Journal of Human Rights and Refugee Studies

https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.21384258

Politics and Literature in Times of Crisis: The Impact of the 2016 Coup Attempt in Turkey on German-Turkish Writers, Intellectuals and Artists [1]

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Abstract

The primary objective of this research project is to delve into the enduring ramifications of the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey on German-Turkish literature and writers. The scope of my investigation encompasses a thorough analysis of novels, poetry, articles, and interviews penned by German-Turkish authors. The tumultuous events of the 2016 coup in Turkey precipitated widespread repercussions, resulting in the mass dismissal of tens of thousands of individuals from the legal, educational, scientific, and journalistic sectors. Consequently, a significant exodus of highly educated authors, activists, and members of civil society sought refuge in countries like Germany. This research endeavor seeks to elucidate how this pivotal political event reverberated within the realm of German-Turkish literature. Specifically, it aims to explore how German-Turkish writers and intellectuals residing in Germany responded to these events, the thematic preoccupations that surfaced in their works, the evolution of these themes, motifs, and intertextual references, and the portrayal of the life stories of recent immigrants within this context.

Keywords: 2016 coup attempt, German-Turkish literature, exile, migration.

Introduction

During my scholarship, I delved into research not only within libraries but also actively sought connections with key figures in the German-Turkish literary and cultural sphere. I participated in prominent events like the Frankfurt Book Fair, various literature festivals, and numerous readings. Engaging in personal dialogues with diverse German-Turkish writers, I fostered insightful exchanges. Collaborating with Dr. Kirsten Möller, I extended an invitation to Turkish actor, screenwriter, and poet Serkan Öztürk to present at her MA seminar, titled "Narrating

[1] This study was conducted as part of a project (2019-2021) funded by a PSI Fellowship of the Humboldt Foundation in Faculty of Social and Cultural Sciences of the European University Viadrina.

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Migration: Exploring Migration Experiences post-1989," hosted at Europa-Universität Viadrina. During this session, Öztürk shared a thought-provoking short film critiquing contemporary Turkish government policies with the students. Furthermore, in partnership with Dr. Walter, I developed a seminar tailored for master's students within the Faculty of Cultural Studies, focusing on the enduring impacts of the purported 2016 military coup attempt on German-Turkish literature.

In the course of my research, I meticulously curated an extensive bibliography encompassing all contemporary German-Turkish writers, poets, journalists, and screenwriters (approximately 360 individuals). This process underscored the fact that only a limited number of German-Turkish authors had been subject to scholarly inquiry thus far. However, it is reasonable to assume that there are additional authors who have delved into the theme of the coup post-2016. Around 120 authors of German-Turkish literature warrant further scrutiny, as they were not referenced in Professor Hikmet Asutay's encyclopedia (Asutay, 2021) – a gap I identified. Consequently, a collective of 360 German-Turkish writers emerges. Among them, German media features 122 journalists contributing approximately 30,000 pieces.

This study provides a concise assessment of the cultural and literary undertakings within the realm of German-Turkish literature following the tumultuous events of the failed military coup in Turkey in 2016. It offers both a broad contextual overview and a comprehensive inventory.

1. Biographies and Anthologies

The crackdown on dissidents and intellectuals, stemming from the Gezi protests, resulted in arrests and detentions on the basis of 'fabricated accusations'. Following the 2016 coup attempt, these 'arbitrary measures' were extended to encompass a broad swath of the population. While some intellectuals were eventually released due to lack of evidence after years of incarceration, thousands of university professors, writers, doctors, judges, and educators remain behind bars. Those who were freed post-sentence, along with intellectuals who evaded arrest, find themselves trapped in the country due to passport cancellations and travel restrictions. A few writers managed to escape illegally, residing in enforced exile in various countries, notably Germany. In these new lands of exile, they penned books and articles detailing the 'unjust and unlawful' occurrences they faced, often striving to engage the public through radio and television broadcasts.

There are two notable works on this subject that delve into the "Gezi events"[2] that unfolded in Germany in 2013 and the forceful suppression of these events by the state using disproportionate violence. The authors of the first work chose the term "Çapulcu" (looter) (Guttstadt, 2014), the epithet used by Erdoğan to disparage the participants in these events, as the title of their book, becoming the pioneering voice in the form of a book in Germany. The back cover of the book describes the content as follows:

"In the summer of 2013, a powerful protest movement swiftly arose in Turkey and the Turkish diaspora following a vigil in Istanbul against the demolition of a park and the cutting down of trees. This movement symbolized the collective yearning for a reformed, more democratic society founded on principles of respect and collaboration. A passionate global audience stood in solidarity with the brave

[2] See also: S. S. Özdemir (2015); Gençoğlu Onbaşi (2016); Taş (2017)

individuals who, in a spontaneous, creative, and invigorating manner, took to the streets advocating for 'Freedom - now and here!' Meanwhile, the official Turkish authorities sought to discredit the demonstrators by labeling them as 'looders' (Çapulcu). Undeterred, the movement boldly reclaimed and redefined this term. Through his work 'Çapulcu', Tayfun Guttstadt provides a profound exploration into the circumstances leading to the protests, their progression, the motivations and objectives of the movement, and potential outcomes. Importantly, Guttstadt amplifies the voices of the participants themselves through a series of insightful interviews." (Guttstadt, 2014).

The anthology "Gezi: A Literary Anthology" (Adatepe, 2014), written by 19 authors who were actively involved in the Gezi events and resided in exile in Germany, stands as a significant work that captures the essence of that era. Within the book's introduction:

"*At the close of May 2013, the initial focus was on safeguarding trees in a pivotal Istanbul park adjacent to Taksim Square. Gradually, the modest group of environmentalists and urban aficionados evolved into a sweeping movement, unprecedented in its diversity within Turkey: Gezi. Presently, the park's name serves as a symbol and synonym for the burgeoning Turkish protest and democracy movement, which, through innovative approaches and diverse voices, provided a platform for all. Demonstrating lived diversity, it showcased the possibilities of peaceful resistance, lighthearted protest, transformation, communal equality, self-determination, solidarity, tolerance, and a newfound aura of fearlessness.*

Nineteen Turkish authors and a female photographer meticulously delve into the essence, impetus, and dynamism of the Gezi movement through their contributions. Through the prism of artistic expression, they offer unique perspectives, eschewing mere analysis, explanation, or a mere recounting of the protests. The anthology is enriched with exclusive photographs by Istanbul-based photographer Selen Özer Günday. Edited and prefaced by Sabine Adatepe - a literary translator, Turkologist, and author." (Adatepe, 2014)

After the coup attempt in 2016, Turkey implemented a series of sweeping measures, unequivocally attributing the coup to the Gülen movement and embarking on an extensive campaign of closures and arrests across institutions. This included the closure of 15 universities, 2600 schools, and private educational facilities, along with the shuttering of thousands of foundations, associations, and publishing houses, and the confiscation of assets from numerous businesses. Subsequently, 150,000 civil servants were summarily dismissed, leading to 500,000 filed lawsuits and the arrest of tens of thousands of individuals. This crackdown has left opposition intellectuals devoid of any semblance of security. [3]

Two writers (Kardas, 2018), one of whom is a member of the Gülen movement, which is the primary target of the Erdoğan regime and has resided in Germany for many years, have collaborated on a book that not only refutes all these allegations but also delves into the profound importance they place on democracy and human rights. [4]

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[3] See also: Aydin und Avincan (2020); Aydin und Langley (2021); Sarfati (2017); Taş (2018a); Taş (2018b); Yilmaz et al. (2020)

[4] Gülen, the prominent Turkish scholar, preacher, and public intellectual whose name resonates widely, offers profound insights into these pressing questions that hold immense significance for our democratic framework. This book presents a collection of remarks spanning from 1991 to 2017, drawn from interviews with various

Can Dündar, the esteemed editor-in-chief of the renowned newspaper "Cumhuriyet," a stalwart of the secular ethos in Turkey, is among the courageous journalists forced to seek refuge in Germany. His incarceration stemmed from bold reporting in his publication, exposing the interception of Turkish intelligence agency MIT's trucks ferrying arms to Syria by the gendarmerie. Despite subsequent allegations tying him to the Gülen movement, Dündar endured a year-long imprisonment at Silivri, where an assassination attempt in court narrowly missed its mark. Following a brief reprieve granted by the Supreme Court, he sought sanctuary in Berlin, where he now resides in exile. His harrowing ordeals in Turkey are vividly chronicled in four impactful literary works (Dündar, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2021). Additionally, his incisive interviews grace the pages of numerous publications, air on radio waves, and illuminate television screens. Through his pioneering initiative, the establishment of the broadcasting outlet "Özgürüz" (We are free) in Berlin, Dündar stands as a vanguard of dissenting voices in the diaspora challenging the status quo in Turkey.

He captures his memories of the Silivri prison, where he was incarcerated "completely unlawfully" in 2015, in his book "Life Sentence for the Truth" (Dündar, 2016), Can Dündar's inaugural work on this subject. Within this book, he delves into the trial that led to his arrest, as well as the underlying contexts and manipulations:

"In November 2015, Can Dündar, editor-in-chief of the government-critical daily newspaper "Cumhuriyet," and Erdem Gül, chief correspondent, are arrested. The Turkish public prosecutor accuses them of espionage and betrayal of state secrets, with President Erdogan personally filing a criminal complaint demanding life imprisonment. This stems from their coverage of Turkish intelligence's arms shipments to Syrian extremists. After three months, the journalists are temporarily released. The trial begins in early May: Dündar is sentenced to six years, Gül to five years in prison; the verdict is not yet final.

In "Life Sentence for the Truth," Dündar recounts the entire story from the discovery of the secret arms shipments to the decision to publish the incriminating footage, to the events following the publication: the threats he and the editorial team received, the fear of terrorist attacks, his time in solitary confinement. Dündar's prison writings demonstrate that his resistance remains unbroken, and he will not give up the fight for press and opinion freedom."(Dündar, 2016)

In his second book "Traitor" (Dündar, 2017), Can Dündar delves into the circumstances that led to his exile in Berlin, the events that culminated in his trial, and the adversities he confronted. This compelling narrative serves as a poignant rebuttal to the regime and its proponents who unjustly brand him a traitor and a refugee:

"Had he not been abroad during the coup attempt in Turkey in July 2016, he would most likely be back in prison now. However, Dündar went into exile and continued his fight for press freedom in his country and against Erdoğan from Berlin. In his records from the German exile, he recounts the events that unfolded in the last six months since his release from pre-trial detention: trial, assassination attempt, verdict, the coup attempt in his homeland, his escape to Germany, his exile in Berlin. There, he leads a life amidst accolades and recognition, threats and hostilities, as he continues to advocate for a democratic, Western-oriented Turkey." (Dündar, 2017)

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media platforms. It beckons readers on an intellectual odyssey, exploring contemporary societal issues through the lens of a reinvigorated Islam. Kardas (2018)

In his third literary work, "Take Action" (Tut Was) (Dündar, 2018), Dündar explores the intellectual and philosophical underpinnings of his ongoing struggle. He intricately details his past endeavors and articulates a compelling call to action in the pursuit of democracy.

"Should we leave democracy, despite all its flaws, which still remains the best form of governance we have, defenseless just because it is increasingly falling out of favor? My answer is: No! Democracy must defend itself."

In his impassioned plea for an active democracy, Can Dündar explains why it is no longer sufficient to dutifully cast one's vote every four years. With populism becoming a global malaise and only 4.5 percent of the world's population living in fully democratic states, it requires citizens to actively engage in politics, to make their voices heard loudly. Dündar illustrates how each individual can advocate for social justice and freedom of expression. If we intervene and rise up now, not all is lost."(Dündar, 2018)

In his latest book, "Erdogan" (Dündar, 2021), written during these times, he also quotes the key codes of the regime he is fighting against. It is a captivating work that explains how one gradually slips into an Islamist dictatorship, the severity of illegality and its consequences, and what must be done to prevent such a catastrophe. It is an important work that elucidates how far-right movements can still rise to power today and how this can pose significant problems for the world.

"With the illustrated biography of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, journalist Can Dündar and illustrator Mohamed Anwar have established a milestone in graphic novel literature. This work elucidates how the Turkish President Erdoğan ascended the mountain of power, his interests, and the manner in which he pursues them. The developments in present-day Turkey become comprehensible, highlighting the challenges of Turkish society and the complexities of dealing with an authoritarian leader, who, in the eyes of Italian Prime Minister Mario Draghi, transformed into a dictator. The book explains without passing judgment. It serves as an informative contribution to understanding the political landscape of Turkey. The piece surprises, captivates, and soberly enlightens."(Dündar, 2021)

Deniz Yücel, a Turkish writer born in Germany, stands out among those deeply impacted by the events unfolding in Turkey. As a German citizen, his bold writings on the Gezi protests provoked the ire of the Erdogan regime, resulting in his arrest in 2017 on fabricated charges of being a "terrorist agent," orchestrated directly by Erdogan himself. Through the relentless efforts of the German Foreign Ministry and the intervention of Chancellor Merkel, he was finally released a year later and swiftly repatriated to Germany (Deutsche Welle, 2019). Yücel encapsulated these tumultuous experiences, notably the Gezi protests, in three poignant books.

During his incarceration, Yücel's insightful articles on the Gezi protests were compiled by his comrades to drive the narrative, secure his liberation, and foster solidarity, culminating in the publication of "*Taksim is Everywhere: The Gezi Movement and the Future of Turkey*" (Yücel, 2017) in 2017. The book's introduction poignantly declares:

"*Solidarity edition for Deniz Yücel, who has been in pre-trial detention in Turkey since February 2017, with a current foreword by Doris Akrap (taz), Daniel-Dylan Böhmer (DIE WELT), and Özlem Topcu (DIE ZEIT). "›Taksim is Everywhere‹ is a book about Gezi in the spirit of Gezi, engaging, humorous, and romantic. Yücel never loses his critical distance; he supplements his geographical explorations with historical insights, contextualizes the events, relates Gezi to protests of previous years—and thereby grounds the movement. Gezi will keep Turkish society vigilant." Iris Alanyali, DIE WELT, 2014. One solidarity euro per copy sold, in addition to the regular fee, goes to the author. Edition Nautilus*

acknowledges the printing press BELTZ Bad Langensalza and the newspaper DIE WELT for the financial support that made this reissue possible." (Yücel, 2017)

During his incarceration, Yücel encounters numerous individuals and witnesses various unjust and unlawful practices. He encapsulates these experiences in tragicomic newspaper articles. His friend, lawyer, and journalist Doris Akrab compiles and publishes all these articles. In this book, the author curates a selection of topics that he has critiqued and shed light on for 13 years. The article by Günter Wallraff in the book not only reveals the content but also underscores its significance and impact:

"In February 2017, from police custody in Istanbul, Deniz Yücel writes, 'This place has no memory. Everyone I've met here – Kurdish activists, brokers, land registry officials, arrested judges and police officers, gangsters – all have told me: 'You have to write this down, Deniz Abi.' I responded: 'Of course, I will. After all, it's my job. We're not here for fun.' During his one-year imprisonment, Deniz Yücel – in painstaking communication through his lawyers and curated by journalist Doris Akrap – compiled a selection of his texts from the past 13 years into an equally astute, entertaining, and diverse book: reports, satires, polemics, comments, glosses, and other 'utility texts from the fray.' Additionally, it includes two pieces he wrote for this purpose in the high-security prison Silivri Nr. 9, as well as a contribution from his wife, television producer, and poet Dilek Mayatürk Yücel. Whether addressing journalism – 'Finding Crap and Knowing Better' – our fellow citizens with migration backgrounds – 'Math for Foreigners' – or more general topics like 'Bio-coke and Sura Bingo,' or, of course, Turkey – 'The Chief, the Coup, and the Park': Yücel combines biting social critique with a clear analysis of hard facts. 'The contributions Deniz Yücel has published in this book are profound journalism. Delving deep, rich with personal experiences, not laden with chatty feuilletonistic elements, but fitting into the context and displaying great empathy. I believe in the power of this book.' Günter Wallraff, DER SPIEGEL" (Yücel, 2017)

Erdoğan labels Deniz Yücel as an "agent and terrorist," asserting that he will never be released during his tenure. This sparks a wave of solidarity in Germany. Conversely, Deniz Yücel, who vividly portrays the Silivri Prison Unit No. 9 and its courts, does not shy away from detailing Turkey's recent trajectory in his latest book "*Agententerrorist*" (Yücel, 2019). He chronicles Turkey's evolution over the past years, from the promising onset of the Gezi Uprising to the Kurdish issue, the refugee crisis, and the attempted coup.

"Enduring a year within the confines of the high-security Silivri No. 9 prison, the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan adamantly proclaimed in the spring of 2017 that Deniz Yücel would never be extradited to Germany under his watch. At that juncture, the German-Turkish journalist had already spent two challenging months at the formidable Silivri No. 9 prison near Istanbul. Following a tumultuous journey, he was eventually freed ten months later under dramatic circumstances. Yücel's imprisonment triggered an outpouring of solidarity in Germany, straining German-Turkish relations to their limits, marking a significant chapter since World War II. Concurrently, the case stirred a national dialogue in Germany regarding the identity and allegiance of German Turks. Within his book, Yücel candidly recounts his solitary confinement ordeal, the relentless persecution he endured, and his cunning maneuvers to outwit pervasive surveillance. He reflects on the invaluable support of his wife, Dilek Mayatürk, and the impactful 'Free Deniz' campaign, shedding light on why the prison cell's refrigerator became his sanctuary. His narrative encapsulates a tale of tyranny and defiance, interwoven with threads of unity, affection, and resilience. Furthermore, Yücel meticulously traces Turkey's transformative trajectory in recent years, from the hopeful genesis of the Gezi Revolt through the complexities of the Kurdish discord, the refugee predicament, the coup endeavor, culminating in Erdogan's power consolidation following the pivotal 2018 elections." (Yücel, 2019)

Furthermore, there are extensive promotional activities planned for this book. The Frankfurt Book Fair 2019 will serve as the focal point for these initiatives. The book will be introduced to a wide audience through interviews conducted at various times. Particularly noteworthy are the sessions organized by the Spiegel magazine. In 2019, on the second day of the Frankfurt Book Fair, he engaged in an engaging conversation with "Dirk Kurbjuweit," the editor of the magazine "Der Spiegel," regarding "Agentterrorist."

Frankfurt Book Fair 2019: Agentterrorist. The Spiegel.

He also appeared in talks to promote his book on many national television channels such as "Deutsche Welle".

**(Deutsche Welle, 2019)*

One of the victims of the operation aimed at silencing "dissident intellectuals and journalists" in Turkey is Aslı Erdoğan.[5] Kurds are among the masses targeted by the Erdogan regime

[5] Aslı Erdoğan, born in 1967 in Istanbul, stands as one of Turkey's most prominent writers and columnists, revered globally as a beacon of defiance against authoritarian rule in her homeland. Her literary masterpieces, such as "The City with the Red Pelerine" and "The House Made of Stone," resonate across more than 20 languages. Erdoğan's exceptional contributions have garnered a multitude of accolades: she was awarded the esteemed Sait Faik Prize in 2010, Turkey's premier literary honor, the Erich Maria Remarque Peace Prize in 2017, and the

following the coup attempt in 2016. The regime has pressured the Kurdish population with nationalist discourses and has taken actions to silence Kurdish intellectuals. Aslı Erdoğan came under scrutiny due to a column in "*Özgür Gündem*", a leading Kurdish newspaper, and was arrested shortly after the coup attempt. Subsequently, a solidarity movement was initiated in Germany, and "*Not Even Silence Belongs to Us Anymore: Essays*" (*Nicht einmal das Schweigen gehört uns noch: Essays*)[6] (Erdoğan, 2017), featuring a profound analysis and portrayal of Turkey and Turkish politics by Cem Özdemir (C. Özdemir, Nicht einmal das Schweigen gehört uns noch / 2017), was published in Germany bilingually in 2017[7]. Aslı Erdoğan, who was detained for four and a half months and briefly released due to international campaigns, is among those who came to Germany as forced exiles. Serving as a living witness of the oppressed and persecuted, she continues her journalistic activities in Germany. She not only continues her writing in newspapers and magazines but also appears on television, radio, and book fairs.

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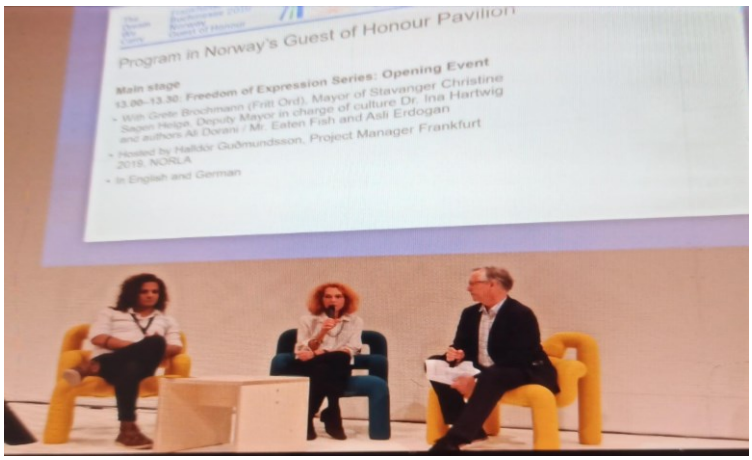
prestigious Prix Simone de Beauvoir in 2018. Following the tumultuous events of August 2016, wherein Aslı Erdoğan was unjustly detained alongside 22 fellow journalists in the aftermath of the failed coup, she endured months of incarceration before seeking refuge in Germany. (Erdogan, 2017)

[6] Let's begin with her self-assessment. "I am a writer, and no one in Turkey takes me seriously politically," Aslı Erdoğan told FAZ journalist Karen Krüger after her release. Perhaps her arrest was meant to send a message: "Any intellectual can be targeted." Or maybe it was just "a stupid coincidence." Aslı Erdoğan even goes as far as to say she is "not politically active." Certainly, her involvement with the now-banned newspaper Özgür Gündem could be classified as "political" – but she claims her columns were "apolitical." It's no wonder she was surprised when heavily armed police officers showed up at her door. She thought it was a misunderstanding, a joke. Looking at Turkey from an external perspective at the beginning of 2017, every line by Aslı Erdoğan and every page of her literature appears highly political, making her arrest anything but a tragic coincidence. Pain, discrimination, exclusion, violence, oppression, genocide, memory, trauma, humiliation, torture, murder, despair, poverty: all are poignantly addressed in her literary works without allowing the author to be politically co-opted. Her writings on the atrocities committed by Turkish security forces in Kurdish-majority areas last spring are enduring testimonies, as Aslı Erdoğan manages to make the pain of a mother searching for her son's body palpable. The charred body parts and other images from 2016 are unforgettable, described as vividly as Aslı Erdoğan portrays them. Emotions speak louder here than any overt political critique. Aslı Erdoğan creates literature in the midst of the smoke, in the fire of political reality in present-day Turkey. (Özdemir, 2017)

[7] "We must confront the murderers and give voice to the victims." Aslı Erdoğan, the prominent Turkish novelist and dissident, has become a symbol of freedom of expression and the extent of Turkish authoritarianism. She was imprisoned for four and a half months for her publications and is currently under restrictions for the duration of the trial. For the first time, a selection of her political essays is now available in German. "Her book highlights the indispensable nature of a woman's voice and commitment in any struggle for freedom... Page by page, one is stirred and becomes witness to her tireless resistance." (Erdoğan, 2017)



**Frankfurt Book Fair 2019: Freedom of Expression Series. Norway's Guest of Honour Pavilion*

Turkish individuals residing abroad post the 2016 coup attempt found themselves ensnared in the legal proceedings. The regime's agenda extended beyond neutralizing the Kurdish community to encompass all leftist entities. Doğan Akhanlı, a prominent figure in Turkish leftist circles during the 1990s, sought refuge in Germany and eventually acquired German citizenship upon realizing his diminishing influence in Turkey. Immersed in Germany's literary realms, Akhanlı garnered accolades, particularly for his prowess in novel writing. Despite returning to Turkey in 2010 to tend to his ailing father and subsequently facing arrest, he was only spared through his lawyer's relentless efforts, prompting his return to Germany. In 2016, the regime resurrected Akhanlı's past leftist affiliations, launching an Interpol manhunt targeting thousands of Turkish expatriates. Akhanlı, vacationing in Spain with his wife, was apprehended in Granada in 2017, enduring a year-long incarceration in Spain while battling extradition to Turkey. His poignant recollections culminated in the 2018 publication, "*Arrest in Granada: or is Turkey drifting towards dictatorship*" (*Verhaftung in Granada: oder driftet die Türkei in Richtung Diktatur*) (Akhanli, 2018). Günter Wallraff's preface to this work serves to underscore the egregious practices Turkey adopted post-2016, shedding light on the regime's transgressions:

" When Turkish violence reaches all the way to Granada. August 19, 2017: Spanish police arrest Doğan Akhanlı, a German citizen, in Granada. Turkey had issued an Interpol notice for his arrest. The door of his cell closes behind him – once again: Like a twist in time, he relives the months and years spent as a political prisoner in Turkey – 1975, 1985–1987, and from August 2010. "Arrest in Granada," despite its cruelty and injustice, is an adventurous, poetic, and often humorous journey through the past 40 years, helping us understand why arbitrariness and violence still prevail in Turkey. "Here speaks a refugee, indeed sometimes a hunted man. On his odyssey between prisons and freedom, he has found himself and gained increasing clarity about these threatening times." (From the preface by Günter Wallraff.)" (Akhanli, 2018)

Frankfurt Book Fair 2019: Booth Conversations. Cultural-Exchange (Kulturform) Turkey-Germany.

Another victim of the 2016 coup attempt is the journalist and writer "Meşale Tolu"[8]. The author, born and raised in Germany, is forcibly separated from her husband and child while on vacation in Turkey and arrested in Istanbul. The Kurdish writer is accused of being a "member of the far-left Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP)". Fighting to remain united with her child, the author immortalizes all these memories in her book *"My Son Stays with Me: As a Political Hostage in Turkish Custody and Why It's Not Over Yet" (Mein Sohn bleibt bei mir: Als politische Geisel in türkischem Gewahrsam und warum es noch nicht vorbei ist.)* (Tolu, 2019).

"Meşale Tolu, a prominent German hostage of the Turkish government, found herself unjustly labeled as a supporter of terrorism. Imprisoned alongside her young son, she was later denied the right to leave Turkey. Now back in Germany, she courageously recounts her ordeal: detailing the harsh realities of police and judicial brutality, the challenging existence in political confinement teetering between hope and despair, her relentless fight for her family's freedom, and her unwavering commitment to defending press freedom. In her poignant narrative, she not only shares her personal journey but also shines a critical light on the authoritarian tactics employed by the Ankara regime against its dissenters" (Tolu, 2019)

In this context, it is pertinent to highlight Hasan Çobanlı[9] and his publication "Erdogan: The Decline of Turkey and Its Ramifications for Germany" (*Erdogan: Der Absturz der Türkei und*

[8] Meşale Tolu is a German journalist and translator of Kurdish descent. She grew up in Ulm and studied Ethics and Spanish in Frankfurt. In 2007, she acquired German citizenship while renouncing her Turkish citizenship. At the end of April 2017, she was arrested in her Istanbul apartment by a Turkish anti-terrorism unit on charges of being a "terrorist." Her fate, along with that of other journalists detained in Turkey, sparked numerous media reports, support campaigns, and diplomatic activities. On December 18, 2017, she was released from custody with certain conditions. On August 20, 2018, a court lifted the travel ban against Tolu, followed two months later by the one against her husband, Suat Çorlu, who was also detained. Meşale Tolu resides with her family in Neu-Ulm (Tolu 2019)

[9] Hasan Cobanli has an exciting German-Turkish family history, which includes Bismarck's Field Marshal Albrecht Graf von Roon on his mother's side and Atatürk's comrade Cevat Cobanli Pasha, a famous commander of World War I, on his father's side. Cobanli is an author, has worked as a pilot, radio, newspaper, and television

die Folgen für Deutschland) (Cobanli, 2017). Despite not being directly impacted by the Turkish events, Hasan Çobanlı proactively undertakes a critical examination through his work, dissecting the Erdogan regime. Through a meticulous analysis, his study meticulously unveils a catalog of injustices and legal transgressions.

"*Erdogan is the new Sultan. He is driving his country into the abyss and entangling Germany in Turkish domestic politics. In his deeply personal book, Hasan Cobanli elucidates Turkey's descent and probes into the repercussions for Germany. Until recently, Turkey seemed a candidate for EU membership: a dependable NATO ally, a tourist magnet, the "Tiger on the Bosphorus" whose economic growth promised a bright future. Today, everything has reversed. Turkey is a country veering towards dictatorship, where all those who oppose the President must fear for their freedom. Hasan Cobanli, a German-Turkish crosser of borders, has witnessed numerous turning points in recent Turkish history firsthand and personally knows many key figures. In this book, he narrates how this situation unfolded, guiding the reader into the heart of Erdoganistan and illustrating the impact the new Sultan is having in Germany*" (Çobanlı, 2017)

Özlem Topçu[10] is one of the sensitive authors in German-Turkish literature on this subject. In her work "*Turkey - The Country, Its Citizens, and the Longing for Freedom*" (*Die Türkei - Das Land, seine Bürger und die Sehnsucht nach Freiheit*) *(Topçu, 2017)*, she extensively analyzes the newly established regime of fear and the evolving events, starting with the events in Gezi Park, particularly after the coup attempt on July 15."

" A deeply divided society, a country in a state of emergency, and a president more focused on power expansion than reconciliation: Why are the Turks dismantling their democracy so mercilessly? Hardly a day goes by without Turkey being in the spotlight of current news coverage. The renowned German-Turkish journalist Özlem Topçu reflects on a country that remains in turmoil" (Topçu, 2017)

The coup attempt of 2016 and Turkey's rapid alienation from democracy and human rights are extensively addressed in the book:

"Anyone who dared, in those days, in the early stages following the thwarted coup, to articulate the thought that a better country, a better Turkey would be possible if the government had the political will, had to endure quite a beating. Apparently, such a thought regarding Turkey cannot even be expressed. The calls for the death penalty in Turkey, but also here in Germany, have contributed to this stance: Not with this Turkey, not with these Turks" (Topçu, 2017)

In Erdogan's Turkey, there are many contradictory attitudes. Everything can happen in 24 minutes, not in 24 hours. (Topçu, 2017) Every political, social, and cultural event in Turkey will also affect the German-Turkish community with its three million inhabitants. Topçu expresses this effect in the final sentences of his book as follows:

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journalist, and has been regularly commenting on recent developments in Turkey in the public sphere." (Çobanlı, 2017)

[10] Özlem Topçu was born in 1977 in Flensburg. Since 2009, she has been a political editor at 'ZEIT' and regularly reports on and from Turkey.

"*One thing is certain: Not least the more than three million people of Turkish origin in Germany will ensure that the two countries remain inseparably connected. This makes many things easier – and at the same time harder. Turkey will never be just any country for them in the long run, regardless of their political affiliations.*" (Topçu, 2017)

2- The Novels

"Fatma Aydemir"[11] was the first to address the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey in her novels, albeit in the background of the story. It should not be forgotten that she is one of the successful representatives of second-generation German-Turkish literature. Aydemir successfully processes the clash of cultures, alienation, and the characters who cannot adapt to both cultures in her 2018 novel "*Ellbogen*" (Aydemir, 2018).

"My name is Hazal Akgündüz, my subject is: Survival." She is seventeen. She was born in Berlin. Her name is Hazal Akgündüz. She could become an ordinary adult. Except that her immigrant parents from Turkey feel alienated in Germany. And that Hazal makes fatal mistakes in her search for a home. It starts with a stolen lipstick. Then it turns into blunt violence. When the police are after her, Hazal flees to Istanbul, where she has never been before. Warmhearted and wild, Fatma Aydemir tells the story of the many people living between cultures and nations, and of their search for a place in the world. One wants to help Hazal, one wants to run with her through the night, one wants to know how her story and ours will continue." (Aydemir, 2018)

"Hazal" lives in a great dilemma between her family and the people in Germany, and she flees to Istanbul under the pretext of a small crime she committed; to meet a young person she met on Facebook. Here, she gets to know the Kurdish movement and left-wing movements in Turkey with the teenager she ran away with. In the last 15 pages of the novel, the protagonist Hazal finds herself on the street on the night of the coup on July 15, 2016, and neither she nor anyone else can understand what is happening. Alone and helpless, she is trapped amidst exploding bombs and gunfire. (Aydemir, 2018)

In 2022, Sabine Adatepe, one of a prominent figure in German-Turkish literature, adapted the "Gezi Park" events of 2013 into a novel. Adatepe, who introduced the Gezi events to German-Turkish literature with an anthology in 2014, places the Gezi events at the center of her new novel. The content of this novel, entitled "Blaulicht" (Blue Light) (Adatepe, 2022) is described in the introduction on the back of the book as follows:

"Istanbul 2013: Student Lea stumbles into the midst of the Gezi protests, falls in love with a graffiti artist, and works on a documentary. Is the man in the video really her father, the Kurdish refugee who disappeared many years ago? She sets out to search... Marie, in her mid-forties, plagued by fantasies of decay, loses not only her permanent job in Hamburg but also the ground beneath her feet. Then comes the offer to lead a workshop for students: Street Art in Istanbul! She takes the step into a new life... Imke, in her early seventies, cannot get over her daughter's decision to cut contact. Can she find solace in the garden and on travels? Unexpected ruptures force the three women from three generations to discover what truly matters to them. All three embark on new paths that miraculously intersect." (*Adatepe, 2022)*

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[11] Fatma Aydemir was born in Karlsruhe in 1986. From 2007 to 2012, she studied German Studies and American Studies in Frankfurt am Main. Since 2012, she has been living in Berlin and works as an editor for the ›taz‹. As a freelance writer, she also contributes to numerous magazines such as ›Spex‹ and the ›Missy Magazine‹.

Salim Güler[12] is the most prolific novelist in German-Turkish literature. The author, born and raised in Germany, has written "55" novels since 2011. Of the "35" novels he has written in the last six years (from 2016 to 2022), eight focus on the recent illegality in Turkey[13].

**Frankfurt Book Fair - 2019*

Let us now consider the individual novels in question. In his novel "*Gespalten*" (Divided) (Güler, 2017b), Güler extensively delves into the 2017 referendum and the subsequent transition to a presidential system. His protagonist states that Erdogan will gradually move towards dictatorship and is no different from Putin and Trump. "*I don't understand why people follow dictators who lead them step by step into catastrophe*" (Güler, 2017b), he says.

"»Tell me, what do you actually think about this referendum by Erdogan?« »Just leave me alone with that. I can't stand that whole Erdocracy anymore. Incomprehensible that people enable this man to build his dictatorship. I am ashamed of the Turks living here who are in favor of it; it casts a very bad light on people like me who are against Erdogan.« »National pride is a powerful weapon, as we Germans experienced in the thirties. Let's hope Erdogan doesn't become a second Hitler. But then the trio would be perfect with Trump, Putin, and him«, Brandt remarked sarcastically. Of course, the debate surrounding the referendum by the Turkish leader had not passed him by. It was incomprehensible to him how people could be so enthusiastic about a dictator, as Erdogan was nothing else in his eyes." (Güler, 2017b)

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[12] Salim Güler, raised in Northern Germany, studied Economics in Cologne and obtained his Ph.D. from TU-Chemnitz. He worked in the private sector for a long time, most recently as a press officer. Already as a student, he started writing self-invented stories, a passion that has stayed with him to this day. His novels often reflect current societal issues, which he skillfully embeds into a fictional and highly engaging narrative. His books consistently make their way onto the bestseller lists of Amazon sales charts. (Güler, 2022)

[13] During our conversation at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2019, he personally told me that the German police had warned him not to travel to Turkey, and that he couldn't even travel to Turkey during the summer holidays because he risked being arrested due to his travels.

On the following pages of the novel:

"The tension rose. »I don't think I need to tell you that. We live in a free country, not in a dictatorship like Turkey«, said Wirtz, casting a mocking glance at Aydin. »But you are very much mistaken. « (Güler, 2017b -140)"

Aydın, a police officer, explains in his own words that Turkey is a complete dictatorship where no rights are respected. He then criticizes the transition to a dictatorship through a referendum from the perspective of a police officer. He adds that Turkish people living in Germany should have been aware of the consequences, but they too were caught up in this development. Finally, he states that unlimited power should not be given to anyone, no matter who they are:

″ I just say: Turkey," Aydin, who had just entered the kitchen as well, joined the discussion. "It's really incomprehensible to me how so many Turks here can support Erdogan," Rech continued to react with bewilderment. "Me too. Erdogan has indeed brought about some good changes; many people in Turkey are better off today than before his time. However, that doesn't justify giving a man so much unrestricted power. After the referendum, he will be able to do as he pleases. And how dangerous that is, the Turks living here should actually know. No one, whether they are called Erdogan, Trump, or Merkel, should have so much power. (Güler, 2017b -180)

In his novel "*Abrechnung*" (Settlement) (Güler, 2017a), Salim Güler also criticizes those who blindly admire Erdogan in the countries of the Middle East just because he is a populist Islamist. He states that Erdogan is a sick dictator:

"Ankara is fantastic. Have you been there before?" "Unfortunately, not. But my best friend is Turkish, and we plan to visit Istanbul next year. I admire Erdogan. He has made Turkey great again. We need someone like that in Lebanon too." "Inshallah," Walsh replied, placing his right hand on his heart, which clearly impressed Roda as his eyes lit up. Walsh chose to keep to himself the fact that he considered Erdogan a sick dictator at that moment." (Güler, 2017a)

In his novel "Remy" (Güler, 2018b), Güler effectively exposes the "unlawful practices" of Turkey post-2016. He cited the case of Doğan Akhanlı, one of the most prominent writers in German-Turkish literature, who was arrested by Interpol in Spain simply for criticizing the Erdogan regime, highlighting the seriousness of the situation. Indeed, a year has passed since Akhanlı's arrest, and its portrayal in the novel within such a short time is also a success of German-Turkish literature.

″ Even if there is a warrant out for him, that doesn't mean much. Interpol simply forwards them. Think about the warrant issued by the Erdogan government against the regime critic Dogan Akhanlı, a significant German-Turkish writer. Completely baseless." "Rémy is not a writer, and I find it hard to imagine that he would confront a regime. Neither my imagination nor my admiration for this talented young man goes that far. But thank you for enlightening me on Interpol's role," Brandt sarcastically replied. Of course, he knew that Interpol was not a global police force searching for criminals in individual countries, but rather a liaison for national police forces from one hundred and ninety countries, helping to facilitate cooperation and connect authorities″ (Güler, 2018b)

In his novel "*Pandemi*" (Güler, 2020b), Güler strongly emphasizes "democracy, human rights, freedom of speech and press, the right to asylum for the persecuted," arguing that those suppressed by authoritarian regimes should be protected.

" One would think that one of humanity's most valuable achievements would be democracy, as it brought precious privileges such as human rights, freedom of opinion and press, as well as the right to asylum for the politically persecuted. Despite his experiences, Daniel repeatedly succumbed to the naive belief that his job would help protect people persecuted by authoritarian regimes" (Güler, 2020b)

At the end of his novel "*Narben*" (Scars) (Güler, 2019a), Güler conducts an interrogation. Although it does not directly target Turkey, it revolves around "the problems they cause in the world:

"Human! What does it mean to be human? This question often crosses my mind. To this day, I find no answer to it, at least none that truly satisfies me. Someone once told me that humanity is what defines being human. Is that really so? I fear that violence, the desire to dominate others, and selfishness are the true essence of humanity. I wish I were wrong, but one only needs to look at the daily news. Everywhere there is war, and all too often, it is just a few individuals who dictate to a vast number what they must do. They kill, they displace others, they enrich themselves, and they lie whenever they can. (...) Humanity needs a real revolution. But I fear that there is a lack of leaders willing to lead this revolution. Nothing will ever change, no matter how educated or technologically advanced humanity becomes. A few will always rule over the many others." (Güler, 2019a)

In some of his novels, he directly addresses Erdogan's dictatorship. Emre Aydın is the famous detective in the "Köln Crime Series". The author often has him express such political thoughts. In the novel "*Der Fremde*" (The Stranger) (Güler, 2020a), the same detective Emre Aydin expresses his thoughts about Erdoğan:

"The coincidence of birth," Aydin said. "That's right. Birth helps decide what kind of life you're granted. And yet it's always just people who are responsible for all the misery in the world. Power-crazed dictators like Assad or Putin." "You're forgetting Erdogan. What's he doing in northern Syria? The Kurds have established a functioning autonomous government there. The people live in peace and are safe from the massacre. But that's all changed now because of Erdogan and his domestic political interests. It's a messed-up world. I really feel sorry for the people there."(Güler, 2020a)

In his novel "*Geh nicht mit*" (Don't Go Along) (Güler, 2018a), Salim Güler skillfully observes that there is no press freedom in Turkey and many intellectuals are imprisoned simply for writing down their thoughts:

"As a convinced European and democrat, it has remained a mystery to her how someone like Trump could have come to power. But she was realistic enough not to engage in populist discussions. The world was brutal, which is precisely why it was imperative to have people like her who exposed political abuses without fearing imprisonment for it. Therefore, she could not understand the popular bashing against the German government. She knew journalists who were imprisoned in countries like Turkey or Russia for reporting critically on the government. Something like that would never happen in Germany, at least she hoped. Press freedom had become a precious asset in today's world, which was a sad fact." (Güler, 2018a)

In another of his novels, "*Stille Wut*" (Silent Rage) (Güler, 2019b), Güler this time has not a policeman, not a journalist, but a criminal speak about Turkey as a state that violates human rights. This gives the impression that this opinion prevails not only in the upper echelons of society, but also in the lower strata:

"You have the wrong man. My lawyer will tear you apart. This is called deprivation of liberty," Ali ranted. Now Brandt finally lost his patience and gave him a light slap on the back of the head with the flat of his hand. Ali theatrically screamed. "We live in Germany, in a constitutional state, not in China

or Turkey. I will make sure you lose your job." Brandt grabbed him. "Now listen to me carefully, you cowardly piece of shit." (Güler, 2019b)

In Turkey, all stages of dictatorship are experienced one after the other. After the coup attempt in 2016, not only Gülenists, leftist writers, or Kurds received death threats, but also LGBT and minority rights defenders. One of the writers who went into "exile" in Berlin for the aforementioned reason was "*Barbaros Altuğ*"[14]. Barbaros Altuğ is one of the first writers to have depicted "*the Gezi events*"[15] in his novel *"Es Geht um Hier Gut"* (It's All About Good Here) (Altuğ, 2018) in 2018:

"*Eren, Ali, and Yasemin are stranded in Berlin, the euphoria of the Istanbul Gezi protests has faded, the wounds not yet healed. Expectations for a new life according to their own visions are all the greater. Life goes on, or does it not? How to process painful memories and find new paths? After weeks of uncertainty and tormenting questions of meaning, two messages change everything: Yasemin's baby and Eren's novel manuscript... "We're Doing Fine Here" builds bridges in the spirit of Gezi between Yesterday and Today, between Istanbul and Berlin, and proves the power of love and books." (Altuğ, 2018)*

Barbaros Altuğ was also invited to the German Federal Chancellery Residence to contribute to the "Christmas Cultural and Arts Meeting"[16] 2021. The excerpt read from Barbaros Altuğ's (At the time of the program, the novel was still unpublished) novel "*Ausländer"*[17] (Foreigner) *(Altuğ, 2022)*, whose biography is also being read at this meeting, describes the suffocating atmosphere in Turkey after the 2016 coup:

"*Foreigner. The human is happy not when he experiences, but when he remembers. Let's leave from here. It was the time when it seemed like everyone had the plan to leave the country. We were not doing well. It had become clear to us that the beautiful days we had not appreciated properly were now over forever. Summer had just begun. Yet, it was extremely hot. While it might have been as hot as in previous years, the city was no longer the same for us. A long-lasting community seemed to slowly disintegrate.*

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[14] Barbaros Altuğ is a Turkish writer, journalist, and literary agent. As a columnist and author focusing on LGBT and minority rights in Turkey, he received death threats and left the country after the failed coup attempt in 2016 and increasing repression. Since December 2020, Altuğ has been a fellow of the Writers-in-Exile program. (https://www.pen-deutschland.de/de/themen/writers-in-exile/aktuelle-stipendiaten/barbaros-altug/) (Altuğ 2021)

[15] See also: S. S. Özdemir (2015); Gençoğlu Onbaşi (2016)

[16] The activity is announced on the website of the Federal Chancellery as follows: "At the invitation of Minister of State for Culture Roth, artists came together at the Federal Chancellery shortly before Christmas to perform music and read from literary works. They were welcomed by Chancellor Scholz. The focus of the evening 'Culture in the Chancellery' was on the themes of flight and exile, home and openness to the world. (https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/kultur-im-kanzleramt-1993636)

[17] The contents of the novel has been briefly described on the back cover as follows: "In 2016, the year of the military coup in Turkey, three friends, Dunya, Tuba, and Suna, decide to travel to Portugal for a few days. During their vacation, they receive the news that a government-critical document written by Tuba and Dunya has been confiscated by the police in Istanbul. They cannot return and are forced to go into exile. Tuba stays in Portugal for a while, Suna travels to India, and Dunya goes to Berlin - the place where she migrated and grew up with her Turkish mother as a child. There, her traumatic memories of her childhood and youth slowly resurface: the exclusion and racism experienced by migrants in Germany and her mother's violent rejection of her queer identity." (Altuğ, 2022)

Our regular hangouts closed, our favorite poets were in prison, and there were fewer and fewer books that we still wanted to read. Anyway, none of us had been there yet, said Suna as she blew the smoke from her extremely thin cigarette to the side. We sat at a shady table at the end of a street lined with cafes in Cihangir and drank iced tea. Like almost everyone else, we also talked about leaving the city. So you were just dismissed. Suna's friend had emigrated to Lisbon with her three children and apparently couldn't stop raving about it. We didn't want to emigrate, but at least be able to breathe freely again. (...) She had been part of a legion of unemployed journalists. "If you were good enough, they would have imprisoned you. But your articles were simply harmless. So you were just dismissed." That's how we interpreted it." (Altuğ, 2021)

In the end, novels are an important genre that sheds light on the time and society in which they were written, making it humanly understandable. German-Turkish literary authors have not remained indifferent to Turkey even after 2016 and have successfully reflected it in their works. The message from Minister of State for Culture "Claudia Roth" on the occasion of the event confirms this (Altuğ, 2021):

"*With this evening, we have opened the doors of the Chancellery wide for the freedom of speech and art," rejoiced Minister of State Roth. "The participating artists embody the universal experience of flight and threat with their biographies – and they have arrived here. They should find a home here - a home where you belong and are needed." For her personally, Christmas therefore also means supporting those who particularly need our solidarity and help, Claudia Roth continued."*

These words of the Minister of State for Culture are like the announcement of the beginning of a new era in German-Turkish literature.

3- Newspapers, Magazines, and Visual Media

Writers and intellectuals who go into exile from Turkey to Germany engage in extensive publishing activities to make their voices heard. These new members of the German-Turkish literary community publish dozens of newspapers and magazines in their new country. These authors harness the power of technology and utilize online media with great success. Since they are little known in their new country and it is not possible to quickly reach a level of language proficiency that would allow them to write scholarly and literary works, they mainly publish in Turkish. Of course, established representatives of German-Turkish literature continue to publish in German. To discuss the hundreds of YouTube channels opened would far exceed the scope of this article. It should not be overlooked that only journalists and artists like *Cevheri Güven, Ahmet Bozkuş* and *Mustafa Sarıtaş* have reached millions of views.

3.1. Literature and Art Journals

The magazine that entered the German magazine market most rapidly after 2016 was the *Sokrates Magazine*[18]. Originating its publishing life in Turkey, the magazine relocated its

[18] Socrates Magazine is a sports culture magazine that has been published since 2015. Following the "*printed magazine*," various platforms such as the "*Sokrates Website*," social media accounts "*Sokrates Deutschland*," "*Sokrates Bistro*," the YouTube channel "*Sokrates Studio*," and the podcast platform "*Sokrates Podcasts*" have emerged. The Socrates Magazine offers a content world that does not focus on a single sport but produces diverse, interdisciplinary content and prefers to report in-depth on sports culture. The goal is to provide new perspectives on topics already discovered or yet to be discovered in many sports such as football, basketball, cycling, athletics,

headquarters to Germany a year later, where it made a very swift debut and was selected by the German media platform Kress as one of the top 25 magazines leading the media of the future.

" The German media platform Kress has announced the entrepreneurs who will shape the media of the future. The jury formed by Kress identified 25 names among 200 entrepreneurs. The publisher of Sokrates Deutschland, Can Öz, also participated in the list. The headquarters of the Socrates magazine, which first appeared in Germany in November 2016, is located in Berlin and Braunschweig. It is printed in Berlin and Braunschweig, distributed by Cromatics in Dresden, and marketed by DPV in Hamburg. The magazine's distribution network includes Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, and the Benelux countries."[19] *(Edebiyat Haber, 2017)*

The magazine, launched with the slogan "Thinking Sports," publishes a wide range from sports to literature, from art to philosophy.

Following the unfortunate attempted coup in 2016, a significant number of Turkish intellectuals chose to relocate to Germany. They came together as a community and began publishing literary journals within a few years. Let us take a moment to explore some of these journals.

One such publication is the literary and art magazine "*Lapsus"*, which has been published in Germany since January 2020. It was created through the dedicated efforts of three artists, *Serkan Öztürk, Ahmet Bozkuş*, and *Gülizar Baki*, who relocated to Germany following the events of 2016. The magazine, which takes a unique and innovative approach, is on its way to becoming one of the most influential literary magazines in German-Turkish literature.

Gülizar Baki formulates the purpose of the magazine as follows:

"*Right now, we are going through things that no one can imagine or make up. Who would have thought that the whole world would be locked outside our front door. And the past 4 years... We are experiencing such extraordinary events that writing and reading feel like a mother's womb to us. The homeland of a person is their mother tongue. We seek refuge in our homeland.*

And we wanted readers and writers to meet. This is an author-reader cafe, let's come together here. In this world where atrocities flow, noble words also flow from somewhere. Let's talk about beauty.

We are here after a long work. The name of our magazine is "Lapsus," which means "slip of the tongue." It means "an involuntary or unconscious mistake" made in writing or speaking. According to psychoanalytic theory, it is "the eruption of unconscious desires or conflicts." In other words, it is "the language that says what the brain is trying to hide." Lapsus also means "silence" in Latin." (Baki, 2020)

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tennis, swimming, boxing, motorsport, Olympic sports, and many more. Simultaneously, it tells and conveys "*stories*" that touch on all areas of "*art,"* from "*literature to cinema*," "*politics,"* and other aspects of life. It produces content in various forms and attempts to approach stories, events, people, characters, elements, and phenomena that are part of the past, future, and present from different perspectives (https://www.socratesdergi.com/hakkinda) *Socrates Dergi*

[19] Edebiyat Haber. (22.09.2017), Socrates Magazine entered the list in Germany, Literary News. Last accessed: 07.03.2022, https://www.edebiyathaber.net/socrates-dergi-almanyada-listeye-girdi/

At the end of the first year, the magazine publishes its first special edition. This special edition was also presented by Gülizar Baki:

″ When we started broadcasting in March 2020, our dream was to bring readers and authors together. After more than a year, we can joyfully say: What we wanted came true, readers and authors met. We have read very good articles. Some have burned into our hearts, some have brought us spring, but they all had in common that they were hopeful articles for Turkish literature. We have met very special people. When the three of us set out, we found friends who struggled with writing, who were good with a pen, and who were friends of words. In this sense, we would like to thank all our readers and authors. And of course, our employees who invest time and imagination in Lapsus... Because we have only published and told our articles. We have not advertised, nor have we succumbed to the winds of social media. We said that good articles will find good readers. And they did find them (...) When you hold this digital magazine in your hands, we wanted it to be a memory of our first year. If you asked us for it, we said, "Why not." It was difficult to select a limited number of beautiful works, but it was a good decision. Who knows, maybe this special edition will be a precursor to other publications.″ (Baki, 2021)

One of the magazines in the field of literature and culture that have appeared in Germany during this period is the magazine "*Çağlayan”*. This magazine has been published regularly every month since its first issue in April 2017.[20]

“*Helezon*” (the Spiral) (Helezon, 2021a) is an important literary and art magazine in German-Turkish literature, to which I also belong as a literary editor, which began its publication life in 2021. The editorial team publishes *Helezon* Magazine online monthly, with the participation of more than 60 writers, poets, and illustrators who had to leave their country after 2016 and mostly live in Germany. It is an important magazine that not only includes poems, essays, stories, interviews but also film and music, thus filling an important gap in German-Turkish literature. Through projects like *Five Continents and Five Poets*, the magazine interviews the leading poets and writers of the world and introduces cities and countries like *Peru, Beijing, and Ecuador* in travel articles. To this day, it can be observed that the magazine keeps its publications free from politics and current affairs. The magazine, which also actively uses social channels like *YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram*, aims to reach relevant individuals in these channels through audio and video. (Helezon, 2021a)

It is evident that the emergence of journalism in German-Turkish literature cannot be presumed to be a recent phenomenon. Some of these works have been in circulation for decades. One of the periodicals that has been publishing in the field of culture, art, and literature for an extended

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[20] I had the privilege of presenting my article about the magazine Çağlayan at the "*28th International Congress of FILLM (Fédération Internationale des Langues et Littératures Modernes)*" at the University of Vienna from July 18 to 21, 2021. I am delighted to share that this work will also be published as a chapter of a book. This book, entitled "Linguistic, Literary, and Cultural Diversity in a Global Perspective," offers a captivating collection of research articles that examine the intricate connections between language, culture, and identity across the globe. Those interested in learning more are encouraged to consult the detailed information provided therein. (https://benjamins.com/catalog/fillm.21).

period is "*Die Fontäne"*. This journal has not been indifferent to the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey. Indeed, it has included numerous works on the post-2016 process in its pages. (Die Fontaene, 2017) .

3.2. Newspapers and news platforms

Following the events of 2016, the voice of opposition journalism in Turkey was effectively silenced, with the percentage of regime-friendly newspapers and magazines rising to 95%. As a consequence, online newspapers and news platforms began to emerge, particularly in Germany. These include "*Taz.gazete"* [21] , "*DTJ-Online"* (German-Turkish Journal) [22] , "*Panorama News"* [23] , "*Artı Gerçek"* [24] , "*Tr724"* [25] , *"Özgürüz"* [26] , and others. These newspapers and news portals, which are mostly in German and Turkish, have become significant sources of news, with hundreds of thousands of followers, particularly in Turkey. In addition, most of these news portals (Özgürüz, Artı Gerçek, MC TV, etc.) also have *online television* or *radio*. It can be observed that almost all of them are active on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.

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[21] "*Taz.gazete* is a bilingual internet platform launched in 2017 by *taz.die tageszeitung* and the *taz Panther* Foundation. *taz.gazete* publishes articles, interviews, and analyses five days a week, focusing intensively on current events in Turkey. It is broadcasted in both German and Turkish languages. In addition to freelance journalists working in various regions of Turkey, our colleagues living in the diaspora also contribute to *taz.gazete*. Our goal is to support freedom of expression and diversity of opinions in Turkey and give alternative voices a stronger voice." Last accessed: 21.03.2022 https://gazete.taz.de/tr/about/index.html

[22] "*dtj-online* is 'The Expert Portal on Turkey and the German-Turkish Community.' What we have done so far and intend to continue doing after an involuntary hiatus of more than 6 months, since this year's International Day of Journalism (May 3, 2017), is to report from Germany about Turkey, the German-Turks, the German-Turkish community, and the relationship between Germany and Turkey." Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://dtj-online.de

[23] *Panorama News* (2017). IMPRESSUM, **Angaben gemäß § 5 TMG:** Freie Medien am Rhein e.V. Postfach 160324, 44333 – Dortmund. Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://panorama-news.de/impressum/?

[24] *Artıgerçek* (2017). KÜNYE / IMPRESSUM, Inhaberin: Arti Media GmbH Waltherstr. 49 (Haus 6-7), 51069 Köln / GERMANY. Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://artigercek.com/p/kunye

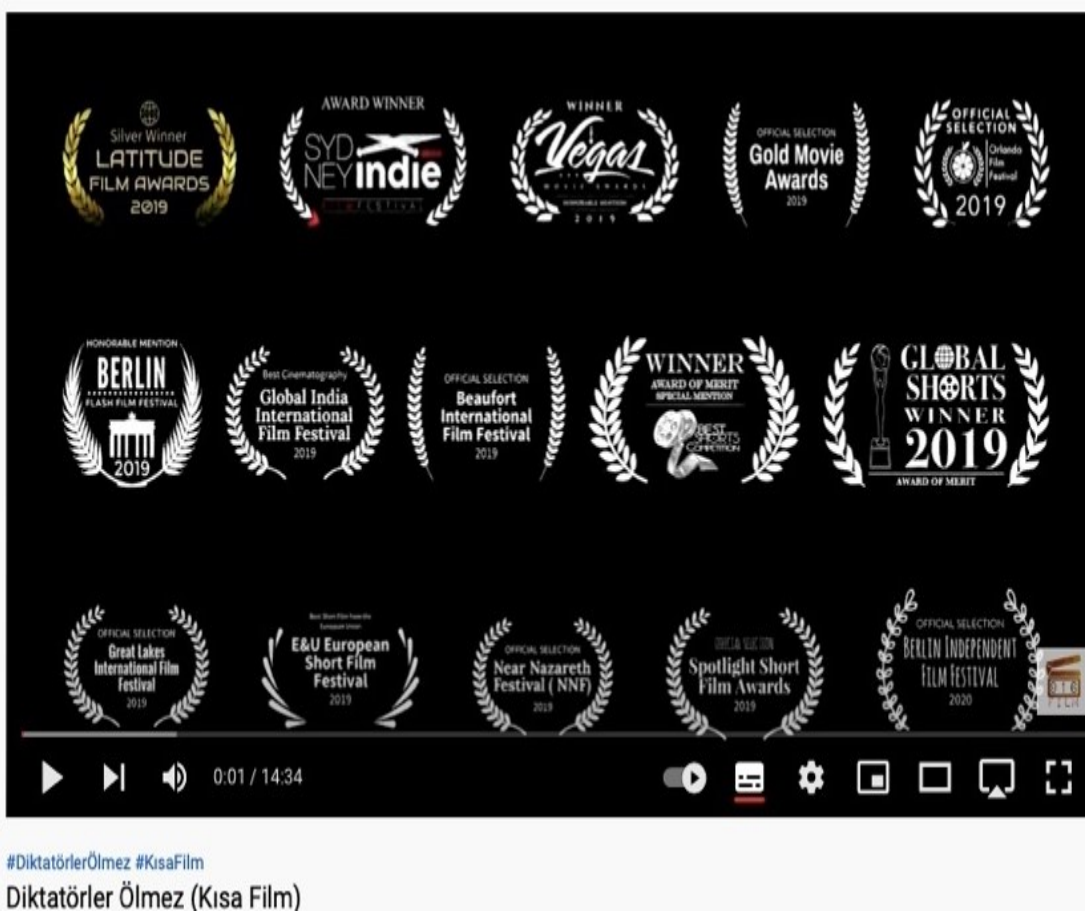
[25] *Tr724* (2017). "Who are we? The media in Turkey is dead. All television channels and newspapers, with one or two exceptions, barely broadcast anymore under threat of closure and confiscation, becoming government bulletins. In such an atmosphere, there are no answers to the questions 'What is happening in Turkey?' and 'How should this be evaluated?'. We at *'Tr724.com'* have been reporting for 5 years despite all difficulties using our own means from the 'lost land' and the world." Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://tr724.wpengine.com/iletisim/

[26] *Özgürüz* (2016). IMPRESSUM. #ÖZGÜRÜZ ist eine Marke der ÖZGÜRÜZ Press gUG (haftungsbeschränkt) Akazienallee 10, 45127 Essen. Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://ozguruz.de/impressum/

3.3. Cinema: Film Director, Screenwriter, Producer, and Actor

Following the year 2016, a number of prominent Turkish filmmakers have relocated to Germany. Among them are directors such as *Serkan Öztürk*[27], *Erdal Dizman*, and *Mustafa Altıoklar*, who have produced a significant number of works within a relatively short period of time.

In 2019, *Öztürk* directed a short film titled "*Dictators Don't Die*,"[28] which despite its limited budget, garnered 15 international film awards.



15 Kinopreise für den Film " Diktatoren sterben nicht".

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[27] During this period, he appeared in the film *Dictators Don't Die* (Diktatörler Ölmez) and in the films "*How So"* (Nasıl Yani) (2016), "*Alaturka"* (2017), and "*Discover"* (Keşif) as an actor. Additionally, he portrays the roles of both actor and artistic director in the cinematic work "*Corona Obsession"*, which was filmed in Germany in 2020. The film's duration is 90 minutes, and it was filmed in the German language.

[28] The short film produced by *Maestro Productions*, written and directed by *Serkan Öztürk*, won 15 awards at international festivals and was shot in Germany in the German language. Screenwriter and Director: Serkan Öztürk. Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sl8LAJ3iVEA

Öztürk, who is also interested in shadow and puppet theater, has made a significant contribution to German shadow theater with his puppets.

Karagöz figures exhibition and performance of the Theater 916 in Romania [29]

Dance of shadow and color worlds [30]

[29] Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://theater-916.de/karagoez-figuren-ausstellung-und-vorfuehrung-des-theater-916-in-rumaenien/

[30] The traditional Turkish shadow play 'Karagöz' was recognized by UNESCO as 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' in 2009 and included in the 'Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.' Serkan Öztürk, inspired by Karagöz in his performances, has a specific view on shadow play, as summarized by the Armenian musician Aram Tigram." Last accessed: 21.03.2022, https://theater-916.de/spiele/tanz-der-schatten-und-farbenwelten/

"*Erdal Dizman*" also attracted attention with his short film "*Aperture*"[31] (Erdal Dizman, 23 Mayıs 2020) which addressed the issue of infants and toddlers in prisons. Additionally, he appeared alongside Serkan Öztürk in the 90-minute film "*Corona Obsession*"[32] (Erdal Dizman, 2021). With his German-speaking film, he rapidly established a presence in the German film industry.

"*Mustafa Altıoklar*", a highly regarded Turkish filmmaker, was subjected to a threat of imprisonment for what was perceived as an insult to Erdoğan on a television show. This led to his decision to seek refuge in Berlin in 2015.

"In his homeland, he is a star. A multiple award-winning director, his feature film 'Agir Roman' is considered canonical. At the same time, he is a Kemalist and has repeatedly publicly criticized the rise of Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his party AKP. This went well for a long time, but in 2015, he had to flee to avoid ending up in prison. After a few months in Munich, he decided that he wants to live in Berlin, 'possibly for many years.' Mustafa Altioklar did not apply for asylum in Germany but instead applied for an artist visa, which must be renewed annually." (Leber, 2018)

Instead of shooting films here, he opened an acting school that trains actors for the German-Turkish film industry. Thanks to this school, dozens of professional actors have already been trained.

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[31] The film by director *Erdal Dizman*, entitled "*Aperture*", which deals with the subject of incarcerated children, is available for viewing on the video-sharing platform *YouTube*. The film chronicles the experiences of Elif, whose sole source of income is dedicated to supporting incarcerated children. There are 800 infants with their mothers and a significantly larger number of children in Turkish prisons. The number of incarcerated children has increased exponentially following the July 15, 2016, incident. Children in prison are not provided with an adequate diet, and they encounter difficulties in accessing playgrounds and health services.

Following the July 15th events, Erdal Dizman was imprisoned in Sincan Prison for a period of one year. Despite the challenging circumstances and lack of financial resources, Erdal Dizman, while residing with his family in a refugee camp in Germany, initiated the production of short films for children in prison. The film, entitled "*Aperture*", which has been awarded at numerous festivals, was released on *Vimeo.com* on the eve of May 23, 2020. The film, the proceeds of which are entirely dedicated to supporting children in prison, is now accessible on YouTube. (Kronos, 27.12. 2020)

[32] "*Corona Obsession"*, (2021). Film sales *TheMovieAgency.com* releases in exclusivity the trailer of their latest acquisition: a very surprising German feature film entitled "*Corona Obsession*" Erdal Dizman (2021). Corona Obsession was completed this January 2022 and tells the story of *Adam*, an entrepreneur with an obsessive-compulsive disorder. He lives a secluded life with an obsession for cleanliness. The movie is directed by *Erdal Dizman* and played by *Wolfgang Böhm, Nikolaus Okonkwo, Hans Jörg Berchtold, Judith Seither*, and the very convincing *Ceyhan Genc* in the leading role of Adam. As the Corona crisis begins, Adam faces new challenges. The virus has killed his best friend, his last attempt to reconcile with his ex-wife has gone thoroughly wrong, and his company colleagues are hardly standing by him anymore. With his last ounce of strength, he tries to revive the good old memories of his wife and his friend. Adam soon sets out on an unprecedented journey, that takes him to his physical and mental limits. Comedic and dramatic elements will bring the audience to reflect on the last few years and how we differently coped with the disease. The controversial feature film will be represented by *TheMovieAgency.com* in next month's European Film Market happening in Berlin. *Corona Obsession* should hopefully be released in North America and other territories later in 2022. (Erdal Dizman, 2021)

"*Initially, he only rented a room for his acting school in the house on Bergmannstrasse. 22 students are close to completing their training. They are currently shooting audition tapes in order to apply afterwards. The most challenging aspect was to train them out of the Berlin accent. 'I had to teach them the Istanbul accent.' Otherwise, they would only be left with exotic roles in the Turkish market. (*Leber, 2018)

Of course, Altıoklar does not want to spend his next life as a school principal. He continues to work diligently on new film projects.

"*He finally wants to be productive again. He has written the script for a drama that indirectly relates to himself. It is based on a true story: When the Nazis came to power in Germany, several dozen German scientists, most of them of Jewish faith, asked the Turkish founding father Atatürk for asylum. He took them all in, arranged teaching assignments for them at the newly founded Istanbul University. Mustafa Altioklar's father was studying there at the time, sitting in seminars with German professors. Many more followed, bringing their families and assistants. By the end of World War II, there were 2,000 Germans. A whole wave, says Altioklar. 'Now it's moving in the other direction, and I'm part of it.' The Medienboard will soon decide whether to support the film, then it could start soon.* (Leber, 2018)

4. Results of the German-Turkish literature research in the German press between September 12, 2010, and August 1, 2020

The articles about German-Turkish writers in the German press were researched between September 12, 2010, and August 1, 2020. The methodology entailed scanning the names of 360 previously identified writers, poets, and artists in the database "*GENIOS eBib*"[33] *("Genios")* of the State Library in Berlin, resulting in 29,821 identified articles by 122 writers and artists. The research commenced on September 12, 2010, coinciding with the date on which the Erdogan regime removed all obstacles to the establishment of a dictatorship in Turkey through the "*constitutional referendum"*. In the period following this date, two further crucial turning points were the "*Gezi events*" of 2013 and the "*military coup attempt*" of 2016. The German press's reception of these events, particularly among German-Turkish writers and poets, was examined.

Within these periods, a total of 1-5 articles were identified for 39 individuals, 6-10 articles for 13 individuals, 10-50 articles for 13 individuals, 51-100 articles for 10 individuals, 101-200 articles for 9 individuals, and 201-500 articles for 9 individuals. A total of three individuals were identified with 500 to 1,000 articles, five individuals with 1,001 to 2,000 articles, and finally, three individuals with more than 2,000 articles.

The three individuals who have published the most articles are *Fatih Akın, Deniz Yücel*, and *Özlem Topçu*. "*Fatih Akın*" has consistently been the subject of considerable attention, both in

[33] Genios offers article research in approximately 350 national and local daily and weekly newspapers as well as magazines for VÖBB users. Access is through a search mask. The service is more geared towards factual research rather than daily reading and is only available after logging in with library data. (bib-voebb.genios.de)

terms of his awards and his films, which has resulted in 3,178 articles being written about him during this period.

"Deniz Yücel" is the individual who has been the subject of the greatest number of articles and has published his own writings. In particular, during his period of incarceration in Turkey, he was the subject of constant media attention, and these studies yielded significant results. Subsequently, he was released after a period of ten months, following intervention by Merkel. Even after 2017, Deniz Yücel has maintained a prominent presence in the German press through his contributions to the newspaper Die Welt and his book on the subject. Additionally, hundreds of publications have been written about the Gezi events of 2013.

The new member of the German-Turkish literature, with over a thousand articles already published, is "*Can Dündar*." With the books he has written and the newspapers and magazines he has edited, he has become one of the favorite figures of the German press, especially with the story of the censorship he suffered, his arrest, his shooting, and finally his escape to Berlin. Between these dates, 1446 articles were published about him.

Another actress who has been the subject of 1,005 articles in the German press is "*Sibel Kekilli"*. She attracted the attention of the German press primarily through her role as a detective in the Tatort episodes she directed for the NDR and her roles in "*Game of Thrones"*. In 2019, her portrayal of a terrorist in the RTL crime series "*Bullet*" was the subject of numerous newspaper and magazine articles.

Additionally, the German press has also focused its attention on "*Feridun Zaimoğlu"*. His subsequent works attracted considerable attention. The novel "*The History of the Woman"* is the work that left its mark on the German press in the years 2019 and 2020. The event was the subject of hundreds of newspaper articles. In particular, Dresden spoke at length about his *"reading*" at the "*Literature Now*" festival and the award he received. Additionally, the play Siegfried Wagner in Bayreuth and the discourse Bayreuth, which he co-wrote with Günter Senkel, also received considerable attention. Another piece he wrote in 2019 was the play "*Babylon"*. As previously indicated, these works address themes that are not particularly current or universal. In conclusion, the publication of 1,312 articles about Zaimoğlu between the aforementioned time points is indicative of the considerable attention he received in the German press.

Other artists, especially "*talk show*" artists who have made a name for themselves in the German press with more than a thousand articles, include: *Dyango Asül* (1761) and *Bülent Ceylan* (1892).

Furthermore, there are 11 more authors to mention who have been in the headlines of the German press with 300 to 1000 articles. These are: *Doğan Akhanlı* (910), *Necla Kelek* (838), *Hilal Sezgin* (683), *Mely Kıyak* (663), *Seyran Ateş* (617), *Asli Erdogan* (615), *Serdar Somuncu* (587), *Hatice Akyün* (551), *Fatma Aydemir* (501), *Iris Alanyalı* (442), and *Akif Pirinççi* (367).

"Mely Kıyak" is one of the authors who have gradually moved into the spotlight of the German press with her column in the newspaper "Die Zeit" and the books she has published. She is a journalist and author who addressed the *Gezi Park events* with her works "*Will They Deport Us with FlixBus*", "*Being a Woman*", "*Attitude: An Essay Against Loudness*", and "*Istanbul Notes*".

In conclusion, it is noted that 122 authors are in focus of the German press with 29.812 articles. Most of them have not incorporated the political events in Turkey into their works. One primary reason for this could be that second and third-generation Turks do not primarily feel Turkish and are fully dedicated to issues of identity and immigration in Germany. It can also be said that these authors do not want to risk issues like "going to Turkey for summer vacation"[34] (Reyhan Şahin, 2019). However, it goes without saying that journalists follow the agendas related to Turkey on a daily basis in their columns.

5. Conclusion

In the aftermath of the 1960 military coup in Turkey, many intellectuals found themselves in a position where Germany became a preferred destination for exile. The guest worker agreement of 1961 led to a significant influx of immigrants from Turkey, reaching a population of approximately one million by the late 1960s. It's worth noting that many of these intellectuals, having arrived during a period when German wasn't their native language, continued to write in Turkish until the 1980s. Following the military coup on September 12, 1980, another significant emigration of intellectuals, including writers and poets, to Germany took place. In the 1980s and 1990s, a second generation grew up in Germany, forming a German-speaking and writing community. It can be said that German-Turkish literature emerged in the late eighties. While left-right conflicts and Alevi and Kurdish discrimination in Turkey persisted, Germany once again became a destination for intellectual migration from Turkey in the 1990s. The "postmodern military coup" against the "Green Capital" in 1998 led to another migration of Islamic groups to Germany. Each wave of immigration had a significant impact on German-Turkish literature, prompting a shift in its orientation and tendencies.

The "failed military coup" in 2016 paved the way for the dictatorship of the Erdoğan government, initiating a veritable "witch hunt" against all parts of the regime opposition in Turkey. Although the main target of the ethnic cleansing seemed to be the Gülenists, the attacks on the opposition were not limited to them; left-wing groups, Alevis, and especially the Kurds were also among the victims of the major "purge movement" that resulted in massacres. In a country where hundreds of thousands of dissidents had their passports revoked and tens of thousands were arrested, Germany was one of the main routes for those who could leave the country illegally. Most intellectuals began writing here and effectively continued their opposition with hundreds of newspapers, magazines, and YouTube channels. Existing German-Turkish literati were not indifferent either, and their articles were published in the German press, which counted almost 30,000 copies. They also reflected the events in Turkey after 2010 in their biographies, monographs, novels, stories, poems, memoirs, and films.

As a result, the intellectuals who went into exile in Germany after 2016 promptly establish a new and highly effective opposition medium in Germany, which will replace the silenced opposition press in Turkey. Furthermore, writers and artists directly affected by the events delve into the "Gezi Park events" of 2013 and the "failed military coup" of 2016 in dozens of books, examining the developments that led to dictatorship. On the other hand, the German-speaking representatives of German-Turkish literature, who have grown up in the second and

[34] The opinions expressed in this article are those of Reyhan Şahin and Salim Güler, as conveyed in interviews conducted at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2019.

third generations, effectively address this issue in their novels, monographs, and newspaper columns. When all of this is evaluated, it can be observed that German-Turkish literature has experienced a new turning point both thematically and with its newly added members within a short period of five to six years, thus entering a new phase.

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