



## Children at the Margins of Labour Migration in Füruzan's Works After Germany

### *Füruzan'ın Almanya Sonrası Eserlerinde Emek Göçünün Sınırında Çocuklar*

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#### ABSTRACT

In 1975, novelist and short story writer Füruzan came to West Berlin following the invitation of the German Academic Exchange Service and spent the next five years on and off in Berlin until 1980. Following her travels, she published her journalistic essays/memoirs *Yeni Konuklar* (1977) and *Evsahipleri* (1981), her children's book *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen* (1980), and her novel *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* (1988). While she gained a transregional perspective on issues concerning labour migration and class during her time in Germany, her works resulting from it introduced these subjects to her readership in Turkey. Her *Yeni Konuklar* and *Evsahipleri* in particular provide a significant amount of data on the subject of labour migration to Germany, while her *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen* and *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* elaborate upon the inherent large cultural shifts on both sides resulting from labour migration. This article examines the works Füruzan produced following her stay in Germany in the 1970s. It discusses the ways in which she presents the perspectives of the children as previously underexplored material on issues concerning global labour mobility. It looks at how children's experiences reveal a more complicated reality in regards to social and cultural integration with an emphasis on the difficulties that they face and go unnoticed. Moreover, it also argues for the distinct potentialities of integration rendered possible through the relationship between the immigrant children and the elderly Germans due to a shared experience of marginalisation.

**Keywords:** Füruzan, labour migration, Guest Workers (Gastarbeiter), migrant children, Germany

#### ÖZET

Roman ve öykü yazarı Füruzan 1975 yılında Alman Akademik Değişim Servisi'nin (DAAD) davetlisi olarak Batı Berlin'e geldi ve 1980 yılına kadarki beş yıl boyunca Berlin'e ziyaretlerde bulundu. Bu seyahatlerinden sonra deneyimlerini ve gözlemlerini içeren eserleri *Yeni Konuklar* (1977) ve *Evsahipleri* (1981), çocuk kitabı *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen* (1980) ve romanı *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği*'ni (1988) yayımladı. Almanya'da geçirdiği süre boyunca emek göçü ve sınıf meseleleri üzerine bölgeler üstü bir bakış açısı kazanan yazarın ürettiği eserler bu meseleleri Türkiye'deki okurlarına da tanıttı. *Yeni Konuklar* ve *Evsahipleri* Almanya'ya emek göçüne dair yüklü miktarda veri sağlamakta, *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen* ve *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* ise emek göçü nedeniyle iki tarafta da oluşan büyük kültürel dönüşümlere dair incelikli değerlendirmeler sunmaktadır. Bu makale Füruzan'ın 1970'lerde Almanya'da geçirdiği zamandan sonra ürettiği eserleri ele almakta ve yazarın küresel işçi hareketliliği meselelerinde daha önceden çalışılmamış bir malzeme olarak

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çocukların bakış açılarını ne şekilde sunduğunu tartışmaktadır. Makale, göçmen çocukların yaşadığı ama dikkatlerden kaçan zorluklara odaklanarak onların bu deneyimlerinin toplumsal ve kültürel entegrasyona dair nasıl daha karmaşık bir gerçekliği açığa çıkardığını incelemektedir. Ayrıca göçmen çocukların farklı şekillerde olsa da kendileri gibi ötekileştirilmiş olan yaşlı Almanlarla kurdukları ilişkiler aracılığıyla özgün bir entegrasyon potansiyeline sahip olduklarını ileri sürmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Füzuran, işçi göçü, konuk işçiler (*Gastarbeiter*), göçmen çocuklar, Almanya

## GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Füzuran 1975-1980 yılları arasında önce Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst'in (DAAD) davetlisi olarak, daha sonra ise kendi girişimleriyle Almanya'da epeyce zaman geçirdi. Kaldığı süre boyunca Ruhr bölgesindeki madenleri gezdi ve *Gastarbeiter* madencilerle yaptığı görüşmeleri kaydetti. Ayrıca Batı Berlin'deki göçmen işçiler ve aileleriyle de bir araya gelerek röportajlar yaptı. Gözlemlerini ve yorumlarını *Yeni Konuklar* (1977) adlı kitabında yayımladı. Bunlara ek olarak hem Doğu hem Batı Berlin'de birçok Alman entelektüeli ziyaret etti ve savaş-sonrası ve bölünme-sonrası Almanya hakkındaki gözlemlerini *Evsahipleri* (1981) adlı kitabında detaylandırdı. Çalışmaları her iki Almanya'da da ilgi gördü ve Wera ve Claus Küchenmeister ile birlikte, Türkiye hakkında bir çocuk kitabı olan *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen*'i (1980) hazırladı. Son olarak Türkiye'den gelen göçmen bir aile ile yaşlı bir Alman kadın arasındaki dostluğun hikayesini anlattığı *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* (1988) kitabıyla deneyimlerini ve gözlemlerini roman formatında sundu. Bu dört eser Füzuran'ın yazarlığında bölgeler ötesi bir bakış açısı doğrultusunda önemli bir dönüşüme işaret etmekte ve onun Almanya dönemi külliyatını oluşturmaktadır.

Füzuran'ın Almanya sonrası eserleri Türkiye'den Almanya'ya işçi göçü hakkında sağladıkları verilerin niteliği ve niceliği nedeniyle edebi ve entelektüel açıdan kritik bir yere sahiptir. Bu eserler, göç deneyiminin kişisimsel doğasının kadınlar ve erkekler için, Anadolu'dan ve kent merkezlerinden gelenler için ve iki kültür arasındaki arada derede halleriyle özgün bir bakış açısı sunan çocuklar için ne şekilde farklılıklar gösterdiğine dikkat çekmektedir. Yazarın çalışmalarının çizdiği farklı tablo Alman toplumunda kabul edilegelmiş tipik *Gastarbeiter* imajına karşı Türkiye'den gelen göçmenler hakkında daha incelikli bir anlayışı teşvik etmektedir. Özellikle çocuklarla yaptığı röportajlar farklı analiz olasılıkları sunması açısından yeni ve yenilikçidir.

Füzuran eserlerinde Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlerin günlük yaşamlarında -hem evde hem işte- yüksek seviyelerde stres yaşadıklarını göstermektedir. Bahsi geçen göçmenler misafirperver olmayan bir toplumda güvensiz ve güvencesiz varoluşları nedeniyle sürekli baskı altındadırlar. Ayrıştırılmış hayatlar yaşamakta ve yeni "vatanlarında" ayrımcılığa uğramaktadırlar. Alman ev sahipleriyle eşit şartlarda olmayan etkileşimleri aidiyet duygularını kaybetmelerine, kimlik duygularında parçalanmalara ve "ev"de olma hissinden yoksun kalmalarına neden olmaktadır. Adaletsiz bir sosyal gerçeklikte yaşadıkları güvencesizlikler uyum sağlamalarını sorunlu bir hale getirmektedir. Sonuç olarak bu "misafirler" reddedilme hissiyatı karşısında mesafelerini korudukları ve etkileşimden kaçındıkları için entegrasyon olasılığı da zayıflamaktadır. Füzuran'ın "Almanya eserleri" bir yandan Türkiye'den gelen göçmenler ile Alman ev sahipleri arasındaki

karmaşık dinamikleri ortaya koyarken diğer yandan Almanya'nın çok kültürlü bir toplum olarak geleceğinin fay hatlarına da dikkat çekmektedir.

Ayrıca bu eserler göçmen çocukların da ebeveynlerini rahatsız eden ayrımcılık, baskı ve arada kalmışlıktan eşit derecede mustarip olduklarını göstermektedir. Çocukların yaşadıkları ihmallere değinmekle kalmayıp onların çok kültürlü bir Almanya için hem misafirler hem ev sahipleri açısından ne kadar önemli olduklarının da altını çizmektedir. Dahası, bu eserler çocukların bakış açıları, yabancı bir ülkedeki arada kalmışlık halleri, gerçek bir entegrasyona yönelik arzuları ve yeni vatanlarındaki geleceklerine dair dirençli ve umutlu bakış açılarıyla ne kadar yüksek bir farkındalığa sahip olduklarını da ortaya koymaktadır. Füzuran değerlendirmelerinde göçmen çocuklar ve yaşlı Almanlar arasındaki yakın ve içten ilişkilerin mümkün kıldığı çok kültürlü entegrasyonun kendine özgü olasılıklarını da sunmaktadır. Ortak kırılma ve ötekileştirme deneyimleri bu iki grup arasındaki kültürel ve sosyal bariyerleri yıkmakta ve her iki taraf için de olumlu bir gelecek imkânı vaat etmektedir. Bu minvalde aradaki dinamiklerin karmaşık yapısını irdelemekte ve yeni bir bakış açısıyla ele almaktadır.

## Introduction

Shortly after her first book *Parasız Yatılı* (1971, Public Boarding School) won the Sait Faik Short Story Prize (1972), the Vienna-based Europaverlag signed a preliminary agreement with Fūruzan (b. 1935) for the translation of three stories from the book into German and published them under the title *Frau ohne Schleier*.<sup>1</sup> The following year Fūruzan was invited to West Berlin as part of the Artists-in-Berlin program (Berliner Künstlerprogramm) of the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD).<sup>2</sup> Her stay not only marked a new direction in Fūruzan's writing but also created -at the time- a new discursive space on migration in West Germany from the perspective of the *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) from Turkey. As Jeannette Squires Okur notes, Fūruzan's writing assumed a new depth and breadth in this period, anchoring her work within a socially critical migration literature (2007, p. 19). Furthermore, as the novelist looked beyond Turkey in these works, she also situated her discussions within a transregional space of political and literary engagement.

Following her stay in the Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland, BRD) in 1975-1976, Fūruzan published *Yeni Konuklar* (1977, New Guests) based on the numerous interviews she conducted with the *Gastarbeiter* and their families, as well as her general observations in West Germany. Remaining in contact with Berlin until 1980, she also interviewed German writers and intellectuals in both Germanies - the Federal Republic (BRD) and the Democratic Republic (DDR), which resulted in the publication of *Evsahipleri* (1981, Hosts). Fūruzan was also invited by Der Kinderbuchverlag to East Berlin in 1977 to write a children's book that introduced Turkey and Turkish literature to East German readers. It was published in 1980 as *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen: Ein Bilderbuch über die Türkei* (The Red-spotted Sparrow: A Picture Book about Turkey). Finally, she wrote her novel, *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* (1988, Pomegranate Blossom of Berlin), in which she creatively revisits her observations about Germans and the *Gastarbeiter* in West Berlin. In this novel, she portrays the humanistic side of labour migration from the perspective of both the "guests" and the "hosts."

Focusing on these publications that were produced as the outcome of her residency in West Berlin, this article argues that Fūruzan's engagement with the *Gastarbeiter* in Federal Germany presents a distinctive understanding of labour migration and its impact on the concept of home and the sense of identity as perceived among both the guests and the hosts. It particularly examines how the concept of age figures in the experience and perception of migration by the *Gastarbeiter* and their families. Moreover, it underlines the ways in which cultural integration manifests as being more accessible between the older Germans and the young children of the workers due to a shared experience of marginalisation within the broader German society. Fūruzan's work with the migrant children and their portrayal in her narratives particularly stand

1 The chosen texts were "Ah Güzel İstanbul" (Oh Beautiful Istanbul), "Haraç" (Extortion), and "Bir Evin Dış Görünüşü" (The External Appearance of a House). They were translated by Adelheid Uzunoğlu-Ocherbauer and the book was published in 1976.

2 For a comprehensive biography of Fūruzan, see (Göbenli, 2003).

out as a significant contribution to the discussions on the *Gastarbeiter*, migration, and identity in the Turkish-German intercultural context. Her emphasis on children as relevant actors and on age as a crucial category of intersectionality proposes a critical representation of labour migration and challenges the stereotype of “the Turkish migrant.” Her conversations with and depictions of them provide the space to express their voices and perform their agency, through which their experiences of humiliation and oppression as the children of migrants, as well as their responding strategies of resilience and empowerment, become evident.

## 1. *Die Gastarbeiter*: Discourses of Naming

In 1972, Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) held a competition which sought entries for what the new guest workers might be called. It was decided that among the over thirty thousand suggestions, there were no good alternatives for what was already available. The majority of the jury had decided that “ausländischer Arbeitnehmer” (foreign employee) would be the best choice with the least risk of misunderstanding.<sup>3</sup> In *Yeni Konuklar*, Füzün has a chapter on this competition whereby she provides a list of the numerous terms proposed by the public.<sup>4</sup> While this kind of terminological search seems to be suggestive of tackling a new phenomenon and some of the suggestions have specifically ethnic references, neither temporary workers nor foreign labour force is new in the German context.

The hierarchical dynamics of naming creates a hegemonic structure whereby the one being named becomes the passive object marked by the agency of an active subject who holds the power to control discourse. In the case of the precarious mobility of labour, the expected transitory nature of the “guest workers” and the push back that results from the eventual non-transitoriness of the “migrant” are entangled in complex ways through which the hegemonic discourse reveals its paradoxical and thus problematic nature. In “Guestworkers: A Taxonomy,” Kristin Surak writes:

What typically makes immigrants economically desirable to employers—their submissive malleability as rightless outsiders who perform the undignified tasks that natives shun—are precisely the qualities that make them undesirable as members of a society. If we take this paradox as a baseline for exploring patterns of migration, from the crystallisation of the modern nation-state in the late nineteenth century onwards, a deduction would be that guestworker programmes of one kind or another are, virtually by definition, its ideal-typical resolution: they are designed to achieve the first (malleable labour) without incurring the second (unwanted members). (2013, p. 86)

Surak presents Prussia’s Junkers in the turn of the twentieth century, whose economic and industrial maintenance heavily relied on the Polish “seasonal” workers, as a key example of the precarious dynamics of labour in the region.

3 The second prize went to “ausländische Mitbürger” (foreign citizen) and the third to “europäische Mitbürger” (European citizen). See (Klee, 1972, p. 149).

4 Most of the information in Füzün’s chapter was directly translated from Klee’s *Gastarbeiter* (1972).

Before the Turks, Greeks, and Italians arrived in the 1950s and 1960s, the Poles, who were numbered in the 300,000s, were “burrowing” in the “Ruhrgebiet mines” in 1913. Surak notes that the agricultural production was also dependent on “‘colonies of starving Slavs’ (they carried out nearly two-thirds of Prussian agricultural work) that despite xenophobic concerns, Berlin was reluctant to regulate [...] for fear of harming the industry” (2013, pp. 88-89). As the labour mobility dynamics and regulations change after World War I, labour discourses shift along with them:

Guestworkers are born when it is no longer sufficient to speak of *Arbeitgeber* and *Arbeitnehmer*, and the *Arbeitsvermittler* that connect them, but when an additional party—the *Arbeitsausrichter*, or the state—supervenes to direct the flows and safeguard the boundary between nationals and foreigners. (Surak, 2013, p. 89)

However, the precarious labour mobility cannot be thought only along the lines of industry and polity, because these discourses have a direct impact on the experiences and the well-being of actual people who are grouped in masses as “guests.” The choice of the term *guest worker* over *migrant* in this context is telling in terms of the level of welcome that the post-World War II German labour market offers the outsider. After all, guests, that is, the “alien” workers are expected to leave “before they can sink roots in national soil” and become “permanent immigrant communities” (Surak, 2013, p. 101). Their eventual removal is, as Surak notes, an expectation often globally shared.

Füzuran’s writing after her stay in Berlin works within and through this discursive context of labour mobility and its elements of transitoriness and permanence. In *Evsahipleri* (2014), she writes,

Şimdi artık “Evsahipleri” konuklarını istemiyorlar. Başta sevimli olmak için “konuk işçi” adıyla tesmiye ettikleri bu kalabalığı reddeder olmanın yollarını arayarak, vize uygulamasına giriştiler ve 1981 yılına daha bir rahat soluk alarak girdi bu evsahipleri. (Füzuran, 2014, p. 173)

[Now, however, “the Hosts” do not want their guests. They have launched the implementation of visas to pave the way to reject this mass that they used to call “guest worker” to be comely and these hosts entered 1981 with a breath of fresh air.]

The changing circumstances underline the precarity of the “guests” as determined by the whim of the “hosts.” Being “graced” the space to maintain a life by the hosts alongside the ever-present threat of losing that space creates psychic and collective costs for the guests. Under the looming threat of such instability, they cannot feel at home in the host country, which inevitably mars their senses of security. Moreover, under such unequal and unstable dynamics, the hosts cannot engage authentically with the guests. A discernible condescension marks the way the guest workers are perceived and treated as hirelings and handmaidens (“besleme” & “yanaşma,” (Füzuran, 2014, p. 28). These uneasy entanglements within the perception and experience of both the guests and the hosts have serious ramifications in their respective senses

of home, self, and identity. As a prominent inequality resulting in a lack of authenticity shapes the dynamics of their interconnected lives, the senses of home, self, and identity on both sides are challenged, threatened, and irreversibly transformed. While Füzuzan's non-fiction from this period underscores the fault lines of the state of affairs, her novel depicts the repercussions of these experiences and intimates potential points of convergence.

## 2. *Gastarbeiter* in Critical Migration Studies

In addition to the analyses that focus on the Turkish case in the 1960s, such as the pioneering works of Nermin Abadan-Unat (1964, 1976) on the migration from Turkey, there was a global interest to see migration in international terms in the 1970s, because of both the significant political and economic changes in migrant-sending societies and the impact of the global economic crisis that began to affect the host countries. The subject preoccupied Marxist economists from the perspective of political economy. They argued that with the help of the guest workers, western capitalism managed to avoid a deep economic crisis (Nikolinakosi, 1973a, 1973b, 1975). Furthermore, through migration, capitalism exported unemployment from the underdeveloped countries to developed ones, thus avoiding labour activism and social disturbance at both ends (Castles and Kosack, 1972, 1973; Ward 1975; Power and Hardman, 1976). As "sub-proletarians," migrant workers were placed even below *local* proletarians, since they were exploited not only as persons and working classes, but also as "foreigners" (Worsley, 1976, p. 138). The works of Saskia Sassen-Koob (1978) and Alejandro Portes (1978) consolidate the view that international migration needs to be read in reference to such dynamics of a global capitalist economy. Sociological, geographical, and anthropological approaches further nuance the analysis of this phenomenon (Shanin, 1978; Rist, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c; Schulz, 1975; Thomas, 1974).

In the Federal Republic, investigative journalist Ernst Klee's book *Die Nigger Europas. Zur Lage der Gastarbeiter. Eine Dokumentation* (1971) is among the first attempts to approach the issue of migrant workers in West Germany from a critical perspective. Also published in 1971, the edited volume of Rene Leudesdorff and Horst Zilleßen (1971) seeks to break down the prejudices against guest workers, whereby guest workers and German citizens are conceived on an equal footing. Klee's edited book in the following year, *Gastarbeiter. Analysen und Berichte* (1972) provides a more comprehensive account of the phenomenon by examining not only the legal regulations, but also the maltreatment of guest workers by state authorities (especially the *Ausländerpolizei*), their exploitation by the employers, the dehumanising conditions both in their domestic and work environments, and the prejudices against their children at schools. The book also gives voice to the *Gastarbeiter* themselves in the form of interviews, letters, and dialogues.<sup>5</sup> Füzuzan uses direct translations of several chapters from both of Klee's books in her *Yeni Konuklar* (1989, pp. 100-103, pp. 325-341), among which are the sections that follow her interviews with the workers in the mines, namely, the ones that provide portraits of Italian and Spanish workers and their German employers.<sup>6</sup>

5 See (Klee, 1972, pp. 162-169, pp. 175-183) and (Klee, 1971, pp. 34-53, p. 55, p. 62).

6 See (Klee, 1972, pp. 149-157, pp. 158-161, pp. 165-168, pp. 187-194) and (Klee, 1971, pp. 34-39, pp. 41-45).

The growth of the discussion and available literature in Federal Germany is connected to the rising numbers and visibility of migrant workers all around the country. In the 1970s, the migrant worker population had increased with the arrival of the families and the higher birth rates among the migrants (3.4 children in migrant families vs. 1.1 children in German ones) (Thomas, 1974, pp. 348-349).<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, based on a survey conducted in 1973, 13% of the migrant workers intended to remain permanently and were no longer interested in being “guest” workers. As part of this critical migration discourse that was taking shape in the 1970s, Füzuzan's works from her Berlin years present a unique perspective on the individual and collective experiences of the *Gastarbeiter* from Turkey. Fundamentally, she shows that there was not a monolithic “Turkish migrant” as they are represented in the mainstream German imaginary. On the contrary, her interviews are proof that the experience of being a migrant differed based on the intersectional dynamics of age, class, gender, ethnicity, and place of work.

### 3. Writing Migration after Berlin

Füzuzan's writing after her stay in Berlin follows not only the global trends in critical migration studies that is oriented towards an international understanding of the questions at stake, but also resonate with the *discovery* of the *Gastarbeiter* in the German artistic scene. Some of the themes that appear in her works were already a part of the political and artistic programs that inclined towards the New Left of the late 1960s and early 1970s and German intellectuals and artists from this milieu also engaged with similar subjects (Chin, 2007, p. 70). Rainer Werner Fassbinder's famous films *Katzelmacher* (1969) and *Ali, Fear Eats the Soul* (1974) have *Gastarbeiter* male protagonists engaging with Germans.<sup>8</sup> Heinrich Böll's *Gruppenbild mit Dame* (1971) has the first ever guest worker literary character from Turkey - Mehmet, the lover of Leni Pfeiffer- in German literature. Aras Ören's Berlin Trilogy from the 1970s - *Was will Niyazi in der Naunynstraße?* (1973), *Der kurze Traum aus Kagithane* (1974), and *Die Fremde ist auch ein Haus* (1980)- are the first literary texts produced in Germany by a migrant from Turkey. Rita Chin stresses that Ören was the first to provide an account of labour migration “from the bottom up” (2007, pp. 62 & 70). However, almost all the representations of *Gastarbeiter* in these works were young, adult, male labourers.

Labour migration to Germany from Turkey had resonances in Turkish literature as well. In “Almanya'ya Göçün Türk Romanına Yansıması,” Mehmet Narlı underlines that the life experiences of migrants and its impact on those who were left behind in Turkey became a significant theme in novelistic writing especially in the 1980s.<sup>9</sup> His analysis of these largely

7 Also see (Milewski, 2010, pp. 297-323).

8 In the former film, there is a Greek *Gastarbeiter*, Jorgos, who is essentially silenced due to his limited knowledge of German. The latter one is about the love affair of a younger migrant worker from Morocco with an old German woman.

9 Narlı provides a long list of works that include Bekir Yıldız, *Türkler Almanya'da*, 1966; Aysel Özakin, *Gurbet Yavrum*, 1975; Adalet Ağaoğlu, *Fikrimin İnce Gülü*, 1976; Tarık Dursun K. *Kayabaşı*, 1980; Nursel Duruel, *Geyikler, Annem ve Almanya*, 1981; Gülten Dayıoğlu, *Geride Kalanlar*, 1984; Rıza Hekim, *Alpler Geçit Vermiyor*, 1984; Osman Çeviksoy, *Duvarın Öte Yanı*, 1985; Günay Dal, *Yanlış Cennetin Kuşları*, 1985; Gülten Dayıoğlu, *Geriyeye Dönenler*, 1986; Rıza Hekim, *Uzak Yuvada Bahar*, 1987; Füzuzan, *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği*, 1988; Yüksel



negative life experiences as reflected in literature points out several aspects that go beyond migrant workers themselves and engage with their families and children, such as communication difficulties due to a lack of mastery of the language and the resulting fear and loss of self-confidence, the inability to teach cultural values to children and young people, and the absence of Turkish-language schools (Narlı, 2002, p. 396).

It is within such a context that Füzuzan argues for the exigency of establishing a more comprehensive perspective inclusive of women and children and based on the socio-economic structures of the host countries, as well as in reference to the broader working-class struggle, for a more realistic approach to the question of “foreign workers” (1989, p. 364). Furthermore, her work with the *Gastarbeiter* from Turkey underlines a shift in outlook that provides invaluable material for analysis. Her “workers” and their families are not only a part of a global economy but also “people” under the pressures of alienation in a foreign land and a mainly unwelcoming society. Her interviews with the migrants from Turkey present the previously underexplored humanistic aspects of the global mobile labour market. Her literary sensibilities further contribute to an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of labour migration, its ramifications in the host countries, its implications for the migrant communities, and its psychic costs for the individual persons. Her conversations with and portrayal of children in this context become manifest particularly vividly and evocatively due to their importance in regards to the future of Europe, as well as their symbolic significations.

Her *Yeni Konuklar*, which is a noteworthy contribution that introduces the discussion to the Turkish-speaking audiences as well, is a testimony to the discursive, structural, and political consequences of the systemic problems in the labour migration agreements adopted in Federal Germany. Her interviews with the miners in the Ruhr area (long before Günter Wallraff’s famous book, *Ganz unten*)<sup>10</sup> provide a vital -and for its time fresh- perspective on immigration to BRD from the 1950s and 1960s onwards. Conducted with a diverse range of migrants from Turkey that includes working men and women, as well as school-age children, her interviews provide an intersectional perspective to the migration trends of the time and give them a chance to voice their concerns. The interviews with children in particular provide a unique perspective on the way the migration discourses shape the ideas and self-identifications of the young “guests” along the lines of both their current senses of alienation and apprehension and the potential nature of the future immigrant communities in the country.

The sections on child migrants (Füzuzan, 1989, pp. 57-96), which comprise of transcribed interviews she conducted with 12 children (9-14 years old), are particularly significant, not only because they give voice to one of the most underprivileged (and silent) groups within the migrant community, but also because they hint at the future of migration and coexistence in

Pazarkaya, *Ben Aranıyor*, 1989; Sevinç Çokum, *Çırpıntılar*, 1991; Aras Ören, *Beklenmedik Ziyaretçi*, 1995.

10 In 1983, Günter Wallraff disguised himself as a Turkish worker, Ali Levent Sinirlioğlu kept up this role for two years. He worked as an unskilled employee at McDonald’s, on a large construction site, and in the mines. On innumerable occasions, he experienced how as immigrants, Turks are insulted, threatened, and unwelcomed in West Germany. See (Wallraff, 1985).

Federal Germany. “Konuk işçilerin konuk çocukları” (“guest children of guest workers”) was specifically relevant for Füzuzan, as they were “Avrupa'nın yeni konukları” (“the new guests of Europe”) (Füzuzan, 1989, p. 52). The chapter's focus on the encounters (and prospective friendship) of children with the old and retired (therefore underprivileged) Germans is the high point of her journalistic work. The recognition of the presence and agency of children (as well as old people) within her account is worth further analysis. As it becomes clear from migrant children's voices, perceptions, and experiences, the disempowered subjectivities of the older Germans, resulting from retirement, poverty, and old age, have decreased their relative social distance from the migrants. Therefore, children could partially *integrate* into the country through their encounters with these marginalised older citizens.

In her *Evsahipleri*, Füzuzan develops the narrative from the other end. While her *Yeni Konuklar* is about “new guests of Europe,” *Evsahipleri* focuses on their “old hosts.” In the former book, she has repeated references to the oldness of Germany and the Germans. Strolling through Kreuzberg, she observes that despite the young students, “Berlin bir anlamda ihtiyarlar kentidir” (“Berlin is in a sense a city of the elderly”) (Füzuzan, 1989, p. 53). It seems to her that as a city of many “hundred-year-olds,” death had become a commonplace incidence (Füzuzan, 1989, p. 46). In the latter work, however, Füzuzan explores the structural and societal problems within the “German soul” in a more involved fashion. According to her, the unwelcoming attitude towards migrants and their humiliation and oppression in society are directly related to the guilt and lovelessness ingrained in the “German soul” due to their Nazi past and (unpunished) crimes against humanity (Füzuzan, 2014, pp. 63-77). Her criticism reflects the ideas of the New Left and the extra parliamentary opposition movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Under the layer of the Nazi past, she sees a further layer of a strong sense of obedience and non-resistance. For Füzuzan, Germans were a strange mass of people, who could not be convinced to revolt against the state, religion, or authority. The intellectuals she meets and interviews, therefore, seem to her a very lonely species:

Evet aydın belki her yerde biraz yalnızdır ama yüzyıllardır boyun eğmeyi, evet sadece bunu öğrenmiş bu Alman kalabalığının ortasında Alman aydını iki kere daha yalnızdır. Tanrı yardımcıları olsun. (Füzuzan, 2014, p. 99)

[Yes, the intellectual is perhaps a little lonely everywhere but the German intellectual is doubly lonely *in the middle of this German crowd that has learned submission, yes only this, for centuries*. May God help them.]

*Evsahipleri* shows that as she spent more time in both Germanies, Füzuzan's assessment of the Germans in their identities as “hosts” grew more complex. Her analysis of the entanglements between their personal and collective histories raises questions in regards to the Germans' self-perceptions, as well as the uncomfortable identities they have constructed through and against the uneasy relationships with their past. She explores this complicated relationship between the personal self and the collective past through the example of a family, in which the father

had joined the war as a young man, the son wishes to forget that personal link with the past, and the grandchild might desire to know more (Füruzan, 2014, p. 64). As she extrapolates about the psychic environment of the “home” of a sample family, she both reimagines the personalised experiences of the individuals from a humanistic perspective and paves the way for an understanding of the broader picture at the collective level. The “home” and the “family” stand out in Füruzan’s approach, through which she depicts both the personal aspects of a sense of self, identity, and at “home’ness” and the national aspects as their collective parallels.

*Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen*, a children’s book “compiled” by Füruzan in collaboration with Wera and Claus Küchenmeister, two prominent figures in East German children’s and youth literature, provides general information about Turkey, as well as including examples of written and oral literature, such as poems, fairy tales, jokes, and riddles.<sup>11</sup> These examples are selected by Füruzan and translated into German by Arif Çağlar. In addition, the Küchenmeister couple call on Füruzan’s expertise to explain why a socialist regime could not be established in Turkey. The three writers talk about how the rich in the country did not want to share their wealth and power with the lower classes, thereby even though the Italian, English, and French imperialists were “von der Türschwelle gefegt hatte” (swept from the doorstep) by “das Volk” (the people), they soon returned (Füruzan, 1980, p. 38). Consequently, all the evils in the country, i.e., poverty, child labour, and labour migration, are blamed on these imperialists (the Italians, the British, the French, the Americans) and their internal allies, that is, the “comprador bourgeoisie,” as the anti-imperialist Turkish left would call them.

By focusing on the poor, migrant, oppressed, and humiliated children in (and outside) Turkey in *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen*, Füruzan approaches children’s rights from a class perspective. As can also be seen in her many other stories, the children, who according to her belong to the lower classes, are forced to grow up at an early age and do not fully live their childhood.<sup>12</sup> Her approach proves particularly important, since it bears strong undertones of hope and resilience that acknowledge the oppression and the humiliation experienced, rather than attempting to deny or silence them. In the book, there are stories of poor children without coats in the cold of winter, those who start selling cigarettes at the age of six, and immigrant children living in cramped and dark rooms, always strangers in a foreign country. However, as in the fairy tale “The Red-Spotted Sparrow,” Füruzan’s work is full of admiration for a little sparrow’s (and a little child’s) unwavering strength, humble courage, generous sacrifice, and defiance of the world without necessarily being heroic.

Füruzan’s novel *Berlin’in Nar Çiçeği* stands out among her post-Berlin writing. As a work of fiction, it allows for a more flexible space to explore and express what the writer has witnessed during her trips and through her earlier interviews.<sup>13</sup> She weaves the fine details of the social

11 See (Maksudyan, 2021, pp. 123-140).

12 For instance, in her short story “Parasız Yatılı” (Public Boarding School), the mother of a child recounts how her daughter was never spoiled or fussed with when she was little. She thinks, it is as if her daughter “has never been a child,” see (Füruzan, 1996, p. 105).

13 Levent Soysal uses the term “ethnographic fiction” for such narratives as he exemplifies in his reading of Tunç

entanglements between the two cultures into an intricate narrative, through which her personal observations and commentary are transformed into a delicate story. Such a personal perspective allows for a humanistic approach to issues concerning agency and interrelationality in the context of a complicated sense of home and “at home”ness. Secondly, this sense of “home” is engaged with through the perspectives of not only the guest workers but also those of the hosts. The novelist’s depiction of the Germans’ insecure sense of belonging and identity as members of a society in a partitioned land after World War II is as perceptive as her portrayal of the insecurity of being foreigners in a strange land far away from all that is familiar as experienced by the migrants in Berlin. Her novel is a romantic testimony to the possibility of the two cultures meeting at the shared denominator of family, humanity, and dignity.

Set in an apartment block in West Berlin, the novel tells the story of the burgeoning friendship between an elderly German woman, Frau Elfriede Lemmer and her Turkish neighbours, the Korkmaz family (a couple with three children). Although the initial interactions between them are distant, apprehensive, and defensive on both sides, in time their different but shared vulnerabilities bring them closer as fellow human beings. The old age and loneliness of Frau Lemmer, the very qualities that make her timid against the rapidly changing world outside, interconnect with the timidity of the Korkmaz family as marginalised foreigners in a strange land. The migrant family’s youngest child, a baby girl nicknamed “pomegranate blossom” becomes the bridge that connects the two families both literally and metaphorically. The love and care Frau Lemmer feels for the little girl is reciprocated by the Turkish family as a manifestation of those felt for the elderly relatives left in the homeland. As such, Frau Lemmer becomes “nine” (grandma) to the couple’s two boys and the first-generation baby born in the new “homeland.” As the lives of the “guests” and the “hosts” gradually interlace, the boundaries between them are recognised, challenged, and eventually, dismantled. In this poignant novel, Füzuzan presents a microcosmos of life in Federal Germany after World War II and its social reconfiguration towards a multicultural nation.

#### 4. The Oppressed and the Disillusioned: Children at the Margins of Migration

During her first few months in West Germany, Füzuzan finds herself quite distant from the Germans around her. As she writes in *Evsahipleri*, she finds them to be rude (Füzuzan, 2014, p. 26), accuses them of not coming to terms with and confronting their crimes against humanity during the Third Reich (Füzuzan, 2014, pp. 34-35), and resents them for being unable to have or express true feelings (Füzuzan, 2014, p. 37). In the end, she thinks that dead Germans are more suited to her taste and goes to the cemetery at Großgörschen Straße to visit the graves of Grimm Brothers. Their beautiful fairy tales, she claims, always “ezilmişlerin, düşleri gerçek olmamışların yanında” (“stand by the oppressed and those whose dreams have not come true,” Füzuzan, 2014, p. 38). It is, therefore, no surprise that in her children’s book,

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Okan’s 1974 film *Otobüs* (Bus). He considers the fictional account of migration rendered in the movie as “an actually experienced ethnography,” see (Soysal, 2023, pp. 161-186).

*Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen*, Füzuzan was first and foremost interested in approaching children's rights from a class perspective by focusing on the poor, migrant, oppressed, and humiliated children in (and outside) Turkey, similar to what Sabiha Sertel and Suad Derviş did in the 1930s and Yaşar Kemal did in the 1970s.<sup>14</sup>

In *Vom rotgesprenkelten Spatzen*, the author discusses poverty and migration as an intertwined constellation that deprives children of their childhood. The book provides a brief background of rural-urban migration within Turkey, stating how poor families from rural areas come to the cities in order to improve their living conditions. However, Füzuzan maintains that theirs is a lost battle and they end up being "ärmsten der Armen" ("the poorest of the poor," Füzuzan, Küchenmeister, W. & Küchenmeister, C., 1980, p. 23). In order to emphasise the discrimination against the poor and their difficult socio-economic circumstances, the book refers to another story, titled "Temizlik Kolu" (The Cleaning Team), which exemplifies the marginalisation, oppression, and the lack of a sense of belonging caused by the domestic migration from the rural areas to the urban centres.<sup>15</sup>

In this story, the child protagonist, Hediye comes from a poor migrant family and her father is a night watchman. Her classmates constantly mock her for not having a proper coat and coming to school in a hand-knitted cardigan. According to the teacher, the most suitable "kol görevi" (team work) for a child from the lower classes is the "temizlik kolu" (the cleaning team). Hediye is supposed to dust the classroom, pick up the trash from the floor, keep the teacher's desk clean, wipe the blackboard, and so forth. The teacher insists that Hediye has good cleaning skills: "eli çok yatkın, hep bu işi yapsın" ("she has a very good knack for it, she shall always perform this task," Füzuzan, 1973, p. 53). Consequently, although the other children rotate from one duty to another, Hediye is stuck with hers in a class-based deterministic fashion. The family's socio-economic class is thus reproduced among the children and at school and Hediye experiences such a treatment as a blatant form of oppression and humiliation.

In this children's book published in the DDR in 1980, similar to the domestic cases, labour migration to BRD is portrayed as a direct consequence of the economic and social injustices caused by global capitalism and as an essentially evil system. There is a blunt critique of West German migration policies in terms of wages, poor living conditions, and social exclusion. The authors note that about one and a half million migrant workers have been working and living "fern ihrer Heimat" ("far from their homeland") for the past twenty years. It is stressed that not only are their living conditions in West Germany miserable, but also they "bleiben fremd in der Fremde" ("remain strangers in a foreign land," Füzuzan, Küchenmeister, W. & Küchenmeister, C., 1980, p. 38). Moreover, in such oppressive circumstances, children are further marginalised as the underclass of the underclass and are deprived of their childhood both at home and abroad.

14 See (Maksudyan, 2022, pp. 1-20) and (Libal, 2016, pp. 48-72).

15 The story is in her *Benim Sinemalarım* (1973).

Füzuran's priorities along the lines of the children's experiences become manifest also in her *Yeni Konuklar* interviews.<sup>16</sup> Unlike the general neglect of the children's point of view in such documents on labour migration, the writer takes a specific interest in the children's experiences and perceptions of life in Germany. In her interviews with the children, she asks certain questions that include what it is like at school, what they do after school, if they have any German friends, what they think about life in Germany, and so forth.<sup>17</sup> Through such questioning, a novel understanding of how the children view Germany in comparison to Turkey, how much the adult world has seeped into their daily discourses, and how their perceptions about their senses of home and identity are shaped become apparent. The answers to these questions and the tangents that develop from them construct a perspective on the *Gastarbeiter* question that reveals not only an acute perceptiveness, but also a set of concerns that reflect the impact of adult issues on the children.

The interviews with the children (Füzuran, 1989, pp. 57-96) reveal a key pattern that is omnipresent in almost every case and highlight the marginalisation and oppression the children face. This pattern is the domestic violence that emerges in almost all their stories, because fathers (and to some extent mothers) keep them under strict discipline and use beatings as a form of punishment and control. For instance, Hülya, aged 12, says "Annem babam, beni ve kardeşlerimi döverler kızınca" ("My mother and father beat me and my siblings up when they get angry," Füzuran, 1989, p. 57) and Zeynep, aged 9, says that if she does not do what her parents want, they punish her: "Ceza dayaktır" ("The punishment is a beating," Füzuran, 1989, p. 67). The children's reaction to such forms of punishment is perceptive of their understanding of domestic violence as a part of the broader structural problems of poverty, migration, and foreignness. For instance, Hülya believes that if she had 1000 marks, she would buy food and coal, then "beni az döverlerdi" ("they would beat me less," Füzuran, 1989, p. 57). Such explanations illuminate an understanding of what ails the families, as well as the children's perceptions of the prevailing problems. In these examples, basic material needs and concerns like money and housing stand out and provide a glimpse at the main issues experienced by the *Gastarbeiter* in Germany.

The children also discern that these occasions arise mainly due to the high levels of stress that is experienced by their migrant worker parents and conflicts between the cultural norms

16 The question of children has been primarily studied in the context of education, see (Bilmen, 1976).

17 The chapter provides only the answers of the children in the form of a transcribed audio recording. Even though Füzuran's actual questions are not included in the text, her specific questions can be guessed. The questionnaire seems to focus on the following questions: the child's age, their city of origin, when they arrived in Germany; their living conditions in Berlin such as housing, parent's jobs, siblings and the like; what they think about their life in Germany and Germans in comparison to their life back in Turkey, as well as if they think it was a good decision to come to Germany; their school life and knowledge of the German language, and whether they would be happy if their parents spoke good German; their friends and their understanding of friendship, if they had any German friends; the house chores they perform after school; if they attend(ed) the Koran classes; what is allowed, what is not allowed by their parents; whether they think one would earn enough money if one works hard; what they would do if they had 1000 DMs.

of life at home and outside.<sup>18</sup> For instance, Sema, aged 13, points to the heaviness of their daily life at home: “Evde kimse eğlenmiyor. Hep paramız olsun diye burdayız. Yeterince paramız olup Türkiye’ye gidersek, eski günlerimizdeki gibi, çok konuşup, daha çok eğlenebiliriz belki” (“no one is having fun at home. We are all here in order to earn money. If we have enough money and go back to Turkey, maybe we can talk a lot and have more fun like in the old days,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 84). She also shares her observation that the family life in migrant households is full of fights and conflict: “Burdaki Türk aileleri içinde kavga etmeyen yok gibi. Bütün gün çalışıyorlar, gece de birbirlerini görünce kavga ediyorlar” (“Among the Turkish families here, there is almost none that doesn’t fight. They work all day and at night when they see each other, they fight,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 83).

Children also often make comparisons between the two cultures that they encounter as migrants in Berlin and their understanding of change and improvement. Nesrin, aged 11, expresses her frustrations along the lines of lacking access to basic social freedoms that underlie the cultural clashes in the lives of the migrants from Turkey in Germany. Her parents do not permit her anything. She cannot go swimming because she should not appear in front of strangers naked. “Çok gezmek” (“wandering outside too much,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 63) is uncomely, so is “çok gülmek” (“laughing too much,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 63). Similarly, Sibel, aged 11, refers to how German children act more freely than migrant children (Füzuzan, 1989, p. 87). In the majority of the interviews, children link having money with having simple freedoms, while Germanness and being in Germany become manifest as the chance to have access to both. The contrast between the two experiences is forceful enough to emerge as a pattern in the interviews, pointing to its significance in terms of the experiences and perceptions of the children as “new guests” in Germany. The duality of adapting to their migrant subjectivities, along with their idealisation of Turkey as “home,” comes through in their worries and expectations about not only life in Germany but also life in general.

The interviews demonstrate that the children of the immigrants do not have much peace outside their homes either. The tension between the German and the migrant children and the latter’s alienation and marginalisation take even more tangible forms in the public sphere. For instance, Haluk, aged 14, says that Germans yell at him, “şayze ausländer” (“fucking foreigner,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 92) and in response, he yells back “şayze Deutsch” (“fucking German,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 92), after which the exchange turns into a fight. Such cases show that the terminology of exclusion extends beyond the ideas of the “guest worker” and/or the “migrant.” The inherent xenophobia of the West Germans thus transforms the migrant children into outcasts, rendering attempts at integration futile.

Moreover, even the potentially more amiable social engagements are denied to the children. For instance, despite being considered a generally well-behaved child, İbrahim, aged 11, mentions how “Alman çocuklar Ausländer’ler istemiyorlar aralarında” (“the German kids don’t want foreigners amongst them,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 93). So, instead, he stands on the side and

18 For one of the earliest analyses on migrant families, see (Kıray, 1976).

watches them for the slightest experience of fun. A sadness arising from loneliness and social abandonment marks his experience outside the home, underlining a strong loss of a sense of belonging. Likewise, Zeynep, aged 12, can tell from the way the German neighbours treat them that they are not welcome in the neighbourhood. While the adult Germans never say “hello” to them, their children stick out their tongues with animosity (Füzuzan, 1989, p. 75). Children, such as İbrahim and Zeynep, have scarce memories of a home-once-was and are unable to build ties with the new one, and therefore, are lost in the cracks of in-betweenness, never quite here nor there.

The case of the Kurdish girl, Ferfili, aged 9, proves further interesting in this context as it presents a double otherness. She says, “Türk çocukları bana Kürt Ferfili diye bağırırlar. Alman çocukları da pis Türk diye. Hepsi bağırıyor ama, ötekiler de susuyor” (“The Turkish children call out to me as Kurd Ferfili. And the German children, as dirty Turk. Not all of them do, but the others then remain silent,” Füzuzan, 1989, p. 81). Ferfili is not only marginalised as another migrant kid in Germany, but also excluded from the Turkish migrant subculture as a Kurd. As Turkish children constantly tease and bully her for being Kurdish and the Germans consider her as just another foreigner, she stands out as the epitome of the lack of a sense of belonging and homelessness that ail the children in the immigrant communities.

In *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği*, the emphasis on the migrant experience in Germany through the domestic sphere rather than their identities as workers maintains Füzuzan's intellectual priorities along similar lines. The tensions between the two cultures and the perspective of the migrant children as seen in the interviews are represented in the novel through the two sons of the Korkmaz family: Kamber and his younger brother Adem. As the members of the family who are in-between the “guest” and “host” cultures, their experiences provide a clear picture of their “foreignness” and the tensions in their adaptation from the guest to the migrant. What stands out in their depiction is that the tensions and clashes in the strained intercultural relationship between the German “hosts” and the “guests” from Turkey are shared by the children and that it is not just the parents who are trying to survive under pressure and high levels of stress.

One evening Kamber and Adem are late for dinner and when they arrive, the adults see that Kamber had been in a fight. In the fragmented dialogue between the mother and the sons, it is revealed that the boys have been being bullied by their German peers. That particular evening Kamber chooses to stand up for himself and a fight ensues, which leads to him being beaten by the German boys. So, he arrives home with injuries and a nosebleed. Kamber is frustrated with the treatment he has been receiving as the “other” on the streets. He mentions how he is frequently stopped by the Germans who request to see his identity card. Such psychological pressure and racial discrimination underline how he cannot blend in as just another ordinary person but always remains the outsider. His indignation comes from the way this high visibility as the other leads to constant unjust treatment and maintains his oppression among his peers and in society. He is exasperated and angry. He says to his parents, “sizin bir şey gördüğünüz yok. Ancak geld, geld, ekonomi” (“you see nothing. Only money, money, economy,” Füzuzan,



2022, p. 157). This scene epitomises the children’s discerning point of view on how badly they are affected by their assumed “temporary existence” in this foreign country. They not only suffer from marginalisation in the public sphere as the children of “guest workers,” but also are mainly unseen by their parents at home.

Fürüzan’s portrayal of children’s migration experiences in the novel is distinctive in that it reveals an aspect of the *Gastarbeiter* life that has mainly remained silent. Kamber’s reaction is not just towards his unjust and unequal treatment and the denial of his autonomy as an individual person within the unwelcoming German society. He is also similarly indignant about having his autonomic self being ignored at home, revealing a hurt but discerning voice. He likes neither the Germans nor the Turks, “Hepsi bok, büyükler de bok, çocuklar da bok, Türkler de bok, Almanlar da bok” (“they are all shit, the grownups are shit, the kids are shit, Turks are shit, Germans are shit,” Fürüzan, 2022, p. 157). Between his broken language that is a mix of German and Turkish and his heart-breaking defiance of his circumstances, a traumatic loss of a sense of belonging, identity, and at “home”ness breaks through and reveals the neglect that the children experience. As such, Kamber is representative of all the children whose young age causes their suffering to go unacknowledged, even though they experience their fair share of the negative aspects of being a foreigner in Germany. As the children must cross the bridge between the two segregated cultures in their daily lives more often than their parents do, their experiences of discrimination are more prominent and prevalent.

Furthermore, the novelist also portrays the domestic violence resulting from the tensions in the lives of the *Gastarbeiter* that come through as a pattern in the interviews.<sup>19</sup> Having seen the state of his boys and having heard the story of the evening, Selman, the father, begins beating them up. This moment is an ultimate reversal of the depiction of Selman in the novel. Until this incident, he has been portrayed as a sweet and caring man. He has healed Frau Lemmer’s bird, he has cared for the old woman herself, and he has proven himself to be a kind neighbour. However, as he beats up the boys at the threshold of the flat, even Frau Lemmer, who has grown very fond of the whole family, is affected deeply by this unexpected behaviour. Yet, a key detail is underlined through his wife Güldane’s words. She exclaims, “Vurma sakın Selman, sakın ha gözünü seveyim [...] Nerden çıkardın bu el kaldırma alışkanlığımı...” (“don’t hit him Selman, please [...] where did you get this habit of beating...,” Fürüzan, 2022, p. 157). Her interjection points to how this “habit” of beating seems to be something new, something that was not a part of their daily lives before, underlining the negative impact of their stressful circumstances in a foreign land and the emotional burden of their fraught existence.

As Adem begins to tell the story of what has happened, the level of animosity that the children have to endure becomes clear. The brothers had some pocket money, they wanted to go to the local bar and play video games. They have been previously bullied by some German youths

19 Fürüzan’s interviews with women and children stress the commonness of domestic violence inflicted on them by their fathers/husbands. There are also several examples of women’s and children’s resistance in the form of escape, divorce, complaint, and solidarity.

and were targeted with racist slurs.<sup>20</sup> However, the brothers had thought that they would be safe at the bar, since there would be adults there as well. Theirs was only an ordinary youthful desire to have some fun, “çocuğuz, özeniyoruz, baba” (“we are children, father, we aspire,” Füzuran, 2022, p. 161). Yet, once again, they were bullied by the German boys, but this time Kamber responded with anger and ended up being beaten up by the group. Apparently, the adults did not stop them until they realised that Kamber was bleeding. Füzuran presents the young boys on both sides and the tensions between them as a way of representing the mainly neglected realities in the broader society. It is a significant choice in terms of foresight. The members of the host community are not welcoming to the new guests and the new guests are never at home in such an unwelcoming environment. While the difficult working and living conditions of the adults tell the usual story of migrant communities, the tension between the future generations of a multicultural society lay bare its inherent problems and serve as warning signs.

## 5. The Hopeful and the Resilient: Children as the Future of Multicultural Integration

Although Füzuran generally wrote for adults, she has often put children at the centre of her works. Including her first novel, *47'liler*, which depicts the student revolutionaries of the 1960s, children belong to a romanticised fairy tale world.<sup>21</sup> In Füzuran's narratives, the children symbolise resilience, change, and strength that maintains hope for a better future and serves as access points for a critical perspective on the betrayal of aspirations and dreams as one grows up. As they are challenged by harsh realities and push back with resilience, children's portrayals represent their rebellious potential, a vital quality that their parents have long lost. In Füzuran's post-Germany works, her child characters are not silent and passive, but resilient and active. These children are trapped in a circle of social injustice, despair and poverty, and struggle to belong as migrants, but they still always try to stand up, to resist, and to never lose hope.<sup>22</sup> The writer attributes to children the hope and the courage to build a new future.

Füzuran's belief in the children's capabilities for hope, resilience, and resistance is not merely a personal idealisation. Her insight, particularly in regards to the migrant children in Germany, rely very much on her work with them and her observations during the interviews.

20 In an interview, A. Ali D., aged 14, mentions how foreigners are refused entry to many sport clubs, swimming pools, and similar recreational spaces. Even though there is no written rule to exclude foreigners, when they try to enter, they are simply refused with an excuse, such as the place being “for members only” (Füzuran, 1989, p. 69).

21 In *47'liler*, Emine, one of the student revolutionaries who has suffered great trauma, revisits her childhood memories as an attempt to heal through the ideals they once represented. In the character's childhood depictions, Füzuran presents an old woman (Leylim Nine) and her fairy tales to promote an idealized past against the destruction of the adult world. Throughout the novel, the discourse of how the “young” and “idealistic” revolutionaries were persecuted and how they did not deserve what happened to them sustains her romantic humanism. For a more detailed discussion on this topic, see (Alkan, 2018).

22 Especially in “Parasız Yatılı,” “Kuşatma,” “Piyano Çalabilmek,” “Edirne'nin Köprüleri,” “Redife'ye Güzelleme,” “Yaz Geldi,” and “Nehir.” See (Maksudyan, 2021, pp. 123-140).

The interviews in *Yeni Konuklar* show the empowerment of the children vis-a-vis their parents, thanks to their linguistic and other interpersonal skills that they utilise in helping their families in bureaucratic affairs and cultural integration. For instance, Sibel talks about how children (although not herself) in West Germany often act as translators for their parents, especially when they have an appointment with the Ausländer police and they need someone who speaks good German (Füruzan, 1989, p. 87). She is convinced that speaking the language fluently is a way to be approved and even liked by the Germans: “O zaman Almanlar da bizi daha çok beğeniyorlar” (“then the Germans also like us better,” Füruzan, 1989, p. 87).

Apart from building bridges with the German authorities, children also help their parents improve their daily encounters and engage socially and culturally with German society. Ferfili says, even though her German is not as good as she wishes it to be, it is still better than that of her stepmother and that she is expected to help her communicate when they go shopping (Füruzan, 1989, p. 79). Nesrin also underlines her capacities to help her parents in terms of sociability and integration into West German cultural practices. She helps her parents watch television in the evenings, as they follow the famous West German “Krimi” (crime series), *Tatort* (Füruzan, 1989, p. 62).<sup>23</sup> Many children stress the importance of their linguistic capacities in order to strengthen their potential for integration and belonging. Ferfili says she is most eager to learn German, because then the German kids will ring their door and invite her to play outside (Füruzan, 1989, p. 81). For the migrant children, the knowledge of German and the ability to communicate with the Germans are key in their initiation into the native culture as they hope to find themselves a place in their new “homeland.”

However, as the previously mentioned fight/beatings scene in *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* shows, the relationship between the acquisition of language skills and social integration is not that direct. The Korkmaz boys get in trouble with the local kids despite their ability to speak the language. In fact, the complexities as depicted in that relationship is one of the major themes in the discussions of migration from Turkey to Germany. In the novel, Adem and Kamber can speak German and Turkish and at home they switch between the two languages, creating a hybrid parol. Their discourse is thus also symptomatic of their in-betweenness. Furthermore, while their mother is able to respond in kind to their linguistic hybridity, their father seems to be uncomfortable with it (Füruzan, 2022, p. 156). While the necessary language skills define so much of the migrant experience in Germany, having or lacking those skills have multi-layered significations in regards to identity and belonging. As such, the children themselves stand out as the bridges between the old and the new homelands and the differing reactions of the characters in the novel maintain that complicated relationship.

Füruzan portrays the Korkmaz family's relationship with language in a way that demonstrates the larger structural transition that is taking place within the migrant families in Germany. Selman, the father, who is not comfortable with German maintains the sense of the old home back in Anatolia. However, the mother, Güldane is able to communicate easily. In fact, as

23 *Tatort* (Crime Scene) is a series that has been running continuously on German television since 1970.

Squires Okur argues, “Selman does not make an effort to learn the German language; for he has learned that Germans do not want to communicate with him anyway” (Squires Okur, 2007, p. 97). His wife, Güldane, who epitomises the generational transition by having given birth to a new child in the new homeland, makes an effort as a part of the family’s adaptation to the new life, “if nothing else to be a help to her children” (Squires Okur, 2007, p. 97). In this structural constellation, Adem and Kamber, with their hybrid language skills are the bridge between the two worlds, while the new-born, Ümmühan, who shall grow up speaking German, represents the future of the migrant families in Germany.

In her *Evsahipleri*, Füzuran recounts a story about “the two suns,” which stresses the bilingual and multicultural future of the younger generations along similar lines. During a trip, the daughter of a migrant family from Turkey draws a picture with two suns. One of these two suns is big, bright, and powerful and the other is small and pale with short lines as rays. Her mother and the others ask why she painted two suns, given the fact that there is only one sun in the solar system. Füzuran finds the question lame, the kind that only proves how “büyükler hiçbir şeyi anlamaz” (“the adults understand nothing,” Füzuran, 2014, p. 165). The little girl proudly answers that the picture is “right” only if it has two suns: “Biri Berlin güneşi. Öteki, hani kocaman bakını da Türkiye güneşi. Yoksa siz Türkiye güneşini görmediniz mi, bilmiyor musunuz?” (“one of them is the Berlin sun. The other, the one that stares huge, is the Turkey sun. Have you never seen the Turkey sun, don’t you know it?,” Füzuran, 2014, p. 165). The little girl was born in West Berlin in 1975, but she only travelled to Turkey when she was five in 1980. However, despite her young age, which renders her unreliable in the eyes of the adults, she has a very clever and empowered understanding of and response to having two homes, two countries, and two languages without the need of choosing between them.

Although the children complain about being marginalised by their German neighbours and not having any German friends, they actually get along well with the old German people. They help the elderly with their chores and earn some pocket money in return. For instance, Haluk, who is surprised that many old people live in Germany, helps them with their bags in exchange for a few marks (Füzuran, 1989, p. 91). Given the extent of the racial prejudice against migrant populations in West Germany, this type of social interaction seems to break the stigma they face. However, it is still a complicated mode of interaction with an unequal set of parameters. Similar to Haluk, Zeynep earns pocket money by helping the “kocamış Alman kadını” (“the aged German woman”) upstairs and even though the woman smiles at her, she does not respond to the little girl when she speaks German to her (Füzuran, 1989, p. 65). The same old woman throws chocolate to Zeynep and her siblings from upstairs while they are playing outside. The kids like the chocolates and the woman smiles or laughs in return (“güler”), which is open to interpretation. It is an uncomfortable scene, as the meaning of the old woman’s reaction is unclear from what the little girl says. Still, it is definitely the highlight of their day and Zeynep is convinced of the goodwill of the old lady, as she maintains that “O kadın iyi” (“that woman is good”).

In several interviews, the presence of a sentimental bond between younger migrant children and the German elderly is expressed. Most of the old people live alone and their loneliness renders them predisposed to transgress the discriminatory boundaries between the two peoples. Consequently, they tend to get close to the migrants, primarily through their children. For instance, in the account of Sabahat, aged 14, her youngest sibling is fondly loved by an old woman at their building. This woman, who does not have family or relatives and who lost her two sons in the Second World War, spends a lot of time with Sabahat's 6-year-old brother. Her bond with the child is such that she always gives him "zaneli pastalar" ("cream cakes," Füzuan, 1989, p. 59) and during their time together, she speaks to him in German. If the boy does not visit her on any given day, the old woman immediately comes to their apartment, rushes into his room, and takes him to her place. Ferfili also talks about how her youngest siblings, a boy and a girl, like Berlin very much, as they are shown a great deal of affection by their German neighbours (Füzuan, 1989, p. 78).

This kind of relationship between the old Germans and the migrant children shapes the entire narrative of *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği*. The first half of the narrative sets the tone of the loneliness of Frau Lemmer in her old days by exploring the distant relationship between her and her adult children and her memories of her youth in the form of nostalgic reminiscences. Frau Lemmer is thus depicted as a fragile, lonely, and timid old woman who is living on her own in an old apartment in West Berlin. She leads a rather introverted life based on routines that are suggestive of a sense of dispirited inertia. However, her life changes radically when she meets the Korkmaz family. One day her bird Sarah gets sick and Selman Korkmaz, the man of the family, comes to her aid. The initial shy interactions soon transform into dinners together and they become close and friendly neighbours. Their lives intermingle through the Korkmaz family's baby girl and two sons as Frau Lemmer begins to spend time with the children when their parents are at work.

The friendship between the Korkmaz couple and Frau Lemmer is so close that she is considered one of the family, an old relative to be cared for and respected. This kind of emotional attachment is the basis for Füzuan's humanistic approach to integration. As Feridun Andaç (1988, 1989) argues in his analyses on the novel, the different cultures can learn/gain from each other when they find a common language of love: in the words of Güldane, "İnsan insanın çaresidir" ("One person is the remedy of another," Füzuan, 2022, p. 120). It is the way that Adem and Kamber treat Frau Lemmer and the hope-inspiring presence of Ümmühan defines the key parameters of the suggested filial identification and emotional attachment. From the very first days of their encounters, the children consider Frau Lemmer the grandma ("Oma") that they lack in Germany and always ecstatic to have her around (Füzuan, 2022, p. 127). Their interaction has two interconnected layers. On the one hand, it is the first time that they get a chance to relate to a German person in a natural and affectionate fashion, that is, as fellow human beings. On the other hand, their lack of their own grandparents, a relationship symbolic of rootedness, is fulfilled through her, creating a symbolic sense of connection to the land. The links to the past are crucial in the experience of homemaking and by such a replacement

and projection a lacuna is revealed and subsequently filled. Frau Lemmer feeds all three children, tells them stories, makes them clothes, and teaches them about life (Füzuzan, 2022, pp. 182-183) and the children experience the founding of a sense of “at home”ness through the presence of the old German woman. Old Germany, the new motherland finally opens a welcoming space to the new young guests at least partially and symbolically.

While the children have that sense of family and connection to the land through Frau Lemmer's attention and loving care and their growing relationship, Frau Lemmer gains an entirely different perspective on her life at her late age, achieving a new level of wisdom. Spending time with the Korkmaz children, she gains a new lease in life and a new perspective on the past, the present, and the future. She remembers her own history and re-evaluates her sense of identity: “Çocuklara dürüst davranmayan bir dünyanın büyüklerinden olmanın acısını ancak şimdi açıkça duyuyordu” (“just now she was openly feeling the pain of being one of the adults of a world that has not treated its children honestly,” Füzuzan, 2022, p. 187). As she painfully considers the possibility that “sonraları yazılan, söylenen o korkunç şeyler” (“those horrible things that has been said and written about afterwards”) might have also been done to the children, she grows acutely aware of the smallness of her own life and world. As she spends time with the children, who shall become the future of a new Germany, she shakes some of her own inertia off. Her life gains a new meaning by just seeing Ümmühan's cute smile (Füzuzan, 2022, p. 190) and gathers courage -however limited- to dream of new experiences, such as visiting Turkey with the Korkmaz family. The Korkmaz children give her the fresh breath to dare for a new life at such a late age.

As Sinem Meral writes, Füzuzan's works are “suffused with alienation” and this alienation is not just the kind that is between “the people of two different cultures” but one from “*life and the human condition*” (Meral, 2010, p. 196). *Berlin'in Nar Çiçeği* is a major expression on such an alienation whereby the remedy comes in the form of connection. Both the old German woman and the migrant family are trying to survive and maintain a sense of humanity in their isolated corners and only when their lives interconnect, the alienation on both sides are purged. Furthermore, Füzuzan's elaboration of the older generation's sympathy towards migrant children is a powerful representation of a multicultural future built to surpass precarity and marginality. The unwelcomed migrant children and the lonely old German woman meet at the margins of their respective lives and connect the two segregated worlds. In their respective liminalities, they create an alternative for Germany's future, one that is an outcome of the “old hosts” and the “new guests” meeting at the intersection of family and humanity. The novelist proposes the awakening of the old Germany, its recognition of its fraught past, and its rejuvenation with the infusion of new breath, a new culture.

## Conclusion

Füzuzan has often noted her fascination with the perceptual capacities of children. In an interview, she repeatedly stresses that children always have surprising and interesting observations on their social surroundings and that they are highly discerning (Şüyün, 2008,

p. 14). In all four books that she wrote as part of her “Germany chapter,” the author’s faith in children’s thought processes and perspectives translates into a sincere recognition of children’s agency and resilience and a belief in their potential to build a multicultural future. Her emphasis on children as active agents and on age as a relevant category of intersectionality challenges the stereotypical representations of labour migration. Her interviews with migrant children in West Berlin need to be considered as one of the first ethnographic studies that gave voice to migrant children to elaborate upon their own migration experiences and migrant subjectivities. These accounts bring to light the marginalisation of children in a foreign country, as well as their strategies to resist and endure prejudice and oppression.

Fürüzan’s writings from the period shed light on the Turkish-German intercultural context and approach labour migration from the perspective of home, self, and the sense of identity as perceived and experienced by both the migrants from Turkey and their German hosts. As is clear from the titles of her two non-fiction books, she has been mostly interested in highlighting the precarity of the “guests” (*Yeni Konuklar*) and tensions of the “hosts” (*Evsahipleri*). Under constant threat of losing their “guest” status, migrants can hardly feel at home in the host country. By the same token, the hosts are not able to engage authentically with the guests either, whom they perceive as the outsider and treat with condescension. In Fürüzan’s projection, the potential of cultural integration resides in the intimacy between the older Germans and the young children of the workers due to a shared experience of marginalisation and liminality within the broader German society. The friendship between unwelcomed migrant children and the lonely old Germans appear to the author as the link to connect segregated worlds.

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