterns in her return to acceptance of her Turkish origin.

Gender-based biases and physical and mental violence against women must be fought against as female characters in the books analysed do, but this kind of marginalization of women is significantly less in German society in comparison with their more traditional Turkish family backgrounds. This is personified in the character of Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between the Two Worlds* and Mine in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. The first of these, the character Fatma, has had the most emotional impact on the writer of this work.

5.1.2. Education

When the characters first enter the new society, they are young, inexperienced and naïve (mostly between 5 and 10 years old). The trends in their lives, the help and hardships at school, in their neighbourhoods, in public areas, and the network of people they communicate with and the problems they have at home with their families push them toward maturation and growth. The roles of schools and neighbourhood are of great importance at this early age. School marks the start of the young protagonist's lives in Germany in all the books and offers a widening of horizons for the Turkish protagonists to achieve independence and, through education, a freedom to optimize their opportunities when joining the workforce.

The six main protagonists in the selected texts give generally positive accounts of their school experiences. Indeed, there were no reports involving permanently painful situations in school in any of the books, and in general the protagonists receive the support needed to get through this basic and important stage of their lives.

This is, however, not uniformly the case: Hasan, in *Salam Berlin* and Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* have negative memories when it comes to their schooling. A nun's racist behaviour toward Nilgün, Hasan's teacher asking him when they will finally return to Turkey or Hasan refusing to say he is Turkish to his classmates, reveal how pressured these children felt at times in school. There are also other scenes depicting difficulties, which these two protagonists, and also their friends, were faced with during their childhood.

Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and the anonymous narrator in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* were excluded from any intimacy with German classmates at school, but still formed friendships with German children. The novels mention that during their time in school nobody wanted to talk or mingle with them, and Fatma's classmates even did not want her to accompany them back home. After school, however, she formed one of her best friendships with a German girl, Nicole, who supported her a lot. The anonymous narrator in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* was also excluded, but when she grew older she could make better contacts and in school fell in love with her first German boyfriend, whom she deeply loved.

In general, school experiences were positive and the relationship with school friends played a huge role in influencing the characters lives. Fatma could never have reached even a minimal educational level had her teacher not supported her. Nilgün too had very good experiences

not only with her teachers and their support but also from her classmate Helene who becomes one of Nilgün's best friends.

As did Hasan in *Salam Berlin*, Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, the anonymous narrator in *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, and Sesperado in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* attended 'Gymnasien', which is a pre-university level in Germany's school system, and very difficult to reach without any support. One can conclude from this that, although there were difficulties and hardships, these protagonists (four out of six) were generally good at school and that school played a positive formative role in their lives. They were supported not only by the school system, but also by their teachers and classmates, and used whatever the German school system offered them in order to succeed.

5.1.3. Public Contacts

In areas where they are not personally known, the experiences of the protagonists and their families are in general very negative. They range from being the object of intense dislike and violence, to a general distrust and antipathy.

In *Salam Berlin*, Hasan reports more than once about incidents in which his cousin Leila or his friend Kazim are hit, beaten up or are discriminated against. The scenes in which Leila's hair is set on fire in a subway or Kazim is attacked in street are notable here. There is also a scene in which Hasan himself is mobbed in a bar and a beer bottle thrown at him. Moreover, when he is interviewed by his future flat-mates, themes such as slaughtering a goat in the bathtub and having lots of relatives come up, and he finds this racist. Always getting the role of a drug dealer in his work as an actor does not help him to feel any better accepted (ibid. p.217.220).

In *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, the protagonist several times mentions scenes, which reveal the wariness and anxiety of the public toward Turks, and the distance that he feels from Germans in general. A scene in which Sesperado is with his aunts at an event and his aunts are called 'three Arab mares' by a macho German, is also important to this protagonist.

In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, the use of language by Germans to label protagonists as inferior presents the negative impression, which the protagonist has of German society. This behaviour is described in the words of a driver at a traffic light, of an immigration officer and a shop assistant.

The situation is not that different for Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* or for Lale in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, when she (Lale) has an interview with two women from the television, or the general atmosphere when she describes the attitudes of Germans (who, of course, have no recent background of migration) toward her. However, the last two mentioned protagonists try not to take such situations seriously and, being more or less assimilated, they attempt to make the situation easier for themselves at the basic level of first contact until they can deepen the contact, which minimizes the differences.

Although in general in this area there are more negative experiences than positive, there are also good experiences which ease the situation of the protagonists, even if briefly, and also lessen tension for the reader until the next, sometimes harsh, incident. The butcher's

unexpected gift to Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, or an unknown woman's complement to her in the library or, in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, the warm and positive attitude of a German passer-by toward Aunt Semra are notable.

However, in terms of contact with the German public in general, the books convey a message of suspicion and often of dislike, which is only overcome through personal contact.

5.1.4. Communal Networks

The influence of closer social contact in communal networks of neighbourhood, work and friendship is portrayed in the selected books as warm and positive, although not without arguments and jealousies. In contrast to the almost totally negative picture in the previous section, the message is that once you are no longer an unknown, you will be treated fairly, often with warmth, and sometimes with amazing generosity.

Hasan in *Salam Berlin*, Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, Fatma in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and Lale in *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family* all have German best friends. Cora, Helene, Nicole, and Karen had a wide influence on protagonists' lives. In the two other books, *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, and *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* such school friends are not mentioned. Communal networks related to churches are mentioned as relatively negative for two protagonists, Nilgün and Lale, but are seen as less negative by Lale.

In general, the influence of communal networks and the behaviour of neighbours toward the Turkish families were positive. In *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, Lale's family experience with communal networks in general, and the neighbours in particular, is very positive. The Christmas scene of this book is noteworthy as are the hours of cooking and baking lessons Karen gave Lale.

Alongside all these positive experiences, Nilgün in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*, has to deal with Mr. Schäufele who does not approve of her and her Turkish family and always calls her Bosphorus, as a deliberate insult. However, Schäufele's wife and daughter have a sincere friendship with Nilgün and her mother.

On the negative side of the social network balance, Fatma's in-laws and their influence on her neighbourhood must be mentioned as entirely unhelpful. She was ostracised in her new German social environment, although she hoped for a better life in her German family than she had had in her own. In *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar* the family's problems with their German neighbours were discouraging and gave the family the feeling of being unwelcome and excluded.

The best outside social network support was given Fatma and Nilgün who gained more support from their social network than their own families and were, in return, also more open to German society and what it offered them than the other protagonists. Fatma's boss and all

his support regarding her further training and self improvement, the support of her driving instructor, her friend Peter, her husband Michael, or her other German friends' support for her during difficult times are heart-warming and generous examples.

Nilgün and her family also gain a great deal of support from their German social contacts. This includes the mother's boss who buys her a ticket she was not able to afford to travel to Turkey to bring Nilgün and Mine (her daughters) to Germany, her colleagues support during the first difficult years of the family's residence in Germany, the neighbours support, not only the woman on the first floor who frequently invited Nilgün and her sister to her apartment for supper, but also the kind German couple in whose apartment the children were given tea and cake and listened to music from many nations.

To sum-up, transcultural communal networks are reported to be positive in particular for children and being an enabling factor in aiding immigrants to find a place in the new society.

5.2. To Sum Up

The conflict of different world-views and material circumstances results in the emergence of literature. Through literature this work is a space where immigrants and their worlds are presented from new perspectives. The work of the young authors of autobiographical fictions analysed here provides a socio-linguistic room in which a debate about immigrants and integration can take place. It is to be hoped that, from the antithetical worlds of individuals with and without migration backgrounds, a synthesis forms a transcultural society, which can enable immigrants to live without a continual feeling of foreignness and ‘Otherness’. In spite of these hopes, it cannot be in any way assumed that literature is benign, but it is frequently provocative. It is a representation of its time and if the spirit of the age is discriminatory and racist, then literature is also often the same. Joseph Conrad’s anti-imperialist classic, *Heart of Darkness*, which laid bare the murderous nature of Belgian exploitation of the Congo; *Heart of Darkness* raises questions about imperialism and racism and finds little difference between so-called ‘civilised people’ and those described as ‘savages’ (The Norton Anthology, 2000, p. 1957). Paradoxically postcolonial critics regard this book as racist, because of its lack of insight into the cultures of the black people of Congo whose treatment at the hand of Belgian colonists it condemns (Achebe, 1988). Chinua Achebe notes that “*Heart of Darkness* projects the image of Africa as ‘the other world’ the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization, a place where man’s vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality” (ibid.). The difference between them is that Conrad writes as an observer reporting what he sees as the captain of a Congo riverboat and is not willing to look in detail at the civilization through whose territory he is travelling, whereas Achebe is a part of a civilization damaged by colonialism, who finds African societies to be as, or more, civilized than ‘White’. This paradox in the reception of *Heart of Darkness* shows the power of literature to open a space of discourse. In the modern space of discourse Achebe is recognised as correct, but without Conrad the whole development of anti colonialist literature would not have been the same.

Transcultural relationships make life no easier for young protagonists with migration background or, for that matter, for those without migration backgrounds, than the clash between the ideologies contrasted above. Whether easy or not, they do increase the bond between immigrants and the majority society, and reduce the divergence between them, even if contested. The unconscious desire for independence and freedom that is a part of

migration, as well as the increased liberty and autonomy offered by Germany, penetrates into immigrant's lives as aspiration and hope. This positive ability to take advantage of both societies is, however, not the case for every protagonist. Being cross-cultural can produce a permanent feeling of being uprooted, with an accompanying sense of 'Otherness' when in both minority and majority societies. It is both positively and negatively reinforced by the protagonist's family environment, but also by the depth of German contacts. An assured sense of identity requires being rooted in both communities with a minimal feeling of conflict.

The diegetic worlds of characters, narrators and protagonists are the constructs of the authors, in a similar way to people in real life being the constructs of social situations. Characters often see the new culture as an opportunity to break the long-held prejudices prevalent in their culture of origin, and are brave enough to fight for autonomy and liberty in spite of attempts, most powerfully by the family, to prevent them choosing their own way of life. These narrations are stories of real life incidents with all the cruelty or kindness that accompanies them and of the inner feelings that remain. The 'in-between-ness' reported in the stories creates worlds; on 'one' side, the dream world of Germany and on the 'other', the world of the Turkish community in Germany and, as a coalescence of cultures, the world which they inhabit, rooted in 'both'. Those who assimilate place both feet, often hesitantly, in the 'German' world, and, those who reject 'German' values live their lives wholly in a 'Turkish' world. In the books studied, most characters integrate and place one foot in each world. No character retreats entirely into a 'Turkish' enclave. This metaphor is unduly binary, however, because people's social attitudes do not remain fixed, as demonstrated by Fatma/Sonja in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*. It is a characteristic of novels, for dramatic purposes to overuse 'black and white' in an exaggerated binarism.

There are idealistic descriptions of a multicultural society in which there is no feeling of loneliness, otherness and marginalization. This is a paradisiacal country in a society that gives a home to the optimistic narrator. Hymns to integration of this nature are offset by the wit and sarcasm offered by narrators to show that paradise remains a fiction, but no narrator is willing to deny its possibility, if, maybe in the next generation. There is no narration studied here which could be called a dystopia, which is not surprising because every protagonist was supported by at least one of two important poles, those of the school and the family. The usage of "pole" here does not indicate opposites but rather a concentration of weight and importance for protagonists.

It cannot be said that, had characters not been migrants and lived only in Turkey, an examination of their lives under the categories used here, would not have had outcomes equally positive (or negative) to those reported by the Turkish-German immigrants of this study. This study represents only the six books listed here and no other situations.

Many characters, keeping an open mind to transculturality, handle situations well, and most are able to find a place in the new society. Although restricted in educational attainments, job opportunities, social status and lack of liberty in the family, freedom of choice can be realised for significant characters and, in the end, they experience more sympathy, help and support than hindrance. The narrations illustrate a new space of possibilities opened up for those immigrants who welcome it whole-heartedly and take advantage of the positive effects of the new society. In *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, by turning sarcasm into a weapon against both 'Whites' and 'People of Colour', the protagonist takes advantage of the freedom of speech and writing available in Germany to be critical.

The reader is implicit in the realities of immigrant life, its advantages and disadvantages. Characters are representative of a multifaceted world through whose focalization in the text it is possible to observe, recognize, understand and sympathize, and at times to disagree. It is important to realize how protagonists' hopes and wishes in their new world are formed and how they design an idealistic transcultural society for themselves and their children, for which they can strive and can relate to as home. This is especially well portrayed in two of the books (*Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*), but is present in all.

In two other books the protagonists focus more on, and object to, the racist discrimination they suffer from the dominant society. One shows more optimism while the other satirises and condemns any kind of racist behaviour, even by Turks. Many readers will share, or at least understand these ironic views of the society in which immigrants find themselves. They contain at times counter racism, through satirical reference to 'Turks' superiority over 'Germans'. These polar opposites, although fictional, contain recognition of the perversity of any kind of extremist racist views. It is worth commenting that colonialized populations and those peoples who have been the objects of many years of orientalist labelling are resentful of their reduced status (Said, 1978). This can find expression in a concealed recognition of Western superiority, accompanied by an exaggerated aggrandizement of their society of origin and an unwillingness to recognize what may be good in the other society. There are two fathers as minor characters, one in *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds* and the

other in *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two World* who are full of praise for Turkey and wish to keep apart from ‘Germans’. One main character, Sesperado, in *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* wishes to impose an authoritarian revolutionary consciousness raising on his ‘fellow Turks’, partly as satire, but his satire coming out of a deep sense of anger. To feel superior in the way Sesperado’s, Fatma’s and Nilgün’s fathers wish is a self-marginalization and a retreat into apartheid.

For young immigrants positive social contact, in particular in schools, can hinder ‘self-marginalization’, ameliorate authoritarianism and ease their integration into German society (cf. Berry, 1997, p. 10f).

Although Western social norms and standards are not always viewed as favourable by the immigrants in the texts examined, the economic and social advantages of life in Germany, which include human rights and an improved standard of living, attract them, so that even with all the vicissitudes of Germany, they are not eager to go back to Turkey. This view appears to be shared by most Turkish immigrants to Germany because there has been no mass return to Turkey. There is however, a continual trans-migration as Turkish immigrants to Germany take advantage of what is offered in both societies (*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two World*, p.46f.; *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*, p.98f.).

The attitudes and lifestyles of all the characters in the books discussed here continually show that they manage to open and use a space of possibilities in the new society, whether this is pleasant or unpleasant, in an atmosphere in which they can communicate with all members of society in a spirit of respect. Their handling of difficulties can be regarded as a guide to readers, both of with and without immigration background, who can experience their problems and hindrances, rewards and advantages. They, the readers, can also observe the processes of cultural assimilation and integration that immigrants go through.

All these stories, whether metadiegetic (stories told by a character inside a diegetic narrative) or extradiegetic (stories that frame the primary story), share transcultural attributes. Transcultural German society drives the characters in all the books to learn about the majority cultural codes and change because of this. In spite of socio-cultural disparities, the protagonists come to terms with, decode and take advantage of new cultural codes. Openness toward Germany decreases feelings of isolation and alienation as a member of a minority in the new social environment.

The majority cultural group can use the narratives of this work in order to comprehend the vicissitudes an immigrant goes through, and this knowledge can contribute to helping both communities. It is available to be used by individuals within both to help and guide immigrants and reveal how the treatment of immigrants in Germany could be improved, how a child from an immigrant background could be better treated in school, in the neighbourhood and family, and in the larger society. The larger society, if possible should internalize information about discrimination in these texts to enable it to understand how racism can damage the whole society. Minority and majority groups must realize how this results in an anger-ridden hysteria in certain individuals in society, which hampers the ability of the society at large to react creatively and leaves its victims in a state of anxiety and depression, and, taken to its extreme, leads to violent intolerance. Literature, with a tolerant attitude toward the modern world, is an unbiased space in which fictional narrators can portray a wished-for global world and present this cosmopolitan less prejudiced world to the non-immigrants in Western society, in the hope that fewer people feel estranged in Germany. Narrative analysed in this work shows that the effect of autobiographical memory is the development and maintenance of social bonds by providing material for discussion and, if necessary, dispute. Sharing personal memories with others face to face or through literature facilitates social interaction. The disclosure of personal experiences by the protagonists nurtures a level of intimacy between people and reminisces about shared past events that can establish new bonds, or strengthen those that already exist.

The books studied here connect those growing up in different cultures with the same broad environment. They may have different interests, aims and characteristics, but still they can be the same when it comes to love, pain and need of help. Their worlds might look different, but they are actually similar in many ways, because they are in Germany and Germany moulds their daily life. Throughout the texts, this idea of being “Same, but Different” is emphasized. Through light and shade, the selected books detail the features of each culture and highlight their diversity, preparing a stage for a melding of cultures and sharing of lives between characters with and without migration backgrounds. Literature makes accessible the idea of two-way communication between traditions and demonstrates how diversity shapes the world.

At a moral level, there is little difference among human beings; the core ethical values of goodness, kindness and charity are the same. Living conditions, cultures, economics and

indoctrination may create division but looking beyond the boundaries we will find we are (the) “Same, but Different”.

Differences should be explored in a positive way. This is not always the way people react, sometimes they are met with blank prejudice. The characters of this work experience acts of prejudice by those of Turkish and German origin, but still form interpersonal connections. Through monologue, symbols and setting, they provide an emotional trigger to alert the reader to the reality of the phrase “Same, but Different”. In a more multifaceted manner than statistics and interviews. The core message of the literature in this work is the celebration of differences rather than similarities.

At this point it is useful to refer back to the central research questions, which began this work³⁶⁶, as dealt with in different chapters. These sections show how literary devices can play a huge role in transferring transcultural perspective through literature, using different lenses to provide awareness and to sensitize readers, with or without a migration background. Migrant Literature as analysed in the texts is not only about literary fiction but also about memoir and life experience of the characters, which provide important inputs to the notion of migration, ordering and making sense of the variety of experiences in young Turkish-German protagonists’ lives and examining the encouragements and obstructions posed by their situations. Further, it examines discrimination and the extent to which its effects could be described as institutional. This allows narratives to make important, original contributions to the fields of sociology and pedagogy. Discussions of literature in the classroom bring out reasoning related to sequence; cause and effect; character motivation; predictions; visualization of actions, characters, and settings; critical analysis of the story; and creative responses (Roe & Ross, 2010, p.33f.). They enable particular situations regarding family, school, society and communal networks to be dealt with, as well as illustrating how immigrant characters respond, whether positively or negatively. This depends however on the feedback which they receive from their social networks, family and school environment. Their family upbringing, the educational system and the way the teachers, neighbours, and people generally handle them has a direct and indirect influence on the protagonist’s life. The page references, which follow, are intended to show where the first research question is furthermore answered in in detail. For this, please refer to: section “3.1.1. Meaning, Culture & Holzkamp’s Critical Psychology” (p. 115ff.), “3.2. An Interdisciplinary Approach to

³⁶⁶ 1.a) To what extent does the selected literature illustrate and examine the encouragements and obstructions in young Turkish-German protagonists’ lives? 1.b) Have the selected texts social implications in the reproduction of institutional discrimination regarding family, school, society and social networks?

Narrative Analysis of the Selected Migrant Literature” (p. 124ff.), “4.2.1. Main Sources of Influence on the Characters” (p. 160ff.), section “4.2.2. The Reaction of the Protagonists to Interpersonal & Institutional Difficulties & Hindrances” (pp. 203ff.), section “4.2.3. Discrimination on the Grounds of Stereotypical Beliefs Around Gender, Class & ‘Race’” (pp. 242ff.), section “4.2.4. Chances and Opportunities with Regard to the Protagonists” (pp. 303ff.), Chapter Five “Summary: The Same, but Different” (pp. 333ff.) and section “5.3. A Comment on the Use of Literature in Sociological Analysis: Benefits & Challenges” (p. 350ff.). As previously mentioned, there is empirical research that comes to a certain conclusion and there is a fictional world in which such a conclusion can also be generated. Although these can be correlated, one is not the evidence for the other. Literature is not a mirror. It is a discourse of its own that, of course, references the outer world while constructing its own reality, individualized and emotionalized. It is not the evidence of an empirical work. An author may read, research, and articulate this through the voice of a character so that the research is given a new expression and emotion, which makes the difference. The difference is the potential for identification and is reflected in the title of the work “The Same, but Different: Young Protagonists and Their Space of Possibilities as Portrayed in Turkish-German Migration Literature - A Transcultural Perspective”.

Chapter Four “Empirical Analysis” (p. 133ff.) provides a detailed comment on the second research question³⁶⁷. So does section “4.2.4. Chances and Opportunities with Regard to the Protagonists” (p. 303ff.) and Chapter Five “Summary: The Same, but Different” (p. 333ff.) and in section “5.3. A Comment on the Use of Literature in Sociological Analysis: Benefits & Challenges” (p. 350ff.), to answer how the protagonists come to terms with various situations and what resources are at their disposal to make the best of situations regarding their space of possibilities. Narration in text places protagonists in different situations, while giving the reader an insight into their possible responses. In ‘real’ life there are fewer opportunities, and often not enough time to reflect and examine a situation through different eyes, as the reader does. As an elemental resource and aesthetic approach to the world, narratives, with their vast amounts of figures of speech, symbols, idiom, and metaphors are seen as equipment for life, which provide a wide space of possibilities (Roche, 2004, p. 218). Narration is both in the ‘real’ world and the fictional world, taking from the former and reformulating knowledge through the latter, the eyes and the mind of the fictional character. Literary text is not a source

³⁶⁷ 2.a) How do the texts show the use of spaces of possibility to come to terms with various situations? 2.b) What resources are available to make the best use of spaces of possibility illuminated by the narrations?

for decision, or evidence, but an entry into something else, which is art. It has the capacity to individualize ideas: a face, name, shape, and history at a fictional level invite an emotional response from the reader and uses different spaces of possibility to manifest various potentials from different perspectives.

The third research question³⁶⁸ deals with the possible implications for pedagogical and social interaction, which can be deduced from fictional life regarding the context of the analysis of selected novels with German-Turkish young protagonists. This is discussed in section 4.2.1. “Main Sources of Influence on the Characters” (p. 160ff.), Chapter Five, “Summary: The Same, but Different” (p. 333ff.), “To Sum Up” (p. 342ff.), “A Comment on the Use of Literature in Sociological Analysis: Benefits and Challenges” (p. 350ff.), “Possible Ways Forward: Impulses and Implications for Pedagogical Praxis” (p. 357ff.) in detail. School is the first and most important door into the majority society for immigrants and reading Migrant Literature in schools not only sensitizes German students to discrimination, but will also reduce the isolation of Turkish-German students who will know that their situation is neither ‘normal’ nor unique and prevent the stereotyping of each side by the other. Whether a trans-cultural analysis of Migrant Literature, can provide a means of improving the cross-cultural knowledge of future educators in Germany that is of indirectly educating the educators, remains to be proven. Changes in tolerance to and integration of migrants in German society also remain to be investigated in view of the present increased numbers of immigrants. A useful field of future research would be to make a parallel examination of the literature produced in the future by the present influx of refugees and migrants as a comparison to the present work. The books can be taken to be educational resources, enabling the reader to identify with the main characters and draw parallels between protagonists and their own ‘reality’ thus giving support through reading to those with similar issues and problems in their own lives. The present work should be regarded as a new perspective on the problems of migrants and as a pedagogical resource for use in enabling educationalists and others to understand and ameliorate the problems of migration with a degree of insight that can less easily be obtained from statistical analysis.

5.3. A Comment on the Use of Literature in Sociological Analysis: Benefits & Challenges

³⁶⁸ 3) In the context of the analysis of selected novels with Turkish-German young protagonists, what implications for pedagogical and social interaction can be deduced from fictional life?

Literature can be a disruptive force, breaking up previous fictions about the world and its inhabitants and creating new possibilities for the future. It has the capacity to re-conceptualize the understanding of representation and its cognitive dimension enables it to cope with current as well as future challenges regarding individuals, society and those who are excluded from or marginalized within society (Mack, 2012, p. 194ff.). Literature does have the capacity to affect our beliefs, but according to Pettersson, it cannot be said that its capacity in this respect is any bigger than that of non-fiction texts or that the effects are more than transitory. Literature is a representational art but not a representation as a copying of reality (Pettersson, 2012).

The literary turn in social studies represented an opportunity for reassessing the possibilities of fine anthropological writing (Campbell, 1989), for substantiating the universality of the literary endeavor (Hymes, 1973), or for examining universal creative processes and the ubiquity of “writing social reality” (Rapport, 1994). This work has used literature as a source of information about the social situation of people of Turkish immigrant origin in Germany. Such literary sources have found only limited acceptance as material in research. The “narrative turn” in sociology (Berger and Quinney, 2004; in Longo, 2015, p. 4) gave literature credence in research although the study of literature as a branch of sociology is less legitimate at present than previously (Longo, 2015, p. 1f.).

The above arguments, however, do not deal with literature as a source of sociological data obtained from the words of novels and autobiographies, rather as a source of literary or psychological insight. In the present work a corpus of writing has been selected and analysed as a source of understanding of cross-cultural interactions in Germany, from the 1960s to 2010. The fact that all authors are of Turkish origin and all have as their protagonists young Turkish/Kurdish immigrants who came to Germany when they were children (except Hasan in *Salam Berlin*, who was born in Germany), gives rise to data equivalent to narratives from a massive data set of interviews. Each book contains the narratives of all those who are or have been in contact with its narrators plus artefacts created in narrator’s imaginations.

Although every literary work is a selection of possibilities, and the truthfulness of literature as a depiction of reality has been questioned, it is also possible to assert that the narrations that give rise to sociological publications are subject to bias. This can include the choice of interviewer and interviewee, selectivity of memory on both sides and identification between the parties to the interview (Longo, 2015, p. 3). These effects may well result in a fictionalization of what is intended to be non-partisan scientific reporting. There cannot be

unbiased clarity. What appears to be plain reporting inevitably contains a larger or smaller element of fiction. At the same time, in no way are fictions un-factual and every history is itself a narration.

As is sociology, literature is pre-eminently concerned with man's social position in the world and his need for adaptation and change. Society is the material out of which literature is born. It is thus an expression and representation of human life through socially oriented creations using language (Wellek & Warren, 1963, p. 94). According to Hudson, "literature is a vital record of what men have seen in life, what they have experienced of it, what they have thought and felt about those aspects of it which have the most immediate and enduring interest for all of us. It is thus fundamentally an expression of life through the medium of language". Literature grows out of life, reacts upon life, and is fed by life (Hudson, 2006, p. 10). Literary narratives are therefore, a device, that enables a sociologist to approach the delineation of specific facets of the social environment (Longo, 2015, pp. 3-9). In this work, fictions are used as a tool as described by Mariano Longo to make contact with social problems through the representation of reality they open up, much as sociologists and anthropologists gather data through interview and narrative (ibid.).

From an anthropological perspective, the arguments for and against the use of literature in anthropology have paralleled those in sociology. Geertz (1988) for example, believes that experience of literature describing another 'culture' can be equated to direct experience of the 'culture' itself. In the same vein Hymes (1973) notes that anthropological writings are fictions and this does not make them un-factual.

Nigel Rapport (2012) makes the point that literature and anthropology are inseparable, whether as works intended for anthropologists, or as works of fiction, which can be read from an anthropological perspective. He notes that this gives anthropology what he calls "a literary turn", which illuminates the complexity of the human condition and enables "evidencing the subjectivity of human experience (ibid.)".

Geertz (1988), quoted by Rapport, emphasizes the difficulty of representing others in anthropology, where a claim to detached truth transmitted via an observing and questioning author cannot be completely assumed because of innate partiality of the author. The "literary turn" thus became opportunity for various authors, for example Campbell (1989) and Hymes (1973) cited in Rapport (2012) to examine the universality of "writing social reality" in a wider consideration of literature.

It is this concept, which has informed the work presented here in “The Same, but Different” and is represented in its title. In an academic world, where specialization entails more and more being written about less and less, a widely cross-disciplinary and syncretic approach as used here invites criticism as lacking the academic rigour of the separate disciplines brought together here. That may well be formally correct, but it does not invalidate the written social realities presented in this work. In times of change and uncertainty it is not always scholastic rigour, which best serves knowledge.

The present work cannot be described as impartial, but the choice of literature studied here, informed by the present author’s situation as an immigrant in Germany, has been an attempt to produce a spectrum of experience of Turkish-German people in Germany and present it as a source of information for a wider group.

The concept behind this work is that literature could be a means to understand and to enter into the social reality which forms immigrants’ lives, and, besides this, to make a legitimate contribution to socio-anthropological research, which should, hopefully, be made available beyond the walls of academia.

In this work, fictions are used as a tool as described by Mariano Longo, to make contact with social problems through the representation of reality fiction opens up, much as sociologists and anthropologists gather data through interview and narrative (Longo, 2015, pp. 3-9). In the same vein Hymes (1973) notes that anthropological writings are fictions and this does not make them un-factual.

The above arguments, however, do not deal with literature as a source of sociological data obtained from the words of novels and autobiographies, rather as a source of literary or psychological insight. Each book contains the narratives of all those who are or have been in contact with its narrators plus artefacts created in narrator’s imaginations.

As a documentation of the crossover of cultures, using different disciplines, literary studies and transcultural studies this work is intended to be regarded as a resource for those involved with migrants and provides transcultural perspective with a new and resourceful pedagogical viewpoint. Each discipline requires its own language and background. This has proved to be a major challenge. The specialist language and theory of both are not easy to combine. An integration and interpretation of academic codes to fit both fields, without losing meaning, or forcing a reader to become familiar with a large number of specialist terms and definitions has been attempted here. Bridging disciplines and translating a set of languages and concepts from one speciality to another, has brought this study benefits in mutual comprehensibility so

that the challenges to the author have proved worthwhile. The narratological discussion in this work is provided to deepen insights into text and character, however the perspective of the work is transcultural rather than literary.

Both Martinez and Scheffel's narratology and Holzkamp's theory are open to interdisciplinary use, so that their use in literary studies and transcultural studies although these means of analysis are different from each other, can combine without conflict or contradiction and contribute to a pedagogy of diversity.

Literature references the outer world while constructing its own 'reality'. It is not empirical evidence. An author may read, research, and articulate this through the voice of a character so that the research is given a new expression and emotion. A sociological interpretation of this poses challenges in expanding a personal identification with character and plot to an identification with and of social problems, in this case those faced by the Turkish-German characters studied. It is difficult to tell to what extent these problems are reduced today so that further studies are required.

Making the personal general without stereotyping is difficult in a study of this nature, however the use of transcultural categories in selecting quotes and the subsequent narratological analysis are an attempt to use dichotomies to deconstruct them and this is the main challenge of this work. The narrations studied make use of stereotypes, but frequently this is for purposes of plot and emphasis used to underline certain behaviours and encourage the reader to reflect upon them. The analysis of the quotes is intended to explain this and not to represent a stereotyping by either their 'authors' or this 'author'. In generalizing the narrations presented in the books studied it is impossible to escape from the life experiences and fantasies of the authors/narrators, however much these die once the book is read. The focus here is not only the protagonists, but also the way the text forms them, the spaces it provides them and how they react in the frame they have been provided with. At the point of completion of the text, there is no longer an author whether still living or long dead, only the text and what it narrates remain.

This must be accepted; information within the book does not and cannot represent a social generalization of the situation of Turkish-Germans. It does however provide a valuable source of experiences, which increase awareness of 'the other' in those with or without a background of migration. The problems of difference cannot be solved without the awareness of difference.

This book has been written to implant awareness of the experiences of immigration contained

within six books into the mind of the reader. The reader will thereby obtain his/her own view of what it is to live in an increasingly transcultural society.

5.4. The Case for Migrant Literature

The themes of the literature analysed in this book are of social importance and should be incorporated into transcultural education. This should be a process where ‘multicultural’ describes both society and classroom, and is made pertinent for both minority and majority pupils, based on minority and majority cultural codes. Two (or more) languages could be used (Hohmann, 1983).

The literature considered here was originally called ‘Guest Worker Literature’ to emphasize the background of its subjects and also to show the irony involved in this notion (Biondi & Schami, 1981). The present term “Migrant Literature” is more international in character (Ehnert, 1988), clarifying that not only is the life of ‘Guest Workers’ the theme, but also more general questions of society and life (Allen, 1984, pp. 13-17), to establish a link between different forms of cultural life in Germany (Schwencke & Winkler-Pöhler, 1987). Its function, at the origin of this genre, is described as expressing and evoking embarrassment and concern about the process of migration and the situation of migrants and their life in a multicultural society opposed to multiculturalism (Biondi & Schami, 1981). Chiellino (1985, p. 57) sees the main function of migrant literature in modern industrial society as considering human identity in alien surroundings.

The literature chosen for this work discusses migration and its effects on the multicultural groups found in German society, and can form the basic component of a fruitful intergroup dialogue. Many conflicts and personal problems are sharpened by the process of migration. Whatever their problems young migrants can reach a new understanding of their own position by reading about protagonists who have encountered similar problems; Germans who read this literature have the opportunity to gain a better understanding of what migrants and their families have been through; this makes it of value in education for both groups. A teaching program can permanently incorporate learning about the situation of migrants and life in German multicultural society and this can be done without changing the syllabus (Luchtenberg, 1989, pp.366-371.). The recent influx of refugees to Germany has given this a sharpened pertinence.

A key factor in multicultural classes is to create an intimate and positive atmosphere in the classroom, which facilitates understanding and reading about migration. Schools and

classrooms should be given a multicultural appearance (bi- or multilingual posters, photos, maps from countries of origin, bilingual literature and books for young people on migration in the school and class libraries). Pupils, Germans and migrants should be able to take part in discussions and be provided with the necessary vocabulary. The situation of migrants and living in Germany should be included permanently in teaching programs and Migrant Literature is part of this.

It is sometimes reported that migrant pupils refuse to engage with 'their' problems and prefer more general reading. Children do not always like to be considered as the 'Others', so that, for instance differences in dress codes (mainly for girls), which could present a permanent 'Othering' should be discussed with reference to literature about young migrants read by the whole class (Luchtenberg, 1989, p.376ff.).

Children should feel that teaching is based on equal rights, which means referring to all children's worries and delights, not just those of a specific group. There should be a class atmosphere that makes the reading of Migrant Literature productive, produces a re-evaluation of the lives of children and develops awareness of their social problems accompanied by an increase in cultural sensitivity (ibid.).

Luchtenberg (ibid., p.370) makes a case for the use of Migrant Literature as class reading material on a permanent basis. He reports positive reactions to using Migrant Literature in class and gives a number of reasons for its use:

- As a means of connecting with the experiences of immigrant children
- To draw attention to problems of 'culture' and 'identity'
- As a representation of a multi-ethnic society
- As a means of reducing prejudice and racism

Certainly three of the novels dealt with here would be suitable for a class of sixteen year olds (*Salam Berlin, I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds* and *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*). *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado* would be either loved or hated by older students whose worldview is critical. The books can be used to integrate the experiences of migrant students and encourage German students to give space to a wider variety of experience, leading to the question of the origins of racism, discrimination and xenophobia.

Reading Migrant Literature enables both teachers and classmates to re-consider the situation of migrant children and develop an interest in migration, with increased awareness of, and

cultural sensibility to, social problems with regards to migration. It has an important role in the realization that values go beyond the border of one's own 'culture' (Luchtenberg, 1989, p. 378).

Bridging cultural differences requires the awakening and development of innate sensitivity and empathy for people of different origins. Literature is a vital initiator of cultural bridging. • This research is an attempt to strengthen such bridges and to indicate through their literature that Germans of migrant origin are as valuable and as capable as any other citizen here, and quite able to use their spaces of possibility to bring some "splashes of colour" to the "whiteness" (Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar, p. 96 – see also page 192, 270 and 171. of this book) of German society and overcome institutional and personal barriers in the face of many contradictions and a cold tolerance of their existence.

5.5. Possible Ways Forward: Impulses & Implications for Pedagogical Praxis

This work has been submitted under the aegis of the Faculty for Educational and Social Sciences - Diversity Education of the University of Oldenburg and it is both useful and fitting to use the German school system and its problems with children of immigrant origin and vice versa as providing a set of parameters through which to assess the experiences of the immigrant characters of the books, viewed from another standpoint; that of the educators. They will have to work with the present influx of refugees and migrants, driven to Germany from the Middle East. Their work will decide whether those with and without migration backgrounds, live together in mutual acceptance of differences or not. The term ‘educator’ stands here for all those who deal with this new migration in an official role. There is also a need to educate and inform educators and those in university departments who educate them. Literature is an ideal medium for this, through which an insight into the lives of others can be made possible and empathy encouraged when dealing with diversity.

The words ‘Leitkultur’ (Leading/Guiding Culture) have become a motif to describe the predominance of German ‘culture’ over all others in the country, and to deny cross-culturality. It is not a usage that school authorities or teachers would necessarily subscribe to, but it indicates that immigrants should be guided into German ‘culture’ (Kalpaka, 2015, p. 310). For an immigrant, the question of ‘culture’ is heavy with connotations of the past.

The formulations of the Conference of Ministers of Culture, who broadly determine education policy in all the Federal States in Germany, provide an interesting insight here. In 1996, they said pupils should be equally treated and have equal access to education, and that pupils should respect others being different. Furthermore “pupils should meet other cultural forms of life [i.e. cultures] and orientations, recognize their [the pupils] fears, and cope with tensions” (Conference of Ministers of Culture, 1996)³⁶⁹. This presents a strange view of immigrants, as being rather closer to alien life forms, which would not be out of place in a school for colonial administrators and is a long way from expressing a wish for integration.

Initially in the 1960s and 1970s teaching ‘Guest Worker’s’ children was called ‘Ausländerpädagogik’ (Teaching Foreigners), this later became ‘Interkulturelle Pädagogik’ (Transcultural Education) and has by now become ‘Migrationspädagogik’ (Teaching Migrants) (Mecheril, 2010, p.61). It is however difficult to distinguish between these terms and they all carry a heavily colonialist after-taste of ‘Othering’. In any case all these terms

³⁶⁹ Kulturministerkonferenz, 1996, cited in: Steinbach, 2015, p. 355.

look down on children judgementally. It could be said that a school system that uses such terms is condemned to failure, because of the latent discrimination encapsulated in them. There is little reason to assume that the comments of the MacPherson report of 1999 concerning prejudice in Britain are not valid in Germany. The report talks of “[...] attitudes and behaviour, which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people” (MacPherson, 1999, chapter 6.34). MacPherson was asked initially to report on racist behaviour by the London Police and their suppression of investigations into a particularly horrible murder, but the investigation was broadened and its findings refer to all organs of the British state including the education system (ibid.).

It is certain that no teacher would expressly discriminate against an immigrant child and be horrified if accused of this, but there is a history of teachers in particular ascribing problems of under-achievement of children of immigrant origin to a lack of intelligence as an ‘inherited’ result of cultural difference, used as polite substitute for racial difference (Leiprecht, 2001, p. 28). It will become clear later in the present argument that these teachers themselves are the victims of institutionally closed cultural concepts, which their training as educators has done more to encourage than to counter. Because the expectations of primary school teachers are a major influence in the selection process for the tripartite secondary tier of the German school system, it can be inferred that many failures in this sector stem from the primary level. Steinbach (p. 342) reports that some teachers are positive about cultural diversity, but view immigrant origin children as rather exotic representatives of foreign cultures, much in the way the Minister Conference fails to see them as individuals. Immigrant children should enable other pupils to profit from their presence, while themselves assimilating (ibid., p. 344). Attitudes like this fail to take account of the complex identities that children have, and these form a thread through the literary analysis of this book. A reading of this, and of the Migrant Literature dealt with in it, would benefit both trainee and practising teachers. In the present, third generation the identities of migrant children are much less clear than teachers might assume. A subconsciously orientalist frame of mind is still very prevalent in Europe.

A report of a school observation by Annita Kalpaka (2015, p. 299f.) illustrates problems of identification. A class teacher and a trainee social worker wish to encourage their pupils, who are of diverse origins, to learn about “foreign cultures” (ibid.) and arrange a multi-national breakfast. Each child is asked to bring food typical of their culture and, the breakfast is

enjoyed by all. However Kalpaka later questions the children and they report that, although they are expected to act as representatives of ‘their’ cultures by both the teacher and German fellow-pupils, they only know their countries of origin through holidays, have no breakfast or a German-style breakfast at home, and have merely brought something they thought would be suitable in order to please the teacher. Change over three generations that has gone unnoticed can only lead to the conclusion that there are still two categories of inhabitants in Germany; the foreigners, and the rest, or maybe three, the children, whatever their origin, being a separate and evolving group. Schulz-Kaempf in his contribution to section II of *Schule in der Migrationsgesellschaft*³⁷⁰, notes that after more than fifty years of immigration it is no longer possible to consider immigrants as a homogeneous group (2015, p. 270).

Kalpaka (p. 290f.) remarks that there has been no change in many years in regard to teaching immigrants in Germany, and comments in the light of British cultural studies that culture should be explained as a “polyphonic, always contested construction of social meaning and identity” (Kalpaka, 2015, p. 293), that the work in Britain that produced such statements is too cross-disciplinary for Germany (ibid., p. 294) and certainly not compatible with a ‘Leitkultur’. The idea of a ‘Leading Culture’, restrictedly defined as it is, is a diversion into racism. It is what people do as active subjects, not predefined representatives or a “Leitkultur” or a minority, in reacting within a space of possibilities, that is important (ibid.). In this regard, immigrant children, as presently labelled in Germany, will find their space of possibilities restricted. Paradoxically, this can result in an encouragement of self-ethnicisation in order to at least widen the space of possibility available to them as minority children and gain status in the eyes of the dominant group (Lutz, 1992, p. 60). This is clearly shown by the “breakfast incident” described above. Mecheril (2010, pp. 88-91), talks about transcultural competence within educational institutions. He states that there should be an analysis of the cultural differences and distribution of influence within such organizations. This should include the social position of migrants compared to non-migrants and any discrimination involved. It is unclear that such an investigation would have in any way altered the contradictions seen in the “breakfast incident” which seems to be the product of a preconception of difference in children of migrant origin, which was just not there. It seems that the class composition was far more homogeneous than the teacher had thought. In that sense the children with a migration background were far more integrated into their school

³⁷⁰ *School in a diverse Society*

class than supposed, and were forced to create cultural differences, which were not present. Mecheril later gives a list of questions as to whether minorities are represented in the staff of the institution/school, at what level, and if the presence of minority origin children is used in school publicity. He comments that in some cases minority origin teachers are expected to solve problems concerning minority children so that the rest of the staff can carry on as before and disregard them (ibid., pp. 88-91). Any proper inclusion of minority origin staff in a cooperative fashion should not have this outcome.

It is of interest to examine the inclusion of immigrant children by considering the acceptance of linguistic variety as an indicator of social homogeneity/heterogeneity in the German education system, because education can be seen as a representative repository of social judgements within a society. Multi-linguality is regarded as challenging by some teachers and was thought to be a hindrance to learning the majority language and to success in schools. The socialization of immigrant children in more than one language was seen as a barrier to educational success (Steinbach p. 347, Czock p. 100). No thought was given to the fact that pupils of immigrant origin could not absorb material presented in the majority language designed only for majority-origin pupils. In the present situation there are now a number of refugee pupils in classes with varying levels of competence in German, and fewer programmes, such as finding a buddy or arranging sessions with a local adult to learn the language, are available on an official basis. Any such programs are local and voluntary. Instead the phrase used to explain the concentration on German was, and is, that pupils required a “Language of Thought” (Denksprache), with the implication that thought is only possible in German (Steinbach, 2015, p. 347). Steinbach also reports a lack of any positive valuation of multi-linguality among teachers. Primary level teachers are reported as saying that immigrant children are semi-literate in two languages, with judgemental comments on ‘general difficulties in understanding’ and cognitive development problems accompanied by an unwillingness to integrate. At the same time, head teachers made parents responsible for their children not learning German and wanted to have ‘homogenised’ classes (ibid., p. 347). Other school heads felt multi-linguality to be positive and blamed the immigrant children’s dysfunction in school on their social conditions, which the school should try to offset. Teachers feel overly challenged by multi-linguality and unprepared for this by their training (ibid., p. 350). Nowhere in the German education system are the “normal rules” of German schools questioned, including the selection processes and grades given (ibid., p. 352). Teachers define normal as the possession of a “common sense” which the majority (of both

teachers and pupils share), and the minority cannot. Not at any time is there a question of the possible dysfunctionality of the organizational structure of schools. Immigrant origin children are who do not fit in, especially boys, are met with aggression and defensiveness from teachers, may be labelled as 'ineducable' and sent to special units, while girls are divided into the typical ones, who follow family tradition, and the untypical, who break free of this, and are welcomed. Schools judgements are based on the social class, educational level and ethnicity of parents (Steinbach, 2015, p. 352f.) in a continuously selective school system that requires homogenous groups to function. Family background determines what happens to pupils (not only of immigrant origin). Because of the expectation that immigrant families will not be supportive of schools, and are unlikely to have the 'correct' background, an almost unbreakable vicious circle is established. The school system represents a culture of dominance and, directly or indirectly, makes immigrant groups cognisant of this (ibid., p. 356). Education systems do not, however, need to be structured on cultural dominance, and not all are.

German schools are both monocultural and monolingual. Although 20% of pupils are of an immigrant background, only 6% of teachers are from such a background. They are especially welcomed, but are also expected to fill a herculean combination of roles: build bridges; be mediators, translators, ambassadors of integration; be role models; and to be able to cope with racism (Georgi, 2013, p. 85ff.). They are expected to achieve all this in a school system where there are some compensatory measures to enable pupils to achieve fluency in German but rarely teaching of, or in the language(s) of origin of immigrant origin pupils (Georgi, 2015, p. 317). Georgi reports that bi-lingualism is neither wanted nor practised (ibid., p. 318), but is of importance, both in class use and to communicate with parents. Monolingual habits are, however, largely continued, although immigrant-origin teachers act responsibly to culturally enrich their schools (ibid., pp. 323-326). He states that there is a training deficit where diversity in schools is concerned because only 'normal' (i.e. German-origin) pupils are considered. Schools should be able to cope easily with the diversity of their pupils to be able to work with all immigrant families in their language of family use. There should be more diversity in school staff, acknowledgement of diversity in syllabus and resources and, above all, the education of immigrants should form part of all teacher training (Georgi, 2015, p. 332).

Although the last statement might be said to represent a wish for utopia, there are school systems that incorporate heterogeneity into the building blocks of schools. In some states in

Germany, schools have been repeatedly re-organized to promote inclusivity for instance, in Hamburg (Hollenstein, 2014). The success of the changes remains unclear.

In the case of Britain, with a recognition that the school system is failing young people, schools in London have aimed at a change of atmosphere was from one of expectation of failure to a confidence of success (Blanden & Sibieta, 2015). It must be mentioned that Britain has a comprehensive (i.e. non-selective) school system and that the wisdom of putting schools in to the hands of private enterprise as has been done in Britain is questionable (ibid.). However the assumptions running through the two systems could not be more different. In London schools were taken to be failing children, their families and society in general. The reforms were a collective acknowledgement of responsibility for this. In contrast, not only immigrant-origin children, but also very many German pupils are devalued as ineducable, in a judgemental matrix of prejudice, and responsibility for problems transferred unfairly from the school system to parents, families and immigrants.

The present organizational structure of German education is not widely contested, and the experiences narrated in the books chosen for this work would support the postulate that a similar pattern of labelling which could be described as ‘Othering’ runs through all aspects of German society, and is only ameliorated by personal contacts. Immigrants are the same, and seen as the same until personal contact is established, but on many other levels remain, even in the third generation, ‘strange’ creatures in German eyes. The school system, which should act as an agent of social inclusion in the production of a diverse, open society, is hampered by its structural rigidity and selective nature. The structure may become dual rather than tripartite, but wide-ranging changes are not to be anticipated. The changes which would be possible in Germany, are those widely welcomed by teachers in London’s renewal; an opening-up of the teaching profession, mainly through the direct exchange of information and experience between teachers in an education of the educators and the increased involvement of local parents. This was achieved on a relatively informal basis, within schools and groups of schools without the involvement of either local educational bureaucracies or governmental school inspectors. This meant that participants felt free to exchange information without the feeling of being judged and could admit and attempt to solve problems. A change is needed in Germany to try to reveal to teachers how their underlying and often unconscious assumptions and prejudices impair lives, especially, but by no means only, those of immigrant-family children, and to take responsibility for this.

The present book was accompanied in the writing by an increasing feeling that the many lives animated in the scenes selected for analysis convey an emotional nearness to the life of Turkish-origin immigrants not available to the majority population, who are unlikely to read books by immigrant authors. It is this nearness, which is lacking in teachers, whose training should not be complete without it. If this is true for teachers, it is equally true for all those in an official position in contact with immigrants and there are now many more than before. While it is unrealistic to suggest that the book should be in compulsory use in the training of teachers, the final recommendation at its end is that a version be produced with a reduced academic content, translated into German, and made available for use in educating the educators, wherever and whoever they might be.

The impact of education cannot only be evaluated for its effects only on Turkish immigrant origin children, in a situation where the number of asylum seekers arriving at EU borders is unparalleled in recent times. In the first ten months of 2015, 995,000 first-time asylum applications were submitted to EU countries, more than twice the number over the same period in 2014. Countries with low employment rates will see the biggest impact (Kollewe, 2016). Certainly if the prejudices and problems analysed in this work continue, the difficulties experienced by both sides in integrating the newcomers will be no less than those experienced by immigrants of Turkish origin, which gives the message of this work more urgency. Should refugees not be in a position to benefit from the education system, the benefits of integration to Germany might not be realized (see also: Russell, 2002).

Cultural information from this work and also other pertinent studies should be transferable, understandable and persuasive to a general audience, to educators such as those responsible for schools, police, health workers, fire department, social workers and all those who are concerned with migration and integration. This would best be presented in a short pamphlet, concentrating on easily and fluently communicable examples. Co-teaching; team-teaching; working with in-class support teachers, other educators and guidance counsellors are further ways of increasing sensitivity to immigrant and refugee problems in conjunction with short talks or workshops in as many organizations as possible. Young people granted asylum must be given the support they need to meet the challenges of life in Germany as a host country. At the very least they should be encouraged to read the original books both for enjoyment, and as reading material in transnational pedagogy as a module in courses.

The aim of this work is to look at preconditions for and successful practice in international work with young people in particular the ‘small things’, which influence situations,

questions, discussion learning processes experiences and spaces of possibility to open room in the learning process for questioning assumptions and try out the new.

Leiprecht (2008, p.438) finds the recognition of diversity to be formed out of an over arching combination of three concepts, anti-discrimination, intersectionality and orientation on people as subjects. A consciousness of diversity means, as Holzkamp says, that an individual subject can neither be assumed to be fully determined nor fully free from social conditions, but acts in a space between these (Holzkamp, 1993, p.21). Subjects move not as free agents, but fitting behaviour to the conditions they find. These insights are particularly useful as they allow individuals to move along lines of difference. A necessary part of this is that educators must examine their own position and identity, rather than concentrating on learning about 'others'.

Being conscious of diversity requires first of all an awareness of implications and pitfalls for educational work, requiring self-awareness in terms of power relations, bias and their unintended effects. This does not abolish social roles and expectations but dilutes them so that new experience and learning can take place.

It is likely that the experience of the protagonists of this book will be a predictor of that of the new 'refugee generation' and thus it is hoped that this thesis can be used as a source of information to help in ameliorating the problems this new migrant generation.

This help must centre on the significance, understanding and treatment of heterogeneity and difference, and educationalists could well to make use of a reading of the selected literary texts in the way they have been categorized here to provoke new thought and development in educational work.

Tabular Presentation of Content and Characters of the Books

The following section provides a tabular presentation of content and characters of the six selected books regarding the protagonist's name, gender, age, social status, religion, location in which they lived in Turkey (if named), and their place of residence in Germany. It includes occupation, educational status, parent's occupation, social position and their attitude to life as an immigrant family. It includes income and the number of siblings they have (if any).

The tables are intended to provide a brief and understandable overview of all six novels. Here the focus is only on the major characters and not on the authors, although some authors' names are identical with those of protagonists. Eventhough the books are auto- or semi-autobiographies, the work of this book is to regard every text as a narration and distant from its author. It is immaterial whether any text is biographical or fictional.

The tables begins with *Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*; then *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*, *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*, *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*, *Salam Berlin* and *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*. For more detailed information into the protagonist's lives, more detailed summaries have been provided in section on "4.1. Background & Overview of the Books Analysed in This Work, pp. 134-159). At the end, under "Apendix 2" (p. 372) , some English synonyms of Turkish terms, which have been used in selected novels, are provided.

Appendix 1

Tabular Presentation of Content and Characters of the Books

*Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family*³⁷¹

By: Akgün, Lale (1953)
ISBN: 978-3-596-18123-0
Date of publication: 2008
Pages: 256

Profile of main character of the book *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*

Name	Lale Akgün
Gender	Female
Age	Late-twenties
Status	Married: husband Ahmet, daughter Aziza
Religion	Muslim: mother Muslim, father Atheist
Location	Istanbul-Cologne
Occupation/Education	Studied psychology and is a member of the German Parliament.
Parent's Occupation	Father: Dentist Mother: Mathematician
Social Position	German parliament (SPD). Has developed from a small Turkish girl to a highly educated Turkish-German woman.
Social attitudes	Open to cultural differences and integration, but critical of assimilation.
Attitude to Life as an Immigrant	Positive
Family Income	Wealthy
Siblings	One, younger sister Peyda

³⁷¹ Tante Semra im Leberkäseland: Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie

Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds³⁷²

By: Bläser, Fatma (1964)
ISBN-13: 978-3548362441
Date of publication: 2001³⁷³
Pages: 223

Profile of main character of the book *Henna Moon: My Life between Two Worlds*

Name	Fatma (Sonja) Bläser
Gender	Female
Age	Mid-twenties
Status	Married: to a German family doctor
Religion	Muslim
Location	East-Anatolia / Cologne area
Occupation/Education	Unnamed work in company/ completed middle school
Parent's Occupation	Father: Worker Mother: Housewife
Social Position	Office worker not high status, after marriage housewife?
Point of View	p. 161 ³⁷⁴
Attitude to Life as a Immigrant	Positive, hopeful
Family Status	In Turkey: Wealthy, in Germany: Poor
Siblings	Five brothers and sisters

³⁷² Hennamond. Mein Leben zwischen zwei Welten

³⁷³ First published 1999

³⁷⁴ So pendelte ich von meiner deutschen in meine türkische Welt. Dort war ich anerkannt und bewundert für den Mut, mit dem ich meine Probleme angeht, hier wurde ich geschlagen für jedes bisschen Autonomie, dass ich gewinnen wollte.

Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar³⁷⁵

By: Demirkan, Renan (1955)

ISBN: 978-3-462-03327-4

Date of publication: 2003³⁷⁶

Pages: 139

Profile of main character of the book *Black Tea with Three Lumps of Sugar*

Name	Anonymous
Gender	Female
Age	Late-twenties
Status	Married to a German backstage designer/painter
Religion	Muslim
Location	Village in Anatolia/Turkey then, since nine years old, Germany
Occupation/Education	Actress: Gymnasium, Humanities degree
Parent's Occupation	Well educated family
Social Position	Well off and ambitious
Point of View	p. 22-24 ³⁷⁷
Attitude to Life as a Immigrant	Positive and hopeful
Family Income	Average
Siblings	One sister, not named

³⁷⁵ Schwarzer Tee mit drei Stück Zucker

³⁷⁶ First published 1991

³⁷⁷ Überhaupt sollte es nur Prinzessinnen und Prinzen geben, und alle wohnten in Burgen und Schlössern und könnten sich den Musen hingeben, könnten malen, lesen, dichten und singen. Alle wären gut zueinander und würden viele Spendenbälle für kranke Kinder, Alte, für den Artenschutz, das Rote Kreuz und andere gute Zwecke veranstalten.

24. Anfangs standen noch verstreut ein paar trockene Bäume in der flachen Landschaft, ein paar Lehm und Blechhütten, ein paar Menschen, die irgendetwas taten.

Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado³⁷⁸

By: Mutlu Ergün (1978)
ISBN 978-3-89771-600-1
Date of publication: 2010
Pages: 164

Profile of main character of the book *Kara Günlük: The Secret Diaries of Sesperado*

Name	Sesperado is protagonist's alias. It's a mixture of "SES" (Turkish: voice, loud) and "desperado" (someone with the courage who is fighting with despair). (Kara Günlük means in Turkish: "Dark diary").
Gender	Male
Age	Early-twenties
Status	Single – Later on a girlfriend: Songül
Religion	Muslim (Anatolian Alevi)
Location	Berlin, Germany
Occupation/Education	Student
Parent's Occupation	Not known
Point of View	Radical, Anti-racist, self-appointed leader of a revolution
Attitude to Life as a Immigrant	Exaggeratedly ironic, both pretentious and arrogant, active political commitment
Family income	Average
Siblings	One sister not named

³⁷⁸ Kara Günlük. Die geheimen Tagebücher des Sesperado

*Salam Berlin*³⁷⁹

By: Yadé Kara (1965)
ISBN 978-3257233919
Date of publication: 2003
Pages: 384

Profile of main character of the book *Salam Berlin*

Name	Hasan (Hansi) Kazan
Gender	Male
Age	Mid-twenties
Status	Single
Religion	Muslim
Location	Berlin
Occupation/Education	Acting in small clichéd roles, wants to study archaeology
Parent's Occupation	Father: Travel agent Mother: Housewife
Social Position	Average-to-low
Point of View	p. 223 ³⁸⁰
Attitude to Life as a Immigrant	Positive and hopeful
Family Income	Wealthy
Siblings	One Brother

³⁷⁹ Selam Berlin

³⁸⁰ Ich glaube, Wolf hatte die irrije Idee von zwei Kulturen, die aufeinanderprallen. Und so einer wie ich musste ja dazwischen zerrieben werden.

Eigentlich hatte ich alles von beidem. Von Ost und West, von deutsch und türkisch, von hier und da. Aber das konnten Leute wie Wolf nicht verstehen oder wollten es nicht verstehen. Sie sahen in mir immer einen Problemfall. Jemanden, der zwischen den Kulturen hin- und hergerissen war, jemanden, der nicht dazugehörte. Piss off!

Die anderen versuchten mir Probleme einzureden, die ich nicht hatte. Sie konnten mit so einem wie mir nicht umgehen. Ich passte nicht in ihr Bild, und sie konnten mich nicht einordnen. Ich war wie ein Flummiball, sprang zwischen Osten und Westen hin und her, ha.

*I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*³⁸¹

By: Tasman, Nilgün (1968)

ISBN: 978-3451298608

Date of publication: 2011³⁸²

Pages: 176

Profile of main character of the book *I Dream German and Wake Up Turkish: A Childhood in Two Worlds*

Name	Nilgün (Bosphorus)
Gender	Female
Age	Mid-twenties
Status	Married a German, one child
Religion	Muslim
Location	Istanbul-Alaca when she was seventeen months old to Schwabia. Lives with her husband and four children in Stuttgart.
Occupation/ Education	Hairdresser, then psychology at university
Parent's Occupation	Father: Worker Mother: Housewife
Social Position	Successful
Point of View	Use "wings" and fly over obstacles
Attitude to Life as a Immigrant	Positive with hopeful
Family Condition	Poor
Siblings	A sister: Mine

³⁸¹ Ich träume deutsch . . . und wache türkisch auf: Eine Kindheit in zwei Welten

³⁸² First published 2008

Appendix 2:

Some Turkish Terms for Family Members repeatedly used in the Texts

abla	older sister
amca	uncle (father's brother)
anne	mother, mom (annem = my mother)
baba	father, dad
babaanne	grandmother/ grandma
baklava	sweet dish (from dough-sheets)
bayram	feast, national holiday, religious holiday
cocuklar	children (cocuk = child)
esolesek	son of a donkey (insult)
evet	yes
günah	sin
salvar	harem pants / Turkish trousers
Salam	hello
yavrum	my child / darling
tut	sweet fruit (part of the berry family)
Kara Günlük	The Dark Diary
alman	Germany
canim	my heart /darling
kapali	kapali means covered

Erklärung zur Einhaltung der Leitlinien guter wissenschaftlicher Praxis an der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg

Hiermit erkläre ich, Arezou Ghasemzadeh, dass ich diese Dissertation mit dem Titel "*The Same, but Different: Young Protagonists and Their Space of Possibilities as Portrayed in Turkish-German Migration Literature - A Transcultural Perspective*" selbst verfasst habe und deren nicht bereits für eine Diplom- oder ähnliche Prüfungsarbeit verwendet habe und dass die benutzten Hilfsmittel vollständig angegeben sind.

Außerdem erkläre ich, dass ich die Leitlinien guter wissenschaftlicher Praxis an der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg befolgt habe.

Oldenburg,
Arezou Ghasemzadeh

Novels Analysed in This Work

- Akgün, Lale (2008) *Tante Semra im Leberkäseland: Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie (Aunt Semra in Liver Cheese Land: Stories from My Turkish-German Family)*. Frankfurt: Kürger Verlag.
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