

Kno-Boys? Kanake?
A Developing Portrayal of the Turks in
Germany as Seen in German
Young Adult Literature:
1970 to the Present

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Abstract

For my senior honors thesis, I am investigating how the Turkish people are portrayed in German children's and young adult literature from the past three decades. As the largest single minority population in Germany, which is culturally very different from German, the Turks have faced many legal and social struggles, trying to adapt to living and working in German society while preserving their culture and heritage. Because many Turks in Germany do menial labor and they and their children often obtain the minimum required education, they have been discriminated against by the Germans. Many German authors have portrayed the children of immigrants and guest workers in their children's and young adult books since the early 1970s. In my analysis of ten books written between the 1970s and 2002 which portray the relationships between Turks in Germany and their German neighbors, as well as the lives of Turks in Germany, I have found that the books thematically reflect the historical situation in Germany.

Introduction

Turks have been a significant presence in Germany ever since the German government first invited Turkish guest workers to do menial labor in post-war Germany in the early 1960s. The government hoped the guest workers would return home when the work was done. Instead, young Turkish workers began to bring their families to Germany and the Turkish population of Germany soared. As the largest single minority population in Germany, which is also culturally very different from German, the Turks have faced many legal and social struggles, trying to adapt to German society while preserving their culture and heritage. The German government has recently taken some steps to aid the assimilation of Turks into German society, including granting some newborns citizenship and facilitating adult applications for German citizenship, as well as introducing Turkish language and Muslim religion classes in local German public schools. Even with these legal changes, however, public opinion has lagged and prejudices and misunderstandings have continued to grow.

Modern-day Turkey is a secular state, but ninety-nine percent of its inhabitants are Muslim. Although the German state forbids public displays of religion, they cherish and nurture their religious heritage at home and in the mosque. Germany is largely Christian in name, but atheistic in practice. This lack of religious emphasis, juxtaposed with the outward signs of Muslim piety (women wearing head-scarves, etc.) increased the awareness that the Turkish immigrants were culturally very different from the Germans. Another difference, which at first seemed subtle, but later boiled to the surface, was one of diet. Muslim tradition prohibits the eating of pork and German cuisine is based on pork, creating some tension among butchers and local residents. Socially, also, the gap between Germans and Turks widened as younger generation Turks increasingly completed only the minimal required schooling and were lucky if

they obtained apprenticeships in lower class occupations. As the number of apprenticeship positions declined and the competition in the job market increased, the social prejudices also deepened.

Many German authors have portrayed the children of immigrants and guest workers in their children's and young adult literature since the early 1970s, focusing on the relationships between these 'foreign children' and their German neighbors. These books reflect the historical aspects of the culture as a whole and the assimilation process. Literature for youth in Germany (ca. ten to sixteen years old) focuses on educating, not merely entertaining. This focus means that much youth literature is full of strong moral lessons and clear themes. Authors try to portray their ideal society, in the hopes that the children reading the books will work to create that society in their neighborhoods and schools. As ideal societies and ideas about how to attain them change, so the message in youth literature changes with historical and cultural growth.

In the 1970s, cultural differences and the language barrier were a large concern which dominated political discussions and literature. In the children's and youth literature, Germans and Turks go on individual quests to integrate Turks into German communities and make Germans aware of the conditions under which the guest workers are living. The authors also plead for equal treatment. These books, for the most part, are idealistic and unrealistic, with black and white differences between people and accessible solutions to all problems. This is partly a reflection of the ideals of the late 1960s that society could and should be changed by the individual.

In the early 1980s, language between the two groups was still a barrier, but as the decade continued, more and more Turkish children were born and raised in Germany. In these books from the 1980s, groups, rather than individuals, act for change, such as an entire school class

deciding to educate the community about the guest workers' situation, or an entire class standing behind a Turkish classmate who is being discriminated against. In this decade as well, the authors realize the failure of integration is no longer the Turks' problem, but instead the Germans' refusal to allow them to integrate successfully. These books make an effort to explain cultural differences and also start to expose the problems of the second generation Turks. These children, who were born and raised in Germany, often feel more German than they do Turkish, as they've only experienced "their" country through their parents' stories and infrequent visits. They aren't, however, accepted in Germany as Germans.

In the 1990s, the literature portrays strong German-Turkish friendships. The 1990s also continue the second generation's search for identity, caught between the Turkish and German cultures, and being pulled in both directions by family, friends and classmates. Finally, the most recent books illustrate the generational issue; children readily accept Turkish friends and classmates, whereas their parents are not completely comfortable with each other. These broad themes trace the social history of guest workers in Germany since the 1970s and reflect how the Germans and the Turks responded to the integration and assimilation process of Turkish guest workers and their families.

History

After World War II, the German economy and infrastructure were in shambles. The number of young men able to work had decreased significantly as a result of the war. By the 1950s, post-war Germany was experiencing a lack of workers as an effect of the low-birthrates of the war years.ⁱ In order to industrialize and create a strong economy, Germany needed workers. Therefore, on December 22, 1955, the German government negotiated an agreement with the Italian government for Italian laborers to come to Germany to work. These guest workers, as they came to be called, had contracts with German companies that provided them with rudimentary lodgings (usually in a barracks) and limited work permits. The first Italian guest workers, mainly single men, arrived soon thereafter in Bavaria. The German government made similar agreements with other, mainly Mediterranean, governments: Greece and Spain in March 1960, Turkey on October 30, 1961, Portugal and Yugoslavia in 1964.ⁱⁱ These workers were imported to do the jobs no German wanted to do, such as trash collection and mining, so the Germans could concentrate on their more specialized fields and help the economy to grow.

The men who came to Germany as guest workers often labored in mines and factories in southwestern Germany, and in factories and as menial laborers in northern Germany. They did dirty, difficult work, lived as inexpensively as possible, worked overtime and were not interested in any political or union activities.ⁱⁱⁱ Through this frugality, they were able to send money home to their impoverished families, helping them through hard times, and also trying to create a better life for them at home.

At the height of the movement to import foreign guest workers into Germany, there were 2,595,000 foreign workers in Germany, of which approximately 600,000 were Turkish.^{iv} From the beginning of 1972, the Turks were the largest single minority group in Germany.

Increasingly, the Turks' stayed longer and their families began joining them in Germany. The number of employed foreign women increased, and the number of unemployed foreigners also increased.^v

Guest workers could legally petition to bring their families to them in Germany only if they could prove they had adequate lodgings. Thus more and more guest workers came into contact with German residents as they moved from the isolated barracks into residential neighborhoods and apartment buildings. The guest workers' lack of German language skills was formerly only evident in the work-place, but now the language barrier between the host society and their foreign working class became prevalent in the neighborhoods and with children in the schools. Many German public schools were not adequately equipped to deal with a relatively large non-German speaking student body, and did not know how to teach German as a second language efficiently, or how to integrate the students into the school environment. Many German legislators, too, were confident that the guest workers, especially the high Turkish population, were in Germany to work and save, and that they would go back to Turkey when the work was done. Because they believed that these workers and their families would only be in Germany for a limited amount of time, they were not overly concerned with integration and language learning.

In 1972, post-war Germany began to feel the effects of the lack of mobility in the foreign work-force and realized that many of these guest workers did not plan on leaving within three years, as originally planned. Accordingly, the Labor Minister instituted an "Anwerbestopp" (moratorium on applications) on November 23, 1973, to halt completely incoming workers from non-European Community countries.^{vi} This recruitment termination meant only that no more workers would be imported into Germany; current guest workers could still petition for their families to join them.

The ever-increasing numbers of guest workers' families in Germany, often living in German residential areas, made the Germans more aware of the cultural differences. Germany is largely a Christian country, although it tends to be secular in practice. Many of the Turks moving to Germany, though, were devout Muslims coming from rural Turkey, where religious customs are very strong. Germans were, therefore, struck by the number of Turkish women wearing headscarves. This obvious sign of Muslim piety and, in the West, sign of male domination over women was uncommon in Germany before the arrival of the guest workers' families.

Another outward sign of the cultural differences between the Turks and the Germans was family size. Most German families have one or two children, but Turkish families, especially those from rural areas, are often large. It was not uncommon to see a Turkish woman with three or four children in tow, doing the family grocery shopping at a local market.

Perhaps the most striking difference, however, was the kashrut laws, the religious laws which determine what food pious Muslims can and cannot eat. Devout Muslims believe that pork is unclean and do not eat it. They also have rules about how to properly kill an animal to drain the blood so that it is prepared according to religious propriety. German butchers, of course, mainly prepare pork, the staple meat of German diet, and use the same utensils for all kinds of meat. Since German butchers are not "kosher", Turkish people preferred not to buy from them, and proceeded to set up their own butcher shops, sometimes illegally in apartments, where they prepared the meat according to their own traditions.

These cultural differences, easily observed and not readily understood, caused increasing xenophobia. Many Germans, not familiar with Islam and with no easy possibility to learn about the religion, began to fear and resent these guest workers and their families. The families were large, loud and different, and, as the economy in the late 1970s started to stagnate, the Germans

began to blame the Turks for taking their jobs. In a poll done in 1972, fifty-four percent of the respondents believed that guest workers were loud. Forty-one percent believed that they were “not clean, tending to be slovenly.”^{vii} Thirty-seven percent thought the guest workers were “hot-tempered, often violent.”^{viii} In 1978, in a poll conducted by the Godesberger Infas-Institut, thirty-nine percent of the respondents felt that the guest workers should return to their native countries. Twenty-seven percent of respondents felt that children of guest workers who were born in Germany should return to their parents’ native country.^{ix}

This xenophobia was also encouraged by the fact that many of the Turkish families lived separately from the Germans. German society experienced the formation of ghettos, as the Turks moved into inexpensive apartments near their place of employment, usually a factory, and Germans moved out of those areas as real estate values sank.^x Soon, entire neighborhoods, such as Kreuzberg in West Berlin, became known as “Little Istanbul,” where the majority of the inhabitants were Turkish who patronized Turkish shops and butchers. This separation, along with the cultural differences, spurred xenophobia towards the guest workers, especially the Turkish workers and their families, and foreshadowed the societal problems of the 1980s.

Throughout the beginning of the 1980s, Turkish guest workers continued to bring their families to Germany and the social differences and assimilation problems increased. More and more German schools had increasing numbers of Turkish students, but lacked Turkish-speaking teachers to help them learn German. In 1980, seventy-five percent of foreign youths in Germany from 15-24 did not have even the most basic high school certificate (Hauptschulabschluss). Even more disheartening was the fact that forty-six percent of the 16-20 year olds did not have work or an apprenticeship, nor did they go to school.^{xi} These youths, then, unable to succeed in the German school system because of language difficulties, dropped out and did not have any

support net to catch them. Unable to finish school and therefore ineligible or not preferred for many apprenticeships and jobs, these youths often resorted to gangs and youth violence. This violence and the fact that these youths were often seen just loitering on the street, obviously not employed, further aggravated social tensions as prejudices and stereotypes grew.

In response to this lack of assimilation into German culture and working life, politicians had developed the idea of “Integration auf Zeit” (integration over time) in 1974. With this system, second generation Turks who had been born in Germany or had lived there since they were young, should be integrated into the German school system, but maintain contact with the culture of their parents’ native country. This policy resulted in what were dubbed “bilingual illiterates,”^{xii} because the students mastered neither their parents’ language, nor the German language. This process was especially difficult for Turks, who had completed the required education in Turkey (five years of elementary school). When they moved to Germany to be with their families, then, they were thrust into a different culture, which required at least four more years of schooling in a different language. They had difficulty finding employment, and many of them were also dealing with puberty.^{xiii} Facing these difficulties with no or little support system from the host country caused animosity on the side of many Turkish youths as well, which only increased their alienation.

Because of this xenophobia, more and more Germans wanted the government to deport the guest workers, especially the Turks. A Spiegel poll in 1982 showed that the majority of Germans were against the guest workers and more than two-thirds felt they should return to their native countries. The poll was also broken down into age groups and education levels and found that those who felt the foreigners should leave were more likely to be older and have only the least amount of required education.^{xiv} Another Spiegel poll, completed in 1984, asked the same

questions and analyzed the answers based on political persuasion. They found that fifty-seven percent of the respondents as a whole felt the guest workers should return home, with the more conservative CDU/CSU supporters most in favor of this (sixty-eight percent) and the liberal Green voters least in favor (twenty-two percent in favor, seventy-five percent in favor of them staying in Germany).^{xv}

The social structure of the guest workers' society changed in the 1980s as well. More Turks left their menial jobs in factories, mines and waste disposal and became entrepreneurs. The 1980s saw a vast increase in small Turkish grocery stores, fruit and vegetable stands, import shops, and the Döner shop where inexpensive Turkish food is available. As Turks became more used to the idea of spending a longer time in Germany, and not saving money with the goal of moving back to Turkey, many started their own businesses and became very successful. This career mobility not only offered some hope to Turkish youth, but also allowed Germans to gain some understanding of Turkish food. In the 1990s, many Germans preferred to buy their produce at the Turkish stands where the food was often fresher and cheaper than at German supermarkets, and the Döner Kebab is the third most popular fast food in Germany, second only to McDonald's and Burger King.^{xvi}

Another change which positively impacted the lives of Turks in Germany was the introduction of the "Kommunalwahl" (municipal elections) in 1987, after Iceland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands granted some level of franchise to their resident aliens.^{xvii} The city-state of Hamburg was the first in Germany to allow their 175,000 foreign residents to take part in the city council elections.^{xviii} This paved the way for former guest workers all over Germany to have some say in local elections. In some areas with high Turkish populations, this new franchisement altered the political landscape. This watershed regulation also set the stage

for eventual citizenship law reforms and other political privileges afforded foreigners in the 1990s.

In 1989 the Berlin Wall fell and in 1990 Germany was officially reunified. This drastic change altered the political, economic and social structure of Germany. Suddenly, Germany had to absorb 22 million East Germans, many of whom were significantly lacking in vocational skills. West Germany also had to absorb the bankrupt East German economy as well as try to revive the industry and make it more efficient and competitive. It soon became apparent that integrating the socialist East Germans into capitalist West Germany would not be as easy as politicians had promised. With sky-rocketing unemployment, rising taxes and decreasing wages (especially in Berlin), no one was satisfied with the results of unification. For a few years, Turks were no longer in the spot-light, as Germany focused on creating a unified country. As unemployment in former East Germany grew, along with the dissatisfaction and unemployment of the Turkish youths, predominantly in former West Germany, xenophobia increased in East Germany, expressed by the Skin Heads and Neo-Nazis.

Another issue in the mid-nineties was religious concerns in German public schools. The first controversial debate was about head scarves. Since they are an outward sign of religion, some questioned whether female students should be allowed to wear their head scarves in German public schools. As a sign of a girl's honor and modesty, the Turkish population was adamant that girls should continue to be allowed to wear their head-scarves, while many German authorities, not understanding the full religious and cultural import of the head scarf, petitioned to have them banned from the school room. This issue showed the lingering fear and misunderstanding of Turkish culture and religion among many Germans and their lack of desire to learn about their largest single minority group. As late as the summer of 2002, this issue was

still raging in the German newspapers as a teacher originally from Afghanistan insisted on wearing her head-scarf into the classroom in public schools. After a court case, she was told that, as a teacher, she could not show preference to any religion because of the strong separation between Church and State. She started teaching at a private Islamic school in Berlin.

Another controversial issue was whether the German public schools should provide the option of Islam religion classes in schools. Most German elementary and secondary schools offer religion classes, mainly Catholic and Protestant, and some Jewish, depending on enrollment. Neighborhoods with high Turkish and Muslim populations requested Islamic religion classes in their schools. The German government complied, but soon realized that they had difficulty controlling the type of Islam that was being taught, especially as reports of fundamentalists becoming religion teachers surfaced. Currently, the government encourages Islamic studies at German universities in order to have moderate, educated religion teachers who teach religious tolerance and moral principles.

When the Social Democratic Party won the elections in 1998, after 14 years of Helmut Kohl's conservative Christian Democratic Party rule, they instituted many legal changes for the foreigners. One of the first pieces of legislation that Chancellor Gerhard Schröder pushed through parliament was the new citizenship laws which made most Turks eligible for German citizenship. Previously, even Turks who were born in Germany did not have the option of applying for German citizenship until they were 18. This meant that Turkish youths who were apprehended for minor offenses, such as shop lifting, could potentially be deported. Under the new citizenship laws, foreigners who have lived in Germany for more than 5 years are eligible to apply for citizenship, but they must give up their previous citizenship. Also, under this new regulation, citizenship is given to children who are born on German soil, provided their parents

have lived in Germany for a specific length of time. This legislation was very controversial, as Germans feared possible social repercussions of having non-integrated “Turkish” German citizens. As it turns out, only about twenty percent of the Turkish population has applied for German citizenship, partly because of the requirement to give up their Turkish citizenship. The possibility to become a German citizen opens many new opportunities however, especially for entrepreneurs for whom it is easier to get permits with a German passport.

In the 1990s, and continuing today, the large Turkish population in Germany causes significant social tensions. There are many prejudices against the Turks and not much interest from the Germans to learn about Turkish culture and tradition. Many Turkish youths drop out of school and don't find a job or an apprenticeship. With increasing unemployment due to the economic troubles Germany has faced with unification, many Germans feel that the Turks are taking away their jobs and using their social services without benefiting society in any way.

1970s: Individual Quest, Idealistic Stories, Black and White Differences

A major theme which pervades children's books from the 1970s is the idea of an individual quest. These books often portray only one German student and one Turkish student who venture to breach the cultural gap and attempt to create a friendship. This friendship is often looked down upon or not understood by the adults in the book, or even by their fellow classmates. By the end of the book, however, the individual quest has been successful and the entire society has accepted, or is coming to accept, the foreign students living among them.

In Renate Welsh's *Ülkü das fremde Mädchen*,^{xix} written in 1973 and set in Austria, Bärbel is the only student in the class to make friends with Ülkü. One Monday, not long after the school year starts, Ülkü almost runs into Bärbel as Bärbel is walking to school. They walk together for a few minutes, watching a squirrel, and Bärbel tells Ülkü a story about watching squirrels in the park with her mother and sister. This is their first personal communication and Bärbel seems to enjoy Ülkü's company. Just as Bärbel starts talking about her little sister, however, two girls from their class come out of a side street and stare at the two girls – one German, one Turkish, walking together. Bärbel immediately abandons Ülkü to walk with the two cool girls from her class, but also experiences, "for the first time a really bad conscience, from my stomach all the way to my throat".^{xx}

Later in the school year, after Bärbel's birthday, Ülkü gets very sick. She collapses on the way home from school and an elderly woman takes her to the hospital. When the class finds out that Ülkü is sick and will be in the hospital for at least a week, the teacher suggests that the class write her a get-well card. Finally, the class produces a card, composed by all classmates and rather impersonal. Bärbel decides to write a more personal letter to Ülkü. She carries her note around with her for two days before she works up the nerve to go to the hospital and deliver it,

but when she does, it has immediate consequences for their friendship. Mrs. Wospatschecz, the elderly woman who helped Ülkü on the street, calls Bärbel and invites her for coffee, initiating a friendship between them, as well as letting Bärbel know how much her attempts at friendship have meant to Ülkü. Because of Mrs. Wospatschecz, Bärbel goes to pick Ülkü up when she is released from the hospital. On the following Monday morning she makes her friendship with Ülkü public as she asks the teacher if she can sit next to Ülkü.^{xxi}

At the beginning of the story, Bärbel is pretty much alone in her budding friendship with Ülkü. None of her classmates talk to Ülkü unless it means they can make fun of her later, and they blame her because the teacher punishes them when she thinks they are being unfriendly. Even Bärbel's mother doesn't approve of her friendship with Ülkü; she "reads every newspaper article about the guest workers closely: *Yugoslav stabs colleague, Bloody brawl in guest workers' barracks, Guest worker causes traffic accident – 7 dead.*"^{xxii} Bärbel gives up trying to explain that Austrian workers also cause traffic accidents and that Austrian masons also fight. When Bärbel visits Ülkü in the hospital, her mom reluctantly takes her shopping to buy a present for Ülkü. After Ülkü leaves the hospital, Bärbel's mother allows Ülkü to come over every afternoon after school to catch up on all the work she missed while in the hospital. Ülkü is a diligent worker and Bärbel's mother starts to like her and gain an understanding of the difficulties Ülkü has at home. When Bärbel starts to doubt their friendship, her mother immediately defends Ülkü. Bärbel muses, "it was truly odd. At first my mother was against this friendship, and now she's siding with Ülkü."^{xxiii}

Through Bärbel's friendship with Ülkü, Ülkü becomes more accepted in class. When Ülkü comes to class in a new jacket, with a hat knitted by Mrs. Wospatschecz, she looks very cute and starts to get attention from some of the boys. Ülkü's German has improved

dramatically, due to her diligent work-ethic and also Bärbel's after-school tutoring. Ülkü's first school year at a German school is difficult, but the effort of two individuals, Ülkü and Bärbel, establish her as a member of the class.

Ernst Klee's *Fips schafft sie alle*, written in 1972, is also an example of an individual quest. Ten-year-old Fips decides that the guest workers in his town are not treated fairly. Basing his quest on the experiences of his Greek friend Elias, Fips takes the town by storm, demanding better treatment of the guest workers. Fips first goes to visit the director of the barracks and asks him outrageous questions about his own living situation. "Do you have warm water to wash with at home?... How about a shower and a nice bath tub? ... Mr. Director, do three other workers sleep in your room at night? ... Are you allowed to hang pictures on your walls at home?"^{xxiv} When the director answers yes to all of Fips's questions, Fips exclaims, "You are a bad director! You have a nice home, but your workers in the barracks don't have warm water, have no showers, not even their own rooms! They aren't even allowed to hang pictures on their walls! They aren't allowed to invite visitors! ... Do you think that's fair?"^{xxv} Soon the director has enough of this 10-year old boy telling him how to run his business and kicks him out of the office.

Fips refuses to be dismissed by the director and goes to the immigration office, the editor of the local newspaper and the mayor. At the immigration office, Fips questions why Elias cannot bring his family to Germany. He doesn't understand why the laws are different for foreigners and for Germans. Fips makes the employee think about questions he's never pondered before, but the laws still aren't changed.^{xxvi} Fips has better luck with the editor of the local newspaper who is also liberal; however, he writes what he thinks his readers want to read. "If all of our readers were like you, then I would write about Elias every day. But our readers don't like

guest workers. They'll cancel their subscriptions if we write too much about the guest workers."^{xxvii} Fips replies that they must write the truth. "He who doesn't write the truth lies! Isn't it the truth that many workers live in worse conditions than dogs, because they are foreigners?"^{xxviii} The editor agrees with Fips and decides to write an article about the guest workers.

Fips's final stop on his initial quest is the mayor's office. Fips runs into the mayor on the steps of the city hall and asks him first if "someone lives in our city and works and pays taxes, then is he a citizen?"^{xxix} The mayor answers, of course, but then Fips asks the real question: "But many people say that the guest workers are dumb and they steal and they're dirty. And that's why they can't be citizens. I saw it, how they live in those nasty barracks and they can't even bring their children with them when they come here. Is that fair?"^{xxx} The mayor is impressed and tells Fips that he's right, but "most of the Germans don't like the guest workers."^{xxxi} The mayor has to be careful which political topics he chooses to tackle, because he needs to watch his ratings so that he gets re-elected. Fips doesn't understand this need to be political.

Fips's quest is juxtaposed to the public opinion rampant in the town. When Elias is finally allowed to bring his family to Germany, his nine and ten-year-old children go exploring in their new neighborhood and get lost. When they go to a police officer for help, a woman passing by mutters, "They stole something, for sure! All of the foreigners do that. Everyone knows that!" The police officer angrily responds, "Don't talk nonsense! Worry about your cabbage instead, and make sure that your coffee water isn't burning at home! First of all these children did not steal anything and secondly – madam! – guest workers steal less than Germans! That's been statistically proven. As a police officer I would know that. So don't be so

ignorant!”^{xxxiii} While the police officer stands up for the Greek children, the woman’s prejudices more accurately mirror public opinion.

Fips experiences these prejudices in his own class when his teacher decides to discuss the guest workers one day. When the teacher asks the students what they know about the guest workers, most of them know very little. One student says they come from Russia, Spain, England, Africa, and Bulgaria. Another student corrects him and says none come from Russia and Bulgaria, but they do come from Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Portugal. When asked about what people say about the guest workers, students answer, “they are all thieves, and they’re also dumb”; another answers, “the Germans say the Italians are dirty and drunk. I think so too. They always have five to ten children”^{xxxiii} Another student who doesn’t like guest workers, but has never met a single guest worker, when asked, says, “the guest workers are insolent and forward. In their free time they just hang around and whistle at girls.”^{xxxiv} Another student chimes in with, “only a few guest workers would be happy if we would civilize them, like it is here. The others don’t even want that!”^{xxxv} The teacher asks this student some questions about his experience with guest workers and he begins to realize that his parents’ prejudices may not be all valid. Fips, however, doesn’t say a word during this entire conversation and leaves depressed, even more motivated to find equal treatment for his guest worker friends.

Finally, Fips convinces the mayor to try to get into the guest workers’ camp and insists that he not bring any ID. The guard will not let the mayor in and does not recognize him as the mayor. The mayor is taken to the police station and, without ID, is made to spend the night in jail. Spending a sleepless night allows the mayor to think about the reactions of the guard and the police men who would not believe that the mayor would actually care about the plight of the

guest workers. He comes out of jail a reformed man, determined to reform the city and its inhabitants. He gives a short news conference in the morning, saying

Many guest workers work in our city. Without their help, we would have to close down most of the hospitals. Our sick would then not have sufficient care. Without our guest workers we would suffocate in trash and dirt, because the trash collection and street cleaning is done mostly by them. The guest workers help us build schools and kindergartens and play grounds. They work in our factories. And they work just as hard and as well as every German worker! But where do they live? Still in barracks and camps! With barbed-wire and a snappish guard at the gate. And, if they can find an apartment, they have to pay high rents for the smallest stall. Almost everywhere they're treated worse than Germans. Their children get little help in the schools. They have to learn the German language. But who supports them? Only a few contemporaries see this problem. Even fewer want to help. I have spoken with representatives of all the parties in our city. All are unanimous: the guest workers are citizens like us!^{xxxvi}

Fips has achieved his goal: the mayor publicly announces that the guest workers are to be treated the same as Germans. What started out as Fips's individual quest to gain rights for his friend Elias ends in a public announcement of support for the guest workers from the highest political voices.

Klee's *Fips schafft sie alle* is very unrealistic and idealistic, as were most of the books dealing with the plight of the guest workers in the 1970s. Fips is only a ten-year-old boy, yet the director of the guest workers' barracks, the immigration officers, the editor of the newspaper and the mayor all take him seriously and listen to what he has to say. At the barracks, the guard even addresses Fips with the formal "Sie".^{xxxvii} In the barracks, a Turk addresses him as "little man" and then tells him that he didn't know Fips was "already so smart".^{xxxviii} Another unrealistic aspect in Klee's novel is how ready the mayor is to publicly defend the guest workers, even though previously he had been so concerned about his political standing. After one night in jail and encouraged by a ten-year-old boy, he comes to realize that acting according to his morals is more important than his political ratings. However, the authors hoped that by presenting an idealistic situation, they could better promote societal change.

Ruth Hermann's *Wir sind doch nicht vom Mond!*, written in 1975, is an idealistic portrayal of Kasim's family's transition from living in a barracks to moving into a very nice, new apartment in a newly constructed apartment complex. The German family Kasim and his father meet when they're looking for apartments is warm and open, gladly inviting them into their apartment to show them around. Kasim notices that "these people spoke differently to us than the majority of the Germans. Only Uwe's parents had been this way to us. It was really comfortable there – I could have stayed for hours."^{xxxix} When another German couple comes in to see the apartment and decides against it when the Harms family tells them that Kasim's family is also looking to move in, Mrs. Harms reassures them, saying, "Don't worry about that a bit! We don't want simpletons with those prejudices against foreigners here anyway."^{xl}

The Harms family organizes everything for Kasim's family so that their move into the new apartment will be as painless as possible. They collect furniture from many of their friends, including "good beds, closets, tables, chairs, two arm chairs – things which weren't used anymore, but were too good to throw away."^{xli} Kasim's family do not expect such a warm welcome party, with most of their new neighbors stopping by with cake and other gifts to say hello. As the novel ends, they've lived in this apartment for a year – the only Turkish family in the complex, surrounded by German families who are interested in getting to know the Turks. In the final chapter, a new student joins Kasim's class from Cologne, who speaks with a strong Köln accent. He thinks Kasim is a Hamburger and refuses to believe he is a Turk until Kasim shows him his folder with his name – Kasim Özdemir.^{xlii} This ending portrays something the children in the barracks often dreamed of.

In addition to their idealism and their emphasis on individual action, another prevalent aspect of the novels from the 1970s is their stark cultural differentiation between the Turks and

the Germans. In Hermann's novel, the Turkish families all have many children, with Kasim's friend Ismail having seven younger siblings. In the other novels, Germans make comments about the Turks' large families. Another stark difference is that of religion. The Turks are predominantly Muslim and have very different religious traditions from their German hosts. The religious differences are most prominent in Hermann's novel, when Kasim's grandfather is outraged as he finds out that the Germans eat pork, forbidden by the Muslim faith.

Another example of cultural difference in Hermann's book occurs when journalists come to the camp to report on the Turks' living conditions. They take a picture of Mrs. Avciata – a married woman. The reporters don't realize that, although Mrs. Avciata covers her face, it is an insult to her husband's honor to have a picture taken of her without him, especially when it's published in the paper. The children clamor and beg the photographer to destroy the film; when he refuses, they make him promise not to publish the picture. When he publishes it after all, Mr. Avciata is mocked by the other Turkish men in the barracks and finally has to move to a small, damp, over-priced apartment to escape the ridicule he faces daily.

Another difference which sets the Turks apart from the Germans is language. Turkish is a non-romance and non-Germanic language and therefore not at all comprehensible to Germans. Because there were very few Germans who could speak Turkish, it was a problem finding people who could help the Turkish children learn German. Often, the government hired Turks who had learned a lot of German to teach their fellow country-people, such as the after-school German tutor who teaches Kasim's and his brother, Hakan's, classes. Even with this help, it takes the boys two years to become proficient and comfortable in German, and even longer before the new boy in Kasim's class mistakes him for a German.

Language is not the only stumbling block to integration, however. Different cultural traditions also create tensions. In Welsh's novel, Bärbel finds it very difficult to understand the traditions in Ülkü's family, especially the honor she shows her father and the disregard she has for her own dreams in light of her father's wishes. Ülkü would like to continue studying and eventually become a doctor, but her father wants to save up his money in Germany, and then open a soft-drink stand on the beach in Turkey. His daughter, then, would complete the minimum required schooling in Turkey and work at the soft-drink stand during the day until she gets married young. Another time, when Bärbel brings paint to Ülkü's apartment and they decide to paint the chairs red, Bärbel cannot understand Ülkü's father's violent reaction to what he sees as both wastefulness and an act of charity. Ülkü stands up to her father for Bärbel, but Bärbel still doesn't understand the honor and respect given to the father in traditional Turkish families.

Another theme in these early books is the black and white nature of the problems the characters confront. Each problem has a relatively simple solution and there are no gray areas. Fips sees that the guest workers are treated unfairly and fights for their rights. With relatively little effort on Fips's part, the mayor changes his mind about his political stance on the guest workers and soon the entire city comes to more easily accept and more fairly treat the guest workers.

Kasim has a similar experience. At first his family lives in the barracks in a two-room apartment for a 6-person family. When Kasim's father is no longer able to work overtime, though, he quickly finds another job at another factory which actually has higher pay. When Kasim and his father go out to find a new apartment so that his father can take the new job, they only wander around the city for a few hours on one day before they find the new apartment complex and the Harm family.

This stark difference between the situation before and after is also echoed in Welsh's novel, where at the beginning of the novel the entire class hates Ülkü, but after her sickness and Bärbel's friendship, the class comes to like her. These books are all characterized by easily achieved idealistic endings, which contrast starkly with the previous situation.

The youth literature of the 1970s also reflects the times in which it was written, such as the peace movements and liberal feelings of the late 1960s. Around the world, people were protesting against the Vietnam War; Woodstock, hippies and rock music were common sights. These books are permeated with 1968 ideals of social peace and harmony, with the authors portraying open and embracing societies, which treat their guest workers well. These novels also portray an individual quest in which one character takes on the unequal treatment of the guest workers and fights to change society's view. The authors portray an ideal solution to promote change in their societies. All of the stories have happy endings and proclaim that it just takes one person to effect change and transform society.

1980s: Groups Acting for Change, Integration is Germans' Problem, Explanation of Cultural Differences, Problems of the Second Generation

The books from the 1980s are significantly different from those of the 1970s. The 1980s portray groups acting for change, supporting their classmates and working for tolerance. Also, these books seek to explain that part of the problem with integration lies with the Germans unwillingness to learn anything about the Turks and Turkish customs and traditions. Therefore, these books seek to illuminate these differences, by explaining the importance of the headscarf, and of honor and respect for elders. Finally, the books from this decade deal with a very important new issue: the problems of the second generation who feel at home neither in Germany nor in Turkey, those children who have lived most of their lives in a Turkish household in Germany, exposed to both languages and cultures, but not comfortable or fluent in either one.

As opposed to an individual on a quest to alter society, the books from the 1980s present groups acting for change. In these stories, an entire class moves together to support a Turkish student, bringing out the idea that students are becoming more aware of their Turkish friends and their needs, as well as the fact that people are still learning about Turkish traditions and culture.

Annelies Schwartz's novel, *Hamide spielt Hamide*, written in 1986, shows the significance of the group acting for change. When their teacher, Mrs. Weissenbach, creates a theater group, the students decide to put on a play about Turks in Germany. Chris says, "But we'll need Turkish students to play too. Then it'll be much more realistic."^{xliii} Antje adds, "And they can tell us what they really think about us."^{xliv} The German students then agree to ask their Turkish classmates to join the theater group. Antje will ask Hamide, Torsten will ask Erdogan and Ute thinks Sevta will participate. "Everyone will try to ask at least one Turkish classmate"^{xlv}

and, if possible, bring them to the next rehearsal. Not only does the group in Schwartz's novel act for change, but they keep up the momentum, too.

The teacher starts to doubt the effectiveness of the play after many of the Turkish actors are forced to leave for various reasons. Not only that, but the xenophobia at the school seems to only get worse, when she gets to her classroom, and finds graffiti on the door: "Chris is a Turk lover! Turks go home!"^{xlvi} The teacher starts to wonder if she's taken on too much with this play. "Am I trying to achieve something which can only be overcome in generations? Am I demanding too much from my Turkish and German students?"^{xlvii} Then, however, she hears Thomas saying "They're only trying to incite us against Chris, Hamide and the other Turks; but that's where they're wrong!"^{xlviii} This comment, amazingly, comes from a student who earlier abused Hamide by calling her by the derogatory term, "Kanakan". Suddenly, the class is mobilized as Antje and Hüseyin hang a poster over the graffiti. When Chris wants to go over to the ninth grade and talk to them about it, Thomas convinces him that it's not a good idea. The students come together to support each other and the teacher, but not all of them support the play. Udo mumbles something under his breath and other students look away. It is precisely for students like Udo, however, that the theater group is performing the play. The group of students in the theater group are working together to fight intolerance in their school and to teach their fellow classmates about their Turkish classmates.

Ingrid Kötter's novel, *Die Kopftuchklasse*, written in 1989, also shows a group, this time coming together to protect their Turkish classmate. When Hati suddenly begins wearing a headscarf, and the long traditional Turkish skirt, the class yearns to learn more about Turkish customs and traditions. Susanne, confused about why Hati would suddenly start wearing the scarf, goes to her mother for explanations. Her mother doesn't know much about Turkish culture,

but explains what she does know. She tells Susanne that “as far as I know, [headscarves] have to do with religion, with Islam, with the traditions of the people who are Muslims. When girls get older and more beautiful, they shouldn’t be touched by the lustful thoughts and looks of men and should remain innocent until they get married.”^{xlix}

Later in the story, the teacher asks the Turkish students to explain more about Turkey and Turkish customs. Serdal explains that life in Istanbul is not very different from life in Germany and he explains the economic troubles which prompted men to move to Germany to try to make more money. “But living in Germany isn’t very cheap and they can’t save as much as they thought they would be able to. So they write to their wives and children: ‘Come to me! I can’t stand it alone any more. I’m homesick.’ And then the wives and children come and can’t speak any German.”^l

Serdal explains that many Turkish women have a hard time learning German because they mostly stay at home and don’t work so they don’t have a chance to learn. “But Turkish women aren’t any dumber than others.”^{li} Hati then goes on to explain the important role women play in Turkish villages, where when they want something, for example, a day care, they bring their case to the elders and usually receive what they want.

After the class learns about life in Turkey and learns that the Turks aren’t that much different from the Germans, they, too, act together to protect their friend and class representative, Hati. Andy doesn’t want to let Hati play in the class soccer game because of her headscarf and tries to recruit another girl to play on the team with him. Some of the girls immediately take up the challenge and start practicing for the big game. As game day gets closer, however, the entire class gets tired of Andy’s prejudiced elimination of Hati. On the big day, Sven’s father, a reporter for the local newspaper, comes to document the events. Susanne, remembering Hati’s

story of the Turkish women sticking together for what they want from the Turkish men (a day care in that case), has an idea. All nine girls in the class showed up to the game in long skirts and headscarves in a sign of solidarity with Hati. Since Andy had said that no girls in headscarves would play on his team, he has to face a full team of eleven players with his team of ten boys. Then, two boys refuse to play without Hati and stand by the girls in headscarves. Finally, only five boys (Andy and four of his friends) are left facing a full team of eleven players and they lose the game by default. This amazing show of class spirit and support for Hati and the other Turkish students reflects the increased tolerance of the younger generation.

Children's literature from the 1980s also argues that the Turks' lack of assimilation and integration into German society isn't their problem, but rather the Germans' problem. Many Germans in these books refuse to learn anything about the Turks, expecting them to either turn into carbon copies of Germans or go away. Some Germans just live their lives as if there are no Turks in their communities and are surprised when they realize how many Turks there are. This idea that the Germans should make more of an effort to integrate the Turks into their society was pretty radical at the time and not very well-received by many Germans. Children's and youth literature authors, however, felt that by targeting the younger generation they could instill ideas of integration into the young and reform society in the future.

Bosetzky's 1984 (pseudonym "-ky") novel, *Heißt du wirklich Hasan Schmidt*, illustrate German antipathy towards the Turks. The Germans in the book show no interest in learning about the Turks, even though they live in an area of Berlin which is highly populated by Turks. The other students in Matthias/Hasan's class regularly call their Turkish classmates derogatory names, such as "Kanake," pigs, and "camel jockey." Matthias's neighbor's brother comes to visit and complains about a family of Turks whose car hit his on the way into town. He gets very

excited and starts yelling about how the Turks are “worse than the occupying soldiers! What is this: the Turkish occupied zone of Germany? As long as they are still here, no one is safe!”^{lii} He continues, lifting up the morning newspaper, “Just look at the headlines...! Turk-terror: Koran and karate in the mosque! Turk accused of heroin-dealing arrested!”^{liiii} Mrs. Jonas, Matthias’s neighbor, then adds, “They should just all kill each other at home. Here they just loiter in the U-Bahn and corrupt our youth. We’ve had nothing but trouble since they came!”^{liv} After these elders state their views, Matthias realizes “who was guilty for all of his woes: *the Turks*.”^{lv} This negative attitude towards the Turks reflects a lack of interest in learning about them, and the fact that blindly hating Turks and blaming them for everything is easier than getting to know them and helping them to integrate into German society.

After Matthias takes on the identity of Hasan and goes to live with the Turkish family, he realizes that the Turks aren’t all bad. They aren’t to blame for all of his woes. They are not inherently evil and out to get all Germans. But he also realizes, because of his stereotypical view of Turks, he had no interest in learning anything about them, or about the Turkish neighborhoods of Berlin. When he goes shopping with Shirin, his “host sister”, he realizes that he has never been on Oranienstraße (the main street in Kreuzberg, the largest Turkish neighborhood in Berlin). He was also “only infrequently in Kreuzberg, the one district of the 12 in West Berlin in which the most Turks lived – about 30,000. That’s about the size of a city like Jülich or Rastatt. Some call the area between the elevated tracks and the Berlin wall *Little Istanbul* or – if they’re negative – the Turkish Occupied Sector of Berlin.”^{lvi} The only thing Matthias knows about the Turks and Kreuzberg he has learned in his social studies class: that there were over 200,000 foreigners in West Berlin, about 90,000 of whom were Turks.^{lvii}

When Shirin, Matthias and Shirin's brother go buy a vacuum cleaner from a department store, he gets to experience what it's like to be treated like a Turk by the Germans. When Matthias and Shirin's brother try to leave with the vacuum, they are immediately accused of stealing and can't defend themselves until Shirin comes running back with the receipts. Matthias also notices how older German ladies clutch their purses tightly when he walks past and how, at night, people will cross the street so as not to encounter him on the sidewalk. Realizing what it's like to be treated like a foreigner, he also becomes more acutely aware of the xenophobic graffiti which is all over the walls in Berlin, calling for Turks to leave and for foreigners to get out. Almost all of the German characters in this book exhibit Matthias's previous lack of interest in going to see Turkish neighborhoods and lack of interest in the Turkish way of life. Though, the Turks live in Berlin and the Germans theoretically think they should be integrated into German society, the Germans don't feel like they have any role to play in those integration efforts.

The Turks in the story, however, make an explicit effort to learn about Germany and German society and to become successful. Most of the Turkish students in this book make an effort to learn German and be successful in school, while still maintaining their heritage. Seref, one of the Turkish students in Matthias's class, tries especially hard. He is confused because "everyone was screaming for the integration of the Turks and he behaved exactly like the German parents and teachers wanted their children to. He was diligent, organized, punctual and knowledgeable, [and] he only got good grades."^{lviii} He then realizes that "if he wanted to be something in this country, he would always and everywhere have to be a little better than the German children – and that's why they hated him."^{lix} The Turks, then, are stuck in a Catch-22: the Germans don't want to learn about them and claim they want them to be integrated, but when they try to learn about the Germans and try to integrate themselves, they are hated for being too

good and for being better than the German children. This frustration does nothing to help integrate two different cultures, and again, in the books of the 1980s, the problem does not seem to be the fault of the Turks, but of the Germans for refusing to even try to learn about their largest minority group.

In Schwartz's novel, the German characters also know very little about their Turkish classmates and neighbors. While the theater group is very interested in writing and performing a play about Turkish German relations in their town, they also realize that they know nothing about their Turkish classmates. When the group is first discussing their idea, Antje suggests they invite some Turkish students so that they "can tell us what they really think about us."^{lx} On the way home from school that day, the teacher does her shopping in a Turkish shop instead of in a German grocery store. She isn't planning on buying much, but the goat cheese and olives entice her. That day, she notices "more Turkish women in their almost-ankle-length coats and flowered headscarves than usual."^{lxi} The teacher isn't the only one who becomes more aware of the Turks in the community through this play. Chris, one of the German boys, has to play the Turkish father because Çelik, the original actor, is sent back to Turkey by his father. In order to learn how to act like a Turkish father, Chris spends a lot of time shadowing Turkish men on the street, learning how they walk and how they carry themselves. Like Matthias in *–ky's* novel, Chris is surprised to find how much he learned just by interacting and observing people, something he had never done before.

The teacher and Chris use their realization that they know little about their Turkish neighbors to enact change and to learn about them, while other members of their community just incite hatred. The theater group is still working on writing the play when some students vandalize one of the school bathrooms, writing hateful messages about Turks and foreigners on

the wall. When the teacher goes to the principal to find out why the graffiti has not been removed, he tells her that the cleaning woman refuses to clean it because it'll just be written again tomorrow. The teacher asks, "what use is it to practice and perform a piece about Germans and Turks living together when the students read 'Turks are pigs' during the breaks?"^{lxii} As soon as the principal and teacher get to the bathroom and read all of the hateful graffiti written in red and black felt pen all over the door, they realize, "this graffiti has to go, and quickly!"^{lxiii}

Perhaps the most telling and significant realization of lack of understanding of how Turks live in Germany is when the German teacher and students listen to the parts of the play which have been written by the Turkish students about their experiences in Germany. When Hamide is reading part of the play, everyone is quiet, listening to the Turkish perspective. Performing the part where the Turkish girl comes home after the first day of school, she reads,

The teachers here aren't real teachers, they are not at all strict. They don't yell when it's loud during class, they don't even yell when the children harass me. And all of them harass me. They can't stand me, because I'm a Turk... They laugh at me when I talk, they laugh at me because I wear a headscarf. No one wants to sit next to me. They treat me as if I were evil. I am the only girl in the class who wears a headscarf. Sevim, the other Turkish girl in the class doesn't wear one and she's not harassed. If I could go without wearing my headscarf, then the other children would also leave me alone... The worst one is the boy who lives in this apartment building, Dieter. He said to me "Turk, shitty Turk" and ripped my headscarf off. I don't want to go back to school!^{lxiv}

These anecdotes from the Turkish students' perspectives really teach the students about their Turkish classmates and make them more aware of the difficulties they face in the German schools.

To a lesser extent, Kötter's *Die Kopftuchklasse* places the blame for the Turks' lack of integration on the Germans. Susanne and her mother and sister live with her grandmother who is xenophobic. At first Grandma doesn't mind that Susanne and Hati are friends because Hati dresses like a German girl. When Hati starts wearing traditional Turkish dress, however,

Grandma isn't as ready to let Susanne invite Hati over, and she makes Susanne promise to never "drag over a girl with a headscarf."^{lxv} Susanne's mother is shocked that the grandmother is so prejudiced and tries to teach her daughter about Turkish customs and traditions. The grandmother claims she is only worried about what the neighbors would think. Andy, the team captain, is also extremely prejudiced and won't let Hati (or any of the other girls) play in the soccer game if they're wearing a headscarf. He is very disrespectful of Hati's culture and refuses to learn anything about the religious and cultural significance of the headscarf. Instead, he insists on calling her a veiled whore and continually asks her why she's wearing the headscarf and why she won't just take it off.

In the 1980s authors of children's and youth literature realized that their audiences would not automatically accept the Turks in their classes if they continued to portray the idealistic and unrealistic peace and harmony of the 1970s. Instead, German authors made a specific effort to explain cultural differences to their German audiences. Characters in their books explained some of the tenets of Islam, explained the significance of the headscarf, wrote about honor and respect for elders, as well as the culture shock of coming to a city in Germany from a rural town in Turkey.

In -ky's novel, Matthias doesn't just learn about the Turkish way of life, he is immersed in it. When he goes to Shirin's apartment for the first time, he is shocked that there is no shower. When she takes him around, he sees that Shirin, her sister and both brothers sleep in the same small room, with a wall of closets separating the girls from the boys. Most surprising for him, however, are the Muslim sayings around the house. He finds a brochure lying around and starts reading it, reading that "Muslim children who go to German schools tend to have inferior habits... contact with teachers and students can be compared to the contents of cheap sex

movies. With the exception of undressing in front of the teacher, all sorts of disgusting behaviors are allowed.”^{lxvi} Matthias has a vague understanding of Islam; he knows that the Koran is the Bible for the Turks (Seref explained that to him) and Fatma once said something about Turkish parents not liking it when their daughters went around in T-shirts and shorts, especially in gym class.

Shirin takes him into the kitchen and starts explaining the meal to him, and she also mentions that Ramadan is coming up. “No eating or drinking from sun-up to sun-set – that can be challenging. But it’s also nice, because then everyone – family, friends, neighbors – get together for the first meal of the evening...”^{lxvii} Matthias notices that Shirin is wavering between liking this tradition and hating it. He compares it to his own confirmation the year before: on the one hand he was deeply impressed by the entire ceremony, but on the other hand he couldn’t get his modern German mind to really believe that drinking a little bit of wine would make him one with Jesus.^{lxviii} Religion, for him and Shirin is a hard thing to grasp. “The old traditions are dead and, scientifically, nonsense; but we’re still rooted in them and evidently need them in order to really live.”^{lxix}

This first short interaction in Shirin’s apartment impresses Matthias so much that he becomes eager to learn more about Turkish culture. He helps Shirin with the grocery shopping and other errands, he watches the preparations for Shirin’s sister’s wedding. He starts to feel like Turkish culture is wholesome, the Turks are happy, loving families. Shirin’s family is “the big family that Matthias always wished for. There was so much warmth and affection, so much goodwill.”^{lxx} When he thinks of his own family, he shudders. His parents are divorced, his father has disappeared somewhere in the Australian bush. The grandparents hardly ever speak with his mother anymore, and the rest of the relatives fight incessantly.^{lxxi} Matthias had heard about big,

harmonious family meals from older people who remembered the war, who remembered how people came together and shared what they had in 1945/46, in the years of need right after the war. It is this feeling of warmth and openness that makes him feel much more comfortable around his new Turkish family.

When Matthias, Shirin and Kemal, Shirin's brother, go out shopping, at first Matthias thinks it's like Halloween. He gets to be dressed up and no one knows who he really is. But then it starts to bother him that when they order ice cream they get a much smaller helping than the German children. He also becomes offended when a German tells him "hands off!" while he admires the boy's new bike. But what bothers him the most is when a "young German mother almost ripped her child from the tricycle so that Kemal couldn't pat that baby... As if he had poison on his fingers!"^{lxxii} When he confronts Shirin about these inequalities, she tells him, "We Turks have to, and should, always remain mute, even though we have so much to say."^{lxxiii} This acknowledgement of the lack of space for the Turkish perspective helps Matthias to understand what it's like to be a Turk in Berlin.

Schwartz's novel also tries to teach the German characters what it's like to be a Turk in German society. When Melek wants to join the theater group, her older brother must first chaperone her, making sure that nothing bad will happen to his younger sister at this activity unsupervised by a male relative. Ertan approves of the theater group, even likes the fact that the school is putting on a play about Turks and Germans living together, because many Germans don't understand the circumstances under which many Turks come to Germany.^{lxxiv} Yet the German boys are still surprised that the Turkish male relative has so much power. "It is unimaginable for the German students that the brother decides what the sister can and cannot do."^{lxxv} Chris even says "I could never forbid my sister anything. She wouldn't listen to me."^{lxxvi}

Through the production of this play, the German students learn many of the subtle aspects of Turkish culture, such as the importance of honor and reputation and the important role that the male relative, either father or older brother, plays in the family, especially in the lives of daughters and younger sisters. They also learn about the pride that many Turkish students have in their heritage. Although they want to learn German and become more integrated into German society, they are also very proud of where they came from and don't want to lose those ties. When the students try to decide if the Turkish family in the play should come from a big city or rural Anatolia, Hamide says, "My grandmother comes from a village... Anatolia is nice. I am no longer afraid that the Germans will laugh at me."^{lxxvii} The German students in the group are astonished to hear her and the teacher is proud that Hamide can stand by her heritage and be so self-confident.^{lxxviii} The play teaches the German students in the group about Turkey, Turkish customs and Turkish families. By raising awareness, the play fosters communication and, hopefully, builds tolerance and friendships.

Just as the play confronts the German students with first-hand accounts of their experiences from their Turkish classmates, Alev Tekinay's short stories offer a unique perspective since she is a Turkish author who has lived in Germany, observing the Germans, for many years. In her stories, Tekinay portrays the life of Turks in Germany from an insider's perspective. In "Die Todesengel," one of the Turkish families is very well off, has a nice apartment and a car, and both sons attend institution of higher education. The parents of these two boys worry that their sons might be too German, but are happy with the life they have created for themselves. Tamer's family is not as well off and also more strictly observes Turkish traditions. When Tamer asks his father if he can accompany his friends on this race to Munich, his father says no and since he is the father, his word is law. When his father comes home from

the night shift at work and drives past the fatal accident the other boys were involved in, he is worried that his son disobeyed him and went along anyway, but he is relieved to see his son asleep in his bed.

“Ein Himmel voller Luftballons” describes life in a more traditionally Turkish family. Although the children have lived in Germany for a significant part of their lives and feel almost German, their family is still very Turkish. The eldest daughter must stay at home and keep house, preparing for her arranged marriage to a boy she does not know. The youngest daughter cannot attend after school activities because she must go to Koran school and learn Arabic and about her religion. The son is perhaps the most free, as he is working at an apprenticeship, learning a trade so that he, too, can become independent. All three children, although they feel split between being German and being Turkish, would never dream of being disobedient to their parents, as they fully understand the importance of honor and respect for their elders. By describing the Turkish way of life in these stories, Tekinay raises awareness of how Turks live in Germany.

In the 1980s, more and more of the Turkish students in German schools were born in Germany. Due to the laws at the time which based citizenship of the children on the citizenship of the father, they were not allowed to have German citizenship. Increasingly this “second generation” felt torn between their parents’ culture, which many considered to be their culture, and the German culture they grew up with, but were always alienated from. They lived a double life, not feeling at home in either country, not feeling comfortable in either language, and not fully understanding either culture. Not only Turkish children born in Germany felt this lack of identity, but also those who lived in Germany for long enough to absorb some aspects of German culture, especially the role of women, and felt like their Turkish culture was not right for them.

Shirin, in -ky's 1984 novel, was born in Berlin, yet still feels an allegiance to her Turkish heritage. She seems to accept her role in her family, happily doing errands which are reserved for women. She understands and respects her religion and feels deep respect for certain Turkish folk heroes, such as Shayk Bedreddin. Her respect and understanding for her Turkish culture stop when it comes to her upcoming wedding, which her father has arranged with the son of one of his colleagues. She believes that a girl should be able to choose her own husband based on love, not have to marry the man her father picks out. She also thinks that it's too early for her to even consider getting married. Luckily for her, her betrothed turns out to be a drug-dealer and is arrested, making him ineligible and giving her a little leeway with her father. Although her father does not approve of the idea of his Turkish daughter having a German boyfriend (Matthias), he accepts their friendship.

When Matthias first goes around Berlin as a Turkish boy, he notices the excessive xenophobic graffiti and tells Shirin that if he were really Turkish, he would go back to his own country as fast as possible. Shirin looks at him and asks, "And what if you were born here and raised here and don't really speak Turkish? And if "at home" you don't have any money or any work? And if, because of your political views, you would be sent straight to jail and be tortured – like my uncle before he was able to flee... You see, we have a military dictatorship at home in Turkey. But what's *at home* – I'm not at home anywhere!"^{lxxix} This cry epitomizes the second generation's problem of not feeling at home anywhere and not knowing where they fit in.

Schwartz's novel also deals with the problems of the second generation. Although Hamide was not born in Germany, she has lived there long enough to know that the Turkish way of life is not the only way of life. She is a smart, self-confident, strong-willed girl and could have a very successful future if her father would allow her to study. Instead, though, he makes her

sew, helping out in the family tailoring business, and, at the end of the book, sends her back to Turkey to prepare for marriage – although she is only 15! Hamide embraces her second culture, Germany, and wants to make a difference, wants to teach her classmates about herself. She is torn, then, by what she learns of German culture and what she knows of Turkish culture and the desire to choose the best aspects of each in order to mold her own value-system out of it. In the end, though, her parents' culture prevails as she goes back to Turkey to get married.

The books in the later 1980s deal more directly with this feeling of homelessness. Kötter's *Die Kopftuchklasse* deals with Hati's challenge of becoming more Turkish after growing up relatively liberally. Hati lived in Germany for much of her life, if not most of it, and her parents always allowed her to dress like a German student would. Her family is traditionally Turkish in some ways: her brother watches out for her and her father commands ultimate respect. But Hati has always seemed more German than Turkish to her classmates. When Hati goes to Turkey for summer vacation and her grandfather requests that she and her mother wear traditional Turkish dress because he is afraid of the dangers of Germany, they do not refuse. Her grandfather is the village elder and must be obeyed. When she is in Turkey, she obeys the rules of Turkish society and custom, but she does not feel completely comfortable in it. Hati has told Susanne about the possibility of "one day." This much feared "one day" is when "Turkish children's parents might get in trouble in Germany and then they'll pack up their things and go back to Turkey. For good."^{lxxx} The children, though, fear this one day, showing that the younger generation wants to stay in Germany, they feel like Germany is more their home than Turkey.

Hati also understands homesickness. She, like many second generation Turkish students, says that "she always has homesickness two-fold. When she's in Turkey she wants to be in Germany. And when she's in Germany, she longs for Turkey."^{lxxx} Hati feels German, but is

treated like a foreigner, especially when she comes to class in traditional Turkish dress. Her classmates refuse to see that she's still the same Hati, no matter if she's wearing jeans and a T-shirt, or if she's wearing a long skirt and a headscarf. Her friends' reaction to her decision to wear Turkish clothes deepens her identity split. For her, the Turkish and the German cultures are somewhat equal, but for her classmates, Turkish culture is foreign and German culture is normal. Thus, she must fight her classmates' need to put her into one neat box, German or Turkish. She must also try to teach them about Turkish culture so that they will understand their other Turkish classmates who may not have integrated into the German school system as well as she did. By realizing and telling her classmates about her double identity – as a Turk and as a German – Hati faces the typical second generation Turks' search for identity, for herself and for her classmates.

Tekinay's short stories epitomize the problems of the second generation. The Turkish boys in "Die Todesengel" make up a song which explains their lack of identity, singing about being sick and homeless and the fact that no one can help them. They feel that, since they, too, grew up in Munich, Munich belongs to them just as much as it belongs to their German peers. Yet, since they are foreigners, they are treated differently from the Germans. They are called "Kno-Boys," short for "Knoblauchfresser" – garlic eaters – and constantly identified as foreign by the German public. The boys must show their worth by racing the German boys to Munich before they are accepted as equals.

"Ein Himmel voller Luftballons" deals solely with the question of identity. Sevil, at home keeping house for the family, must prepare coffee "as it is done according to our traditions at home."^{lxxxii} She then wonders, "'Us'? Who is that 'we'? My parents explain to me what things are like for us, I mean, in Turkey. And I behave accordingly. But I don't know what it's really like there. And I also don't know what it's really like here."^{lxxxiii} Sinan, the son, also feels stuck

between two worlds. He and his friends “speak German, no, not really German. They didn’t have a uniform language. It was German that had a strong Bavarian and also a strong Turkish accent. In between they also used Turkish words and sentence structure.”^{lxxxiv} Sinan and his friends try hard to be German. They dress the same as the German teenagers their age. Somehow, even “in spite of the painstaking adaptation, they seemed somehow foreign.”^{lxxxv} As Sinan is walking away from the scene of a potential fight, he wonders about his status. “I’m still a foreigner, even though I grew up here. I have to deal with that. For the sake of the future. Maybe in a few years I won’t be a foreigner any more. My children, definitely, won’t be foreigners.”^{lxxxvi}

The youngest child, Selda, also feels torn between cultures. On her way home from Koran school, she talks with her friends, complaining, “We can’t speak either Turkish or German properly and now we’re supposed to learn Arabic.”^{lxxxvii} On her way home, she also contemplates the song, “99 Luftballons,” wondering, “I was born here, but Germany isn’t my home. And I hardly know Turkey. Only from hear-say and from short vacations once a year. I wish I had been born in a country that was my real home.”^{lxxxviii} She and her friends try to sing along with the song which pervades the story, but they have to stop, wishing, “If only we really understood the lyrics, if only we spoke better German...”^{lxxxix}

Later that day, when all three children are home, they huddle in the kitchen while their father negotiates the wedding deal with Kemal, Sevil’s betrothed. All three of them share tidbits of their day, then they listen one last time to the radio, tuning in to “99 Luftballons.” Then Sevil is called in to kiss the hand of her betrothed, just as the song ends with the world lying in rubble. The children feel more German than Turkish, want to have a single identity, yet their parents impose the Turkish culture on them and they cannot do anything with the German culture

they've been exposed to. They wish they could belong to only one culture, but are destined to remain between two cultures.

Youth literature of the 1980s in Germany dealt with significantly different themes than that of the 1970s. In the 1980s, groups of students acted for change in their community, putting on plays about tolerance and defending their Turkish classmates. In the 1980s, authors realized that the burden of integration did not lie solely on the shoulders of the Turks, but that the Germans are also responsible for part of the problem. The Germans needed to learn about the Turkish way of life and Turkish customs in order for integration to be complete. Going along hand in hand with that idea was the effort to explain cultural differences. These novels attempt to explain some basic tenets of Islam, the importance of the headscarf and of honor and the importance of respect for your elders in Turkish communities. The books also seek to explain the unique problems of the second generation of Turks, those who lived in Germany a significant part of their lives and are torn between German and Turkish culture, not readily accepted by either society.

1990s: Second Generation Search for Identity, Strong German-Turkish Friendships, Generational Issue

The books from the 1990s are in some respects a thematic continuation of the books from the 1980s, but the authors deal with the ideas more in depth. The three books portray strong German-Turkish friendships, where the children are best friends and see each other as equals. There is a generation gap, however, and while the children feel equal, their parents still have stilted relations with each other. The theme most broadly discussed, though, is the second generation's search for identity, as they seek to find their niche in the German-Turkish world.

All three of the novels portray strong German-Turkish friendships. In Hanneliese Schulze's novel, *Fünf Gummibärchen für den Notfall*, published in 2001, Robin comments on the first page that "Sercan *was* his best friend."^{xc} At school, after he's asked his parents if Sercan can go on vacation with them, Sercan notices that Robin is unusually quiet and asks him, "Robin, aren't you my friend anymore? Why aren't you saying anything?"^{xci} The only way Robin knows to keep a secret from his best friend is by not saying anything. Then, though, he is accused of trying to end the friendship. They survive this misunderstanding, though, and Sercan's parents agree to Sercan going to Sweden with Robin's family.

Robin shows his strong feelings for his Turkish friend again, though, when it seems like Sercan might not be able to join them after all because he can't swim. All through the meal where Robin's family discusses a variety of solutions, Robin "wailed snot and water, because he foresaw that the entire plan was falling to pieces."^{xcii} Another important aspect of the strength of Robin and Sercan's friendship is that their parents approve of it. It seems like the boys have been friends for a while, and both sets of parents embrace the idea of the boys going on vacation

together. The parents' encouragement of their friendship reinforces the strength of their mutual friendship and their equality.

Ulla Klomp's novel *Kümmel und Karotte*, written in 1998, portrays an even stronger friendship. Kümmel and Karotte did not become friends until the first day of school, but from then on they were "friends and inseparable as twins."^{xciii} That first day of school Caroline (nicknamed Karotte) and Celik (Kümmel) become "fast friends. From one second to the next."^{xciv} Again and again, the narrator says that Kümmel and Karotte are inseparable. The baker even comments that they're like twins, to which Caro replies he must need glasses since they look so different.^{xcv} Their friendship is reinforced not only by their proximity to each other as neighbors, but also by the fact that their fathers have maintained their friendship since the children were born. The families get along so well that once a month Ayshe invites the Blumbergs over to her apartment for a Turkish meal.^{xcvi}

Although Caro's and Celik's families generally approve of their friendship, Celik's father, Orhan, and Caroline's mother, Lisa, are not always convinced that their friendship is the best thing. Caro's mother would prefer that Caro have some female friends, and Celik's father feels that a Turkish boy should have Turkish male friends. When one of Caro's classmates calls her a "Turk's bride,"^{xcvii} Lisa gets upset and wonders, "why does Caro always have to run around with that Celik? He's really quite nice, but it would definitely be better if Caro had a few female friends. I mean, it's just not normal ..."^{xcviii} When Hannes challenges what is normal, she replies, "Celik is a Turk. But definitely not a typical Turk. And not a typical boy. Otherwise he'd be together with other boys, like everyone his age. With Turkish boys. But Celik has a female German friend. My daughter!"^{xcix} Although Lisa doesn't always approve, Caro and Celik remain friends. Later, when Celik is in the midst of his search for identity, Orhan tells Hannes that

“Osman and Rasim. Goot boys. Turkish boys! Old as Celik. Always only German not goot!”^c
 Hannes and Caro don't take what Orhan says to heart, though, because they are used to him talking that way about his son's friends. Orhan then tries to use his influence to end Caro and Celik's friendship after the Diamant-Blond incident, when Kümmel dyes his hair blond in order to fit in. When Caro finds Celik on the stairs with a shaved head, Celik explains that his father shaved his head in anger, then says, “But never call me Kümmel again, ok? ... In any case, I'm supposed to stay away from you, my dad said. ‘That red Caro only gives you dumb ideas,’ he said. And ‘German girls are horrible! They spoil Turkish boys!’ And he's right. Ilker says that too! ... Now leave me alone!”^{ci}

Although their friendship suffers from these external stresses and Kümmel's search for identity, after Karotte has risked the police trying to make good one of Celik's wrongs and protected his honor, she is welcomed back into their family. On her birthday, Lisa comes home and Ayshe invites the entire Blumberg family over to the Bulgurluoglu's apartment for dinner. When Caro asks about Celik's health, she replies, “Celik better. ... You honor for Celik. You helped. For Celik at the police. Tesekkür ederim. Whole Bulgurluoglu family says thank you. You goot friend. You again with Celik. But not always. Sometimes only. Okay!”^{cii} Because Caro protected Celik's honor and acted self-lessly, Celik's family recognizes that she is a loyal and good friend and the children are allowed to be friends again.

In Kemal Kurt's 2002 novel, *Die Sonnentrinker*, not much is made of Hakan and Daffyd's friendship. The boys' group is really Hakan, Daffyd and Wahib. Hakan and Daffyd have been friends since the second day Hakan was in Berlin, when they started playing in the street, using sign language since Hakan didn't yet speak German. But since the boys have grown up, they just take their friendship for granted. Their German-Turkish friendship also includes

Wahib, a Somali immigrant. Sibylle and Vildam, Daffyd and Hakan's mothers, have also been friends since that second day in Berlin, when the family didn't know anything about the big city they'd just moved to and didn't know anyone.

Perhaps more telling in this novel, where their friendship is taken for granted and not even commented on, is the budding friendship between Hakan and Stephanie, a German girl in his class. They get to know each other better on the class-trip and soon start going out. Since it is an inter-racial relationship, they are not very public with their feelings as their respective parents would not approve. Indeed, they sit hand in hand on a park bench and Hakan's father walks by, seemingly not seeing them. Later, though, he brings up the fact that he saw Hakan with a German girl. He asks if Hakan is going to marry her. Hakan's father lives in a Turkish world where if a boy and a girl get physical, the girl's father will demand that the boy marry her to preserve her honor. He doesn't understand the German idea of dating. Stephanie and Hakan, however, see no problem with their relationship and, since they like each other, are getting to know each other better.

The children's strong German-Turkish friendships emphasize the generation gap between the children and their parents. In both Schulze's and Klomp's novel, the parents' relationship is somewhat stilted. In Schulze's novel, it seems odd that while Sercan and Robin are best friends, their parents have never met. When Robin's mother goes over to meet them and ask if Sercan can join them on their vacation, she is surprised that Robin's parents are so nice. When she comes home, she says, "Hey Franz. They are totally nice people, Sercan's parents. They were really happy about our suggestion. They are Fatma and Ramazan and would like us to call them that."^{ciii} While Robin's parents are surprised that Sercan's parents are so nice, Sercan's parents have already taken the next step and encouraged a familiar, first-name relationship.

Klomp's novel is more complicated. Hannes and Orhan have been friends since the day Celik was born, but their manly friendship isn't one where they just get together and chat – they only discuss important matters with each other. Lisa's relationship to the Bulgurluoglu's seems the most strained as she is never around them, doesn't talk to Ayshe much and disapproves of the exclusive nature of Caro and Celik's friendship. After she gets out of her miserable job, though, she becomes more positive about everything, including her daughter's friendship with Celik. The parents want their children to be happy, but they're also worried about their development since they have an 'unusual' social setting.

Other parents in Klomp's novel also have a voice. Maik, especially, constantly voices his father's prejudices against the Turks. At school, Maik "can't stand Celik ever since the very first day of school. He doesn't like Turks. His father says that the Turks are stealing the jobs in Germany."^{civ} The narrator then goes on to say that "Maik doesn't know which ones. His father has a good job with Ford. .. But his boss is a Turk. Maik's father is very upset about that. He'd like to be the boss himself."^{cv} Maik's father's hatred of the Turks, then, doesn't stem from what the Turks have done, but from his jealousy that he is not the boss, and that a non-German has a better position than he does. The parents' prejudices about the Turks being conveyed by their children at school is another difficulty children of the 1990s must face. Increasingly, the children see each other as equals and as friends; however, some parents are still prejudiced against the Turks in their communities. While Maik and his brother will probably never have foreigners as good friends, other students in Caro and Celik's class embrace their classmates, no matter what their nationality or heritage.

The main theme of the books from the 1990s is the second generation's search for identity. These children were often born to Turkish parents in Germany, growing up in two

distinct cultures. They often speak Turkish at home and German at school, grow up in a Muslim household, with atheist or Christian friends, and many times do not fully understand German or Turkish culture. These children, then, search for their bi-cultural place in society, where the Germans view them as Turks and the Turks view them as Germans.

Sercan in Schulze's novel is only in the second grade and is too young to know much about his identity. Where he fits in is not really an issue in the novel. However, Sercan does take pride in his Turkish roots, especially when he and Robin are lost on the shore. When the boys want to make a smoke pillar so Robin's family knows where they are, Sercan "picked grass and collected fresh pine branches from a fallen tree. Then he put the grass between the burning twigs and carefully lay the pine branches over it. Immediately, a thick, dense smoke rose."^{cv} Sercan learned how to make smoke signals from his "uncle with the sheep."^{cvi}

This is not the only useful thing Sercan has learned from his relatives in Turkey. When the boys get hungry and decide to go fishing, Sercan kills the fish they catch with one blow to its neck. Robin is in awe – he couldn't face killing the fish and would have thrown it back in, even though they're hungry. Sercan replies, "I learned that from my mom's uncle. He's a fisherman in the Turkish sea. He can't read or write, but he can fish really well."^{cvi} The pointed comment that this uncle is illiterate, yet has abilities without which Robin and Sercan might not have made it to safety because of hunger, emphasizes Sercan's pride in his family. Although they may not have skills which are valued in Germany, they have the skills that count when the children are lost and need to care for themselves.

When the boys find a hut in the woods which has flour, salt and yeast, Sercan decides to bake bread. Sercan doesn't say explicitly where he learned to make this flat bread, but it's definitely a skill Robin doesn't have. He watches in awe as Sercan "poured flour, salt, yeast and

water from the lake confidently into the bowl, then kneaded the dough which didn't even stick to his hands. He hummed while he worked."^{cxix} While Robin made a fire, "Sercan sat on a rock and warmed the dough on his stomach, so that it would rise. As the fire grew, Sercan found two, big, flat stones and pushed them close to the fire so that they'd get hot. He divided the dough into many little pieces and rolled them on the flat rock with a straight stick into thin flat cakes. With a long stick he pushed the rocks from the embers on the edge of the fire and lay the flat cakes on the hot rocks. It only took a few minutes, then the dough became a crispy piece of bread."^{cx}

After they eat, Sercan washes out the bowl and even rinses off the rock and extinguishes the embers, before writing "Danke – sagol – tak" in the dust on the floor of the hut.^{cx} It is through the practical knowledge that Sercan picked up from his mostly illiterate Turkish relatives that Robin and Sercan survive their journey as well as they do. Through this experience, both boys realize that the book-learning emphasized by the European school systems is not the only necessary learning in life.

Klomp's novel deals almost explicitly with Kümmel's search for where he belongs in society. Celik realizes that he's different from his German classmates on the very first day of school, when his new teacher butchers his name. The teacher calls all of the names before his with no problems. "'Bulgurluoglu' comes after 'Blumberg' in the alphabet. Mrs. Bleckmann already got to the next name. 'Zelik Buglu... Zelik Bullugu ... Bulglu ... gu ... gu ... gulluollo...'" Mrs. Bleckmann stutters, stares at her list in confusion, reads out loud again, mispronounces it and gets a red face. Everyone laughs."^{cxii} Caroline looks over to Celik and notices that "he's sitting very still. Celik doesn't jump up. Celik is set in stone. The teacher can't read his name. He can't laugh. ... He bites his teeth together. People are still laughing quietly, as

Celik stands up and calls loud and clear, ‘my name is Celik Bul-gur-lu-oglu!’^{cxiii} This is just the beginning of his realization that he’s different.

When their class discusses what the children are doing for summer vacation, Celik and the Italian girl in their class, Serafina, are singled out. Celik’s family is going to Turkey, and Janine calls out, “Most of us are going to a foreign country. And Celik is going home during the summer vacation. To Turkey. Then for six weeks he won’t be a foreigner anymore!”^{cxiv} Celik grumbles a reply, but Serafina replies, “But I’m at home here!”^{cxv} Celik also feels at home in Germany, saying “‘I’m also at home here. ... I was even born here. Actually, I’m a German.’ Some of the children laugh. Celik a German? ‘What monkey poop! You’re a Turk. You look totally foreign! Just look at yourself in the mirror. Your skin is much browner than ours. And your hair is totally black,’ Maik says.”^{cxvi} The teacher then tries to explain this sense of duality, saying “Everyone is at home wherever he lives, where his parents are, where he goes to school or works. Where he feels comfortable and where he wants to be at home. And we’re all foreigners. Somewhere. Sometime.”^{cxvii} At first the kids don’t understand what she’s trying to say, but then they realize that when they go on vacation, they’re foreigners too.

Someone then asks her if Celik and Serafina are foreigners in Germany or not.

Mrs. Bleckmann hesitates with her answer. How should she explain this? Pawel, Janis and Aleksej have German passports, although they could barely speak German when they came to Cologne. They were born in a different country. In Poland. And in the former Soviet Union. But they have German parents. Serafina and Celik were born in Germany, in this city. They grew up here and speak fluent German. But they don’t have a German passport. Because their parents are foreigners.^{cxviii}

She starts by explaining that it all has to do with the law. Celik is confused and jumps up, asking, “If I’m not a real foreigner in Germany, then am I also not a real Turk in Turkey?”^{cxix} Mrs. Bleckmann doesn’t know the answer because she is basing her answer on his legal status, not his perceived identity. On the way home from school, Celik wonders aloud to Caro “if I’m not a real

foreigner here, then why do so many people treat me that way?”^{cxx} This is the essence of Celik’s search for identity. He doesn’t feel like a foreigner, but people treat him that way.

Celik is treated like a foreigner in Turkey, too. He goes swimming in the ocean and a turtle bites his arm. When he comes home with a bloody hand, his grandmother says, “Our turtles here in Kemer only bite foreigners. Never the Turks. They don’t even mind Turkish children. They leave them in peace. Turtles aren’t toys. They’re wild animals! You’re just already a real foreigner. A German!”^{cxxi} Celik is very affected by this and realizes that “yes, he is a foreigner in Kemer. Some of the children laugh at his Turkish. ‘What are you doing here,’ the kids say to Celik. ‘You’re dressed like a German. You’re too rich. A real Almanci!’ He hears it a few more times, ‘Almanci! Almanci!’ It sounds like a swear word.

When the Turkish boys go play, they leave without Celik. ‘Celik should stay home because he doesn’t understand our games. He doesn’t understand a lot of what we say,’ they say.”^{cxxii} Celik responds by speaking German with them, because they don’t speak German. His mom tries to comfort him, saying “‘Almanci, yes, Celik, for the people of Kemer were are Almancilar, Germany-ers, not Turks. We are different. We speak German. We look a little German, because of our clothes. We have German cars and German refrigerators and German money.’ Even Ayshe says it, ‘We’re different.’ But Celik doesn’t want to be different. Not in Turkey, nor in Germany. He is fed up with being different.”^{cxxiii}

Celik’s solution to his identity crisis is to try to become German. He refuses to speak Turkish, he refuses to go to his Turkish language classes, and starts taking Kung Fu instead. Finally, he decides to dye his hair blond because he feels like the last thing making him Turkish is his appearance, especially his hair color. He and Caroline pick out Diamant-Blond hair dye and bleach his hair in Caro’s bathroom. It turns out with a pinkish-green sheen and some dark

black spots that Caro missed. Orhan shaves his head and makes him stay at home for two weeks while his hair grows back.

When Celik finally goes back to school, he has a buzz-cut and is finally accepted into Maik's cool-boy group. He joins their gang, Zorro-5, in order to get acceptance. As his initiation, he needs to steal a pair of inline-skates from a local store. Looking everywhere for where he belongs, Celik ends up stealing the skates, which would, if he were caught, disgrace his family. Caro returns the skates and stands up for Celik's honor, proving herself a good friend. Celik then realizes that artificially trying to gain acceptance will never make him happy, nor will people ever accept him. He needs to be himself, try to teach his classmates and friends about who he is and stand up for himself to bullies. While Celik hasn't found his niche yet, he has realized how not to find his niche.

Kurt's novel is a "Bildungsroman", a coming-of-age novel, following Hakan as he realizes who he is and how he fits into society. Hakan came to Berlin when he was six years old, but he feels more German than he does Turkish. He faces similar issues as Celik, as he is treated like a foreigner by many. However, Hakan has a better support group of other Turkish kids who are going through the same difficulties, and his tight group of friends who help him look for his father and find himself. One day at school, a group of bullies surrounds Hakan in the bathroom. They won't let him out unless he sings the German national anthem. Right before Hakan gets into a fight, Daffyd comes up behind the bullies and tells them to stop, or else he'll get the teacher on duty. The smaller bully throws a bottle at Daffyd and barely misses his head, while the bigger bully kicks Hakan on his way out. Hakan has relatively few xenophobic incidents, but he hears of others from his friends, such as Luigi, who spent the night in someone's yard in an effort to escape a group of skin-heads.

Hakan's bigger dilemma is justifying and prioritizing his Turkish and German values. He has grown up in a Turkish household, instilled with Turkish values. His parents never required him to attend the mosque, but they implanted their values in him. When his class goes to the Baltic for a few days and his classmates go skinny-dipping, he has a violent reaction. On the bus home, Hakan thinks about his reaction and realizes that

a Turkish man would never allow his wife to show her intimate body-parts in public, no matter how westernized, educated and tolerant he was. Never would he go for a walk on the beach with his thing dangling. Right or wrong, that's how he was raised. Nudity is forbidden, not even toddlers are allowed to play naked. In Germany, though, even more in the Scandinavian countries, it's something natural. ... 'Those are your treasures,' Turkish mothers say to their daughters. 'Be careful!' A woman must be a virgin when she gets married. ... In Germany, you pity girls who don't lose their virginity fast enough. Opposites, which couldn't be more blatant. When it comes to nudity, physicalness and sexuality, the worlds are the furthest apart. Does someone lose something, if he lets himself be seen naked, if he sleeps with someone else – something, that he can never get back? What's it like to decide on one person and hold yourself to that? Can one, with all of one's heart, promise someone eternal faithfulness?^{cxxiv}

Hakan is trying to find out where he stands on these issues which are so dichotomous in the two cultures he is part of.

When Hakan and his friends are in the search of his father, they go to the mosque and again Hakan confronts by part of his identity which he doesn't really understand. His father never required him to go to the mosque, so when the liberal imam teaches Daffyd and Wahib about Islam, Hakan is all ears. When he goes into the prayer room with one of his father's friends, Hakan gets red with shame because he doesn't know the ritual. Hakan watches Mahmut Bey from the corner of his eye and imitates all of his movements, because Hakan "didn't have the slightest understanding of the ritual cleansings and prayers."^{cxxv}

While he moved his lips, fell onto his knees, threw himself down, sat on his heels and moved his head from right to left in an extremely embarrassing pretend prayer, he asked himself if he even belonged to this community. His world, that of rap, of breakdance and girls, and the world of these devout old men never came in contact with each other. But if

someone asked him what his religion was, he unhesitatingly answered 'Islam.' What makes him Muslim? Just the fact that his parents are Muslim?^{cxxvi}

This semi-understanding of his religion, one of the main aspects of Turkish culture, reflects another way that Hakan doesn't really understand where he fits in.

Searching for his father and meeting the punks and skinheads in various parts of Berlin is really how Hakan learns who he is. He realizes that he is like his father, and that his father is a strong man, a man to be respected. He realizes that his identity is part Turkish and part German and he shouldn't fight it, he should be himself. Hakan really grows up and matures on his trip through Berlin as he realizes that Berlin is his city too, that he shares it with the Germans and the punks and the skins and the Turks and all the other people who make up who he is.

The books from the 1990s really grapple with the problems of the second generation. They feel themselves to be equal with their close German friends, however their parents, while they get along with each other, aren't completely comfortable with each other. These books address how the children deal with finding their identity, from being proud of their Turkish heritage, to dyeing their hair in an effort to fit in, to coming to terms with the Turkish and German sides of how they were raised. The main message that each of the books tries to impart is that these characters should not try to be either one or the other, either German or Turkish, but should embrace their duality and their variety of cultural influences and make the most out of who they are.

Broad Themes: The Language Barrier, the Portrayal of Muslim Culture, the Reality of the Housing Problem

German youth literature from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s can easily be divided thematically by decades. However, there are some broader themes that transcend the decades and are evident in books throughout the period. The issue of the language barrier is evident in books from the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s, however, more of the Turkish young people were born and raised in Germany and the language is no problem for them, but continues to be for their parents. Another theme is the portrayal of Muslim women and culture. In the 1970s and 1980s, the books often portrayed Muslim women in a somewhat negative light, by failing to understand the concept of honor and the respect given the father, and his power over his female family members. In the 1990s, the portrayal of Muslim traditions and women is more open, but it's still a dilemma – almost every book mentions some Muslim traditions which differ from German ones. Finally, every book except one (*Gummibärchen für den Notfall*) discusses the reality of the housing problem which faces the guest workers in Germany. These themes are significant in that they surpass the analysis by decades.

In the 1970s and 1980s, many of the Turkish young people who were in the German school system had just moved to Germany from Turkey and often spoke no German. The schools were challenged to integrate these students into their classes, providing an opportunity for them to learn German as quickly as possible, and to maintain a high level of instruction for the German students in the classroom. The books from these two decades portray the strain of the language barrier so often experienced by the Turkish students.

In Welsh's novel, *Ülkü*, coming straight from Turkey and the only Turkish student in her class, has to work hard to learn German, especially since, at first, none of the German students are willing to befriend her. With the teacher's help, she writes down all the words that come up

in the lesson or readings that are unfamiliar to her, in order to look them up and learn them later on. The class at first makes fun of her for writing down words. When she accidentally drops her sheet of vocabulary, Peter picks it up and reads it aloud, sure it's a love letter, but finds instead, "inspired, hunter, passion for hunting, perpendicular, fall, naked, yawned, horrible, belong, hill."^{cxvii} Peter is disappointed, but the teacher is impressed that in one week Ülkü collected five full pages of unknown words, "collecting words like other people collect stamps."^{cxviii} After her two week stay in the hospital, Ülkü is again behind in class and Bärbel offers to help her after school to catch up on what she missed. Only through hard work can Ülkü overcome the language barrier so that she can succeed in school.

Hermann's novel also deals with the language issue as none of Kasim's siblings speak any German when they first arrive, except a few words they learned from their father. The first day of school, Kasim cannot comprehend a word the teacher says. Luckily, since the Özdemirs moved to a heavily Turkish neighborhood, the school offers German classes for the Turkish students after school. With the help of these classes, and also his friendship with Uwe, a German boy in his class, Kasim learns German pretty quickly. In fact, he learns German faster than his older brother, which causes stress within the family. In the traditional Turkish family, the eldest son should have the most responsibilities after the father.

The Turks' lack of German knowledge causes some problems in Kasim's classroom, too; for example, in a biology class the teacher repeats the answer until the German students blatantly stop listening and complain, yelling, "We always have to repeat everything a hundred times! Just cuz of the Turks!"^{cxix} This seems to be a problem in numerous classrooms in this school, because hardly any of the children who live in the barracks speak conversational German. When the journalists come to write a story about life in the barracks, Ismail is the only child who really

understands and can communicate with the journalists.^{cxxx} Kasim does eventually overcome this language barrier, with the help of his German classes after school, as well as his friendship with Uwe. At the end of the book, when he moves to a different school, a student from Cologne remarks about his Hamburg accent and doesn't believe he's a Turk until Kasim shows him his name written on his folder.

Fips of the amazing individual quest to reform society also has a run-in with language difficulties, although Fips is German and can communicate with all of the officials and reporters. When Elias' family comes from Greece, Fips eagerly goes to the train station to meet them. When he first talks to Elisabeth, he is very disappointed that she can't speak German and he leaves. "That foreign language! Fips didn't even think to expect that."^{cxxx} Elisabeth and Michael experience more problems with their lack of German knowledge than not being able to communicate with their biggest advocate. When they go exploring the city, they get lost and go to a police man who fortunately takes them to the station and calls numerous agencies which deal with foreigners until he finds one with a Greek interpreter. He then finds out where they live and takes them home, urging them to learn German as soon as possible, and offering that they do their homework after school with his two children so that they learn German more quickly.^{cxxxii}

Annelies Schwarz's novel from the early 1980s also deals with the language barrier, as many of the Turks don't feel comfortable reading and writing in German. When the teacher tries to form the theater group, many of the Turkish students hesitate, saying, "but the others will laugh at us because we can't speak German very well."^{cxxxiii} She realizes that they would gladly participate, but that their fear of ridicule is too great. She reassures them that "we'll practice so often that you won't have to be afraid."^{cxxxiv} The first time they read through the script, the students' lack of German is painfully obvious. Melek can't read her part. Hamide reads Melek's

part slowly, and Melek repeats every word. Cemal, too, finds it difficult to read fluently in German.^{cxxxv} When they get to Ali, the teacher notices that “Ali reads the part of Achmed fluently – it is obvious that he’s lived in Germany for a few years.”^{cxxxvi} Some Turks in the school have been in Germany for long enough to have learned German, while still others have just arrived from Turkey and still struggle with the language.

The books in the later 1980s also portray some language difficulties, although, for the most part, the Turkish students have lived in Germany for a significant part of their lives. In Kötter’s *Die Kopftuchklasse*, Hati speaks fluent German, but Aishe and Hanife never speak German. They stick together and never open their mouths in class. When Hati comes to class in traditional Turkish dress, she starts to spend more time with Aishe and Hanife, which serves to bring them out and encourage them to communicate more with their German classmates.

In Tekinay’s “Die Todesengel,” the boys are all comfortable in German. They speak German amongst each other and make up songs in German. In “Ein Himmel voller Luftballons,” though, all three siblings speak a mixture of German and Turkish, not really comfortable in either language or culture.

The books from the 1990s feature Turks who were born and/or raised in Germany and speak German fluently. In Schulze’s *Gummibärchen*, Sercan has no trouble speaking German and his parents, too, seem to have no difficulties with the language. There is only one linguistic misunderstanding. When Robin’s mother tells Sercan’s mother that he should bring an animal for when he’s homesick, Fatma packs the guinea pig, not understanding that Robin’s mother means for her to pack a stuffed toy.^{cxxxvii} Hakan in Kemal’s *Die Sonnentrinker* speaks perfectly fluent German. He moved to Berlin when he was 6 and promptly made friends with Daffyd, his German neighbor. Hakan’s sister also speaks fluently, and his parents seem to speak German

well. Kümmel, in Klomp's novel, also speaks perfect German. His parents speak only broken German, but can make themselves understood to a patient listener. Kümmel does mention that his brother Ilker is losing his German because he only hangs out with his Turkish friends and never has an opportunity to speak German.^{cxxxviii}

The Turkish children living in Germany in the 1990s can be expected to have been born and raised in Germany, and therefore speak acceptable, if not fluent German. Some students do speak with a Turkish accent, but Hakan explains that they are only trying to show that they're different. "When the teachers asked them something, the Turkish kids sometimes answered purposefully in broken German. With a practiced accent. This 'Kanakendeutsch' made clear that they weren't German and didn't want to become German either. And they didn't consider their unique language as lacking, but as a strength."^{cxxxix} This Turkish pride is prevalent in Turkish youth in Germany today who are proud of their heritage and resist assimilation.

Another theme which transcends analysis by decade is the portrayal of Muslim women and culture. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a lack of understanding of Muslim culture and traditions in Germany and this was translated into the youth literature of the time.

In *Ülkü das fremde Mädchen*, Ülkü's father is portrayed as strict and frightening, although he is only trying to maintain his pride and provide for his family the only way he knows how to. After Bärbel brings some left over red paint to Ülkü's apartment and the girls paint the chairs red, Ülkü's father comes home and gets very angry at the waste of money and Bärbel's bad influence on his daughter. Ülkü is "shaking" when her father starts to yell, and Bärbel "was terribly scared."^{cxl} When he finds out that the girls did not buy the paint, but that Bärbel brought it, he apologizes for yelling, but the lasting impression of Ülkü's father is of a strict, scary figure who controls his household with yelling and violence, if necessary.

Ülkü stands up to her father for Bärbel and gets slapped for not respecting him. When Bärbel is indignant, Ülkü tells her that's unfair, but is unable to explain her father's actions, repeating over and over that Bärbel doesn't understand her father. Only when Bärbel explains what happened to Mrs. Wospatschecz, does she begin to understand Ülkü's father's pride which makes him unable to accept any charity, because as the father, he must be able to provide for his family. She explains that "even poor people have their pride, perhaps even more, the less they can afford."^{cxli} Although Ülkü's father was just reacting the way many economically disadvantaged and frustrated fathers might, Bärbel has never seen such a reaction before and is frightened by the strangeness of it.

In Hermann's novel, Kasim and his friends experience the Germans' lack of understanding of Turkish honor when Ismail's sister's class begins their swimming lessons. His sister is horrified because she can't show her naked body to men. In Turkish customs, a girl in a bathing suit is practically naked and the boys in her class will grow up to be men someday and will remember that she allowed them to see her body. She will then be branded as a prostitute, someone who lets any man see her naked body. Ismail's sister's German is not good enough to explain this foreign concept of honor to her gym teacher, so Ismail goes to the principal and explains the problem. Luckily, the principal is respectful of his Turkish students and makes alternate arrangements, and also provides for future generations of Turkish girls who won't have to participate in co-ed swimming classes.^{cxlii}

Schwarz's novel also portrays women and girls who are ultimately obedient to their male relations. When they are still forming the theater group and the Turkish families don't really know what it's about, Ertan chaperones his younger sister to the rehearsals to make sure that it is an acceptable and honorable activity for her to be involved in.^{cxliii} Her big brother is protecting

her honor, because if she went to an activity where she had unsupervised contact with boys and men, she could lose her honor and not be eligible to marry her parents' first choice groom.

After the group has successfully performed for their school, they are invited to neighboring schools with similar integration problems. On the train ride there, the students ride with the teacher and also Turhal, the saz player. Hamide tells the teacher that "my father can't find out that Turhal was here." When the teacher asks why not, she answers, "because he's already a real man, I can't just be with him. It damages my reputation."^{cxliv} The teacher reassures her that he won't find out, but Hamide's request strikes her as odd and unfamiliar.

Hasan in *Heißt du wirklich Hasan Schmidt?*, in his experience of living with a Turkish family for two weeks, also confronts the concept of honor and the importance of a Turkish girl's reputation. When Shirin takes Hasan on a tour of their modest apartment and is carried away describing the works of Shayk Bedreddin, she starts crying. "Carefully, like with his mother, when she cried after the divorce, he lay his arm across Shirin's shoulder. Then Shirin's father was standing behind them and was winding up to push them apart."^{cxlv} Shirin's aunt later explains to Hasan that "for us, daughters are primarily marriage objects, the family capital. But a girl who's already been with a boy is worthless on the marriage market. That's why my brother is scared that Shirin... That's why you got slapped earlier...!"^{cxlvi}

Another thing which shocks Hasan is the Turkish father's control over his daughter and their fate. Shirin's father chooses his daughters' future husbands – they have no say and hardly even get to know the men before they get married. Although Shirin and her family are relatively liberal and westernized Turks, with very few of the women wearing traditional dress and the family open to their children learning German and succeeding in the German school system, as

Shirin is enrolled in the college-preparatory track high school, her father still has the final word and they all very much follow the Turkish traditions, honor and respect.

When Hati shows up in traditional Turkish dress in Kötter's *Die Kopftuchklasse*, the reaction from her class is remarkable. Everyone, including the teacher, is disappointed in Hati for suddenly starting to wear the headscarf. Andy and his group of friends even consider Hati in a headscarf ineligible to play a soccer game! When Hati finally explains it to her small group of close friends, they have to first understand the respect automatically given to her grandfather as village and family elder, in order to understand why Hati and her mother so readily complied with his request that they cover themselves appropriately in Germany. They do understand why she now covers herself, but the degree of respect for her grandfather is somewhat alien to them. The class comes together and supports Hati at the end, but throughout the book they are trying to understand and come to terms with why she suddenly wears traditional Turkish dress.

In Tekinay's "Ein Himmel voller Luftballons," the father in the story also has the ultimate say in all family matters, especially his daughter's upcoming wedding. When her bridegroom comes over, she does not spend any time with him except pouring Turkish coffee for him and his parents. She does not have a chance to get to know him before their arranged marriage. Having grown up in Germany and having been exposed to German culture, Selda is unwilling to follow this Turkish custom, but also does not want to stand up to her father because of her respect for him.

In the 1990s, the portrayal of Muslim women and culture is more open; however, the authors always mention when a woman wears a headscarf. In Klomp's novel, Karotte learns how to tie a headscarf from Celik's sister and wears it to school for a week straight, pretending to be his sister. When she shows up in class, her classmates ridicule her because a wearing a headscarf

is considered a negative thing and they don't understand why a German girl who has no Turkish cultural heritage would wear a headscarf.

Later in the novel, Karotte describes how Ülker wears her headscarf out of the house on the way to school and then secretly takes it off about a block down the street. When Ülker gets a job at a perfume and cosmetics shop, her boss says she cannot wear a headscarf because he doesn't sell them and she is elated. Karotte does not understand the stigma that goes with wearing a headscarf when she's younger, but later she uses it to her advantage when she pretends to be a Turkish girl who does not speak any German.

Hakan in *Die Sonnentrinker* faces with the dichotomy between his Turkish upbringing and the liberal German environment he lives in when, on his class trip, when he has a violent reaction to being seen naked by girls and to seeing girls in his class naked. His upbringing has been quite liberal, though, as his mother is liberal, as is the Hoci who leads the mosque his father attends. The dichotomy is also apparent when Hakan describes some of the girls in his class who wear a headscarf just to show that they're different. "Some girls in school covered their hair against their parents' wishes. They wanted to show that they're different, to unmask clichés and demonstrate their solidarity to the downtrodden, according to Sema. She came to school covered up one day, much to the surprise of everyone. Under her long coat she kept wearing her brand-name jeans and jogging shoes."^{cxlvii} Just like with the fake Turkish accent in German, these students try to make a unique identity for themselves through combining their Turkish heritage and the German culture they live in and have, for the most part, adopted.

Another theme which is found in books from all three decades is the reality of the housing problem for the Turks in Germany. At first, the guest workers lived in barracks, crammed in bedrooms with not enough showers and toilets to go around. When their families

arrived, many moved out of the barracks, but the unwilling Germans offered them only small, dank, overpriced apartments. Guest workers were happy to take whatever they could find, though, because so few Germans were willing to rent to foreigners. The horrid living conditions improved as time went on, but the Turks still often live in worse conditions than their German neighbors.

The books from the 1970s show the worst housing conditions. In Klee's novel, Fips is outraged at the situation in the barracks. After Elias brings his family to Germany, the only apartment he can find is a tiny, damp, dark apartment which is barely big enough for one person, let alone a family of four. When the kids' mattress is laid out on the floor, it is impossible to open the front door, and the family shares one bathroom with all the other residents. In fact, the house-owner transformed part of the bathroom into another apartment for a single guest worker who only had enough room in his tiny 'apartment' for a bed. Fips is again outraged and works to find Elias a better home, but not all foreigners had advocates as strong and influential as this ten-year old boy.

Ülkü's family also lives in squalid conditions. At first they live in an unheated summer house with no running water. It is this unhealthy environment that causes her to catch pneumonia and have to go to the hospital. During her time in the hospital, Mrs. Wospatschecz works hard to find them another apartment in which Ülkü could continue to get better and not get sick again. Finally, Ülkü's family finds another apartment, but it is just as small and damp as the first one. Bärbel's first impressions of the house are significant.

I can't really describe the house, because I can't repeat the smells, a mix of damp and old and spices and beer and wet laundry and smoking ovens and I don't even know what else. I held my breath. The walls of the house were peeling off like after a sickness, many tiles were loose, so that you stumbled in the darkness. ... The glass on the apartment door had a big hole that was covered with packing paper and tape. The apartment was a single room with two iron beds, a table that was covered in newspaper, a small iron stove and

two seats. Over the stove there were a couple of plates and three pots on a piece of wood. The clothing hung on the wall with nails.^{cxlviii}

This is the only apartment Ülkü's family could afford and were allowed to move into, an apartment no German would ever consider renting.

Kasim's family in *Wir sind doch nicht vom Mond!* also has horrible experiences with finding housing in Hamburg. First, the family moves into the apartments in the barracks. Their apartment is actually just two rooms with a kitchenette in the corner of the main room and a bathroom. The family of six lives in this tiny apartment for two years before they even have the option of moving. Ismail's family of eight first gets the option of another apartment. Kasim and Uwe go with him to check it out.

The apartment had a kitchen and a small bathroom, no tub, besides the rooms. Two of the rooms had iron coal ovens, there was no way to heat the third. It was dim inside, because the wall of the next house was two meters from the windows in both larger rooms. The third room looked onto the street, it had more light, but it was as small as the room in which Hakan and I sleep. The wallpaper hung down in strips. Ismail felt a wall. It was damp. The whole apartment smelled musty. We needed to close the door to the windowless toilet quickly. Uwe held a tissue in front of his face, we were nauseated.^{cxlix} The boys comment that "compared to that apartment their living situation in the barracks was gold – they at least had showers and heating."^{cl}

Ismail's family does not end up moving in, but Avciata's disgraced family does when they can no longer stand the taunts from Mrs. Avciata being in the newspaper.

When Kasim's father is no longer able to work overtime at the ship-building factory he searches for a new job which he finds quickly. He and Kasim then go out to the neighborhood and look for housing. At first they have no luck, but then they happen upon a newly constructed apartment complex and meet the Harms, the German family who helps them rent an apartment. Kasim's family is unrealistically lucky with their apartment, which not only has low rent, but also modern amenities and open, friendly neighbors.

Hasan's adopted Turkish family lives in a small apartment in a "Hinterhof". There is not enough room for the children to have their own rooms, so the girls' section is separated from the boys' part of the room by closets and a desk. In Kötter's novel, too, the Turks live in worse housing than the Germans. All of the German characters live in houses, while the Turkish characters live on the other side of town in an apartment complex which has a bad reputation. Susanne's mother will not let her play in the playground at Hati's apartment because of the area it's in. Tekinay's stories portray both possibilities. In "Die Todesengel," the Turkish boys' families live in nice apartments and own cars. In "Ein Himmel voller Luftballons," however, the family lives in a small apartment in a Hinterhof.

Even into the 1990s the authors describe living conditions as insufficient. Kümmel is Karotte's neighbor so they must have the same apartment layout. Caroline's parents are constantly talking about how their apartment is too small and they need to move into a larger apartment. They are only a family of three. Celik's family lives in the same style apartment, but his is a family of six. Celik's family then must live in very cramped conditions. Hakan's family, in *Die Sonnentrinker*, originally moved into a horrible apartment which Hakan remembers with disgust. They had a shared toilet which was on a different floor and they hardly had enough room for them to sleep. Hakan's family later moves into a nicer apartment where the children have their own rooms, they have their bathroom and they have central heating.

These themes of the language barrier, the portrayal of Muslim women and culture and the reality of the housing situation for guest workers in Germany apply to books from all three decades as significant issues historically and culturally.

Conclusion

German youth literature that deals with Turks from the 1970s to the present follows what happened historically and culturally in Germany in those three decades. When the guest workers started bringing their families to Germany in the 1970s, the German schools and neighborhoods faced the challenge of integrating the new students and teaching them German. Also, with increased contact came increased awareness that the Turks were different, religiously, culturally and linguistically. The 1980s saw increased xenophobia in Germany, as well as a recruitment stop. This, however, did not stop the arrival of children who were coming to join their families already living in Germany. In the 1980s, as well, many Turks stopped working in industrial and manual labor and started becoming entrepreneurs, running grocery stores, tailor shops and Döner stands. Many Turkish students in the 1980s became increasingly dissatisfied with school and dropped out before attaining the minimum education requirement of ninth grade. In the early 1990s, the reunification of Germany was the most important issue at hand; however, in the mid-'90s the Turks regained prominence with the headscarf debates and the question of offering Islamic religion classes in German public schools. With the election of the Social Democratic Party in 1998, many foreigners in Germany attained the possibility to apply for German citizenship.

The books from the three decades largely reflect what happened historically. yet have some themes in common. The goal of youth literature in Germany is education, not entertainment. By writing books with strong thematic messages about how to treat foreigners and how to integrate them into society, these authors convey what they see as a more healthy society.

Appendix: Summary of Books

Ernst Klee's *Fips schafft sie alle*, published in 1972, was one of the first books for older children that directly deals with the way the guest workers are treated in Germany. In it, ten-year old Fips goes with his brother to the barracks where the guest workers live to visit his brother's Greek colleague. Fips is shocked and outraged at the conditions at the barracks, with 800 people living in the camp and only five showers for all of them. When he asks the innocent question why they don't move out, a worker who has lived there for ten years tells him that none of the Germans want to rent to "foreigners."

Fips then decides to go on a quest to change the situation for the guest workers, especially his new friend Elias who's not allowed to bring his family to Germany from Greece. Fips first goes to the director of the camp and asks him questions about his standard of living. When he's kicked out for his impertinence, he goes to the immigration office and asks about the inequality of laws for Germans and foreigners. This ten-year old boy commands respect from the German bureaucrats and causes them much anguish as they attempt to explain the logic and fairness behind laws for foreigners. When he gets no where with the immigration authorities, he buys a newspaper and tries to rent an apartment for Elias himself, only to find that what the old man told him was true; no one wants to rent to foreigners.

Fips refuses to give up and goes to the editor of the local newspaper, demanding that the newspaper print more stories about the truth of how the guest workers are treated. The editor is another liberal spirit who agrees with Fips, but is more realistic and doesn't believe that his readers will want to read articles that are positive towards the foreigners. Finally, Fips goes to the mayor to beg for some political help for his Greek friend. The mayor, concerned with being

politically correct and maintaining his votes, agrees with Fips in principle, but refuses to make a speech about the guest workers in the city.

When Elias finally finds an apartment, he brings his family to Germany. Fips meets them at the train station and is disappointed that they don't speak German and upset that he can't communicate with them. Elias's two children find the limits of their capabilities the next day when they go exploring around the city, get lost and can't communicate with the police man who tries to help them. He finally finds a Greek interpreter who advises the kids to learn German as quickly as possible. A few days later, Fips goes to visit Elias's family and is outraged at the conditions of their apartment. It is so small that when the children's air mattresses are laid out, it is impossible to open the door. There is only one bathroom for the entire building – about 40 people. Fips causes a commotion with his indignation towards the landlord, who then calls the police. When the mayor hears about Fips's adventures, he asks Fips what he can do for him to help him on his quest. Fips sends him to the guest workers camp, where, without his ID, he is taken to jail for trying to enter without a pass. After his night in jail, the Bürgermeister realizes that Fips was right all along, that the guest workers should be treated like citizens too, since they contribute to society and pay their taxes. He gives an open speech about his experience and the need for tolerance in their town and Fips disappears, having successfully completed his quest.

Renate Welsh's *Ülkü das fremde Mädchen* (1973) also describes an individual quest for tolerance towards foreigners and their children. A female Turkish classmate, the first foreigner in their class, joins Bärbel's class. The class automatically makes derogatory comments about her, calling her a "Tschusch" and making snide remarks about the "Türkenbelagerung" (Turkish occupation). Although the teacher tries to get the class to accept and be nice to Ülkü, she seems to be fighting an uphill battle, as the negative comments continue throughout that first day. In class, the children express their parents' prejudices learned at home. In gym class, Sylvia refuses to do warm-up exercises with Ülkü as her partner, because her mom told her not to go near "dirty foreigners". Eventually, Ülkü becomes the center of negative attention, because every time the teacher hears comments made about Ülkü, she assigns extra homework and pop-quizzes.

One morning, on the way to school, Ülkü and Bärbel run into each and walk part of the way together. When Bärbel sees some of her friends, though, she immediately leaves Ülkü's side in order to stay 'cool'. Although Bärbel leaves her at first, this first significant contact paves the way for their later friendship. Throughout the first few weeks of the school year, Ülkü is grateful for every small kindness afforded her by her classmates, yet they do not realize that she is becoming dangerously sick. The day after Bärbel's birthday, Ülkü collapses on the street on the way home, and goes to the hospital with a bad case of pneumonia. Bärbel sends Ülkü a note in the hospital and meets Mrs. Wospatschecz, the elderly lady who caught Ülkü and took her to the hospital. Mrs. Wospatschecz rekindles and continues Bärbel and Ülkü's friendship by being a positive role model for Bärbel and encouraging her to be there for Ülkü.

The longer Ülkü stays in the hospital, the more the class warms to her, mainly because of guilt for treating her so badly. When Ülkü finally returns, she and Bärbel are openly friends, with no negative repercussions on either of their reputations. In fact, the class accepts Ülkü and starts

to utilize her talents and contributions to the class character. Bärbel offers to help Ülkü catch up on her schoolwork after school and their friendship becomes more cemented.

Throughout the novel, characters try to explain the customs, traditions and values of the Turks to Bärbel (and the audience). Mrs. Wospatschecz teaches Bärbel about the danger of discriminating against an entire race, using the Third Reich as her example. Bärbel's mother, at first fearful and ignorant of guest workers and therefore unhappy at her daughter's friendship with a Turkish girl, gradually learns to like Ülkü, and ultimately sticks up for her when Bärbel is ready to give up on their friendship. Ülkü, too, tries to explain her culture to Bärbel, especially when they witness her father's anger at their childish frivolity (painting the family's chairs red). The end of the novel is not as unrealistically happy and easy as *Fips*, as Bärbel tries to convince Ülkü to adopt German customs while Ülkü explains the importance of Turkish traditions. In the end, both Bärbel and Ülkü realize they both have a lot to learn about their own cultures and each other's.

The final book from the 1970s, Ruth Hermann's *Wir sind doch nicht vom Mond!* (1975), tells the story of a Turkish family who joins the father in Hamburg. Although the father has worked in Hamburg for five years, he still does not have an apartment and the family moves into the family quarters in the barracks, which consists of two rooms for the entire six-person family. The book starts in Turkey, with an explanation of the Turkish school system and a description of life in the Turkish countryside. In Hamburg, in the area which is nicknamed "Little Istanbul" because of the high Turkish population, the family at first has a hard time fitting in. For the boys, the Turkish women seem "naked" since their entire faces are not covered all the time. Also the German teachers don't require any respect, as they let the children talk out of order and don't make them stand up when contributing to the discussion.

Kasim, the second son and narrator of the story, soon makes friends with Uwe, a German boy in his class. This helps his German skills immensely, as he has someone with whom to practice, something most of the children in the barracks don't have as they only use their German in school and speak Turkish at home with the others. In class, the German students often get bored because the teachers repeat things numerous times to aid the Turkish kids' learning. The Turks, however, often feel left out, even with their supplemental German instruction, and don't participate in class. Alongside the description of the tensions in the classroom, the book shows that the Turkish children in the barracks all want to have German friends and they want to become Germans.

Later in the story, two journalists come to the barracks to research a story for their newspaper. While interviewing a few of the kids (most of whom don't know enough German to communicate effectively), they also take a picture of one of the married Turkish women, something which is highly insulting to her husband's honor. The journalists have the attitude

that, living in Germany, the Turks should abandon their ideas about honor, and they print the article including the picture of Mrs. Avçiata. Mr. Avçiata is so insulted and ridiculed by the other Turkish men in the barracks that they move as quickly as possible into an apartment with horrible conditions: too small, dark, damp and moldy.

After two years, Kasim feels comfortable in German, while his older brother, Hakan still struggles with the language. After another year, Hakan becomes comfortable in German, thanks to the fact that he joins a German soccer club and has to communicate with his teammates. Then, however, their father is unable to continue working at his former job and they need to find him a workplace and also an apartment close to his new factory. Kasim and his father go out to the factory, where his father finds work, and then they go out another day to find an apartment. After much searching, they finally find a generous and friendly German family who show them around their apartment in a brand new apartment complex and helps them get an apartment in the same building. When they move, the Harms family's friends donate old furniture to them and all of the neighbors embrace their new Turkish neighbors with open arms. Amazingly, this Turkish family has been able to integrate and be accepted by German society and Hermann tries to show her readers that integration is not hard, nor are Turks any different from Germans in essential ways.

Heißt du wirklich Hasan Schmidt?, a youth novel by –ky was originally published in 1984, and was so popular that it was reprinted more than a dozen times. *Hasan* takes place in West Berlin, dubbed the “türkisch besetzte Zone Deutschlands.”^{cli} in the early 1980s. Matthias Schmidt is a German boy living in Wilmersdorf. His mother goes to a spa for 3 weeks and he manages to break, “repair,” or lose 800 DM worth of appliances and clothes. In an effort to earn this money in a week, he enters in a renovation project with one of his classmates for the latter’s uncle. Only after he has stripped an old woman’s apartment of its wallpaper and stolen the coffee machine does he learn that the woman did not pass away as his friend claimed, but that his uncle is trying to get rid of the current residents so that he can raise rent prices. His classmates then blackmail him into continuing to harass the residents illegally.

After placing a long-distance phone call connected for over 30 hours in order to bankrupt a Turkish family, he is almost caught. He escapes the police chasing him by running into a local high school and hiding in the girls’ changing room of the gym. He then changes into a Turkish girl’s traditional outfit, goes to a classroom and sits next to one of the Turkish kids who saw him in the apartment stairwell. Shirin recognizes Matthias, but instead of turning him in to her teacher or the police, she takes him home with the idea of making him work for her uncle (the one who had the 30,000 DM phone bill due to Matthias’s exploits) renovating a new family grocery store.

This unusual punishment is the premise for the story. Matthias’s Turkish family decides that he will live with them as a Turkish boy. They dye his hair black, give him a Turkish name (Hasan) and pretend he is the deaf and dumb cousin from Turkey. At the beginning of the story Matthias does not know anything about the Turks and their way of life, nor does he care to learn. He never interacts with Turks, although he does not particularly feel one way or the other

towards his Turkish classmates. Living with Shirin and her family, however, Hasan is immersed into Turkish life in West Berlin. He learns about how Turkish families run, with women and girls preparing delicious meals for the entire family, squeezed into one small apartment in a dark rear building apartment. Shirin's older sister is due to get married and he experiences the preparations for an arranged marriage. Most significantly, though, Matthias/Hasan realizes what it's like to be treated like a Turk by Germans.

Matthias writes a letter to his mother at her recovery spa explaining what happened to him and why he is not at home. A few days before she is due to return, Matthias needs a specific tool for his renovation project (Shirin's uncle's grocery store) which the Turkish family does not have, but he has at home. They drop him off at his house and he goes upstairs to find the tool. A few minutes later, the police knock and arrest him as a Turk breaking into his apartment. They do not believe that he is Matthias Schmidt and that it is his apartment. He must spend the night in jail before Shirin's uncle alerts some media contacts about the situation. Matthias is then released with much publicity. He has gained many new friends in Shirin's family, but more importantly, he has gained an understanding of what it is like to live as a Turk in West Berlin.

Annelies Schwarz's *Hamide spielt Hamide* (1986) also tries to explain Turkish traditions. A German teacher runs an extra-curricular drama troupe with seventh and ninth graders at her school. The students decide that they want to write and perform a play about Turkish-German relations in their town. Of course, this means that there must be some Turkish students in the theater group, so they invite some of the Turkish classmates to help write and perform this piece. The main character in the play and in the book is a Turkish girl named Hamide, who has lived in Germany many years and speaks almost fluent German. While the Turkish students work on their portion of the play, they constantly bring up issues which were unfamiliar to the German students and the German teacher, such as honor, respect for the father and elders, the role of women/girls, and the transition not only from Turkish society to German society, but also the more drastic change from rural to urban surroundings.

As the play continues, the teacher becomes more aware of Turks in the community, yet the success of the play is in danger because the Turkish students start to drop out. One is sent back to Turkey to help an uncle build a house, while others' parents decide that participating in this activity might reflect badly on the family honor. Hamide's father tells her that she can no longer participate in the play, but she does so behind his back. When he finds out, she must bring her younger brothers to rehearsals, as she is the family babysitter.

As the play loses Turkish players, morale decreases, but as Hamide continues to show up, she keeps the momentum going. Right before the play is scheduled to premiere, Hamide falls sick. The teacher and principal go to Hamide's house to see what is wrong and find out that Hamide is doing most of the sewing from the family tailor business, along with her school work and the play. Overworked, she suffers from migraines and becomes herself physically ill. At Hamide's house, the female teacher is not allowed to talk and must leave the conversation to the

men: Hamide's father and the principal. The principal convinces Hamide's father to allow Hamide to perform (if she feels up to it) and they perform the play as scheduled.

While the students are practicing the play, the school experiences continuing xenophobia and hatred against the Turks. Some students write graffiti on the bathroom walls and the teacher must argue with the cleaning personnel to make them clean it up. After they perform the play for the ninth grade class (as the dress rehearsal), some students write comments on the homeroom door about a German student being a “Turk lover”. When the play finally performed for the community, it is truly a premiere in many senses of the word. It is the first time the auditorium is filled with so many German and foreign parents at the same time, and it is also the first student written and produced play to be presented at this school. The play is a success, Hamide's father approves of her role, and the group is even invited to perform their play at other schools which are having problems with German/Turkish tolerance.

After the summer vacation, however, when the teacher returns to school, she finds out that Hamide has been sent back to Turkey to get married. During the vacation, Hamide fell ill again and Peter, one of the German boys in the play, went to visit her. Hamide's father found out about this budding romance and forbade him from visiting her again. Hamide's father decided to send her to Turkey to protect her reputation and maintain Turkish traditions. When the teacher finds out about this, she feels like it's her fault, because she wanted Hamide to adopt German ways, instead of making more effort herself to understand the Turkish traditions and culture that made up Hamide's world.

Ingrid Kötter's *Die Kopftuchklasse* (1989) deals with issues of the second generation Turks, the Turkish children who have lived most, if not all, of their lives in Germany, yet are pressured to retain their Turkish heritage by their parents. Susanne and Hati are best friends. On the first day of fourth grade, Susanne waits eagerly at school to see Hati after the long summer vacation. She waits and waits and Hati does not show up. Finally, when some other friends and the teacher arrive, she realizes that Hati has been there the whole time, but Susanne did not recognize her because Hati is not wearing jeans and a T-shirt as she usually does, but she's instead wearing a headscarf and long, traditional Turkish dress. Susanne feels betrayed and is angry at Hati. She doesn't sit in her usual seat next to Hati, but rather a seat away.

When the rest of the class makes fun of Hati in her headscarf, she doesn't jump to her best friend's defense, but also wonders why Hati has so suddenly changed her style. Hati's German is perfect and she is the student representative of the class and the mediator when there is a fight among the students. Now, however, Hati is almost ostracized by her former friends and she spends most of her time with Aishe and Hanife, the two other Turkish girls in the class who have always worn traditional Turkish dress and hardly ever speak German. Hati continues to try to maintain her friendships with her German friends, but many of the students are not able to understand why Hati would suddenly want to wear a headscarf.

Before the vacation, the class had agreed to play a soccer game with their rival class. The 4a vs. 4b soccer game was to take place shortly after summer vacation ended. Since there are only ten boys in the class, however, Andy, the class soccer fan, decided that Hati should play to complete the team. Hati had been the best at all sports of all the girls in the class and was an obvious choice. Now that she's wearing traditional dress, however, Andy refuses to let her play. Only without the headscarf, he repeats over and over again, can she play. As Susanne comes to

realize that her friendship with Hati is strong enough to overcome the fact that Hati now looks different, she starts to stick up for Hati against Andy and his friends in the class.

On the day of the big game, where one of the students' fathers (who is a journalist) is covering the game, all of the girls in the class show up to the match in headscarves. Now Andy does not have a complete team, because he will not allow any girls in headscarves to play. When he starts to lash out, many of the boys leave his team as well. This amazing showing of class spirit causes the team to lose by default, but also shows not only the strength of friendship, but also the strength of tolerance. After this show of support for their Turkish classmates, the German students grow closer together and Hati and Susanne will remain friends for life.

Many characters try to explain Turkish culture and the importance of the traditional dress in light of Hati's sudden change. The teacher asks her Turkish students to share their experiences in Turkey with the class and to talk about their family's traditions. Susanne's mom also tries to explain to Susanne the importance of the headscarf and its religious significance. Hati, though, does the best job of explaining when she tells the punk bullies near her house why she's wearing the headscarf. Her grandfather in Turkey – the elder in their village – is very ill and asked that all of his female relatives in Germany cover themselves appropriately in order to protect themselves from vice. Hati, her mother and sisters agreed to do this to fulfill his dying wish. When Susanne learns this and starts to understand the depth of the respect given to elders in Turkish society, she can once again wholly embrace her friend. Even though the class worked so hard to understand Turkish traditions and culture, at the end of the story Hati and her family must move back to Turkey.

Turks didn't come to Germany only to work, some also came to study and became successful German business people and/or authors. Alev Tekinay came to Germany in the 1970s to study in Munich. She then went on to write stories about the Turkish experience in Germany, focussing on the problems of the second generation. *Die Deutschprüfung* (1989) contains numerous stories. In "Die Todesengel," Tamer meets an "angel" on the S-Bahn in Munich who turns out to be a Turkish punk girl travelling through Germany, trying to get back to Turkey. He brings this girl, who he names Melek ("angel") to his friends, who are currently in a battle with some German boys for their turf. The two rival groups decide not to fight, but to race to Munich (24 km). One of the Turkish boys convinces his dreamer/poet older brother to borrow their father's car and the two groups race. They make it to the pre-arranged place in Munich at exactly the same time. They spend much of the evening together, making friends and getting drunk. On the way home, there is an accident and the Turkish boys' car goes off the road, instantly killing the poet brother and the mysterious Turkish girl. The German boys' car stops and calls for help, caring about their new friends.

The story also deals with the feeling of not fitting in. The Turkish boys search for their identity. They speak German "practically without an accent"^{clii}, yet don't feel like they belong. They make up a song which epitomizes their situation

We are the so-called second generation
 We are sick
 And without a country
 We cannot be helped^{cliii}

Talking to their German rivals, they say "But we grew up here too. This ground belongs to us just as much as it belongs to you."^{cliv} Trying to find their identity in this German world, where their parents are still very Turkish, these boys have only each other to fall back on. The accident

is significant because the Turkish and German boys had gotten to know each other and become friends, carving out a niche for the Turkish boys.

The next story, “Ein Himmel voller Luftballons” also addresses the homelessness of the second generation. It follows the stories of three children in one family. Sevil, the oldest daughter, can’t go to school, but must keep house and get married. Her only explanation for her role in life is that it’s ‘our’ tradition. When her parents tell her that, though, she begins to wonder: who is ‘us’? She’s never lived in Turkey and she feels she’s never really experienced life in Germany. Her parents were always afraid that she’d make German friends and adopt their ways. While she is preparing the family meal only days before she is due to get married, Sevil listens to the German radio station and hears the then popular song “99 Luftballons”. She feels like she too, like the balloons, can fly.

Her brother, Sinan, speaks a mixture of German and Turkish with his friends. They try hard to fit in, but still somehow feel foreign, feel different. They feel like foreigners even though they grew up in Germany. On the way home from work that same day, Sinan and his friends take a short cut and almost get in a fight with some German bullies who resent the Turks taking their jobs and internships. He only barely avoids a fight, and can’t understand why, just because they look different, they should be different. Sinan and his friends, too, hear the song “99 Luftballons” from a passing car and start singing it, not quite sure what all the words are, but feeling strangely elated by the song.

The younger sister in the family, Selda, also feels like she’s caught between two worlds. She has to go to Koran classes after school and cannot take part in any electives at school with her classmates. She must learn Arabic, although, as she points out, she doesn’t even know German or Turkish fluently. She and her friends feel like they don’t know Germany, nor do they

know Turkey. They too, on their way home, hear the song. They then take off their headscarves, link arms and walk down the street, loudly singing the song for all to hear.

The elation each of the children gets from this popular song is quickly squashed when they get home. Sevil's mother yells at her for singing when she should be working, and Sinan and Selda must face the reality that their sister is getting married according to the foreign Turkish culture, yet that they also do not fit in to German culture.

Ulla Klomp's *Kümmel und Karotte* (1998) tells the story of a Turkish boy, nicknamed Kümmel (cumin), and a German girl, nicknamed Karotte (carrot), who are best friends and neighbors. Karotte, whose actual name is Caroline, was born four days before Kümmel (Celik). Their fathers became friends while Mr. Bulgurluoglu was waiting to hear from the hospital about Celik's birth. Mr. Blumberg went across the hall to keep him company and a friendship began. Although both families lived across the hall from each other in an apartment building since the children were born, Kümmel and Karotte did not become best friends until the first day of school, when they were six. On that first day of school, Celik begins to realize that, as a Turk in Germany, he is different, as his teacher cannot pronounce his name and his classmates mock him.

As friends, Caro and Celik are inseparable, a fact which both Celik's father, Orhan, and Caro's mother, Lisa, don't particularly like. They both feel that their children should be friends with others – Celik should be friends with Turkish boys and Caro should be friends with girls. They remain best friends, though, and deal with bullies together.

As Celik grows up, though, he realizes more and more that he doesn't fit in. Although he was born in Germany and is fluent in German, he is treated like a foreigner by many, including some of his classmates. His identity is further confused by Pawel, Janis and Aleksej, classmates who were born to German parents in Poland and the former Soviet Union, but who have German passports. Celik goes to Turkey for summer vacation and is miserable, because he realizes for the first time that he doesn't fit in there, either. He is at home neither in Germany, nor in Turkey.

Celik's solution to being considered an outsider in Germany is to try to become more German, partly by dying his hair. First he stops speaking Turkish and refuses to attend his Turkish language classes, instead taking Kung Fu. Then, one day, after Caro comes home from

the birthday party that Celik ran away from, he announces his plan to dye his hair. The two children bleach his hair a few days later when Hannes is at the dentist, and it turns out horribly. Instead of the beautiful blonde depicted on the cover, Celik's hair has a pinkish-green shimmer and there are some black hairs that Caro missed. When Orhan sees Celik, he shaves his head and doesn't let him go back to school until it grows back, about two weeks. He also forbids any contact with Caro.

When Celik finally comes back to school, he has a trendy buzz-cut and is allowed to join Maik's gang, called Zorro-5. Caro overhears the boys talking about Celik's initiation task – to steal something big from a local store. Caro is unable to stop the boys from committing this crime, but is home when Celik comes running in with the stolen inline skates and hides them in her apartment. The next day, she returns them to the store, dressed in a long skirt and headscarf, trying to look inconspicuous. A saleslady sees her and takes her to the police station, while on the way they run into Hannes who immediately starts playing the Turkish father who doesn't speak any German. After an ordeal with pretending to speak Turkish, they go home and Hannes tells Orhan what happened. Since Caro defended Celik's honor and put herself in danger to protect her friend, they are allowed to be friends again (but not exclusively) and Celik learns that trying to adapt himself will not get him accepted. He learns that he must be himself.

Hanneliese Schulze's *Fünf Gummibärchen für den Notfall* (2001) barely acknowledges the fact that Sercan is Turkish. Sercan and Robin are in second grade and they are best friends. It's almost summer vacation and Sercan doesn't have anything to do, so Robin's family decides to invite Sercan to come canoeing in Sweden with them. First, Sercan needs to learn how to swim. When that hurdle is passed, it's time to go. Robin's older sister's plans fall through, so she also goes with her parents and the two boys to Sweden. They get to their camping ground with little trouble and, after a day of rest, take the canoe out to an island. The boys receive permission to circle the neighboring island and play for part of the afternoon, rescuing Robin's stuffed animal from a cliff.

Suddenly, a storm comes up and the two little boys aren't strong enough to row against it. They lose one of their oars and just huddle in the bottom of the canoe until the storm is over and they land on the shore. On the shore, Sercan shows his practical abilities which he learned from his relatives in Turkey , such as making smoke signals, killing and cooking fish, and baking bread. Saving their five gummibears, the boys head toward the river master's cabin, where they hope he can bring them to Robin's parents. All the while, they communicate with his worried and stranded parents through smoke signals, letting them know they're alright. After two days' travel through the woods, Sercan and Robin make it to the river master's cabin, but must first swim across the river. They withstand this final trial, explain what happened to the river master and are reunited with their family.

Kemal Kurt's 2002 novel *Die Sonnentrinker* deals with Hakan's search for identity.

Hakan and his family moved from Turkey to Berlin when Hakan was six years old and Hakan is fluent in German. His father lost his job and is depressed, moping around all day and not even trying to get a job. Hakan is very frustrated with his father's lack of motivation to make something out of his life and constantly fights with him. On the first day of Bayram, his father disappears. Hakan's mother tells him to go find his father and Hakan and his friend Daffyd and Wahib go on a journey which teaches Hakan about himself, who he is and how he fits into the world. They go first to the mosque, where Hakan is confronted with the realization that although he is nominally a Muslim, he has no idea about Islam – in theory or practice. The boys then go through Berlin, based on Hakan's feelings for where his father might have gone. They encounter reformed skin heads who have committed a hate-crime and are now part of a tolerance club. They talk to punks who live on the streets, smoking up and trying to just chill. They talk to other Turks, who are successful and who are unemployed, and they interact with other Germans.

All through this story of understanding the real Hakan and the real Berlin, the boys make plans for the café they want to open, called Sonnentrinker. It will be a youth café, with poetry slams, dancing and rap, a place for kids to be themselves and get to know each other. This dream carries them through the story as they search for Rahmi Bey and themselves.

When they finally find Haka's father, sitting, coincidentally on their favorite bench, Hakan realizes that his father is someone to be respected and that he is very similar to his father. He realizes that he should embrace who he is and that where he is forms an important part of who he is. Through reliving many experiences, making new acquaintances, and soul searching, trying to ascertain what his father would do, Hakan finds out who he is and how he fits in his society.

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Endnotes

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- ⁱ Herbert, Ulrich. *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter*. Dietz-Taschenbuch. Berlin-Bonn; 1986. p. 195
- ⁱⁱ Herbert p. 191/2
- ⁱⁱⁱ Stirn, H. *Ausländische Arbeiter im Betrieb: Ergebnisse der Betriebserfahrung*. Frechen. Köln; 1984. p. 200
- ^{iv} Stirn, p. 212
- ^v Stirn, p. 216
- ^{vi} Herbert, 218
- ^{vii} “nicht sauber, eher schlampig,” Spaich, Herbert. *Fremde in Deutschland*. Beltz. Wernheim, 1981. p. 218
- ^{viii} “jähzornig, oft gewalttätig,” Spaich, p. 218
- ^{ix} *Der Spiegel*, 11/1982, p. 16
- ^x Herbert, p. 223
- ^{xi} Herbert, p. 225
- ^{xii} “zweisprachige Analphabeten”, Herbert p. 226
- ^{xiii} Herbert, p. 226
- ^{xiv} *Der Spiegel* 18/1982 p. 37
- ^{xv} *Der Spiegel* 44/1984, p. 45
- ^{xvi} Class notes, Immigrants in the WorldCity Berlin, Professor Levant, Summer 2002
- ^{xvii} *Der Spiegel* 29/1987, p. 40
- ^{xviii} *Der Spiegel* 30/1987, p. 26
- ^{xix} Complete summaries of all books provided in the Appendix
- ^{xx} ... zum ersten Mal ein wirklich schlechtes Gewissen, vom Magen bis hinauf in den Hals. Welsh, p. 35
- ^{xxi} Ich hatte die Lehrerin gebeten, ob ich mich neben Ülkü setzen dürfte, und sie schien sehr erleichtert über den Vorschlag. Welsh, p. 84
- ^{xxii} sie liest jede Zeitungsnotiz über Gastarbeiter sehr genau: *Jugoslawe ersticht Arbeitskollegen, Blutiger Raufhandel in Gastarbeiterquartier, Gastarbeiter verursacht Verkehrsunfall – sieben Tote*. Welsh, p. 63
- ^{xxiii} Es war wirklich merkwürdig. Erst war meine Mutter so gegen diese Freundschaft gewesen, und jetzt nahm sie für Ülkü Partei. Welsh, p. 88
- ^{xxiv} Haben Sie zu Hause warmes Wasser zum Waschen? ... Auch eine Dusche und eine schöne Badewanne? ... Herr Direktor, schlafen eigentlich nachts noch drei Arbeiter in Ihrem Zimmer? ... Dürfen Sie zu Hause Bilder an die Wand hängen? Klee, p. 20
- ^{xxv} Sie sind ein schlechter Direktor! Sie haben es zu Hause schön, aber Ihre Arbeiter im Gastarbeiterlager haben kein warmes Wasser, keine Duschen, keine eigenen Räume! Sie dürfen nicht einmal Bilder an die Wände nageln! Sie dürfen keinen Besuch einladen! Klee, p. 20
- ^{xxvi} Klee, p. 24/25
- ^{xxvii} Wenn alle unsere Leser so wären wie du, dann möchte ich jeden Tag über den Elias schreiben. Aber unserer Leser lieben keine Gastarbeiter. Sie bestellen unsere Zeitung ab, wenn wir zu viel über Gastarbeiter schreiben. Klee, p. 29
- ^{xxviii} Wer nicht die Wahrheit schreibt, der lügt! Ist das nicht die Wahrheit, dass viele Arbeiter schlechter als Hunde leben, weil sie Ausländer sind? Klee, p. 29
- ^{xxix} Wenn einer in unserer Stadt wohnt und arbeitet und Steuern zahlt, ist er dann ein Bürger? Klee, p. 30
- ^{xxx} Aber viele Leute behaupten, die Gastarbeiter wären dumm und sie würden klauen and wären schmutzig. Darum dürfen sie keine Bürger sein. Ich hab es gesehen, sie wohnen in fiesen Barracken, und ihre Kinder dürfen sie nicht mal mitbringen, wenn sie hierher kommen. Ist das etwa gerecht? Klee, p. 30
- ^{xxxi} die meisten Deutschen mögen die Gastarbeiter nicht. Klee, p. 30
- ^{xxxii} Die werden sicher was geklaut haben! Das machen die Ausländer ja alle. Man weiß das ja! – Reden Sie keinen Unsinn! Kümmern Sie sich lieber um ihren Rotkohl, und passen Sie auf, dass zu Hause das Kaffeewasser nicht anbrennt! Erstens haben die Kinder hier nicht geklaut, und zweitens – meine Gnädigste! – stehlen Gastarbeiter weniger als Deutsche! Das ist nämlich statistisch nachgewiesen. Und als Polizist muss ich das ja wohl wissen. Also, reden Sie nicht so kariert! Klee, p. 48/49
- ^{xxxiii} Sie wären alle Diebe, und dumm wären sie auch. – Die Deutschen sagen, die Italiener wären dreckig und besoffen. Ich meine das auch. Die haben auch immer fünf bis zehn Kinder. Klee, p. 51

^{xxxiv} Die Gastarbeiter, die sind frech und vorlaut. In der Freizeit bummeln sie nur herum und pfeifen den Mädchen nach. Klee, p. 52

^{xxxv} Nur ganz wenige Gastarbeiter wären froh, wenn man sie so zivilisieren würde, wie man bei uns so ist. Die anderen wollen das nicht mal! Klee, p. 54

^{xxxvi} In unserer Stadt arbeiten sehr, sehr viele Gastarbeiter. Ohne ihre Hilfe müssten wir die meisten Krankenstationen schliessen. Unsere Kranken hätten dann keine ausreichende Pflege mehr. Und ohne unsere Gastarbeiter erstickten wir in Müll und Dreck, weil die Müllabfuhr and die Strassenreinigung vorwiegend von ihnen erledigt werden. Die Gastarbeiter helfen uns, Schulen zu bauen und Kindergärten und Spielplätze. Sie arbeiten in unseren Fabriken. Und sie arbeiten genauso hart und gut wie jeder deutsche Arbeiter! Aber wo wohnen sie? Noch immer in Baracken und Lagern! Mit Drahtzäunen drumrum and einem bissigen Wächter am Tor! Ja, und falls sie eine Wohnung auftreiben können, dann müssen sie für den mickrigsten Stall hohe Miete bezahlen. Fast überall werden sie schlechter behandelt als die Deutschen. Ihre Kinder haben wenig Hilfe in der Schule. Sie müssen die deutsche Sprache lernen. Doch wer unterstützt sie dabei? Nur wenige Zeitgenossen sehen diese Probleme. Helfen wollen noch weniger. Ich habe mit den Vertretern aller Parteien in unserer Stadt gesprochen. Alle sind sich einig: Die Gastarbeiter sind Bürger wie wir alle! Klee, p. 74

^{xxxvii} Warum piepsen Sie so komisch? Klee, p. 7

^{xxxviii} kleiner Mann – Ich wusste nicht, dass du schon so klug bist. Klee, p. 10

^{xxxix} Die Leute sprachen ganz anders mit uns als die meisten Deutschen. Bis dahin waren nur Uwes Eltern so zu uns gewesen. Es war richtig gemütlich da – ich hätte stundenlang bleiben mögen. Hermann, p. 87

^{xl} Daraus müssen Sie sich nichts machen! Spießer mit solchen Vorurteilen gegen Ausländer wollen wir heir gar nicht haben. Hermann, p. 88

^{xli} gute Betten, Schränke, Tische, Stühle, zwei Polstersessel – Sachen, die nicht mehr gebraucht wurden, aber zum Wegwerfen zu schade gewesen waren. Hermann, p. 91

^{xlii} Ihr Hamburger seid manchmal auch schwer zu verstehen! - Hamburger? Ich bin Türke! – Das kannst du mir nicht erzählen! Denkst du, ich hab keine Ohren? – Da habe ich ihm eins von meinen Heften gezeigt, und er konnte sehen, dass ich Kasim Özdemir heisse. Hermann, p.94

^{xliii} “Wir brauchen aber auch türkische Schüler zum Mitspielen. Dann wird alles viel echter.” Schwarz, p. 20

^{xliv} “Und die können uns auch sagen, was sie wirklich von uns denken.” Schwarz, p. 20

^{xlv} Jeder will versuchen, wenigstens einen türkischen Mitschüler anzusprechen... Schwarz, p. 20

^{xlvi} Chris ist ein Türkenknecht! Türken raus! Schwarz, p. 67

^{xlvii} “Will ich etwas erzwingen, was nur in Generationen bewältigt werden kann? Mute ich meinen türkischen und meinen deutschen Schülern zuviel zu?” Schwarz, p. 68

^{xlviii} Die wollen uns nur aufhetzen gegen Chris, Hamide und die anderen Türken, aber da liegen sie bei uns falsch! Schwarz, p. 68

^{xliv} “Es hat, so viel ich weiß, mit der Religion zu tun, mit dem Islam, mit den Gebräuchen der Menschen, die Moslems sind. Wenn die Mädchen älter und hübscher werden, sollen sie nicht von begehrliehen Gedanken und Blicken der Männer berührt werden und unschuldig bleiben, bis sie mal heiraten.” Kötter, p. 45

^l “Aber das Leben kostet hier in Deutschland auch nicht wenig und sie können nicht so viel sparen, wie sie dachten. Sie schreiben ihrer Frau and ihren Kindern: >Kommt zu mir! Ich halte es alleine nicht mehr aus. Ich habe Heimweh.< Und dann kommen die Frauen und Kinder und können kein Deutsch.” Kötter, p. 56/58

^{li} Türkische Frauen sind aber nicht dümmer als andere. Kötter, p. 58

^{lii} “Schlimmer als Besatzungssoldaten! Was sind wir denn hier: die türkisch besetzte Zone Deutschlands! Solange das Pack noch hier ist, ist man ja seines Lebens nicht mehr sicher!” –ky, p. 33

^{liiii} “Mußte bloß mal die Überschriften lesen...! Türken-terror: Koran und Karate in der Moschee! Türke unter Verdacht des Heroin-Handels festgenommen!” –ky, p. 33

^{liv} “Die sollen sich doch alle bei sich zu Hause umbringen. Hier lungern sie doch nur in der U-Bahn rum und machen unsere Jugend kaput. Nichts als Ärger hat man, seit die hier sind!” –ky, p. 33

^{lv} Damit war für Matthias klar, wer die Schuld an seinem ganzen Elend hatte: *die Türken*. –ky, p. 34

^{lvi} Matthias war nie zuvor in der Oranienstraße gewesen und auch nur selten im übrigen Kreuzberg, demjenigen der zwölf Westberliner Bezirke, in dem die meisten Türken leben – 30 000 etwa. Das ist immerhin die Einwohnerzahl einer Stadt wie Jülich oder Rastatt. Manche nennen das Gebiet zwischen Hochbahn und Mauer deswegen auch *Klein Istanbul* oder – wenn sie böswillig sind – den türkisch besetzten Sektor Berlins. –ky, p. 55

^{lvii} Insgesamt, das wußte Matthias aus dem Sachkundenunterricht, gibt es über 200 000 Ausländer in West-Berlin, darunter etwa 90 000 Türken. –ky, p. 55

- ^{lviii} Da schrien sie alle nach der Integration der Türken, und er verhielt sich nun wirklich so, wie es sich die deutschen Eltern und Lehrer von ihren Kindern erhofften. Er war fleißig, ordentlich, pünktlich und gewissenhaft, hatte nur gute Noten. –ky, p. 22
- ^{lix} Wenn er in diesem Land etwas werden wollte, dann mußte er überall und immer ein bißchen besser und ein bißchen ungepaßter sein als die deutschen Kinder. –ky, p. 22
- ^{lx} “Die können uns auch sagen, was sie wirklich von uns denken.” Schwarz, p. 20
- ^{lxi} Seltsam, auf der Straße fallen mir heute die türkischen Frauen in ihren fast knöchellangen Mänteln und geblühten Kopftüchern mehr auf als sonst. Schwarz, p. 21
- ^{lxii} “Was nützt es dann, wenn wir ein Stück über das Zusammenleben von Deutschen und Türken proben und vorspielen, und in den Pausen lesen die Schüler den Satz: Türken sind Schweine!” Schwarz, p. 61
- ^{lxiii} “Die Sachen müssen weg, und zwar ganz schnell!” Schwarz, p. 62
- ^{lxiv} “Die Lehrer hier sind keine richtigen Lehrer, sie sind überhaupt nicht streng. Sie schimpfen nicht, wenn es im Unterricht laut hergeht, sie schimpfen nicht einmal, wenn die Kinder mich ärgern. Und alle ärgern mich. Sie können mich nicht leiden, weil ich Türkin bin... Sie lachen mich aus, wenn ich was sage, sie lachen mich aus, weil ich das Kopftuch umhabe. Niemand will neben mir sitzen. Sie behandeln mich, als ware ich etwas Böses. Ich trage als einzige in der Klasse ein Kopftuch. Sevim, das andere türkische Mädchen, trägt keins, sie wird nicht geärgert. Wenn ich ohne Kopftuch gehen könnte, dann würden auch mich die Kinder in Ruhe lassen... Am schlimmsten ist der Junge aus dem Haus hier, der Dieter, er hat >Öztürk, Kotztürk< zu mir gesagt und mir das Kopftuch heruntergerissen.” Schwarz, p. 32
- ^{lxv} “Schlepp mir hier kein Mädchen mit Kopftuch an.” p. 44
- ^{lxvi} Moslemkinder, die deutsche Schulen besuchen, neigen zu minderwertigen Gewohnheiten... Lehrer- und Schülerkontakte sind vergleichbar mit Inhalten billiger Sexfilme. Mit der einzigen
- ^{lxvii} “Kein Essen und kein Trinken von Sonnenaufgang bis Sonnenuntergang – das ist vielleicht anstrengend. Aber auch wieder schön, wenn sich dann alle – die Familie, die Freunde, die Nachbarn – zur ersten Mahlzeit abends treffen...” –ky, p. 67
- ^{lxviii} –ky, p. 67
- ^{lxix} Das Alte war tot und wissenschaftlich gesehen ziemlicher Schwachsinn, aber man war doch noch stark verwurzelt darin und brauchte es ganz offensichtlich, wenn man richtig leben wollte. –ky, p. 67
- ^{lxx} das hier war die große Familie, die Matthias sich schon immer gewünscht hatte. Da war soviel Wärme und Herzlichkeit spürbar, soviel Hilfsbereitschaft. –ky, p. 72
- ^{lxxi} Die Eltern geschieden, sein Vater irgendwo verschwunden im australischen Busch. Die Großeltern sprachen mit seiner Mutter nicht mehr, und alles, was es an Verwandten noch gab, war fürchterlich zerstritten. –ky, p. 72
- ^{lxxii} Als eine junge deutsche Mutter ihr Kind fast vom Dreirad riß, nur damit Kemal die Kleine nicht streicheln konnte. Als ob der Gift an den Fingern hätte! –ky, p. 81
- ^{lxxiii} Wir Türken müssen und sollen ja auch immer stumm bleiben, obwohl wir soviel zu sagen hätten... –ky, p. 81
- ^{lxxiv} p.22
- ^{lxxv} Unvorstellbar für die deutschen Schüler der Theatergruppe, dass der Bruder bestimmt, was die Schwester machen darf und was nicht. Schwarz, p. 27
- ^{lxxvi} “Meiner Schwester könnte ich nichts verbieten. Sie würde nicht auf mich hören.” Schwarz, p. 27
- ^{lxxvii} “Meine Oma kommt aus einem Dorf... Anatolien ist schön. Ich habe keine Angst mehr, dass die Deutschen mich auslachen.” Schwarz, p. 23
- ^{lxxviii} p. 23
- ^{lxxix} “Und wenn du hier geboren und aufgewachsen bist und nicht richtig türkisch sprichst? Und wenn du zu Hause kein Geld und keine Arbeit hast? Und wegen deiner politischen Anschauungen gleich ins Gefängnis wanderst und gefoltert wirst – wie mein Onkel, bevor der fliehen konnte... Wir haben nämlich eine Militärdiktatur bei uns zu Hause in der Türkei. Aber was heißt schon *bei uns zu Hause* – ich bin doch nirgends mehr zu Hause!” –ky, p. 82
- ^{lxxx} Wenn unsere Eltern mal Ärger in Deutschland haben, sagen sie: Eines Tages packen wir hier unsere Sachen. Eines Tages gehen wir in die Türkei zurück. Für immer. Kötter, p. 19
- ^{lxxxi} Sie hat es immer doppelt. Wenn sie in der Türkei ist, möchte sie nach Deutschland. Und wenn sie in Deutschland ist, sehnt sie sich nach der Türkei. Kötter, p. 23
- ^{lxxxii} Ich musste ihnen türkischen Kaffee kochen, so wie es bei uns Sitte ist. Tekinay, p. 31
- ^{lxxxiii} “‘Bei uns’? Wer sind eigentlich ‘wir’? Mir erzählen die Eltern, wie es bei uns, d. h. in der Türkei, ist oder sein soll. Und ich richte mich danach. Aber wie es wirklich dort ist, weiß ich nicht. Aber ich weiß auch nicht genau, wie alles hier ist.” Tekinay, p. 31

- ^{lxxxiv} Sie sprachen Deutsch, nein, kein Deutsch. Sie hatten keine einheitliche Sprache. Das war ein Deutsch, das einen starken bayerischen und gleichzeitig türkischen Akzent hatte. Zwischendurch benutzten sie auch türkische Wörter und Satzkonstruktionen. Tekinay, p. 33
- ^{lxxxv} Trotz der mühsamen Anpassung wirkten sie irgendwie fremd. Tekinay, p. 33
- ^{lxxxvi} Ich bin immer noch ein Ausländer, obwohl ich hier aufgewachsen bin. Ich muß mich aber damit abfinden. Um der Zukunft willen. Vielleicht bin ich in einigen Jahren kein Ausländer mehr. Meine Kinder werden's jedenfalls nicht sein. Tekinay, p. 34
- ^{lxxxvii} "Wir können nicht richtig Türkisch oder Deutsch und sollen nun Arabisch lernen." Tekinay, p. 35
- ^{lxxxviii} "Ich bin hier geboren, aber Deutschland ist doch nicht meine Heimat. Und die Türkei kenne ich kaum. Nur vom Hörensagen und von kurzen Urlauben einmal im Jahr. Ich wünschte, ich wäre in einem Land geboren, das meine richtige Heimat wäre." Tekinay, p. 37
- ^{lxxxix} "Wenn wir nur den Text richtig verstehen könnten, wenn wir nur besser Deutsch könnten..." Tekinay, p. 37
- ^{xc} Schließlich war Sercan sein bester Freund. Schulze, p. 7
- ^{xc i} "Robin, bist du nicht mehr mein Freund, oder was? Warum sagst du denn kein Wort?" Schulze, p. 17
- ^{xc ii} ...schon Rotz und Wasser heulte, weil der den ganzen schönen Plan zu Bruch gehen sah. Schulze, p. 23
- ^{xc iii} ... Freunde und unzertrennlich wie Zwillinge... Klomp, p. 14
- ^{xc iv} ... dicke Freunde. Von einer Sekunde zur anderen. Klomp, p. 19
- ^{xc v} Klomp, p. 29/30
- ^{xc vi} Klomp, p. 67
- ^{xc vii} Türkenbraut, Klomp, p. 35
- ^{xc viii} "Warum muss Caro denn auch immer mit diesem Celik herumlaufen? Er ist ja wirklich sehr nett, aber es wäre doch bestimmt besser, wenn Caro auch mal ein paar Freundinnen hätte. Ich meine, es ist doch nicht normal, dass sie immer nur..." Klomp, p. 35
- ^{xc ix} "Celik ist ein Türke. Aber bestimmt kein typischer Türke. Und kein typischer Junge! Sonst wäre er mit Jungen zusammen, wie alle in seinem Alter. Mit türkischen Jungen! Celik aber hat eine deutsche Freundin. Meine Tochter!" Klomp, p. 35
- ^c "Osman und Rasim. Gutte Jungen. Türkische Jungen! Alt wie Celik. Immer nur deutsch nix gutt!" Klomp, p. 103
- ^{ci} "Aber nenn mich nie wieder Kümmel, hörst du? ... Von dir soll ich mich übrigens von jetzt ab fern halten, hat mein Vater gesagt. 'Die rote Caro bringt dich nur auf dumme Gedanken,' hat er gesagt. Und 'deutsche Mädchen sind schrecklich! Sie verderben die türkischen Jungen!' Und er hat Recht damit. Das sagt Ilker auch! .. Und nun lass mich gefälligst in Ruhe!" Klomp, p. 119/20
- ^{cii} "Celik besser. ... Du Ehre für Celik. Du helfen. Für Celik bei Polizei. Tesekkür ederim. Ganze Familie Bulgurluoglu sagt danke. Du gutt Freund. Du wieder mit Celik. Aber nix immer. Manchmal nur. Okay!" Klomp, p. 170
- ^{ciii} "Du, Franz. Das sind ja total nette Leute, die Eltern von Sercan. Sie heißen Fatma und Ramazan und möchten gern, dass wir sie so nennen." Schulze, p. 22
- ^{civ} Seit dem ersten Schultag schon kann Maik Celik nicht ausstehen. Er mag keine Türken. Sein Vater hat gesagt, dass die Türken die Arbeitsplätze in Deutschland klauen. Klomp, p. 32
- ^{cv} Welche, das weiß Maik nicht. Sein Vater hat einen guten Arbeitsplatz bei Ford. Aber sein Chef is ein Türke. Darüber ärgert sich Maiks Vater sehr. Er möchte selber lieber der Chef sein. Klomp, p. 32
- ^{cvi} Er pflückte Gras und rupfte frisches Tannengrün von dem umgefallenen Baum. Dann steckte er das Gras zwischen die brennenden Zweige und legte das Tannengrün vorsichtig darüber. Sofort stieg heller Qualm in die Höhe. Schulze, p. 107
- ^{cvi i} von meinem Onkel mit den Schafen gelernt. Schulze, p. 107
- ^{cvi ii} "Das hab ich vom Onkel meiner Mutter gelernt. Der ist Fischer im türkischen Meer. Der kann kein Buch lesen und nicht schreiben, aber fischen kann er ganz toll." Schulze, p. 113
- ^{cix} Der schüttete mit sicherem Augenmaß Mehl, Salz, Hefe und dann Wasser aus dem See in die Schüssel und knetete einen Teig, der nicht einmal an den Händen klebte. Er sumnte vor sich hin. Schulze, p. 120
- ^{cx} Sercan setzte sich auf einen Felsen und wärmte den Hefeteig an seinem Buach, damit er aufging. Als das Feuer brannte, suchte Sercan zwei große flache Steine und schob sie ganz nah an die Glut, damit sie heiß wurden. Er teilte den Teig in viele kleine Stücke und rollte sie auf dem glatten Felsen mit einem geraden Stöckchen zu dünnen Fladen aus. Mit einem langen Stock schob er die Steine aus der Glut an den Rand des Feuers und legte die Fladen auf die heißen Steine. Es dauerte nur ein paar Minuten, dann war aus dem Teig ein knuspriges Stück Brot gebacken. Schulze, p. 120/21
- ^{cx i} Schulze, p. 121

- ^{cxi} “Bulgurluoglu” kommt nach “Blumberg” im Alphabet. Frau Bleckmann ist beim nächsten Namen angelangt. “Zelik Buglu... Zelik Bullugu ... Bulglu ... gu.. gu .. gulluollu ...” Frau Bleckmann stottert, starrt verzweifelt in ihre Liste, liest wieder laut, verspricht sich wieder und kriegt einen knallroten Kopf. Alle lachen.” Klomp, p. 26
- ^{cxiii} Celik sitzt ganz still. Celik springt nicht auf. Celik ist wie versteinert. Die Lehrerin kann seinen Namen nicht lesen. Er kann nicht lachen. Er beißt die Zähne zusammen. Die Leute lachen immer noch leise, da steht Celik auf und ruft laut und deutlich: “Ich heiße Celik Bul-gur-lu-oglu!” Klomp, p. 26
- ^{cxiv} “Die meisten von uns fahren ins Ausland. Und Celik fährt in den Sommerferien nach Hause. In die Türkei. Dann ist er sechs Wochen lang kein Ausländer mehr!” Klomp, p. 58
- ^{cxv} “Aber zu Hause bin ich hier!” Klomp, p. 58
- ^{cxvi} “Ich bin auch hier zu Hause. Ich bin sogar hier geboren. Eigentlich bin ich ein Deutscher.” Einige Kinder lachen. Celik ein Deutscher? Das ist zu lustig. So sieht der gerade aus! “So ‘ne Affenkacke! Du bist ein Türke. Du siehst doch ganz ausländisch aus! Guck dich mal im Spiegel an. Du hast viel braunere Haut als wir. Und deine Haare sind echt pechschwarz,” sagt Maik. Klomp, p. 58
- ^{cxvii} “Jeder ist da zu Hause, wo er lebt, wo seine Eltern sind, wo er zur Schule geht oder Arbeit hat. Wo er sich wohl fühlt und wo er zu Hause sein möchte. Und Ausländer sind wir alle. Irgendwo. Irgendwann.” Klomp, p. 59
- ^{cxviii} Frau Bleckmann zögert mit ihrer Antwort. Wie soll sie das nur erklären? Pawel, Janis und Aleksej haben deutsche Pässe, obwohl sie kaum Deutsch sprechen konnten, als sie nach Köln kamen. Sie sind im Ausland geboren. In Polen. Und in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion. Aber sie haben zum Teil deutsche Eltern. Serafina und Celik sind in Deutschland geboren, in dieser Stadt. Sie sind hier aufgewachsen und sprechen fließend Deutsch. Sie bekommen keinen deutschen Pass. Weil ihre Eltern Ausländer sind. Klomp, p. 60
- ^{cxix} “Wenn ich in Deutschland kein richtiger Ausländer bin, bin ich dann in der Türkei auch kein richtiger Türke?” Klomp, p. 61
- ^{cx} “Wenn ich hier bei euch kein richtiger Ausländer bin, warum behandeln mich dann viele so?” Klomp, p. 61
- ^{cxixi} “Unsere Schildkröten hier in Kemer beißen nur Ausländer! Nie die Türken. Türkische Kinder nehmen sie erst gar nicht hoch. Sie lassen sie in Frieden. Schildkröten sind kein Spielzeug. Es sind wilde Tiere! Du bist eben schon ein richtiger Ausländer. Ein Deutscher!” Klomp, p. 81
- ^{cxixii} Ja, er ist ein Ausländer in Kemer. Manche Kinder lachen über sein Türkisch. ... ‘Was willst du hier bei uns,’ sagen die Kinder zu Celik. ‘Du bist wie ein Deutscher angezogen. Du bist viel zu reich. Ein richtiger Almanci!’ Da hört er noch ein paar Mal, ‘Almanci! Almanci!’ Es hört sich an wie ein Schimpfwort. Wenn die türkischen Jungen spielen gehen, ziehen sie ohne Celik los. ‘Celik soll zu Hause bleiben, er versteht nichts von unseren Spielen. Er versteht auch oft nicht, was wir sagen,’ sagen sie. Klomp, p. 81/82
- ^{cxixiii} “Almanci, ja, Celik, wir sind für die Leute in Kemer eben Almancilar, Deutschländer, keine Türken. Wir sind anders. Wir sprechen deutsch. Wir sehen ein bisschen anders aus, durch unsere Kleidung. Wir haben deutsche Autos und deutsche Kühlschränke und deutsches Geld.” Nun sagt Ayshe es auch schon: “Wir sind anders.” Celik will aber nicht anders sein. Weder in der Türkei, noch in Deutschland. Er hat das Anderssein satt. Klomp, p. 82
- ^{cxixiv} Nie ließe ein türkischer Mann zu, dass seine Frau ihre intimen Körperteile in der Öffentlichkeit zeigt, und wäre er noch so verwestlicht, gebildet und tolerant. Nie würde er mit baumelndem Teil am Strand spazieren gehen. Richtig oder falsch, so ist er erzogen. Nacktheit ist verpönt, nicht mal Kleinkinder dürfen nackt spielen. In Deutschland, dagegen, mehr noch in den skandinavischen Ländern, ist sie etwas Natürliches. ... “Das sind eure Schätze,” sagen türkische Mütter zu ihren Töchtern. “Achtet gut darauf!” Eine Frau muss bei der Heirat Jungfrau sein. ... In Deutschland bemitleidet man Mädchen, die ihre Jungfernhaut nicht schnell genug loswerden. Gegensätze, wie sie krasser kaum sein könnten. Was Nacktheit, Körperlichkeit und Sexualität angeht, klaffen die Welten am weitesten auseinander. Gibt der Mensch etwas von sich weg, wenn er sich nackt sehen lässt, wenn er mit einem anderen Menschen schläft – etwas, das er nie wieder zurückbekommt? Wie ist das, sich für einen Menschen zu entscheiden und daran festzuhalten? Kann man bei gesundem Menschenverstand jemandem ewige Treue versprechen? Kurt, p. 62/63
- ^{cxixv} er hatte nicht den blassesten Schimmer von der rituellen Waschung und dem Gebet. Kurt, p. 119
- ^{cxixvi} Während er in einem extrem peinlichen Scheingebet immerfort die Lippen bewegte, auf die Knie fiel, sich niederwarf, sich auf die Fersen setzte, den Kopf nach rechts und nach links zum Gruß drehte, fragte er sich, ob er überhaupt zu dieser Gemeinschaft gehörte. Seine Welt, die des Rap, des Breakdance und der Mädchen, und die Welt dieser frommen alten Männer berührten sich nirgends. Wenn ihn aber jemand nach seiner Religion fragte, antwortete er ohne zögern: ‘Islam.’ Was machte ihn zu einem Muslim? Allein die Tatsache, dass seine Eltern Muslime sind? Kurt, p. 119
- ^{cxixvii} “begeistert, Jäger, Jagdeifer, senkrecht, abstürzen, nackt, gähnte, furchtbare, gehören, Hügel” Welsh, p. 31
- ^{cxixviii} Sie sammelte Wörter wie andere Leute Briefmarken, Welsh, p. 34

- cxxix “Immer alles hundertmal! Bloß wegen der Türken!” Hermann, p. 35
- cxxx Hermann, p. 48
- cxxxi Die fremde Sprache! Damit hatte Fips überhaupt nicht gerechnet. Klee, p. 43
- cxxxii Klee, p. 50
- cxxxiii “Aber die anderen werden uns auslachen, weil wir nicht so gut deutsch können.” Schwarz, p. 24
- cxxxiv “Wir proben so oft, dass ihr eure Angst verliert.” Schwarz, p. 25
- cxxxv Schwarz, p. 25
- cxxxvi Ali liest die Rolle des Achmed fließend, man kann merken, dass er schon ein paar Jahre in Deutschland lebt. Schwarz, p. 26
- cxxxvii Schulze, p. 57
- cxxxviii Klomp, p. 105
- cxxxix Wenn die Lehrer sie etwas fragten, antworteten die türkischen Kids manchmal absichtlich in gebrochenem Deutsch. Mit geprobtem Akzent. Das gepflegte Kanakendeutsch sollte verdeutlichen, dass sie keine Deutschen waren und auch keine werden wollten. Und dass sie ihre sprachliche Eigenheiten nicht als Mangel, sondern als Stärke ansahen. Kurt, p. 153
- cxl Ülkü zitterte ... Ich hatte furchtbare Angst. Welsh, p. 90
- cxli “Arme Leute haben auch ihren Stolz, sogar mehr vielleicht, je weniger sie sich leisten können.” Welsh, p. 95
- cxlii Hermann, p. 78/9
- cxliii Schwarz, p. 22
- cxliv “Mein Vater darf nicht erfahren, dass Turhal hier war... Weil er schon ein richtiger Mann ist, ich kann nicht einfach mit ihm zusammen sein. Das schadet meinem Ruf.” Schwarz, p. 66/7
- cxlv Vorsichtig, wie bei seiner Mutter, als die nach der Scheidung auch so geschluchzt hatte, legte er Shirin den Arm um die Schulter. Da stand Shirins Vater hinter ihnen und holte schon aus, um seiner Tochter und ihm eine runterzuhauen. –ky, p. 70
- cxlvi “Bei uns sind die Töchter vor allem Heiratsobjekt, das Familienkapital. Aber ein Mädchen, das schon mal was mit einem Jungen gehabt hat, ist wertlos auf dem Heiratsmarkt. Darum hat mein Bruder auch Angst, dass Shirin... Deswegen die Ohrfeigen vorhin...!” –ky, p. 73
- cxlvii “Einige Mädchen in der Schule bedeckten ihr Haar gegen den Willen ihrer Eltern. Damit wollen sie ihr Anderssein zeigen, Klischees entlarven und ihre Solidarität mit den Ausgestoßenen demonstrieren, sagt Sema. Sie kam eines Tages, überraschend für alle, verhüllt zur Schule. Unter ihrem langen Mantel trug sie weiterhin ihre Markenjeans und Joggingsschuhe.” Kurt, p. 112
- cxlviii Ich kann das Haus nicht richtig beschreiben, weil ich die Gerüche nicht wiedergeben kann, eine Mischung aus feucht und alt und Gewürzen und Bier und nasser Wäsche und rauchenden Öfen und ich weiß nicht was noch alles. Ich hielt die Luft an. Die Wände im Stiegenhaus schälten sich wie nach einer Krankheit, viele Fliesen waren locker, sodass man in der Dunkelheit stolperte. ... Das Glas an der Wohnungstür hatte ein großes Loch, das mit Packpapier und Leukoplaststreifen verklebt war. Die Wohnung war ein einziger Raum mit zwei Eisenbetten, einem Tisch, der mit Zeitungspapier belegt war, einem kleinen Eisenherd und zwei Sesseln. Über dem Herd standen ein paar Teller und drei Töpfe auf einem Holzbrett. An der Wand hingen die Kleidungsstücke an Nägeln. Welsh, p. 82
- cxlix Die Wohnung hatte ausser den Zimmern eine Küche und eine Toilette, kein Bad. In zwei Zimmern standen eiserne Kohleöfen, das dritte war nicht zu heizen. Es war dämmerig drinnen, denn zwei Meter vor den Fenstern der beiden größeren Zimmer war schon die nächste Hauswand. Das dritte Zimmer ging zur Straße, es hatte mehr Licht, war aber so klein wie die Stube, in der Hakan und ich schliefen. Die Tapeten hingen in Fetzen herunter. Ismail befühlte eine Wand. Sie war feucht. Die ganze Wohnung roch muffig. Die Tür der fensterlosen Toilette mussten wir schnellstens wieder zumachen. Uwe hielt sich sein Taschentuch vor die Nase, uns wurde ganz übel. Hermann, p. 57/8
- cl Verglichen mit dieser Wohnung waren unsere Unterkünfte in den Baracken noch Gold – da gab es immerhin Dusche und Heizung. Hermann, p. 58
- cli Germany’s Turkish Occupied Zone, Hasan p. 33
- clii fast akzent-frei Tekinay, p.15
- cliii Wir sind die sogenannte zweite Generation, Wir sind krank und heimatlos... uns ist nicht mehr zu helfen. Tekinay, p. 15
- cliv Wir sind doch hier aufgewachsen. Dieser Boden gehört uns genauso, wie er euch gehört. Tekinay, p. 15