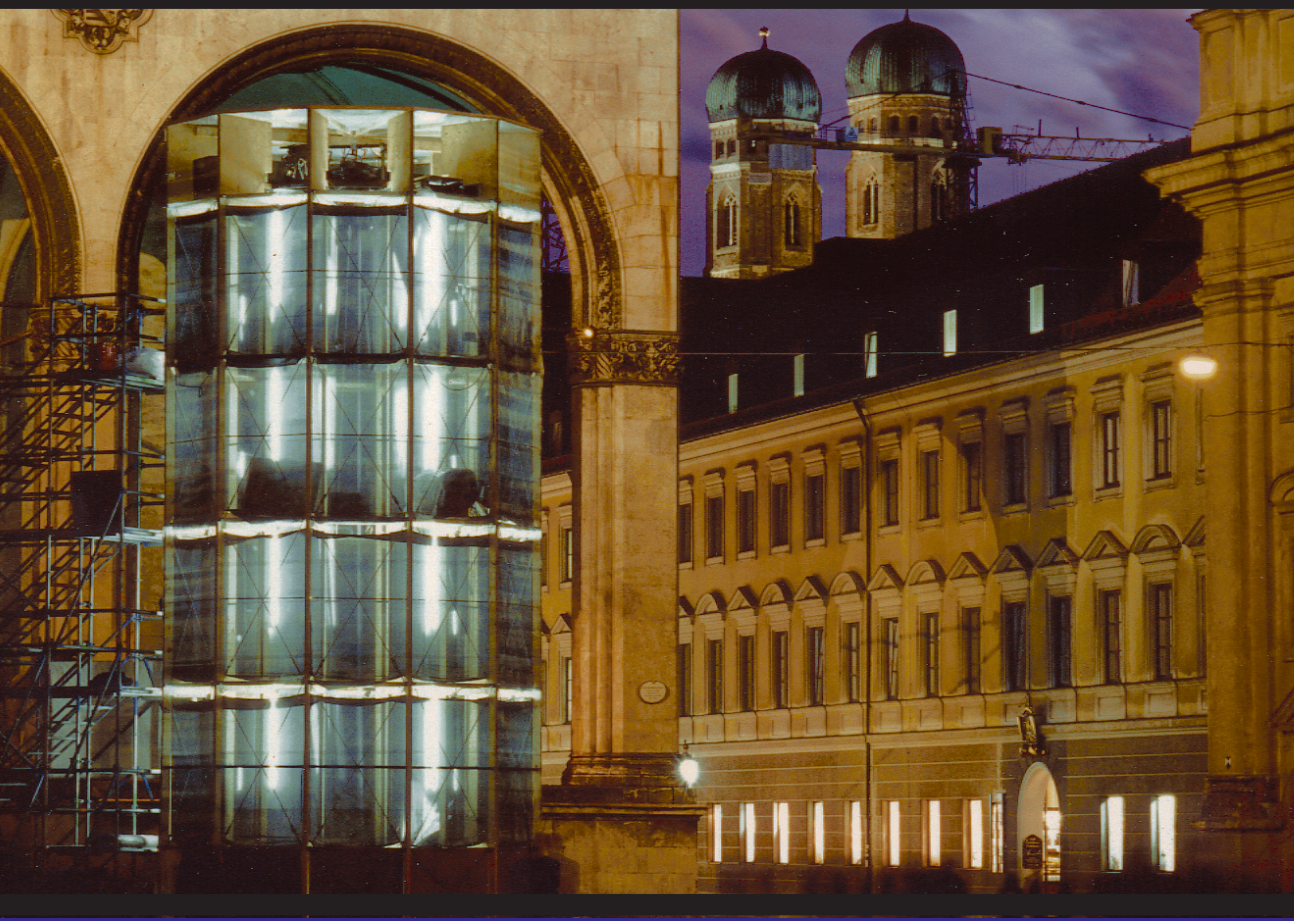
Novels of Turkish German Settlement

COSMOPOLITE FICTIONS



Tom Cheesman

Novels of Turkish German Settlement

Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture

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Cosmopolite Fictions

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Preface

This book charts developments in Turkish German literature since the 1970s, particularly the shift from a "literature of migration" toward a "literature of settlement." The focus is on the work of novelists, since the novel has unique force as a vehicle of public expression in Western and Westernized literary cultures. But the book does not only concern weighty fiction, it encompasses light fiction, too. The subtitle, *Cosmopolite Fictions*, intends to suggest "polite fictions": euphemisms, or convenient falsehoods, which are legion in this field of literature, criticism, and social commentary, but we will also encounter a good deal of impolite fiction.

Writing about Turkish Germany involves tragic stories, but also comedy, and even farce. Ludicrous misunderstandings come with the territory. In 1998, I attended a conference in Stuttgart on so-called "Ausländerliteratur" (non-native literature), where I was introduced to the grande dame of this specialization, Irmgard Ackermann. Without preliminaries, she asked me: "Wie finden Sie diese Literatur?" — "How do you find this literature?" Surprised that she should be interested in my opinion, I began to frame a cautious reply. She cut me off: "Nein, wie *finden* Sie diese Literatur?" She meant: how do you identify the writers who write in German, but who are not Germans? How does one locate this literature, how does one *collect* it?

The sheer quantity of imaginative writing in German, published by people who are ancestrally and ethnically not German, constantly rises. It might have been possible to keep track of it all a couple of decades ago. By now, it has become absurd even to try. A landmark publication by Ackermann and Harald Weinrich was titled *Eine nicht nur deutsche Literatur*: "A not only German literature" (1986). To set "this literature" in the singular apart from "only German literature" perpetuates a fixation on ethnic difference and risks overlooking all the other differences that make a difference to writers, texts, and readers. This book, even while focusing on Germany's and Europe's largest transnational minority, tries to avoid that pitfall and its frequently comical effects.

The book's genesis lies in a conversation with the polyglot poets José F. A. Oliver and Hasan Özdemir, following their 1996 joint reading at the Goethe Institut in London. They told me how, two years earlier, Jakob Arjouni had been invited to address an important, international conference on literatures of migration in the Netherlands. Arjouni is the author of

Happy Birthday, Türke! (*Happy Birthday, Turk*) and other detective novels set in Frankfurt am Main that feature Turkish-born private detective Kamal Kayankaya. The conference organizers discovered at the last minute that Arjouni himself is "only German." An authentic migrant writer from Germany was needed on short notice. They called Oliver and the ensuing report in *Die Zeit* by Fritz Raddatz launched his career as a global ambassador of German-but-not-only-German, multilingual literature. That evening, he drew my attention to the work of Feridun Zaimoglu, whom I visited in Kiel the following year. Zaimoglu's amiable hospitality and his introductions to friends — musicians and writers in Kiel — really got me started.

Numerous debts have accrued. Grants awarded by the Economic and Social Research Council (for the cross-disciplinary "Axial Writing" project within the Transnational Communities research program, 1998–2001) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (research leave award, 2004–5) liberated me from teaching and administrative responsibilities in the German Department at Swansea University. My colleagues there have been as supportive as anyone could wish, Brigid Haines and Katharina Hall in particular sharing the fruits of their related research and giving me cogent feedback on drafts. Other colleagues in the UK and abroad have been similarly generous and encouraging: they include Leslie A. Adelson, Frank Finlay, Sabine Fischer, Margaret Littler, Moray McGowan, and Stuart Taberner. My former Ph.D. student, Alexandra Clarke, who was working on Güney Dal's fiction, possibly helped me more than I helped her, notably with various small translations from Turkish.

Swansea's Centre for Contemporary German Literature hosted Hasan Özdemir and Feridun Zaimoglu in 1998 for a conference on "Postmigrant Turkish-German Culture," funded in part by the Transnational Communities research program, or "TransComm." I owe a special debt to the program director, Steven Vertovec, and to my fellow researchers on the Axial Writing project: Marie Gillespie, Deniz Göktürk, John Goodby, John McLeod, and Sujala Singh. Other researchers associated with TransComm also helped me develop my ideas, among them Ayşe Çağlar, Mary Chamberlain, Ruth Mandel, Ulrike Meinhof, Eva Østergaard-Nielsen, Kevin Robins, Werner Schiffauer, and especially Gerd Baumann. A conference in 2000 on "Writing Diasporas," organized for TransComm by the Axial Writing team, in collaboration with the British Council's "Reinventing Britain" project, brought Zafer Şenocak to Swansea along with a dozen other "axial writers," and numerous academics, cultural policy makers, and freedom of expression activists. Şenocak returned in 2002 as a guest of the Centre and the subject of a volume in our series, Contemporary German Writers (Cheesman and Yeşilada, eds., 2003). The conversations with him and with Karin Yeşilada have been crucial. Whether in Germany or Swansea (or both), I have also profited from exchanges

with researchers, writers, and activists including Nasrin Amirsedghi, Imran Ayata, Halil Can, Carmine Chiellino, İsmet Elçi, Hans-Dieter Grünefeld, Adel Karasholi, the late Kemal Kurt, Uwe Michel, Kevin Perryman, Hito Steyerl, Mark Terkessidis, Hans-Peter Waldhoff, and diverse members of Kanak Attak in Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, and Hamburg. I also thank Jim Walker at Camden House for his encouragement and sound advice.

The writing of this book was sometimes held up by extracurricular activism with the all-voluntary Swansea Bay Asylum Seekers Support Group and our fund-raising publishing enterprise, Hafan Books. But it is the better for the comical and tragic experiences shared with fellow SBASSG volunteers, the Swansea World Stars soccer team, my co-editors, and all the contributors to our "Refugees Writing in Wales" anthologies (see www.hafan.org).

My chief debts are to those who have lived with me and endured my absent-mindedness, or my absence when my presence might have been welcome, and who have borne much of the burden of the writing (or not quite writing) of this book, over the past few years. They are Marie Gillespie, a far clearer-minded researcher on "axial" matters than I will ever be, and our daughters, Margaret and Rosa. This book is for them.

Some passages of this book derive from parts of papers which previously appeared as follows: "Polyglot [Pop] Politics: Hip Hop in Germany," *Debatte: Review of Contemporary German Affairs* 6/2 (1998) 191–214; "The Turkish German Self: Displacing German-German Conflict in Orientalist Street Ballads," in *Imagined States: Nationalism, Utopia, and Longing in Oral Cultures*, ed. Luisa Del Giudice and Gerald Porter (Logan, UT: Utah State UP, 2001), 136–63; "Akçam — Zaimoglu — 'Kanak Attak': Turkish Lives and Letters in German," *German Life and Letters* 55/2 (2002) 180–95; "Ş/ß: Zafer Şenocak and the Civilization of Clashes," in *Zafer Şenocak*, ed. Tom Cheesman and Karin E. Yeşilada (Cardiff: U Wales Press, 2003), 144–59; "Talking 'Kanak': Zaimoglu contra *Leitkultur*," *New German Critique* 92 (2004) 82–99; "Über Feridun Zaimoglus 'Häute,'" in *4. Uluslar arası Dil, Yazın ve Deyişbilim Sempozyumu, Çanakkale, 17–19 Haziran 2004: Bildirileri / IV. Internationales Symposium für Sprache, Literatur und Stilistik, Çanakkale, 17.–19. Juni 2004: Tagungsband*, ed. Ali Osman Öztürk, Nevide Akpınar-Dellal, and Umut Balcı (Çanakkale: Nobel, 2005), 133–42; "Juggling Burdens of Representation: Black, Red, Gold and Turquoise," *German Life and Letters* 59/4 (2006) 471–88. All such passages have been modified, revised, and rewritten for this book. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own, as are all errors of fact or judgment.

Prelude in the Television Studio

SCENE: A STUDIO OF N3 (public television based in Bremen, Germany), on the evening of Friday, May 8, 1998. A live arts magazine talk-show, "3 nach neun," is being broadcast. The translation of the dialogue, as well as the monologues by Feridun Zaimoglu, is based on a published transcript.[1]

Cast in order of appearance

Gaby Hauptmann. *The moderator. Born 1957. Best-selling, neofeminist, popular author, television producer, and media celebrity.*

Feridun Zaimoglu. *Born 1964, resident in Germany since 1972. Writer and artist, based in Kiel. By the date of the broadcast he had published three books comprising "statements" and stories based on interviews with young Turkish Germans*: Kanak Sprak (1995); Abschaum (Scum, 1997); *and* Koppstoff (Headstuff, 1998). *In these books, Zaimoglu created a new literary language: "Kanak Sprak" (approximately equivalent to "Spik Speak" or "Paki Talk"), a synthesis of diverse German dialects, slangs, and jargons with rap rhythms. This work won him a reputation as a spokesman for racialized youth (i.e. those who tend to be seen by the German native majority through the lens of "race" thinking). By 1998, the monologues had been widely adapted for radio, stage, and screen, and Zaimoglu's work had inspired the foundation of "Kanak Attak," a nationwide alliance of anti-racist cultural workers. But he was still a relatively inexperienced media performer.*

Harald Juhnke. *Born 1929. Celebrated stage and screen actor.*

Heide Simonis. *Born 1943. Prominent Social Democrat (SPD) politician: minister-president of Schleswig-Holstein, 1993–2005.*

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[1] The transcript first appeared in *Karoshi* 4, 1998 — a small, radical left-wing journal from Hamburg — under the English-language title "Fear of a Kanak Planet. Heide Simonis meets Feridun Zaimoglu," which alludes to Public Enemy's renowned political rap album, "Fear of a Black Planet" (1990) and to the "King Kong meets Godzilla" film genre. The transcript was reprinted under the title "Was deutsch ist, bestimmen wir!" (We decide what's German!) in the internationalist magazine *Blätter des Informationszentrums 3. Welt* [*iz3w*] 243, February/March 2000, 38–41.

Wolf Biermann. *Born 1936. Celebrated singer-songwriter. He emigrated from West to East Germany in 1953 out of socialist idealism, but in 1976 was stripped of his East German citizenship and exiled in the West for being too critical.*

Norbert Blüm. *Born 1935. Prominent Christian Democrat (CDU) politician: labor minister in Helmut Kohl's cabinet (1982–1998).*

Presenter: Feridun Zaimoglu, you're actually a Turk, but a German [eigentlich Türke, aber Deutscher]. Since when, actually?[2]

Zaimoglu: I'm of Turkish descent [türkischstämmig], and it's roughly one and a half years ago, well, I'd have to ask Herr Braun, my caseworker in the Office for Public Order [Ordnungsamt].

Presenter: One and a half years, anyway.

Zaimoglu: I've been a German citizen for one and a half years.

Presenter: With your books *Kanak Sprak* [Spik Speak] and *Abschaum* [Scum], you've succeeded in giving a voice to the Turks in Germany — the Turks of the second and third generation, it must be added. Do you now see yourself as a chronicler or as an agitator or as a mouthpiece of the Turks?

Zaimoglu: You know, the media, and now you, talk about "the Turks," and I insist, I mean, I keep noticing that — my god, forty years of migration history[3] — with the second and third generation

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[2] The context of this dialogue is the debate on reform of the German citizenship law, which was based on "race" (*jus sanguinis*, the "blood principle") from 1913 to 1999. Ethnic Germans "returning" to Germany, even if their ancestors had left German territory centuries earlier, and they spoke no German, were accorded citizenship and the associated civil and political rights. Children born in Germany to "foreign" parents, even if the latter had been born and always lived in Germany, were non-citizens. This anomaly became a major political issue during the 1990s, especially after a series of spectacular acts of xenophobic or racist violence brought Germany unwelcome international attention. Gerhart Schröder's SPD-Green coalition government took office in October 1998, promising reform. The opposition (CDU and CSU) successfully resisted proposals to normalize dual citizenship. A compromise law, passed in May 1999, aimed to encourage naturalization, and modified the "blood principle." Since January 1, 2000, those born in Germany to non-German parents, if these fulfil certain conditions, possess German and parental-national citizenships, but must renounce one of these between the ages of 18 and 23.

[3] Turkish mass migration to German is usually dated to the bilateral labor recruitment accord of October 1961. Most Turkish "guest workers" arrived in the later 1960s or early 1970s; large-scale migration continued later through the channels of family reunion and asylum.

something has happened and we can no longer be measured in terms of the classic Turk. You know, we call ourselves . . .

Presenter: . . . Kanaken.

Zaimoglu: Kanakster, Kanak-youngster, and Kanake.[4]

Presenter: But if I were to say that, for you that'd be different.

Zaimoglu: I'd be offended.

Presenter: That's how it is.

Zaimoglu: Of course.

Presenter: Because, you say it to one another and then that's OK, but you would still feel it was an insult if I were to say now: "You [Du], Kanake, have written a book."

Zaimoglu: Of course. I mean, here we go again, drawing the borderlines, setting the tariffs for subcultures in the Federal Republic. I don't have definitional omnipotence,[5] nor do I have a monopoly of models of explanation. So I can't say: "Frau Hauptmann, you can give me a Turkish shoulder-slap and you can call me Kanake."

---

[4] "Kanake" (the final e is a schwa sound) (pl. "Kanaken"): a common racist insult, typically directed at people with black hair, sallow skin, and smaller stature. Taboo in polite society, the word carries with it the history of forced migrations of colonial labor visited upon the Pacific by European empires. *Chambers English Dictionary* (1970) defines "kanaka" as: "in Australia, a South Sea Islander, esp. an indentured or forced labourer." The *Duden deutsches Universalwörterbuch* (1983) gives "native of Polynesia and the South Sea Islands," and two slang, pejorative usages: a pre-war usage, "uneducated, simple person," and a usage established in the 1960s: "foreign worker, esp. Turk." *Collins German-English Dictionary* (1982) suggests "wop" and "dago" as translations. "Paki" is a close equivalent in current British English slang. Zaimoglu's work publicized the appropriation of "Kanake" (and the "hardened" form, "Kanak") as a "badge of identity" worn with "proud defiance" (1995: 9) by young postmigrants: those who immigrated as children or were born in Germany. This usage emerged in Germany's multi-ethnic hip hop subculture in the late 1980s analogous to the use of "nigga" in U.S. rap. See Zaimoglu's foreword to *Kanak Sprak* (1995: 9–18) (trans.: Zaimoglu 2007). "Kanakster" fuses "Kanak" with "youngster," as Zaimoglu says here, or "gangsta." His and other intellectuals' right to use any such terms was contested by young, working-class postmigrants (see Cheesman, "Akçam — Zaimoglu," 2004, 193f.).

[5] definitional omnipotence: translates "Definitionsallmacht." This satirical nonce compound fuses the discourses of cultural critique ("Definitionsmacht," power to define) and theology ("Allmacht," omnipotence).

Presenter: Nice to imagine that! (*Laughs*)

Zaimoglu: No, the point is that something has in fact happened in the second and third generation. We are — I talk about mutations, erosions. I talk about the fact that we — and this is what they pester us with, especially the commissioners for foreigners [Ausländerbeauftragte],[6] in Kiel the same as everywhere — they pester us with the idea that we're stuck between two cultures, or in a vacuum, but we're not these creatures of crisis, we don't have this identity crisis. As a Kanakster, as one who's describing the struggle and the extra-parliamentary movement[7] — which is mostly going unnoticed — of the second and third generation out there, I can say that I'm a chronicler and in that sense a mouthpiece.

Presenter: So that everybody knows what we're actually talking about, we've prepared something, since probably not everybody has read your books. Many probably have — the editions are very large — but still, we'd like to show what it's all about.

The following short extracts from monologues in Kanak Sprak *and* Koppstoff *are performed by actors of the Junges Theater, Bremen.*[8]

> "Fuck you! So I chuck in a 'fuck you!' and out some liberal[9] as a cannibal, a Kanak-eater" . . .

---

[6] "Ausländerbeauftragte": political post at regional and local levels, representing the concerns of domiciled foreigners or resident aliens; oversees the "Ausländerbeirat," an elected advisory council, designed to compensate for non-citizens' exclusion from political participation.

[7] Zaimoglu claims the tradition of the German student movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which styled itself as the "extra-parliamentary opposition." Traces of leftist counter-cultural discourse (vulgar Marxism and Critical Theory) are frequent in his early texts.

[8] The texts are authored by Zaimoglu, but attributed to interviewees. In the preface to *Kanak Sprak*, as in the discussion here, he says that he "translated" and "stylized" transcripts. The two books do not consist entirely of expressions of anti-German rage, hatred, fear, and resentment, although that is a prominent theme. The present selection, whether made by Zaimoglu, the theater, or the television channel, evidently aims to provoke a "native" German audience.

[9] out some liberal: Zaimoglu uses the "new-German" verb "outen," derived from U.S. English. A "liberal" here means a bourgeois social liberal, a person of the centre-left.

"That sort of dear little Ali is the real Kanak, cos he serviles[10] his way right up between the native's old[11] arse-cheeks into the back-passage, and takes pride in the cocoa-covering as a kinda[12] identity" . . .

"We want nix[13] to do with being established or Germaned.[14] The assimi-Turk[15] is the worst trip since Kanaks have existed" . . .

"Be friends with who, huh? One of the blondies? With a liberal who gropes me up with his 'homeland language' and 'you speak-um good German'?"[16] . . .

"And this shit: 'where you leave headscarf?' " . . .

"The Allemann[17] eats crisis, shits crisis, and infects you with his worry-microbe, so there's crisis and crashing[18] in you as well, till Judgement Day" . . .

"In all the German tousle-heads,[19] the crisis muddles[20] likes some kinda special achievement. Without a crisis you're standing there like a miserable dead loss" . . .

---

[10] serviles: Zaimoglu adapts "dienern" (to behave in a servile, sycophantic manner) as a reflexive verb of motion ("dienert sich").

[11] old: (here and elsewhere) translates "oll," North German dialect/slang, expressing familiarity.

[12] kinda: Zaimoglu uses many colloquial abbreviations: "so'n," "'ne," "inner" (for "in der"), and so forth.

[13] nix: "nix" is common (North) German slang for "nichts," nothing.

[14] Germaned: translates "gedeutscht," bluntly non-standard usage (standard: "verdeutscht" or "eingedeutscht").

[15] assimi-Turk: translates "Assimiltürke," a compound coinage.

[16] You speak-um good German: translates "sprechen gut deutsch." The native addresses the presumed "foreigner" in simplified "foreigner talk," sometimes referred to as "Tarzan-Deutsch." See Watzinger-Tharp, "Turkish-German Language," 2004, with numerous further sociolinguistic references.

[17] "Alemanne," meaning a person of Germanic "tribal" descent, is now rarely used because of its Nazi connotations. Zaimoglu's usage evokes the Turkish for "German" — "alman" — and kindred terms in other languages, but "naturalizes" these forms for provocative effect.

[18] crisis and crashing: translates "kriselt und scheppert"; "scheppern" means to clang (of a bell) or smash (e.g. of cars).

[19] tousle-heads: translates "Zauselköpfe." A "Zausel" (pejorative) is an (old, rural) person with unkempt hair (from "zausen": to tousle or ruffle). "Zauselkopf" is a counter-coinage to "Krauskopf," "frizzy-haired" person: a term often used paternalistically, or pejoratively, of youngsters whose appearance is Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, or African.

[20] the crisis muddles: translates "da wirrt die Krise." The verb is coined from the adjective "wirr" (muddled, confused).

> "This country here belongs to them. They run around with a massive tube of glue sticking everything down and calling it property" . . .
>
> "Because the old Allemann-Volk[21] swallows a load of pissed[22] snot day by day. And so they really are, as the old mob in the east once bawled, one Volk and one country,[23] one in the wicked spirit of treacherous murder and slaughter" . . .
>
> "The Allemanns hate themselves and everything that comes their way. And sometimes some of them get a kinda disorder stuck down their necks, cos they bathe their souls in such a pile of shit. And then comes the revenge. You can set your clock by it" . . .
>
> "I'm a free man and a slave to none but God the Lord and otherwise owe nothing to any blond sow" . . .
>
> "Let the horned one[24] fetch the old pack of Allemanns" . . .
>
> "What I say to the Kanaks is this: friends, if your roots dry, you're dead bush in the wind's whirl. If you give your hand to the uncircumcised,[25] don't forget that he'll make his own mother turn tricks, if only he can make enough dough out of it" . . .
>
> "I tell myself, Kanake, you are and always will be other" . . .
>
> "You are and always will be a friend to all humanity [Menschenfreund]" . . .
>
> "Profiteer from life.[26] And only that is what makes you an old Kanake, with the mark burned on your brow. And what it says is: I am and always will be a hater of your shit rules" . . .

Presenter: Pretty wild, isn't it? Do you think you can make friends in Germany like that?

Zaimoglu: Oh, you know, friends, enemies. This has to be seen in a specific context, of course. What we've just heard are insults

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[21] Allemann-Volk: translates "Alemannenvolk."

[22] pissed: translates "bräsig," slang from the Ruhr region, meaning slightly drunk, or angry.

[23] Citizens of the German Democratic Republic chanted "Wir sind das Volk" (We are the people) in protest, but as early as October 9, 1989, this began to change to the nationalistic "Wir sind ein Volk" (We are one people). See Fischer, " 'Wir sind ein Volk,' " 2005.

[24] the horned one: translates "der Gehörnte," the devil: traditional German euphemism.

[25] uncircumcised: a Muslim cultural reference, distinguishing believers from unbelievers, in tune with this speaker's scriptural-prophetic (Abrahamic/Koranic) style.

[26] Profiteer from life: translates "Lebensgewinnler," a coinage, back-formed from "Kriegsgewinnler" (war profiteer).

directed at Allemanns[27] by superb actors from the Junges Theater in Bremen. That's one thing. My aim in *Kanak Sprak: 24 Mißtöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft* [Spik Speak: 24 Discords from the Margins of Society] was to create a general picture. These Kanaksters, the second and third generation, women and men, are dealing with, telling, they're saying that they're no longer — to speak in Kanak Sprak — those goat-fuckers, that they're no longer those goat-herds, but on the other hand they say this in a language which is rank,[28] explosive, which is laid on their tongue and their skin by German conditions.

Presenter: Herr Juhnke, can you make anything of what you've just seen?

Juhnke: Make anything of it, well . . . One would have to digest it. One can't say anything right away. The writing is tough, but, as he says, that's how it probably has to be, to draw attention. To draw attention to what people as Turks or foreigners . . ., to how one should behave or what one might do or what can perhaps be improved.

Simonis: But a Turk who talks like that . . . aside from the fact that I don't believe a Turkish woman talks like that. I'd like to see a Turkish woman — I mean we make every effort in the world to appeal for a little understanding for the Turkish women who live with us, in the third generation, who wear this headscarf, which doesn't look very nice — and which provokes aggression. And now you're showing a sort of Turkish woman that I don't believe you can find a single one of in the whole of Kiel and even in the whole of Berlin, but I don't know them all. Admittedly, that's art. And then you're talking in a language, that's art too, but it provokes the other to answer in just the same way. And let me tell you, I would always intervene, if two are talking like that on the street, I'll say, you assholes, that's

---

[27] insults directed at Allemanns: translates "Alemanbeschimpfungen," which evokes Peter Handke's play *Publikumsbeschimpfung* (1966; trans. "Offending the Audience," 1971).

[28] rank: translates "wildwüchsig" (literally: growing wild). This echoes the presenter's "Pretty wild, isn't it?" and repeats a refrain of the publicity for and reception of Zaimoglu's early work: young Turkish Germans as "wild," i.e. exotic, uncivilized, but also free, uninhibited, in contrast to the social norm of the native German bourgeoisie. Zaimoglu riskily plays up to this stereotype, while arguing that any "wildness" is a product of German conditions, rather than an essential ethnic or cultural characteristic.

the beginning of the end, if that's how they start talking to each other. That may even be art, but if what art produces is that finally I say I was allowed to do that because the other also did — then I have to tell you honestly, no.

Zaimoglu: You know, what's happened now is where we always end up: namely, the Turk is to blame. I'd just like to ask, for now . . . I have to say a couple of things, you see. Forty years of migration history, I say, and this is what I'm talking about: there are various outposts of the Turk-surveillance service.[29] We have the commissioners for foreigners who get on our nerves with their cultural conflict theory: "two cultures." We have the multiculture-researchers, sort of tourist-agency folklorists, who dip into the ghetto to see the Kanaken in their exotic lives. We have the social workers and pedagogues, or the magazine-article journalists, who come back and say "the Turks": over and over, yes, even right here people are talking about "the Turks." "The Turks" are re-ethnicizing, retreating, into the ghetto. Re-Islamization and re-ethnicization . . .[30]

A bottle is knocked to the floor.

Presenter: That was your spiked helmet, Frau Simonis.

Simonis: It was Biermann's, not mine. (*Laughs.*)

Zaimoglu: Then there are the multiculturalists who go on as if this country had ever, once, carried out a major multicultural project . . . So you tell me, forty years living here, experiencing this Germany, something has happened here, and it's just as you were saying: Kanake is an honorific title.

Simonis: Fine, if you call yourself that, then I can say it too.

Biermann [to Zaimoglu]: I'm afraid that you're not a Kanake at all, but it's just a pose. In fact I'd like to know what's authentic about you. This rather unctuous, preachy way you have of talking, or what we heard just now. What are you really?

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[29] Turks-surveillance service: translates "Türkenerkennungsdienst," more literally: the police records department devoted to Turks.

[30] Re-ethnicization and re-Islamization, or the failure of efforts to "integrate" or "assimilate" postmigrants: topics of intense debate among sociologists, social workers, educationalists, politicians, and media commentators. Sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer's widely publicized report, *Verlockender Fundamentalismus* (The allure of fundamentalism, 1997), claimed that most Turkish youth in Germany leaned toward political Islamism and/or Turkish or Kurdish nationalism.

Zaimoglu: If you ask me like that, you said preachy, I can be completely different . . .

Biermann: But what's authentic about it?

Zaimoglu: What is Kanak Sprak? To take this book, to make it clear, I didn't pop out overnight as a Kanake. I went out and made various interview protocols, from the sociologist to the pimp, from the plain unemployed car mechanic to the rent boy — and what they said, I stylized as literature. And if you ask me what I am, I'm both. Believe me, the one is authentic and the other is authentic, but there's a lot more about me that's authentic, or not authentic, if that's what you mean.

Simonis: Well, if we were to broadcast even just a small bit of what you've said, without saying who it's coming from, we'd have a German-Turkish international crisis. The minister-president of Turkey would be well within his rights to send a diplomatic note, and he'd say, "I can't accept this," and I'd have to agree with him. I mean, you're taking advantage of the fact that we sit there speechless and say: if he wants to do that, then he has to be allowed to express himself like that. I'm not allowed to express myself like that in Turkey, and therefore I don't do it, and therefore I also expect you not to do it either.

Zaimoglu: You're making a big mistake. You're coming at me again with this, with Turkey. I grew up in this country . . .

Simonis: You have a heritage [Erbe]. Just as I drag a different heritage around with me, you drag the Turkish one around with you. I'm sorry, but that's how it is.

Zaimoglu: What do you mean, heritage? There's the music . . .

Simonis: No. There are your parents, your grandparents, it's a bit more than just as in: "I once happened to see the Bosporus . . ."

Blüm: From my point of view, I'm a little bit torn. First, I don't like the sociologists' language, the way it douses everything in a sauce of concern and understanding: "Be nice to one another!" I like a bit of fireworks, letting it all hang out! So I'm in favor, and it has a therapeutic effect. But be careful! Number two, the other side: the language which speaks like that leads on very quickly to punching the other in the face. In this language there is an enormous amount of contempt for human beings [Menschenverachtung]. That is, this language is also a loss of inhibition, the other is really just material for my aggression. That is, there is some contempt for human beings in this language.

Zaimoglu: You know, a lot of things have been said to me here: preachy, contempt for human beings, I was told I wouldn't be able to say that in Turkey. You've not had these experiences, I mean, when you, Frau Hauptmann, asked if I was a chronicler, I could have hidden behind that and said yes, I don't have anything to do with these things. But out there on the streets, in the video arcades, in the prisons, in the police stations, out there on the street there are thousands and thousands of Kanaksters of the second and third generations. They cannot be set apart from the reality of Germany, which is still based on the citizenship law of 1913, the blood principle of 1913. Then we have the child visa regulation,[31] which means young people and children under 16 have to get their residence permit approved again and again, even though they've been born and brought up here. Your experience is the very easy one of leaning back and saying: ah, but there comes the maraca-shaking Levantine[32] out of the ghetto, talking preachy. No! Wrong! It's very easy to talk from positions of reputation. These people [Leute] are a bundle of experiences they've had, the social reality of Germany is involved here, and these are not wealthy White migrants.[33]

Simonis: If I were to lean back and say, let me tell you, with the experience of my people [Volk],[34] what I think of you — what do you think they'd tell me, and rightly so! What I mean is, at least as regards the language and what you've done there, you'd have to put up with being told that it's shit,[35] what you're doing.

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[31] In January 1997, the government announced an immediate end to the exceptional right under which resident nationals of the "guest-worker recruitment countries" below the age of 16 had needed no visa to enter Germany, and no residence permit.

[32] The transcript gives "Rasselevantiner," race-Levantine. Elsewhere, in print, Zaimoglu uses "Rassellevantiner," maraca-Levantine: i.e. one who performs the role of the exotic foreigner ("Gastarbeiterliteratur," 1998, 91; cf. Göktürk, "Spectacles of Multiculturalism," 2004).

[33] wealthy White migrants: translates "Edelmigranten," a standard term (literally: noble migrants). Attitude surveys show that "foreigners" are hierarchically classified by native Germans according to nationality and "race"; presumed economic status is also tied to these categories. White North Americans and Northern Europeans are scarcely stigmatized; Turks, Black Africans, and Arabs belong to the most stigmatized stratum (Thränhardt, "Patterns of Organisation," 1989, 13).

[34] This use of "Volk" is motivated by the extracts from Zaimoglu's texts, as is Simonis's later reference to pimping. "Volk" carries nationalistic connotations, but she may be thinking of her "Wahlvolk," or electorate: the citizens of Schleswig-Holstein.

[35] Simonis uses the English word "shit."

And I'm not going out and telling some young person in the DVU[36] to shut his gob, and listen to your neighbor, when you're saying that the one who says it, is allowed to say it, but I'm not allowed to say "Kanake" to you. Why are you allowed to call yourself "Kanake" but I can't?

Zaimoglu: Because out there we're constantly called "Kanake."

Simonis: I'm sorry, but someone who's out there and making a girl turn tricks, I'm going to do something about that too. I don't just let everything that's reality out there carry on, what makes you think I would? You're a drunken clown,[37] I just can't believe what you're doing. (*Applause. Confusion.*)

Zaimoglu: You've just run away with yourself, talked your way into something, to call me a drunken jerk[38] or whatever . . . (*Confusion.*)

Simonis: Should I show the same understanding to some DVU person who says, I'm going to kick someone's head in?

Zaimoglu: You, Frau Simonis, just now, it got a bit lost, you brought up the comparison with the DVU. Did you say that?

Simonis: Yes, yes, I said that on the street I would tell any DVU person: You shut your gob. Language is a means of expression. I wouldn't let any schoolchild get away with that.

Presenter: The divide has become clear, I don't think we can bridge it. And sometimes a conversation just has to be cut off short. I have to cut it off, not because of the controversy but because I announced something at the start of the show which I know a lot of you are waiting for. [. . .]

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[36] Deutsche Volksunion. The *Karoshi* transcript has "in the DVU [*scarcely audible*]"; omitted in the *iz3w* transcript. This far-right party, founded in 1989, is most popular in parts of the former East Germany: 6.1% in the 2004 Brandenburg state election.

[37] drunken clown: translates "Schnapsnase," literally: schnapps-nose.

[38] drunken jerk: translates "Schnapsflasche," literally: schnapps-bottle, where "Flasche" is the slang equivalent of jerk.

1: Extending the Concept of Germanness

THE PRECEDING TRANSCRIPT MERELY DOCUMENTS the unprepared responses of a few politicians and select artists to a particularly provocative example of Feridun Zaimoglu's early, quasi-documentary monologues. This dialogue, however, very strikingly demonstrates life exactly imitating art. Heide Simonis gives a splendid performance as a patronizing, would-be do-gooder, who seems complacent in the certainty of her own culture's superiority, yet is also threatened by cultural difference. Zaimoglu's characters use the terminology of militant leftist, antifascist, antiracist polemic to identify figures like her as "liberals." She can only accept "others" in subordinate positions and condemns verbal and symbolic violence even as she metes it out. She comes extremely close to denying Zaimoglu his right to speak as a German artist. Thus she "outs" herself as a "Kanak-eater," exactly as is predicted in the very first quotation from Zaimoglu's work. The studio dialogue reveals little about Turkish German literature beyond the unsurprising fact that it often features the controversial themes of migration and settlement. It does, however, reveal quite a lot about the cultural-political context in which such literature is received.

This book pursues three main ideas. The first is that Turkish German literature both issues from and accelerates what Ulrich Beck terms the "cosmopolitanization" of German society and culture, or its "globalization from within" (Beck 2002), which involves what Zafer Şenocak calls the "extension of the concept of Germanness" (1993, 11). The title's reference to a "literature of settlement" corresponds to this idea. The hitherto favored terms, "literature of migration," "diaspora literature," or "intercultural literature," perpetuate the notion that the work in question emerges from an interstitial space, distinct from the space occupied by German culture proper. The cultural-political thrust of most Turkish German writing challenges precisely that view by asserting that "Turkishness" is intrinsic to the evolving "Germanness." The term "literature of settlement" raises questions about the permanent, large-scale presence in Germany of Germans with non-German backgrounds. It refers not only to the firmly established population, but also to the negotiation between the interests and outlooks of the "native majority" and those of the putative "minority." As the next section explains, "settlement" also refers to recent developments in German law and the naturalization of Turkish and other nonnative Germans beginning with the 1990s.

The book's second leading idea is that the increasing diversity of Turkish German fiction — in terms of genres, styles, subject matters, intellectual content, and approaches to issues of identity and difference among other themes — provokes debate and controversy among writers and critics, and that this is productive for cultural transformation. The third idea is that as this literature diversifies, it is also developing its own specific intertextual traditions.

The writers selected all share criteria concerning their nationality (they and/or their parents hold or held Turkish passports), their residence (they are permanent residents in Germany, or were until recently: Güney Dal moved to Turkey in 2003; Kemal Kurt died in 2002), and the form of their writing (they have published novels in German). Some works by "native" German or Austrian writers who have created Turkish protagonists are also briefly discussed. The writers all publish fiction in German, but three (Aras Ören, Güney Dal, and Selma Ceylan) write in Turkish and their German editions are translations; Zafer Şenocak writes in both languages. Emine Sevgi Özdamar, the best known Turkish-born, German-language writer abroad, receives less detailed attention here than one might expect. This is simply because there is already far more critical literature on her work that on that of all other Turkish German writers combined.

Turkish German poetry, drama, short stories, reportage, essays, memoirs, and film scripts are not considered here, in order to provide more comprehensive coverage of the longer fiction. Turkish German novels appear in many varieties including popular fantasy potboilers, challenging modernist and postmodernist experiments, fictionalized autobiographies, feminist tracts, historical detective novels, workerist realist narratives, and spiritual journeys spiced with drink, drugs, and sex. Turkish German writers prefer to be considered, first and foremost, as writers. They want their work judged in the context of past and present literary writers, with whom they share substantive generic, stylistic, or philosophical features. But as shown in the Prelude, biographical and other sociological criteria are so salient in the reception of their work that it is unlikely not to effect its production.

Zaimoglu's claim to "represent" "Kanaken" is rightly queried by Wolf Biermann. Turkish German writers, individually or as a group, represent nobody but themselves. The Turkish German population approaches 2.5 million, of whom over thirty-five percent are German-born (Destatis 2005a), and it is anything but homogeneous. Significant social divides include ethnicity and religion (and degree or style of social and political commitment to them) as well as class, education, occupation, age, gender, sexuality, linguistic proficiencies, and so on. Ethnic Kurds comprise perhaps twenty-five percent of Turks in Germany. The majority of Turks in Germany are at least nominally Sunnis, but perhaps thirty-three percent are at least nominally Alevis (ZfTS 1998: 149 and 156). There are many

more ethnic and religious denominations, including non-Muslims (ZfTS 1998). Many live in working-class enclaves, but growing numbers of German Turks are self-employed entrepreneurs, or university-educated, middle-class professionals. Some endeavor to preserve or renew traditionally received identities, some celebrate their hybridity and cultivate styles of transnational individualism, some forge new, subcultural collective identities, and some strive to "assimilate" and sometimes to "pass" as German, or else as a member of a less stigmatized group, such as the Italo-Germans. Individuals may take up several positions with regard to "real," "imagined," "ascribed," or "invented" identities in a lifetime (Schiffauer 1999) or even in the course of a day. Perhaps most salient for the Turkish German settlement now is the division between Turkish nationals and those who have opted to become German nationals.

The next section addresses legal settlement and naturalization and subsequently the issues arising from the Prelude. Chapter 2 surveys existing monographs and edited volumes on Turkish German writing and discusses conceptions of cosmopolitanism that are currently much debated in the social and political sciences. In chapter 3, several versions of "rooted cosmopolitanism" are differentiated in the work of some of the most prominent Turkish German writers and in relation to the prevailing "left-liberal cosmopolitanism" of German literary culture. Readers looking for an overview of Turkish German fiction can turn to chapter 4, which surveys the history of the Turkish German novel chronologically. This chapter highlights the importance of the pioneering, Turkish-born, German-language novelist, Akif Pirinçci, whose debut was published in 1980 and who has since become one of Germany's best known, popular fantasy writers. His first novel is a fictionalized, autobiographical text that minimizes the significance of his "Turkishness" and asserts his unqualified belonging to a German culture and society enriched by multiple other cultural streams, particularly from the Anglophone world, past and present. Pirinçci's "Atlanticist cosmopolitanism," as I call it, is a "recipe" that many German Turkish writers have successfully adopted. There is little hard evidence that his work directly influenced subsequent writers, but his approach to questions of culture and identity dominates Turkish German fiction. Chapter 5 examines the work of Zafer Şenocak, arguably the most challenging Turkish German writer precisely because he refuses to follow this path. Since his work does not conform to the German public's and publishers' expectations of a Turkish German writer, Şenocak enjoys an international reputation among German studies scholars, yet he is relatively unknown in Germany. The last two chapters survey major formal and thematic traditions within the Turkish German novel. Chapter 6 concerns the testimonial genre: autobiographical fiction and parodies of that form, which between them constitute the majority of Turkish German novels. This chapter highlights the close relations between genre and subgenre,