REPRESENTATIONS OF "MUSLIM" WOMEN IN LIFE WRITING, YOUNG ADULT LITERATURE AND FILM IN GERMANY 1990-2015

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THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SEPTEMBER, 2016

Abstract

This thesis investigates representations of "Muslim" women and girls in German popular culture 1990-2015. The thesis offers a symptomatic reading of three under-researched genres in the field: life writing, young adult literature and film. The figure of the "Muslim" woman or girl performs a crucial role in far-reaching socio-political debates in Germany. Indeed, such figures challenge the boundaries of "gender equality" and "secularism" and contest notions of "tolerance" and "integration". The (in)visibility of "Muslim" women's bodies and their apparent position in "Islam" function as ostensible indicators of their oppression and of "Islam's" inherent incompatibility with "western" values. This study analyses the discursive function of such figures in German popular culture via three key research questions: what representational practices surround the figure of the "Muslim" woman or girl in German life writing, young adult literature and film? How do such representations function to produce "non-Muslim" subject positions? What is the function of this figure within narratives of feminism and assertions of "gender equality"? This study understands itself as an intervention into contemporary racist discourses in Germany and operates within a transdisciplinary framework of intersectional feminism, cultural and German studies. Ultimately, this thesis aims to make visible and interrogate the underlying hierarchies and agendas that drive representations of "Muslim" women and girls within the discourses studied.

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Acknowledgements

My foremost thanks go to the institutions that enabled this project through financial support: the Arts and Humanities Research Council Studentship Award and Research Training Support Grant; the School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies Studentship and Postgraduate Research Fund; the Department of German Studies Renate Gunn Fund; the Graduate School Travel Prize and the Women in German Studies Small Travel Grant. Equally indispensable has been the constant support of my primary supervisor, Franziska Meyer: thank you for your creativity, incisive guidance and compassion. Thanks to my secondary supervisor, Heike Bartel, for all of your encouragement and feedback. Many thanks to the staff and students of the Department of German Studies for nurturing my academic career for a decade! Special thanks to Matthias Uecker, Helen Budd, Gesine Haberlah and Bex Harper. Outside of the Department, many thanks to Robert Kiteley, Claire Rutherford-Chapman, Laura Todd, Teodora Todorova and all the members of the Feminist Reading Group. Many thanks to the members of WIGS for fostering such a rigorous and supportive research community.

I have often drawn on the positive encouragement received from Sudabeh Mohafez and Aygen-Sibel Çelik – vielen Dank! Thanks to Yasemin Shooman for being generous with your time and research. I thank my parents for their support and my friends for their empathy and humour. My deepest gratitude goes to Cemal Burak Tansel, not only for his abundance of love, support and patience, but also for exemplifying standards of academic integrity and conscientiousness to strive for.

Introduction

> *The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story.* – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie[1]

The figure of the "Muslim" woman plays a crucial role in far-reaching socio-political debates in contemporary Germany. Representations of "Muslim" women (and girls) challenge the boundaries of "gender equality" and "secularism", they contest notions of "tolerance" and "integration" and they expose apparently natural ideas of belonging as constructed and violent. The (in)visibility of "Muslim" women's bodies and their apparent position in "Islam" function as ostensible indicators of their oppression and of "Islam's" inherent incompatibility with "western" values. In Germany, representational practices surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman are embedded in the state's relationship with and categorisation of its "Muslim" minorities.

This thesis investigates representations of "Muslim" women and girls in post-1990 German cultural products and academic narratives thereof, offering a symptomatic overview of three under-researched genres in the field: life writing, young adult literature and film. It interrogates the discursive function of such representations in German popular culture via three key research questions: what regimes of representation surround the figure of the "Muslim" woman or girl in these genres? How do representations of "Muslim" women and girls function to

[1] Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *The Danger of a Single Story*, (presented and recorded at the TEDGlobal 2009, Oxford, July 2009) <http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en> [accessed 1 May 2015].

produce "non-Muslim" subject positions? What is the function of such figures within narratives of feminism and assertions of "gender equality"?

In his discussion of media representations of Islam, Edward W. Said contends that

> [l]abels purporting to name very large and complex realities are notoriously vague and at the same time unavoidable. If it is true that 'Islam' is an imprecise and ideologically loaded label, it is also true that 'the West' and 'Christianity' are just as problematic. Yet there is no easy way of avoiding these labels, since Muslims speak of Islam, Christians of Christianity, Westerners of the West, Jews of Judaism. […] Instead of trying to propose ways of going around the labels, I think it is more immediately useful to admit at the outset that they exist and have long been in use as an integral part of cultural history rather than as objective classifications. [2]

In response to the ambivalent yet essential role of categorisations such as Islam, Muslims and, in the context of this study, German, this thesis uses these terms with and without scare quotes. Islam is a monotheist religion based on the teachings of the prophet Mohammed via the Quran and in worship of Allah. It has various branches. In this thesis, "Islam" highlights contested usage of the term, such as the assertion of a unified, global religious community, or its invocation of various racist, essentialising discourses. Muslim refers to self-identifying adherents to any branch of Islam. "Muslim" signifies an unconfirmed or ascribed religious affiliation, and/or the term's overburdened signification to include various homogenising assumptions about what it means to be a "Muslim". It is neither the intention of this study to "(dis)prove" the "validity" or "authenticity" of "Muslim" identities, nor to obscure peoples' right to self-identify as Muslim.

[2] Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (London: Vintage, 1997), p. 9.

Rather, this study looks at how representations of "Muslim" women (and girls) are constructed as such, and aims to make visible the underlying discourses that constitute their representation. Phrases such as marked, coded or connoted as "Islamic" are therefore employed to highlight the contested status of "Muslim" identity.

German refers to the nation state of Germany, its inhabitants and official language. The terms "German" and "Germanness" indicate the fluctuating, contested and ideologically charged nature of assertions of national identity and belonging. Scare quotes are also used to critique certain homogenising and exclusionary notions of "Germanness" as, for example, exclusively white. The use of the terms majority/majoritarian and minority/minoritarian does not suggest the existence of two opposing, homogeneous social entities. Rather, they refer to the relative physical size of social groups demarcated via proposed "religious", "cultural" or "ethnic" difference within Germany, as well as to their respective positions within social hierarchies. The figure of the "Muslim" man is often implied in representations of the figure of the "Muslim" woman. The "Muslim" man is the imagined enforcer of patriarchal oppression; he embodies the apparent threat to notions of "gender equality", "security" and "democracy" from which the "Muslim" woman – and indeed, everyone in the "west" – must be saved. The use of female and male in this thesis, therefore, reflects the gendered binary that so often informs discourses surrounding "Islam" in Germany and elsewhere, rather than presenting such markers as stable and immutable categories of identification.

This study understands itself as an intervention into contemporary racist discourses in Germany and operates within a transdisciplinary framework of intersectional feminism, cultural and German studies. As such, the thesis builds on

arguments developed in cultural studies that the meanings ascribed to and portrayed through representations have both symbolic and material effects.[3] Debates on whether or not schoolteachers should be allowed to wear hijabs, for example, have in many ways helped define preconceptions of women's observance of the hijab as a violation of "secular" public space or a refusal of integration: in other words, as that which does not belong in "German" schools. Such perceptions of the hijab have contributed to the legal prohibition of Islamic veiling practices for civil servants in many federal states, excluding hijabi women from this professional sphere. Thus, representations of "Muslim" women shape and are shaped by notions of "Germanness": what it means to be part of "German" society and what "German" public spaces should look like. Furthermore, such representations play a role in regulating access to certain spaces, resources and positions of socio-political power.

This project conceives of the figure of the "Muslim" woman (or girl) as always intersectionally constituted, that is, produced through intersecting notions of gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality.[4] Representations of this figure shape and are shaped by hegemonic discourses of western feminism and notions of "gender equality", as well as by the widespread desecularisation of discourse post-1990, in which an actual or imagined affiliation to "Islam" invokes notions of a global religious community unified in its opposition to "western democracy and values". Drawing on black, postcolonial and poststructuralist

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[3] Cf. *German Cultural Studies: An Introduction,* ed. by Rob Burns (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995); Stuart Hall, 'New Ethnicities', in *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. by Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 442-450 (p. 443); Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms', *Media, Culture and Society*, 2 (1980), 57-72; Chris Weedon, *Identity and Culture* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004); Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976).

[4] One of the earliest conceptualisations of intersectional feminism was pioneered by Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (1991), 1241-99.

feminist theory, an intersectional feminist practice destabilises the universalising assumptions that inform such hegemonic discourses.[5] While the figure of the "Muslim" woman is highly contested in many "western" nations, Germany's ongoing engagement with the Nazi past, its history of post-war labour migration – as opposed to a postcolonial migration in other countries such as France or the UK –, the fluctuating categorisation of its "Muslim" minorities and debates surrounding a new national identity after unification all distinguish representational practices surrounding this figure in Germany from other national contexts. The historical, social and political contexts introduced above are explored in detail in the following chapter. In addition, chapter 1 outlines the state of current research on representations of "Muslim" women, maps the theoretical framework that informs my research, and introduces the subsequent chapters.

[5] Cf. Silvia Federici, 'Putting Feminism Back on Its Feet', *Social Text*, 9/10 (1984), 338-46; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (NY: Routledge, 2000); bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1981); *Feminisms* ed. by Sandra Kemp and Judith Squires, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.', *Feminist Review*, 30 (1988), 61-88; Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

Chapter 1: Social, Political and Theoretical Frameworks

An analysis of two advertisements that feature or infer the figure of the "Muslim" woman exemplifies many of the recurring themes in this figure's contentious signification and, as such, indicates the dominant connotations and tropes associated with this figure operating widely across contemporary socio-political discourses in Germany. In addition, the following analysis presents and illustrates several key theoretical concepts in the study: subjectivity; subject position; interpellation and regime(s) of representation.

This research refers to both subjectivity and subject position. The concept of subjectivity is an attempt to theorise the relationship between the individual and their external world: how an individual conceives of and relates to their experience and themselves, including conscious and unconscious feelings, thoughts and desires. Subjectivity, in other words, refers to the ways in which we (try to) make sense of our lives and ourselves.[6] Subjectivity is a contested category in philosophy and epistemology, with conceptualisations of the subject and their subjectivity varying between humanist, Marxist, psychoanalytical and poststructuralist approaches.[7] In humanist notions of subjectivity, the subject is commonly conceived as a stable and rational entity, fully conscious of their motivations and characterised by an essential identity.[8] This thesis draws on

[6] Cf. Robert C. Solomon, 'Subjectivity', ed. by Ted Honderich, *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199264797.001.0001/acref-9780199264797-e-2440> [accessed 3 April 2017].

[7] Cf. 'Subjectivity and the subject are crucial terms in social and cultural theory. Cultural studies, film and media studies and literary studies all draw on a range of competing theories of subjectivity and identity, variously derived from humanism, Marxism, psychoanalysis, poststructuralism and feminism.' Weedon, *Identity and Culture*, p. 9.

[8] Cf. Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, pp. 32-33.

poststructuralist challenges to such a notion, which contend that subjectivity is constructed, contested and always in flux. As Chris Weedon explains:

> The assumption that subjectivity is constructed implies that it is not innate, not genetically determined, but socially produced. Subjectivity is produced in a whole range of discursive practices – economic, social and political – the meanings of which are a constant site of struggle over power. Moreover for poststructuralism, subjectivity is neither unified or fixed. [P]oststructuralism theorizes subjectivity as a site of disunity and conflict, central to the process of political change and preserving the status quo.[9]

Subjectivity, then, is not produced by individuals themselves, but rather by and through discourse. The discursive production of subjectivities takes place – in part – when individuals take up certain subject positions.[10] As shown in the work of Michel Foucault, the subject positions that discourses create play a crucial role in producing the subject, meaning and relations of power.[11] Stuart Hall describes the Foucauldian subject position as '*a place for the subject* (i.e. the reader or viewer, who is also "subjected to" discourse) from which its particular knowledge and meaning most makes sense'.[12] Thus, discourses (such as the representational practices surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman) construct subject

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[9] Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* , p. 21.

[10] Cf. 'Subjectivity is most obviously the site of the consensual regulation of individuals. This occurs through the identification by the individual with particular subject positions within discourses. But the discursive constitution of subjectivity is much more than this. It is a constantly repeated process […] which has implications for the unconscious as well as the consciously remembered subjectivity of the individual human agent. Discourses […] constitute the meaning of the physical body, psychic energy, the emotions and desire, as well as conscious subjectivity. Moreover, the acquisition of modes of subjectivity involves the accumulation of the memory, of conscious or unconscious, of subject positions and the psychic and emotional structures implicit in them.' Ibid., p. 112.

[11] Cf. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Sciences,* (London: Tavistock, 1970); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978); Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', trans. by Leslie Sawyer, *Critical Inquiry*, 8.4 (1982), 777-95.

[12] Stuart Hall, 'The Work of Representation', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices,* ed. by Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 13-74 (p .56). Original emphasis.

positions that are offered up to individuals. If the individual inhabits that subject position, they become subjects of that discourse. As will be shown in the following analysis, both advertisements create certain subject positions for their viewers/readers from which their message is most powerful. However, it is not inevitable that the viewer/reader will inhabit this subject position: they may consciously reject such a position, or it may come into conflict with other parts of their subjectivity. Some discourses create multiple subject positions that may be contradictory, or exclude certain individuals from inhabiting a certain subject position based on their class, gender, race, age, religion, nationality or sexuality.[13] In addition, subject positions are historically and discursively specific. As chapters 2, 3 and 4 will show, the subject positions made (un)available to "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" women fluctuate over time, text and genre.

Figure 1 is a campaign advertisement from German nongovernmental organisation (NGO) *Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte* (*IGFM*) with the tagline 'Unterdrückte Frauen werden leicht übersehen. Unterstützen Sie uns im Kampf für ihre Rechte'.[14] The advertisement depicts multiple blue and black refuse sacks stacked against a wall, as well as a crouching figure dressed in a burqa. As the colour of the blue burqa matches the colour of some of the refuse sacks, the viewer may not immediately identify the human figure among the

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[13] Cf. 'In theories of textual positioning, [subject position is] a role which a reader is obliged by the structure and codes of a text to adopt in order to understand the preferred reading. For some, the power of the mass media resides in their ability to position the subject in such a way that media representations are taken to be reflections of everyday reality. Contemporary theorists contend that there may be several alternative (even contradictory) subject positions from which a text may make sense, and these are not necessarily built into the text itself (or intended).' Daniel Chandler and Rod Munday, 'Subject Position', *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191800986.001.0001/acref-9780191800986-e-2654 [accessed 3 April 2017].

[14] Image procured via free download from: 'Anzeigenkampagne: *IGFM* verurteilt Diskriminierung von Frauen', *IGFM.de* <http://www.igfm.de/publikationen/anzeigen/diskriminierung-von-frauen/> [accessed 7 January 2016].

rubbish. This visual trick dehumanises the figure via its comparison with refuse and aims to reinforce the textual message of the advertisement, i.e. the vulnerability of oppressed women via their invisibility.

Figure 1 'Unterdrückte Frauen werden leicht übersehen'

The figure is coded as both female and "Muslim" through the burqa's colour, shape and cutwork by the eyes. This particular burqa represents a recognisable image of "Muslim" women, circulated by media outlets during and since western military intervention in Afghanistan, to which the blue burqa is native.[15] The geographical specificity of the burqa extraterritorialises the oppressed women that the advertisement refers to, situating this group outside German borders. The separation of the advertisement's viewing subjects and intended objects is reinforced linguistically by the delineating pronouns 'uns' and 'ihre'. In addition, the advertisement asserts this single "overseen" figure as representative of all oppressed women.

This sequence of signification is prolific in German media: the anonymous figure of the "Muslim" woman is cast as a symbol of oppression and gender

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[15] Manhoor Sherazee, 'The Difference between Black and Blue', *Dawn.com*, 25 April 2014 <http://www.dawn.com/news/1102048> [accessed 9 January 2016].

inequality. Defined predominantly or entirely by her observance of veiling practices coded as “Islamic”, her oppression is attributed primarily to “Islam”, posited as an external or “foreign” phenomenon: an “Other or “they” that is clearly distinguishable from “us” and “we”. Finally, one becomes a stand-in for many: a single figure represents all “Muslim” women in a generalising gesture that buries Muslim women’s varying subjectivities and circumstances. This thesis refers to the figure produced by this reductive and homogenising sequence of signification as the trope of the “oppressed Muslim woman”.

In addition, the advertisement’s tagline compels the viewer to join the *IGFM* in defending the rights of such oppressed “Muslim” women. This thesis draws on the Althusserian process of interpellation, in which discourses “recruit” individuals and groups to certain subject positions. According to Althusser, interpellation “makes” individuals into the subjects of certain discourses when they (wrongly or rightly) identify themselves as the target of that interpellation:

> I shall then suggest that ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals […] or ‘transforms’ the individuals into subjects […] by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there![16]

For Althusser, the process of interpellation is inescapable. Where there is discourse (or ideology), there is always interpellation: ‘The existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same

[16] Louis Althusser, ‘Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. Notes towards an Investigation’, in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. by Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), pp. 85-126 (p 118).

thing.'[17] The inescapability of interpellation is problematic since, in the words of John Storey, 'there is no sense of failure, let alone any notion of conflict, struggle or resistance.'[18] Storey continues: 'In terms of popular culture, do advertisements, for example, always successfully interpellate us as consuming subjects? Moreover, even if interpellation works, previous interpellations may get in the way (contradict and prevent from working) of current interpellations.'[19] As such, this study employs the concept of interpellation as a useful tool for analysing the constitution of certain subject positions, whilst keeping in mind the limitations and ambivalences inherent to the interpellative process. In figure 1, the imperative (Unterstüzten Sie uns!) thus attempts to interpellate the viewer to the position of supporter/helper of "Muslim" women. As the *IGFM* relies partly on public donations to fund its campaigns, the advertisement calls on supporters with a certain degree of economic privilege.

The philanthropic subject position offered to the advertisement's creators and supporters also demonstrates the mobilising function of the "oppressed Muslim woman". Indeed, the proposed plight of this figure is variously employed to inspire acts of "saving the Muslim woman", and as a justification for militant geopolitical agendas, as evidenced, for example, by the State of the Union Address given by then-President George W. Bush in January 2002 following the initial period of co-ordinated attacks on Afghanistan. Bush counts the emancipation of Afghani women among the positive results of US intervention: 'The last time we met in these chambers […] the mothers and daughters of

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[17] Ibid, p. 18.
[18] John Storey, 'Marxisms', in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture. An Introduction*, by John Storey, 5th edition (Harlow: Pearson, 2009) pp. 59-89 (p. 79).
[19] Ibid, p. 79.

Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today, women are free.'[20]

Related to her function as a symbol of "Islamic" oppression, the figure of the "Muslim" woman is at times portrayed as dangerous via her reproductive capacity. As Yasemin Shooman explains: 'Weil sie so unemanzipiert ist, bekommt sie so viele Kinder, weil sie so viel Nachwuchs produziert, vermehren sich MuslimInnen als unerwünschter Bevölkerungsteil so überproportional – so die Argumentationskette.'[21] Thus, the proposed "threat" presented by "Muslim" women's reproductive labour also rests on this figure's status as an exploited victim of "Islamic" patriarchy. The figure of the "Muslim" woman is rarely presented as an active, willing participant in religiously defined political and/or militant activism. Such a role is typically inhabited by the "Muslim" man, imagined as dangerous and aggressive. When the "Muslim" woman does take part in militancy or acts of "terror", she is often presented as having been coerced or brainwashed into doing so by others.

Figure 2 is a campaign advertisement by right-wing party *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*. The advertisement depicts a young woman with long, blonde hair, blue eyes, white skin and open smile. Adjacent to the woman is the declaration: 'Zu schön für einen Schleier. Gegen die Islamisierung Europas.'[22]

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[20] 'President Delivers State of the Union Address', *The Whitehouse: President George W. Bush*, 29 January 2002 <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html> [accessed 9 January 2016]; cf. 'The adjacent discourses [of international human rights and mass-market commercial publishing] have paved the way for the enthusiastic reception of the new common sense about the transcendent rightness of going to war for women, especially Muslim women.' Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (London: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 79-80.

[21] Cf. Yasemin Shooman, 'Muslimisch, weiblich, unterdrückt und gefährlich. Stereotypisierungen muslimischer Frauen in öffentlichen Diskursen', in *Musliminnen in der Arbeitswelt – zwischen Potential und Ausgrenzung*, Dokumentation der Fachtagung vom 4. Juli 2011 im DGB Haus in Düsseldorf (Duisburg, Cologne: Integrationsagenturen Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2012), pp. 10-16 (pp. 15-16).

[22] Manfred Haimbuchner, 'Zu schön für einen Schleier', *Manfred Haimbuchner FPÖ*, 10 December 2014 <http://www.fpoe-ooe.at/zu-schoen-fuer-einen-schleier/> [accessed 7 January

The party-specific logo and red and white colour scheme reveal the advertisement's nationalistic intention: notions of "Austrian identity" are its primary target. "Austrianness", however, is linked to "Europeanness" by the tag line in a generalising slippage between national and continental identities.

Figure 2 'Zu schön für einen Schleier'

The female image in figure 2 presents a racialised stereotype of the "Austrian-European" woman as phenotypically light. The advertisement asserts this phenotype as "too beautiful" to be "covered" by a veiling practice linked to "Islamicisation". The figure of the "Muslim" woman thus functions as a foil to racialised and gendered notions of "Austrian-European" identity, even in its complete absence. The notion of "Austrian-European" femininity produced by the advertisement shores up dominating standards of gender-normative "beauty" as both a superficially visible and defining characteristic of womanhood: it is the female figure's physical appearance and the visible accessibility thereof that drives the advertisement's mobilising gesture against veiling practices, as opposed, for example, to concerns regarding the patriarchal structures or corporeal

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2016]. Image procured via a screenshot from Haimbuchner, 'Zu schön für einen Schleier'; Reproduced in accordance with site notice allowing private and non-commercial use 'Impressum', *Manfred Haimbuchner FPÖ* <http://www.fpoe-ooe.at/impressum/> [accessed 12 June 2016].

limitations that can be associated with them. By linking such veiling practices to the proposed threat of continent-wide "Islamicisation", the advertisement employs the absent figure of the "Muslim" woman as evidence of an all-encompassing social shift towards "Islam" across Europe. A further possible reading of the tag line implies that Europe itself is too "beautiful" or "good" for the "shroud" of "Islamicisation". Thus, the figure of the "Muslim" woman is signalled as an effaced counter-image in the construction of, firstly, a notion of "Austrian-European" femininity predicated on whiteness and visible attractiveness and secondly, proposed European civilizational superiority.

The analysis of figures 1 and 2 demonstrates the multifaceted and contested signification of the figure of the "Muslim" woman. She is instrumental in producing certain racialised, gendered and classed subject positions asserted as "non-Muslim" (such as "German", "Austrian", or "European"). Dominating representations of this figure cast her as variously oppressed, victimised, dangerous and incompatible with "European" values; as an "Other" residing elsewhere to be saved or to go to war for; as an "outsider" in Europe indicative of far-reaching social change and desecularisation.[23] Furthermore, this figure often functions as an anonymous or absent vehicle of signification; as an emblem or symbol that obscures or effaces the lived experiences of Muslim women in Germany and elsewhere.[24]

[23] Cf. 'Including the Muslim "other" inside the boundaries of Europe has unleashed massive controversy about the parameters of citizenship. These debates often focus on the bodies of women, with the meaning of wearing a veil being a flashpoint for politicians in the popular press, where it is often construed as a symbol of the oppression of women inconsistent with "European values".' Susan B. Rottmann and Myra Marx Ferree, 'Citizenship and Intersectionality: German Feminist Debates about Headscarf and Antidiscrimination Laws', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 15 (2008), 481-513 (p. 482).

[24] Cf. 'Although quickly left behind, this figure is time and again the crucial catalyst in controversies about the ideological foundations and institutional contours of Europe.' Yasemin Yildiz, 'Governing European Subjects: Tolerance and Guilt in the Discourse of "Muslim Women"', *Cultural Critique*, 77 (2011), 70-101 (p. 71).

Overall, the signifying practices of figures 1 and 2 exemplify the dominant regimes of representation surrounding "Muslim" women in post-1990 German culture. This thesis uses the concept of regimes of representation as developed by Stuart Hall throughout his work on cultural identities and representations, primarily in reference to black and ethnic minorities in the UK.[25] In his analysis of the representation of black athletes at the Olympics, Hall describes the concept as follows:

> [Images] do not carry meaning or "signify" on their own. They accumulate meanings, or play off their meanings against one another, across a variety of texts and media. Each image carries its own, specific meaning. But at the broader level of how "difference" and "otherness" is being represented in a particular culture at any one moment, we can see similar representational practices and figures being repeated, with variations, from one text or site of representation to another. We may describe the whole repertoire of imagery and visual effects through which "difference" is represented at any one historical moment as a regime of representation.[26]

A regime of representation, then, describes a dominant and overarching signifying practice or system of meaning surrounding a particular figure. The concept is important for this thesis as it simultaneously emphasises the specificity of individual "images" (i.e. visual or textual representations), whilst allowing us to make broader analyses of how such "images" function in relation to one another to support (or sometimes contest) dominant notions surrounding a particular

[25] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Identity: community, culture, and difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990) pp. 222-237; Hall, 'New Ethnicities' (1996); Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997).

[26] Stuart Hall, 'The Spectacle of the "Other"', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices,* ed. by Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 223-290 (p .232).

figure within a historically and culturally specific context.[27] In chapters 2, 3 and 4, individual representations of "Muslim" women and girls in post-1990 German life writing, young adult literature and film are read against the dominant regimes of representation surrounding this figure. Regimes of representation (in the plural) thus refer to the overburdened and multifaceted signification of the "Muslim" woman as outlined in this chapter. A regime of representation (in the singular) can also refer to the system of meaning or "language" used in different types of representation: for example, the way that meaning is generated in television, literature or music each constitutes a different regime of representation.[28] The singular form in this thesis thus refers to the particular mechanisms of representation at work in each of the genres studied.

The "Muslim" woman in academic discourses

Scholarly discourses surrounding "Islam" and "Muslims" in Germany constitute a constantly evolving and congested field.[29] Within German studies, academics have investigated "Muslim" women in crucial strongholds of state power and civil society, such as educational institutions, the legal system or labour market, and in

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[27] Indeed, this concept has been taken up elsewhere as a tool of cultural analysis. In the field of German cultural studies cf. Angelica Fenner, *Race under construction in German Cinema: Robert Stemmle's Toxi* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Uli Linke, *German Bodies: Race and representation after Hitler* (London: Routledge, 1999).

[28] Cf. Stuart Hall, 'Introduction', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. by Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 1-11 (pp. 4-6).

[29] The following sources provide a necessarily selective overview of contemporary debates surrounding "Islam" and its representation more generally in Germany: Wolfgang Benz, *Islamfeindschaft und ihr Kontext: Dokumentation der Konferenz 'Feindbild Muslim – Feindbild Jude'*, Reihe Positionen, Perspektiven, Diagnosen, 3 (Berlin: Metropol, 2009); *Rassismus in der Leistungsgesellschaft: Analysen und kritische Perspektiven zu den rassistischen Normalisierungsprozessen der 'Sarrazindebatte'*, ed. by Sebastian Friedrich (Munster: Edition Assemblage, 2011); Sander L. Gilman, 'The Parallels of Islam and Judaism in Diaspora', *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture*, 12 (2005), 61-6; *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture* ed. by James Hodkinson and Jeffrey Morrison, (NY: Camden House, 2009).

debates about citizenship, integration and migration.[30] The private, familial spheres of "Muslim" women constantly attract academic debate, as does the (in)visibility of their bodies.[31] Engagement with the figure of the "Muslim" woman in contemporary cultural products includes literature, music, television, film and theatre, with the majority of studies concentrating on one medium or a comparison of two.[32] Lindsay Jorgenson Lawton's analysis of representations of "Muslim" women in German and Austrian life writing demonstrates how the marketing of such texts obscures their specificities and differences, assimilating them into a generalised narrative of what Lawton terms the 'Muslim woman

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[30] Schirin Amir-Moazami, 'Dialogue as a Governmental Technique: Managing Gendered Islam in Germany', *Feminist Review*, 98 (2011), 9-27; Petra Kuppinger, 'Himmelstochter: A Muslima in German Public Spheres', *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 7 (2011), 27-55; Beverly M. Weber, 'Hijab Martyrdom, Headscarf Debates: Rethinking Violence, Secularism, and Islam in Germany', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 32 (2012), 102-115.

[31] Gabriele vom Bruck, 'Naturalising, Neutralising Women's Bodies: The "Headscarf Affair" and the Politics of Representation', *Identities: Global Structures in Culture and Power*, 15 (2008), 51-79; Linda Duits and Liesbet Van Zoonen, 'Headscarves and Porno-Chic: Disciplining Girls' Bodies in the European Multicultural Society', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (2006), 103-117; Kamakshi P. Murti, *To Veil or Not to Veil: Europe's Shape-Shifting 'Other'* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2012); Nina Maria Niederl, *Körper, Kleider, Kommunikation: Kleidung als Vehikel für das Frauen-Bild in muslimischer Literatur*, Literaturwissenschaft, 22 (Marburg: Tectum, 2011).

[32] Anil Al-Rebholz, 'Intersectional Constructions of (Non-)Belonging in a Transnational Context: Biographical Narratives of Muslim Migrant Women in Germany', in *Identity and Migration in Europe: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by MariaCaterina La Barbera, International Perspectives on Migration, 13 (London: Springer, 2015), pp. 59-73; Ipek A. Çelik, 'Performing Veiled Women as Marketable Commodities: Representations of Muslim Minority Women in Germany', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 32 (2012), 116-129; Elisabeth Loentz, 'Yiddish, Kanak Sprak, Klezmer, and HipHop: Ethnolect, Minority Culture, Multiculturalism, and Stereotype in Germany', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 25 (2006), 33-62; Frauke Matthes, '"Authentic" Muslim Voices? Feridun Zaimoğlu's *Schwarze Jungfrauen*', in *Religion and Identity in Germany Today: Doubters, Believers, Seekers in Literature and Film*, ed. by Sinéad Crowe, Frank Finlay and Julian Preece (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 199-210; Maria Röder, *Haremsdame, Opfer oder Extremistin? Muslimische Frauen im Nachrichtenmagazin Der Spiegel*, Medien und politische Kommunikation – Naher Osten und islamische Welt, 13 (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007); Katrin Sieg, 'Black Virgins: Sexuality and the Democratic Body in Europe', *New German Critique*, 37 (2010), 147-185; Lisa Skwirblies, *Performing the Veil: zur Darstellung 'muslimischer' Verschleierung und 'weiblichem' Körper in den visuellen Künsten nach 9/11*, Kleine Mainzer Schriften zur Theaterwissenschaft, 23 (Marburg: Tectum, 2012); Maria Stehle, 'Gender, Performance, and the Politics of Space: Germany and the Veil in Public and academic discourses', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 32 (2012), 89-101; Beverly M. Weber, 'Freedom from Violence, Freedom to Make the World: Muslim Women's Memoirs, Gendered Violence, and Voices for Change in Germany', *Women in German Yearbook*, 25 (2009), 199-222; Beverly M. Weber, 'Kübra Gümüşay, Muslim Digital Feminism and the Politics of Visuality in Germany', *Feminist Media Studies*, 16 (2015), 1-16.

victim'.[33] Shooman investigates to what extent anti-"Muslim" sentiment is a current form of racism made possible via the racialisation of assumed or actual affiliation to "Islam"; subjecting newspaper articles, books and websites associated with Muslim communities to a Foucauldian discourse analysis.[34]

Academics have also investigated the specific function of the figure of the "Muslim" woman in the construction of "non-Muslim" identities. Focussing on the role of this figure as a foil to "European" identity, Helma Lutz' 1989 article constitutes one of the earliest contributions to the field, intervening in and exposing the constitutive role of 'westlichen Diskursen' in creating and maintaining the stereotype of the "Muslim" woman as 'Inbegriff der unterdrückten Frau, weiblicher Passivität und weiblichen Leidens'.[35] More recently, Yasemin Yildiz has explored the disciplining effect of using the abused figure of the "Muslim" woman to accuse the political left of too much "tolerance" or "political correctness" vis-à-vis "Islamic" patriarchy in Europe.[36] Fatima El-Tayeb has employed queer, black feminist and diasporic theory to destabilise exclusionary notions of "European" identity in part via an investigation of "Muslim" women in German life writing.[37]

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[33] Lindsay Jorgensen Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity: Production and Promotion of Muslim Women's Memoirs in Germany and Austria' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Minnesota, 2014).

[34] Yasemin Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist": Narrative des antimuslimischen Rassismus* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), p. 16.

[35] Helma Lutz, 'Unsichtbare Schatten? Die "orientalische" Frau in westlichen Diskursen – Zur Konzeptualisierung einer Opferfigur', *Peripherie*, 37 (1989), 51-65 (p. 51); Ursula Mıhçıyazgan, *Der Irrtum im Geschlecht: eine Studie zu Subjektpositionen im westlichen und im muslimischen Diskurs*, Gender studies (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008); Irmgard Pinn, *EuroPhantasien: Die islamische Frau aus westlicher Sicht* (Duisburg: Duisburger Institut fur Sprach- und Sozialforschung, 1995).

[36] Yildiz, 'Governing European Subjects'; Yasemin Yildiz, 'Turkish Girls, Allah's Daughters, and the Contemporary German Subject: Itinerary of a Figure', *German Life and Letters*, 62.4 (2009), 465-81; Cf. Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[37] Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

Within German studies, scholars have referenced the function of the "Muslim" woman in producing notions of "Germanness", particularly in relation to female subjectivities.[38] Anja Jedlitschka's analysis of West German feminist discourses and their conceptualisation of the "Muslim" woman in the 1990s observes two recurring and dominant motifs: a sustained effort to include "Muslim" women in "German" feminism and various conceptualisations of how to support the emancipation of "Muslim" women.[39] Susan B. Rottmann and Myra Marx Ferree emphasise how the figure of the "oppressed Muslim woman" obscures systemic sexism in Germany: 'By contrast to the "severe" oppression of women in Muslim communities, the oppression facing German women at home seems "mild".'[40] Narratives that posit "Muslim" women as uniquely and universally oppressed by "Islam" often portray gender equality as already achieved in "German" majoritarian society, or at the very least, achieved to a greater extent than in "Muslim" communities or states.[41] By extraterritorialising "Muslim" women – via their geographical or supposed ideological distance from Germany and "German" society – majoritarian groups can imagine that patriarchal oppression and violence against women is something happening "elsewhere". Christina Scharff's qualitative study of young German (and British) women's engagement with and perception of feminism supports the "othering" of

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[38] Christina Braun and Bettina Mathes, *Verschleierte Wirklichkeit: die Frau, der Islam und der Westen* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2007); Birgit Rommelspacher, 'Zur Emanzipation "der" muslimischen Frau', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 5 (2009), 34-8; Beverly M. Weber, 'Cloth on Her Head, Constitution in Hand', *German Politics & Society*, 22 (2004), 33-64; Beverly M. Weber, 'Beyond the Culture Trap: Immigrant Women in Germany, Planet-Talk, and a Politics of Listening', *Women in German Yearbook*, 21 (2005), 16-38.

[39] Anja Jedlitschka, *Weibliche Emanzipation in Orient und Okzident: von der Unmöglichkeit, die Andere zu befreien*, Bibliotheca academica: Sammlung interdisziplinärer Studien, 6 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2004), p. 175.

[40] Rottmann and Ferree, 'Citizenship and Intersectionality', p. 504.

[41] Cf. '[The] global discourse of progress and human rights in which the white West invariably takes the lead, maybe not always progressively enough, but certainly always more so than anyone else.' El-Tayeb, *European Others*, p. 120.

the "oppressed Muslim woman" as an important process in the construction of their own "liberated" subjectivities.[42] The figure of the "Muslim" woman as a victim of "Islamic" patriarchy thus functions ostensibly to confirm an emancipated "German" female subjectivity and by turns a notion of "German" society as a protector of "gender equality".

Outlining the state of current research demonstrates that, thus far, theoretical, juridical and sociological approaches have dominated academic engagement with the role of the figure of the "Muslim" woman in producing "non-Muslim" subjectivities and subject positions. Furthermore, analyses of this figure within German cultural products have primarily focused on an exploration of one genre. My research complicates existing scholarship by considering the constitutive role of this figure for "non-Muslim" subject positions across three genres. Whist life writing by or about "Muslim" women has garnered relatively more attention, my research builds on and departs from existing scholarship by incorporating a broader range of life narratives than previously considered.[43] How do representations of "Muslim" women function to produce "non-Muslim" subject positions in the genres of life writing, young adult literature and film? How do representations of "Muslim" women – and the "non-Muslim" subject positions they help produce – vary between different genres, texts and throughout the period of study? This study builds on existing research in both depth and breadth via a dedicated analysis of the constitutive function of representations of "Muslim" women in racialised, gendered and classed subject positions offered to "non-Muslims", and an interrogation of such representations across three under-

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[42] Christina Scharff, 'Disarticulating Feminism: Individualization, Neoliberalism and the Othering of "Muslim Women"', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18 (2011), 119-134 (p. 119).
[43] Cf. El-Tayeb, *European Others*; Kuppinger, 'Himmelstochter'; Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity'; Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*; Weber, 'Freedom from Violence'.

researched genres of contemporary German culture and academic narratives thereof. In addition, the thesis contributes to intersectional feminist critiques of western feminism, taken up in the next section.

Western feminisms and concepts of emancipation

Regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman in the German context are inextricably linked to wider developments in certain narratives of western feminism and notions of female emancipation. The (in)visibility of "Muslim" women's bodies plays a particularly pivotal role in the production of subject positions on offer to "non-Muslim" women. The case of Fereshta Ludin sparked intense debate regarding the role of the hijab in "German" public spheres in the early 2000s.[44] In 1998, Ludin – a German citizen of Afghani heritage – took the Baden-Württemberg state to court over its attempt to prohibit her hijab in her role as a schoolteacher. Although Ludin won her case in 2003, the Federal Constitutional Court ruled that individual states could subsequently pass laws regarding the observance of hijab among civil servants. Much of the surrounding debate in the press focused on the contested "meanings" of veiling practices, as well as the scope of agency allocated to the women who observe them.[45] Often ignoring Muslim women's own understanding and perception of veiling practices, some lines of argumentation posited the hijab as proof of women's subordinate position in "Islam" and the religion's stigmatisation of

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[44] For an excellent overview of similar debates in France, cf. Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Bronwyn Winter, *Hijab & The Republic: Uncovering the French Headscarf Debate* (NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009).

[45] Cf. 'The way that a minority religion's practices, which differ from those of the majority religion, highlight the very things that seem confusing or uncomfortable about that majority religion in a secular society is part of the story. Thus Muslim women who wear head scarves evoke not just the repression of Muslim women in Western society but also Western insecurities about the role of all women in the public sphere.' Gilman, 'Parallels of Islam and Judaism', p. 63.

female sexuality. Some feminists argued for a hijab ban in order to protect "secularism" in Germany and some contended that such a ban would liberate women who wore the hijab under coercion by providing a legal reason to remove it.[46] Other marginal feminist positions highlighted the privileged position of Christianity in German "secularism",[47] and opposed legislation that would exclude certain groups of women from civil service. These voices also problematised the notion of "choice", or lack thereof, regarding women's sartorial practices. As Nora Räthzel contends: 'Dass über ein Kopftuchverbot diskutiert wird, nicht aber über andere Bekleidungsformen, die sich ebenfalls als "Symbol der Frauenunterdrückung" interpretieren lassen, zeigt, dass sich hier ein gesellschaftshistorisch spezifisches Bild von Frauenunterdrückung/Frauenemanzipation als allgemeingültig darstellt.'[48] Normative expressions of "European" or "western" femininity, as well as the "western" trajectory of women's emancipation, are thus often embedded in western feminist debates surrounding "Muslim" women's (un)freedom.

Representations of hijabi women as victims of patriarchal coercion coded as "Islamic" further contribute to the disassociation of majoritarian female subjectivities with the systemic misogyny and near-constant surveillance and disciplining of women's bodies that operates across national, religious and ethnic

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[46] For a more detailed overview of the so-called "Kopftuchdebatte" and its various tennets, cf. *Der Stoff, aus dem Konflikte sind: Debatten um das Kopftuch in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz,* ed. by Sabine Berghahn and Petra Rostock (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009); Bruck, 'Naturalising, Neutralising Women's Bodies'; *Politik ums Kopftuch*, ed. by Frigga Haug and Katrin Reimer (Hamburg: Argument, 2005).

[47] Cf. Nikolas Kappe, 'Ist das Tanzverbot an Karfreitag noch zeitgemäß?', *Der Tagesspiegel Online*, 25 March 2016 <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/meinung/andere-meinung/leserdebatte-zum-stillen-feiertag-ist-das-tanzverbot-an-karfreitag-noch-zeitgemaess/8002414.html> [accessed 30 March 2016].

[48] Nora Räthzel, 'Begenungen mit dem Kopftuch', in *Politik ums Kopftuch*, ed. by Frigga Haug and Katrin Reimer (Hamburg: Argument, 2005), pp. 112-119 (p. 114).

groups.[49] Linda Duits and Liesbet van Zoonen comment on the alignment of this disassociation with consumer capitalism, arguing that 'images of women as "free sexual agents making their own active choices" join seamlessly with the commercial interests of individualism and capitalism'.[50] Thus, feminist engagement with the hijab has been instrumental in shaping the regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman in contemporary neoliberal discourses.

Hegemonic feminist discourses – characterised as those that privilege the interests of white, "western", middle class, heterosexual and cisgender women – have a well-established history of presenting the "Muslim" woman as an imperilled, oppressed "Other" against which to assert the superiority of the "western" (female) subject. As Meyda Yeğenoğlu argues: 'The declaration of an emancipated status for the Western woman is contingent upon the representation of the Oriental woman as her devalued other and thus enables Western woman to identify and preserve the boundaries of self for herself.'[51] Yeğenoğlu's analysis of ethnographical and literary texts interrogates the 'complicitous relationship' between colonial interests and liberal feminist rhetoric stretching back to the European Enlightenment.[52] The analysis concludes that 'the anthropological discourse of the Muslim or Middle Eastern woman' not only functions to confirm

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[49] Cf. 'The problem is framed as unique to Muslim women's experience of the private sphere; German women who claim that they have chosen a particular form of dress or life-style are not presented as succumbing to coercive social pressures to embrace a typically "German" identity.' Rottmann and Ferree, 'Citizenship and Intersectionality', p. 497.

[50] Duits and Van Zoonen, 'Headscarves and Porno-Chic', p. 112.

[51] Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 102; Jedlitschka, *Weibliche Emanzipation*, p. 10.

[52] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 21. Cf. Nina Berman, *Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne: Zum Bild des Orients in der deutschsprachigen Kultur um 1900* (Stuttgart: M & P, 1997); 'This reduction [of Islam to an Other] has been part of the knowledge-power-control mechanism which is strongly linked to Western colonial interests in Muslim areas.' Frauke Matthes, *Writing and Muslim Identity: Representations of Islam in German and English Transcultural Literature, 1990-2006,* IGRS Books 6 (London: Institute of Germanic & Romance Studies 2011), p. 18.

the narrative of the emancipated "western" female subject, but also 'as the proof of the backwardness of Eastern cultures'.[53]

These core ideas remain pertinent in contemporary, globalised narratives surrounding gender equality, with women's rights serving as a litmus test of "progress" and "modernity" (cf. G.W. Bush's State of Union Address). Andreas Huyssen criticises the functionalisation of women's rights to advance geopolitical agendas:

> There is the danger that the current international conflict between the West and the Muslim world […] will make universal ideals such as human rights, civil society, and gender equality appear to be mere ideological props supporting the superiority claims of one civilization over all others.[54]

Implicit in contemporary agendas to "save the Muslim woman" is a specific notion of female emancipation asserted as universally right and desirable. Majoritarian "German" society often measures the emancipation of the "Muslim" woman in terms of the extent to which she extricates herself from norms and practices coded as "Islamic" and embraces those imagined as "western". Practices of emancipated "western" living include: spatial and economic independence from the family; a critical distance or complete estrangement from the religious community; participation in extra-marital sexual relations and waged-labour relations outside of the home and "secular" forms of self-presentation imagined to demonstrate "individuality" and "personality". Majoritarian commentators in the "west" consider the presence or absence of these factors as evidence of "Muslim" women's (un)freedom. As Lila Abu-Lughod argues:

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[53] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 97.
[54] Andreas Huyssen, 'Diaspora and Nation: Migration into Other Pasts', *New German Critique*, 88 (2003), 147-164 (p. 149).

> If these Muslim girls and women were not portrayed as wanting what we want – love, choice and sexual freedom – preferring instead to be dutiful daughters living in the bosom of their families, virgins at marriage, devoted wives partnering their husbands, or pious individuals seeking to live up to the moral ideals of their religion and living according to its laws, it would be hard for Western[ers] to identify. [55]

Whilst this statement is useful in exposing the bias underlying many assessments of successful and happy living among "non-Muslim" majorities in Germany or elsewhere, it simultaneously asserts the superior liberality of the "west" by reserving notions of "love" and "choice" for "westerners". In addition, more is at stake here than non-identification between "western" and "Muslim" women: confirming or denying the emancipation of the "Muslim" woman only in accordance with those values approved by "secular", neoliberal and capitalist societies not only serves to confirm the female majoritarian "western" subject's emancipatory achievements, but also to obscure the contested terms of such a status. Indeed, women's political and economic marginalisation in the "west" continues despite their improved access to paid labour and suffrage. Neoliberal concepts of individualism and the myth of meritocracy continue to mask the systemic inequalities that disproportionately affect women.[56] "Western" women's gains in the arenas of sexual autonomy and reproductive rights are incomplete and under threat by right-wing political agendas and the prevalence of sexual violence and exploitation. Indeed, according to police statistics, violence against women at the hands of current or former intimate partners claimed the lives of 129 women

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[55] Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, p. 101.
[56] Cf. Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff, eds., *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

in Germany in 2015.[57] In addition, the propagation of the notion of women's physical appearance as the ultimate expression of their worth and "self" drives consumerism and misogynistic practices of self-disciplining and styling through diet, exercise and medical procedures.[58] As Birgit Rommelspacher argues:

> In diesen Diskursen liefert "die" muslimische Frau eine Folie, vor deren Hintergrund die Emanzipation "der" westlichen Frau umso heller erstrahlen kann. Die Schattenseiten westlicher Emanzipation mit ihren spezifischen Zwängen und neuen Formen von Gewalt können so leicht übersehen und die Risiken des Emanzipationsprozesses überspielt werden [59]

Thus, hegemonic western feminisms have directly contributed to the creation and maintenance of the trope of the "oppressed Muslim woman". Such feminisms function in alliance with colonial and imperial agendas that sustain inequality, exploitation and violence based on an assertion of civilizational superiority of one global region over another. The figure of the "Muslim" woman as an oppressed, backward "Other" constitutes the female majoritarian "western" subject's emancipated status. Asserting the western emancipatory model as universally desirable negates other forms and practices of freedom and neutralises the contentious position of women in the "west".[60] As such, this study poses the following questions to representations of "Muslim" women in life writing, young adult literature and film: what functions does the figure of the "Muslim" woman

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[57] Lisa Schnell, 'Häusliche Gewalt: Mördern in die Seele blicken', *sueddeutsche.de*, 21 August 2016, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/haeusliche-gewalt-moerdern-in-die-seele-blicken-1.3130562?reduced=true> [accessed 23 August 2016].
[58] Cf. Angela McRobbie, *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change* (London: Sage, 2009).
[59] Rommelspacher, 'Zur Emanzipation "der" muslimischen Frau', p. 38.
[60] Cf. 'Ohne hier auf jede These einzeln eingehen zu wollen, wird sehr deutlich, dass hier ein Stereotyp über den Westen geschaffen wird, das noch nicht einmal juristisch in jedem europäischen Land verwirklicht ist, geschweige für die Mehrheit der Frauen zur Realität geworden ist. Hier wird also soziale Wunschvorstellung als Wirklichkeit präsentiert, der Orient, der Islam bilden den fiktiven Gegenpol, die Folie aus der unsere Wirklichkeit beschrieben wird.' Lutz, 'Unsichtbare Schatten?', p. 56.

fulfil in narratives of "gender equality"? What subject positions are made available to those attempting to "save" the "Muslim" woman in text and film? How do representations of "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" femininities relate to and intertwine with each other? How do such representations negotiate gender roles, patriarchy and misogyny?

Categorising Germany's "Muslims"

Today, German Muslims – including converts to Islam – live alongside Muslims with dual or foreign citizenship from a range of regions, including Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa.[61] However, as Beverley Weber reminds us, 'while Muslims from Southeast Asia now outnumber Turkish Muslims living in Germany, discussions in Germany are heavily influenced by the history of Turkish migration' to West Germany.[62] Much like Germany and its relationship to Christianity, Turkey is an officially secular state that nevertheless privileges one religion (Islam) whose adherents make up the country's dominant religious entity. In 1961, West Germany signed an agreement with Turkey to address its post-war labour shortage. The contract was similar to others signed with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Portugal (1964) and Yugoslavia (1968) in that the temporary labourers from these countries were to work for 1-2 years before returning home. Whilst many did return, employers and employees alike saw the benefits of longer contracts, resulting in applications for longer and permanent residencies. The halting of recruitment in 1973 compounded this shift from

[61] Research on German converts to Islam is an emerging academic field. Cf. Esra Özyürek, *Being German, Becoming Muslim: Race, Religion, and Conversion in the New Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
[62] Weber, 'Hijab Martyrdom', p. 106.

temporary labour migration to immigration, as entire families chose to settle. By this time, Turks had become the largest foreign population in West Germany.

More than any other group recruited for labour in the post-war period, Germany's Turkish residents and their children have been politically and bureaucratically marginalised. As founding members of the EEC (European Economic Community, predecessor to the European Union), Italians gained the right to live and work in West Germany in 1968. Following succession to the EEC, the same rights applied to Greece, Spain and Portugal by 1992.[63] After the collapse of the USSR, citizenship was granted automatically to "Spätaussiedler", most of whom, as Rita Chin notes, 'had not resided in Germany for generations and possessed little or no knowledge of the German language, culture, or customs.'[64] Turkish residents, on the other hand – some of whom had been living in West and unified Germany for several decades – were not eligible for dual or German citizenship until 2000, when the SPD-Green coalition extended citizenship rights beyond the principle of inherited citizenship (*jus sanguinis,* or "right of blood").[65] The first years of German unification also saw a series of militant racist attacks on refugee hostels (in Hoyerswerda 1991 and Rostock-Lichtenhagen 1992). The homes of Turkish families were also the target of xenophobic attacks, which claimed the lives of eight Turkish citizens in Mölln (1992) and Solingen (1993).[66] For commentators such as author Zafer Şenocak,

[63] Cf. Veysel Oezcan, 'Germany: Immigration in Transition', *Migration Policy Institute*, 1 July 2004 <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/germany-immigration-transition> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[64] Rita Chin, 'Turkish Women, West German Feminists, and the Gendered Discourse on Muslim Cultural Difference', *Public Culture*, 22 (2011), 557-581 (p. 574).
[65] 'Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht', *Auswärtiges Amt* <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht.html> [accessed 4 February 2016].
[66] Cf. Charles Hawley and Daryl Lindsey, 'Xenophobia Still Prevalent in Germany 20 Years after Neo-Nazi Attacks', *Spiegel Online*, 24 August 2012 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/xenophobia-still-prevalent-in-germany-20-years-after-neo-nazi-attacks-a-851972.html> [accessed 14 December 2013].

these fatal acts of arson were the extreme manifestation of widespread xenophobia and the socio-political exclusion of certain minority groups from the "national body": 'Mitbürger ohne Bürgerrechte – einen solchen Zustand kann unserer Meinung nach kein demokratischer Staat ohne soziale Konflikte und Spannungen auf Dauer aushalten.'[67] Thus, while many foreign groups were domesticated via German or EEC/EU citizenship, Turkish residents were long excluded from the "national body". Throughout the post-war period, national and supranational citizenship legislation linked belonging in Germany not only to racialised and ethnicised notions of "Germanness" (e.g. as inherited through the "blood line"), but also to a predominantly white "European" identity accessed via EU membership.[68]

Some academic narratives have contributed to the marginalisation of Germany's Turkish residents. West German scholarship from the 1980s refers to non-German residents generally as "Ausländer".[69] Migrants and immigrants with Turkish backgrounds are a focus of academic debate in the 1980s, particularly in reference to their socio-economic "problems" and "conflicting culture".[70] These

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[67] Zafer Şenocak, *Atlas des tropischen Deutschland* (Berlin: Babel, 1993), p. 10.

[68] A further indication of the predominantly reactionary approach towards all immigrants in this context is the concept of the German "Leitkultur". Andreas Huyssen contends: 'Integration into German culture was demanded, and in the late 1990s, after citizenship regulations had been somewhat relaxed, the CDU even advocated something like a Leitkultur, a dominant national culture as guideline for all immigrants. The concept was roundly criticized in the media and in intellectual circles, but by and large it remains German practice.' Huyssen, 'Diaspora and Nation', p. 159.

[69] Irene Hübner, *'wie eine zweite Haut': Ausländerinnen in Deutschland* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1985); Claudia Koch-Arzberger, 'Die Entstehung des Ausländerproblems in der Bundesrepublik', in *Die schwierige Integration: die bundesrepublikanische Gesellschaft und ihre 5 Millionen Ausländer*, Beiträge zur sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung, 80 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985), pp. 3-19; Rita Rosen and Gerd Stüwe, *Ausländische Mädchen in der Bundesrepublik*, Alltag und Biografie von Mädchen, 12 (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1985); Arnulf von Heyl, 'Ausländer', in *Handwörterbuch zur politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. by Martin Greiffenhagen, Sylvia Greiffenhagen and Katja Neller (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), p. 74; Ute Welzel, *Situation der Ausländerinnen: Fachtagung am 19., 20. u. 21. September 1980 in Berlin (West)* (Munich: Minerva-Publikation, 1981).

[70] Karin König, *Tschador, Ehre und Kulturkonflikt: Veränderungsprozesse türkischer Frauen und Mädchen durch die Emigration und ihre soziokulturellen Folgen*, IKO Wissenschaft und Forschung 8 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1989); Ruth Mandel,

academic narratives demonstrate the articulation of difference and otherness via Turkish nationality and the designation of this otherness as "problematic" in terms of social cohesion and integration. Since the late 1990s, however, scholarly narratives on minority groups living in Germany have more frequently employed the terms "Muslim(s)" and "Islam(ic)", sometimes in conjunction with Turkish national difference.[71]

Rather than being due to a significant influx of new "Muslim" migrants to Germany, this semantic change reflects a (re)categorisation of minorities with actual or imagined links to "Islam", e.g. Turks. Increased reference to religiously defined difference indicates the widespread desecularisation of discourse post-1990, in which a real or imagined affiliation with "Islam" invokes various essentialising and reductive notions of "Islam's" incompatibility with the "west". Chin argues that 'the appearance of religion was much less a new development than a repurposing of old tropes to deal with the novel historical conditions of the end of the Cold War and European unification'.[72] A further desecularisation of

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'Turkish Headscarves and The "Foreigner Problem": Constructing Difference through Emblems of Identity', *New German Critique*, 46 (1989), 27-46; Ursula Mehrländer, *Türkische Jugendliche: Keine berufliche Chancen in Deutschland?* (Bonn: Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1983); Inga Stienen, *Leben zwischen zwei Welten. Türkische Frauen in Deutschland* (Weinheim: Quadriga, 2000); Matthias Stiesch, 'Zwangsheirat – wenn türkische Mädchen unter die Haube sollen', *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 331 (1988), pp. 4-7.

[71] *Muslimische Frauen in Deutschland erzählen über ihren Glauben*, ed. by Frauke Biehl and Sevim Kabak (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1999); Jochen Blaschke and Sanela Sabanovic, *Multi-Level Discrimination of Muslim Women in Germany* (Berlin: Parabolis, 2000); James Helicke, 'Turks in Germany: Muslim Identity "Between" States', in *Muslim Minorities in the West: Visible and Invisible*, ed. by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Walnut Creek, CA.: Altamira, 2002); Gritt Maria Klinkhammer, *Moderne Formen islamischer Lebensführung: eine qualitativ-empirische Untersuchung zur Religiosität sunnitisch geprägter Türkinnen der zweiten Generation in Deutschland* (Marburg: Diagonal, 2000); Katherine Pratt Ewing, 'Legislating Religious Freedom: Muslim Challenges to the Relationship between "Church" and "State" in Germany and France', *Dedalus*, 129.4 (2000), 31-54; Sigrid Nökel, *Die Töchter der Gastarbeiter und der Islam: zur Soziologie alltagsweltlicher Anerkennungspolitiken: eine Fallstudie* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2002); Nikola Tietze, *Islamische Identitäten: Formen muslimischer Religiosität junger Männer in Deutschland und Frankreich* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001); cf. 'It was only in the 1990s that the first studies were undertaken on Islamic organizations and religiosity.' Riem Spielhaus, 'Religion and Identity: How Germany's Foreigners Have Become Muslims', *Internationale Politik*, Spring (2006), 17-23 (p. 17).

[72] Cf. Chin, 'Turkish Women', pp. 557-8.

discourse has been evident since 9/11, whereby a notion of "Islam" as the motivating force behind acts of "terror" has become "common sense" in much political rhetoric. This thesis distances itself from conceptualisations of 9/11 as the "cause" or "catalyst" for anti-Muslim rhetoric and asserts that this phenomenon is observable throughout the period of study.[73] Indeed, Riem Spielhaus argues that 'Germany's foreigners have become Muslims', citing 'the disappearance of a large group of immigrants from statistics because they have in the meantime become German citizens'.[74] Since the aforementioned change to citizenship legislation in 2000, 200,000-300,000 foreigners have been "naturalised" annually. This research contends that the (re-)emergence of "Muslim" as a defining category of otherness is driven by a continued need to demarcate certain minority groups' "foreignness" or "otherness" in the absence of a bureaucratically valid invocation of national difference. Contemporary use of the phrase 'mit Migrationshintergrund' serves a similar function and is used to mark certain groups of German citizens as "other".

However, "Muslim" is not simply a 21st century replacement for "foreigner" or "Turk". [75] "Muslim" is a highly charged and overburdened term in contemporary discourses, extending beyond religious affiliation to include racialised, gendered and classed subject positions that (re)produce and are

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[73] Cf. the following observation from 1995: 'Die Zahl der Bücher, die sich mit der Frau im Islam beschäftigen, wächst unaufhaltsam. […] "[D]ie Frau im Islam" ist ein Modethema geworden, an dem sich Feministinnen besonders gern versuchen, sehr oft freilich ohne genügende Kenntnis der historischen Tatsachen und vor allem ohne Kenntnis der islamischen Sprachen und Literaturen.' Annemarie Schimmel, *Meine Seele ist eine Frau: das Weibliche im Islam* (Munich: Kösel, 1995), p. 7.

[74] Spielhaus, 'Religion and Identity', p. 18.

[75] Cf. 'Being "Muslim" has in fact become a central marker of identity in the aftermath of the 2001 terror attacks […] today's public discourse in Germany positions writers who had previously been perceived as migrant-German writers in a new role as public Muslims, and it no longer asks about their fictional or poetic writing but rather about their Islamic upbringing and attitudes.' Karin E. Yeşilada, 'Dialogues with Islam in the Writings of (Turkish-)German Intellectuals: A Historical Turn?', in *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture* ed. by James Hodkinson and Jeffrey Morrison, (NY: Camden House, 2009), pp. 181-203.

(re)produced by global imaginaries of "Islam" as a threat to "western" hegemony in the 21st century. As Leslie Adelson notes: 'Obviously, not all Muslims are Turks, and less obviously – to many Germans – not all Turks are Muslim.'[76] As such, this thesis probes the inextricably linked yet inequivalent notions of "Turkishness" and "Muslimness". This study favours the phrasing Turkish German over Turkish-German. The hyphen functions to temper the legitimacy and wholeness of both markers of "national belonging", as well as implicating the counter-term "German-German". Turkish German, however, advocates an equal and coexisting claim to both markers of identity.

Although self-identifying Muslims in Germany are ethnically, regionally and phenotypically diverse, "Muslim", when invoked by contemporary hegemonic discourses, is often a racialising gesture that imagines all "Muslims" as people of a colour other than white.[77] In the German context, bestselling polemics scapegoating migrant communities as "jeopardising" Germany's future have contributed to the mainstreaming of racist discourses, particularly in relation to groups associated with "Islam".[78] El-Tayeb describes European "Muslims" as 'Europeans of color' in reference to 'populations defined as inherently "non-European" because of a racialized cultural difference linked to a non-European origin'.[79] El-Tayeb continues:

> [T]he means by which minority populations often originating in migrations from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East continue to

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[76] Leslie A. Adelson, 'Coordinates of Orientation: An Introduction', in *Atlas of a Tropical Germany: Essays on Politics and Culture, 1990-1998*, by Zafer Şenocak (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. xi-xxxviii (p. xxii).
[77] I borrow the term "of a colour other than white" from Elizabeth Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film and the Imperial Gaze* (NY: Routledge, 1997), p. xii. This phrasing makes visible the fact that "whiteness" is also a racialised category, rather than supporting the assertion of "whiteness" as an invisible, universalising "norm" upon which racist discourses operate.
[78] Cf. Thilo Sarrazin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab: Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen* (Munich: DVA, 2010).
[79] El-Tayeb, *European Others*, p. xv.

> be differentiated from “real” Europeans reference supposedly innate, visible, unchangeable differences from what the popular imagination considers to be European. This is a perception in other words that uses an essentialist understanding of culture that largely follows earlier ascriptions of similar qualities to the same groups under the heading of “race”.[80]

Culturalised difference, or cultural racism, attributes essentialising notions of “culture” to racialised groups and communities in order to “explain” the behaviours and practices of such groups.[81] Hegemonic discourses employ cultural racism to distance white, majoritarian behaviours and practices from “other” cultures, often in a way that portrays racialised culture as inferior.[82] This distance is achieved primarily through imaginaries of space, whereby racialised “other” cultures are located or originate in distinct, opposing regions such as the “global east”. Cultural racism, however, also constructs distance temporally to reinforce apparently “backward” practices and customs. As Yeğenoğlu observes:

> By a rhetorical strategy, the Oriental or non-Western societies are pushed back in time and constructed as primitive or backward. The Western subject thus constitutes the universal norm by occupying that empty, abstract place reached by a “natural” and “normal” evolution.[83]

Under a culturalist paradigm, “Islam” is a monolithic force that asserts itself homogeneously over space and time, disarticulating social, political, economic, regional and ethnic difference. More than this, “Islam” ostensibly

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[80] El-Tayeb, *European Others*, p. xv.

[81] Cf ‘differentialist racism’ and ‘culturalist racism’ in Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (NY: Routledge, 1995); and ʽantimuslimischer Rassismus’ in Yasemin Shooman, ‘Das Zusammenspiel von Kultur, Religion, Ethnizität und Geschlecht im antimuslimischen Rassismus’, *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Ungleichheit, Ungleichwertigkeit, 16-17 (2012), 53-57.

[82] For an example of cultural racism cf. Samuel P. Huntington, ‘The Clash of Civilizations?’, *Foreign Affairs*, 72.3 (1993), 22-49; For a critique of thereof, cf. Edward W. Said, ‘The Clash of Ignorance’, *The Nation*, 4 October 2001 <http://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance> [accessed 30 April 2014].

[83] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 6.

determines the lives, behaviours and practices of “Muslims” at all times and in ways that other religions are rarely imagined to.[84] As Leti Volpp argues:

> [C]ulture for communities of color is a fixed, monolithic essence that directs the actions of community members. Racialized culture thus becomes an essence that is transmitted in an unchanging form from one generation to the next. We can contrast racialized culture to […] hegemonic culture, [which] is either experienced as invisible or is characterised by hybridity, fluidity, and complexity.[85]

For the figure of the “Muslim” woman, “Islam” is presented as an oppressive and restrictive force from which she needs to be saved. The notion of “honour”-based violence is one example of cultural racism employed in contemporary discourses in Germany (and indeed, much of the “west”) in relation to the “Muslim” woman. “Honour” – when conceived as a motivating force for violence against women – is overwhelmingly invoked in relation to racialised minorities coded as “Muslim”. [86] The notion of a homogeneous “honour code” that drives social interactions and violence against women in “Muslim” communities is a trope that functions throughout the corpus of cultural products

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[84] Cf. ‘[T]he assumption is that whereas “the West” is greater than and has surpassed the stage of Christianity, its principal religion, the world of Islam – its varied societies, histories, and languages notwithstanding –is still mired in religion, primitivity, and backwardness. Therefore, the West is modern, greater than the sum of its parts, full of enriching contradictions and yet always “Western” in its cultural identity; the world of Islam, on the other hand, is no more than “Islam”, reducible to a small number of unchanging characteristics despite the appearance of contradictions and experiences of variety that seem on the surface to be as plentiful as those of the West.’ Said, *Covering Islam*, pp. 10-11.

[85] Cf. Leti Volpp, ‘Blaming Culture for Bad Behavior’, *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities*, 12 (2000), 89-116 (p. 94).

[86] Cf. ‘[Honor crime] is marked as a culturally specific form of violence, distinct from other widespread forms of domestic or intimate partner violence, including the more familiar passion crime. Neither values of honor nor their enforcement through violence are ever said to be restricted to Muslim communities, nor are honor crimes condoned in Islamic law or by religious authorities. Yet somehow their constant association with stories and reports from the Middle East and South Asia, or immigrant communities originating in these regions, has given them a special association with Islam.’ Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, p. 114.

considered by this thesis. Such a notion is also (re)produced by academic narratives such as *Turkish Culture in German Society Today* (1996):

> The control exercised by Turkish males over female members of their families is also intended to prevent a potential loss of honour, since the standing of a family and the esteem in which it is held is presumed to depend above all on the blameless behaviour of its female members.[87]

Avtar Brah and Aisha K. Gill stress the problematic nature of violence linked to “honour”, as ‘its association with minority communities has fostered racialised representations that imply that immigrant cultures and traditions are both backward and unchanging’.[88] By contrast, violence against women perpetrated by white men is rarely attributed to “white culture”.[89] Racialising misogynistic practices obscures widespread misogyny across religious, regional and class boundaries, locating violence against women in a “foreign” culture unreceptive to change and distinct from “German” society.[90]

Thus, this thesis conceives of the figure of the “Muslim” woman as always intersectionally configured. Not only does this figure’s gender and sexuality play a key role in debates surrounding patriarchy and misogyny in “Islam”, she is also situated within a “foreign” or – in the German context – “Turkish” racialised community, the practices and behaviours of which are ostensibly determined by a set of universally agreed upon “cultural” codes. Indeed, anti-Muslim racism disproportionately affects Muslim women: studies from the UK and France show

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[87] Dursun Tan and Hans-Peter Waldhoff, ‘Turkish Everyday Culture in Germany and Its Prospects’, in *Turkish culture in German society today*, ed. by David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky (Providence: Berghahn, 1996), pp. 137-156 (p. 140).
[88] Avtar Brah and Aisha K. Gill, ‘Interrogating Cultural Narratives about “honour”-Based Violence’, *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 21 (2014), 72-86 (p. 73).
[89] Volpp, ‘Blaming Culture for Bad Behavior’, p. 89.
[90] Cf. ‘Racializing sex-subordinating practices allows problematic behavior to be projected beyond the borders of a nation and located on the bodies of racialized immigrant subjects.’ Volpp, ‘Blaming Culture for Bad Behavior’, p. 106.

that the majority of islamophobic attacks are perpetrated against actual or perceived "Muslim" women, particularly following high-profile acts of violence attributed to "Muslims".[91] Given this figure's intersectional configuration, how do cultural products conceive of the relationship between "Turkishness" and "Muslimness"? In what ways do such representations rely on notions of "race", class, gender, nationality, ethnicity and sexuality? In what ways do cultural products employ, negotiate, ignore or combine such aspects?

Overview of Chapters

This study offers a symptomatic reading of representations of "Muslim" women in cultural products across three popular genres. What exactly is meant by "popular" culture, and which cultural products may be considered as "popular" is a historically fluctuating and contested issue, further complicated by different disciplinary and theoretical approaches.[92] Indeed, contemporary references to "popular" cultural products variously connote inferiority (in the sense of commercialised and formulaic "mass" culture, or in opposition to "high" culture); products that are widely liked and enjoyed; products that are targeted towards the general population; and/or products created by the general population (in the sense of coming "from" the people or "folk" culture).[93] This thesis defines

[91] Maroh Jahangiri, 'Report Finds 80 Percent of Anti-Muslim Attacks in France Are against Women', *Feministing*, 24 March 2015 <http://feministing.com/2015/03/24/report-finds-80-percent-of-anti-muslim-attacks-in-france-are-against-women/> [accessed 26 March 2015]; Haroon Siddique, 'Muslim Women More Likely to Suffer Islamophobic Attacks than Men', *Guardian*, 20 November 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/20/muslim-women-islamaphonic-attacks> [accessed 21 November 2013]; Philippa H Stewart, 'UK: Bake-Offs, Hijabs, and Attacks against Muslim Women', *Aljazeera*, 3 November 2015 <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/11/uk-bake-offs-hijabs-attacks-muslim-women-151101075729549.html> [accessed 6 November 2015].

[92] Cf. John Storey, 'What is Popular Culture?', in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture. An Introduction*, by John Storey, 5th edition (Harlow: Pearson, 2009) pp. 1-16.

[93] Cf. Ibid, pp. 5-13; 'Popular culture [...] still carries two older senses: inferior kinds of work (cf. popular literature, popular press, as distinguished from quality press); and work deliberately setting out to win favour (popular journalism as distinguished from democratic journalism, or

popular cultural products in terms of their widespread distribution and availability in Germany: the films and texts analysed in the following chapters are available in public media outlets such as bookshops and theatres, or through online distribution companies.[94] While some of the texts and films have topped box office charts or become bestsellers, "popular" in this study does not necessarily guarantee commercial or critical success, nor does it comment on a text or film's likeability among its target audience. Indeed, each chapter includes hitherto un-researched products, as well as texts and films that – within the context of the corresponding genre – have not been commercially or critically well received. As such, this study references commercial profits, prizes and awards related to certain texts and films. The inclusion of this information does not indicate a cultural product's inherent quality or value, but is rather employed as one method with which to identify commercially dominant texts/films and the types of narratives selected for acknowledgement. Different awards and awarding institutions also reflect various audiences, as well as varying aesthetic, economic and political interests. Nevertheless, these popular genres – and the academic narratives that surround them – make up a decisive part of the dominant regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman in post-unification Germany.

Chapter 2 investigates life writing by or about "Muslim" women: a genre whose widespread consumption and significance in globalised narratives of "gender equality" are largely driven by its claims to present authentic accounts of "Muslim" women's lives. There has been some research on the works of so-called

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popular entertainment); as well as the more modern sense of well-liked by many people, with which of course, in many cases, the earlier senses overlap.' Williams, *Keywords*, p. 237.

[94] Cf. Hall describes popular culture as 'widely distributed forms of […] music, publishing, art, design and literature, or the activities of leisure-time and entertainment, which make up the everyday lives of the majority of "ordinary people".' Hall, 'Introduction', p. 2.

"Islamkritikerinnen" and on the "misery memoirs" of oppressed and abused "Muslim" women. This investigation builds on this existing research and extends the parameters of scholarship by considering multiple sub-genres of biography and autobiography. Chapter 2 draws in new types of texts, such as collections of "Muslim" women's testimony, travel writing, convert literature, light-hearted narratives of "intercultural" exchange and texts by authors who, in contrast to the "Islamkritikerinnen", advocate on behalf of "Islam".

Driven by both a didactic and commercial imperative, the genre of young adult literature has the potential to challenge and subvert, or reinscribe and perpetuate, dominant representations of "Muslim" women among young readers. Chapter 3 reveals the marginalised position of female "Muslim" characters in the genre and the narrow parameters of such characters' representation: texts that do feature explicitly female "Muslim" characters often take thematic inspiration from the aforementioned "misery memoirs", portraying "Muslim" girls as helpless victims of "Islamic" patriarchy. The chapter also covers new ground in its investigation of teenage romances between "Germans" and "Muslims", the opposition of the "traditional Muslim" and "patchwork German" family and texts that make visible the systemic pressures that affect Muslim and non-Muslim girls alike.

Chapter 4 interrogates the figure of the "Muslim" woman in post-1990 film. The study suggests a framework for identifying "Muslim" characters on screen in a genre featuring few self-identifying Muslim women. Indeed, such characters most often appear in Turkish German film as members of "Turkish Muslim" communities. By focussing on filmic representations of female "Muslim" characters, chapter 4 clarifies this figure's marginalised position in

Turkish German film and scholarly narratives thereof. In the 1990s, female "Turkish Muslim" characters feature predominantly in problem-oriented narratives of difficult and unsuccessful socio-economic integration, or as peripheral and relational characters. My research assesses the endurance of such tropes of representation throughout the period of study, including romantic comedies, "ethno-comedies" and filmic narratives of "honour killings". The conclusion summarises the thesis' findings, drawing together the regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman or girl in all of the cultural products considered.

Chapter 2: Life Writing

Life writing by or about "Muslim" women occupies a poignant position in contemporary socio-political narratives surrounding "human rights" and notions of "gender equality". Malala Yousafzai's autobiography, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and was Shot by the Taliban* (2013), for example, has been internationally received and institutionally distinguished: *I am Malala* won Non-fiction Book of the Year at the UK's National Book Awards in 2014; has been translated from English into Catalan, French, German, Italian and Spanish and has been adapted into a Young Readers' Edition and children's audio book.[95] In 2013, Yousafzai delivered a speech to the UN Youth Assembly as part of its Global Education First Initiative and in 2014 she received the Nobel Peace Prize for her activism on behalf of girls' education, making her the youngest Nobel laureate to date. Yousafzai's published life narrative has been crucial in her rise to fame in the "west", as well as to her initiation as a spokesperson on equality within intergovernmental organisations.

As *I am Malala* indicates, writing by or about "Muslim" women's lives can be an international and lucrative genre. Indeed, the German language market can be proliferated with translations, such as international bestseller *Der Buchhändler aus Kabul – eine Familiengeschichte* (translated from English, 2004) and New York Times bestseller *Lolita lesen in Teheran* (translated from English, 2005), which has been translated into 31 further languages.[96] Texts in my corpus of "Muslim" women's life writing published in German between 1990 and 2015

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[95] Malala Yousafzai and Christina Lamb, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2013).
[96] Azar Nafisi, *Lolita lesen in Teheran*, trans. by Maja Ueberle-Pfaff (Munich: DVA, 2005); Åsne Seierstad, *Der Buchhändler aus Kabul. Eine Familiengeschichte*, trans. by Holger Wolandt (Munich: List, 2004).

include the life narratives of women of Middle Eastern, African, Asian and European origin, further attesting to the global significance of the genre. “Muslim” women’s life narratives are also an overwhelmingly 21st century phenomenon within my period of study: one eighth of the texts in the corpus were published in the late 1980s and 1990s. My research clarifies the position of such an international literary phenomenon in Germany by situating the development of “Muslim” woman’s life writing within the nationally specific discourses of post-war labour migration and the fluctuating categorisation of Germany’s “Muslim” minorities.

In German studies, scholarship on life writing by or about “Muslim” women has concentrated primarily on the works of so-called “Islamkritikerinnen”, such as Seyran Ateş, Serap Çileli and Necla Kelek. Drawing on their own negative experiences of growing up in environments they code as “Muslim”, these Turkish German commentators have gained fame and academic attention with their outspoken criticism of “Islam”.[97] This study extends the parameters of the field by considering additional and often under-researched types of texts, including: “non-Muslim” women’s accounts of travelling to or living in “Muslim” countries; collections of “Muslim” women’s life narratives presented and organised by “non-Muslims”; so-called “misery memoirs” of oppressed and abused “Muslim” women; life writing by female converts to Islam; light-hearted comedies by Turkish German Muslim women and texts by self-identifying Muslim women who advocate on behalf of Islam. This act of mapping out different sub-genres is inherently fluid and contested as the complexities and

[97] Cf. Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*; Weber, ‘Freedom from Violence’; Yildiz, ‘Turkish Girls, Allah’s Daughters’; Fatima El-Tayeb, ‘Secular Submissions: Muslim Europeans, Female Bodies, and Performative Politics’, in *European others: Queering ethnicity in postnational Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp. 81-120; Amir-Moazami, ‘Dialogue as a Governmental Technique’.

contradictions of individual texts resist definitive categorisation. Part 1 of this chapter outlines the conceptual tools of self-referential writing relevant to this study.

Part 1: concepts and contexts of post-1990 German life writing

Life writing includes autobiography, biography, and auto/biography, whereby the latter term denotes the interwovenness and/or co-existence of autobiographical and biographical elements in one text.[98] It includes any written account of a life or lives such as memoirs, letters and diaries, as well as historical and anthropological writing. The life *narrative* encompasses all of the above forms of self-referential writing, as well as visual, digital, spoken and performed acts of self-representation.[99] Although this thesis concentrates on *written* accounts of "Muslim" women's lives, I sometimes use the term life *narrative* in order to emphasise the transmedial currency of the genre, and where life writing by or about "Muslim" women is (re)articulated through film, documentary, audio books, televised interviews and/or public appearances.

Despite the inherently contested and subjective nature of processes of remembering, retelling and recording, all texts in my corpus assert authenticity claims: authors and producers compete to tell the "real" story of "Muslim" women and readers invest the texts with the same legitimacy through their expectation of (auto)biography as fact. As Philippe Lejeune reminds us, '[autobiography] is a mode of reading as much as it is a type of writing'.[100] Indeed, genre conventions

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[98] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 256.
[99] Ibid., p. 4.
[100] Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, ed. by Paul John Eakin, trans. by Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 30.

of the autobiography often invoke the notion of the sovereign writing subject, faithfully recording the "truth" of her or his life. The inclusivity of life writing as defined above, however, decentralises such an autobiographical subject. No longer dependent on the autonomous, self-referential writer, life writing allows us to shift the analytical focus away from a text's "truthfulness" and towards 'the plurality of meanings which produce texts and which texts produce themselves'.[101] As Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson explain:

> If we approach such self-referential writing as an intersubjective process that occurs within a dialogic exchange between the writer and reader/viewer rather than as a story to be proved or falsified, the emphasis of reading shifts from assessing and verifying knowledge to observing processes of communicative exchange and understanding.[102]

Indeed, it is not the aim of this thesis to confirm or undermine the "truthfulness" of individual life narratives by female "Muslim" autobiographical subjects, many of whom have endured intolerable abuses. As outlined in chapter 1, this study is interested in the function of such texts within the regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman and the constitutive effects of such representations on subject positions offered to "non-Muslims". What processes of 'dialogic exchange', then, are taking place between the text and the reader within the various types of life writing considered by this chapter? How do texts construct their claims to authenticity? How important are such claims in the texts' marketing and reception? What premises and notions is the reader compelled to accept within the genre of life writing? What prior "knowledge"

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[101] Joanne Sayner, *Women without a Past? German Autobiographical Writings and Fascism* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), p. 1.
[102] Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography*, pp. 16-17.

regarding "Muslim" women is the reader expected to call upon throughout the reading process?

The paratexts of life writing are a crucial site of contested claims to authenticity. Following Gérard Genette, paratext refers to those elements that accompany, present, categorise and legitimise a text in various ways, or rather, 'the means by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself as such to its readers, and more generally to the public'.[103] Paratextual elements include – but are not limited to – the author's name, titles and subtitles, the covers or bindings on which these appear, chapter headings, illustrations and graphics, glossaries, prefaces, forewords and afterwords, dedications, reviews, advertisements and endorsements. Lawton points out that paratexts 'communicate information about the validity, quality, and purpose of the work through the authority of their authors, […] through the reputation of the publisher, or by framing the product in ways that reference other, more authoritative texts or genres'.[104] Such elements can be physical phenomena bound closely to the text, such as the title and preface, or more remote verbal or digital phenomena, such as an interview with the author about the text or an online review. Paratexts can change through various reprints and editions and some may never reach certain readers (for example, the reader who did not see or hear about the interview with the author). Thus, while paratextual elements in no way guarantee a uniform reading practice or experience, they inevitably code the way a text is received and read.

This chapter considers texts *by* "Muslim" women and texts written *about or on behalf of* "Muslim" women. Texts written about or on behalf of "Muslim" women include biographies of individuals or groups, collections of

[103] Gérard Genette, 'Introduction to the Paratext', *New Literary History*, trans. by Marie Maclean, 22 (1991), 261-272 (p. 261).
[104] Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity', p. 50.

autobiographical experiences, or auto/biographical texts that blur the lines between strictly self-referential writing and wider assertions about other "Muslim" women's lives. Such texts are taken up in part 2 of this chapter. Texts *by* "Muslim" women feature a "Muslim" autobiographical subject, conceived as a real life figure proposed by the text to be the principal creator and subject of the narrative and are analysed in part 3 of this chapter. To draw once again on Lejeune, such texts produce authenticity via the establishment of an "autobiographical pact", that is, the assertion that the author and the first person narrator ("I") are the same.[105] These categories, however, are not mutually exclusive: autobiographies, in particular, may present themselves as the story of one life by the person who lived that life, but may have actually been articulated in collaboration with several other (invisible) producers and include generalised assertions about other lives. The whitewashing of "western" collaborators particular to this genre suggests both the exploitation of a reader position that invests belief in the *singular* autobiographical subject and the colonisation of "Muslim" life narratives for a "western" audience.[106]

In what ways – and for what reasons – do texts draw on wider knowledge claims and imagery about the position of women in "Islam"? Which subject positions are offered to the texts' "non-Muslim" readership via representations of "Muslim" women? What functions do such representations take on in a genre that operates within the globalised registers of "human rights" and "gender equality"?

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[105] Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, p. 7.
[106] Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity', p. 22.

Part 2: life writing written about or on behalf of "Muslim" women

Despite the international and 21st century significance of the genre, publications from the 1980s and 1990s circulating in Germany partially foreshadow the contemporary obsession with the position of women in "Islam". Beverley Weber, for example, sees some thematic overlaps between post-2000 texts by the aforementioned "Islamkritikerinnen" (Ateş, Çileli and Kelek) and earlier publications such as Saliha Scheinhardt's *Frauen die sterben, ohne daß sie gelebt hätten* (1983).[107] Of particular importance to the subsequent reception of "Muslim" women's life narratives in the German context is Betty Mahmoody's *Not without my Daughter* (1987), which appeared in German translation in 1989.[108] What was supposed to be a short holiday for Michigan-born Mahmoody– along with her small daughter and devoted spouse to his home country Iran – turns into an 18-month period of abuse and imprisonment at the hands of her now tyrannical husband. The text, co-written by Mahmoody and collaborator William Hoffer, was internationally received and sold more than four million copies in Germany.[109] Throughout the text, the protagonist repeatedly associates the radical change in her husband's behaviour with his (re)submersion into "Islamic culture". This cultural explanation of Mahmoody's suffering, according to Shooman, has become 'paradigmatisch' for the genre.[110]

Furthermore, a consideration of German-language life writing about "Muslim" women published in the 1990s demonstrates the continuity of certain

[107] Weber, 'Freedom from Violence', p. 206; Saliha Scheinhardt, *Frauen, die sterben, ohne daß sie gelebt hätten* (Berlin: Express Edition, 1983).
[108] Betty Mahmoody and William Hoffer, *Not Without My Daughter* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1987).
[109] Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*, p. 102.
[110] Ibid., p. 105.

conventions throughout the period of study, calling into question any characterisations of the genre as a post-9/11 phenomenon. In such texts, "western" women travelling to or living in "Muslim" countries present "Islam" as an exotic, foreign phenomenon.[111] In *Im Schatten der goldenen Moschee: Eine Europäerin zwischen zwei Kulturen* (1997), German Maria Laufenberg recounts her experiences of moving with her husband to his "Muslim" homeland Iraq.[112] Laufenberg's title entices its audience with a juxtaposition of the hidden or overshadowed female figure and the opulence of the mosque. This shadow metaphor invokes the orientalist narrative of the "hidden/veiled Muslim" woman.[113] The golden mosque functions as the unambiguous symbol of "Islam" as the entity that casts that shadow. Laufenberg's title also employs a recurring trope in the genre: being "between" cultures. Implicit to such a position is the construction of two mutually exclusive, monolithic cultural entities. Indeed, the notion of the "between" forecloses any possibility of interaction or exchange, leaving those occupying such a position caught or stranded, neither fully in one "cultural sphere" nor the other.[114]

Hağar Spohr records her journey through Saudi Arabia in *Die Reise nach Mekka: Eine deutsche Frau erzählt von ihrer Pilgerfahrt ins Herz des Islam* (1998).[115] Both Laufenberg's and Spohr's titles distinguish the autobiographical subject from her surroundings by emphasising her "Europeanness" or

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[111] Whilst beyond the scope of this thesis, travel writing constitutes a distinct genre of life writing and scholarship thereof. Cf. Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography*, p. 284.
[112] Maria Laufenberg, *Im Schatten der goldenen Moschee: Eine Europäerin zwischen zwei Kulturen* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1997).
[113] Cf. 'The Western feminist desire to lift the veil of the Oriental woman in the name of "liberating" her reflects the historical, cultural, psychical, and political obsessions of the culture that produced Western women.' Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 12.
[114] Cf. Leslie A. Adelson, 'Against Between: A Manifesto', in *Zafer Şenocak*, ed. by Tom Cheeseman and Karin Yeşilada (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 130-143.
[115] Hağar Spohr, *Die Reise nach Mekka: Eine deutsche Frau erzählt von ihrer Pilgerfahrt ins Herz des Islam* (Bonndorf: Gorski & Spohr, 1998).

"Germanness" and by contrasting this with an invocation of "Islam" (*Moschee/Islam*). Both titles address a non-Muslim audience by ostensibly offering an insight into the beliefs and practices of "Islam" to those currently unfamiliar with them. The authenticity claim and marketing strategy of both texts hinge upon the construction of "Islam" as simultaneously foreign and familiar: foreign enough to intrigue a non-Muslim readership, but accompanied by the claim that the "mysteries" of "Islam" will be rendered knowable through the narrative perspective of a "European" and/or "German" woman. The portrayal of "Islam" and "Muslims" as foreign and exotic, yet ultimately vicariously knowable via the experiences of a non-Muslim writing subject is an important marketing technique for life writing about "Muslim" women throughout the corpus considered by this study. Thus, whilst publications about the lives of "Muslim" women increase exponentially in the 21st century, texts from the 1980s and 1990s historicise the genre in the German context, suggesting thematic and paratextual continuities throughout the period of study.

Under "German" eyes: white women present "Muslim" women

Like Laufenberg and Spohr, the authors of post-2000 publications by non-Muslim women travelling to and/or living in "Muslim" countries present themselves as uniquely positioned to provide both an "objective/outsider" perspective to a non-Muslim, German-speaking readership and, at the same time, to offer "authentic", close-up, first-hand experiences.[116] Such a position is achieved in the first instance by the title: Sabina Adler presents *Die Geschichte der Raissa und ihrer toten Schwestern* (2005); Christiane Hoffmann reports from *Hinter den Schleiern Irans.*

[116] The title of this section borrows from Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.'

Einblicke in ein verborgenes Land (2009); Anita Rados records her encounters with *Die Bauchtänzerin und die Salafistin* (2014) from Egypt; Friederike Weltzien offers *Ein Bericht aus Beirut* (2008) and Charlotte Wiedemann tells us of *Meine Reisen durch einen unbekannten Islam* (2008).[117] These titles function to assure the reader/viewer of the apparently observational nature of the text (*Bericht, Einblicke*) and the ostensible legitimacy of the authorial position based on their close proximity to "Islam" and "Muslims" (*Hinter den Schleiern, aus Beirut, durch Islam*).

The blurbs of the first three texts make a further declaration of authenticity by foregrounding the credentials of the author: 'Die Journalistin Sabine Adler hat viele Jahre in Tschetschenien recherchiert und dabei das Leben der Familien aus nächster Nähe erlebt'; 'Fünf Jahre hat Christiane Hoffmann als einzige deutsche Journalistin in Teheran gelebt'; 'Seit dreißig Jahren berichtet Antonia Rados aus Krisengebieten in aller Welt'.[118] Emphasising the authors' professional experience lends authoritative weight to the texts by associating them with the supposedly factual, observational genre of journalism. In a similarly enticing gesture to Spohr's *Pilgerfahrt ins Herz des Islam*, the foreword to Wiedemanns' *Meine Reisen durch einen unbekannten Islam* claims that the text 'öffnet ein Fenster zum realen Leben heutiger Muslime'.[119] The fact that the text follows Wiedemann through 'zehn islamisch geprägte Länder' and claims to grant insight into *a* or *one*

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[117] Sabine Adler, *Ich sollte als Schwarze Witwe sterben. Die Geschichte der Raissa und ihrer toten Schwestern* (Munich: DVA, 2005); Christiane Hoffmann, *Hinter den Schleiern Irans: Einblicke in ein verborgenes Land* (Cologne: DuMont, 2009); Antonia Rados, *Die Bauchtänzerin und die Salafistin* (Vienna: Amalthea, 2014); Friederike Weltzien, *Warum musstest du sterben, Fidaa? Gottesdienst und Ehrenmord – Ein Bericht aus Beirut* (Freiburg: Herder, 2008); Charlotte Wiedemann, *'Ihr wisst nichts über uns!': meine Reisen durch einen unbekannten Islam* (Freiburg: Herder, 2008); Lulu Beckmann, *Im Land der Blume und der Nachtigall: Mein Leben im Iran* (Heidelberg: Palmyra, 2014).

[118] Adler, *Schwarze Witwe,* dustcover; Hoffmann, *Hinter den Schleiern Irans,* dustcover; Rados, *Die Bauchtänzerin,* dustcover.

[119] Wiedemann, *Meine Reisen durch einen unbekannten Islam*, p. 7.

"Islam" constructs a notion of "Islam" as homogeneous throughout space and time: a reductive trope observable in much life writing about "Muslim" women and indeed, in many of the cultural products considered by this thesis. The title and foreword to *Meine Reisen durch einen unbekannten Islam* are important paratextual devices in the act of making knowable and manageable "Muslims" and "Islam" to a non-Muslim audience.

Within this sub-genre of life writing about "Islam", the bodies and lives of "Muslim" women function as vehicles with which to render entire regions and countries more recognisable to non-Muslim consumers. In *Die Bauchtänzerin und die Salafistin*, Rados recounts her meeting with two sisters in Cairo, whose opposing lifestyles allude to both the trope of the sexualised oriental woman (Bauchtänzerin) and that of the religious fundamentalist (Salafistin). The blurb positions '[d]as Porträt der beiden Frauen und ihrer Welten' as 'ein eindringlicher Blick auf eine Gesellschaft, die vor der Zerreißprobe zwischen Politik und Islam steht'.[120] The text thus portrays the sisters' lives as exemplifying contemporary socio-political discourses in Egypt, whereby "politics" and "Islam" are imagined as conflicting and mutually exclusive forces threatening social stability. Hoffmann's title – *Hinter den Schleiern Irans* – uses the double meaning of "Schleier" to refer to both Iran's apparent secrecy (Schleier as shroud/screen) and "Muslim" veiling practices. Hoffman's title invites the reader "behind" these various "Schleier" in order to "discover" Iran, perpetuating the western feminist and orientalist agenda to make visible – and thus knowable – the body of the "Muslim" woman. As Yeğenoğlu explains:

> The colonial feminist discourse to unveil Muslim women in the name of liberation was linked not only to the discourse of

[120] Rados, *Die Bauchtänzerin,* dustcover.

> Enlightenment but also to the scopic regime of modernity which is characterized by a desire to master, control, and reshape the body of the subjects by making them visible.[121]

In both *Die Bauchtänzerin und die Salafistin* and *Hinter den Schleiern Irans*, "Muslim" women's bodies function as the personification of their countries. Employing "Muslim" women as symbols of national identity indicates this figure's functionality as a test of "gender quality" and "modernity" in contemporary narratives on human rights, as discussed in chapter 1's analysis of western feminisms and concepts of emancipation. Individual figures and lives function as placeholders for complex and constantly fluctuating (inter)national conditions. As has been well established by feminist scholarship, the practice of gendering nations is deeply implicated in constructing and perpetuating geo-political hierarchies in (neo)colonial discourses.[122]

In addition to functioning as national symbols, female "Muslim" figures operate in opposition to the non-Muslim women/journalists in these texts. In *Hinter den Schleiern Irans,* the blurb describes author Hoffmann as 'eine westliche Frau in einem muslimischen Land'.[123] A further text in this sub-genre – *Meine muslimischen Schwestern: Begegnungen auf einer Reise nach Figuig* (Freia Tiederle, 2008) – claims in the blurb: 'Dieses Buch der Begegnungen bietet einen unvergleichlichen Einblick in die Welt der orientalischen Frau, der in seiner Nähe innerhalb der Literatur des Abendlandes bisher nicht seinesgleichen findet.'[124] Statements made in the blurbs of both *Hinter den Schleiern Irans* and *Meine*

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[121] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 12.
[122] Cf. *Kritik des Okzidentalismus: Transdisziplinäre Beiträge zu (Neo-)Orientalismus und Geschlecht*, ed. by Claudia Brunner, Gabriele Dietze and Edith Wenzel (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (NY: Routledge, 1995); Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*.
[123] Hoffmann, *Hinter den Schleiern Irans,* dustcover.
[124] Freia Tiederle, *Meine muslimischen Schwestern: Begegnungen auf einer Reise nach Figuig* (Bayreuth: Kern, Evelyne, 2008), dustcover.

muslimischen Schwestern therefore promise the reader/viewer both proximity and distance to the lives of "Muslim/oriental" women. Throughout this sub-genre, readers are at once reassured of and titillated by the "otherness" of "Muslim" women; they are also promised an intimate glimpse into their lives and, by extension, the countries and cultures such women ostensibly represent.

Post-2000 texts by non-Muslim women/journalists travelling to and/or living in "Muslim" countries attest to certain continuities in the representation of "Islam" throughout the period of study. In texts published both in the 1990s and 2000s, knowledge claims surrounding "Islam" and "Muslims" are offered up a to non-Muslim readership via the perspective of an author who has first-hand experience of the subject material. Many texts emphasise their authors' non-Muslim origins (i.e. their "Germanness" or "Europeanness"), as well as their professional credentials as journalists. Such an authorial position imbues texts with the ostensible objectivity of an "outsider" with experience in foreign correspondence. Representations of "Islam" in this sub-genre – exclusively portrayed as a phenomenon existing outside of Germany – are thus produced and consumed from very similar subject positions.

Islamkritikerinnen

Investigations into so-called "Islamkritikerinnen", such as Ateş, Çileli and Kelek, dominate existing scholarship on life writing by or about "Muslim" women in German studies. This study offers a fresh analysis of these authors by analysing the production and maintenance of their transmedial influence on discourses surrounding "Muslim" women in Germany, as well as bringing forward marginalised counter narratives. These authors have gained fame via the mutually reinforcing influence of their bestselling publications and institutional

endorsement of their critical stance towards "Islam". Without obscuring the inherent differences and contradictions in the autobiographical narratives of these authors, they do share many similarities: all three women experienced difficult and at times violent upbringings, eventually extricating themselves from the conservative and patriarchal expectations of their families; all three explain the oppressive circumstances of their adolescence and (young) adulthood via generalising and intersecting notions of "Turkish" and "Muslim" culture; and all three have cultivated professional development and fame predicated on criticism of "Islam".

In particular, Ateş, Çileli and Kelek are concerned with the ostensibly subordinate position of women in "Islam" and what they view as a damaging "tolerance" of "Islam" among left and liberal political positions in Germany. Such views both shape and are shaped by the wider discursive terrain surrounding "Islam" in Germany, which often assumes "Islam" to be exclusively patriarchal in a way that majoritarian society is not. The assertions of the "Islamkritikerinnen" have been endorsed institutionally: upon the request of the German government, both Kelek and Ateş represented Muslim women's interests in the first three-year phase of the *Deutsche Islam Konferenz* (2006-2009) – a forum designed by the CDU's then Minister of the Interior Wolfgang Schäuble to institutionalise and regulate dialogue between the state and its Muslim minorities. Both Ateş and Çileli received Orders of Merit (*Verdienstorden der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*) in 2007 and 2005 respectively for their engagement with women's rights, particularly among minority communities. Beyond their involvement in state apparatuses, all three appear as "experts" on "Islam" across a range of media; authoring articles in national newspapers, providing interviews for news and

entertainment programmes and writing fore- and afterwords to endorse other publications within the genre of "Muslim" women's life writing. Finally, all three inhabit similar class positions as members of the educated middle class: Ateş is a lawyer, Çileli a human rights activist and consultant, and Kelek a published sociologist. Thus, Ateş, Çileli and Kelek have become ideal native informants for the German government and media.[125] Characterised as a "migrant" who is critical of "migrant culture" and assimilated into "host culture", the native informant reinforces and legitimises the superiority of the "host society".[126] As Shooman argues: 'Sie ["Islamkritikerinnen"] stärken […] einen hegemonialen Diskurs, nach dem es zu einen massive Integrationsdefizite bei der in Deutschland lebenden muslimischen Minderheit als Kollektiv gibt.'[127] Ateş, Çileli and Kelek's position as native informants hinges on the combination of their life narratives as children and young adults, and their current class positions: such authors not only claim to present "authentic" accounts of abuse coded as "Islamic", they also present themselves as professionally qualified to critique their own life experiences within a wider framework of patriarchy and violence against women within "Muslim" culture. Often driving such critiques are homogenising and reductive socio-political hierarchies aimed at asserting the superiority of "German" society. Texts by the "Islamkritikerinnen" are thus marketed towards a non-Muslim readership.

Central to these authors' professional development and their position as native informants is the publication of their respective auto/biographical narratives. In *Große Reise ins Feuer: Die Geschichte einer deutschen Türkin*

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[125] Cf. 'Bestselling autobiographies in Germany have reinforced a discourse in which domestic violence in immigrant communities is attributed to a backward, Muslim culture. The media as well as the German state turn to authors such as Necla Kelek and Seyran Ateş as "experts" who claim the right to represent immigrant women's concerns.' Weber, 'Freedom from Violence', p. 199.
[126] Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, p. 88.
[127] Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*, p. 119. Original emphasis.

(2003), Ateş details her childhood in Istanbul and her family's relocation to Germany, where she grows up 'nach den strengen Regeln türkischer Familien'.[128] In order to escape the marriage her parents arranged for her, Ateş leaves home to study law and live with her German boyfriend. In 1984, Ateş is left severely wounded after an attack by the husband of a client as part of her work with victims of male domestic violence. Çileli's *Wir sind eure Töchter, nicht eure Ehre* (1999) also deals with the author's experience of arranged and forced marriage. Having already escaped a forced union as a teenager by threatening suicide, Çileli is married to a further unwanted suitor ten years her senior and sent to live with him in Turkey. Only at the age of 26 is Çileli able to escape both the control of her parents and her unwanted and unhappy marriage.[129] Kelek's first book on the phenomenon of "import" Turkish German brides to Turkey – *Die fremde Braut: Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens* (2005) – includes autobiographical elements from Kelek's childhood in Istanbul, her family's migration to Germany and her father's increasingly conservative practice of "Islam".[130]

The publication of these life narratives was crucial in establishing Ateş, Çileli and Kelek's autobiographical credentials as women who have been victims of gendered oppression that they associate with "Islamic" and "Turkish" culture – markers that the authors often use interchangeably. Indeed, the above texts have functioned as a springboard for subsequent publications that extend beyond the realm of the autobiographical in order to make assertions about "Muslim" women and "Islam" in general. Ateş has since published *Der Multikulti-Irrtum: wie wir in*

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[128] Seyran Ateş, *Große Reise ins Feuer: Die Geschichte einer deutschen Türkin* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2003).
[129] Serap Çileli, *Wir sind eure Töchter, nicht eure Ehre* (Michelstadt: Neuthor, 1999).
[130] Necla Kelek, *Die fremde Braut: Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2005).

Deutschland besser zusammenleben können (2008), *Der Islam braucht eine sexuelle Revolution: eine Streitschrift* (2011) and *Wahlheimat: warum ich Deutschland lieben möchte* (2013).[131] The release of Çileli's first book was accompanied by a documentary *Seraps Ehre – Eine Türkin kämpft um ihre Liebe* (1999) aired during late peak time (10.15pm) on the nationally broadcast channel ZDF. Following this, Çileli published *Eure Ehre, unser Leid: Ich kämpfe gegen Zwangsehe und Ehrenmord* in 2008.[132] Kelek has become a prolific commentator on "Islam" in Germany, publishing titles that tap into the travelogue genre discussed above: *Bittersüße Heimat: Bericht aus dem Inneren der Türkei* (2008); *Himmelsreise: mein Streit mit den Wächtern des Islam* (2010); *Hurriya heißt Freiheit: Die arabische Revolte und die Frauen – eine Reise durch Ägypten, Tunesien und Marokko* (2012).[133]

In *Der Multikulti-Irrtum* (2008)[134] – the follow up to *Große Reise* (2003) – Ateş employs a foreword to (re)assert her position as the daughter of first generation 'Gastarbeiter' (7) with 'türkischen, kurdischen und muslimischen Wurzeln' (9) who identifies Berlin as her 'Heimat' (7). In addition, the foreword highlights Ateş' professional engagement with and experience of defending imperilled Muslim women:

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[131] Seyran Ateş, *Der Multikulti-Irrtum: wie wir in Deutschland besser zusammenleben können* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2008); Seyran Ateş, *Der Islam braucht eine sexuelle Revolution: eine Streitschrift* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2011); Seyran Ateş, *Wahlheimat: warum ich Deutschland lieben möchte* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2013).
[132] 'Seraps Ehre – Eine Türkin kämpft um ihre Liebe', *37 Grad* (ZDF, 1999); Serap Çileli, *Eure Ehre, unser Leid: Ich kämpfe gegen Zwangsehe und Ehrenmord* (Munich: Blanvalet, 2008).
[133] Necla Kelek, *Bittersüße Heimat: Bericht aus dem Inneren der Türkei* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2008); Necla Kelek, *Himmelsreise: mein Streit mit den Wächtern des Islam* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2010); Necla Kelek, *Hurriya heißt Freiheit: Die arabische Revolte und die Frauen – eine Reise durch Ägypten, Tunesien und Marokko* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2012); Kelek has also published on the plight of "Turkish/Muslim" men: Necla Kelek, *Die verlorenen Söhne: Plädoyer für die Befreiung des türkisch-muslimischen Mannes* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2006).
[134] Seyran Ateş, *Der Multikulti-Irrtum.* Subsequent page numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

> Ich äußere mich zur Lebenssituation von muslimischen Frauen und habe mich als Anwältin viele Jahre meines Lebens für sie eingesetzt. Es gibt Menschen, die mich bedrohen, weil ich selbst frei leben und anderen Menschen zu einem freien, selbstbestimmten Leben verhelfen will. (10)

The first few pages of the text establish the author as a native informant via Ateş' autobiographical proximity to a generalising notion of "Turkish Kurdish Muslim" culture and her professional, middle-class position on the "other side" of the equation as a legal defender of Muslim women. The text portrays Ateş at once as Kurdish, Muslim, Turkish and German; Ateş is simultaneously a victim/survivor of her upbringing and a rescuer of "Muslim" women, for whom she claims to speak. The foreword thus constructs an authorial position that portrays Ateş as particularly qualified to make generalising assertions about "Muslim" women and their lives. Indeed, the parameters of the text extend far beyond Ateş' life narrative to include the themes of: integration; forced marriage, homosexuality, polygamy and sexual abuse in "Islam"; domestic violence 'in Migrantenfamilien'; the hijab; Sharia law; European 'Leitkultur'; Nationalism; and Muslim organisations in Germany (5-6).

From this authorial position, Ateş makes generalising statements regarding "Muslims" in Germany that present their apparent backwardness as fact and empower right wing agendas. To give just one example, the text contends: 'Die Deutschen streiten noch darüber, ob überhaupt öffentlich über Probleme wie Zwangsheirat, Ehrenmorde, Islamisierung, Frauenunterdrückung bei Türken und Kurden etc. geredet werden darf' (8). This statement wilfully ignores the contemporary obsession with "Islam" in socio-political narratives.[135] This

[135] In addition to the materials discussed in this thesis, cf. bestselling polemics Günther Lachmann, *Tödliche Toleranz: Die Muslime und unsere offene Gesellschaft* (Munich: Piper, 2005); Alice

assertion also implies that misogyny and violence against women are exclusive characteristics of minority groups that Ateş codes as “Muslim”, indicated by Ateş' earlier reference to the ‘türkisch-kurdisch muslimische Welt’ (8). This imagined silence – according to the text – is particularly the fault of “Germans” on the political left: ‘Viele Deutsche, vor allem viele Linke’, are guilty of promoting a “multiculturalism” based on ‘Gleichgültigkeit und Ignoranz’ as well as ‘organisierte Verantwortungslosigkeit’ (9). *Der Multikulti-Irrtum* thus implicitly empowers conservative and right wing political narratives – which openly propagate racialised notions of a self-contained, homogeneous and misogynistic “Muslim” minority – as “responsible”. Indeed, the text itself argues from this position of “political responsibility”, extolling its own ostensibly mobilising and emancipatory gesture: ‘Ich hoffe, dieses Buch motiviert auch andere, über das, was sie mit den eigenen Augen sehen, mit den eigenen Ohren hören, zu sprechen und zu schreiben’ (10). As Weber points out, such assertions claim ‘that the plight of Muslim immigrant women has been ignored in German society. Given the hyper-visibility of Muslim women in Germany in discussions about immigrant culture since the late 1980s, this is an ironic premise’.[136] The text portrays the author as the exemplary “whistle-blower” on abuses and inequalities attributed to “Islam”, disarticulating the activism and scholarship of Muslim feminists working to dismantle patriarchal structures within Muslim communities, as well as confronting sexism and racism in German society as a whole.[137]

Schwarzer, *Die Gotteskrieger und die falsche Toleranz* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2002); *Die große Verschleierung: Für Integration, gegen Islamismus*, ed. by Alice Schwarzer, (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2010); Sarrazin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab*; For interventions into the "Sarrazin-debatte", cf. *Rassismus in der Leistungsgesellschaft*.

[136] Weber, ‘Freedom from Violence’, p. 206.

[137] Cf. Leila Aḥmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (London: Yale University Press, 1992); Margot Badran, *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2009); Hannah Beitzer, ‘Feminismus: “Muslimische Frauen kennen oft ihre eigene Religion nicht”’, *sueddeutsche.de*, 4 February 2016

Following the success of her autobiographical narrative – both as text and documentary – Çileli has subsequently published again on forced marriage and "honour" killings in "Muslim" culture (*Eure Ehre, unser Leid*, 2008).[138] Like *Der Multikulti-Irrtum*, the first prose paratextual element of *Eure Ehre, unser Leid* (re)asserts authorial legitimacy via Çileli's first-hand experience of and professional engagement with the same crimes that the text addresses. This assertion is made, however, not from a first-person narrative perspective as in *Der Multikulti-Irrtum*, but rather with the authority of an anonymous third-person narrator:

> Serap Çileli weiß, wovon sie spricht, denn sie hat deren Folgen [forced marriage and familial revenge] am eigenen Leib erlitten. Nach vielen Jahren eindringlichen persönlichen und politischen Engagements ist Serap Çileli davon überzeugt, dass ein Miteinander dennoch möglich ist. Ihr eigener Lebensweg ist das beste Beispiel für gelungene Integration! (2)

This preface presents Çileli as a native informant by way of her autobiographical credentials, professional status and as an exemplary model of integration into the "host" society. Indeed, the text poses as a handbook for other "minority" women wishing to extricate themselves from situations similar to Çileli's. Whilst Çileli probably wrote – or at least approved – this preface herself, the distancing of the third person narrator from the autobiographical "I" imbues the preface with a sense of ostensibly external and objective validation.

<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/leben/feminismus-muslimische-frauen-kennen-oft-ihre-eigene-religion-nicht-1.2848886> [accessed 19 March 2016]; Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); *Zwangsfreiheiten: Multikulturalität und Feminismus*, ed. by Birgit Sauer (Vienna: Promedia, 2009); Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Amina Wadud, *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006); Weber, 'Kübra Gümüşay'.

[138] Subsequent page numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

External endorsement of the text continues in the foreword, authored by Matthias Platzeck, SPD Chairman 2005-2006 and Minister-President of Brandenburg from 2002-2013. Platzeck's support of the text further indicates the institutional approval of Çileli's stance on "Islam" and "Muslims" in Germany, as well as the text's non-Muslim addressees. Platzeck writes:

> Hier schildert die Autorin offen ihre bedrückende Kindheit und Jugend in einer streng muslimisch geprägten Familie und leistet damit einen wertvollen Beitrag zu einer längst überfälligen Debatte um Frauenrechte. Die Leidensgeschichte der beiden [Serap Çileli and Hatun Sürücü] steht stellvertretend für Tausende anderer Frauen. (10)

The shooting of Hatun Sürücü in 2005 was a high-profile case in Germany. Sürücü's eldest brother was charged with her murder, which was allegedly supported and planned by Sürücü's immediate family as a response to her estrangement from her spouse in an arranged marriage. Sürücü was survived by a young son.[139] Like *Der Multi-kulti Irrtum*, Platzeck's foreword constructs the (erroneous) notion of an "overdue" or "absent" debate catalysed by its author and presents the act of (re)telling Çileli's story as beneficial for ("Muslim") women's rights in general. The reiteration of the author's autobiographical proximity to the content of the text in both the preface and foreword indicates the crucial function of Çileli's life narrative as the foundation of the text's assertions. As Shooman argues, the author's life narrative is so important precisely because it 'immunisiert […] Çileli gegen den Vorwurf der Reproduktion rassistischer Argumentationsmuster'.[140] Like *Der Multikulti-Irrtum*, the thematic scope of *Eure*

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[139] Cf Stefan Jacobs, 'Brücke soll Hatun Sürücüs Namen tragen', *Der Tagesspiegel Online*, 5 March 2013 <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/berlin-tempelhof-bruecke-soll-hatun-sueruecues-namen-tragen/8160946.html> [accessed 19 May 2013].
[140] Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*, p. 113.

Ehre, unser Leid extends beyond the autobiographical to deal with topics including, but not limited to, forced marriage, incest, child abuse, murder, illiteracy and circumcision within "Turkish Muslim" communities. (5-8) If Çileli's personal experience of forced marriage functions as the basis of legitimacy from which the text comments on all "Muslims", the invocation of Hatun Sürücü's murder doubles down on such an assertion, whereby "Muslim" women's life narratives are linked and then generalised to apply to "thousands" of women. Sürücü and Çileli's life narratives, however, significantly diverge in terms of the socio-economic conditions of their upbringing, their social mobility, the dominant national context of their lives and their (and/or their families') interpretation and practice of Islam: Sürücü was born to a Sunni (the largest denomination of Islam) family in Berlin and was training as an electrician before her murder; Çileli was born in Mersin and is a practising Alevite (a faction of the second largest denomination of Islam, Shia) and, as discussed, is a published author and activist. The circumstances of both women's marriages, however, and Sürücü's murder, imply that "Muslim" women everywhere – across religious, regional, and class boundaries – are united in their subjugation under "Islam".

Finally, Çileli's own introduction and summary of her life narrative compounds the text's relentless assertion of authorial legitimacy, targets political positions construed as left/liberal and alludes to the sustained collapsing of national, ethnic and religious markers throughout the text.[141] Where Ateş conflates "Muslim", "Turkish" and "Kurdish" identities, Çileli uses "Turkish" and "Arab" interchangeably with "Muslim". Pondering why 'hundert Verlage' (20) rejected the manuscript to *Wir sind eure Töchter*, Çileli concludes: 'Anscheinend wirkten

[141] Cf. Ibid., p. 117.

sich Nazi-Deutschland und die Erbschuld der Deutschen bis heute aus und lähmten Politik und Gesellschaft. Die Menschenrechte und die Menschenwürde arabischer und türkischer Frauen wurden auf dem Altar der Religionsfreiheit, der Toleranz und der Multikulti-Illusion geopfert' (20). Here, the author blames guilt over appeasement of and complicity with Nazism for creating a political environment ill equipped to confront misogyny among minorities. In particular, the text metaphorically portrays characteristics of ostensibly left/liberal positions – like "tolerance" or "multiculturalism" – as part of a doctrine that ritually sacrifices such women. Driving this argument, then, is the idea that "Germans" must distance themselves from guilt regarding racism, fascism and antisemitism in order to help such women, portraying the socio-political atmosphere in contemporary Germany – particularly with regard to minority and immigrant communities – as overly timid and obliging. The closeness of 'Multikulti-Illusion' to Ateş' *Multikulti-Irrtum* evidences the mutually reinforcing and cumulative power of the "Islamkritikerinnen" and their views. Indeed, Kelek employs a similar technique to criticise political positions in favour of protecting the right to asylum in Germany in one of her earlier publications, *Die fremde Braut* (2005): 'Gerade die gut meinenden Deutschen neigen dazu, in jedem hier Asyl suchenden Ausländer den Wiedergänger eines vor dem Holocaust zu rettenden Juden zu sehen. Schuldbewusstsein scheint hierzulande wichtiger zu sein als die Verteidigung der Verfassung.'[142] Texts by all three of the "Islamkritikerinnen", then, promote a right-leaning majoritarian society able to "move on" from the legacies of national socialism as the only environment capable of freeing imperilled "Muslim" women from the dual threat of "Islam" and the "cultural

[142] Kelek, *Die fremde Braut*, pp. 270-1.

relativism" practised on the left, as well as protecting "Germany" from the apparent threat to the constitution posed by "foreigners".[143]

Works by Kelek are the most researched of the "Islamkritikerinnen", with most scholars focussing on early publications, such as *Die fremde Braut* (2005).[144] This chapter builds on existing scholarship by considering *Bittersüße Heimat* (2008), *Himmelsreise* (2010) and *Hurriya heißt Freiheit* (2012) to demonstrate the construction of a multifaceted authorial positionality over a wider corpus of texts, allowing Kelek to inhabit fluctuating and sometimes contradictory standpoints. Indeed, Kelek's texts variously present their author as Turkish, German, European, Muslim, secular, authentic insider, objective outsider, theological expert and academic. In *Bittersüße Heimat: Bericht aus dem Inneren der Türkei* the authorial voice first establishes its "insider" position via an assertion of Kelek's German, European, and Turkish identities: 'Ich bin eine Deutsche, eine Europäerin mehr, aber deshalb keine Türkin weniger.'[145] Kelek's claim to geographical and ostensibly ideological distance from Turkey, however, also asserts her position as an "objective outsider": 'Mit diesem durch Fremdheit geschärften Blick wende ich mich in diesem Buch meiner "Bittersüßen Heimat" zu' (16). Kelek conceives of her "Germanness" as both bureaucratic and based on an ideological affinity with progressive "German" values: 'Ich bin inzwischen Deutsche – und nicht nur dem Pass nach. Ich identifiziere mich mit der demokratischen Verfassung dieser Gesellschaft, mit den Freiheiten, die sie mir und anderen ermöglicht' (20).

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[143] Cf. 'According to a narrative that is increasingly widespread, it is a feeling of guilt about the dark side of the European past – in particular colonialism and the Holocaust – that has caused a willingness to be too tolerant toward the minority Other.' Yildiz, 'Governing European Subjects', p. 85.

[144] Cf. El-Tayeb, *European Others*; Kuppinger, 'Himmelstochter'; Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity'; Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*; Weber, 'Freedom from Violence'.

[145] Kelek, *Bittersüße Heimat*, p. 290. Subsequent pages numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

It is not the intention of this study to undermine Kelek's intersecting political and national subjectivities, but rather, to make visible the socio-political hierarchies that Kelek constructs from her authorial position. *Bittersüße Heimat,* for instance, uses the author's status as a native informant to make offensive and reductive assertions regarding Turkey's backwardness in comparison to the European Union. Thus, while 'die Türkei braucht die EU' (279) and is sure to profit from its proposed accession (289), the text asks: 'Wie aber soll die Integration von mehr als 70 Millionen Muslimen in die Wertegemeinschaft Europas funktionieren, wenn deren grundlegende Pfeiler – wie Gleichberechtigung, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, die Freiheit des für sich selbst verantwortlichen Individuums – abgelehnt werden?' (285). Here, the EU is imagined as an immutable, ideologically homogeneous unit of which Germany is an essential and inseparable part, as well as an agent of liberal and progressive values. "Muslims" – used interchangeably with "Turks" – provide the backward and equally homogeneous foil.[146] Kelek uses her Turkish identity to criticise Turkey in a way that any non-Turkish commentator would be reprimanded for. At the same time, the author aligns herself with the superior values that she sees embodied in Germany and the European Union.

The text employs the figure of the oppressed "Turkish Muslim" girl to support Kelek's stance on Turkish accession to the EU, whereby this figure functions as the personification of Turkey as a pubescent girl facing forced marriage:

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[146] Cf. 'The main reference point for these secular Muslim feminists is their commitment to Western liberal notions of justice, autonomy, tolerance and individual rights. These concepts, however, gain meaning primarily in terms of counter-concepts to the underlying understanding of Islamic normativity as a closed set of rules and restrictions.'Amir-Moazami, 'Dialogue as a Governmental Technique', p. 15.

> Ich bin gegen den Zwang zur Ehe, bei jungen Leuten wie bei Staaten. Für mich ist die türkische Braut noch nicht im heiratsfähigen Alter. Sie steckt noch mitten in der Pubertät, mit all den bockigen Verweigerungen und infantilen Regressionswünschen, die man aus dieser Phase kennt (286).

The text references patriarchal and heteronormative notions of a marriage as a contract in which the bride is absorbed into groom's family/estate and portrays the EU as the paternal benefactor in Turkey's proposed accession in a repurposing of the Eurocentric trope of the unilateral "flow" of progress from "west" to "east". The infantilising gesture of the specifically underage bride constitutes a perverse functionalisation of paedophilia to advance a political argument.[147]

Kelek's sustained critique of "Islam" culminates in her 2010 publication *Himmelsreise: mein Streit mit den Wächtern des Islam.* As in *Bittersüße Heimat, Himmelsreise* portrays "Islam" as an illiberal and backward entity: 'Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam ist deshalb so schwierig, weil der Glaube eben nicht – wie in der säkularen Gesellschaft – ein Teil der Freiheit geworden ist.'[148] Despite Kelek's disparaging view of "Islam", the text still makes a claim to "Muslimness" on behalf of its author: 'Ich bin Muslimin, wie man in der Türkei und anderswo zur Muslimin wird – durch einen muslimischen Vater.'[149] From a simultaneously "secular" and "Muslim", "objective outsider" and "authentic insider" position, Kelek then claims:

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[147] In this way, Kelek draws on established sexist and gendered tropes that assert hierarchies between states. Cf. gendered representations of the East German "bride" surrounding the German unification: Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, 'A Gendering of Germany. The Couple: Image-Making for the National Unification 1989/90', *Oxford Art Journal*, 17 (1994), 78-90; Ingrid Sharp, 'To the Victor the Spoils: Sleeping Beauty's Sexual Awakening', in *Women and the Wende: Social Effects and Cultural Reflections of the German Unification Process: Proceedings of a Conference Held by Women in German Studies, 9-11 September 1993 at the University of Nottingham*, ed. by Elizabeth Boa and Janet Wharton (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 177-188.
[148] Kelek, *Himmelsreise*, p. 15.
[149] Ibid., p. 13.

> Der Islam kennt keine Theologie im Sinne einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin und keine verbindliche Lehre. Die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Religion findet deshalb in der Praxis statt. So besteht das “islamische Dilemma” auch darin, das im Namen des Islam alles behauptet und alles bestritten werden kann.[150]

Factually suspect and dismissive of Centuries’ worth of work by Islamic scholars, such claims add weight to El-Tayeb’s conclusion that ‘authors [e.g. Kelek] describe themselves as both secular and culturally Muslim, claiming deep theological knowledge of Islam on which they base statements such as that there is no tradition of textual interpretations, which supposedly explains why all Muslims think alike’.[151] In *Hurriya heißt Freiheit,* the foreword asserts the author’s professional credentials and her apparent commitment to “reality”: ‘Ich bin Soziologin und untersuche die Wirklichkeit, die realen Verhältnisse. Hier ist der Bericht.’[152]

The fluctuating authorial position constructed over several texts presents Kelek as a native informant uniquely qualified to make generalising statements regarding the superiority of “Germans”, “Europeans” and “Germany” over “Turks”, “Muslims” and “Islam”. The legitimacy of such a position is further asserted by Kelek’s professional practice as a sociologist and by the “observational” genre markers of her text’s titles (*Bericht aus dem Inneren der Türkei; Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens; eine Reise durch*). Finally, Kelek champions the liberal values of secular society from a position of inherited “Muslimness” and unsubstantiated assertions about “Islam”. Like a

[150] Kelek, *Himmelsreise*, p. 15.
[151] El-Tayeb, *European Others*, p. 101.
[152] Kelek, *Hurriya heißt Freiheit*, p. 11.

Swiss army knife, Kelek's multifaceted authorial position changes and pivots to legitimise her arguments and assert her legitimacy as required.

The homogenisation of "Muslim" women's experiences in all of the discussed texts by Ateş, Çileli and Kelek often obscures significant regional, religious and class divides between the authors and the women they claim to represent.[153] As El-Tayeb contends, these authors present 'themselves as brave travellers between incompatible worlds, as necessarily separate from the mass of women in whose name they speak – and on whose silence they depend in order to continue this function for a white (neo)liberal audience'.[154] This "silence", however, has not gone unchallenged: marginalised counter narratives by self-identifying Muslim women speaking from similar class positions to Ateş, Çileli and Kelek call for a more nuanced and receptive dialogue between Muslim and non-Muslim groups in Germany. Such narratives are the subject of the following section.

Islambefürworterinnen?

My research has uncovered two texts within this sub-genre of life writing by or about the lives of "Muslim" women, marking such narratives, firstly, as a field for further scholarly investigation and secondly, indicating the relatively lacklustre consumer/publisher demand for narratives that do not confirm hegemonic representations surrounding the "Muslim" woman. Indeed, neither *Muslimisch, weiblich, deutsch! mein Weg zu einem zeitgemäßen Islam* (2011) by Lamya Kaddor, nor *Muslim Girls* (2010 and 2015) by Sineb El Masrar reinforce the two dominating tropes of the genre: the universally "oppressed Muslim woman" and

[153] Cf. 'The growing ranks of authors-turned-activists appear at first glance to be […] mitigating the problem of speaking for others across race and culture. But they are still speaking across substantial differences.' Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity', p. 57.
[154] El-Tayeb, *European Others*, p. 103.

the figure of the "(ex-)Muslim" woman who has "seen the light", evidenced by her distance or estrangement from behaviours and practices coded as "Islamic".[155] In this way, Kaddor and El-Masrar threaten both the aforementioned silence on which the "Islamkritikerinnen" rely and the dichotomy of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman.

Lamya Kaddor is a doctor of Islamic studies, born in Ahlen to Syrian parents. A practising Muslim, Kaddor is founder and president of *Der Liberal-Islamische Bund e.V.*. Echoing paratextual assertions of "truthfulness" elsewhere in the genre, the foreword to *Muslimisch, weiblich, deutsch!* claims: 'Mein Buch gibt dazu Einblicke in das Leben von ganz "normalen" deutschen Muslimen.'[156] The text claims to represent the 'stillschweigende' population of "Muslims" who are caught between conservative, fundamentalist interpretations of "Islam" and anti-Muslim racism: 'Angesichts der derzeitigen Spannungen sind liberal-gläubige Muslime, die einem gewöhnlichen Alltag nachgehen, die ihre Religion wertschätzen, in ihr aber trotzdem nur einen Mosaikstein ihres Lebens sehen, umso dringlicher aufgerufen, sich ebenfalls in die öffentlichen Debatten einzubringen' (8). As well as arguing for a more nuanced and intersectional conceptualisation of "Muslim" identity than is evident throughout the majority of the materials considered by this study, the text calls for dialogue and action from both majoritarian and minoritarian groups: 'Mein Appell geht damit in alle Richtungen' (7). A list of practical points for both groups to follow in the epilogue supports the sincerity of this call (198).

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[155] Lamya Kaddor, *Muslimisch, weiblich, deutsch! mein Weg zu einem zeitgemäßen Islam* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2011); Sineb El Masrar, *Muslim Girls: Wer wir sind, wie wir leben* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2010); Sineb El Masrar, *Muslim Girls: Wer sie sind, wie sie leben* (Freiburg: Herder, 2015).

[156] Kaddor, *Muslimisch, weiblich, deutsch!*, p. 7. Subsequent pages numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

Like the “Islamkritikerinnen”, Kaddor speaks from an educated, middle class position and weaves elements of her life narrative into *Muslimisch, weiblich, deutsch!* alongside more general themes such as sexuality, “honour”, mosque building, and the hijab. Unlike publications by the “Islamkritikerinnen”, however, the text employs such autobiographical elements with the purpose of facilitating reflection and dialogue regarding “Islam” and “Muslims” in Germany. Kaddor, for example, discusses her decision not to wear the hijab to exemplify her interpretive practice of modesty (40-56), whilst pointing out the discrimination and exclusion that hijabi Muslim women face in majoritarian public spheres and in particular, on the labour market (23). In another instance, the author draws on her professional credentials as a theologian and educator, including classroom discussions she has had with “Muslim” students regarding “honour” and sex in “Islam”. Such discussions function as a pedagogical tool within the text, guiding the reader through critical reflection in religious practice, as well as revealing patriarchal beliefs and practices that operate within “Muslim” communities. Thus, the text selectively employs the author’s life narrative – not as a blank cheque to claim absolute knowledge and representativeness as with Ateş, Çileli and Kelek – but to point out the intersecting restrictions that Muslim women face in Germany. Indeed, Kaddor responds to the culturalist assertions of the “Islamkritikerinnen” thus: ‘Ihr monokausaler Ansatz, einzig die Religion zur Verantwortung zu ziehen, als ob sie den Charakter von Tätern und Opfern mit islamischen Familienhintergrund bestimmen würde, lässt sich sowohl theologisch als auch soziologisch nicht aufrechterhalten’ (30).

Sineb El Masrar lives and works as a journalist in Berlin. A practising Muslim with a Moroccan background, El Masrar was a member of the *Deutsche*

Islam Konferenz from 2010-2013. First published in 2010, a revised and extended version of *Muslim Girls: wer wir sind, wie wir leben* was published with a new subtitle in 2015: *wer sie sind, wie sie leben*. Via this change in pronoun, the authorial position shifts from one of identification with the collective identity of the subjects of the text, to one of separation. The realignment of the authorial position to an "objective/outsider" perspective suggests the repackaging of the text to exploit an intensified discursive obsession with "Muslims" and "Islam" of the moment among a non-Muslim readership. Indeed, the 2015 version includes a foreword entitled 'Muslim Girls go Nobelpreis!' that positions aforementioned Malala Yousafzai and her autobiography as the exemplary "Muslim girl", as well as discussing the Islamic State terrorist group and the refugee "crisis" of recent months.[157] In addition, the foreword claims comprehensive knowledge of "Muslim girls" in a generalising assertion of representativeness similar to those made by the "Islamkritikerinnen", clearly addressing a non-Muslim audience: 'Hier finden Sie fast alle Antworten zum Thema Muslimas in Deutschland und deren Herkunftsländern geballt zusammengefasst' (11). The lack of other significant changes to the body of the 2015 text indicates the profitability of "Muslim" women's life narratives vis-à-vis contemporary discourses surrounding "Islam", "terrorism", "migration" and "foreigners" in Germany. The 2015 foreword also exemplifies the tendency within mainstream media to collapse all of these radically specific developments into one discourse.

The 2015 edition's shift in authorial positionality heightens the conflicts within the text concerning, firstly, its intended audience and secondly, its deconstruction and reinforcement of generalising tropes surrounding the figure of

[157] El Masrar, *Muslim Girls*, pp. 11-16. Subsequent pages numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated and refer to the 2015 edition.

the “Muslim” girl or woman. Whilst the title and foreword of the 2015 edition addresses a non-Muslim readership, the text’s dedication contradicts this: ‘Für meine Mutter! Und all den Muslim Girls dieser Welt! Go for it!’ (5). Indeed, much of the text targets young, female readers, evidenced by the title (“Girls”), the repeated use of Anglicism and colloquial language, as well as references to education, fashion and contemporary online culture, such as Facebook and the chapter ‘Muslima 2.0’.

Furthermore, the text acknowledges the personal and collective activism of “Muslim” women ‘die sich Tag für Tag dafür [Anerkennung, Freiheit und Teilhabe] einsetzen’ (14) and claims to write against the homogeneous representation and perception of “Muslim” women in German society (20; 24). Such a claim, however, is followed by an indexing of the several types of “Muslim Girl” one might encounter, from the ‘High Potential’, ‘Natural’, ‘Black Beauty’, ‘It’ and ‘Heuchel Muslim Girl’ to the oppressed “Muslim” girl and convert (20-22). For each “Muslim Girl”, the text discusses her stance towards religion, family and career. The ‘Natural Muslim Girl’, for example, ‘füllt im Zweifel einfach ihre Rolle als Mutter und Hausfrau mit viel Engagement und Energie aus’ (20) should her professional life come into conflict with her domestic duties. The subject positions offered to “Muslim” women by the text thus conform to heteronormative and conservative gender roles − with the ‘Natural’ role associated with motherhood and domestic labour − as well as recycling the post-feminist “conundrum” of children vs. career. The ‘Muslim It Girl’, on the other hand, ‘hat kein Problem damit, von der öffentlichen Hand zu leben, solange das Geld für das neuste Handy, Schuhe, Solarium oder die Maniküre reicht und sich kein Mann findet, der das nötige Geld in die Beautykasse spült’ (21). The ‘It Girl’

perpetuates the sexist trope of the manipulative and materialistic "gold digging" woman, as well as tapping into racialised, classist discourses that portray members of minoritarian groups as "sponging" off the state and exploiting the German welfare system.

Exemplary consumers –'Wir kaufen euch die Läden leer, wenn ihr nicht rechtzeitig für Nachschub sorgt' (18) – and dedicated students – 'wir lernen ununterbrochen […] forschen bis zur Erschöpfung' (19) – "Muslim Girls" are also on the search for love: 'Nach Mr. Right suchen wir nebenbei auch. Der darf ruhig auch mal ein wenig Macho sein' (19). Whilst such generalisations do challenge operating notions of the "Muslim" woman as a docile, uneducated and domestic figure whose romantic life is organised by the wider "Muslim" community, the text casts female "Muslims" as model neoliberal subjects working and consuming in a relentless project of improvement of the superficial, professional and personal self. Thus, whilst the authorial voice seeks to undermine its own reductive categorisations – 'Auch ich bediene hiermit das ewige Schubladendenken und entwerfe die Marke "Muslim Girls" […] damit Sie uns nach der Lektüre dieses Buches in Ihren Köpfen endlich als Individuen in die freie Welt entlassen'(24) – the narrative effectively replaces one set of tropes with another.

The problematic elements of *Muslim Girls* notwithstanding, both El Masrar and Kaddor challenge the hegemonic grip of the "Islamkritikerinnen" by insisting on a wider range of female "Muslim" subject positions beyond the "oppressed victim" and "native informant". Commenting on the negation of certain female Muslim subjectivities perpetuated by the likes of Ateş, Çileli and Kelek, Kaddor writes: 'Für Islamkritiker kann es keine weltoffenen, aufgeklärten

Muslime geben. Nach ihrer Logik kann sich ein gebildeter Mensch nur vom Islam abkehren. Das heißt also: Ich existiere für sie nicht' (31).

Part 3: "Muslim" women as autobiographical subjects

Part 2 of this chapter analysed life narratives written about or on behalf of "Muslim" women from both Muslim and non-Muslim authorial perspectives, which often combined self-referential assertions with general claims regarding other "Muslim" women's lives. Part 3 interrogates texts in which "Muslim" women function to varying degrees as autobiographical subjects, or rather, as individuals narrating their own lives. As shown in this chapter's discussion of the concepts and contexts of post-1990 German life writing, such categories are not mutually exclusive and the often-obscured role of collaborators in producing "Muslim" women's autobiography complicates the production and reception of such texts as a retelling of one life written by the person who lived it. Part 3 further extends the parameters of existing scholarship on life writing by or about "Muslim" women – which has predominantly focused on the works of the "Islamkritikerinnen" – to include: auto/biographical collections of "Muslim" women's testimony; so-called "misery memoirs" of oppressed and abused "Muslim" women; self-referential writing by converts to Islam, and light-hearted comedies by Turkish German Muslim women.

'Frauen kommen hier selbst zu Wort': auto/biographical collections

This section analyses collections of "Muslim" women's autobiographical testimony curated and presented by professional authors. In *Muslimische Frauen*

in Deutschland erzählen über ihren Glauben (1999), sociologists Sevim Kabak and Frauke Biehl present eleven interviews with self-identifying Muslim women. *'Wir haben Erfolg!' 30 muslimische Frauen in Deutschland* (2008) presents short auto/biographical accounts from "Muslim" women, organised and edited by journalist Kerstin E. Finkelstein.[158] In the foreword to *Muslimische Frauen,* the text contends that 'Frauen kommen hier selbst zu Wort, statt daß über sie gesprochen wird'.[159] The foreword is undersigned by Hilde Adolf (SPD member and Senatorin für Arbeit, Frauen, Gesundheit, Jugend und Soziales in Bremen) and Louis Ferdinand von Zobeltitz (secretary of the Bremen evangelical church), lending political and religious endorsement to the text. In *'Wir haben Erfolg!,* Ateş provides the foreword, bringing with it the weight of her ostensible authorial legitimacy regarding discourses surrounding the "Muslim" woman, as analysed in this chapter's discussion of the "Islamkritikerinnen". In the afterword to *'Wir haben Erfolg!*, Finkelstein asserts that 'ich [habe] die hier vorgestellten Frauen […] selbst über ihre Erfahrungen bestimmen lassen: sie erzählen lassen'.[160] Thus, both *Wir haben Erfolg!* and *Muslimische Frauen* employ paratextual elements authored by figures with socio-political influence within the field to add authority and legitimacy to the collections, as well as presenting each text as a space for "Muslim" women to negotiate their lives in their own words.

The construction of such a space in both texts depends on the apparent separation between the editor/curator(s) and their female "Muslim" subjects. This separation is achieved by selectively acknowledging the former's constitutive role in shaping the latter's testimony. Indeed, Finkelstein's first-person authorial voice

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[158] Kerstin E. Finkelstein, *'Wir haben Erfolg!' 30 muslimische Frauen in Deutschland* (Cologne: Fackelträger, 2008).
[159] Biehl and Kabak, *Muslimische Frauen*, p. 7.
[160] Finkelstein, *Wir haben Erfolg!*, p. 219.

appears in her afterword, but is edited out of her interviews with the “Muslim” women, so that each testimony appears as a mixture of third-person reporting and direct quotation. Finkelstein’s journalistic style of reporting situates the text in an ostensibly observational genre, as seen in the aforementioned texts written by non-Muslim women travelling to and/or living in “Muslim” countries. Biehl and Kabak speak as ‘wir’ in their introduction and conclusion to *Muslimische Frauen*, but also obscure their role in guiding the women’s testimony by editing their interviews into continuous prose. Both texts thus exemplify the professionally managed production of authenticity within the genre of life writing, often achieved through presenting life narrative(s) as unmediated and spontaneous by downplaying the roles of the editor/curator(s) in producing the text.

In *Wir haben Erfolg!*, Ateş’ foreword addresses a non-Muslim readership seeking “knowledge” about “Muslim” women: ‘Sie werden von 29 Frauen erfahren, wie vielfältig das Leben von Musliminnen sein kann, die als erfolgreich gelten.’[161] The female “Muslim” subject positions presented by the text as “successful” are “secular” and professional. In the full-page portraits next to each of the contributions, none of the women are shown to observe Muslim veiling practices. Ateş explains the absence of hijabi and niqabi women in the text thus: ‘Selbstverständlich tragen die Protagonistinnen in diesem Buch kein Kopftuch. Sie leben in einer anderen Welt als die türkische, kurdische oder arabische Mama, die nur dazu da ist, ihren Ehemann und ihre Kinder glücklich zu machen.’[162] Similarly to *Der Multikulti-Irrtum*, Ateş uses “Muslim” interchangeably with “Turkish/Kurdish/Arab”, further attesting to the racialised signification of “Muslim” in contemporary discourses taken up in chapter 1’s discussion of the

[161] Finkelstein, *Wir haben Erfolg!*, p. 9.
[162] Finkelstein, *Wir haben Erfolg!*, p. 11.

fluctuating categorisation of Germany's "Muslim" minorities. Ateş' reductive and homogenising presentation of "Muslim" women who cover as submissive servants presents veiling practices and domestic labour as incompatible with "success" in German society, as well as reinforcing the trope of the "oppressed Muslim woman". In this way, Ateş perpetuates the discrimination that hijabi and niqabi Muslim women face on the labour market. In the contents and main body of *Wir haben Erfolg!,* all of the women's names are subtitled with their profession. The blurb reinforces the text's valorisation of the women's professional activities: 'Sie sitzen im Bundestag. Sie leiten deutsche Unternehmen. Sie sind Ärztin, Kommissarin, Professorin. Sie haben etwas aus ihrem Leben gemacht.'[163] The selection and paratextual framing of "Muslim" women's life narratives in *Wir haben Erfolg!* thus presents individual advancement within waged labour relations as the exclusive marker of "success". As such, the text reinforces hegemonic notions of "success" familiar to majoritarian groups in western, capitalist societies. Indeed, Ateş continues: 'Schließlich werden muslimische Frauen von einer gemeinsamen Zukunft der multikulturellen Gesellschaft am meisten profitieren, wenn sie an der Freiheit, die Deutschland jedem Individuum bietet, partizipieren können.'[164] Here, the text posits full integration into German society as a pathway to "profit" that is open to all individuals, communicated within a neoliberal agenda, whitewashing socio-economic inequalities in Germany. The author's positive invocation of the 'multikulturellen Gesellschaft' is also suspect when one considers that Ateş published *Der Multikulti-Irrtum* in the same year. As outlined in chapter 1's discussion of western feminisms and concepts of emancipation, the paradigm in

[163] Ibid., dustcover.
[164] Ibid., p. 13.

which “Muslim” women are deemed successful and/or emancipated in texts targeted at non-Muslim audiences often both corresponds to and reinforces dominating notions of sexual and professional self-determination in the “west”.

Like *Wir haben Erfolg!*, *Muslimische Frauen* addresses a non-Muslim readership via a generalising, educational gesture surrounding “Islam” and “Muslims” in Germany: ‘Bilder von Terroranschlägen und Gewalt politischer Gruppen im Namen des Islam, Schlagworte wie “Re-Islamisierung”, “Fundamentalismus” und “Islamischer Fanatismus” erzeugen verständlicherweise Verunsicherung und Ängste. Dieser Verunsicherung kann nur durch differenzierte Aufklärung und Information über den Islam begegnet werden.’[165] Here, the authors frame their presentation of “Muslim” women’s lives as a way to extend ‘Aufklärung und Information über den Islam’, reinscribing the figure of the “Muslim” woman as a symbol of or pathway to “knowledge” about “Islam”. In addition, the text is posited as response to the fear and panic surrounding “Muslims” cultivated by contemporary discourses that assert “Islam” as a “threat” to western democracy and values. By legitimising such discourses as “understandable”, the text normalises and excuses a default suspicion of “Muslims”. Biehl and Kabak thus put the onus on Muslim women to reveal their life stories in order to combat anti-Islamic sentiment. Whilst intercultural and interfaith exchange may lead to increased collaboration and friendship between heterogeneous social groups, this should not be a prerequisite for the extension of respect and dignity to minority groups.

Both texts assert their emancipatory potential for “Muslim” women, which functions to create complementary subject positions for the texts’

[165] Biehl and Kabak, *Muslimische Frauen*, p. 11.

editor/curator(s). Finkelstein's afterword, for example, states: 'Ich hoffe also, mit diesem Buch den Blickwinkel, aus dem muslimische Frauen in Deutschland in aller Regeln gesehen werden, erweitern zu können.'[166] This statement serves to reaffirm Finkelstein's position of power as the active curator and presenter of "Muslim" women's lives. Just as Biehl and Kabak ostensibly provide the 'Aufklärung' necessary to combat anti-Muslim "insecurities", Finkelstein is to thank for any improvement to the prevalent perceptions and attitudes towards "Muslim" women in Germany. Despite the good intentions of these auto/biographical collections, such texts reproduce a subject/object hierarchy in which professional authors – whose religious affiliations are not discussed or disclosed – offer up carefully edited "Muslim" women's life narratives in an attempt to satisfy the curiosity (or concern) of Germany's non-Muslim majorities. Like the "Islamkritikerinnen", the editor/curator(s) of such texts assert the importance of their roles as conduits "between" ostensibly opposing social groups. In this way, auto/biographical collections of "Muslim" women's life narratives exhibit both similarities and differences to the texts considered by the next section of this chapter – so-called "misery memoirs" by "Muslim" women. On the one hand, these "miserable" narratives are also produced and marketed for the consumption of non-Muslim audiences in the "west". On the other, the constitutive role of collaborators and editors in this sub-genre is further obscured from the narrative itself, shifting the gesture of such texts from "education" towards titillation.

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[166] Finkelstein, *Wir haben Erfolg!*, p. 219.

"Muslim" women's "misery" memoirs

The so-called "misery memoir" rose to prominence in the 1990s, often characterised by harrowing and graphic narratives of the abuse and suffering of women and children.[167] Such texts as told by a female "Muslim" autobiographical subject prevalently detail her victimisation and suffering under misogynistic practices coded as "Islamic". The recurring themes of such texts include physical and sexual abuse, kidnapping, forced marriage and "honour"-based violence, most often carried out by close male family members. Scholars have debated the possible motivations behind the widespread reception of such disturbing subject material, variously suggesting that salacious voyeurism, catharsis, the promise of the victim's salvation and liberation, or the reader's self-congratulatory moral outrage prompts readers to purchase such texts.[168]

The designation of self-referential narratives as "miserable" often connotes a low cultural status or literary quality: Shooman refers to such texts about "Muslim" women as 'Opferliteratur' and Abu-Lughod describes them as 'graphic, even pornographic'.[169] As Lawton contends: 'Most of these designations […] mark the genre as less than: less significant, less literary and less respectable. In a word, trivial – a label frequently applied to women's writing.'[170] Other disciplines of life writing, however, cast such texts in a more favourable light. Scriptotherapy, for example, theorises life writing as a therapeutic exercise for authors working

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[167] Prolific texts in this genre describe the physical and sexual abuse of children, cf Dave J. Pelzer, *Sie nannten mich 'Es': Der Mut eines Kindes zu überleben*, trans. by Ulrike Ziegra (Munich: Goldmann, 2000); Juliana Buhring, Celeste Jones and Kristina Jones, *Nicht ohne meine Schwestern*, trans. by Hedda Pänke (Bergisch Gladbach: Bastei Lübbe, 2009), as well as fictionalised narratives of the Holocaust, e.g. John Boyne, *Der Junge im gestreiften Pyjama*, trans. by Brigitte Jakobeit (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2007).

[168] Cf. Anne Rothe, 'Selling Misery', in *Popular Trauma Culture: Selling the Pain of Others in the Mass Media* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2011), pp. 87-98.

[169] Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*, p. 102; Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, p. 82.

[170] Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity', p. 13.

through traumatic experiences and the survivor narrative allows victims to be 'remade as survivors through acts of speaking out, telling their stories in ways that move beyond a concentration on personal feelings to testimony that critiques larger cultural forces'.[171] Genre categorisations, therefore, affect a text's marketing and reception. This chapter thus employs the term "misery memoir" to draw attention to the genre's distressing thematic range and the contentious terms of its reception, with an awareness of its pejorative connotations. It is not meant to assert or reinforce a certain cultural status or literary quality.

As argued in this chapter's discussion of the concepts and contexts of post-1990 German life writing, the active, yet often obscured role of non-Muslim collaborators particular to "Muslim" women's life writing suggests the colonisation of such narratives for a "western" audience. Indeed, the socio-economic hierarchy that often exists between the "Muslim" women and their collaborators from the global "west" is a defining characteristic of the "misery memoirs" and differentiates them from the relatively privileged class positions occupied by the likes of Ateş, Çileli and Kelek, as well as Kaddor and El Masrar. As Lawton argues, however, presenting the "Muslim" autobiographical subjects of "misery memoirs" exclusively as voices exploited for western literary markets

> reinforces an impression of the author-narrators as both pitiful victims – first of Muslim violence and then of western capitalism – and unrealistic stock figures, while eliding the potential these books have to bring critiques of the state and deviations from the script to the attention of readers.[172]

A more balanced view of the relationship between "Muslim" autobiographical subjects and their western ghost writers also considers the social and economic

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[171] Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography*, pp. 279-82.
[172] Lawton, 'Marketing Authenticity', p. 22.

advantages that the publication of their life narratives may have for "Muslim" women, such as book royalties and/or a certain degree of protection against a backlash from those incriminated by such texts via the autobiographical subjects' "infamy" as witnesses to "Islamic" oppression.

Several texts in this sub-genre of my corpus omit the name of the second author or collaborator from the front cover, exemplifying the production of authenticity within the genre via the presentation of ostensibly unmediated, first-hand testimony. One such text is *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen – eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt*, which was a *Spiegel* Bestseller in 2007.[173] *Mich hat keiner gefragt* is the story of the autobiographical subject's childhood in Anatolia, before she is forced into an underage marriage and moved to Germany. The protagonist endures 19 years of sexual, physical and financial abuse before she can attempt to extricate herself. The autobiographical subject/author is named on the front cover simply as "Ayşe" (figure 3).

[173] Ayşe and Renate Eder, *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen - eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt* (Munich: Blanvalet, 2007); Also: Meral Al-Mer, *Nicht ohne meine Mutter: Mein Vater entführte mich als ich ein Jahr alt war. Die Geschichte meiner Befreiung* (Bergisch Gladbach: Bastei Lübbe, 2013); Hanife Gashi and Sylvia Rizvi, *Mein Schmerz trägt deinen Namen: ein Ehrenmord in Deutschland* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2006).

Figure 3 ***Mich hat keiner gefragt,*** **front cover.**

The use of a pseudonym implies the risk inherent in a "Muslim" woman "speaking out" about her abuse, as well as suggesting the universality of the story: Ayşe is a common female given name in Turkish. The fact that this name is printed in a larger typeface than the title indicates the importance of the author in securing the text's legitimacy: it is "Ayşe" and the proposed authenticity of her autobiographical testimony that sells copies. The front cover also features a photograph of a female figure in a bridal veil wearing an unhappy expression. The combination of the subtitle, title, pseudonym and photograph suggest that the image is of "Ayşe" herself. Such photographic evidence further strengthens the text's claim to authenticity. The inclusion of the author of the foreword on the front cover– "Islamkritikerin" Serap Çileli – further testifies to the dominating voices of the "Islamkritikerinnen" within the genre. The text's co-author – journalist Renate Eder – appears first on page 3 of the text.

In a similarly generalising gesture to Çileli's *Eure Ehre, Unser Leid* discussed in this chapter's analysis of the "Islamkritikerinnen", the foreword to *Mich hat keiner gefragt* goes beyond the obvious parallels between Çileli and Ayşe's life narratives to make universalising assertions regarding "Turkish Muslim" women as a whole. Çileli contends: 'Kopftuchzwang, häusliche Gewalt, patriarchalische Ehr- und Moralvorstellungen, Zwangsheirat and Ehrenmorde bestimmen das Leben der türkisch-muslimischen Frauen und Mädchen.'[174] Çileli's contribution thus situates the text within the generalised context of misogyny in "Turkish-Muslim" culture – imagined as a homogeneous community that universally abuses women and girls – as well as ostensibly bolstering the text's authority via references to Çileli's own self-referential publications.

The afterword to *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, written by an anonymous author on behalf of NGO *Terre des Femmes*, also functions to situate the text within a broader discourse of women's oppression: 'Häufig pflegen Familien mit Migrationshintergrund patriarchalische Wert- und Ehevorstellungen. Sie wollen sich von der als befremdlich und unverständlich empfundenen Umgebung abgrenzen.'[175] This statement, like Çileli's, attributes patriarchal beliefs and practices to nearly all families 'mit Migrationshintergrund'. Such practices and values are defined as a reactionary gesture in opposition to the host society i.e. a German majoritarian society imagined to be non-patriarchal. Ayşe's life narrative is thus circumscribed by paratextual elements that translate her personal, subjective experience into a globalised register of "women's rights" and "gender equality" in which "Muslim" women are portrayed as universally oppressed, while "non-Muslim" or "German" women are not. Furthermore, the mobilising

[174] Serap Çileli, 'Vorwort', in *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen – eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt* by Ayşe and Renate Eder (Munich: Blanvalet, 2007), pp. 7-12 (p. 8).
[175] Ayşe and Eder, *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, p. 240.

and philanthropic gestures of the paratextual elements – Çileli finds the text 'unerlässlich, um die deutsche Gesellschaft, die Politik und die Medien […] aufzurütteln'[176] and *Terre des Femmes* invites donations from concerned readers[177] – asserts the text's emancipatory potential for oppressed "Muslim" women everywhere. By inviting donations, the afterword offers a charitable subject position to a readership imagined to be impervious to the intersecting economic and misogynistic inequalities that "Muslim" women seem to be.

The homogenisation of individual life narratives under the international genre of "Muslim" women's "misery memoirs" obscures the diversity of such texts and posits "Islam" as the common denominator in the autobiographical subjects' experiences of abuse and oppression. A survey of the front covers of such texts reveals the visual tropes that connect texts across national and linguistic borders. The autobiographical subject in *Der Schleier der Angst* (2010, translated from French) for example, is French Algerian Samia, who is forced into an abusive marriage by her Muslim family. Samia's family mistreats and scorns her both during her childhood in Paris and after their relocation to Algeria. Samia gives birth to six children before she attempts to flee her oppressive and violent surroundings.[178] In *Gefangen im Land meines Vaters... ich wurde aus Deutschland nach Pakistan entführt* (2004), German Pakistani Nasima enjoys a happy life in Germany until her father takes her against her will to live in Pakistan. The narrative perspective alternates between Nasima and her German mother Maria, who makes repeated, failed attempts to retrieve her daughter. Nasima eventually

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[176] Çileli, 'Vorwort', p. 11.
[177] Ayşe and Eder, *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, p. 244.
[178] Samia Shariff, *Der Schleier der Angst*, trans. by Monika Buchgeister (Cologne: Bastei Lübbe, 2010).

manages to return to Germany, and her mother, as an adult.[179] Despite the obvious social, geographical, linguistic, and narratological differences of these texts, their covers are highly similar (figures 4 and 5).

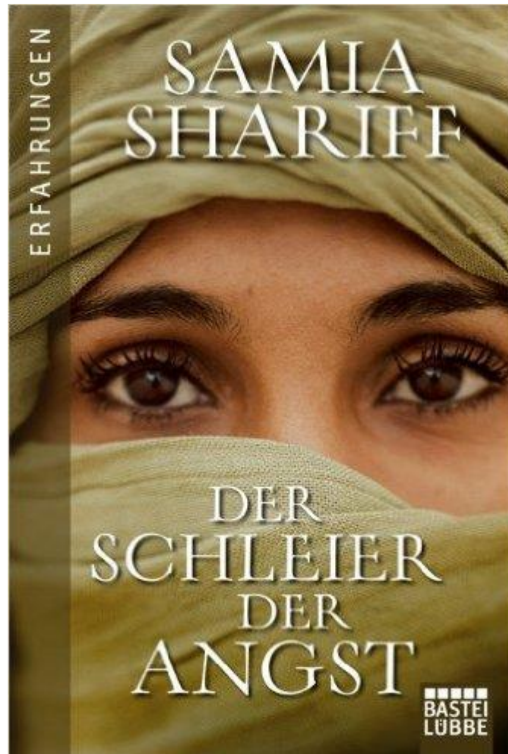

Figure 4 *Der Schleier der Angst*, front cover

[179] Nasima Nazar and Maria Nazar, *Gefangen im Land des Vaters ... ich wurde aus Deutschland nach Pakistan entführt* (Munich: Ullstein, 2004).

Figure 5 ***Gefangen im Land meines Vaters*****, front cover**

Both depict a young woman's face in close up, covered almost completely by cloth, whereby only her eyes remain visible. These face coverings, in conjunction with the women's ambivalent, non-white phenotypes tap into dominant regimes of representation – circulating in Germany and elsewhere in the "west" – in which "Muslims" are racialised as "non-white". Both titles imply pain and suffering through their reference to fear, imprisonment and abduction. In this way, the front covers invoke dominant western assertions about the apparent subordinate position of women in "Islam", inviting the reader/viewer to identify these women as the victims of ostensibly "Islamic" abuses. Crucially, the orientation of both figures' melancholy gaze directly confronts the reader/viewer. The fixation of the reader/viewer's gaze reinscribes established patriarchal and colonial power relations, in which the reader/viewer is interpellated to the historically white, male, western subject position of saviour to the imperilled "Muslim" woman. Furthermore, both images are subtly sexualised through the

women's youth and conventional attractiveness, through the intimacy created by the close up and the eyes' enhancement through make-up. On the cover of *Der Schleier der Angst*, the woman's cloth is wound much more tightly around her mouth than a conventional niqab would be, implying that she is unable to communicate through speech and thus compounding her helplessness. On the cover of *Gefangen im Land des Vaters*, the sheer quality of the woman's niqab reveals a faint outline of her mouth, compounding her sexualisation. The ubiquity of this cover design within the genre establishes its status as a trope.

Another way in which "Muslim" women's divergent life narratives are subsumed under a generalising discourse of the "oppressed Muslim woman" is through intertextual reference to other well-known and/or authoritative volumes in the genre. *Nicht ohne meine Mutter: Mein Vater entführte mich als ich ein Jahr alt war* by Meral Al-Mer (2013), for example, references and draws on the familiarity of the aforementioned text, *Nicht ohne meine Tochter*. Thus, through repeating visual and linguistic tropes in their cover designs and (sub)titles, "Muslim" women's life writings are assimilated into a unifying narrative, suggesting that "Muslim" women are suffering everywhere and "Islam" – presented as a force that manifests itself homogeneously across space and time – is the unifying axis of their "miserable" experiences.

However, it is not just "Muslim" women who are at risk: some "misery memoirs" are narrated from the perspective of a non-Muslim autobiographical subject. The milieu in which such women experience violence and oppression in these texts, however, is coded as "Islamic". Like Mahmoody, these autobiographical subjects become victims of abuse via heterosexual relationships with "Muslim" men. In *Misshandelt: im Namen seiner Ehre,* Emilia Pfeifer

relocates to Turkey to be with new boyfriend Idris, who the text soon reveals to be an abusive alcoholic.[180] As discussed in chapter 1's analysis of culturalised racism, "honour" – when conceived as a motivating force for violence against women in contemporary discourses – is overwhelmingly invoked in relation to racialised minorities coded as "Muslim". Thematically, however, the text is driven more by economic exploitation, substance addiction and mental illness than "Islam", suggesting that the title is employed to tap into the lucrative global market of the "misery memoir". Indeed, Pfeifer published a sequel a year later in 2014.[181]

In *Spiegel* bestseller *Gefangen in Deutschland: wie mich mein türkischer Freund in eine islamische Parallelwelt entführte*, which was followed in 2013 by sequel *Befreiung vom Schleier: wie ich mich von meinem türkischen Freund und aus der islamischen Parallelwelt lösen konnte,* German Katja Schneidt details the abusive and controlling behaviour of her Turkish boyfriend, Mahmud.[182] As both subtitles reinforce, Schneidt locates her abuse in an 'islamischen Parallelwelt'. Whilst the titles of many texts locate "Islam" in far off places, – such as the accounts by non-Muslim women travelling to or living in "Muslim" countries discussed in part 1 of this chapter – Schneidt's publication emphasises the threat that "Islam" poses to women in Germany. Titles such as *Ich schrie um mein Leben: Ehrenmord mitten unter uns* and *Mein Schmerz trägt deinen Namen: ein Ehrenmord in Deutschland* contribute to this trend, implying that, not only are

[180] Emilia Pfeifer, *Misshandelt: im Namen seiner Ehre* (Radeberg: DeBehr, 2013).
[181] Emilia Pfeifer, *Im Namen der Gerechtigkeit? Misshandelt im Namen seiner Ehre 2* (Radeberg: DeBehr, 2014).
[182] Katja Schneidt, *Gefangen in Deutschland: Wie mich mein türkischer Freund in eine islamische Parallelwelt entführte* (Munich: mvg, 2011); Katja Schneidt, *Befreiung vom Schleier: wie ich mich von meinem türkischen Freund und aus der islamischen Parallelwelt lösen konnte* (Munich: mvg, 2013); Schneidt has also gone on to publish novels about "inter-cultural" romance, further indicating the transmedial currency of the genre. Cf. Katja Schneidt, *Plötzlich Türkin – Lieben heißt verzeihen: Liebesroman* (Leipzig: Elysion, 2014).

acts of violence coded as "Islamic" via their invocation of an "honour code" being committed against women in the midst of German society, but also that they go largely unnoticed.[183] In addition, the front cover of *Gefangen in Deutschland* adheres to the trope of the "oppressed Muslim woman" exemplified above by *Der Schleier der Angst* and *Gefangen im Land des Vaters:* Schneidt's gaze fearfully interpellates the reader/viewer as her potential saviour, her mouth smothered by a hijab (figure six).

Figure 6 ***Gefangen in Deutschland,*** **front cover**

The colouring of the image emphasises Schneidt's whiteness: the bright blue of the hijab matches her eye colour, referencing conventional Christian images of the Virgin Mary; a blonde fringe emerges from the hijab and her skin has a flawless, peach tone. Schneidt's racial "otherness" within the context of the genre works to reinforce the notion of inescapable danger conveyed by the title: for a readership

[183] Aylin Korkmaz, *Ich schrie um mein Leben: Ehrenmord mitten unter uns* (Munich: Knaur, 2011); Gashi and Rizvi, *Mein Schmerz trägt deinen Namen*.

that is used to seeing racialised depictions of "Muslim" women on the covers of such texts, Schneidt's whiteness is shocking. "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" women alike, it seems, are vulnerable to misogynistic abuse coded as "Islamic".

Like *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, *Gefangen in Deutschland* employs paratextual elements to translate Schneidt's personal and subjective experience into generalising assertions about "Muslim" social structures. However, unlike the deployment of "Islamkritikerin" Çileli and NGO *Terres des Femmes* in the paratextual framing of Ayşe's life narrative in *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, Schneidt functions as her own "expert endorsement", authoring both the fore- and afterword. The autobiographical voice thus speaks both as "victim of Islamic misery" and with the insight and reflection of someone who has "made it out the other side". Comparing Schneidt and Ayşe's access to the framing and presentation of their own life narratives suggests the relative disempowerment of "Muslim" women vis-à-vis "western/non-Muslim" women even within the same specific sub-genre of "Muslim" women's life writing.

According to the foreword by Schneidt, '[d]ie offene Mentalität und manchmal sehr freizügige Lebensweise der Deutschen' prompts "Muslim" families in Germany to raise daughters, 'die aufs Wort gehorchen und sich statt für Jungen, Mode und Kosmetik eher für Haushalt, Kochen und Kinderpflege interessieren'.[184] Here, female "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" subject positions are mutually exclusive and mutually constitutive: sexual and attitudinal openness (as well as makeup and fashion) are coded as "German/non-Muslim"; obedience and domestic and reproductive labour are portrayed as "Muslim/non-German". The text's concluding 'Tipps und Beratungsadressen für Gewaltopfer' (263-83),

[184] Schneidt, *Gefangen in Deutschland*, pp. 15-16. Subsequent pages numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

furthermore, employ Schneidt's life narrative as an exemplary warning for others considering or involved in 'eine bikulturelle Partnerschaft – vor allem mit einem Mann muslimischer Herkunft' (263). Indeed, the 'Tipps' frame otherwise sound advice for victims of domestic abuse in a culturalist register, urging "non-Muslim" heterosexual women 'sich schon zu Beginn der Partnerschaft ernsthaft mit der Kultur und den Traditionen aus dem Heimatland Ihres Partners auseinander [zu setzen]' (263). *Gefangen in Deutschland* thus portrays "culture" and "tradition" as homogeneous and essentialising forces directing the actions of "Muslim" men, with potentially grave consequences for "non-Muslim" women.

By constructing a coexisting but somehow completely separate and hidden "Islamic" sphere as the site of violence against women, *Gefangen in Deutschland* and other titles contribute to the aforementioned discourses presenting "Islam" as an immanent and pervasive threat that has infiltrated – and seeks to undermine and destroy – the very fabric of society in "secular" states. By "containing" such violence within "Muslim" communities, these texts obscure the prolific misogyny operating in majoritarian society. Portraying "Muslim" communities as impenetrable social entities places "Muslim" women at risk of or suffering from misogynistic abuse beyond the reach of social services and support. This is one example of the ways in which certain representations of the "Muslim" woman – here, as a trapped victim in a geographically or ideologically sealed-off society – materially impoverish real women at risk of abuse. The emancipatory potential of *Gefangen in Deutschland* and other texts is thus undermined by the racialisation of sex-subordinating practices.

From MTV to Mecca: female converts to Islam

Female autobiographical subjects in this section – unlike the "Islamkritikerinnen", "Islambefürworterinnen" and the majority of autobiographical subjects behind the "misery memoirs" – were born into socio-political environments that they code as "non-Muslim". Similar to the texts by "Islambefürworterinnen", life writing by female converts occupies a marginal position within "Muslim" women's life writing: my research has uncovered two texts in this sub-genre. In *Himmelstochter: Mein Weg vom Popstar zu Allah* (2005), Hülya Kandemir charts her upbringing as the daughter of agnostic Turkish migrant parents, her burgeoning career as a singer-songwriter in Germany and her gradual withdrawal from a public role in the music industry on account of her increasingly pious practice of Islam.[185] In *Von MTV nach Mekka: wie der Islam mein Leben veränderte* (2009), Kristiane Backer presents the process of her conversion to Islam in 1995, as well as the professional and personal consequences of such a change.[186] In 1989, Backer was the first German woman to present for MTV Europe – a job that granted her access to and influence within celebrity culture. Based in London, Backer has retained an active media presence as a Muslim woman. *Von MTV nach Mekka* has been followed by translations into Dutch (*Van MTV naar Mekka*, 2011), an English-language version by bi-lingual Backer (*From MTV to Mecca*, 2012) and second volume, *Der Islam als Weg des Herzens: Warum ich Muslima bin* (2010).[187] Like Kaddor and El Masrar, Backer and Kandemir advocate on behalf of "Islam" and occupy a class position of relative

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[185] Hülya Kandemir, *Himmelstochter: mein Weg vom Popstar zu Allah* (Munich: Pendo, 2005).
[186] Kristiane Backer, *Von MTV nach Mekka: wie der Islam mein Leben veränderte* (Berlin: List, 2009).
[187] Kristiane Backer, *Van MTV naar Mekka: hoe ik geinspireerd raakte door de islam*, trans. by Bonella van Beusekom (Amsterdam: Ambo/Anthos Uitgevers, 2011); Kristiane Backer, *From MTV to Mecca: How Islam Inspired My Life* (London: Arcadia, 2012); Kristiane Backer, *Der Islam als Weg des Herzens: Warum ich Muslima bin* (Berlin: Allegria, 2010).

privilege afforded by their (previous) professional activity in the public eye. Texts in this under-researched sub-genre contest the dominant narrative arc of “Muslim” women’s life writing: instead of presenting a transition from “Islamic” oppression and unfreedom to self-determination and happiness via their extrication from conditions they code as “Muslim”, autobiographical subjects express their increased fulfilment through active practice of “Islam”.

Indeed, both texts employ paratextual elements to simultaneously exploit and subvert dominant representational practices of the “misery memoir”. The texts achieve this, firstly, via their cover images. *Himmelstochter* employs the familiar close up of the hijabi woman, but Kandemir’s sedate smile suggests the peace and contentment – as opposed to fear and abuse – that the author associates with “Islam”. *Von MTV nach Mekka* opts for a generic autobiography cover image: a headshot of the author (without hijab) wearing a kind yet serious expression (figure 7). However, on the front cover of the English language version, Backer is depicted wearing a hijab, standing in a mosque (figure 8).

Figure 7 ***Von MTV nach Mekka*****, front cover**

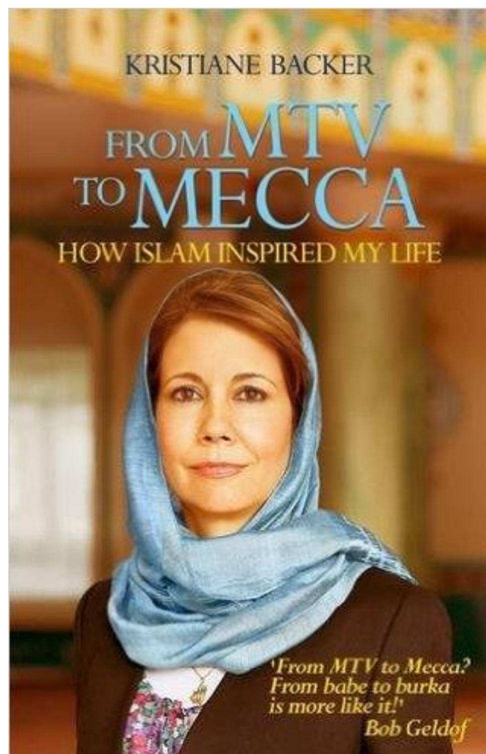

Figure 8 ***From MTV to Mecca*****, front cover**

In contrast to the close-ups of the "misery memoirs" – which create a sense of intimacy and intensity between the gaze of the female "Muslim" figure and the

viewer/reader – the cover image of *From MTV to Mecca* is shot in a wider frame, incorporating the author's torso and shoulders. This framing, coupled with Backer's tranquil expression, creates a sense of perspective and calm missing from the "misery memoirs". Backer's gaze, furthermore, is directed just above that of the reader/viewer, bypassing the interpellative process of victim/saviour that takes place in figures 3-6: this "Muslim" woman does not need saving. Bob Geldof's endorsement of the text – as a globally recognisable figure associated with philanthropic projects – adds legitimacy to the text's assertion of spiritual "inspiration". The English language version of the text renders Backer's life narrative accessible to a wider audience than the original and more forcefully locates the text within the genre of "Muslim" women's life writing via an emphasis on the author's "Muslimness". The translation and paratextual re-packaging of Backer's life narrative attests to the international profitability of the genre. Thus, both *Von MTV nach Mekka* and *Himmelstochter* tap into the lucrative market of "Muslim" women's life writing by reproducing certain visual tropes employed elsewhere in the genre, whilst at the same time mitigating potential invocations of "misery" through subtle subversions thereof.

Von MTV nach Mekka and *Himmelstochter* also contest the dominating subject positions available to "Muslim" women within the genre of life writing via their titles. Kandemir and Backer move in the opposite direction to the "oppressed", "secular" or "ex-Muslim" women who have "seen the light" and extricated themselves from "Islam". Unlike figures such as Ateş, Çileli and Kelek, who have gained fame and media influence through the publication of their life narratives, Kandemir and Backer move away from the spotlight (*von MTV nach Mekka; vom Popstar zu Allah*). Indeed, Kandemir and Backer struggle to

reconcile their increasing religiosity with their public personas in the music and television industries. *Himmelstochter* presents observation of the hijab as incompatible with public performance. Kandemir comments: ‘Natürlich, Singen vor Publikum, mit dem Tuch, das passte nicht zusammen.’[188] The opening pages of *Von MTV nach Mekka* alternate between the author’s perceptions of an awards ceremony she attends in California and memories of her recent and first trip to a predominantly “Muslim” country, Pakistan. This dual narrative perspective juxtaposes the “non-Muslim” and “Muslim” women that the author observes in each environment. At the awards ceremony, the narrative criticises certain performances of femininity by comparing the majority of female attendees with musician Annie Lennox: ‘An ihr [Lennox] gab es nichts Künstliches, sie hob sich deutlich ab von den Rockchicks, die mit knappen Minis, Schlauchbootlippen und prallen Dekolletés die Blicke auf sich zogen und nach Aufmerksamkeit zu gieren schienen.’[189] Here, the text presents women on the “celebrity” circuit as superficial, artificial and excessively sexualised and individualises the driving force behind these women’s bids for attention as lust/greed, rather than the result of an intensely misogynistic industry obsessed with scrutinising women’s bodies.

By contrast, Muslim women in Pakistan ‘waren selbstbewusst, weltoffen und standen keineswegs unter der Fuchtel ihrer Männer. Auch die Schwestern von Imran [Kahn] hatten studiert und waren humorvolle, starke Frauen’ (19). Like the travelogues discussed in part 2 of this chapter, the authorial voice follows genre conventions by asserting legitimacy via first-hand experience, constructing a reassuring, informative position from which to make generalising claims about “Muslim” women to a non-Muslim audience. Kahn’s inclusion in the text – as a

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[188] Kandemir, *Himmelstochter*, p. 19.
[189] Backer, *Von MTV nach Mekka*, p. 9. Subsequent pages numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

famous cricketer with a “playboy” image, practising Muslim, politician and Backer’s former lover – further exemplifies the “celebrity” currency of Backer’s life narrative. Although the text’s depiction of Kahn’s sisters ostensibly portrays them in a celebratory light, a normative notion of “Muslim” women as oppressed, backward and uneducated underlies this counter-argument. Such a representation of “Muslim” women thus appears condescending, as well as indicating the author’s Eurocentric perspective. This perspective is further exemplified by the recycling of homogenising and orientalist tropes to describe Pakistan and its people: the text refers uncritically to Pakistan as the ‘Orient’ (9) and an example of ‘orientalische Kultur’ (21), as well as commenting on the ‘Großzügigkeit’ of impoverished communities living in the Himalayas (13) and the ‘Geduld’ of Pakistani people in the face of ‘tägliche Herausforderungen’ (22) such as power cuts and traffic jams. By romanticising poverty, the author gives away her position as a privileged tourist with the means to leave at any time.

Von MTV nach Mekka posits active practice of “Islam” as the driving force behind the ostensibly laudable characteristics associated with “Muslim” women and communities:

> Seit jener Zeit habe ich mir angewöhnt, es den gläubigen Muslimen gleichzutun und mich für meine Gesundheit, für mein komfortables Leben und auch dafür, dass ich viele Freunde und eine liebevolle Familie habe, zu bedanken, statt zu beklagen, was mir fehlt (18).

By aligning itself with this subject position, the autobiographical subject shares in all of the congratulatory assertions it makes regarding “Muslims”. “Non-Muslims” are implicitly associated with ingratitude and dissatisfaction. Later in the text, however, Backer’s clear disapproval of the “Rockchicks’” superficial and

ostentatious self-presentation is contested when the author describes her traditional Moroccan, "Muslim" wedding ceremony. The text goes into detail about Backer's hair and make-up, the three different dresses she wore and the jewellery she was adorned with (282-3). The text employs orientalist imagery in its representation of "Muslim" women – this time, in reference to the autobiographical subject herself: 'Drei Tage lang fühlte ich mich wie eine arabische Prinzessin' (281). In this way, *Von MTV nach Mekka* both constructs and deconstructs representations of (female) "Muslim" and "celebrity/western" subject positions as mutually exclusive and constitutive.

Both *Himmelstochter* and *Von MTV nach Mekka* obscure their autobiographical subjects' experience of patriarchal restrictions by attributing them to "culture" and "Islam". For both Kandemir and Backer, social interaction with unrelated men causes marital problems and, in Backer's case, leads to divorce. When Backer's then-husband (Rashid) is incensed by her brief exchange with a male taxi driver, Backer frames her initial capitulation to Rashid's demands as respect for his "culture": 'Da ich jedoch die Sitten und Bräuche von Rashids Kultur respektierte, entschuldigte ich mich bei ihm und vergaß die Sache bald wieder' (283). Kandemir also perpetuates her social isolation by refusing a visit from her ex-husband without the presence of her current husband: 'Mit einem fremden Mann allein in einem Raum zu sein [...] gehört sich einfach nicht. Das betrachte ich nicht nur als Erfüllung einer koranischen Regel, sondern das entspricht mittlerweile meinem Schamgefühl.'[190] Both instances construct a heteronormative, sexualised notion of human interaction, as well as strengthening male claims to sexual entitlement/dominance over intimate partners. Attributing

[190] Kandemir, *Himmelstochter*, p. 260.

misogynistic practices to “Islam” and “Islamic” culture, therefore, is a phenomenon observable in narratives that both celebrate and condemn “Islam” and one that –ultimately – makes excuses for abuses of women’s rights. The contradictions and generalisations of *Himmelstochter* and *Von MTV nach Mekka* notwithstanding, female convert literature does offer a counter narrative to dominating representations of “Muslim” women in contemporary German life writing.[191]

“Turkish German Muslim” women’s life writing

Texts in this sub-genre combine ethnicised and gendered tropes for comedic effect. This section analyses texts by Hatice Akyün and Lale Akgün, which Weber identifies as a ‘counter trend’ to those by the “Islamkritikerinnen”. Karin E. Yeşilada refers to them as “chic lit alla turca”, indicating their playful tone and focus on romantic relationships.[192] Autobiographical subjects in this sub-genre self-identify as Muslim, Turkish and German. The authors’ religious identities are thus presented as one element in an intersectionally configured subjectivity. In *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße: Leben in zwei Welten* (2005), autobiographical subject Hatice Akyün recounts her often-unsuccessful attempts to find a “German” boyfriend with a touch of “Turkish” passion, who would also be agreeable to her Turkish parents.[193] When Hatice Akyün was 3 years old, her family relocated to Duisburg. Since 2000, Akyün has primarily lived in Berlin and works as an author and journalist. *Einmal Hans* became a *Spiegel* bestseller and is

[191] Cf. Özyürek, *Being German, Becoming Muslim*.
[192] Weber, ‘Freedom from Violence’, p. 218. The given names of both authors are included throughout this section in order to avoid confusion between their very similar family names.
[193] Hatice Akyün, *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* (Munich: Goldmann, 2005).

the first in a trilogy of life narratives.[194] The screen-adaptation of *Einmal Hans* was released in theatres under the same title in 2013.[195] Hatice Akyün's "Meine Heimat" *Tagesspiegel* column – dealing broadly with the theme of integration and published weekly from 2011-2014 – inspired her most recent publication *Verfluchte anatolische Bergziegenkacke: Oder wie mein Vater sagen würde: Wenn die Wut kommt, geht der Verstand* (2014).[196] Thus, the transmedial currency of Akyün's life narrative and her professional activities as a journalist assert her legitimacy and authenticity as a commentator on migration and integration, particularly in reference to Turkish and Turkish German communities.

Also a *Spiegel* bestseller, *Tante Semra im Leberkäseland: Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie* (2008) by Lale Akgün is preoccupied with the intersections of "Germanness" and "Turkishness", embodied in Akgün's Aunt Semra: a practising Muslim who cannot resist Leberkäsebrötchen, even during Ramadan.[197] Born in Istanbul in 1959, Lale Akgün and her family migrated to Germany nine years later. A doctor of psychology and member of the SPD, Akgün served as an MP 2002-2009. *Tante Semra* was followed in 2010 by *Der getürkte Reichstag: Tante Semras Sippe macht Politik* and in 2011, Akgün published both a fiction (*Kebabweihnacht*) and non-fiction text (*Aufstand der Kopftuchmädchen: Deutsche Musliminnen wehren sich gegen den Islamismus*).[198] Akgün remains a frequent public speaker on themes of integration and "Islam".

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[194] Hatice Akyün, *Ali zum Dessert: Leben in einer neuen Welt* (Munich: Goldmann, 2008); Hatice Akyün, *Ich küss dich, Kismet: Eine Deutsche am Bosporus* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2013).

[195] *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße* , dir. by Buket Alakuş (NFP Marketing and Distribution, 2013).

[196] Hatice Akyün, *Verfluchte anatolische Bergziegenkacke: Oder wie mein Vater sagen würde: Wenn die Wut kommt, geht der Verstand* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 2014).

[197] Lale Akgün, *Tante Semra im Leberkäseland: Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie* (Frankfurt am Main: Krüger, 2008).

[198] Lale Akgün, *Der getürkte Reichstag: Tante Semras Sippe macht Politik* (Frankfurt am Main: Krüger, 2010); Lale Akgün, *Kebabweihnacht* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2011); Lale Akgün, *Aufstand der Kopftuchmädchen: Deutsche Musliminnen wehren sich gegen den Islamismus* (Munich: Piper, 2011).

Similar to Hatice Akyün, Lale Akgün's life narrative, in conjunction with her middle class position and academic and political credentials, has established her as an informed commentator on "Islam" and "Muslims" in Germany.

In this way, Hatice Akyün and Lale Akgün speak from similar positions to the "Islamkritikerinnen". Unlike the "Islamkritikerinnen", however, representations of "Islam" within this sub-genre contest notions of "Islam" as an always-dominating force in the lives of "Muslims", and/or as a predominantly oppressive influence. Because Akgün and Akyün do not subscribe to hegemonic notions of "Islam" as backward and patriarchal, they do not satisfy all the criteria of the "native informant". Hatice Akyün, for example, does not take herself too seriously – the autobiographical subject is aware of the contradictory and to some extent arbitrary nature of various interpellating forces on her subjectivity: 'Ich dagegen bin zwar Türkin, aber auch Deutsche, Ausländerin, Muslimin, Deutsch-Türkin, Journalistin oder ein Miststück, je nachdem, wer mich gerade betrachtet. Und ich empfinde es als Reichtum, diese Widersprüche in mir zu vereinen.'[199] Akyün feels empowered by the flexibility and ambivalence of her identity and enjoys inhabiting different subject positions. In *Tante Semra,* the Akgün family's Muslim identity is presented as flexible and playful via, for example, the culinary vices of Semra herself, or through Lale Akgün's daughter Aziza, who fabricates "Muslim food rules" in order to avoid eating certain vegetables when invited to eat at friends' houses.[200] The presentation of the Akgün family members at the start of the text as 'Die Dramatis personae' further exemplifies the text's playful

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[199] Akyün, *Einmal Hans*, p. 185.
[200] 'Maries Mutter kocht so schlecht, ich wollte sie nicht kränken, weil sie sich so viel Mühe gibt, da habe ich das erfunden. Immer, wenn mir was nicht schmeckt, sage ich, dass wir Muslime das nicht essen dürfen. Und, weißt du was, sie glaubt mir das auch noch!' Akgün, *Tante Semra*, p. 250.

tone.[201] Conventionally printed at the outset of a theatrical and/or fictional work, this list of "characters" indicates the text's self-awareness as a collection of performances, subverting the autobiographical pact established by the identification of the authorial voice and the first person narrator: 'Lale, *ich*'.[202] In this way, *Einmal Hans* and *Tante Semra* offer a subject position to the figure of the "Muslim" woman that is constructed as comical and light-hearted with an awareness of its own performativity.

The comical tone of *Einmal Hans* and *Tante Semra* relies on their focus on ethnicised and gendered difference. By foregrounding the interplay of notions of "Germanness" and "Turkishness", both texts draw on the genre of Turkish German "ethno-comedy". According to Yeşilada, the genre of "ethno-comedy" was established in visual media at the turn of the millennium by figures such as comedian Kaya Yanar with his hit show *was guckst du?,* in which Yanar satirises a range of ethnicised stereotypes, including characters from India, Poland and Turkey.[203] Tropes of "Turks", "Germans" and "Turkish Germans" – and how they interact with each other – have been taken up in cultural products ever since: chapter 4 of this thesis demonstrates the prevalence of this genre in post-1990 (Turkish) German film. *Tante Semra*'s playful engagement with ethnicised notions of difference is indicated by the subtitle (*Geschichten aus meiner türkisch-deutschen Familie*), the blurb title ('Türken sind anders – Deutsche aber auch') and the cover design, on which cartoon images of beer tankards and Leberkäsebrötchen are interspersed with tea glasses and ornate rugs.[204] In *Einmal Hans*, the main source of comedy – and indeed conflict – in Hatice Akyün's

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[201] Akgün, *Tante Semra,* pp. 7-8.
[202] Ibid., p. 7.
[203] Karin E. Yeşilada, 'Turkish-German Screen Power – The Impact of Young Turkish Immigrants on German TV and Film', *German as a Foreign Language*, 1 (2008), 73-99 (p. 73).
[204] Akgün, *Tante Semra,* dustcover.

romantic life is derived from the apparent differences between “Turkish” and “German” men and women. The chapter ‘Mein wunderbarer Wachs-Salon’ (pp. 87-97), for example, details the crucial importance of beauty treatments and ‘das Enthaaren’ for “Turkish” women and contrasts this with Akyün’s “German” friend, Julia: ‘Unter Julias Armen quoll ein Busch von mausgrauer Farbe hervor. Beim genaueren Hinsehen wurde mir klar, dass es kein Busch war, sondern ein Urwald. Noch heute fröstelt mich, wenn ich mich daran erinnere.’[205] The hyperbole used to describe both Julia’s underarm hair and Akgün’s physical expression of disgust aims to create humour, as well as to emphasise the disparity between “Turkish” and “German” notions of idealised femininity. This example is indicative of the reductive and homogenising tropes employed throughout the text, which rely on and reinscribe ethnicised and gendered tropes. Representations of femininity, in particular, focus on women’s superficial appearance and self-presentation. The chapter ‘Hans und Helga’ (pp. 136-151), furthermore, delves deeper into gendered stereotypes of “Germanness” and ‘Das religiöse Erlebnis’ (pp. 98-103) discusses Akgün’s obsession with high-heeled, designer shoes.

These texts’ concentration on ethnicised and gendered difference circumvents the overburdened signification of the figure of the “Muslim” woman in contemporary discourses. As shown in chapter 1, prevailing representations of this figure cast her as an oppressed victim of “Islamic” patriarchy in need of saving and she is often implicated in homogenising discourses that assert the superiority of “western” nations’ commitment to human rights and in particular, women’s rights. In other words, there is little space for “Muslim” women to inhabit playful, humorous roles in the current discursive climate. Texts by Turkish

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[205] Akyün, *Einmal Hans*, p. 90.

German Muslim authors such as Lale Akyün and Hatice Akgün thus mitigate the apparent "seriousness" of their Muslim identities by drawing on light-hearted, comedic regimes of ethnicised difference already established in German culture.

"Muslim" women's life writing: widening the field

This chapter has assessed the representational practices surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman in contemporary German life writing. Via an analysis of a selection of texts written by, on behalf of or about "Muslim" women, the chapter has shown the subject positions that such texts make (un)available to Germany's non-Muslim majorities. The interrogation of hitherto under-researched sub-genres of life writing over a period of 25 years has challenged the scholarly concentration on "oppressed", "ex-" or "secular" "Muslim" women.

Part 1 demonstrated the national and historical specificity of the genre in the German context, which has been – and continues to be – shaped by the history of predominantly Turkish labour migration and immigration to West and unified Germany. By encompassing texts about "Muslim" women published in the 1980s and 1990s, as well as from the 2000s, my research reveals the historical fluctuations of cultural representations of "Islam" and "Muslims" in a genre whose popularity and circulation has expanded internationally and exponentially in the 21st century. In texts published both pre- and post-2000, the mysterious, exotic figure of the "Muslim" woman is rendered recognisable to a non-Muslim, German-speaking audience via her re-presentation by a non-Muslim woman/journalist travelling to and/or living in a "Muslim" country. Often functioning as a placeholder or symbol for states, regions and/or political environments coded as "Islamic", "Muslim" women and their life narratives are

recorded, explained and offered up for consumption from a non-Muslim subject position.

Part 2 offered a fresh analysis of the works of so-called "Islamkritikerinnen" by interrogating the role of such figures' life narratives in establishing and maintaining an ostensibly unique position of legitimacy and authenticity from which to make generalising assertions about "Islam" and "Muslims" (i.e. the inherently patriarchal and backward nature of "Islam" and the damaging effects of "political correctness" and "tolerance" vis-à-vis "Muslim" communities in Germany). An investigation into the transmedial proliferation of such figures' life narratives, as well as the institutional endorsement they receive from politicians, religious groups, charities, media outlets and, of course, from each other, revealed the varying processes by which anti-Muslim discourses are circulated and reinscribed. Indeed, the discursive hegemony of the views espoused by Ateş, Çileli and Kelek relies on the marginalisation of counter narratives and the disarticulation of political, religious and socio-economic differences between "Muslim" women in Germany and elsewhere. In response, the study brought forward narratives that challenge the status quo, such as texts by the figures termed "Islambefürworterinnen" and those by converts to Islam, which (attempt to) present a wider range of female "Muslim" subject positions beyond the "oppressed victim" and "native informant". So-called "ethno-comedies" by Turkish German Muslim women too seek to subvert the overwhelmingly sombre signification of the "Muslim" woman by offering multifaceted and self-aware performances of "Muslimness", whilst simultaneously (re)producing ethnicised and gendered tropes.

Part 3 further extended the parameters of existing scholarship on life writing by or about “Muslim” women to include auto/biographical collections of “Muslim” women’s testimony, so-called “misery memoirs”, convert autobiography and comedies by Turkish German Muslim women. Although driven by educational and emancipatory gestures, auto/biographical collections largely reproduced a majoritarian/minoritarian power hierarchy between professional authors and the “Muslim” women whose life narratives are collected and presented for consumption by non-Muslims. Similar to the “Islamkritikerinnen” and the authors travelling to and/or living in “Muslim” countries, the editor(s) of auto/biographical collections assert their position as “trusted informants”, often via their journalistic credentials and/or established media presence.

An interrogation of the paratextual tropes employed by “misery memoirs” across regional, linguistic and thematic divides exemplified how texts about oppressed and abused “Muslim” women are assimilated into a unifying narrative in which “Islamic” misogyny manifests itself homogeneously across space and time. Texts by converts to Islam contested the dominant narrative arc of “Muslim” women’s life writing from “Islamic” oppression and towards “secular” freedom. A translated and international genre embedded in socio-political discourses regarding “human rights” and notions of “gender equality” in a post-9/11 landscape, “Muslim” women’s life writing in Germany overwhelmingly supports a narrative that claims superiority for white, western, non-Muslim states and regions in terms of women’s rights and freedoms. The visual tropes of the “misery memoirs”, in particular, exemplify the racialisation of “Muslim” women as non-white in contemporary discourses. When representations of “Muslim” women are

overwhelmingly those portrayed as victims of misogyny coded as “Islamic”, non-Muslim majorities in Germany can imagine gender inequality as an exclusive characteristic of a minority group posited as hostile and isolated.

Overall, the breadth of sub-genres included in the chapter showed how both celebratory and adverse representations of “Islam” are vulnerable to the culturalisation and/or racialisation of misogynistic practices to “Muslim culture”. Relegating such practices to certain groups and communities obscures the systemic misogyny in majoritarian “German” society. Portraying such communities as impenetrable social entities – via their extraterritorialisation either abroad or within imagined “parallel societies” in Germany – places at risk “Muslim” women beyond the reach of social services and support. The absence of a comparable market demand for life narratives by other religiously defined groups of women indicates the current fetishisation and commodification of “Muslim” women’s lives. The popularity of this genre attests to the figure of the “Muslim” woman’s crucial role in producing certain racialised, gendered and classed subject positions available to non-Muslims (for “Germans”, “Europeans”, the “global west”). Chapter 3 moves on to female “Muslim” characters in the genre of young adult literature, which is heavily influenced by the regime of representation surrounding the figure of the “Muslim” woman in life writing. Indeed, the majority of young adult texts analysed in chapter 3 adopt the form of the fictionalised life narrative, foregrounding the oppression of teenage girls in private “Muslim” milieus, as well as drawing on the visual tropes of the “misery memoir”.

Chapter 3: Young Adult Literature

Young adult literature has a long tradition as an educational tool. In the post-1990 period, young adult literature has been – and is being – variously used to support and promote learning and creativity, as well as to develop socio-political and literary criticism among a readership perceived as responsible and mature. Recent publications supporting the genre's practical application in the classroom demonstrate the continued importance of young adult literature in pedagogical practice.[206] Young adult literature is also a profitable literary market, turning over approximately 1.5 billion Euros in Germany in 2014.[207] Thus, an impetus to both entertain and educate (on an individual and/or institutional level) its target audience drives the genre. The didactic impulse of young adult literature functions to variously reinforce and/or challenge dominant regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman or girl. Representations of female "Muslim" characters in the genre, therefore, constitute an important arena for the (re)negotiation of images, subject positions and beliefs regarding "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" identities.

Texts analysed in this chapter are fictional works written specifically for 12-18 year olds, published after 1990 and dealing in a broader sense with "Islam" and/or "Muslim" identities. Taking into account translations into German and texts that foreground male ("Muslim") characters demonstrates the marginalised position of female "Muslim" protagonists in young adult literature: around one

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[206] Petra Josting, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im Medienverbund: Grundlagen, Beispiele und Ansätze für den Deutschunterricht* (Munich: Kopaed, 2007); Carsten Gansel, *Moderne Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Vorschläge für einen kompetenzorientierten Unterricht* (Berlin: Cornelsen Scriptor, 2010); Marja Rauch, *Jugendliteratur der Gegenwart: Grundlagen, Methoden, Unterrichtsvorschläge* (Seelze: Friedrich, 2012).

[207] Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels 2012, *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen 2015 (für 2014)* (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Buchmesse, 2015), p. 9 <http://www.buchmesse.de/images/fbm/dokumente-ua-pdfs/2015/details_buchmarkt_deutschland__2014__neu__53367.pdf> [accessed 22 May 2016].

sixth of the corpus features female characters in significant roles whose “Muslim” identity is a central marker in their representation. Part 1 begins by exploring the key concepts and parameters of German-language young adult literature, as well as the formal and thematic trends and innovations of the genre in the post-1990 period.

Part 1: trends and conventions in post-1990 young adult literature

In German Studies, young adult literature falls under the broader disciplinary demarcation of Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, defined by Heidi Rösch as ‘[eine Literatur] die (mehr oder weniger ausschließlich) für […] Jugendliche produziert ist, von diesen (aber nicht nur von diesen) Gruppen rezipiert wird und aus deren Perspektive auf die Welt blickt’.[208] The study of Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, then, includes texts aimed at young children often read by or with the help of adults, such as picture books, first and early reader books, as well as those for independent readers up to 20 years (including the Young Adult Novel, or Adoleszenzroman).[209] This study uses young adult literature to refer in general to texts marketed towards independent readers between 12 and 18 years, and Kinder- und Jugendliteratur to refer specifically to the German language market and/or academic discipline thereof.

The categories of children’s, young adult and adult literature, however, are neither definitive nor stable in a post-1990 context. Indeed, since the 1990s, so-called “all age” or “crossover” literature has contributed to the blurring of genre

[208] Heidi Rösch, *Jim Knopf ist (nicht) schwarz: Anti-/Rassismus in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur und ihrer Didaktik* (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2000), p. 9. Literature addressed to adult readers that centres on the lives and perspectives of young characters is also included in some definitions of the genre. Cf. Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2012), p. 10.
[209] Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, p. 9.

parameters, both – according to Reiner Wild – 'durch generationsübergreifende Lektüre gleicher Texte [oder] in der Übernahme von Stilmitteln und Formen in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, die zuvor der Literatur für Erwachsene vorbehalten waren.'[210] The *Harry Potter* (1997-2007) and *Twilight* (2005-2008) series provide international examples of texts received by independent readers of all ages.[211] Certain texts' reception over time and/or incorporation into pedagogical practices further complicates the corpus of texts received by young readers in Germany and elsewhere, with adult texts such as *Robinson Crusoe* or *To Kill a Mockingbird* becoming part of the young adult literature canon in the decades (or centuries) following their publication.[212] With such complexities of the genre in mind, this chapter focuses on so-called "intentional" young adult literature i.e. texts explicitly addressed to a young adult audience (approx. 12-18 years) at the time of publication.[213] The investigation identifies such texts based on their recommended readership as stated in paratextual elements like the blurb, front matter and/or product details provided by the publisher.[214] Whilst "intentional" young adult literature cannot guarantee a young adult readership, it does tell us that the text is produced and marketed with such an audience in mind.

The formal, thematic and didactic conventions of post-1990 Kinder- und Jugendliteratur are also in flux: the aforementioned destabilisation of clearly defined boundaries between "adult" and "children's" literature since the 1980s has produced, according to Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer, 'eine künstlerisch

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[210] *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. by Reiner Wild (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), p. 345.
[211] J.K. Rowling, *Harry Potter* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997-2007); Stephanie Meyer, *Twilight Saga* (NY: Little, Brown and Company, 2005-2008).
[212] Rösch, *Jim Knopf ist (nicht) schwarz*, p. 9; Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (W. Taylor, 1719); Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960).
[213] Cf. Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, p. 13.
[214] Throughout this chapter, recommended readership age range is stated in brackets following the year of publication.

anspruchsvolle Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, die von ihren Lesern ein hohes Maß an literarischem Vorwissen und kognitiver Aufmerksamkeit verlangt.'[215] In addition, Rösch notes that contemporary Kinder- und Jugendliteratur takes up 'heikle und kontrovers zu diskutierende Themen […] und präsentiert diese in einer literarischen Form, die die Rezipienten als Mit-Denker und Mit-Verantwortliche ernst nimmt'.[216] Indeed, texts analysed in this chapter are thematically demanding, dealing with subjects such as death, violence, political extremism, sexism and racism. Hand in hand with such developments is a move away from explicitly moralistic or didactic (authorial) interventions in young adult, with readers left to negotiate ambivalent, open-ended narratives.[217] Whilst Kümmerling-Meibauer asserts that 'ihre [die Kinder- und Jugendliteratur] pädagogische Funktion wird […] neu gewertet, […] d.h. als ästhetisch-literarische Sozialisation',[218] Rösch deems this claim 'umstritten'.[219] Despite this contested role of young adult literature in a contemporary pedagogical context, recent publications such as *Moderne Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Vorschläge für einen kompetenzorientierten Unterricht* (2010) and *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur im Medienverbund: Grundlagen, Beispiele und Ansätze für den Deutschunterricht* (2007) show the continued perception and implementation of Kinder- und Jugendliteratur as an important tool in social and literary education.[220] This study

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[215] Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, p. 73.
[216] Rösch, *Jim Knopf ist (nicht) schwarz*, p. 10.
[217] Cf. Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, pp. 72-73; Gina Weinkauff and Martina Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen: Fremdwahrnehmung und Kulturtransfer in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur seit 1945* (Munich: Iudicium, 2006), p. 1009; Heidi Rösch, 'Migration in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur', in *Literatur und Migration*, ed. by Heinz Luwdig Arnold, *text + kritik. Zeitschrift für Literatur* (Munich: Richard Boorberg, 2006), 222-232 (p. 223).
[218] Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, p. 73.
[219] Rösch, *Jim Knopf ist (nicht) schwarz*, p. 10.
[220] Cf. *Zwischen didaktischem Auftrag und grenzüberschreitender Aufstörung? Zu aktuellen Entwicklungen in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Neueren Literaturgeschichte*, ed. by Roswitha Budeus-Budde, Carsten Gansel and Pawel Zimniak (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012); Dagmar Grenz, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur:*

interrogates the fluctuating functionalisation of female “Muslim” characters in young adult literature: what sorts of “lessons” do texts featuring such characters offer their intended readership? What regime of representation constitutes the figure of the “Muslim” woman or girl in young adult literature and what roles and subject positions are (un)available to her? In what ways do such representations respond to, maintain or undermine those circulating in other cultural products?

Contemporary young adult literature is a lucrative and international literary market. Kinder- und Jugendliteratur accounted for 15.8% of the 9.3 billion Euro turnover of the national book market in 2014.[221] Of the 25 bestselling young adult books in Germany in April 2016, 17 are translations from English, with eight original German texts.[222] Fantasy is a prolific sub-genre of young adult literature, exemplified by the success of Kerstin Gier’s series *Liebe geht durch alle Zeiten* (2009-2010, 12-15 years, a.k.a *Edelsteintrilogie)* – a time-travelling romance series that has become an international bestseller, has been translated into 27 different languages, and inspired a corresponding German language cinematic trilogy.[223] Cornelia Funke’s bestselling *Tintenwelt-Trilogie* (2003-2007; 11-13 years) – in which fictional characters can be literally brought to life by reading – has been translated into 23 languages and the English language film version of the first text (*Inkheart*) was released in 2008 in nine countries.[224] Thus, Gier and Funke’s work not only attests to the popularity of fantastic narratives

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Theorie, Geschichte, Didaktik (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2010); Rauch, *Jugendliteratur der Gegenwart*.

[221] Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels 2012, *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen 2015 (für 2014)*.

[222] ‘Jugendbuch Zeitraum April 2016’, *boersenblatt.net*, April 2016 <http://www.boersenblatt.net/bestseller/jugendbuch> [accessed 23 May 2016].

[223] Kerstin Gier, *Rubinrot, Saphirblau* and *Smaragdgrün* (Würzburg: Arena, 2009, 2009 and 2010); *Rubinrot*, *Saphirblau* and *Smaragdgrün,* dir. Felix Fuchssteiner (Concorde, 2013, 2014 and 2016).

[224] Cornelia Funke, *Tintenherz*, *Tintenblut* and *Tintentod* (Hamburg: Dressler, 2003, 2005 and 2007); Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, p. 125; *Inkheart*, dir. by Iain Softley (Warner Bros., 2008).

among young readers, but also to the recent success of German young adult literature as a global export in a market typically dominated by Anglophone authors and texts.[225]

Further popular, contemporary themes of young adult literature include: illness and death, such as *Das Schicksal ist ein mieser Verräter* (2012; 13-16 years), winner of the Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis (DJP) der Jugendjury 2013 and *Tote Mädchen lügen nicht* (2009; 13+ years), nominated for the same prize in 2010; family conflict and divorce, including *Charlottes Traum* (2008; 12-15 years), winner of the Österreichischer Kinder- und Jugendbuchpreis, and Nazi Germany, like *Ein Buch für Hanna* (2011; 14-17 years) or the internationally acclaimed *Der Junge im gestreiften Pyjama*, also nominated for the DJP der Jugendjury in 2008.[226] Dystopic fantasy is a current trend in young adult media, epitomized by Suzanne Collins' *Tribute von Panem* trilogy (2009-2011; 14-17 years) translated from the original *Hunger Games* (2008-2010), and adapted into four highly successful films.[227] As indicated by many of the above examples, contemporary young adult literature is characterised by both serialisation and transmedial innovations. Indeed, literary narratives not only provide the source

[225] Cf. Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, p. 125.

[226] John Green, *Das Schicksal ist ein mieser Verräter*, trans. by Sophie Zeitz (Munich: C. Hanser, 2012); 'Preisträger 2013 – Preis der Jugendjury', *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis*, 2013 <http://www.djlp.jugendliteratur.org/preistraeger_jugendjury-18.html> [accessed 2 December 2013]; Jay Asher, *Tote Mädchen lügen nicht*, trans. by Knut Krüger (Munich: cbt, 2009); 'Nominierungen 2010 – Preis der Jugendjury', *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis*, 2010 <http://www.djlp.jugendliteratur.org/2010/nominierungen_jugendjury-13.html> [accessed 2 December 2013]; Gabi Kreslehner, *Charlottes Traum* (Weinheim; Basel: Beltz & Gelberg, 2008); 'Kinder- und Jugendbuch-Preisbücher seit 1955', *Österreichischer Kinder- und Jugendbuchpreis* <http://www.lesefest.at/site/7726/default.aspx> [accessed 2 December 2013]; Mirjam Pressler, *Ein Buch für Hanna: Roman* (Weinheim; Basel: Beltz & Gelberg, 2011); Boyne, *Der Junge im gestreiften Pyjama*; 'Nominierungen 2008 – Preis der Jugendjury', *Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis*, 2008 <http://www.djlp.jugendliteratur.org/2008/nominierungen_jugendjury-13.html> [accessed 2 December 2013].

[227] Suzanne Collins, *Die Tribute von Panem: Tödliche Spiele*, *Gefährliche Liebe* and *Flammender Zorn*, trans. by Sylke Hachmeister and Peter Klöss (Hamburg: Oetinger, 2009, 2010 and 2011); *The Hunger Games,* dir. by Gary Ross (Lionsgate, 2012); *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay - Part 1* and *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay - Part 2*, dir. by Francis Lawrence (Lionsgate, 2013, 2014 and 2015).

material for movie franchises and merchandise (or a theme park in the case of *Harry Potter*);[228] print and audio books are also published to accompany films and television series marketed towards young audiences.[229] It is within this international and transmedial market – dominated by fantasy, romance and English language imports – that German language texts concerned with "Islam" and "Muslims" compete.

In German studies, representations of female "Muslim" characters in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur have attracted limited attention. Specialist investigations into (representations of) minorities in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur have thus far concentrated on "foreigners", migrants and marginalised communities as a whole (Seifert and Weinkauff; Rösch, 2006) and/or discourses of (anti-)racism (Rösch, 2000).[230] Dagmar Grenz' research from the 1990s on representations of "Turkish" female characters in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, while focused on these characters' "ethnic" difference, does allude to the fluctuating relationship between "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities in the German context.[231] Indeed, Grenz has coined the term "Kopftuchmädchen" to describe 'die stereotypische Figur eines türkischen Mädchens der zweiten Generation auf der Suche nach seiner Identität zwischen den vom "Kopftuch" symbolisierten

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[228] 'The Making of Harry Potter', *Warner Bros. Studio Tour London* <https://www.wbstudiotour.co.uk/> [accessed 25 May 2016]; Plans are also going ahead for a *Hunger Games* inspired amusement park, cf. Megan Garber, 'The Hunger Games Theme Park and the Death of the Disney Dream', *The Atlantic*, 2 November 2015 <http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2015/11/the-hunger-games-theme-park-and-the-death-of-the-disney-dream/413653/> [accessed 25 May 2016].

[229] Cf. the bestselling movie tie-in book for horse-riding franchise *Ostwind,* dir. by Katja von Garnier (Constantin Film, 2013): Carola Wimmer, *Ostwind: Das Buch zum Film* (Munich: cbj, 2013).

[230] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*; Rösch, 'Migration in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur'; Rösch, *Jim Knopf ist (nicht) schwarz*.

[231] Dagmar Grenz, 'Das "Problem des Anderen": Die Darstellung türkischer Mädchen und junger Frauen in der zeitgenössischen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur', in *Germanistik und Deutschunterricht im historischen Wandel.*, ed. by Johannes Janota, Vorträge des Augsburger Germanistentages 1991 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 220-232; Dagmar Grenz, 'Dieb, Kopftuchmädchen und Märchenheld. Die Darstellung türkischer Kinder und Jugendlicher in drei ausgewählten Kinderbüchern', *Beiträge Jugendliteratur und Medien*, 48 (1996), 22-26.

überlieferten Werten der Herkunftskultur und den progressiv-emanzipatorischen Rollenangeboten des Einwanderungslandes'.[232] How does female characters' "Muslimness" interact with notions of ethnicity, race, class and sexuality in the genre? What function(s) do female "Muslim" characters perform in the construction of "non-Muslim" subject positions made available to both other characters within the text and to consumers external to it? Part 2 probes the interplay between "foreign", "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur published before 2000.

Part 2: (female) "Muslim" characters in the 1990s

Of the corpus of fictional German language texts addressed to 12-18 year olds dealing with "Islam" and/or "Muslims", around one sixth feature female "Muslim" protagonists whose affiliation with "Islam" is a central marker in their representation.[233] Just two of these were published before 2000: *Aischa, oder die Sonne des Lebens* (1985; 12-15 years) and *Wohin ich gehöre* (1999; 14-17 years).[234] Although published before 1990, multiple new editions throughout the 1990s and 2000s render *Aischa* one of the most widely disseminated texts in the

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[232] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 699.

[233] For texts dealing with "Islam" and "Muslims" aimed at children under 12, cf. Aygen-Sibel Çelik, *Alle gegen Esra* (Würzburg: Arena, 2010); Abu Bakr Heyn, *Der Teejunge Kasim* (Freiburg: Vibe Verlag für Islamische Bildung und Erziehung, 2008); Tahar Ben Jelloun, *Papa, was ist ein Fremder? Gespräch mit meiner Tochter*, trans. by Christiane Kayser (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2000); Tahar Ben Jelloun, *Papa, was ist der Islam? Gespräch mit meinen Kindern*, trans. by Christiane Kayser (Berlin: Berlinverlag, 2003); Georg Schwikart, *Julia und Ibrahim: Christen und Muslime lernen einander kennen* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1995). For texts which do not have a recommended readership age, but whose themes and protagonists could appeal to both an adolescent and adult readership, cf. Tahar Ben Jelloun, *Die Früchte der Wut*, trans. by Christiane Kayser (Berlin: Berlinverlag, 2007); Yade Kara, *Selam Berlin* (Zurich: Diogenes, 2003); Ulrike Karner, *Allah und der Regenbogen* (Sulzbach: Ulrike Helmer, 2010).

[234] Maria R. Kaiser, *Wohin ich gehöre* (Munich: Bertelsmann, 1999); Federica de Cesco, *Aischa oder die Sonne des Lebens* (Würzburg: Arena, 1985).

genre.[235] Living in Paris 'in einer stronggläubigen […] muselmanischen' family, Aischa's relationship with Vietnamese boy Kim invokes the rage of her brothers, who plan to marry her off in their native Algeria.[236] Gina Weinkauff attributes the text's enduring circulation to its reproduction of the representational practices employed by the "misery memoirs" discussed in chapter 2.[237] In this way, *Aischa* is just one example of the malleable and transmedial functionalisation of the figure of the "oppressed Muslim woman" across time and genre. *Wohin ich gehöre* follows "Muslim" protagonist Gülten as she struggles to reconcile her attachment and devotion to "Islam", Turkey and her cousin Mesut with her education and relationships in Germany, and is discussed further in part 3 of this chapter.

How can we account for the apparent scarcity of explicitly "Muslim" characters in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in the 1990s? As shown in chapter 1's discussion of the categorisation of Germany's "Muslims", dominant regimes of representation in Germany – at least until the late 1990s/early 2000s – present "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities as interwoven and even interchangeable. Depictions of "foreigners" affiliated with "Islam" in young adult literature of the 1980s and 1990s, therefore, are most likely to code such characters as "Turkish" and/or "Turkish (Muslim)". This generalisation and conflation of "Turkishness" and "Muslimness" complicates the apparent lack of explicitly "Muslim" characters in the genre pre-2000. In other words, the operating discursive codification of minorities affiliated to "Islam" at this time via ethnicity and/or nationality (i.e. as "Turks" and "foreigners") suggests that "Muslim" girls were

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[235] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 704.
[236] Cesco, *Aischa*, pp. 5-6.
[237] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 704.

not absent in the 1990s, but that these characters' "Turkishness" was the dominant marker in their representation at the time.

Indeed, narratives of "Turkish (Muslim)" girls feature frequently in the 1990s and revolve around themes of broken or split identities, (non)belonging, forced relocation and marriage and forbidden relationships. In *Oya: Fremde Heimat Türkei* (1988; 14-17 years), the 16-year old eponymous protagonist is shocked when her father moves the family from Germany – where she has spent all of her life – back to Istanbul.[238] When the relocation forces Oya to give up her friends and career aspirations to become a nurse, she tries unsuccessfully to move back. Eventually, the protagonist agrees to an arranged marriage with her cousin Ahmet. In *Prinzessin, wir machen die Fliege* (1993; 12-15 years), Raoul vows to help 12-year old Kurdish girl Dilan from being sent back to Turkey after the death of her mother.[239] In *Fidan: Langer Weg in eine neue Zukunft* (1993; 12-15 years), 11-year old Kurdish Fidan is living with her parents and older sister Zoran in Innsbruck. When Zoran falls in love with "Austrian" boy Andreas, their father sends her back to Turkey to enter into an arranged marriage. Only Fidan's devotion to her sister persuades their father to renege on his decision.[240] *Du wirst mich schon finden* (1994; 14-17 years) tells the story of 12 year-old "Turkish" Selda, who relocates with her family from Turkey to Switzerland. Despite the discrimination she faces at school and her parents' aversion to social integration and learning German, Selda begins to carve a new life out for herself.[241] The fictionalised diary of 15-year old Ferda – *Ich bin eine deutsche Türkin* (1995; 14+ years) – depicts her rebellion against an arranged marriage to a Turkish man and

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[238] Karin König, Hanne Straube and Kamil Taylan, *Oya: fremde Heimat Türkei* (Munich: dtv, 1988).
[239] Helmut Sakowski, *Prinzessin, wir machen die Fliege* (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1993).
[240] Rosmarie Thüminger, *Fidan: Langer Weg in eine neue Zukunft* (Vienna: Herder, 1993).
[241] Gaye Hiçyılmaz, *Du wirst mich schon finden* (Hamburg: Dressler, 1994).

her struggle to reconcile the “German” and “Turkish” elements of her identity.[242] In all of the above texts, patriarchal practices marked as “Turkish (Muslim)” come into conflict with the self-determined lives that the female protagonists have enjoyed in German-speaking countries. A further group of thematically similar texts present female “Turkish (Muslim)” characters – their struggle to integrate, fractured identities and oppressive families – exclusively through the narrative perspective of “German” characters: *Hamide spielt Hamide. Ein türkisches Mädchen in Deutschland* (1987; 12-15 years) is narrated by a concerned schoolteacher; *Keine Hosenträger für Oya* (1985; 10-12 years) and *Rosenmond* (1994; 13+ years) by school friends.[243] In these texts, the “Turkish (Muslim)” girl’s objectification as a victim “trapped between cultures” is formally compounded by her exclusion from narrative focalisation.

Furthermore, texts featuring (female) “Turkish (Muslim)” characters in the 1980s and 1990s take up wider socio-political themes of racism and right wing extremism, often referencing the aforementioned arson attacks on refugee camps in Hoyerswerda and Rostock, and on the homes of Turkish families in Mölln and Solingen.[244] In *Der Mond isst die Sterne auf* (1998; 12-15 years), protagonist Ömer – whose family moved from Istanbul to Berlin during his early childhood – struggles to uncover the events leading to the mysterious accident that leaves his

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[242] Ranka Keser, *Ich bin eine deutsche Türkin* (Weinheim: Beltz & Gelberg, 1995). The use of formal conventions from the genres of documentary and life writing has a precedent in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 's treatment of the "Turkish-Muslim" girl. Cf. *Ayse und Devrim: Wo gehören wir hin? Zwei türkische Mädchen erzählen,* ed. by Michael Kuhlmann and Alwin Meyer (Göttingen: Lamuv, 1983); Renate Welsh, *Ülkü das fremde Mädchen. Erzählung und Dokumentation* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1992).

[243] Cf. Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 702; Annelies Schwarz, *Hamide spielt Hamide ein türkisches Mädchen in Deutschland* (Munich: dtv, 1987); Jürgen Banscherus, *Keine Hosenträger für Oya* (Würzburg: Arena, 1985); Monika Hartig, *Rosenmond* (Recklinghausen: Georg Bitter, 1994).

[244] For more on right wing violence in German young adult literature, cf. Sybille Nagel, ‘Rechstradikalismus und politisch motivierte Gewalt in Jugendromanen. Eine Bestandsaufnahme der bis 2005 erschienenen Publikationen’, in *Gewalt in aktuellen Kinder- und Jugendmedien: von der Verherrlichung bis zur Ächtung eines gesellschaftlichen Phänomens*, ed. by Bernd Dolle-Weinkauff (Weinheim: Juventa, 2007), pp. 41-60.

father Seyfullah in a coma.[245] The incident is linked by a press report to attacks in 'Rostock, Mölln, Solingen, Hattingen – und jetzt auch in Berlin'.[246] The text predominantly presents Ömer and his family as "Turkish", situating the contemporaneous plot within the history of labour migration to Germany via short narrative interventions that focalise Seyfullah's experiences as a first generation temporary labourer. Nevertheless, the family's "Muslim" identity is implied through the consultation of a 'Hodscha' – a Muslim scholar and advisor – after Seyfullah's accident, and when female relatives consoling Ömer's mother, Meryem, 'zupften ihre Kopftücher zurecht'. [247] In *Yildiz heißt Stern* (1994; 13-16 years), the eponymous protagonist does not differentiate herself from her "German" peers until she is publically assaulted by a gang of 'Skinheads'.[248] *Erwachsene reden: Marco hat was getan* (1995; 14-16 years) deals with the consequences of 15-year old Marco's arson attack on a Turkish family's house.[249] In *Wer sich nicht wehrt* (1994; 14-17 years), only "Turkish" girl Ayfer has the courage to stand up to two 'Glatzköpfe' who are bullying the new boy at school.[250] *Wolfslämmer*: *Hava und Jörg dürfen nicht Freunde sein* (1987; 14+ years) combines both the narrative of the "Kopftuchmädchen" as defined by Grenz – Hava is caught between the opportunities and freedoms offered by the "German" education system and the patriarchal oppression of her "Turkish (Muslim)" father – as well as discourses of racism and right wing extremism: mounting tensions between a group of neo-Nazi "German" youths named

[245] Dilek Zaptcioglu, *Der Mond isst die Sterne auf.* (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1998).
[246] Ibid., pp. 36-7.
[247] Ibid., p. 26.
[248] Isolde Heyne, *Yildiz heißt Stern* (Würzburg: Arena, 1994), dustcover.
[249] Kirsten Boie, *Erwachsene reden: Marco hat was getan* (Munich: dtv, 1995).
[250] Michael Wildenhain, *Wer sich nicht wehrt* (Ravensburg: Ravensburger Buchverlag, 1994), dustcover.

'Werwolf' and a "Turkish" group calling themselves 'Graue Wölfe' provides another obstacle to Hava and Jörg's relationship.[251]

Finally, recent publications suggest that the categories of "Turkish" and "Muslim" become more distinct in the 21st century. Post 2000, we not only see the emergence of explicitly "Muslim" female protagonists (analysed in part 3 of this chapter), but also instances of the figure of the "Muslim" woman functioning in opposition to female "Turkish" characters. In *Zimtküsse* (2012; 12-15 years), for example, depictions of poor, unkempt, backward and oppressed hijabi "Muslim" women are positioned in opposition to emancipated, secular, middle class female "Turkish" characters.[252] *Zimtküsse* follows 14 year-old "Turkish German" Sahra, who takes a break from her increasingly confusing life in Germany and seeks out the comfort of her grandmother's home in Istanbul. Sahra's high-school crush is unrequited and her German mother is divorcing her Turkish father to be with her girlfriend. The text's title includes exoticised images of Turkish cuisine, as well as referencing the romance that the protagonist experiences in Istanbul.

In *Zimtküsse*, hijabi "Muslim" characters do not perform significant or meaningful roles, but function as a foil in the construction of "Turkish German" protagonist Sahra and her female relatives' identities. In Istanbul, the protagonist narrates: 'Wir überholen Frauen mit seidigen Kopftüchern, und langen Röcken über den Hosen […] Und gehen an denen vorbei, die so wenig türkisch aussehen wie meine Leute, mit blonden Kurzhaarschnitten und Stulpen in den Stiefeln.'[253] Here, the protagonist opposes conservative, "Muslim" dress and modern, "trendy" sartorial choices, as well as positing hijabi women as normative and/or

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[251] Cf. Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, pp. 694-5; Heinz Knappe, *Wolfslämmer: Hava und Jörg dürfen nicht Freunde sein.* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1987).
[252] Deniz Selek, *Zimtküsse* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2012).
[253] Selek, *Zimtküsse*, p. 47.

representative of "Turkish" women, while her relatives look "un-Turkish". Later in the narrative, the text draws again on sartorial features to portray hijabi figures as impoverished. During a ride on the subway, Sahra's cousin Daria observes a fellow passenger: 'Misstrauisch dreht sie [Daria] sich zu einer Frau um, die unter ihrem Kopftuch in ein Stofftaschentuch schnaubt. Ihr Rock ist geflickt und alt. Die Fersen der derben Schuhe heruntergetreten.' '"Bäh!"', remarks Daria.[254] Daria's expression of disgust at the hijabi woman's unkempt appearance suggests Daria's middle class position and classism. Finally, the protagonist's assertions regarding a minor female character, Serpil, associates the hijab with "Islamic" oppression: 'Serpil […] trägt ein Kopftuch und große Schlabbersachen beim Sport. Ihre Eltern sind sehr streng.'[255]

Thus, female characters in *Zimtküsse* intervene in the conflation of "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities seen elsewhere in the genre and particularly in texts from the 1990s. The text's obsession with female characters' clothing, furthermore, perpetuates superficial notions of female identity as expressed primarily through the presentation of their bodies. The protagonist's assertions regarding her and her female relatives' "Turkishness" are made at the expense of hijabi characters, which are subordinated via both their representation as impoverished, backward and oppressed, as well as being excluded from character focalisation or self-representation in the text.

In sum, young adult literature published before 2000 predominantly presents a character's "Muslimness" as implicit to an ethnicised – most often "Turkish" – identity. Texts' thematic focus on the "Turkish (Muslim)" girl's crises of identity and belonging, as well as the patriarchal oppression she

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[254] Ibid, p. 86.
[255] Ibid., p. 210.

experiences at home, demonstrates the often problematic and contentious subject positions inhabited by such characters.[256] "Turkish (Muslim)" characters also frequently appear in narratives dealing with political violence and extremism in this period. Post-2000, the (relatively) more frequent appearance of explicitly "Muslim" protagonists, as well as the differentiation between female "Muslim" and "Turkish" characters, evidences a discursive shift in the genre to more distinct and independent notions of "Muslimness" in representations of Germany's minority groups who have an assumed or actual affiliation to "Islam". Part 3 conducts an exemplary analysis of young adult literature featuring female protagonists whose "Muslim" identities are a central theme and driving force within the narrative.

Part 3: female "Muslim" protagonists and the parameters of their representation

Part 3 analyses six texts, the earliest of which is *Wohin ich gehöre* (1999; 14-17 years), which focusses on Gülten's love triangle with "Turkish" cousin Mesut and "German" school mate Erik. In *Kopftuch*, (2006; 12-15 years) 15-year old protagonist Sibel, who has spent most of her life living with her grandparents in Izmir, is forced to wear a hijab and defer to the conservative lifestyle of her father and his new wife when she moves to Germany.[257] *Ich, die Andere* (2007; 15-17

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[256] Cf. 'Der Ausländer, wie er im Jugendbuch der achtziger Jahre steht, ist nahezu immer muslimischen Glaubens und meistens türkischer Herkunft, im Handlungsmittelpunkt zahlreicher Erzählungen stehen die Kulturkonflikte türkischer Mädchen.' Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 662. Whilst not the focus of this chapter, my research does indicate exceptions to the figure of the foreigner as "Turkish" and/or "Muslim". Cf. The story of a Yugoslavian family in 1970s West Berlin in Zoran Drvenkar, *Niemand so stark wie wir* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1998); Bosnian protagonist Jela in Dieter Schliwka, *Hakenkreuz und Gänseblümchen* (Rheinbreitbach: Dürr & Kessler, 1993); Kurdish Kemal in Ruedi Klapproth, *Mit falschem Paß: das Schicksal des Kurden Kemal* (Luzern: Rex, 1992); Kurdish refugee Kemal in Elizabeth Laird, *Trag mich über die Berge* (Hamburg: Oetinger, 1993); and 'Afrikaner' Leon in Martina Dierks, *Rosensommer* (Berlin: Altberliner, 1996).

[257] Patricia Mennen, *Kopftuch* (Ravensburg: Ravensburger Buchverlag, 2006).

years) follows Kelebek from the age of 12-15, during which time she falls in love with Janosch, a German Polish Catholic. Kelebek must keep her relationship a secret if she is to avoid the frightening repercussions of her patriarchal Turkish family, and especially her increasingly radical brother, Sercan.[258] *Seidenhaar* (2007; 14-17 years) follows 15-year old Sinem, daughter to two Turkish parents. When Sinem's formerly close friend and practising Muslim Canan is reported missing, Sinem feels compelled to search for her.[259] In the sequel, *Seidenweg: Sinems Entscheidung* (2012; 14-17 years), 18 year-old Sinem is preparing to take her Abitur.[260] When her father bans her from meeting with love interest Bela and the new German teacher seems intent on undermining her usually confident academic performance, Sinem's future in Germany seems increasingly uncertain. *Gegen meinen Willen* (2010; 13-16 years) follows "Moroccan German" Malika from the age of 12-15.[261] The protagonist feels constantly isolated and oppressed by her family and is confused by the teachings of the Quran, but only begins to rebel against both when she loses her memory in a chance accident.

Without wanting to obscure the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in the above texts, all six narratives conform to a certain set of parameters in their representations of female "Muslim" characters. All of the texts depict "Muslim" characters with "foreign/migrant" affiliations: four of the five protagonists have familial connections to Turkey, with the exception of Malika, whose parents and relatives come from Morocco.[262] This affiliation further attests to the continued conflation of "Muslim" and "Turkish" identities in the German context, despite

[258] Jana Frey, *Ich, die Andere* (Bindlach: Loewe, 2007).
[259] Aygen-Sibel Çelik, *Seidenhaar* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2007).
[260] Aygen-Sibel Çelik, *Seidenweg: Sinems Entscheidung* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2012).
[261] Heidi Hassenmüller, *Gegen meinen Willen* (Hamburg: Klopp, 2010).
[262]Cf. Ghazi Abdel-Qadir, *Weizenhaar* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1998). Claudia and Nadia spend two weeks' holiday visiting relatives in Morocco, learning about village "culture" and "tradition".

the emergence of more explicitly "Muslim" characters in the post-2000 period. The texts refer to and/or partially take place in the protagonists' families' country of origin, as well as in Germany. For action that takes place in Germany, urban locations dominate. *Wohin ich gehöre*, *Gegen meinen Willen*, *Seidenhaar* and *Seidenweg* all take place in Frankfurt am Main. *Kopftuch* and *Ich, die Andere* do not name their German locations, implying the representativeness of their narratives for "oppressed Muslim girls" everywhere. Rural locations in Turkey or Morocco, by contrast, provide the backdrop for patriarchal practices such as forced marriage and imprisonment. In *Wohin ich gehöre*, Gülten's classmate Tülay narrowly escapes an unwanted marriage 'mit einem Typen aus dem Dorf', referring to her parents' birthplace in Turkey.[263] In *Gegen meinen Willen*, protagonist Malika is sent to stay with relatives in the coastal city of Agadir, Morocco, prior to an arranged marriage with her cousin. In *Ich, die Andere*, protagonist Kelebek is sent to Sidanya – the fictional Turkish village where she was born –following the discovery of her relationship with boyfriend Janosch. Whilst in Sidanya, the protagonist's aunt checks the intactness of Kelebek's hymen. Tülay, Malika and Kelebek eventually all manage to escape these situations by returning to an urban milieu in Germany. By repeatedly placing female "Muslim" characters in "foreign" locations linked to their family histories, the texts (re)produce hegemonic images of "Muslims" in Germany as exclusively belonging to minorities coded as "non-white". The inclusion of Turkish and Moroccan locations, as well as Frankfurt am Main as a popular settlement for post-war migrant labourers, serves to emphasise the "Muslim" girls' – and their families' – "foreign/otherness". Furthermore, the increased vulnerability of the

[263] Kaiser, *Wohin ich gehöre*, p. 25.

"Muslim" girls to misogynistic practices whilst in rural, "foreign" places functions to portray urban "German" locations as relatively more protective of girls' (sexual) self-determination.

Female "Muslim" protagonists in these texts regularly feature at home and in school. That these characters' familial and educational experiences are of central interest to all texts indicates the "real life" orientation of narratives featuring "Muslim" girls within the genre. As shown in part 2's discussion of female "Muslim" characters in pre-2000 publications, such figures are overwhelmingly portrayed in contentious, problematic subject positions linked to socio-political issues of belonging, identity and self-determination in the genre. Whilst such issues are taken up elsewhere in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur and in relation to "non-Muslim" characters, the lack of alternative subject positions on offer to female "Muslim" characters reflects the narrow parameters of their representation in the genre.

This narrow range of subject positions available to "Muslim" girls in young adult literature – as students and daughters – reflects wider discourses surrounding "Islam". Indeed, female "Muslim" students are often debated in the press, where their (non)participation in mixed-sex swimming, sport or class trips becomes a flashpoint for their oppression and exclusion under "Islamic" modesty codes.[264] In addition, recent reference books for educators dealing with the role of religion in school specifically target the body of the "Muslim" girl, her 'Kopftuch'

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[264] Oliver Trenkamp, 'Burkini: Lehrerin über Ganzkörperschwimmanzüge für Muslime', *Spiegel Online*, 9 November 2013 <http://www.spiegel.de/schulspiegel/burkini-lehrerin-ueber-ganzkoerperschwimmanzuege-fuer-muslime-a-921160.html> [accessed 11 September 2013]; For analyses of the figure of the "Muslim" woman in the popular press, cf. Röder, *Haremsdame, Opfer oder Extremistin?*; Shooman, *"... weil ihre Kultur so ist"*.

and exclusion from 'Schwimmunterricht'.[265] The figure of the "Muslim" schoolgirl thus functions as a catalyst and/or symbol for the debate on the contested meanings of Muslim veiling practices, which often place "Islam" under suspicion of coercion and restriction in a way that other religious practices are seldom subject to. The school, therefore, functions as an important stage for the regulation and representation of "Islam" via the figure of the "Muslim" girl. These characters' repeated positioning in the home, furthermore, relates young female "Muslims'" identities to their familial roles, drawing on well-established images of "Muslim" women as victims of domestic oppression and/or violence. Locating female "Muslim" characters in the school and at home thus perpetuates predictable and knowable representations of this figure in a discursive field marked by both a generalising notion of the apparently subordinate role of women in "Islam", as well as the "contentious" figure of the "Muslim" girl in the "German" school.

All of the protagonists' ages correspond closely to the texts' intended readership and all plots take place in a generalised "present day" temporality, placing the young "Muslims'" birth years approximately between the mid-1980s to early 1990s. The parents of Kelebek (*Ich, die Andere*), Sinem (*Seidenhaar* and *Seidenweg*) and Malika (*Gegen meinen Willen*) are all presented as the first generation of their families to relocate to Germany. Although migration to Germany from non-EU states has continued throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, the state has increasingly restricted this type of movement since the ban on

[265] Marion Hundt, *Religionsrecht in Kita und Schule: Kopftuch, Tischgebet, Schwimmunterricht* (Cologne: Link, 2010); Thomas Böhm, *Grundkurs Schulrecht VII: Religionsrecht in der Schule: Kopftuch, Kruzifix, Gebetsraum* (Munich: Luchterhand, 2011); Ulrike Hinrichs, Nizar Romdhane and Markus Tiedemann, *'Unsere Tochter nimmt nicht am Schwimmunterricht teil!' 50 religiös-kulturelle Konfliktfälle in der Schule und wie man ihnen begegnet* (Mülheim an der Ruhr: Verlag an der Ruhr, 2012).

recruitment in 1973.[266] Turkish and Moroccan parents of teenagers born in the 1990s like those in the above texts, therefore, are much more likely to belong to the second or even third generation of a "migrant" family. The disparity between the family histories of fictional "Muslim" characters in young adult literature and dominant trends in post-war migration suggests a temporal distortion of the reality of many "Muslim" families with "migrant" backgrounds. By (dis)placing such characters "back in time", as well as emphasising their origins and/or links with regions beyond German borders, texts restrict their "Muslim" characters' access to a contemporary "German" national identity. Giving female "Muslim" protagonists first generation parents also situates their experiences of conflicting/split identities and/or sense of (non)belonging within a familial framework that has little to do with the lives of 21st century teens.

With the exception of *Seidenhaar*, in which the central relationship is the contentious friendship between protagonist Sinem and classmate Canan, all of the texts feature a contentious heterosexual, romantic relationship between the female "Muslim" protagonist and a "German" boy.[267] These relationships manifest the central conflict within the texts between socio-political frameworks and subject positions coded as "Muslim" and those coded as "German" and, sometimes, "Christian". All of the protagonists conduct their romantic relationships in secret without the knowledge or approval of their families. Most often, this means hiding relationships from parents, but sometimes also from siblings, cousins and other relatives. In contrast to the "Muslim" families' efforts to control the sexuality of their daughters, the texts portray "German" social structures as more open and

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[266] Oezcan, 'Germany: Immigration in Transition'.

[267] My research has found one exception to this, which could be classified as both adolescent and adult literature, cf. Karner, *Allah und der Regenbogen*. In this text, protagonist Ebru struggles to come out as a lesbian to her Muslim family.

accepting of both the relationship and the "Muslim" girls' "cultural/religious" differences. The success of such a message depends on the positioning of both halves of the relationship (and sometimes their families) as representatives for their respective "backgrounds", imagined as opposing and mutually exclusive.

Texts rarely draw connections or associations between the difficulties experienced by female "Muslim" characters and their socio-economic status, but rather, trace these back to generalising notions of "Islam". In *Seidenhaar*, for example, the only obstacle to Canan's professional aspiration to become a teacher is current legislation against the hijab for teachers and civil servants, rather than access to and/or the means with which to complete the necessary qualifications. The text presents Canan as forced to choose 'zwischen ihrem Glauben und ihrem Traum', marking her dilemma as individual and psychological and obscuring the material consequences of hijabi women's exclusion from certain professional spheres.[268] Furthermore, the texts do not explicitly address the protagonists' families' economic status or their parents' occupations.

All of the texts thematise the female "Muslim" characters' performance in the school – analysed earlier as a key space for the representation and regulation of "Islam" via girls' bodies. With the exception of Sibel in *Kopftuch*, who is nevertheless top of her Realschule class, all of "Muslim" girls are thriving in the highest tier of the German education system, either despite or because of parental support. In *Wohin ich gehöre*, protagonist Gülten is praised as 'eine der begabtesten Schülerinnen' in the Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Gymnasium.[269] In *Kopftuch,* Sibel is 'beinahe in jedem Fach [...] die Beste'[270] and wants to become

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[268] Çelik, *Seidenhaar*, p. 117.
[269] Kaiser, *Wohin ich gehöre*, p. 115.
[270] Mennen, *Kopftuch*, p. 13.

a travel agent after her studies, whilst her parents want her to be a housewife.[271] Kelebek performs well at the Käthe-Kollwitz Gymnasium in *Ich, die Andere* and is a gifted painter. Her parents, however, do not value this talent and do not visit the exhibition where her artwork is on display.[272] Canan's parents in *Seidenhaar,* on the other hand, place more importance on her Gymnasium grades than Canan's commitment to the hijab and advise her to remove it in order to train as a teacher.[273] Malika enjoys attending a Gymnasium in *Gegen meinen Willen* and her pious father believes that 'eine kluge Tochter ehrt die Familie'.[274] Weinkauff explicates the trope of the academically gifted "Muslim" girl thus: 'Dass diese […] "Kopftuchmädchen" […] zwischen der Opfer- und der Vorbilderrolle changieren, ist eine Folge der konkurrierenden Parameter einerseits der traditionellen Mädchenliteratur und andererseits einer eurozentrischen Kultur- und Religionskritik.'[275] Indeed, all of the texts foreground the significance of their female "Muslim" characters' academic aptitude within a "Muslim" family environment: whether the characters' success at school is valued and encouraged or undermined and threatened is closely linked to each "Muslim" family's stance towards girls' education. Such a correlation obscures the effect of socio-economic inequalities on academic success evidenced by a 2010 report by the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*, which revealed, 'dass, sowohl für Kinder mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund, als auch für Kinder von (Spät-)Aussiedlern grundsätzlich niedrigere Chancen auf den Gymnasialbesuch bestehen. Dieser Unterschied lässt sich im Wesentlichen auf den niedrigeren

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[271] Mennen, *Kopftuch*, pp. 40-41.
[272] Frey, *Ich, die Andere*, p. 83.
[273] Çelik, *Seidenhaar*, p. 69.
[274] Hassenmüller, *Gegen meinen Willen*, p. 15.
[275] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 700.

sozioökonomischen Status dieser Familien zurückführen.'[276] Whilst it is not the intention of this thesis to assess the correlation between class, ethnicity, religion and academic opportunity and performance, it is clear that socio-economic relations play a significant role for participants in the German school system. The absence of explicitly classed representations of female "Muslim" characters serves to disarticulate these structural relations and reinforce the neoliberal narrative of meritocracy by attributing success or struggle at school to private, "Islamic" family structures.

Whilst some texts pose limited challenges to the dominant regimes of representation surrounding female "Muslim" characters, their common parameters reveal the narrow scope of available subject positions for "Muslim" girls in German young adult literature. Such characters are, more often than not, "Turkish" heterosexual teenagers living in Frankfurt am Main, struggling to reconcile school commitments, romantic relationships and familial expectations. The (dis)placement of patriarchal practices and beliefs to the private sphere of the "Muslim" family and to rural settings in spaces coded as "Muslim" functions in opposition to the presentation of spaces coded as "German" – such as the school or the "Muslim" girls' "German" boyfriends' homes – as egalitarian and liberal. As well as being exclusively represented as members of racialised minorities, the recurring thematisation of female "Muslim" characters' sexual (un)freedom invokes the emblematic figure of the "oppressed Muslim woman". Whether in Germany or abroad, at home or in school, in reference to their romantic or academic life, the texts repeatedly associate the source of contention in the

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[276] *Der Übergang von der Grundschule in die weiterführende Schule: Leistungsgerechtigkeit und regionale, soziale und ethnisch-kulturelle Disparitäten*, ed. by Jürgen Baumert, Kai Maaz, Nele McElvany and Cornelia Gresch (Berlin: Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, 2010), p. 194.

"Muslim" girls' lives with generalising notions of "Islam". This culturalising gesture serves to obscure systemic inequalities in Germany, which often disproportionately affect minority women. A detailed analysis of all six texts follows in order to interrogate the subject positions on offer to female "Muslim" characters, their constitutive role in producing "non-Muslim" or "German" subject positions, and to hold space for discontinuities, disruptions or challenges to the limited and reductive parameters of their representation.

Do "Muslim" girls need saving? *Kopftuch*, *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Ich, die Andere*

Kopftuch (2006; 12-15 years), *Gegen meinen Willen* (2010; 13-16 years) and *Ich, die Andere* (2007; 15-17 years) conform closely to the established narrative of the figure of the "oppressed Muslim woman" as seen in the "misery memoirs" in chapter 2: respective protagonists Sibel, Malika and Kelebek experience transformative and emancipatory processes that take them from unhappiness and unfreedom within the patriarchal structures of their "Muslim" families, to greater happiness and self-determination via their estrangement from "Islam" and their close relatives.[277] This process, furthermore, is precipitated by a romantic relationship with a "non-Muslim" or "German" boy.[278] In addition, all three characters experience domestic violence, the threat of forced marriage and are coerced into wearing the hijab. *Ich, die Andere* incorporates an "honour killing" narrative, whereby protagonist Kelebek's brother, Sercan, attempts to murder his sister once she has moved in with boyfriend Janosch. In the final moments of the text, Sercan is unable to execute his plan.

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[277] The title of this section borrows from Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*

[278] For texts with very similar plots and even same-name protagonists, cf. Cesco, *Aischa*; Ben Faridi, *Aber Aisha ist doch nicht euer Eigentum!* (Mülheim an der Ruhr: Verlag an der Ruhr, 2005).

As well as overlapping thematically with many of the “misery memoirs” and texts by “Islamkritikerinnen” analysed in chapter 2, these young adult texts also employ similar visual tropes in their cover images (figures 9, 10 and 11).

Figure 9 *Kopftuch*, front cover

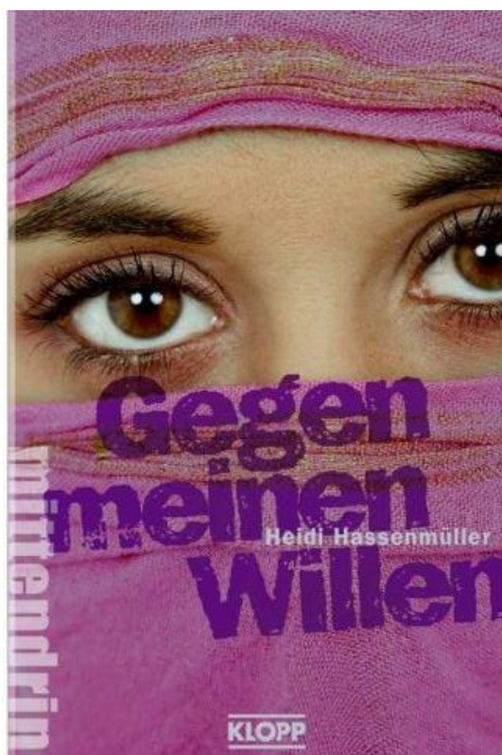

Figure 10 ***Gegen meinen Willen*****, front cover**

Figure 11 ***Ich, die Andere*****, front cover**

Both *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Ich, die Andere* reproduce the paratextual conventions of the "misery memoir": a close-up of a partially covered female face

fills the frame, creating a sense of intimacy and urgency. The title conveys the female figure's predicament – here, via a sense of coercion (*Gegen meinen Willen*) and exclusion (*Ich, die Andere*). The fixing of the viewer/reader's gaze with ambivalently melancholy eyes (or eye) interpellates the viewer/reader to the role of potential rescuer. The covering of the female figure's mouth compounds her silence and helplessness. On the cover of *Ich, die Andere*, a male, gun-wielding figure is reflected in the iris of the female figure's eye, foreshadowing the climax of the "honour killing" narrative and the ostensibly inevitable imperilment of the female "Muslim" character. The front cover of *Kopftuch*, which depicts a female hijabi figure dressed all in red against a red background with a light smile, draws on the convention of the headshot employed by auto/biographical texts such as Kristiane Backer's publications (figure 6 in chapter 2). In this way, all of the texts reproduce visual tropes employed by "Muslim" women's life writing, referencing the authenticity claims of this genre, as well as exploiting its widespread reception. In other words, these young adult books' cover images and titles invoke those employed by many texts claiming to present the "real life" experiences of Muslim" women, which consumers are likely to recognise and know at least something about.

All three of the above texts present their protagonists as teenage girls forced to perform certain roles in order to cope with the circumstances of their lives. *Kopftuch* and *Gegen meinen Willen* employ omniscient narrators, describing their protagonist's actions and thoughts in the third person. In *Gegen meinen Willen*, protagonist Malika decides to live a double life in order to cope with the conflicting expectations of her school and home environments: 'Sie [Malika] würde zu Hause die gute Tochter abgeben und in der Schule ein zweites, anderes

Leben führen.'[279] Similarly, *Kopftuch* describes protagonist Sibel thus: 'Zu Hause war sie bisher die folgsame Tochter, die fünfmal am Tag betet und sich ihrem Vater, ihren Brüdern und ihrer Stiefmutter unterordnet. Und in der Schule ist sie die Sibel, die sie sein möchte.'[280] In both cases, it is the protagonists' home environment – coded as oppressive, patriarchal and "Islamic" – where Malika and Sibel must feign obedience and comply with restrictive social codes. The school, by contrast, functions as a liberating, safe space in which both characters can be their "authentic" selves.

In *Ich, die Andere*, protagonist Kelebek also performs different roles. Unlike Malika and Sibel, however, Kelebek employs multiple personas as a way to escape from the realities of her life and to explore different facets of her identity. Narration in *Ich, die Andere* is dominated by the protagonist's focalisation. The protagonist names her alter egos Siri, Aviva and Daphne. Siri is quiet and reserved, but vibrant and independent. Kelebek imagines herself as Siri often when she is outside, alone and feeling happy and invigorated: 'Ich bin Siri und in mir ist das Leben. Ich fühle es heftig, und ich laufe schnell und atme tief ein und aus. Ich liebe den Sommer, ich liebe das Leben, ich liebe mich.'[281] Indeed, Kelebek introduces herself as Siri to love interest Janosch the first time they meet (50). The Siri persona expresses the protagonist's longing for autonomy, which Kelebek's father often restricts, forbidding her from attending discos, whilst allowing her brother to (20) and only permitting her to go to a local culture festival in the company of her brother and a male cousin (109). The second persona employed by the protagonist – Aviva – is confident, passionate

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[279] Hassenmüller, *Gegen meinen Willen*, p. 15.
[280] Mennen, *Kopftuch*, p. 54.
[281] Frey, *Ich, die Andere*, p. 48. Subsequent page numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated.

and outspoken: ‘Ich bin, wie gesagt, Aviva, und ich bin ungeduldig. Ich fühle mich schön, und ich möchte gesehen werden und sehen. Ich will laut sein und noch viel mehr Welten finden’ (77-8). The protagonist imagines herself as Aviva when she needs the courage to contravene the strict social and sexual regulations of her family. “Aviva” accompanies Janosch to his house for the first time (146) and asks Kelebek’s mother for permission to go out alone whilst Kelebek is effectively under house arrest following the family’s discovery of her relationship with Janosch (242). Finally, Daphne is timid, afraid, downtrodden and miserable. The protagonist imagines herself as Daphne in situations where she feels ashamed, embarrassed or worthless. For example, when Kelebek’s father only allows her to attend her best friend Ana’s birthday party (an event she has attended every year since childhood) with her brother as a chaperone: ‘Leise kriecht die Raupe, ergeben und stumm, wie Raupen eben kriechen. Und weil Raupen ein sehr verstecktes, unscheinbares Leben führen, verkriecht sich Daphne, verkrieche ich mich, still in einer möglichst stillen Ecke der überfüllten Wohnung’ (129). Through Daphne, the protagonist is able to distance herself (to some extent) from experiences and situations that undermine her self-worth. Although such situations are often related to Kelebek’s oppression as a “Muslim” girl, she also becomes “Daphne” when she learns that Janosch used to have a girlfriend in Poland (201).

The protagonist’s various personas become more fragmented and confused when she breaks things off with Janosch after her brother, Sercan, discovers their relationship. As Sercan exerts more and more control over Kelebek, and their mother becomes very ill with cancer, “Daphne” dominates the protagonist’s sense of self. The protagonist’s alter egos Siri, Aviva and Daphne thus allow her, on the

one hand, to fantasise about an independent, joyful life without the patriarchal oppression of her family, and, on the other, to cope with emotional distress. The text's use of these alter egos imbues the representation of its female "Muslim" protagonist with more nuance and sensitivity than the one-dimensional stock figures of Sibel and Malika in *Kopftuch* and *Gegen meinen Willen*. Kelebek's (mis)identification with Siri, Aviva and Daphne, furthermore, lends ambiguity to the title: whilst dominant regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman often cast her as an "other", this "otherness" achieves another layer of meaning in the text through the protagonist's conflicting sense of self.

Ich, die Andere takes particular care to separate the protagonist's personal practice of "Islam" from the beliefs and practices of other characters, such as her parents and brother, Sercan. However, all three texts link the necessity of their protagonists' performance to patriarchal social regulations coded as "Muslim". In order to cope with the demands of their families, protagonists Sibel, Malika and Kelebek have to put on an act. The texts thus present spaces, practices and behaviours coded as "Muslim" as stilted and forced, while "non-Muslim" (or indeed "German") spaces and places – like the school, the homes of friends and boyfriends, or simply the street – are portrayed as liberating, allowing Sibel, Malika and Kelebek to act "naturally".

A transformation narrative culminating in the removal of the protagonist's hijab or burqa is common to all three texts. The protagonists' romantic relationships cause an intensification of their oppression at home, resulting in a tipping point that aids them in standing up to their oppressors and orchestrating their liberation and estrangement from their families. In *Gegen meinen Willen*, Malika's "German" boyfriend Tobias flies to Morocco to help smuggle Malika

back to Germany, saving her from a forced marriage with misogynistic cousin Rashid. Whilst in Morocco, Malika must wear a burqa in public. Malika uses the burqa as a disguise in her escape. Once she and Tobias are reunited, she discards the burqa and dresses herself as a "western" tourist. The text approves this sartorial change via both Tobias' – 'Wow! Du siehst klasse aus,'[282] – and Malika's reactions: 'Malika fühlte sich wie ein Schmetterling, der aus dem Kokon geschlüpft war.'[283] The protagonist's safe return to Germany is not possible without boyfriend Tobias in a repurposing of a (post)colonial narrative in which the "Muslim" woman must be saved by the white, "non-Muslim" (or in this case, "German") male.

Gegen meinen Willen uses the metaphor of a chrysalis to butterfly metamorphosis to portray the protagonist's "unveiling" as, firstly, a physical transformation into an "attractive" young woman (confirmed by the approval of the male "German" character) and secondly, as an internal or psychological transformation from the 'gute Tochter' at the outset of the text to someone courageous enough to cut all ties with her family and risk inciting their revenge in order to lead a self-determined life. Malika tells boyfriend Tobias at the close of the text: 'Ich will frei sein. Und ich will keine Angst mehr haben.'[284]
Ich, die Andere uses the same metaphor via the alter ego Daphne, whom the protagonist, Kelebek, also describes as 'eine Raupe'. Despite spending months apart from boyfriend Janosch whilst held against her will in Turkey and then constantly supervised at home in Germany, Kelebek resumes her relationship with Janosch, moves out of the family home and decides not to wear the hijab anymore: 'Auf einmal weiß ich, dass ich nie mehr ein Kopftuch tragen werde. Nie

[282] Hassenmüller, *Gegen meinen Willen*, p. 183.
[283] Ibid., p. 184.
[284] Ibid., p. 189.

mehr, nie mehr, nie mehr. Daphne, die Raupe, [ist] verschwunden.'[285] Daphne, and all of the shame, worthlessness and unhappiness that has been associated with this alter ego throughout the text, is removed with Kelebek's hijab. The removal of the protagonist's hijab indicates a new phase of Kelebek's life, away from the oppression of her family and free to love and be with Janosch. With the 'Raupe' gone, Kelebek –which means butterfly in Turkish – can be herself. Whilst Kelebek complies with her family's patriarchal social codes, including wearing the hijab, she conceives of herself as a mute, inconspicuous, crawling insect. When she – and indeed Malika – question and reject such codes and expectations, they become what they were destined to be. Like butterflies emerging from cocoons, the female "Muslim" protagonists lift their veils and flee "Islamic" oppression. The texts thus present Malika and Kelebek's transformations as only possible via a complete break with their families and only possible via a removal of their hijab. In this way, *Kopftuch*, *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Ich, die Andere* echo assertions surrounding the hijab in certain examples of "Muslim" women's life writing in chapter 2 as incompatible with personal and professional fulfilment.

In *Kopftuch*, the removal of Sibel's hijab also indicates her move towards freedom and happiness, as well as the "uncovering" of her authentic self. Like Malika, Sibel's self-actualisation is dependent on the intervention of "non-Muslim/German" characters in the form of best friend Lola and boyfriend Matze: 'Erst Matze und Lola haben ihr [Sibel] bewusst gemacht, dass es unter dem Kopftuch noch eine ganz andere Sibel gibt.'[286] All three texts portray the protagonists' "Muslim" identities – symbolised by the hijab – as restrictive and oppressive, as well as fake and imposed: adhering to "Islamic" codes of behaviour

[285] Frey, *Ich, die Andere*, p. 308.
[286] Mennen, *Kopftuch*, p. 97.

obscures the characters' "true" natures and forces them to perform roles of subjugation and obedience. Whilst "coming of age" narratives and assertions of identity are taken up elsewhere in the genre, the female "Muslim" protagonists discussed here exclusively feature in narratives that serve to affirm the superiority of "non-Muslim" or "unveiled Muslim" subject positions. The assumption that the hijab hides or covers "Muslim" women's identities asserts the "uncovered" woman as the norm. This normalisation of the "unveiled" woman is a violent practice within hegemonic feminist discourses. As Yeğenoğlu argues:

> [T]he unveiled body is no less marked or inscribed; rather a whole battery of disciplinary techniques and practices have produced Western women's bodies and therefore not-to-veil needs to be seen as one among many practices of corporeal inscriptions. In other words, there is nothing natural about unveiling and therefore not-to-veil is no less inscriptive than being veiled.[287]

Between a rock and a hard place: *Wohin ich gehöre*

Wohin ich gehöre differentiates itself from other texts featuring female "Muslim" protagonists in its level of historical and theological detail. Indeed, author Maria Regina Kaiser has an established publication record of historical narratives in Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, with a series of texts following teenager Lukios in ancient Rome appearing from the late 1970s-early 1990s.[288] Protagonist and self-identifying "Muslim" protagonist Gülten has a "German" father, "Turkish" mother and a younger brother, Eser, who suffers from a serious yet unnamed illness and rejects his sister's religious beliefs. *Wohin ich gehöre* employs a heterodiegetic narrator that often focalises Gülten's thoughts and feelings. During

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[287] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 115.
[288] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, pp. 539-40.

one of the family’s annual holidays to Turkey, Gülten falls for her cousin, Mesut, whose extremist and misogynistic interpretation of “Islam” is gradually revealed throughout the narrative. “German” classmate Erik functions as a counterpoint to Mesut and completes the love triangle that personifies Gülten’s conflicted sense of belonging between Turkey and Germany. The front cover of the 2013 edition depicts this “conflict”, positioning hijab-wearing Gülten between two male figures; one with a pale complexion and blond hair, standing against a backdrop of grey-blue industrial buildings and one with darker skin and hair, framed by a red skyline of minarets (figure 9). The cover illustration (re)produces racialised representations of “Muslims” as non-white, as well as reinforcing affiliations between “Turkishness” and “Muslimness” via the red minarets, which invoke both the institution of the mosque and the colour of the Turkish flag.

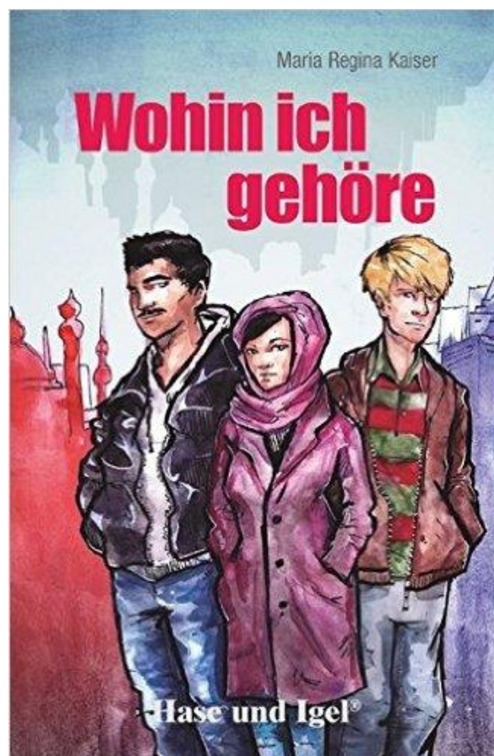

Figure 12 ***Wohin ich gehöre*****, front cover.**

At the start of the text, the protagonist professes a deep sense of belonging on the beautiful beaches of Antalya: ‘“Das ist mein Land”, sagt Gülten. “Ich

gehöre hierhin."'[289] Whilst praying at the local mosque in Turkey, Gülten recognises that: 'In gewisser Weise ist Mesut die ganze Türkei. Allah wird verstehen, was sie mit Mesut verbindet' (43). Towards the end of the narrative, however, Mesut's sexist attitudes have tempered Gülten's feelings for him and Turkey: 'Früher war es der Hinflug, der sie aufgeregt hat. Der Hinflug zu "ihrem Land". Diesmal ist sie genauso aufgewühlt, obwohl es zurück nach Almanya geht. Ja, es ist eindeutig Vorfreude' (181). Correspondingly, Gütlen expresses warmer feelings for Erik, who has previously been a runner-up to Mesut in her affections: 'Jawohl, Erik Bauer. Irgendwie bist du schon sympathisch' (182). The protagonist's sense of belonging, therefore, is presented by the text as inextricably linked to her heterosexual relationships, perpetuating a reductive subject position for women and girls in which important life decisions are based on their current boyfriend.

Mesut's interpretation of "Islam", furthermore, asserts a generalising notion of patriarchal "Turkish Muslim" masculinity, against which "German" Erik appears more liberal and egalitarian. Indeed, Mesut calls Gülten 'eine Nutte' for talking to Erik on the phone (169), who simply called to ask after her brother, Eser (168). Overhearing Mesut's accusations, Eser aggressively challenges his cousin and demands that he leaves the house. The text also attempts to emphasise Erik's "progressive" masculinity when Gülten visits his family for dinner. Erik turns down Gülten's offer of help: '"Hier kochen die Männer"' (131). Whilst Erik appears to reject patriarchal notions of the sexual division of labour, the reader learns that his culinary skills are, '"Notgedrungen. Christine Weeke", [his father's partner], setzt er leise hinzu, "ist eine Schlampe. Sie säuft und ist faul"' (132).

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[289] Kaiser, *Wohin ich gehöre*, p. 7. Subsequent page numbers for this text are given in brackets until otherwise stated

Like Mesut, Erik uses a misogynistic slur against a female character that has not fulfilled his sexist expectations of feminine conduct. Unlike, Mesut, however, Erik's behaviour is not challenged by Gülten or another (male) character. The female "Muslim" protagonist, therefore, not only relies on her relationships with male characters to determine where she "belongs", but also to stand up to misogyny. The text perpetuates racialised discourses of gender inequality by thematising the sexist attitude of Mesut – established by the text as representative of "Turkey/Islam" – whilst obscuring those of "German" Erik.

Wohin ich gehöre's narrative is often tedious, repeatedly constructing unconvincing situations to facilitate almost academic discussions of theology between expert parties. Gülten's grandfather, for example, has extensive knowledge of Islamic history; Erik's aunt is a nun and his father's partner is a doctor of Islamic studies. These parties converge at various points in the text – along with Gülten, who also commands advanced knowledge of Islam and Christianity – to discuss issues including, but not limited to: Islamic and Christian mysticism (135-8); the Dervish i.e. an order of Muslim monks (52-5); religious scholars and thinkers such as Meister Ekhart and Yunus Emre, as well as the history of modern Turkey (143-5). The text includes a glossary of religious and Turkish terms (183-91).

One such staged debate takes place between the protagonist and her school rector, Herr Lingenfelder, on the subject of Gülten's hijab. The text attributes Lingenfelder's insistence that Gülten remove her hijab in school to several reactionary and offensive arguments that variously associate the hijab with Islamic fundamentalism and rural "backwardness" in Turkey, and portray hijabi women as unattractive, unintelligent and easily recruited to extremist causes.

Lingenfelder tries to persuade Gülten: '"Das haben Sie doch gar nicht nötig. Sie sind hübsch und intelligent. Lassen Sie sich doch nicht von diesen…, nun, diesen Islamisten vereinnahmen. Sie tun sich selbst keinen Gefallen damit. Möchten Sie zurück aufs [sic] Dorf nach Anatolien?"' (114-5). The unrelated, sequential listing of such arguments conveys the highly constructed nature of the conversation. The text, furthermore, links Lingenfelder's position to his understanding of "western" and "Christian" values: '"Sie setzen ein Signal, Gülten. Es ist kein gutes Signal. An dieser Schule weht ein freiheitlicher, demokratischer Geist. Wenn Sie so wollen: ein westlich und christlich orientierter Geist"' (116). Lingenfelder's codification of egalitarian principles as "western/Christian" asserts the school as a protector and the hijab – and indeed "Islam" – as a violator of such rights. This character's position is non-negotiable: when Gülten tries to defend her decision to wear a hijab, Lingenfelder threatens her with expulsion (116). The text disassociates itself from Lingenfelder's position via the protagonist's distress and incredulity at this verbal attack. On the one side of this encounter, Lingenfelder functions as a caricatural representation of several bigoted, reductive arguments against the hijab, which are marked as "German-western-Christian". On the other side, Gülten's one defence of the hijab presents it as a tool in regulating "dangerous" female sexuality. Gülten replies to Lingenfelder: '"Im Koran steht das Gebot, dass Frauen ihre Reize vor den Blicken der Männer verhüllen sollen. Ich finde, es ist ein sinnvolles Gebot"' (115). This assertion obscures the contested and diverse interpretation of sexual modesty in Islam that applies to men and women.[290] It also plays into notions of veiling practices in "Islam" as

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[290] Cf. Hamideh Mohagheghi, 'Ein Stück (Streit-)Stoff', in *Politik ums Kopftuch*, ed. by Frigga Haug and Katrin Reimer (Hamburg: Argument, 2005), pp. 22-8; Reyhan Şahin, *Die Bedeutung des muslimischen Kopftuchs. Eine kleidungssemiotische Untersuchung Kopftuch tragender Musliminnen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin, Lit Verlag: 2014).

inherently patriarchal. In short, the text positions Gülten and Lingenfelder in a veritable “clash” of ideologies.

This narrative strand, however, is concluded thirty pages later in one sentence: ‘Lingenfelder scheint sich allmählich mit meinem Kopftuch abzufinden’ (151). The inexplicable turnaround in the school rector’s position circumvents any further negotiation of or reflection on the issue; the text provides no space for additional perspectives to complicate the “Muslim” and “German-western-Christian” stances ostensibly represented by protagonist Gülten and authority figure Lingenfelder. The authenticity of the protagonist’s conviction regarding the hijab is also undermined by her sudden removal of it at the close of the text (181-2). The protagonist’s unsubstantiated “unveiling” (a practice previously so important to Gülten’s “Muslim” identity), as well as the correlation of her sense of belonging with her heterosexual relationships, undermines meaningful expressions of female “Muslim” identity in the text. The functionalisation of various characters to represent certain “values” or “national bodies” consistently presents “German” and “Muslim” subject positions as oppositional and antagonistic. Male characters in particular conform to a highly polarised and racialised discourse of “xenophobic Germans” vs. “patriarchal Turks”, leaving the figure of the female “Muslim” in her familiar position “trapped between cultures”. Nevertheless, *Wohin ich gehöre* does disrupt the narrative of the “oppressed Muslim woman” rescued by a white, male, “German” saviour as seen in *Kopftuch* and *Gegen meinen Willen*: at the close of *Wohin ich gehöre*, the protagonist distances herself from cousin Mesut and life in Turkey, but does not break all ties with these elements of her identity. In addition, the future of her and Erik’s relationship is ambivalent and she remains a self-identifying, practising Muslim.

‘Und immer geht es um’s Kopftuch. Nie um sie!’ Female “Muslim” characters in *Seidenhaar* and *Seidenweg*

Seidenhaar (2007; 14-17 years) offers the most critical and differentiated range of female (“Muslim”) subject positions within the corpus. The protagonist is 15 year-old Sinem, who lives with her parents –first generation Turkish migrants– and brother Erdem in Frankfurt am Main. The plot begins with a heated classroom discussion precipitated by the February 2004 ruling of the Hessian state parliament to prohibit the hijab for teachers and other civil servants in the state.[291] Sinem’s teacher, Frau Müller, asks the class to discuss the legislation the day after it is passed. The text’s link to actual legislation further attests to the repeated positioning of female “Muslim” characters within contentious socio-political discourses. During the debate, Sinem clashes with hijabi Muslim and former close friend Canan over the meaning of the hijab: Sinem aggressively argues that all hijabi girls and women have either been forced to wear the hijab, or do so in order to indoctrinate others into “Islam” (15). Soon after, Canan is reported missing (20). Plagued by feelings of guilt for her role in Canan’s disappearance, Sinem begins to search for her, learning more about Canan’s life, “Islam” and herself along the way. The protagonist’s first-person narration dominates the text, punctuated by short, third-person focalisations revealing Canan’s reaction to the discrimination she encounters from Sinem – and others – due to her hijab.

Although both female characters are second generation “Turkish Germans”, Sinem and Canan’s conflicting positions regarding “Islam” and the hijab undermine the conflation of “Turkish” and “Muslim” identities observable in many cultural products. Sinem’s “Muslim” identity is ambivalent: although she

[291] Çelik, *Seidenhaar*, p. 18. Cf. the discussion of the “Kopftuchdebatte” in chapter 1 of this thesis.

does not observe or value certain rituals associated with "Islam" in *Seidenhaar*, the protagonist does identify as Muslim in the sequel, *Seidenweg*.[292] Despite her personal religiosity, the protagonist is initially unable to accept Canan's decision to wear the hijab: 'Und als sie [Canan] eines Tages mit einem Tuch um den Kopf in die Schule kam, da war es für mich ganz aus. Ich konnte damit gar nichts anfangen' (21). In addition, the constellation of two female "Turkish German" characters circumvents a reinscription of "culturally" coded notions of difference in the text, which often results in asserting superior notions of "Germanness". This is evident, for example, in the comparison of "German" and "Muslim" characters' beliefs and practices in *Kopftuch*, *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Wohin ich gehöre*. In other words, the text is not concerned with comparing and valorising certain notions of "Germanness" and "Muslimness", but rather, deconstructing the discourses that exclude and discriminate against (hijabi) girls.

As the narrative progresses, the text employs the protagonist's encounters and experiences to challenge her own tendentious and reductive conceptions of "Muslim" women. At the beginning of the text, the protagonist's appraisal of her niqabi cousin Belgin encapsulates all of Sinem's discriminatory and homogenising beliefs regarding Islamic veiling practices. Indeed, the protagonist refers internally to her cousin as a 'dumme Ziege' (7), 'Hexe' (9) and dehumanises niqabi women by comparing them all to vermin: 'Na und? Schließlich sahen die aus wie Kakerlaken, fand ich. […] Schwarz verschleiert von oben bis unten' (5). 'Verschleiert' implies an interpretation of the burqa that conceals or obscures the wearer, a notion that suggests both the oppression of the

[292] Cf. Sinem's approach to prayer: 'Das Elham, zum Beispiel, das war genauso wichtig und bekannt als das Vaterunser für die Christen. Meine Mutter meinte, das würde man immer brauchen. Aber ich brauchte es nicht. Ich sprach lieber mit Gott, wie ich wollte.' Çelik, *Seidenhaar*, p. 58; 'Ich als Muslimin hatte zuvor noch nie davon gehört', Çelik, *Seidenweg*, p. 61.

woman "underneath" it, as well as orientalist preoccupation with the invisible and thus unknowable female "Muslim" body.[293] Sinem cannot reconcile Belgin's niqab with her apparent autonomy: 'sie lebte mit ihrem Mann in England. Dass sie allein reiste, irritierte mich. Das konnte ich mir […] gar nicht vorstellen' (5). Despite this deep suspicion of Belgin's independence, the protagonist simultaneously imagines her cousin as a religious fundamentalist: 'Ich konnte es mir richtig vorstellen, dass sie in Fanatiker-Kreisen verkehrte, die alle Ungläubigen bekehren wollten' (8). From the perspective of the protagonist, Belgin's burqa is interchangeable with Belgin herself: 'diese Belgin – oder ihr dunkler Schleier? – ist ja auch egal' (6). For Sinem, Belgin's burqa functions as a homogenising marker of oppression and radicalism. Belgin as an individual is buried under the barrage of signification that her burqa triggers in Sinem's imagination.

The text challenges its protagonist's perceptions by introducing a differentiated range of female "Muslim" characters that eventually cause a complete shift in Sinem's thinking. The text achieves this via the various veiling practices of Canan's female relatives, whom the protagonist meets during her search for Canan. Conventional hijab styles, for example, are related to older women: 'Eine dicke Frau mit einem Baumwollkopftuch, eines, wie es meine Oma immer zu Hause trägt' (29), invites Sinem to sit with her. The younger women's hijabs, however, exhibit other trends. One young woman 'hatte eine rosafarbene Tunika über der Jeans an und ein gleichfarbiges Kopftuch' (33), whilst another girl '[hatte] die Enden seines Kopftuchs mehrmals am Hinterkopf zusammen gewickelt. Mir fiel auf einmal auf, dass das gar nicht so schlecht aussah.

[293] Cf. Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 12.

Irgendwie modern' (35). Sinem's observations of such characters begin to undermine her perception of veiling practices as incompatible with her idea of attractiveness and trendiness. As with Belgin, Sinem conflates a particular style of hijab with a generalising judgement of a character whose 'Kopf nahm unter dem Seidenkopftuch durch einen Dutt ganz oben am Hinterkopf eine komische alienartige Form an. Frauen, die das Kopftuch so trugen wie die, mochte ich am wenigsten' (31). Sinem's dislike of this character exposes the reader once again to the protagonist's initial homogenisation of hijabi women. The representation of Canan's female relatives challenges a notion of the hijab that "covers" or "conceals" women's identity by presenting the scope for individual expression and creativity in wearing and styling the hijab. *Seidenhaar* thus portrays the hijab as one variable element of "Muslim" women's sartorial practices, rather than a guarantee of certain fixed meanings about the wearer's relationship to or position in "Islam".

The text's contestation of generalising and repetitive representations of female "Muslims" is also achieved via its emphasis on the characters' individual personalities. When Sinem attends the Quran class that Canan visited shortly before her disappearance, she homogenises the other attendees: 'Na ja. Mir war es völlig egal, zwischen welchen Kopftuchmädchen ich saß. […] sie kennenzulernen, hatte ich auch gar nicht vor' (48-9). In time, however, the individuality of her classmates forces the protagonist to reconsider her initial dismissal. Indeed, Sinem befriends classmate Hülya, who lends Sinem an exercise book to help her learn Arabic (58). The kind, intelligent character of the class teacher – Halime – plays a key role in undermining Sinem's narrow conception of the hijab as a signifier of patriarchal oppression and/or religious fundamentalism.

As Halime explains: '"Es ist äußeres Zeichen meiner Lebensphilosophie […] Ich kann mich so leichter Modediktaten widersetzen, mich bestimmten Frauenbildern entziehen. So wie manche bewusst nicht fernsehen oder Vegetarier sind"' (97). Halime's character not only actively embraces her hijab, but also demonstrates political agency in refusing certain (female) subject positions embedded in commodified capitalist discourses. In contrast to Halime and Hülya, the text presents two of Sinem's classmates as childish and sanctimonious, earning them nicknames from Sinem: 'Sprossnase und Piepsstimme flüsterten sich schnell etwas ins Ohr und schauten dann scheinheilig zu dem Mädchen' (54). It is an achievement of *Seidenhaar* that – just like any other group of literary characters – female "Muslims" are both likable and unlikable. Despite her offensive and generalising assertions at the beginning of the text, the protagonist's strong moral compass and self-reflection create empathy with and likeability for Sinem. Indeed, the epilogue, dated two years after Canan's disappearance, shows a changed Sinem on her way to visit her cousin Belgin in London (149).

As well as offering a relatively heterogeneous range of female "Muslim" characters (that nevertheless operate within the parameters of representation outlined at the start of part 3), *Seidenhaar* also makes visible the violent and reductive effect that an over-concentration on physical appearance has on both Muslim and non-Muslim female subjectivities. The text executes this critique through the character of Canan as well as the protagonist. The text portrays Canan's distress, frustration and sense of isolation following the classroom debate on the hijab ban via the short interventions that focalise this character's thoughts, emotions and actions. *Seidenhaar* shows that Canan's suffering is not solely due to her argument with Sinem, but rather depicts Canan's anguish as related to

intersecting socio-political forces that act on her as a hijabi girl. Firstly, Canan's dream of becoming a teacher is under threat by recent legislation banning the hijab for civil servants (117). Secondly, Canan's parents are pressuring her to remove her hijab to improve her professional prospects (69). Finally, at school, Canan feels ignored and mistreated by both her peers and teacher:

> In der Klasse redet keiner mit Canan, keiner fragt sie was. Dann, als es […] um das Kopftuchverbot für Lehrerinnen ging, da stand sie plötzlich im Mittelpunkt. Auf einmal sollte sie erzählen. Von sich, von ihrer Meinung dazu, ihrem Glauben und ihren Zukunftsplänen. Frau Müller hat sie einfach benutzt. Für ihren Unterricht (103).

Seidenhaar's portrayal of Canan's school experience stands in contrast to dominant representations of the "German" "secular" school space as emancipatory and liberating for "Muslim" girls, as seen in texts such as *Kopftuch*, *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Ich, die Andere*. The text forcefully demonstrates the violent, cumulative effect of such forces on Canan through this character's internal narrative: 'Und immer geht es ums Kopftuch, um die Tradition oder um die Schule, nie geht es um sie. Nie!' (25). Indeed, female "Muslim" figures circulating in cultural products and wider socio-political narratives – like those characterised by Canan and Belgin in *Seidenhaar* – often function merely as a symbol of or catalyst to debate surrounding gender relations in "Islam", whilst the interests and voices of Muslim women are quickly left behind. In this way, the text brings to the fore the overburdened signification of "Islamic" veiling practices and the obscuring and limiting effect this has on the lives of Muslim women.

Seidenhaar develops its critique of the interpellating forces that seek to classify, organise and discipline young female subjectivities based on physical

appearance through Sinem. This critique begins when Sinem leaves the mosque following Halime's Quran class with hijabi girls (Hülya, Sprossnase, Piepsstimme, et al). Sinem is spotted by a group of her school peers, one of whom – Tom – remarks: 'Seht mal, Sinem ist jetzt auch eine von denen. Tss, tss! Wie schnell man sich ändern kann! […] Wusste ich's doch. Die sind alle gleich!' (75). Sinem is now on the receiving end of the homogenising abuse that she directed towards Canan at the start of the narrative. The fact that Sinem is not wearing a hijab like the other girls suggests the ambivalence of this homogenising gesture: Tom bases his remarks on a perceived ethnic unity conflated with an affiliation to "Islam". The protagonist courageously confronts her classmate's racist assertions in public (75), but in private, is distraught at being "othered" and reduced to a homogenised group by her peers (76). In an attempt to reassert her individuality, Sinem throws off the loose-fitting, long items of clothing she wore to the mosque, which she believes marked her as "Muslim" to Tom: 'Mit jedem abgelegten Kleidungsstück fühlte ich mich leichter. Freier. Das fühlte sich so gut an. Nackt zu sein. Frei zu sein' (77). This feeling of liberation is fleeting: as she observes her naked form in the mirror, the protagonist feels contempt for a body that does not conform to misogynistic mainstream "beauty" standards: 'Meine Brüste! Ich mochte nicht, wie die aussahen. Wie ich wieder zugenommen hatte! Meine Hüften, mein Bauch, meine Beine! Ich zog und quetschte mein Fett' (77). Wrapping her naked self in bedsheets, the protagonist voices an interpretation of veiling practices that offers the wearer refuge from the objectification of the female body: 'Jetzt sah ich aus wie Belgin. Nur in weiß. Ich fühlte mich irgendwie geborgen und sicher' (78). When Sinem tries to hold on to this feeling of protection by wearing a hijab to school the next day, she experiences yet another

round of discrimination from her parents and Frau Müller, who cannot believe that she has acted of her own volition (80 and 83 respectively); and Tom is once again abusive, calling Sinem a 'Kopftuch-Tussi' (83).

Taking place over just eight pages, this chain of embodied experiences powerfully demonstrates the multiple ways in which the protagonist's adolescent female body is observed, judged and interpellated to subject positions that Sinem does not consent to and which damage her self-esteem. The protagonist can neither circumvent the racist interpellation that renders her "Muslim/Turkish/Other" to classmate Tom, nor the internalised patriarchal gaze she subjects herself to in the mirror. In both instances, racist and sexist discourses intersect to inscribe physical characteristics with negative meaning, which dominate Sinem's self-perception. Whether clothed, naked, with or without a hijab, the protagonist is interpellated to subject positions that disempower and undermine her sense of self. *Seidenhaar* challenges dominant representations of female "Muslim" characters as "victims of Islamic patriarchy" by presenting both Canan and Sinem's suffering as a result of systemic sexism and racism, rather than tracing it back to a generalising notion of "Islamic culture". Finally, the protagonist's experience as a hijabi girl fosters her empathy with Canan, with whom she reconciles at the close of the text.

Seidenhaar's critique of the violent effects of racist discourses on young people with "migrant backgrounds" in Germany is developed further in the sequel *Seidenweg: Sinems Entscheidung* (2012; 14-17 years), which follows an 18-year old Sinem preparing to take her Abitur and make important decisions about her future.[294] *Seidenweg* deals less with explicitly "Muslim" identities, taking up

[294] Çelik, *Seidenweg*. Subsequent page numbers refer to this text until otherwise stated.

broader themes of (non)belonging and xenophobia in contemporary Germany. The text demonstrates the alienating and exclusionary effect of collapsing certain discourses into one narrative. For example, Sinem feels compelled to consume television programmes dealing with 'irgendwas zum Thema Muslime, Türken oder Integration' (54) – and not because she enjoys them: 'Es war wie ein furchtbarer Zwang. Ich musste genau hinhören, genau darauf achten, was gesagt wurde, und es analysieren. Es war, als redeten Leute in meiner Abwesenheit über mich, und ich bekam es mit' (54). The protagonist recognises the racialised conflation of "Islam" with "Turkishness" or "foreignness" in the media as well as the invocation of socio-political "problems" – such as integration – in relation to such groups. Furthermore, Sinem feels simultaneously referred to and excluded from such discussions. Such is her disenfranchisement that Sinem considers relocating to Turkey: a country she only knows as a holiday destination. A brief encounter with Halime – Sinem's friend and former Quran teacher in *Seidenhaar* – presents an image of Turkey that contrasts dominant depictions in the genre of Turkish rural locations as the setting for backward and misogynistic practices. Halime explains one of the motivations behind her repatriation to Sinem: 'die Türkei [entwickelt] sich wirtschaftlich immer weiter. Und sie hat eine sehr junge und dynamische Bevölkerung im Gegensatz zum alternden Europa, das einfach zu kurzsichtig denkt' (98). Through Halime, the text criticises superficial celebration of diversity and highlights the damaging effects of racialised notions of "national belonging" based on whiteness: 'Es wird immer von Vielfalt und Bereicherung gesprochen, aber das sind nur Lippenbekenntnisse. Auf den Alltag und die täglich erlebte Ausgrenzung kommt es an. Die raubt einem die Kraft' (99).

Seidenweg responds to the dominant regime of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" girl in the genre by making the teen romance between Sinem and Italian German boy Bela a sub-plot, rather than the central focus of the narrative. The protagonist is shocked when her usually laid-back father forbids her from meeting with Bela, and their normally close father-daughter relationship suffers. The protagonist's internal narrative exclaims: 'Ich verstand die Welt nicht mehr. So hatte ich meinen Vater noch nie erlebt. Sollte er auf einmal zu einem türkischen Klischeevater mutiert sein?' (7). Sinem continues to see Bela despite her father's ban, but Bela's behaviour is manipulative and makes her increasingly uncomfortable. Towards the close of the text, the reader learns that Sinem's father only wanted to protect her from Bela, who he knows is a local drug dealer (112). The female "Muslim" protagonist's heterosexual relationship in *Seidenweg,* therefore, functions not as an escape route from an oppressive "Muslim" family, but as a vehicle with which the text explores Sinem's relationship with her father and as a subversion of the trope of the "oppressive Muslim patriarch". *Seidenhaar* and *Seidenweg* thus provide examples of the progressive potential of young adult literature in making visible and calling into question the dominant regimes of representation that surround the figure of the "Muslim" girl.

Seidenhaar in the classroom and the press

The above analysis of *Seidenhaar* and *Seidenweg* evaluates the ways in which both texts challenge recurring representations of female "Muslim" characters in young adult literature. In *Seidenhaar* particularly, heterogeneous representations of female "Muslim" characters undermine reductive and discriminatory notions of "Muslim" women and girls as unequivocally passive subjects of "Islamic" oppression and/or religious fundamentalists. Furthermore, the text uses its various

female "Muslim" characters to comment on the racist and sexist forces that materially and symbolically impoverish all women and girls.

An exemplary reading of *Seidenhaar* in its reception in the media and its didactic application in the classroom, however, reveals the multiple possible interpretations of female "Muslim" characters in the text. Indeed, the texts' publisher – Ueberreutter – has also published a set of *Pädagogische Anleitungen* (*PA*) to accompany the use of *Seidenhaar* in the classroom.[295] The *PA* begin by asking students to collect their thoughts and feelings about 'Kopftuch tragende Mädchen' (1), before employing images and short texts to encourage a comparison of "Islam" and "Christianity" (2-12). This indicates a sustained and worthwhile effort by the *PA* to explain and historicise certain issues raised in the text, debunking them as exclusively "Islamic" practices and disconnecting them from today's contentious vernacular. The *PA* argue, for instance, that gender-specific issues – such as gender segregation in religious buildings (9-10) or female veiling practices (7) – are also evidenced in the Bible and were once common "Christian" practices. Following this comparison, the *PA* ask the students to reflect on their stance towards hijab-wearing women. Linking a more differentiated knowledge of "Islam" and "Christianity" to attitudes towards "Muslim" women reinstates this figure as a symbol of "Islam", interchangeable with notions and perceptions of the religion as a whole. This contradicts the efforts of *Seidenhaar* to counter the homogenising and reductive effects that using the figure of the female "Muslim" as a generator of meaning about "Islam" has on hijabi women. In some instances, the *PA* counter *Seidenhaar*'s emphasis on structurally embedded instances of racism and sexism and return to a generalising

[295] *Pädagogische Anleitungen: Seidenhaar von Aygen-Sibel Çelik* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2007) <http://www.ueberreuter.de/files/unterrichtsmaterialien/9783800052882Unterricht.pdf> [accessed 22 September 2016]. Subsequent page numbers refer to this text until otherwise stated.

notion of “Turkish/Islamic culture” as oppressive. Indeed, the *PA* ask students, ‘Was ist daran so besonders, dass gerade auch der VATER von Sinem nicht möchte, dass seine Tochter/Frau ein Kopftuch trägt? Denke an das Herkunftsland der Familie!’ (13). The original emphasis of this question suggests that the reader should normally expect to encounter male “Turkish Muslim” figures as supporters of the hijab, perpetuating a notion of “Turkish Muslim” men as strict patriarchal regulators of their female relatives’ appearances.

In the press, a *FAZ* review ‘Wo ist Canan? Das Kopftuch, von zwei türkischen Mädchen betrachtet’ congratulates the text’s rejection of “Muslims” as a homogeneous group.[296] The review is critical, however, of the fact that, ‘die Protagonistinnen auch allesamt aufgeschlossene junge Frauen sind, die ihre Haare als äußeres Zeichen einer Lebensphilosophie und nicht aus politischen Gründen bedecken’.[297] This analysis ignores the political agency of teacher Halime’s decision to wear the hijab, which this character compares to other political lifestyle choices, such as vegetarianism or rejecting mainstream notions of femininity.[298] In this review, political decisions related to the hijab only qualify as such if they strive for a complete reconfiguration of society: ‘Dass es allerdings auch verschleierte Frauen gibt, für die das Kopftuch ein politisches Ausdrucksmittel auf dem Weg zum Erreichen einer religiös-konservativ geprägten Gesellschaftsordnung ist, lässt die Autorin leider nur am Rande gelten.’[299] Politicised subject positions available to “Muslim” women are thus restricted to a practice of “Islam” as inherently antagonistic to the current social order in Germany. In places, the *PA* and *FAZ* review overwrite the more progressive

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[296] Karen Krüger, ‘Wo ist Canan? Das Kopftuch, von zwei türkischen Mädchen betrachtet’, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23 June 2007, p. 34.
[297] Ibid., p.34.
[298] Çelik, *Seidenhaar*, p. 97.
[299] Krüger, ‘Wo ist Canan?’, p.34.

elements of *Seidenhaar*. Such an overwriting shows the pervasiveness of discourses that functionalise the figure of the "Muslim" woman as a symbol of "Islam", or code political subject positions inhabited by "Muslims" as always threatening and dangerous to the "west".

Part 4: "non-Muslim" and "Muslim" femininities and masculinities in dialogue

As shown in part 3, "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" femininities and masculinities are mutually constitutive. Female "Muslim" protagonists' relationships with "non-Muslim" or "German" boys – such as those in *Kopftuch*, *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Ich, die Andere* – function as catalysts in the protagonists' transformation from downtrodden, unhappy victims of "Islamic" patriarchy to assertive, emancipated young women estranged from the family structures that supported their oppression. The protagonists' male "German" boyfriends offer them an ostensibly self-determined way of living and often help "save" the "Muslim" girls from forced marriage. Such relationships often portray "non-Muslim" or "German" structures as relatively egalitarian, as well as recycling a white, (post)colonial imperative to save the "oppressed Muslim woman" from the "misogynist Muslim man".

An inverse constellation of the teen heterosexual relationship between a "German" girl and "Muslim" boy, however, produces very different assertions.[300] In *Halbmond und Sonne. Eine Liebe im Islam* (2007; 14-17 years), "German" Nicola begins to learn about "Islam" through "Muslim" boy Mohammed during a

[300] Children's books also take up the theme of "intercultural friendships". Cf. Cornelia Augustin, *Alex und Ayse* (Vienna: Esslinger, 1993); Katja Hölsbeck-Grunder, *Anna und Sadek* (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1995); Ursula Kirchberg, *Selim und Susanne* (Ravensburg: Ravensburger Buchverlag, 1983); Ulla Klomp, *Kümmel und Karotte* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2005); Ingrid Uebe, *Kalle und Kemunto* (Munich: Egmont Schneiderbuch, 1994).

trip to Jerusalem, but the relationship is threatened when she discovers that Mohammed's brother Sayed is involved with a Palestinian "terrorist" group.[301] In *Laura & Tayfun* (2007; 12-15 years), "German" Laura is ecstatic to be given the female lead in the school production of *West Side Story*. Soon after, she begins a relationship with her best friend's cousin, "Turkish Muslim" Tayfun, despite the warnings of her friends and family, who believe Tayfun to be jealous and violent.[302] When "Turkish Muslim" Bora is cast opposite "German" Xelia in the school production of *Romeo and Juliet* in *Mit heißem Herz* (2007; 14-17 years), existing social divisions at the school threaten to erupt into violence.[303] In *Laura & Tayfun* and *Mit heißem Herz*, the *Romeo and Juliet* constellation functions as a metaphor for the ostensibly inherently contentious relationship between the male "Muslim" and female "German" characters. Theatrical productions provide a focal point for the representation and negotiation of the desire, despair, sorrow and revenge surrounding the "star-crossed lovers" both on and off stage. In both texts, "German" and "Muslim" pupils, portrayed as opposing and antagonistic social groups, also take up the feud between the Montagues and the Capulets: Tayfun is the victim of a racist attack in *Laura & Tayfun* and the play in *Mit heißem Herz* 'soll zur Verständigung der verfeindeten Gruppen beitragen, bringt aber die Emotionen erst richtig zum Kochen'.[304]

All three texts link the male characters' "Muslim" affiliation to violence that threatens the female "German" protagonist. In *Halbmond und Sonne*, protagonist Nicola is endangered by her boyfriend's brother's (Sayed)

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[301] Franjo Terhart, *Halbmond und Sonne. Eine Liebe im Islam* (Leipzig: Edition Hamouda, 2007).
[302] Christine Biernath, *Laura & Tayfun* (Stuttgart: Gabriel, 2007).
[303] Michael Wildenhain, *Mit heißem Herz* (Munich: dtv, 2007); Cf. Titus Müller, *Der Kuss des Feindes: Historischer Roman* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Schatzinsel, 2012). 12-15 years; set in 800AD. Male protagonist Arabian prince Arif falls in love with Savina; a member of the underground Christian community that Arif's father is trying to defeat.
[304] Wildenhain, *Mit heißem Herz*, dust cover

involvement with a "terrorist" faction in Palestine. In *Laura & Tayfun*, "German" Laura is warned against a relationship with Tayfun in part due to his strict religious upbringing in a "Muslim" family. In *Mit heißem Herz*, racially motivated violence escalates throughout the text in 'einer Großstadtschule, in der es mehr muslimische als deutsche Schüler gibt'.[305] Indeed, *Mit heißem Herz* employs generalising notions of "Turkish", "Muslim" and "Arab" identities in distinction to "Germanness": 'Muslimische und deutsche Schüler sollen zusammen "Romeo und Julia" aufführen. […] Bernd, einziger Deutscher in einem türkisch-arabischen Freundeskreis, soll Regisseur sein.'[306] This generalisation demonstrates the racialisation of "Muslim" identities in the text and their conflation with diffuse ethnic backgrounds.

The gendered, racialised constellation of the "dangerous Muslim male" vs. the "imperilled German female" invokes anxieties surrounding certain exclusionary notions of "Germanness" imagined to be under threat by an inherently antagonistic, dangerous "Islam". In this way, the texts respond to wider contemporary discourses concerned with the consequences of "Muslim" integration into "German" society, as well as positioning themselves among transnational imaginaries of a radicalised, violent and predominantly masculine "Muslim" threat to the global "west".

Notions of "Muslim" masculinities as dangerous and violent also dominate translations into German. In *Heldenspiel* (2009; 13-15 years, translated from Indian English), a young boy named Aftab joins an underground militant "Muslim" group in Kashmir.[307] When a male "Muslim" student is arrested on suspicion of terrorist activity in *Ansichtssache* (2009; 13-16 years, translated from

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[305] Ibid., dust cover.
[306] Ibid., dust cover.
[307] Paro Anand, *Heldenspiel*, trans. by Günter Ohnemus (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2009).

Canadian English), his friendship with a Canadian classmate makes a stand against the racialised social division in their school.[308] In *Es gibt uns doch!* (2008; 12-13 years, translated from US English), a "Muslim" family from Bangladesh are thriving in New York, but living as illegal immigrants. Their situation becomes drastically more precarious in the aftermath of 9/11, and sisters Nadira and Aisha must clear their father's name as a "security risk" and fight to stay in the country they call home.[309] American "Muslim" Sami is son to two Iranian parents living in exile in the US in the text *Im Fadenkreuz der Angst* (2010; 14-17 years, translated from US English). When his father is arrested on suspicion of terrorist activity, Sami does not know whether to believe the accusations or try to disprove them.[310] Set in 2001, *Die Sterne über Peschawar* (2006; 12-13 years, translated from US English) tells the story of Afghani Nadschmah, who disguises herself as a boy and flees to Peshawar after the Taliban abduct the men and boys from her village and American bombs destroy what is left.[311] Within the corpus, texts negotiating veiling practices and teen sexuality most often employ female "Muslim" protagonists. Male "Muslim" characters, by contrast, are repeatedly associated with acts – or at least suspicion of – violence and "terror". These translations attest to the dominance of Anglophone perspectives in contemporary discourses of "terror", as well as the transnational marketability and profitability of narratives dealing with the "contentious" presence of "Islam" in the "west". The gendering of political militancy coded as "Islamist" perpetuates the

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[308] Deborah Ellis and Eric Walters, *Ansichtssache*, trans. by Brigitte Rapp (Vienna: Jungbrunnen, 2009).
[309] Marina Budhos, *Es gibt uns doch! Roman*, trans. by Eva Rickert (Munich: dtv, 2008).
[310] Allan Stratton, *Im Fadenkreuz der Angst: Roman*, trans. by Heike Brandt (Munich: dtv, 2010).
[311] Suzanne Fisher Staples, *Die Sterne über Peschawar: Roman*, trans. by Heike Brandt (Munich: dtv, 2006).

perpetrator/victim binary between "dangerous Muslim men" and "imperilled Muslim women."[312]

"Traditional Muslims" vs. "Patchwork Germans"

Throughout the corpus of young adult literature considered by this study, female "Muslim" characters have often functioned to produce celebratory and/or superior notions of "Germanness". Several texts, however, also juxtapose "traditional (Turkish) Muslim" families with non-nuclear social constellations of "German" characters. This juxtaposition serves to valorise heteronormative and patriarchal social structures and criticise family models that deviate from them. In *Laura and Tayfun*, Laura lives with her divorced father. In an exchange with her best friend, "Turkish" Gülay, who complains about living in a busy household with both of her parents and multiple siblings, Laura offers to trade places with Gülay: 'Dann darfst du dir [Gülay] jeden zweiten Abend überlegen, was du kochen sollst.'[313] In *Gegen meinen Willen*, female "Muslim" protagonist Malika's best friend – "German" Elena – envies Malika's home life and specifically, the duties performed by Malika's mother: '"Deine Mutter ist toll! Die kocht und backt wenigstens noch für ihre Familie. Bei uns kommt fast alles aus der Mikrowelle. Und wenn ich nach Hause komme, ist meistens keiner da."'[314] Both Laura and Elena's disgruntlement comes from an unsatisfied expectation of a certain degree of social provision – i.e. cooked meals and the presence of someone in the home: both of which have been historically provided by women's labour. Via the figure of the "(Turkish) Muslim" mother as an exemplary care provider, both *Laura &*

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[312] Cf. Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*; Sherene H. Razack, 'Imperilled Muslim Women, Dangerous Muslim Men and Civilised Europeans: Legal and Social Responses to Forced Marriages', *Feminist Legal Studies*, 12 (2004), 129-174.
[313] Biernath, *Laura & Tayfun*, p. 132.
[314] Hassenmüller, *Gegen meinen Willen*, p. 7.

Tayfun and *Gegen meinen Willen* imply the inadequacy of Laura and Elena's "German" parents. *Laura & Tayfun* presents living with a single parent as a burden for Laura, as she must take up the share of domestic labour from her absent mother. In Elena's case, a reliance on microwave meals implies that her mother's lack of culinary effort is nutritionally impoverishing the family. In *Zimtküsse*, "Turkish German" protagonist Sahra is so distressed by her parents' separation that she decides to leave Germany for the comfort of her grandmother's house in Istanbul.[315] Sahra's mother – "German" Eva – initiates the divorce by leaving her "Turkish" husband to live with her new girlfriend. In all three texts, female "German" characters that reject the role of the heterosexual housewife are targeted as detrimental for the physical and emotional wellbeing of their children. Such representations shore up sexist, heteronormative discourses that insist on motherhood as women's primary source of purpose, identification and worth.[316]

Male "German" characters that perform poorly as fathers are also criticised in the corpus, although to a lesser extent (and for more serious transgressions) than the "disappointing" "German" mothers. In *Ich, die Andere*, protagonist Kelebek's best friend "German" Ana lives with her mother and her mother's partner. Ana confides in the protagonist that she does not have a relationship with her biological father: '"Gesehen habe ich ihn glatt schon dreimal in meinem Leben. Das letzte Mal […] hat er mir über den Kopf gestreichelt und

[315] Selek, *Zimtküsse*, p. 14.
[316] The disciplining of the "deviant German mother" is also employed in the film *Türkisch für Anfänger* (dir. Bora Dağtekin, 2012), discussed in chapter 4. Doris Schneider's open negotiation of her sexuality is a source of great embarrassment to daughter, Lena. A single mother with broadly left-wing political beliefs, Doris disappoints her daughter's expectations of 'einer ganz normalen Familie, wie die auf die Margarinepackungen' when she burns Lena's birthday cake and gives her a political demonstration "starter kit" as a birthday present. Doris' confidence in her sexuality is then undermined at different points throughout the film, such as when a younger man who Doris believes is attracted to her turns out to be a sex worker.

gefunden, dass ich groß geworden sei."'[317] The text communicates Ana's sadness at her father's absence and rejection through the protagonist's observation that, 'Ana lachte, aber sie sah nicht fröhlich aus'.[318] When Ana's mother's partner has an affair, Ana's mother has one too as revenge. Kelebek reflects on the stricter codes of fidelity observed by her own mother: 'Undenkbar, dass meine Mutter meinen Vater betrügen, eine Affäre anfangen würde!'[319] A further minor character and school friend of Kelebek, Freya, is upset by her father's string of relationships. Freya, however, directs resentment towards her father's current partner, who she refers to as '"die neue Tussi"' in a similarly sexist appraisal of the "new woman" as espoused by Erik in *Wohin ich gehöre*.[320] "German" fathers in the corpus, it seems, are only required to be present, while the demands on "German" mothers are more complex.

These texts' critique of "deviant" "German" familial structures vis-à-vis more conservative, patriarchal "Muslim" constellations is also achieved via the behaviour of the young adult characters themselves. In *Wohin ich gehöre,* protagonist Gülten's mother, "Turkish Muslim" Rabia, explains why "Turkish" parents living in Germany favour arranged marriages for their daughters. Using the example of Tülay, Gülten's school friend, the character of Rabia contends: '"Sie haben einfach Angst, dass Tülay wie die deutschen Mädchen wird. Bauchnabelpiercing, eins in der Nase und noch eins in der Zunge oder sonst wo. Ein Freund nach dem andern [sic]. Jedes Wochenende in die Disco und irgendwann Drogen."'[321] Through this hyperbolic image of female teen sexuality coded as "German", Rabia presents arranged marriage as a regulating and

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[317] Frey, *Ich, die Andere*, p. 81.
[318] Ibid., p. 81.
[319] Ibid., p. 206.
[320] Frey, *Ich, die Andere*, p. 90; Kaiser, *Wohin ich gehöre*, p. 132.
[321] Kaiser, *Wohin ich gehöre*, p. 28.

stabilising practice on girls, who, if left to their own devices, would turn to sexual promiscuity and drug abuse. In *Ich die Andere,* Kelebek's "German" school friend tells the protagonist about the disappointing and non-consensual nature of her first experience of sexual intercourse with a boy named Jacy: '"Es war … Irgendwie ein bisschen nichtssagend", gestand Elena in diesem Moment und sah auf einmal nicht sehr glücklich aus. "Jacy … er hat mich ziemlich überrrumpelt damit. Plötzlich war es dann so weit…"'[322] While the sexualities of the female "Muslim" protagonists are tightly controlled and restricted by their families, characters such as Tülay and Elena function as cautionary examples of the adverse consequences of self-determined, unregulated teen sexualities, which are coded as "German". Such representations deny young women's sexual agency, as well as evoking substantiated fears of sexual violence and exploitation which Muslim and non-Muslim women are vulnerable to in patriarchal societies.

Thus, representations of inadequate maternal – and sometimes paternal – provision serve to burden and destabilise young female "German" characters. Images of familial instability and promiscuous lifestyles among "Germans" are opposed to "Muslim" social constellations, presented as upholders of "traditional" gender roles and protectors of young female sexuality. Such representations of "German" families go some way in undermining hegemonic notions of "Muslim" private spheres as inherently and exclusively problematic. This study contends that texts such as *Ich, die Andere*, *Wohin ich gehöre*, *Laura und Tayfun* and *Zimtküsse* thematise "problematic German" families in part in an attempt to imbue their narratives with more nuance: to show that "Muslim" and "German" social structures alike have their problems and to avoid accusations of untempered anti-

[322] Frey, *Ich, die Andere*, p. 141.

Muslim rhetoric. In doing so, however, such texts assert the supremacy of the heterosexual, nuclear family as the most auspicious environment for child rearing; a social structure that is deeply embedded in patriarchal structures that economically and psychologically impoverish women by allocating them the majority of underpaid and unpaid domestic and reproductive labour. Families not adhering to this formula are cast as dysfunctional and damaging for offspring. Under this framework, queer female characters – like Sahra's mother in *Zimtküsse* – as well as female characters who work outside the home are marked as "deviant".[323]

"Muslim" girls in young adult literature

A thriving consumer market in Germany, young adult literature plays a significant, yet under-researched role in shaping the regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the female "Muslim". With existing scholarship focussing on the representation of "foreigners" and "Turks" in young adult literature, this chapter offers a novel investigation of specifically female "Muslim" characters. Young adult texts dealing with "Islam" and "Muslims" do not coddle their intended audience, confronting young readers with contentious themes such as racism, sexism, violence and political extremism. In the post-1990 period, the young adult literature market is dominated by English language imports and (dystopic) fantasy – narratives that rarely include female "Muslim" characters. Indeed, texts with female protagonists whose "Muslim" identity is a central theme in the narrative make up just one sixth of the corpus. Overall, texts

[323] Cf. 'Den "Kopftuchmädchen" [werden] solchen traditonell weiblichen Tugenden wie Empfindungstiefe, Familiensinn und Fürsorglichkeit zugeschrieben. So repräsentieren die "Kopftuchmädchen" infolge der ihnen und ihren Familien zugeschriebenen kulturspezifischen Rückständigkeit Werte, die in der Zielkultur bereits der Modernisierung zum Opfer gefallen sind.' Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 703.

considered in this chapter indicate the contested and varying pedagogical function of young adult literature featuring female "Muslim" characters.

Part 2 evaluated the intersection of "foreign", "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities in the corpus as a way to address the apparent absence of female "Muslim" protagonists pre-2000. This research contends that "Muslim" characters do appear in this period, but that their "Muslim" identity is subordinate or implicit to an ethnicised – and most often "Turkish" – identity. Indeed, texts featuring female "Turkish" characters take up many of the same themes as their post-2000 counterparts, such as the threat of forced marriage, secret relationships and a sense of being "trapped between" "German" and "Turkish Muslim" cultures. In this way, female "Muslim" characters in young adult literature are shaped by the same notion of the "in between" propagated by many of the "Muslim" women's life narratives analysed in chapter 2, whereby "Muslim" women (and girls) living in Germany are portrayed as performers of an unavoidable balancing act between two mutually exclusive, monolithic cultural entities. A discursive shift in the categorisation of Germany's "migrant" communities as "foreigners" and "Turks" to "Muslims" is evidenced in the genre, not only by the concentration of explicitly "Muslim" protagonists after 1999, but also by the separation and opposition of "Muslim" and "Turkish" identities in texts like *Zimtküsse* and *Seidenhaar*. The corpus also suggests an overwriting of "Kurdish" ethnic identity in post-2000 texts, with female "Kurdish Muslim" characters only featuring in earlier texts (e.g. Dilan in *Prinzessin, wir machen die Fliege*, 1993, and Fidan and Zoran in *Fidan: Langer Weg in eine neue Zukunft*, 1993).[324]

[324] Cf. the story of "Kurdish" refugee Tara in Laird, *Trag mich über die Berge*.

Part 3 assessed six texts featuring female "Muslim" protagonists, highlighting the common parameters of their representation. In particular, the space, place and time that such characters (do not) inhabit, as well as their sexualisation and racialisation within "culturally" coded and always burdensome discourses, defined and defines the figure of the "Muslim" girl in German young adult literature. Close analyses of each text showed that the prototypical female "Muslim" protagonist is a "Turkish German Muslim" girl performing well at school and taking her first steps towards sexual relationships with "non-Muslim" boys. While the school offers her a space for self-expression, private spaces coded as "Islamic" – either in the family home in "German" urban locations, or in rural spaces in her family's country of origin – are strict, patriarchal and oppressive. The "Muslim" girl's estrangement from "Islamic" social and sartorial practices is indispensable to her "coming of age" narrative; a difficult, painful and dangerous process that is helped along by her "German" boyfriend.

Kopftuch, *Gegen meinen Willen* and *Ich, die Andere* all draw on the visual and narrative conventions of the "misery memoir" discussed in chapter 2 as a way to exploit both the popularity and claims to authenticity of life writing. Whilst all three texts repurpose the "miserable" narratives of imperilled "Muslim" women, *Ich, die Andere*'s use of Kelebek's alter egos imbues the protagonist with depth and interest, differentiating Kelebek from the one-dimensional "victims of Islamic patriarchy" of Sibel and Malika in *Kopftuch* and *Gegen meinen Willen*. Kelebek's personal spirituality and connection to Islam also differentiates her from Gülten in *Wohin ich gehöre*, which functionalises protagonist Gülten – and indeed other characters – as stereotypical representatives of polarised perspectives, or as catalysts to theological debates.

Seidenhaar and *Seidenweg* consistently challenge essentialising discourses that judge, discipline and oppress their female “Muslim” characters. *Seidenhaar* in particular offers the most differentiated range of female (“Muslim”) subject positions in the corpus. Crucially, the text condemns the violent and reductive effect that an over-concentration on physical appearance has on both Muslim and non-Muslim female subjectivities via the protagonist Sinem and her relationship with other hijabi “Muslim” characters. By unpacking the racist and sexist discourses that intersect to undermine the two main female characters’ self-esteem and self-perception (Turkish German protagonist Sinem and hijabi Muslim, Canan), *Seidenhaar* makes an important intervention in a corpus that persistently links female “Muslim” characters’ problems to generalising notions of “Islam”. An exemplary review of the text’s reception in the press and its functionalisation in didactic materials, however, revealed the ways in which hegemonic narratives regarding “Islam” overwrite some of *Seidenhaar*’s more progressive messages.

Part 4 demonstrated the mutually constitutive and co-dependent relationship between “Muslim” and “non-Muslim” femininities and masculinities. While representations of heterosexual relationships between female “Muslim” and male “German” characters function to highlight the “Muslim” family’s repressive control of the girl’s (sexual) autonomy, romances between female “German” and male “Muslim” characters perpetuate the notion of “Muslim” masculinities as (at least potentially) violent, oppressive and inextricably linked to “terrorism”. The trope of the male “Muslim” character as associated with (suspicions of) terrorism is reinscribed by translations from English available to German speaking readers. Either way, teen romances between “German” and “Muslim” characters shore up a perpetrator/victim binary between “Muslim” men and women and

overwhelmingly valorise characters, practices, beliefs and spaces coded as "German" over those associated with "Islam". A critical reading of the gendered subject positions available to "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" characters in the texts, however, has revealed that some texts valorise "traditional (Turkish) Muslim" families over "deviant" social constellations coded as "German". This result indicates a heteronormative, patriarchal agenda that targets both Muslim and non-Muslim social constellations and seeks to reject non-nuclear family structures and ostensibly inadequate mother figures.

In their extensive study of representations of alterity in post-1945 Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, Gina Weinkauff and Martina Seifert argue that the 'Darstellung von Minderheiten' in texts published since the 1990s has been characterised by the 'Auflösung von tradierten Bildern des Fremden und des Eigenen zugunsten komplexer Konfigurationen von Differenz'.[325] The results of this chapter call into question the extent to which representations of female "Muslim" characters share in such differentiated and emancipated notions of "otherness" and appeals for a diversification of the roles available to "Muslim" girls in such a dynamic and formative literary genre.

[325] Weinkauff and Seifert, *Ent-Fernungen*, p. 1010.

Chapter 4: Film

German film is part of an international entertainment industry dominated by big-budget Hollywood productions. In the post-1990 period, the national market share of German films peaked at 27.4% in 2009.[326] Domestic productions have topped annual box office charts in Germany just twice in this period: firstly, with Star Trek parody *(T)Raumschiff Surprise – Periode 1* (dir. Michael Herbig) in 2004 and secondly, with romantic comedy *KeinOhrHasen* (dir. Til Schweiger) in 2007.[327] Contemporary German films are financed through a complex mixture of private, public, domestic and foreign funds. At the federal level, funds are available through the German Federal Film Board and Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media.[328] Regional or state level initiatives, as well as public and private television channels also provide important sources of funding, along with private investors at home and abroad.[329] Currently, the German filmmaking industry has '17 formal international co-production treaties'[330] and draws on funds from the European Union initiative Measures to Encourage the Development of the European Audiovisual Industry (MEDIA) and the Council of Europe's Eurimages.[331] Given the market dominance of foreign films and the international structures of production and funding, what is

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[326] As Paul Cooke notes, even this peak figure comes in below the global average of domestic film market share (35%) and well below France (47%). Paul Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 23-24.
[327] Used with permission courtesy of Box Office Mojo. 'Germany Yearly Box Office 2007', *Box Office Mojo* <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/intl/germany/yearly/?yr=2007&p=.htm> [accessed 24 July 2014]; 'Germany Yearly Box Office 2004', *Box Office Mojo*, <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/intl/germany/yearly/?yr=2004&p=.htm> [accessed 24 July 2014]; *KeinOhrHasen,* dir. by Til Schweiger (Warner Bros., 2007); *(T)Raumschiff Surprise - Periode 1,* dir. by Michael Herbig (Constantin Film, 2004).
[328] *Filmförderungsanstalt* and *Der Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien* respectively.
[329] Sabine Hake, *German National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 180.
[330] Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema*, p. 37.
[331] For a detailed discussion of current funding available to German filmmakers, see Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema*, pp. 22-52.

"German" about "German" film? Furthermore, how do films featuring female "Muslim" characters compete within this industry? What positions are (not) on offer to such characters on screen? Part 1 of this chapter explores dominant trends in post-1990 German film and scholarship thereof in order to situate female "Muslim" characters within the genre.

Despite its ambivalent and often contentious parameters, "national cinema" is still a central concern for filmmakers, consumers and scholars in Germany.[332] German productions focussing on 20th century national history, for example, have received international recognition in recent years, exemplified by films such as Oscar winner *Das Leben der Anderen* on state surveillance in the GDR (dir. Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck, 2006) or Oscar nominee *Der Untergang* depicting Hitler's final days (dir. Oliver Hirschbiegel, 2004).[333] These films indicate the widespread dissemination of narratives of the German past (and the Nazi period in particular) and the significance of such a past for Germany's international persona.[334] By contrast, the cinematisation of a successful TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* (dir. Bora Dağtekin), attracted larger domestic audiences than *The Hunger Games* (dir. Gary Ross, German title *Die Tribute von Panem*) in 2012 – one of the top internationally grossing films of that year. *Türkisch für*

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[332] Cf. 'The concept of "national cinema" and the question of German national identity remains a major impulse behind many of the films produced, even as these same films challenge the spectator to rethink what such terms might mean in the age of globalisation.' Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema*, p. 162.

[333] *Das Leben der Anderen*, dir. by Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck (Buena Vista International, 2006); *Der Untergang*, dir. by Oliver Hirschbiegel (Constantin Film, 2004); 'Oscar für "Das Leben der Anderen"', *Filmportal.de*, 2007 <http://www.filmportal.de/nachrichten/oscar-fuer-das-leben-der-anderen> [accessed 29 July 2014]; 'Oscars 2005: Zwei deutsche Filme gehen ins Rennen um den begehrten Filmpreis. Deutscher Filmtechniker erhält Ehrenpreis.', *Filmportal.de*, 1 February 2005 <http://www.filmportal.de/nachrichten/oscars-2005-zwei-deutsche-filme-gehen-ins-rennen-um-den-begehrten-filmpreis-deutscher-fi> [accessed 29 July 2014].

[334] Cf. two further Oscar-winning, predominantly English-language productions dealing with Nazism in Germany: *The Reader*, dir. by Stephen Daldry (The Weinstein Company, 2009); *Inglourious Basterds*, dir. by Quentin Tarantino (The Weinstein Company, 2009).

Anfänger, however, has not circulated far beyond a German-speaking audience.[335] The global marketability of narratives of the recent German past vis-à-vis the national (but not international) success of a Turkish German "ethno-comedy" shows the varying and specific significance of "German" film production for different audiences. Thus, "German" film is an important site for (re)constructions of self-understanding and self-representation both in Germany and on a global stage.

This research references box office takings and industry awards, such as the Oscars, the German Film Awards (a.k.a the "Lola", awarded by the German Film Academy and the most well-known and highest remunerated prize at the national level) and the prizes awarded by the Berlin International Film Festival (a.k.a. bronze, silver and gold "bears").[336] Statistics regarding a film's profits and prizes are included – not to provide evidence of its inherent quality or value – but as one method with which to identify commercially dominant cinematic trends and the types of films selected for institutional acknowledgement.

In categorising films as "German", this chapter prioritises material conditions, language and location. Films analysed in detail all feature original German dialogue and are either (co)produced or (co)funded by German organisations, and/or set at least in part in Germany.[337] These priorities are

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[335] *Türkisch für Anfänger*, dir. by Bora Dağtekin (Constantin Film, 2012); 'Germany Yearly Box Office 2012', *Box Office Mojo* <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/intl/germany/yearly/?yr=2012&p=.htm> [accessed 24 July 2014]; '2012 Worldwide Grosses', *Box Office Mojo* <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/yearly/chart/?view2=worldwide&yr=2012&p=.htm> [accessed 8 February 2014].

[336] In 2016, the Berlinale was attended by industry professionals from 122 countries and had a budget of 23 million Euros. 'Die Berlinale in Zahlen', *www.berlinale.de* <https://www.berlinale.de/de/das_festival/festivalprofil/berlinale_in_zahlen/index.html> [accessed 29 July 2016].

[337] The 2009 film *Tangerine* is not analysed in detail in this chapter as the action takes place exclusively in Morocco. This film offers an excellent critique of the economic and white privilege of a group of young "German" tourists visiting the Moroccan coastal city of Tangier via the female "Muslim" character of Amira. *Tangerine,* dir. by Irene von Alberti (Neue Visionen, 2009).

informed by this thesis' interest in the symbolic and material function of representations of "Muslim" women in cultural products and academic narratives thereof. Indeed, Sabine Hake identifies the 'changing systems of production, distribution, and exhibition' as one of the important contexts that make films 'part of other aspects of public life and cultural consumption'.[338] It is important to acknowledge the partiality of any film corpus, as well as the inherent selectivity of a notion of "national cinema". For example, films shot in and/or about other German-speaking countries may be co-opted into the German film market in order to find sufficient audiences and funding, yet engage specifically with themes of "Austrian" or "Swiss" identities and belonging. Also excluded by the above definition of "German" film are films by Turkish German directors (or Polish German, or Italian German, etc.) funded, filmed and produced in Germany, but shot entirely in a language other than German. Foregrounding film scripts with at least some original German dialogue, therefore, is not intended to exclude foreign language films from laying claim to "Germanness", but is rather a result of the pragmatic and linguistic framework applied in this thesis. Such a definition allows for a plurality of languages, locations, funding sources and production companies, both in acknowledgement of the industry's economic structures and in favour of a paradigm of "national cinema" that includes various linguistic, ethnic, religious and political subject positions within the representational practices of both cultural products and academic research.

Films in this chapter are either cited as an example of a dominant cinematic trend or as part of my corpus of films dealing generally with "Islam" and minorities in Germany. The majority of films analysed in detail have been

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[338] Hake, *German National Cinema*, p. 3.

released in theatres and are available to purchase as DVDs. Some have been subsequently aired on television or produced solely for television broadcast. The inclusion of these different modes of film consumption is based on an awareness of how technical innovations in the post-1990 period have changed the way that audiences access and watch film. Of the corpus of films dealing generally with "Islam" or minorities, approximately one fifth feature female "Muslim" characters. Just two of these feature female "Muslim" characters with non-Turkish backgrounds. The names and national backgrounds of certain actors who appear in multiple films throughout the corpus are given in order to highlight the limited pool of actors inhabiting roles of "Turkish German" characters. In addition, the casting of actors with Italian, Tunisian, Iranian, Syrian and Indian backgrounds suggests the generalising and racialised regime of representation surrounding "Turkish German" characters. This chapter regards Turkish German film both as a constituent of German film and as a supranational genre defined by varying contexts of reception in Germany, Turkey and elsewhere.

Part 1: German film (studies) 1990-2015

A brief assessment of dominant trends both in commercially and critically successful German film and in German film studies demonstrates the marginalised position of films featuring female "Muslim" characters.[339] In his oft-cited article of 2000, Eric Rentschler refers to dominant cinematic production in the late 1980s and 1990s as a 'cinema of consensus', criticising films that prioritised commercial

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[339] For films featuring male "Muslim" characters as (suspected) terrorists in the midst of German society, cf. *Fremder Freund,* dir. Elmar Fischer (Stardust, 2003); *Schläfer*, dir. by Benjamin Heisenberg (Zorro, 2005).

viability and domestic popularity over ‘political or social ambitions’.[340] During this time, German filmmakers often drew on the inevitable “happy ending” of the romantic comedy.[341] Following Doris Dörrie’s *Männer*, which won in three categories at the German Film Awards in 1986, the genre’s commercial success continued into the 1990s.[342] *Stadtgespräch* (dir. Rainer Kaufmann), following Katja Riemann as Monika in her search for love in the city, was the highest earning German film in 1995. *Der bewegte Mann* (dir. Sönke Wortmann, 1996) starring Til Schweiger as commitment-phobic Axel opposite pregnant girlfriend Doro (also played by Katja Riemann), attracted the largest cinema audience of any domestic film in the decade.[343] For Rentschler and other critics, the commercialised and formulaic nature of the “cinema of consensus” constitutes a predictable and uncritical phase of German film production, and one that often recycled and revitalised heteronormative romance and conservative gender roles.[344]

German film of the 21st century, however, has received more complimentary appraisals among film critics and scholars. Jaimey Fisher and Brad Prager argue, for example: ‘Since the turn of the millennium German cinema

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[340] Eric Rentschler, ‘From New German Cinema to the Post-Wall Film of Consensus’, in *Cinema and Nation*, ed. by Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 260-277; Hake, *German National Cinema*, p. 180.

[341] Hake, *German National Cinema*, p. 180.

[342] *Männer...*, dir. by Doris Dörrie (Film Verlag der Autoren, 1985); For this and subsequent references to the Lola Awards, see ‘German Film Awards von 1951 bis heute’, *Deutsche Filmakademie* <http://www.deutsche-filmakademie.de/fpsuche.html> [accessed 2 August 2014].

[343] *Stadtgespräch,* dir. by Rainer Kaufmann (Buena Vista International, 1995); *Der bewegte Mann,* dir. by Sönke Wortmann (Constantin Film, 1996); ‘Jahres-und All-Time-Charts’, *Inside Kino* <http://www.insidekino.com/DBO.htm#JAHRES_&_ALL-TIME_CHARTS_> [accessed 24 July 2014].

[344] David Clarke, ‘Introduction: German Cinema since Unification’, in *German Cinema since Unification*, ed. by David Clarke (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 1-9 (p. 1); cf. ‘A new generation of directors, authors and producers took refuge in a simple and well-established form of genre cinema that sought to entertain rather than provoke audiences. [C]ritics noted quickly that many of these performances tended to reinforce somewhat conservative blueprints of gender roles, confirming rather than questioning heterosexual romantic ideals and clearly demarcated gender differences.’ Matthias Uecker, *Performing the Modern German. Performance and Identity in Contemporary German Cinema.* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 52.

has been hailed as having "returned" – it has *again* captured the world's attention and is *again* vital, dynamic and engaged.'[345] In addition, Matthias Uecker contends that 'a wide range of new genres, directors and issues […] appears to have displaced the output of the preceding ten or fifteen years as an embarrassing interlude'.[346] Indeed, critically and commercially successful post-2000 productions – such as the aforementioned *Das Leben der Anderen* and *Der Untergang* – have (re)established German film both on a national and international stage. In 2002, *Nirgendwo in Afrika* (dir. Caroline Link) – a film based on a novel of the same name by Stefanie Zweig about her Jewish family's exile to Kenya in 1938 – won the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film.[347] *Goodbye Lenin!* (dir. Wolfgang Becker) about a family coming to terms with unification in East Germany, was nominated for best foreign language film at the Golden Globes in 2004 and won nine gold Lolas in 2003.[348] *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (dir. Uli Edel), based on the lives and militant activism of the Red Army Faction in West Germany in the 1970s was nominated for an Oscar and four Lolas in 2009.[349] Such films further attest to the currency of 20th century German history on (inter)national film markets.[350] German comedies have also found commercial

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[345] Jaimey Fisher and Brad Prager, *The Collapse of the Conventional: German Film and Its Politics at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), p. 1. Original emphasis

[346] Uecker, *Performing the Modern German*, p. 52.

[347] *Nirgendwo in Afrika*, dir. by Caroline Link (Constantin Film, 2001); Jan Distelmeyer, 'Film: Deutsches Kino der neuen Mitte', *Die Zeit*, 22 March 2003, <http://www.zeit.de/2003/14/Link-Oscar> [accessed 30 July 2014].

[348] *Goodbye Lenin!*, dir. by Wolfgang Becker (X Verleih AG, 2003); 'Good Bye Lenin! Awards', *International Movie Database*, 2004 <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0301357/awards?ref_=tt_awd> [accessed 1 August 2016].

[349] *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex*, dir. by Uli Edel (Constantin Film, 2008); 'The Baader Meinhof Complex. Awards', *International Movie Database*, 2008 <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0765432/awards?ref_=tt_awd> [accessed 1 August 2016].

[350] Historical films and filmic representations of historical events and periods also attract sustained academic attention in German film studies. Cf. Mary-Elizabeth O'Brien, *Post-Wall German Cinema and National History: Utopianism and Dissent* (Rochester: Camden House, 2012); *Generic Histories of German Cinema. Genre and Its Deviations*, ed. by Jaimey Fisher (Suffolk: Camden House, 2013).

success throughout the period of study: *Sonnenallee* (dir. Leander Haußmann, 1999), depicting a group of teenagers in East Berlin in the 1970s, *Der Schuh des Manitu* (dir. Michael Herbig, 2000), a “wild west” parody and *Fack Ju Göhte* (dir. Bora Dağtekin, 2013), starring Elyas M’Barek as a petty criminal impersonating a teacher, were all top ranking comedies on the domestic market in their respective year of release and *Sonnenallee* won three Lolas.[351]

The implicit yardstick against which both the “cinema of consensus” and 21st century German films are being compared in statements regarding the “return” or “resurgence” of German film is the New German Cinema (NGC). Indeed, the NGC and its success, relationship to, resonance within and/or comparison with contemporary film is a recurring preoccupation in current scholarly debates surrounding post-1990 German film.[352] Produced in West Germany and associated with filmmakers such as Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Werner Herzog, Volker Schlöndorff, Helma Sanders-Brahms, Helke Sander, Margarethe von Trotta and Wim Wenders among others, the films of the NGC attracted widespread critical and commercial attention from the early 1960s to the early 1980s.[353] Some scholars, however, warn against the often unfavourable results of comparing the New German Cinema with post-1990 film and argue for an analysis of more recent films in their own right, as well as an appreciation of

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[351] *Sonnenallee*, dir. by Leander Haußmann (Delphi, 1999); *Der Schuh des Manitu*, dir. by Michael Herbig (Constantin Film, 2001); *Fack Ju Göhte*, dir. by Bora Dağtekin (Constantin Film, 2013); ‘Jahres-und All-Time-Charts’.

[352] Cf. Jaimey Fisher and Brad Prager, *The Collapse of the Conventional*, which outlines the ‘linkages and […]connections with German cinema’s past […] to illuminate what aspects of this legacy continue and what precisely about this newer German cinema can be regarded as truly new’ (p. 7). Similarly, the following edited volume assesses the effects of the same “legacy” on post-1990 film production and reception in Austria and Germany, Gabriele Mueller and James Martin Skidmore, *Cinema and Social Change in Germany and Austria* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012).

[353] For an overview of the New German Cinema, including the role of the women’s movement in promoting women film makers, see Julia Knight, ‘Introduction’, in *New German Cinema: The Images of a Generation* (London: Wallflower Press, 2004), pp. 1-23.

the shifting economic, political and social conditions of their production over the period of study.[354] As Mary-Elizabeth O'Brien argues:

> In the last twenty years the film industry has undergone significant changes: structurally with the privatization of the GDR's state-run film production company DEFA (Deutsche Filmaktiengesellschaft), financially with the growth of government subsidy boards and increased TV sponsorship of cinema productions and, of course, technically with digital filmmaking, the development of DVDs, and the shift towards web-based viewing formats.[355]

This chapter thus emphasises an understanding of films as cultural products that shape, and are shaped by, fluctuating political, social and economic discourses at specific historical moments. Overall, female "Muslim" characters do not often feature in mainstream cinematic trends in Germany; nor are they a well-researched figure within German film studies. The majority of the films in my corpus featuring female "Muslim" characters are also marked as "Turkish". Turkish German film is thus an important and nationally specific sub-genre of film for representations of "Muslim" women. This figure's position in Turkish German film and Turkish German film studies is the subject of part 2.

Part 2: Turkish German film (studies)

Turkish German film has challenged and challenges the practices of mainstream German film by creating spaces for "migrants" and "foreigners" both behind and in front of the camera. Turkish German film has also played a crucial role in the aforementioned critical success of 21st century German film, often exemplified by

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[354] Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema*, p. 16; Clarke, 'Introduction: German Cinema since Unification'.

[355] O'Brien, *Post-Wall German Cinema and National History*, p. 14; Cf. Randall Halle, 'German Film, Aufgehoben: Ensembles of Transnational Cinema', *New German Critique*, 87 (2002), 7-46.

director Fatih Akın, whose films have been awarded prizes at the Berlin International Film Festival, the Cannes Film Festival, and the Ankara and Chicago International Film Festivals, among others.[356] Akın's tragic love story *Gegen die Wand* (2004) attracted five Lolas and the top prize at the Berlin International Film Festival.[357] The action of the film alternates between Hamburg and Istanbul, following the dysfunctional relationship between Turkish German lovers Sibel (played by Sibel Kekilli) and Cahit (played by Birol Ünel). Following this, Akın's *Auf der anderen Seite* (2007), which explores the effect of death on the interrelated lives of six characters, won four Lolas and was chosen as Germany's Oscar nomination for Best Foreign Language Film.[358] Engagement with Akın's films also features frequently in academic narratives, either as the "representative" for Turkish German film in edited volumes (e.g. *Contemporary German Cinema* and *New Directions in German Cinema*) or in texts exclusively dealing with Turkish German film production, such as *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium*, which allots six out of fifteen chapters to Akın.[359] Nevertheless, Turkish German film remains largely marginalised within mainstream academic narratives. Indeed, in the detailed reference work *Geschichte des deutschen Films* – edited by Anton Kaes and Hans Helmut Prinzler – the annual chronicle mentions neither Turkish, nor Muslim figures or films in the period covering

[356] Yeşilada, 'Turkish-German Screen Power', p. 76; 'Fatih Akin Awards', *International Movie Database* <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0015359/awards> [accessed 1 August 2016].
[357] *Gegen die Wand,* dir. by Fatih Akın (Timebandits, 2004); Barbara Mennel, 'February 2004: Golden Bear for Gegen die Wand Affirms Fatih Akın as Germany's Preeminent Transnational Director', in *A New History of German Cinema*, ed. by Jennifer M Kapczynski and Michael D Richardson (Rochester: Camden House, 2012), pp. 583-588.
[358] *Auf der anderen Seite,* dir. by Fatih Akın (Pandora, 2007); Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema*, p. 142.
[359] Paul Cooke, 'Transnational Cinema, Globalisation and Multicultural Germany', in *Contemporary German Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 123-63; Daniela Berghahn, '"Seeing Everything with Different Eyes": the Diasporic Optic of Fatih Akin's Head-On (2004)', in *New directions in German cinema*, ed. by Paul Cooke and Chris Homewood, Tauris World Cinema Series (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), pp. 238-256; *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium: Sites, Sounds, and Screens*, ed. by Sabine Hake and Barbara Mennel, (Oxford: Berghahn, 2012).

1990-2004.[360] This part of the chapter thus discusses the marginalisation of female "Muslim" characters both *to* and *within* Turkish German film (studies).

Two of the earliest representations of post-war "migrants" in German film feature in Fassbinder's *Katzelmacher* (1969) and *Angst essen Seele auf* (1974), which depict male migrant labourers of "Turkish" and "Moroccan" backgrounds respectively.[361] Representations of "migrant" women began to appear in German film in the 1970s and 1980s, often characterised by their "problematic" social and economic integration into German society.[362] An early example is Sanders-Brahms' *Shirins Hochzeit* (1975), which ends in tragedy for the eponymous protagonist when she arrives in Cologne to search for her fiancé Mahmud.[363] Sacked from her job in a factory, 20-year old Shirin is forced into prostitution and is murdered by her pimp when she attempts to make a new start with Mahmud. *Yasemin* (dir. Hark Bohm, 1988) – which Deniz Göktürk labels the 'greatest popular success' among films featuring migrants in the decade[364] – also features a young, "Turkish German" female protagonist with a happier fate: Yasemin emancipates herself from the patriarchal restrictions of her "Turkish" father and quite literally rides off into the sunset on a motorbike with "German" love interest, Jan.[365]

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[360] Hans Helmut Prinzler, 'Chronik des deutschen Films: 1895-2004', in *Geschichte des deutschen Films*, ed. by Wolfgang Jacobsen, Anton Kaes, and Hans Helmut Prinzler, updated and expanded 2nd edition (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004).
[361] *Katzelmacher*, dir. by Rainer Werner Fassbinder (Filmverlag der Autoren, 1969); *Angst essen Seele auf,* dir. by Rainer Werner Fassbinder (Filmverlag der Autoren, 1974).
[362] Deniz Göktürk has retrospectively termed the motif of the "migrant experience" as a "cinema of duty". For a full discussion of this term, its features, origins and connotations, cf. Deniz Göktürk, 'Beyond Paternalism: Turkish German Traffic in Cinema', in *The German Cinema Book*, ed. by Erica Carter, Deniz Göktürk, and Tim Bergfelder (London: British Film Institute, 2002), pp. 248-256.
[363] *Shirins Hochzeit*, dir. by Helma Sanders-Brahms (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kino, 1975).
[364] Göktürk, 'Beyond Paternalism', p. 251.
[365] *Yasemin*, dir. by Hark Bohm, (Impuls-Film Hans-Joachim Flebbe Co., 1988).

Towards the end of the 1980s, Turkish German directors also began to contribute to the representation of minority women from behind the camera to commercial and critical success. Tevfik Başer's films *40 QM Deutschland* (1986) and *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* (1989), for example, both won top prizes at the German Film Awards in their respective years of release.[366] The first film depicts "Turkish" Turna, played by Özay Fecht, who is imprisoned in a small apartment in Hamburg by her husband Dursun, ostensibly to protect her from the "evils" of German society. As Turna's mental and physical health deteriorates, freedom and an unsure future come unexpectedly with Dursun's death (figure 13). "Turkish" protagonist Elif also escapes her abusive husband in *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* by murdering him, and subsequently finds contentment, friendship and love whilst interned at a German prison. *Yasemin*, *40 QM Deutschland* and *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* all employ gender relations to oppose oppressive social constellations marked as "Turkish" with the ostensibly liberating and egalitarian practices of the outside "German" world: even a German prison is an improvement for Elif.[367] As Göktürk contends: 'Until well into the 1980s, then, minority films in Germany often followed Sanders[-Brahms]' model in telling stories of Turkish women repressed by patriarchal fathers, brothers or husbands, of their exclusion from public spaces, or of confinement in closed spaces.'[368]

From the late 1990s, some academic narratives of Turkish German film propose a move away from problem-oriented plots to films defined by their

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[366] *40 QM Deutschland*, dir. by Tevfik Başer (Filmverlag der Autoren, 1986); *Abschied vom falschen Paradies* , dir. by Tevfik Başer (Impuls-Film Hans-Joachim Flebbe Co., 1989).
[367] Göktürk, 'Beyond Paternalism', p. 251.
[368] Ibid., p. 250.

'playfulness and performativity […] empowerment and self-assertion'.[369] Hake and Barbara Mennel, for example, put forward that Turkish German films in the 1990s 'offer self-confident responses to lived experiences often in conflict with the parent generation and open to other minoritarian personalities, be they other immigrant or refugee groups or gays and transgender people'.[370] In addition, Uecker finds that '[t]raditional concepts of fixed national identities in clearly delineated spaces are giving way to transculturalism, hybridity and performance' in more recent productions.[371] Many productions by Turkish German directors and/or featuring "Turkish German" characters support such claims. Thomas Arslan's *Geschwister* (1997), for example, follows siblings Erol, Ahmed and Leyla as they negotiate between the expectations of their parents and Berlin youth culture.[372] *Lola + Bilidikid* (dir. Kutluğ Ataman, 1999) portrays a range of intersecting sexualities and gendered identities, from "macho" homosexual, to transvestite and transgender characters, starring Gandi Mukli and Erdal Yildiz as lovers Lola and Bili.[373] *Lola + Bilidikid's* depiction of Berlin's gay scene and its characters' efforts to negotiate their sexual identities with wider social norms received international acclaim, winning awards at the Ankara and Istanbul International Film Festivals and Best Feature Film at the Torino International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival.[374]

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[369] Sabine Hake and Barbara Mennel, 'Introduction', in *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium: Sites, Sounds, and Screens*, ed. by Sabine Hake and Barbara Mennel (Oxford: Berghahn, 2012), pp. 1-18, (p. 5); Cf. Deniz Göktürk, *Turkish Delight-German Fright: Migrant Identities in Transnational Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[370] Hake and Mennel, eds., *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium*, p. 7.
[371] Uecker, *Performing the Modern German*, p. 169.
[372] *Geschwister*, dir. by Thomas Arslan (Trans Film, 1997).
[373] *Lola + Bilidikid*, dir. by Kutluğ Ataman (Delphi, 1999).
[374] 'Lola and Billy the Kid: Awards', *International Movie Database* <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0137079/awards?ref_=tt_awd> [accessed 9 October 2014].

Indeed, young "migrant" male characters 'on the social margins' have come to dominate Turkish German film in the post-unification period.[375] Gangster and drug-related films such as *Kurz und schmerzlos* (dir. Akın, 1998), *Kanak Attack!* (dir. Lars Becker, 2000, based on Feridun Zaimoglu's novel *Abschaum – die wahre Geschichte von Ertan Ongun*) and *Dealer* (dir. Thomas Arslan, 1999) all feature "Turkish German" male protagonists, a trend which is continued in post-2000 productions such as *Knallhart* (dir. Detlev Buck, 2006), *Wut* (dir. Züli Aladag, 2007) and *Chiko* (dir. Özgür Yildirim, 2008).[376] In addition, oppressive familial situations are presented from the perspective of second generation "migrant" men, such as in *Düğün – Die Heirat* (dir. Ismet Elçi, 1993) and *Aprilkinder* (dir. Yüksel Yavuz, 2000), which respectively depict Metin and Cem entering into unwanted arranged marriages.[377] *Winterblume* (dir. Kadir Sözen, 1997) and *Ich Chef, du Turnschuh* (dir. Hussi Kutlucan, 1998) both depict "migrant" men struggling to work and live in Germany due to their status as illegal immigrants.[378]

Yeşilada asserts that post-2000 productions have contributed to a 'fundamental transformation' of Turkish German film, which now negotiates a range of themes and genres beyond the "contentious" migrant experience.[379] Turkish German "ethno-comedy", in particular, negotiates many of the same themes dealt with more seriously in earlier films – such as integration,

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[375] Göktürk, 'Beyond Paternalism', p. 254.
[376] *Kurz und schmerzlos*, dir. by Fatih Akın (PolyGram Filmed Entertainment, 1998); *Kanak Attack*, dir. by Lars Becker (Concorde, 2000); Feridun Zaimoglu, *Abschaum. Die wahre Geschichte von Ertan Ongun.* (Hamburg: Rotbuch Verlag, 2003); *Dealer*, dir. by Thomas Arslan (Trans Film, 1999); *Wut* , dir. by Züli Aladag (WVG, 2007); *Chiko*, dir. by Özgür Yildirim (Falcom Media, 2008).
[377] *Düğün – Die Heirat*, dir. by Ismet Elçi (Sputnik Film, 1993); *Aprilkinder*, dir. by Yüksel Yavuz (Ventura Film, 2000).
[378] *Winterblume*, dir. by Kadir Sözen (Ventura Film, 1997); *Ich Chef, du Turnschuh*, dir. by Hussi Kutlucan (Fresco Film, 1998).
[379] Yeşilada, 'Turkish-German Screen Power', p. 73.

intergenerational conflict and "intercultural" romance – via more light-hearted, playful narratives. In *Kebab Connection* (dir. Anno Saul, 2005), "Turkish German" Ibo (played by Denis Moschitto, a German actor with Turkish and Italian heritage) dreams of making the first German Kung Fu film, but is thrown off course by his "German" girlfriend Titzi's unexpected pregnancy. Ibo's two best friends – a Greek German and Albanian German who run a vegetarian restaurant – must help him convince Titzi that he is father material.[380] *Almanya – Wilkommen in Deutschland* (dir. Nesrin and Yasemin Samdereli, 2011, also featuring Denis Moschitto from *Kebab Connection* as Ali and Vedat Erincin as much-loved family patriarch, Hüseyin), takes on the history of post-war labour migration and its effect on the lives of three generations of one "Turkish German" family. *Almanya* won two Lolas in its year of release.[381] The film gently mocks notions of "Germanness" via flashbacks to the family's first impressions of Germany in the 1970s: "Turkish" mother Fatma cannot believe that "Germans" let their pet dogs sleep in bed with them and youngest son, Muhammed, is obsessed with drinking Coca Cola and terrified of the gruesome figure of the crucified Jesus that hangs in the family's rented apartment. Any assumptions of (auto)biographical influence in the genre also come under question with films such as Akın's *Solino* (2002), which depicts the migration of the Amato family from Sicily to Duisburg.[382]

Although female characters from minority communities associated with "Islam" feature in films from the 1980s, the innovations in Turkish German film since the late 1990s are decidedly male-dominated. Female "Muslim" characters

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[380] *Kebab Connection*, dir. by Anno Saul (Timebandits, 2005); For more on the genre of ethno-comedy, see chapter two of this thesis and Yeşilada, 'Turkish-German Screen Power'.
[381] *Almanya – Willkommen in Deutschland* , dir. by Nesrin and Yasemin Samdereli, (Concorde, 2011).
[382] *Solino*, dir. by Fatih Akın (X Verleih AG, 2002).

are not inhabiting "playful" or "empowered" (Hake and Mennel) subject positions on screen, nor are their identities characterised by "hybridity" (Uecker).[383] Even in academic studies dedicated to Turkish German film, female "Muslim" characters are not significant subjects of analysis. In her introduction to *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema*, for example, Daniela Berghahn highlights the appropriation of the figure of the "Muslim" woman as a symbol of the apparent incompatibility between "Muslim" and "German" culture.[384] Similarly, in their introduction to *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium,* Hake and Mennel argue:

> Today politicians and the popular media increasingly look to Turkey – and by extension, Islam – to explain the problems of, and with, migrants in Germany, with the Turkish woman cast as the embodiment of deeper threats to western notions of gender, modernity and democracy.[385]

Despite the acknowledged centrality of the figure of the "(Turkish) Muslim" woman in knowledge claims about "Islam", "integration" and "gender equality" in Germany, neither Berghahn's, nor Hake and Mennel's studies investigate the regimes of representation surrounding this figure.[386] This thesis therefore clarifies the position of the figure of the "Muslim" woman in (Turkish) German film: what subject positions *are* available to such characters on screen? What functions do

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[383] For more on the concept of "hybridity" in contemporary (German) film, cf. Göktürk, *Turkish Delight*; Sarita Malik, 'Beyond "the Cinema of Duty"? The Pleasures of Hybridity: Black British Film of the 1980s and 1990s', in *Dissolving Views: Key Writings on British Cinema*, ed. by Andrew Higson (London: Cassell, 1996), pp. 202-215.
[384] Cf. 'The media, not just in Germany but also in Britain and France, regularly give sensationalist accounts of the oppression and victimisation of daughters or wives. Forced marriages and honour killings are cited as shocking evidence of an unbridgeable culture clash between "immigrant", "British Asian", "Turkish German" or simply "Muslim families and dominant culture.' Daniela Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film: The Diasporic Family in Contemporary European Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 2.
[385] Hake and Mennel, 'Introduction', p. 4.
[386] The chapter in *Far-Flung Families* that foregrounds gender concentrates on "Muslim" men and masculinities. Daniela Berghahn, 'Gender, Generation and the Production of Locality in the Diasporic Family', in *Far-flung families in film*, pp. 120-152.

such characters perform in constituting "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" identities? Part 3 of this chapter poses these questions to twelve films featuring female "(Turkish) Muslim" characters.

Identifying "Muslim" characters in film

Whilst Turkish German film is a common site for female "Muslim" characters, filmic representations of "Muslims" and "Turks" are not equivalent, nor are films by Turkish German directors the only productions negotiating "Muslim" identities. Of the films analysed in detail in part 3, three have German directors and one an Afghani German director. The following section outlines a framework for identifying "Muslim" characters that resists a conflation with particular ethnic identities.

In his discussion 'Zur Erkennbarkeit des Islam im Film', filmmaker and scholar Matthias Müller proposes that "Islam" is identifiable in one or more of three ways: first, through the presence of religious symbols, such as a Quran, minaret or hijab in the mise en scène, second, through the depiction of religious rituals and third, through 'zwischenmenschliche Kommunikation über Gott oder die religiösen Traditionen'.[387] Building on this proposition, I identify characters as "Muslim", firstly, through the prescribed or claimed definition of a character as "Muslim" via the diegesis or dialogue and/or secondly, through their performance of rituals and practices coded as "Islamic". In opposition to Müller's definition, symbols connoted as "Islamic" in the mise en scène – whilst useful for identifying "Islam" as a theme or frame in a film overall – are not enough to determine an individual character's religious identity. Such symbols, however, may be

[387] Matthias Müller, 'Zur Erkennbarkeit des Islam im Film', in *Filmbilder des Islam*, ed. by Stefan Orth, Michael Staiger, and Joachim Valentin, Film und Theologie 25 (Marburg: Schüren, 2014), pp. 26-40 (p. 27).

indicative of a character's "Muslim" identity when they form part of an embodied or performed subjectivity coded as "Muslim" e.g. when a character puts on or removes clothing, or uses an artefact connoted as "Islamic". In this way, a figure tying a hijab or unrolling a prayer mat may be said to take part in a performance of "Muslim" identity. Indeed, unless a character explicitly claims "I am a Muslim", the designation of certain spaces, rituals and practices – such as clothing, buildings, mealtimes, expressions – as "Islamic" may be carried out by a variety or combination of interpellating forces internal and/or external to the film narrative.[388] Evidence of a film's reception as related to "Islam" or featuring "Muslim" characters is discernible in paratextual narratives, such as advertising, packaging and marketing, press and industry reviews, as well as awards and prizes, all of which are considered in this chapter. The above framework thus allows for explicit and claimed "Muslim" identities in film, as well as markers that invite the interpellation of a character as "Muslim" within or external to the film text. How are characters identified as "Muslim" in the films analysed in part 3? Is this identity implicit, explicit, claimed or prescribed? How does characters' "Muslimness" intersect with other categories of identification, and how does this relationship fluctuate over the period of study?

Part 3: female "Muslim" characters

Part 3 assesses twelve films in total: nine of these feature female characters that are coded as "Muslim" as defined above and three provide examples of the representation of female "Turkish" characters in the 1990s. In *Happy Birthday, Türke!* (dir. Doris Dörrie, 1992), recently widowed "Turkish" Ilter employs private detective Kemal Kayankaya to investigate her husband's mysterious

[388] Cf. Müller, 'Zur Erkennbarkeit des Islam im Film', p. 28.

death.[389] In *Berlin in Berlin* (dir. Sinan Çetin, 1994), "Turkish" protagonist Dilber's husband is also unexpectedly killed in an accident that brings "German" Thomas into her life.[390] *Yara* (dir. Yilmaz Arslan, 1998) tells the story of "Turkish German" protagonist Hülya who is sent – against her will – away from her home in Hamburg to stay with her uncle in Turkey after her failed suicide attempt.[391] This section also analyses the aforementioned *Lola + Bilidikid* (1999), but from the perspective of female "Muslim" character, Lola's mother Fatma. In *Anam*, (dir. Buket Alakuş, 2002), the eponymous "Muslim" protagonist holds down a job, learns how to drive, looks after her young daughter and saves her son from drug addiction, all without the help of her incompetent and adulterous husband.[392] *Süperseks* (dir. Torsten Wacker, 2004) – about "Turkish German" protagonist Elviz' "Muslim friendly" sex hotline – does not feature an authentic female "Muslim" character. Rather, Elviz' love interest, "Turkish German" Anna, dresses up as a "Muslim" woman as part of a practical joke.[393] *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit* (dir. Stefan Holtz, 2006) and *Evet, ich will!* (dir. Sinan Akkuş, 2009) both combine the well-established genre of the romantic comedy with the "ethno-comedy": "Turkish Muslim" girl meets "German" boy, who will go to any lengths to win over the girl's conservative "Muslim" family.[394] *Die Fremde* (dir. Feo Aladag, 2010) and *Ayla* (dir. Su Turhan, 2010) both deal with (attempted) "honour killings" of "wayward" daughters in "Turkish Muslim" families living in Germany.[395] *Shahada* (dir. Burhan Qurbani, 2011) follows multiple "Muslim"

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[389] *Happy Birthday, Türke!*, dir. by Doris Dörrie (Senator Film, 1992).
[390] *Berlin in Berlin*, dir. by Sinan Çetin (Plato Film, 1994).
[391] *Yara*, dir. by Yilmaz Arslan (Pegasos Film, 1998).
[392] *Anam*, dir.by Buket Alakuş (Nighthawks Pictures, 2002).
[393] *Süperseks*, dir.by Torsten Wacker (Warner Bros., 2004).
[394] *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit,* dir. by Stefan Holtz (ProSieben, 2006); *Evet, ich will!,* dir. by Sinan Akkuş (Maxximum, 2009).
[395] *Die Fremde*, dir. by Feo Aladag (Twentieth Century Fox, 2010); *Ayla*, dir. by Su Turhan (Zorro, 2010).

characters living in Berlin trying to reconcile their faith with their personal struggles.[396] Finally, *Türkisch für Anfänger* (dir. Bora Dağtekin, 2012) provides the cinematic backstory to the TV series of the same name: single parents Doris Schneider and Metin Öztürk are brought together when their teenage children are stranded on a desert island.

Considering the above films together demonstrates the 21st century concentration of films featuring characters whose "Muslimness" is a dominant marker in their identity and central theme of the narrative: four of the films analysed were released in the 1990s and eight in the new millennium. Female characters in the films from the 1990s, furthermore, are more likely to be represented primarily via a notion of ethnic or national difference, i.e. as "Turkish". Such observations further attest to the discursive shift from "Turks" to "Muslims" in the categorisation of one of Germany's largest "migrant" communities proposed throughout this thesis. The next section clarifies the terms of this discursive shift via an analysis of the representational practices surrounding the figure of the "Turkish (Muslim)" woman in film of the 1990s.

"Hybridity" is not for everyone: female "Turkish (Muslim)" characters in films of the 1990s

My research contends that Göktürk's summary of the filmic depiction of female "Turkish" characters in the 1980s can be extended to representations of "Turkish (Muslim)" women in films of the 1990s, in which female characters continue to suffer from patriarchal oppression, are confined to small spaces and excluded from public spheres. Female "Turkish (Muslim)" characters in the corpus, furthermore, inhabit peripheral and relational roles vis-à-vis male characters; they

[396] *Shahada*, dir. by Burhan Qurbani (3Rosen, 2011).

act as catalysts to – but not agents within – central narratives and their bodies function as sites of (sexual) oppression and objectification. These characters' (im)mobility in public and private locations construct oppositional and essentialising notions of spaces coded as "German" and "Turkish" or "Muslim". Characters in films from the 1990s are heterosexual and – with the exception of teenager Hülya in *Yara* – perform domestic and reproductive labour in the home, but are not employed outside of the home. Ilter in *Happy Birthday, Türke!*, Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin* and Fatma in *Lola + Bilidikid* depend financially on their working class sons and husbands.[397]

"Turkish" widow Ilter (played by Özay Fecht from *40 QM Deutschland*) in *Happy Birthday, Türke!* (dir. Doris Dörrie, 1992) is a peripheral character who acts as a catalyst for the film's plot. Ilter employs private detective Kemal Kayankaya to solve the mystery of her husband's sudden disappearance, but is not involved in much of the action until she sleeps with Kemal and helps him reconnect with his "Turkish" heritage. Ilter wears a cascading, loosely tied shawl as a hijab, but neither her religious identity nor "Islam" in general are thematised in the film. Far more important is the contentious relationship that male protagonist Kemal has with his "Turkishness". During their first meeting, Kemal tells Ilter that both of his parents died when he was small, leaving him in the care of "German" foster parents: 'Das einzig Türkische an mir ist mein Name, und mein Gesicht.' Female "Turkish" character Ilter is thus confined to her role as a wife, widow and mother, as well as a brief romantic interest and vehicle towards self-realisation for the male protagonist.

[397] In *Happy Birthday, Türke!,* Ilter's husband worked in a factory before his death. In *Berlin in Berlin*, Dilber's husband worked in construction before his death. In *Lola + Bilidikid*, Fatma's late husband was a taxi driver, a role taken over by her eldest son and family breadwinner, Osman.

In *Berlin in Berlin* (dir. Sinan Çetin, 1994), the female "Turkish" protagonist Dilber (played by popular Turkish actor and singer Hülya Avşar) is a victim of patriarchal oppression and sexual objectification perpetrated by both "Turkish" and "German" male characters. Shot in Berlin and produced in Turkey, *Berlin in Berlin* enjoyed commercial success in Turkey, which Göktürk attributes to Hülya Avşar's masturbation scene.[398] Whilst Dilber visits her husband at work, "German" character Thomas photographs her in public without her consent. Since Thomas and Dilber's husband work on the same construction site, the husband discovers the photographs and turns his anger and accusations to his wife. Observing the scene from afar, Thomas intervenes on Dilber's behalf and accidentally kills her husband in the process. In an unconvincing coincidence, Thomas claims sanctuary in the home of Dilber and her extended family, where the reigning matriarch decrees that he will come to no harm at the hands of Dilber's vengeful brother-in-law, Mürtüz, whilst under their roof. At the close of the film, Dilber and Thomas achieve liberation by leaving the family apartment at the same time, implying a possible future romance (figure 14).

Dilber features exclusively in relational roles as a wife, mother and daughter-in-law. In all of these roles, the female protagonist "disappoints" the strict patriarchal expectations of her "Turkish (Muslim)" family: her husband blames her for the photographs that Thomas took, even if it was without her knowledge, as do Dilber's extended family when they discover them. The female protagonist is thus punished for committing a sexualised "transgression", when in fact she is the victim of sexual harassment. Indeed, Dilber's body is sexually objectified throughout the film; depicted as an erotic object for the voyeurism of

[398] Göktürk, *Turkish Delight*, p. 11.

male characters and the audience. Just as Thomas photographs Dilber without her consent, her brother-in-law Mürtüz illicitly watches her masturbate in her room through the keyhole. Both scenes first establish a patriarchal hierarchy of looking relations: the male characters occupy protected positions of power while Dilber is the exposed, unconsenting object to be looked at. The frame then adopts the male characters' gaze: the audience sees through the camera lens/keyhole as Thomas and Mürtüz do, participating in the violation of Dilber.

The female protagonist does not explicitly self-identify as "Muslim". The mise en scène of the apartment, however, codes the family as "Muslim" through the audible call to prayer, a wall tapestry of Mecca and a mosque-shaped clock. That Dilber is repeatedly located within this "Islamic" private sphere and observes the hijab offers an ambivalent "Muslim" subject position to this character: Dilber could be a "Muslim" woman. In the film's media reception in Germany, the female protagonist is predominantly coded via her ethnic and sexual identities: Dilber is referred to as 'die türkische Frau' (*Neue Zeit*); 'die hübsche Türkin' (*Potsdamer Tageszeitung*); 'eine kopftuchtragende Türkin' (*Der Tagesspiegel*) and 'die stumme Witwe' (*Neues Deutschland*).[399] These reviews prioritise Dilber's "Turkishness" and sexual availability through references to her physical "attractiveness", her clothing and marital status. The press reception of the female protagonist perpetuates this character's sexualisation within the film's narrative and demonstrates the dominance of "Turkishness" in representations of characters associated with "Islam" in film of the 1990s.

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[399] Hans-Jörg Rother, 'Tatort Kreuzberg', *Neue Zeit*, 13 May 1994; Ayhan Bakirdögen, 'Alle stammen aus der gleichen Natur...', *Potsdamer Tageszeitung*, 5 June 1994; Ayhan Bakirdögen, 'Tragen die Türkinnen etwa kein Kopftuch', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 22 May 1994; Ralf Schenk, 'Kreuzberg, wo sonst', *Neues Deutschland*, 13 May 1994.

Some scholars have highlighted *Berlin in Berlin*'s subversion of social power relations: in claiming asylum in Dilber's family's flat, a member of the typically dominant "host" society must capitulate to the norms and expectations of a family from a minority group.[400] The film's title, however, reinscribes the notion of a "parallel society": a hermetically sealed "Berlin" (the "Turkish" apartment) within the other "Berlin" outside. The film is also less innovative from the perspective of the female "Turkish (Muslim)" protagonist. While "German" Thomas experiences entrapment, this is a temporary, physical internment and a result of the fact that he has committed manslaughter. "Turkish (Muslim)" Dilber is confined both physically and psychologically by the patriarchal codes of the family (enshrined in the apartment), as well as the ties of kinship that keep her there. The death of Dilber's husband both jeopardises her position within the family and offers her a chance to leave the site of her oppression. When the female protagonist emancipates herself from the family (apartment), Thomas follows her out onto the street and Dilber allows him to carry her suitcase. Whilst Dilber repeatedly rejects "Turkish" Mürtüz' sexual advances, "German" Thomas still seems to have a chance, despite the fact that he sexually harassed Dilber and (accidentally) murdered her husband. That Thomas faces few repercussions for his actions – and may even have a romantic future with Dilber – reveals the racialised hierarchy that operates throughout the film. Indeed, the film associates spaces and intimate relationships coded as "German" – the streets outside the apartment and Thomas – with a sense of possibility and freedom, while those connoted as "Turkish (Muslim)" – the apartment and Mürtüz – are depicted as

[400] Rob Burns, 'Turkish-German Cinema: From Cultural Resistance to Transnational Cinema?', in *German Cinema since Unification*, ed. by David Clarke (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 127-150 (p. 137); Deniz Göktürk, 'Turkish Women on German Streets: Closure and Exposure in Transnational Cinema', in Spaces in European Cinema, ed. by Myrto Konstantarakos (Exeter: Intellect, 2000), pp. 64-76 (p. 71).

stifling and sexist. Dilber's character does present a small deviation from the narrative of the "oppressed Muslim woman saved by the non-Muslim man" (as seen in both "Muslim" women's life writing and young adult literature) when she insists to Mürtüz that she is leaving due to her vulnerable position in the family, and not in order to start a relationship with Thomas. Primarily, however, the character of Dilber functions as a site of contested sexual ownership between two male characters and as an embodied trajectory from oppression and unfreedom to emancipation. Both of these functions assert the superiority of social and spatial structures coded as "German".

In *Yara* (dir. Yilmaz Arslan, 1998, in English, *The Wound*), "Turkish German" protagonist Hülya attempts a similar trajectory towards liberation to Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin* and Turna in *40 QM Deutschland* when she tries to escape her uncle's home in Turkey and return home to Hamburg. On the way, the protagonist almost dies from exhaustion, is rejected by her biological mother (played by Özay Fecht of *40 QM Deutschland* and *Happy Birthday, Türke!*) and is eventually admitted to a psychiatric ward. Although Hülya spends some time on the open road, either exposed to the harsh Anatolian weather conditions or travelling, the narrative foregrounds her entrapment: first in the cramped structure of her uncle's house and then in the psychiatric ward. Hülya is not a "Muslim" character. The film's media reception portrays the protagonist's misery as a result of her precarious position between two monolithic and irreconcilable "worlds". *Der Tagesspiegel* describes Hülya's life 'zwischen türkischer Tradition und westeuropäischer Toleranz' and *Die Welt* laments the fact that 'eine Rückkehr in die Kultur der Eltern […] kann es für diese Kinder zweier Welten nicht geben'.[401]

[401] Christina Tilmann, 'Flieh, Vogel, flieh', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 29 July 1999; 'Film Premieren: Yara (Regie Yilmaz Arslan)', *Die Welt*, 24 June 1999.

Both reviews repurpose the trope of the "between" discussed in chapter 2 and *Der Tagesspiegel* perpetuates the opposition of a tradition-bound, backward "East" vis-à-vis a progressive and liberal "West". Within this framework, the fact that Hülya seems to suffer from a genuine mental illness is largely ignored.

In *Lola + Bilidikid* (dir. Kutluğ Ataman, 1999), the female "Muslim" character Fatma (Lola's mother) occupies a peripheral, reactive role, defined in relation to her position within a heteronormative, patriarchal "Turkish" family. Whilst this character does not self-identify as "Muslim", she does take part in an embodied practice coded as "Muslim" when she discards her hijab at the close of the film. Until the final minutes of the film, Fatma obediently follows the orders of her husband and eldest son, Osman, and is depicted exclusively sitting or waiting in the family flat and wearing a hijab. When Osman and his late father ostracised her daughter Lola for expressing her transgender identity, Fatma recalls – not without irony – how her position in the family forced her to accept her husband's command to forget Lola and produce a "replacement" (i.e. cisgender) son: 'Ich durfte nichts sagen. Ich bin ja nur eine dumme Frau.' When Fatma finally discovers that Osman repeatedly raped and later murdered Lola, she immediately leaves the apartment, removing her hijab at the same time (figure 15). By simultaneously removing her hijab as she strides wordlessly yet purposefully away from the site of Osman's rule and his sexual assaults on Lola, this character links her self-emancipation from the transphobic and patriarchal practices of her male "Turkish" relatives with emancipation from "Islam".[402] Physically removing herself from the apartment and the hijab implies that both were enforcers of her oppression. Fatma's transition from limited mobility in an

[402] For a discussion of the film's ending, cf. Christopher Clark, 'Transculturation, *Transe* Sexuality, and Turkish Germany: Kutluğ Ataman's *Lola und Bilidikid*', *German Life and Letters*, 59.4 (2006), 555-72.

enclosed “Turkish (Muslim)” space contrasts her quick strides out to the public “German” streets. In this film, as well as in *Berlin in Berlin* and *40 QM Deutschland*, the audience does not know where the “Turkish (Muslim)” woman intends to go or what her future holds; only that she is moving away from the physical and psychological structures of “Turkish (Muslim)” family life, presented by all three films as claustrophobic and patriarchal. By contrast, the public street, coded as a “secular” space, offers opportunity and self-determination, conveyed by the widening of the frame and the movement of the female character propelling herself forward, no longer bound by the ties that held her (figures 13-15).

Figure 13 Turna tentatively leaving the apartment shortly after Dursun’s death in *40 QM Deutschland*, 1986

Figure 14 Dilber leaving the family apartment with Thomas in *Berlin in Berlin*, 1993

Figure 15 Fatma discarding her hijab and leaving the family apartment, followed by her youngest son, Murat, in *Lola + Bilidikid*, 1999

Overall, films from the 1990s featuring female "Turkish (Muslim)" characters recycle many of the representational practices surrounding this figure from the 1970s and 1980s. Physically and psychologically trapped by patriarchal social constellations, these characters' "liberations" go hand in hand with movement away from spaces and relationships coded as "Turkish (Muslim)", portraying "non-Muslim" spaces and relationships as more conducive to self-determination and autonomy. The characters of Ilter, Dilber, Hülya and Fatma are defined primarily by their "Turkishness" both by the films in which they feature and in their reception in the press. Although Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin* and Fatma

in *Lola + Bilidikid* also inhabit subject positions coded as "Muslim", such positions are ambivalent and subordinate to their "Turkishness".[403]

The hijabi "Muslim" woman in post-2000 productions

In the post-2000 period, the "Muslimness" of female members of minority groups associated with "Islam" is more likely to dominate such characters' identities. Such characters' hijabs (if they wear them) are also more likely to be functionalised to symbolise their adherence to or rejection of oppressive and patriarchal gender roles coded as "Islamic". Released in 2002, *Anam* (dir. Buket Alakuş) depicts its eponymous protagonist (played by Nursel Köse) struggling to save her son Deniz from the clutches of a local drug dealer. On top of this, Anam faces her husband Mehmet's infidelity (played by Tayfun Bademsoy) and his indifference towards Deniz' drug addiction. Anam gets into trouble at work for taking time off to attend to her turbulent personal life and nurses Deniz' girlfriend Mandy through withdrawal symptoms. Although the female protagonist does not explicitly identify as "Muslim", she repeatedly participates in performances coded as "Islamic".Throughout the film, Anam's wearing or removal of her hijab functions as a sartorial expression of her acceptance or rejection of patriarchal expectations, embodied chiefly by the character of her husband, Mehmet. Indeed, Anam seems to discard her hijab for good, only to start wearing it again, three times in the film. In addition, Anam's own understanding of the meaning of her hijab resonates with wider assumptions regarding women's position in "Islam".

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[403] Cf. 'Die islamische Religion war mit Sicherheit kein hervorstehendes Leitmotiv der neuen deutsch-türkischen Filme der neunziger Jahre.' Wolfgang Hamdorf, 'Eine heilige Sache? An- und Abwesenheit des Islam im "deutsch-türkischen" Kino', in *Filmbilder des Islam*, ed. by Stefan Orth, Michael Staiger, and Joachim Valentin, Film und Theologie 25 (Marburg: Schüren, 2014), pp. 112-117 (p. 113).

As Anam explains to her son's girlfriend, Mandy: 'Eine ehrbare Frau verhüllt sich, damit sie keine fremden Männer reizt und wenn du kein Kopftuch trägst, demütigst du deinen Mann.' For the female protagonist, her hijab symbolises a sexual modesty that reflects the social status – or honour – of her husband. Anam not only espouses this belief verbally at the start of the film, she also performs it: when two youths steal her hijab on the street, Anam is immediately distressed, attempts to get it back and is relieved to be able to cover her hair once again with a woollen hat loaned to her by a friendly policeman.

Like the female "Turkish (Muslim)" characters in *Happy Birthday, Türke!*, *Berlin in Berlin* and *Lola + Bilidikid*, Anam repeatedly features in domestic and relational roles as mother, wife and sister-in-law. Anam's character is most often shown fulfilling the accompanying everyday duties of these roles, such as shopping for groceries, cooking and cleaning. In some aspects, the film challenges hitherto dominant representations of female "Turkish Muslim" characters: Anam is the first female character discussed in this chapter to have employment outside of the home, although her job as a cleaner perpetuates the genre's representation of "Turkish" families as low-paid workers. The female protagonist is also a nuanced character who powers the film's central plot with minimal assistance from male characters.

Indeed, Anam is a multi-faceted protagonist, who is conscientious, selfless and at times solemn: 'Das Leben ist keine Party', she tells best friends and co-workers Rita and Didi. But this character is also vulnerable, courageous, compassionate and principled: Anam refuses to fake an illness to get time off to search for her missing son Deniz and look after his girlfriend Mandy, despite the fact that taking "holiday" leave to do this will likely get her fired. Anam takes

Mandy in and cares for her, even though she barely knows her and Mandy is often rude and ungrateful. The female protagonist is deeply hurt when her husband Mehmet disowns their wayward son, Deniz. In contrast to the "trapped" or "confined" female "Turkish (Muslim)" characters of earlier films, Anam is depicted as a participant in a diverse community, primarily through her friendship with co-workers Rita and Didi. The character of Rita is a white "German" woman, who relishes displaying and discussing her sexuality and takes part in a Latin-style dance-off with one of the other cleaners. The portrayal of Didi, who is a large black woman, draws on various racist stereotypes, as she is loud, vivacious and a source of light relief in the film, breaking out into gospel song and performing a ritual with sticks and stones in order to "read" Anam's future. The film's reliance on such sexist and racist clichés is lamentable, since the three female characters Anam, Rita and Didi provide a source of joy and support for one another, primarily converging along their shared class and gender identities as low-paid domestic workers and heterosexual women.

The film also subverts the typical narrative of the white male "saviour" of the "imperilled Muslim woman" via the protagonist's relationship with "German" police officer Bernd Hoffmann. The character of Bernd does come to the female protagonist's aid in small ways: he lends Anam the woollen hat to cover her hair mentioned above, and saves her from possible injury when Anam runs across a road to get to her son Deniz. Bernd also facilitates Anam's gradual self-realisation and increased mobility when he teaches her how to drive. Officer Bernd Hoffmann functions as a representative of the "German" state, arriving on the scene to help Anam just when she needs him. This character also provides a contrast to the adulterous and incompetent character of Anam's husband, Mehmet.

In this way, the film reinvigorates the opposition of “German” masculinities – portrayed as flexible, liberal and compassionate – and “Turkish” masculinities – portrayed as aggressive, restrictive and sexist – discussed throughout this thesis. Importantly, however, the potential romance between the female protagonist and Officer Bernd Hoffmann is a sub-plot and not the driving force in Anam’s eventual emancipation: Anam is soon driving herself and others around without Bernd’s instruction, just as she ultimately rescues her son Deniz from violent drug dealer, Hasan, without any help. In the final scenes of the film, Anam shoots Hasan (played by Birol Ünel from *Gegen die Wand*) when he will not release Deniz.

However, both the film as a whole, as well as the female protagonist herself, conceptualise Anam’s behaviour and worth in relation to her role as a mother. When Deniz’ girlfriend Mandy is rude to Anam, the female protagonist scolds: ‘Du hast keinen Respekt vor einer Mutter!’ When they find Deniz in a drug house, Anam tells her friend Rita: ‘Ich habe ihn neun Monate lang in mir getragen, ich bin die Einzige, die ihm helfen kann.’ As such, the conviction Anam shows in challenging Mandy’s rudeness and the courage and dedication she exhibits in her quest to save her son are not represented as Anam’s personal strengths, but rather as attributes of an essentialising notion of the selfless mother. The fact that Anam translates to “my mum” from Turkish and is not in fact a genuine Turkish given name compounds the film’s mediation of this character’s identity and value via motherhood.

The functionalisation of the female protagonist’s hijab as a symbol of oppression has an equally reductive effect on the character of Anam. From earlier scenes in the film, the audience knows that the female protagonist links her hijab

to her status as a married, 'ehrbare Frau' and that Anam is very distressed to be seen in public with her hair visible. Thus, when the female protagonist later voluntarily removes her hijab in public, we know that this character has undergone a significant change. Anam removes her hijab for the first time directly after quitting her job as a cleaner as her supervisor will not allow Anam to take time off to look for Deniz. The female protagonist strides out of the cleaning company into the car park and pulls off her headscarf, establishing a correlation between her liberation from exploitative and precarious working conditions and "liberation" from the hijab. Minutes later, Anam's husband Mehmet arrives in the car park and attempts reconciliation with his wife following her discovery of his infidelity. This attempt includes the gift of a new hijab, which Mehmet ties around his wife's head. For a moment, the female protagonist seems softened by Mehmet's apology: she accepts the gift of the hijab and considers forgiving her husband. When the subject of their still-missing son, Deniz, comes up, however, Mehmet reveals that he has disowned Deniz. Outraged, Anam once again pulls off her hijab and storms away from Mehmet. The second removal of the female protagonist's hijab thus coincides with her rejection of her duplicitous husband and of the patriarchal codes of sexual modesty that she previously observed for his "honour".

Shortly after the argument with her husband, the female protagonist reties her hijab once again, allowing the film narrative to utilise this symbolic act one last time. Indeed, during the drive back home after a carefree day on the beach with friends Rita and Didi, Deniz' girlfriend Mandy and her young daughter Leyla, Anam leans out of the moving car's sun roof, flings her arms out to the sides in the bracing wind, which whips her hijab away, and shouts triumphantly:

'Heute war der letzte Kopftuch-Tag!' Given her unemployment, the disintegration of her marriage and the continued absence of Deniz at this point in the film, Anam seems to let all of her cares blow away with the hijab. All three instances of the protagonist's hijab removal imply that it is incompatible with freedom, self-determination and happiness: discarding the hijab goes hand in hand with rejecting sexist and classist structures of oppression.

The film's media reception exhibits a heightened awareness of Anam's "Muslim" identity and a suspicion of the film's functionalisation of her hijab. Birgit Galle for the *Berliner Zeitung* contends: 'die Kopftuch-Fixierung [geht] einem besonders auf die Nerven, wenn das Ablegen des Kopftuchs zum Symbol der Befreiung der muslimischen Frau erklärt wird.'[404] Similarly, Philipp Bühler for *taz* bemoans the use of the hijab as shorthand for complex political debates: 'Wenn nur dieses Kopftuch nicht wäre. Dieses unvermeidliche Symbol muslimischer Sittsamkeit, das man offenbar braucht, um über den Dauerbrenner Ausländer und Integration zu sprechen.'[405] In many ways, Anam is similar to the character of Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin*: though neither talk explicitly of their adherence to "Islam", both wear a hijab, both are oppressed by "Turkish Muslim" men and both feature primarily in domestic spaces as wives, mothers and sisters-in-law. In a decisive shift from the reception of Dilber as a "Turkish" woman in *Berlin in Berlin* (released nine years earlier), the media response to *Anam* more readily perceives the female protagonist as "Muslim" and challenges the functionalisation of the hijab as a symbol of "Muslim" women's oppression and/or of contested, racialised discourses of (non)belonging.[406]

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[404] Birgit Galle, 'Ohne mein Kopftuch', *Berliner Zeitung*, 25 April 2002.
[405] Philipp Bühler, 'Die Thesenträgerin aus Hamburg-Altona', *taz*, 25 April 2002.
[406] Cf. 'Turkish identity post 9/11 is defined, first and foremost, in terms of religion. The shift in conceptualisations of Turkish identity, from exploited guest workers to oppressed Turkish women,

Such a functionalisation of the hijab recurs in post-2000 productions in the corpus. Hijabi "Muslim" characters are depicted in ways that reinscribe notions of "Islamic" gender roles as heteronormative and patriarchal. Often presented as contemptible, ignorant and backward, hijabi figures routinely embody the "worst" type of female "Muslim" character in the corpus. In *Anam* (dir. Buket Alakuş, 2002), the female protagonist's sister-in-law and hijabi "Muslim" Sevgi pressures Anam to stay with her husband Mehmet for the reputation of the family, despite Mehmet's multiple failings as an unfaithful husband and absent father. The character of Sevgi appears heavily pregnant, is trailed by several screaming, destructive young children and does not hide her dislike of Anam's best friends Rita and Didi, whom she labels a "bad influence". In *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit,* (dir. Stefan Holtz, 2006) female protagonist Aylin also has a hijabi "Muslim" sister-in-law named Fatma. Fatma, like Sevgi in *Anam*, is also heavily pregnant, stern and more concerned with the reputation of the family than Aylin's happiness: she almost persuades Aylin to marry her cousin and respectable businessman "Turkish" Tarkan for financial security instead of "German" Götz for love. In *Evet, ich will!* (dir. Sinan Akkuş, 2009), "Turkish" Kadir (played by Vedat Erincin from *Almanya, Wilkommen in Deutschland*) initially opposes his daughter Günay's marriage to Coşkun, as Coşkun's "Kurdish" family's piety conflicts with his "liberal" views. Kadir eventually gives the pair his blessing, on the condition 'dass meine Tochter nie gezwungen wird, ein Kopftuch zu tragen'. The hijab is thus construed as a symbol of illiberal religiosity that Kadir will not accept.

through drug-pushing and otherwise delinquent young men to Muslims, indicates that religion has become central to discussions about identity, difference and belonging.' Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film*, p. 167.

In *Türkisch fur Anfänger* (dir. Bora Dağtekin, 2012), four teenagers are stranded together on a desert island. Self-identifying hijabi Muslim Yağmur Öztürk (played by Iranian German Pegah Ferydoni) scolds potential love interest Costa when he asks if she has a boyfriend: 'Unverschämtheit! Ich bin Muslima!' Throughout the majority of the film, Yağmur is submissive, doing whatever her older brother Cem demands and looking to him and Costa for protection on the island: 'Ihr müsst uns [the female characters] beschützen, ihr müsst uns sagen, was wir tun sollen.' But Yağmur is also shown to be manipulative, first making flirtatious eye contact with Costa as she emerges from the sea in her underwear, before calling her brother Cem over to "rescue" her from Costa's reciprocal gaze. Cem (played by Austrian Tunisian Elyas M'Barek from *Fack Ju Göhte*) adopts the role of the "macho Turk" and begins a fistfight with Costa to deter Costa's interest in his sister. Later on, when Costa kisses Yağmur briefly, she slaps him across the face, before returning with a more passionate kiss, then slapping him again and laughing. The intended humour of the scene functions at the expense of a legitimate and meaningful hijabi "Muslim" identity, as Yağmur is portrayed as capricious, unkind and willing to exploit her status as a pious "Muslim" woman to encourage and then punish Costa. However, at the close of the film and after the young characters have been rescued from the island, Yağmur no longer wears a hijab and is more assertive and sexually open: Yağmur stands up to her brother Cem when he mocks her for writing a love letter to Costa. Yağmur thus transitions from a duplicitous hijabi character, who is manipulative yet submissive and sexually awkward, to a more confident and sexually emancipated figure who does not cover her hair. This film ranked as the highest grossing German production and the tenth top grossing film overall among domestic audiences in

its year of release, attracting larger audiences than Hollywood blockbusters *The Avengers* (dir. Joss Whedon, 2012) and *The Hunger Games* (dir. Gary Ross, 2012).[407]

In *Süperseks* (dir. Torsten Wacker, 2004), “Turkish German” Elviz (played by Denis Moschitto from *Kebab Connection* and *Almanya – Wilkommen in Deutschland*) comes up with a scheme to raise money to pay off his debts through a “Muslim-friendly” sex-hotline. At the same time, Elviz meets “Turkish German” dance teacher Anna, who is under pressure from her father Kemal (played by Tayfun Bademsoy from *Anam*) to take on a “real” career by one day taking over his medical practice. Kemal intends to set his plan in motion by introducing his daughter Anna to “German” colleague, Dr. Rüdiger, who he hopes will become both Anna’s employer and father-in-law. Kemal tells Anna: ‘Ich hab’ Dr. Rüdiger von dir erzählt, dass du studierst, dass du intelligent bist, dass du’ [Anna interjects] ‘gar nicht mal so türkisch aussiehst?’ Indeed, Kemal demands that he and Anna only communicate in German with one another and threatens to cut her off financially if she does not attend the soirée to meet Dr. Rüdiger and his son, Johannes. Thus, Kemal links intelligence, professional success and financial and personal security to “Germanness” via his insistence on speaking German and his attempt to set Anna up – in various capacities – with the “German” Rüdigers. Kemal’s aspirations for his daughter oppose her own goals as a dancer; a career which, although precarious and not highly remunerated, is a source of joy, passion and creativity for Anna.

In an act of defiance against her father’s intrusion into her professional and personal life, Anna attends the party with Elviz, presenting herself completely

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[407] *The Avengers,* dir. by Joss Whedon (Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures, 2012); ‘Top 100 Deutschland 2012’, *Inside Kino* <http://www.insidekino.de/DJahr/D2012.htm> [accessed 24 August 2016].

incongruously to the rest of the film by wearing a hijab, long overcoat and old-fashioned make-up. She introduces Elviz as her fiancé "Hasan" and tells the Rüdigers how much her fiancé loves her cooking and that they plan to have six or eight children together. Elviz plays along with Anna's act, calling Kemal "Baba" (father) and speaking grammatically incorrect German: 'Ich mich wünschen viele viele Kinder ja, viele Kinder mit Kraft von Stier!' (figure 16).

Figure 16 Anna (r) dressed as hijabi "Muslim" with fiancé "Hasan" in *Süperseks*, 2004.

The overall effect of this scene is humorous: Anna's father Kemal is suitably embarrassed and the Rüdigers squirm silently as Anna and Elviz satirise their stereotypical expectations of "the Turks". The joke, however, is executed at the expense of the hijabi "Muslim" woman portrayed as backward, domestic, conservative, and preoccupied with childbirth and care. Anna's provocation is successful precisely because her performance of the hijabi woman contradicts all of the characteristics and achievements that her father values and which he sees embodied in his "German" colleagues. Anna knows that, for her father, the lifestyle of a stay-at-home hijabi "Muslim" woman is the worst-case scenario.

In addition, Anna and Elviz' enthusiastic and affectionate performance – although staged – serves to emphasise the sterility and artifice of the "German" Rüdigers, who are unresponsive throughout the scene, even when Johannes openly flirts with the male waiter, suggesting that any relationship between him

and Anna would be forced on both sides. Anna's employment of the hijabi woman thus functions as a counterpoint in the construction of "German" middle-class subject positions as affluent and professional, but also as stiff, simulated and ultimately, for Anna, representative of a lifestyle that she rejects.

Anam's triple functionalisation of the hijab to signify emancipation from oppressive social-economic roles – as well as the exasperated reaction to this functionalisation in the press – demonstrates the (re)emerging role of the "Muslim" woman's hijab as a contested symbol in wider debates regarding the position of "Islam" in Germany in the post-2000 period. Hijabi characters in *Anam* (2002), *Süperseks* (2004), *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit* (2006), *Evet, ich will!* (2009) and *Türkisch für Anfänger* (2012) position such characters as representative of a backward, unemancipated, submissive, conservative female "Muslim" identity, which actively perpetuates the conditions of its own oppression. These characters' "Muslimness" furthermore, operates in conjunction with their "ethnic" identities, rather than being subsumed under generalising notions of "Turkishness". The "Muslim" woman's hijab – and whether she keeps it on or discards it – thus functions as a visual shorthand for filmmakers wishing to communicate the "oppression" (keeps the hijab) or "liberation" (removes the hijab) of such characters.

My big fat Turkish wedding: Turkish German romcoms

Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit (dir. Stefan Holtz, 2006, henceforth *Hochzeit*) and *Evet, ich will!* (dir. Sinan Akkuş, 2009, henceforth *Evet*) both synthesise

Turkish German "ethno-comedy" with Hollywood staple, the romantic comedy.[408] The title and plot of *Hochzeit* draws on commercially successful US romcom *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (dir. Joel Zwick, 2002), which has grossed almost $369,000,000 worldwide since its release.[409] *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* follows lovers American Greek Toula and American Ian and their efforts to convince Toula's family that a "foreign", vegetarian man can successfully integrate into a Greek Orthodox family. *Evet*'s multiple and interrelated romantic plots reference *Love Actually* (dir. Richard Curtis, 2003) – a dramatic comedy featuring nine stories driven by different manifestations of love – which ranked 20th among German audiences in its year of release.[410] Aired in 2006 on national commercial TV channel ProSieben, *Hochzeit* went on to win the Grimme-Preis in three categories – one of the most prestigious awards for German television –and was released as a DVD in 2007.[411] *Evet*'s institutional and commercial reception has been less enthusiastic, although the film was recommended by the *Deutsche Film und Medienbewertung* as 'besonders wertvoll'.[412]

Evet and *Hochzeit* star four of the same actors, are driven by the same basic heterosexual romance and feature common themes of extra-marital sex,

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[408] Imported romantic comedies have attracted huge audiences in Germany throughout the period of study. Cf. *Pretty Woman*, dir. by Garry Marshall (Buena Vista International, 1990); *What Women Want*, dir. by Nancy Meyers (Buena Vista International, 2001); 'Jahres-und All-Time-Charts'; 'Top 100 Deutschland 2001', *Inside Kino* <http://www.insidekino.com/DJahr/D2001.htm> [accessed 15 January 2015]. Used with permission.

[409] *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, dir. by Joel Zwick (Entertainment, 2002); 'My Big Fat Greek Wedding', *Box Office Mojo* <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=mybigfatgreekwedding.htm> [accessed 15 January 2015].

[410] *Love Actually*, dir. by Richard Curtis (United International Pictures, 2003); 'Top 100 Deutschland 2003', *Inside Kino* <http://www.insidekino.com/DJahr/D2003.htm> [accessed 15 January 2015].

[411] 'Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit', *Filmportal.de* <http://www.filmportal.de/film/meine-verrueckte-tuerkische-hochzeit_d72313ab5ff240a0ad9275d1ec41b745> [accessed 20 August 2016].

[412] 'Evet, ich will!', *Deutsche Filmbewertung und Medienbewertung FBW* <http://www.fbw-filmbewertung.com/film/evet_ich_will> [accessed 20 August 2016].

religious conversion and circumcision.[413] *Hochzeit* begins with a chance encounter between "Turkish German" Aylin (played by Indian German Mandala Tayde) and "German" Götz, who begin dating. The pair initially hides their relationship from Aylin's parents, but quickly decides to marry in order to legitimise their relationship. Although Götz formally asks Aylin's father for her hand in marriage and agrees to convert to Islam and undergo a circumcision, the pair's union faces repeated obstacles from both Götz' and Aylin's families, as well as through an unexpected pregnancy and a romantic rival, Aylin's cousin Tarkan (played by Turkish Syrian German Gandi Mukli from *Lola + Bilidikid*). *Evet* follows the romantic tribulations of five couples, gradually revealing the social connections between each story line. "Turkish German" Emrah and Nursel face an arranged marriage organised by their parents. Both Emrah and Nursel, however, are already in relationships that they have kept secret from their families: Nursel is expecting a baby with American boyfriend Eric, and mechanic Emrah's boyfriend, "German" Tim, is pressuring Emrah to come out to his family so that they can get married. The relationship between radio hosts "Kurdish German" Coşkun and "Turkish German" Günay faces opposition from Günay's liberal "Turkish" father, Kadir. Coşkun's best friend, Boskin, gets to know shy Sülbiye through a relative, and Sülbiye is a close neighbour to law student Özlem, who lives with her parents and sister. "Turkish German" Özlem and "German" Dirk's relationship is the focal point of the plot, with Özlem citing the film's title – 'Evet (yes), ich will!' – in her acceptance of Dirk's proposal. As in *Hochzeit*, Özlem's parents have no idea about their daughter's relationship until Dirk's parents formally ask for her hand in marriage. In order to meet Özlem's parents'

[413] Aykut Kayacik, Demir Gökgöl, Gandi Mukli and Hilmi Sözer star in both films.

criteria for potential sons-in-law, Dirk also converts to Islam and gets a circumcision, but the lovers' families' conflicting expectations of marriage almost call the whole thing off. Both films reconcile all such tensions just in time for the "happy ending" and closing wedding scene. Both films are set in Berlin, configured as the ultimate "melting pot" of ethnicities and both feature a subplot surrounding "Turkish German" homosexual men, who must hide their sexuality from the homophobic attitudes of their families.[414]

Neither of the "Turkish German" female protagonists (Özlem in *Evet* and Aylin in *Hochzeit*) explicitly self-identify as "Muslim". However, both are keen to uphold and conform to expectations connoted as "Islamic" in public forums: both characters hide pre-marital sexual relationships from their parents; both are active in orchestrating the ritual of their partners' formal request to marry them and both exert varying degrees of pressure on their male "German" partners to convert to Islam and undergo circumcisions as necessary precursors to marriage into a "Turkish Muslim" milieu. Aylin in *Hochzeit* is also depicted twice in hijab at the local mosque. Thus, female protagonists Özlem and Aylin perform – and demand their partners' performance of – practices and behaviours coded as "Muslim".

In both *Evet* and *Hochzeit*, the relationship between the female "Turkish Muslim" and male "German" lovers facilitates assertions of "Turkish Muslim" culture as conservative, patriarchal and bound by tradition and of "German" culture as more liberal, egalitarian and flexible. The formal ceremony of the male "German" character's father asking the female "Muslim" character's father for her hand in marriage perpetuates a patriarchal notion of paternal ownership of the

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[414] In *Hochzeit*, Aylin's younger brother Murak is a closeted homosexual who plans to marry a "Turkish" lesbian so that both sides of the partnership can satisfy heteronormative expectations in public, but enjoy a romantic life of their choosing in private. Cf. Philipp Bühler for the *Berliner Zeitung*, who quips: 'Darf nicht fehlen: das deutsch-türkische Schwulenpärchen.' Philipp Bühler, 'Wenn der Moschee-Wecker klingelt', *Berliner Zeitung*, 1 October 2009.

prospective bride. Indeed, in *Hochzeit*, Götz does not ask his mother to ask for Aylin's hand in marriage in lieu of his absent father, but rather his dishevelled and disinterested friend, Horst. The insistence of the "Turkish Muslim" parents in both films on the groom's prior conversion to Islam is also rooted in notions of patriarchal inheritance, as the parents assume that the pair's future children will be raised in their father's religion. Dirk's and Götz' unquestioning participation in both of the above rituals not only serves to highlight the "otherness" of the culture they are marrying into, but also portrays this "other culture" as traditional and rigid, since no equivalent rituals are required by the "German" parents and no alternative arrangements are suggested or entertained.

The comedic intention of the proposal scenes hinges on the "German" characters' floundering and bafflement, and in particular, the awkwardness of the "German" "father figures". Horst – acting as Götz' father replacement in *Hochzeit* – must be repeatedly prompted by Götz to say the right thing during their meeting with Aylin's family, as though reading from a script. In *Evet*, Dirk's father Lüder tries his best to say "Bismillah" (in the name of Allah) as a greeting to Özlem's parents, but ends up saying 'bis Mittag'. Thus, both Horst and Lüder are portrayed as clueless, yet acquiescing participants in a strange and outdated formality, since both couples are already in committed, sexual relationships. In this way, both films portray the "German" characters as possessing the flexibility and willingness to make one-sided concessions for rigid "Muslim" practices. Furthermore, the same flexibility and willingness obscures the male "German" characters' complicity in such patriarchal practices.

Hochzeit takes the construction of the “flexible majority culture”[415] further than *Evet*: male “German” protagonist Götz not only agrees to convert to Islam, but also to change his name to sound more Turkish, sell his beloved record shop to pay for the wedding, observe Ramadan and forgo food, drink and sex and endure an impromptu circumcision in a back room of the mosque without anaesthetic. The sacrifice and suffering that Götz undergoes for girlfriend Aylin and her family presents practices connoted as “Islamic” as cruel, painful and all consuming, especially when Aylin makes no changes or compromises at all. Indeed, the film repeatedly asserts Götz as ‘ein guter Kerl’ – as his friend Horst describes him in the opening narration to the film – via this character’s comparison with “Turkish Muslim” men. Like the character of Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin*, the character of Aylin in *Hochzeit* functions as focal point around which competing notions of “German” and “Turkish Muslim” masculinities organise.

At the beginning of the film, female “Turkish Muslim” protagonist Aylin storms out of a nightclub to avoid the unwanted sexual advances of her cousin, “Turkish” Tarkan. Observing this scene from his DJ booth overlooking the dance floor, male “German” protagonist Götz rushes after Aylin and offers to drive her home. When Tarkan continues to call her repeatedly, frustrated Aylin asks Götz rhetorically what is wrong with men. Götz answers: ‘Bei den Türken kenn’ ich mich nicht aus, aber nicht alle Männer sind Türken.’ Aylin is won over by Götz and spends the rest of the evening with him – trying Currywurst for the first time and viewing Berlin at night from a romantic lookout spot. This early scene sets the tone for the juxtaposition of “German” and “Turkish Muslim” masculinities in the film. On the one hand, “Turkish Muslim” men are imagined as a homogenous

[415] Cf. ‘If contemporary ‘normalism’ is generally flexible and non-normative, the context of migration and multiculturalism seems to re-activate an earlier, ‘proto-normal’ attitude which seeks to reinforce rigidly defined norms.’ Uecker, *Performing the Modern German,* p. 164.

group of aggressive sexual predators. Indeed, Tarkan later smashes up Götz' car with a baseball bat in an attempt to intimidate Götz into breaking things off with Aylin. Aylin also fuels this discourse when she tells Götz that "Turkish Muslim" men get away with having pre-marital sex, while women's sexual activity in the community is strictly controlled. "German" Götz, on the other hand, is presented in the film as a much better romantic choice for Aylin: Götz "saves" Aylin from slimy cousin, Tarkan; he exposes her to new foods and perspectives and he is not bound by the apparently uniformly patriarchal sexual codes of the "Turkish Muslim" community. Aylin's ensuing relationship with Götz – despite her family's preference for her cousin Tarkan – functions as the ultimate seal of approval for masculinities coded as "German".

Götz' "nice guy" persona, however, does not hold up under scrutiny. At the beginning of the film, this character sexually objectifies the female protagonist whilst watching her dance from his advantageous position in the DJ booth. Götz' prolonged staring indicates his infatuation with Aylin. The male "German" character's objectifying gaze is then adopted by the camera, which closes in on Aylin's gyrating figure clothed in a fitted red dress. As with "German" Thomas' surveillance of Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin*, Aylin is unaware of Götz' gaze. Later, Götz again objectifies Aylin as a product he wants to test before purchase: Götz is cautioned by friend Horst against beginning a sexual relationship with a "Turkish Muslim" woman because, Horst claims, they are like CDs: 'packst du sie aus, musst du sie kaufen.' Götz participates in the dehumanisation of his girlfriend when he counters suggestively, 'Erst mal in Ruhe anhören'. Götz' role as Aylin's "saviour" is also motivated by his own sexual interests: Götz begins to flirt with Aylin just moments after she has left the nightclub where she was sexually

harassed by Tarkan. Finally, Götz' answer regarding "Turkish" men is one example of the racist assertions that this character makes throughout the film. Like Thomas in *Berlin in Berlin*, the male "German" character's sexual objectification of the female "Turkish Muslim" character in *Hochzeit* is neither criticised nor punished, whilst similarly misogynist views and practices carried out by male characters marked as "Turkish Muslim" are. One important function of the female "Turkish German Muslim" character is thus to portray "German" Götz as the (ostensibly) more progressive and egalitarian sexual partner.

The female "Muslim" characters in *Hochzeit* and *Evet* also act as springboards for complimentary assertions regarding "German" masculinities via the male characters' comparison with their "German" mothers. In both films, certain reactionary, discriminatory and racist attitudes towards "Turkish Muslims" are projected onto Götz' mother Helena in *Hochzeit* and Dirk's mother Helga in *Evet*. The articulation of such attitudes is precipitated by their sons' relationships with "Turkish Muslim" women. In *Hochzeit*, Götz' mother Helena first appears at a reading of her latest book, establishing this character as a published writer and advocate of women's rights and self-determination. Helena reads aloud: 'Sie sind nicht mehr die Prinzessinnen, die auf Prinzen warten; sie sind die Königinnen in ihrem eigenen Leben.' After the reading, Helena approaches her son Götz, who has come with girlfriend Aylin in order to introduce her to his mother. Helena mistakes Aylin for a waitress, asks her to refill her glass and pulls Götz away from another, unknown attendee, saying 'Komm, hinter uns steht diese Tusse'. When Götz tells Helena that Aylin is not a waitress, but his girlfriend, Helena calls over a female "German" colleague to talk to Aylin about a forthcoming publication on 'Zwangsehe und Ehrenmord' among "Turks" in Germany. Helena's use of a

gendered slur towards a female attendee of the reading suggests the insincerity of her feminist beliefs. Helena acts on a racialised, classist profile of Aylin when she assumes that a non-white woman at a public reading is a service worker. Finally, Helena racialises sex-subordinating practices by immediately associating Aylin's "Turkish" background with misogynistic practices, and treats Aylin as a representative of such a background, as if all "Turkish Muslim" women must be interested in or have something to say about these issues. The character of Helena is thus portrayed as quasi-feminist and genuinely racist.

Later, Helena justifies her vehement opposition to son Götz' marriage to "Turkish Muslim" Aylin via a racist ideology that the inferior and patriarchal practices of "Turkish Muslims" are determined biologically, as well as psychologically: 'Das sind nicht nur die Gene, das findet oft im Kopf statt. Hier sind die Macho-Traditionen, die meine Generation…' [Götz interjects]. This statement highlights the generational difference between Helena and the younger characters. Helena's emphasis of the word 'meine' implies that this character was going to link "her" generation with the challenging and/or experience of oppressive and patriarchal structures. By referencing this earlier period, Helena presents "Turkish Muslim" notions of gender roles as backward and outdated. Given this character's advocacy of women's self-determination, this statement also suggests that Helena was involved with and/or aligns herself with feminist movements of the 1970s/1980s. Thus, the film constructs a correlation between Helena's feminist politics and her racial profiling of Aylin and her family. By interrupting his mother's racist assertions in the scene, Götz is assigned the role as the more progressive character, despite the fact that he too makes generalising and disparaging remarks about "Turks".

The same correlation is made in *Evet*'s presentation of Dirk's mother Helga, although the actions of this character are less offensive overall. *Evet* implies Helga's feminist politics through her anti-marriage stance. Indeed, Dirk initially finds it difficult to tell Helga about his desire to marry girlfriend Özlem, as he knows that his mother opposes the institution of marriage, attributing the success of her own long-term relationship with Dirk's father, Lüder, to the fact that they are 'getrennte Menschen'. Helga's partner Lüder, however, tells a group of "Turkish Muslim" women at the marriage ceremony at the end of the film: 'Für Helga war ihre Freiheit immer das Wichtigste, bis ihr Wunsch nach Freiheit so stark wurde, dass er ihr ihre Entscheidungsfreiheit raubte.' Although the character of Helga relates her stance on marriage to her self-determination, Lüder's anti-feminist rhetoric construes Helga's dedication to independence as counterproductive and, ultimately, restrictive.

Like Helena in *Hochzeit*, Helga opposes her son's conversion to "Islam", despite Dirk's reassurances that he and partner Özlem regard the conversion as a necessary formality to satisfy Özlem's "Turkish Muslim" parents. Helga frames her objection in a melodramatic narrative of a "clash of civilizations", which assumes an ongoing conflict between two monolithic and opposing religious entities: 'Dirk, wir stecken gerade leider in einem Glaubenskrieg, ob wir das wollen oder nicht.' Finally, Helga attempts to display "cultural sensitivity" during the "German" family's visit to Özlem's family home by wearing a hijab. This move, although well meant, is portrayed as inappropriate and embarrassing, since none of Özlem's female family members wears a hijab, except during prayer. Overall, both films present the "German" mothers' reactions to their son's marriages into "Turkish Muslim" families as ill informed, outdated and, in

Helena's case, racist. Helena and Helga's ostensibly feminist beliefs regarding marriage and gender relations in "Islam", furthermore, are portrayed as inappropriate for the young lovers' more nuanced and pragmatic negotiation of their "intercultural" relationships. *Hochzeit* and *Evet* thus combine anti-feminist and ageist rhetoric to alienate the "German" mothers from the younger protagonists, dismissing and marginalising these characters' concerns and politics.

Despite the similarities between *Hochzeit* and *Evet*, the overall impact of each film is different. Whilst *Hochzeit*'s dominant narrative is repeatedly racist and sexist, *Evet*'s multiple story lines situate lovers Özlem and Dirk's relationship within a wider context of interwoven narratives that poke fun at all of the characters, regardless of their assumed ethnic, national or religious identities. In *Evet*, law student Özlem challenges the hitherto dominant class positions available to female "Muslim" characters in the genre. Aylin in *Hochzeit* is not depicted in any form of employment. Indeed, the parallels between representations of "German" and "Turkish Muslim" gender relations evident in *Hochzeit* and *Berlin in Berlin* – a film released twelve years earlier – suggests that *Hochzeit* relies more heavily on established images of the "Turkish Muslim" woman than *Evet* does. The repurposing and repackaging of such images via a German director in *Hochzeit* offers one explanation for this film's relative commercial and institutional success, particularly in comparison with *Evet*: *Hochzeit* reaffirms trusted assertions regarding gender relations in a minority group (imagined to be somehow separate from "German" society) to prime-time television audiences in Germany.

"Ehrenmord mitten in Deutschland": *Die Fremde* and *Ayla*

Die Fremde (dir. Feo Aladag, 2010) and *Ayla* (dir. Su Turhan, 2010) feature female "Turkish Muslim" characters whose decisions to leave their husbands and live alone with their young children are a source of "shame" for their families. In both films, the "Turkish Muslim" women's families seek to restore a perceived loss of "honour" by attempting to murder their daughters. *Die Fremde* had theatrical releases in thirteen countries and received widespread institutional recognition, including a prize at the Berlin International Film Festival and two Lolas – one in bronze for the film, and one in gold for actor Sibel Kekilli in her leading role – in its year of release.[416] *Die Fremde* has also been the subject of significant scholarly engagement.[417] *Ayla* has received relatively little critical or commercial attention.

Die Fremde depicts the struggle of its female protagonist Umay (played by Sibel Kekilli, most known for her role as female protagonist Sibel in Akın's *Gegen die Wand* and as Shae in HBO TV series *Game of Thrones*) to emancipate herself from her abusive husband Kemal in Istanbul and live a self-determined life in Germany with her young son, Cem. Umay eventually achieves this, establishing herself in Berlin near her family – the Aslans – with a part-time kitchen job, an apartment, a "German" boyfriend and a place to study at university. For Umay's family, however, it is unacceptable for a wife to live away from her husband, and selfish for a mother to prevent a father from seeing his

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[416] 'Die Fremde', *Filmportal.de* <http://www.filmportal.de/film/die-fremde_6cc053e666134758bfe189c51ab8808a> [accessed 25 August 2016].

[417] Cf. Uecker, *Performing the Modern German*; Berghahn, *Far-Flung Families in Film*; David Gramling, 'The Oblivion of Influence: Mythical Realism in Feo Aladağ's When We Leave', in *Turkish German Cinema in the New Millennium: Sites, Sounds, and Screens*, ed. by Sabine Hake and Barbara Mennel (Oxford: Berghahn, 2012), pp. 32-43; Ludwig Ammann, 'Islamklischees im Kino', in *Filmbilder des Islam*, ed. by Stefan Orth, Michael Staiger, and Joachim Valentin, Film und Theologie 25 (Marburg: Schüren, 2014), pp. 68-79; Cooke, *Contemporary German Cinema*.

child and seek to increase her socio-economic status through study. The Aslans shun their daughter and make plans for Umay's murder. Umay's desperate efforts to gain acceptance from and access to the family fold result in increasingly violent rebuttals, culminating in her older brother Mehmet's accidental murder of Cem. In *Die Fremde*, all members of the Aslan family attend prayer at the mosque and Umay's mother Halime and younger sister Rana wear hijabs outside of the house, implying the family's "Muslim" identity. Umay, however, resists such an identity by discarding her hijab as soon as she leaves Istanbul and by remaining silent at the mosque whilst the other women pray and sing around her. The female protagonist thus is depicted as being coerced into adhering to practices coded as "Muslim".

In *Ayla*, female "Turkish Muslim" character Hatice leaves her loveless marriage in Turkey and returns with her young daughter, Elif, to her family in Munich. Hatice's eldest brother, Ayhan, faces pressure from his father and younger brother Mehmet to "fix" this perceived familial crisis via Hatice's murder. Eponymous protagonist "Turkish German" Ayla (played by Pegah Ferydoni from *Türkisch für Anfänger*) meets Hatice and Elif at the Kindergarten where she is working as a cover teacher. Ayla becomes friends with Hatice, and helps hide her and Elif when she learns of the danger that they are in. At the same time, Ayla begins a relationship with photographer Ayhan without realising his familial connection to Hatice. When Ayla discovers that Ayhan is Hatice's older brother, she is disgusted with him and physically intervenes in the attempted murder at the climax of the film.

The film portrays protagonist Ayla's lifestyle as unconventional for a "Turkish" woman: Ayla is single, refuses all of the "Turkish" suitors that her

relatives try to press on her and works part-time in a nightclub. Ayla's father thoroughly disapproves of such choices and he and Ayla barely communicate throughout the film. Unlike Umay and Hatice's families, however, Ayla's father never appears to entertain a violent reaction to his daughter's lifestyle. The character of Hatice wears a hijab and identifies herself as a practising "Muslim" through her reference to prayer in her parting words to Ayla: 'Ich bete zu Allah, er möge dir ein glückliches Leben schenken.' Eponymous protagonist "Turkish German" Ayla, on the other hand, does not identify as, nor take part in any practices coded as "Muslim".

Both films frame the "Turkish Muslim" families' attempted murders of Umay and Hatice within a discourse of violence motivated by "honour". In *Die Fremde*, Umay's father Kader Aslan states: 'Sie [Umay] hat alles zerstört, einfach alles. Die Familie, Cem, unsere Ehre, mich.' Indeed, the film shows how Umay's behaviour stigmatises all of the Aslan family members: co-workers stare at Kader and his eldest son Mehmet at the printing factory where they work; friends break off social engagements with Umay's mother Halime; Umay's younger brother Acar gets into a fight at a night club when someone smears the family name and Umay's younger sister Rana's engagement is broken off by the groom's family. Similarly, Mehmet in *Ayla* attributes a lull in customers at his barbershop to Hatice's behaviour and frames this within a register of "shame" and "honour". Mehmet urges older brother, Ayhan: 'Unsere Schwester hat Schande über unsere Familie gebracht […] gib uns unsere Ehre zurück.' As discussed in chapter 1, narratives of "honour" based violence are often racialised via their exclusive invocation in reference to misogynist practices perpetrated in non-white communities. By framing the (attempted) murders of characters Umay and Hatice

in this way, both films contribute to the notion of a unifying imperative among "Islamic" communities to control and (re)assert familial "honour" through the management of female sexuality. The invocation of "honour" by "Turkish Muslim" male characters in both films essentialises acts of violence against "Muslim" women as a feature of the victims' "Islamic" environment.

Furthermore, paratextual elements of both films connect the stories of Umay in *Die Fremde* and Hatice in *Ayla* to the murder of Turkish German woman Hatun Sürücü at the hands of her older brother, discussed in chapter 2. *Die Fremde*'s DVD inlay quotes an article from *Die Welt*: 'Mit […] Hatun Sürücü verlor Deutschland einen Teil seiner Zukunft.'[418] Indeed, *Die Fremde*'s media reception repeatedly references the murder of Sürücü. According to the *Berliner Zeitung*: 'Nun ist Feo Aladags "Die Fremde" keine Verfilmung von Sürücüs Geschichte […] auch wenn das Schicksal der Titelfigur […] derlei Gedankenspiele zulässt.'[419] Similarly, *Der Tagesspiegel* comments: 'Der Zuschauer kann die Welt aus Umays Augenwinkeln sehen, deren Schicksal durchaus der 2005 ermordeten jungen Berlinerin Hatun Sürücü nachempfunden ist.'[420] Sibel Kekilli forges the same link in an interview, citing Sürücü's murder in her discussion of the film's plot.[421] One review of *Ayla* in the *Berliner Zeitung* also references Sürücü's murder: 'Auch hier gibt es die junge Türkin, die wie Hatun Sürücü um ihr Leben fürchten muss, weil sie sich von ihrem Ehemann getrennt hat. Auch sie hat ein kleines Kind.'[422] By linking the stories of "Turkish Muslim" characters Umay and Hatice to Hatun Sürücü, paratextual elements

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[418] Ulf Poschardt, 'Traurige Lehren aus Morsals Ermordung', *Die Welt*, 15 February 2009 <http://www.welt.de/wams_print/article3207611/Traurige-Lehren-aus-Morsals-Ermordung.html>.
[419] Alexandra Seitz, 'Ein Teil der Familie', *Berliner Zeitung*, 20 February 2010.
[420] Jan Schulz-Ojala, 'Aufregendes Kinodebüt: Feo Aladags Familientragödie "Die Fremde" mit Sibel Kekilli', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 3 December 2010.
[421] Daniela Sannwald, 'Durch die Wand', *Berliner Zeitung*, 14 February 2010.
[422] Christina Bylow, 'Rund um den Ehrbegriff', *Berliner Zeitung*, 5 July 2010.

make authenticity claims on behalf of both films: *Die Fremde* and *Ayla* ostensibly offer audiences an insight into real-life occurrences within “Turkish Muslim” communities in contemporary Germany. This is not to dispute the existence or severity of violence against women in Germany, but to make visible the racialised hierarchies driving discursive representations of such violence. By referencing the murder of Hatun Sürücü, the media reception of both films assimilates the fictional narratives of Umay and Hatice into a generalising discourse of the (attempted) “honour killing” of disobedient “Muslim” women. The essentialising gesture of the discourse of the “honour killing” as a feature of “Muslim” milieus – made both by the films themselves and by their reception in the press – obscures the widespread misogyny and violence against women in white, non-Muslim communities and undermines feminist interventions in non-Muslim and Muslim groups alike.

In *Ayla* (2010), the juxtaposition of the two most important female characters – “Turkish Muslim” Hatice and “Turkish German” Ayla – demonstrates the film’s differentiation between “Muslim” and “Turkish” identities. In contrast to self-identifying, hijabi “Muslim” Hatice, Ayla does not identify as “Muslim”, nor does she take part in any practices coded as “Muslim”. The character of Hülya – Ayla’s older sister – also provides a contrast to Ayla, as Hülya still lives in the family home with her father, works for the family tailoring business, wears a hijab and has a Turkish husband. Furthermore, the eponymous protagonist only reluctantly acknowledges her “Turkishness”. When her new colleague at the Kindergarten, Iris, asks Ayla if she is Turkish, Ayla replies ‘nicht wenn es nach meinem Pass geht’, revealing that Ayla chose German over Turkish citizenship when faced with Germany’s single citizenship model. Ayla’s love

interest Ayhan is shocked to learn that Ayla favours coffee over Turkish tea, and Ayla's older sister Hülya is pleasantly surprised when she calls her 'Abla' (older sister), as Ayla so rarely speaks Turkish.[423] For her part-time job in a local nightclub, Ayla adopts a persona that distances her from stereotypical indicators of "Turkish" appearance: Ayla covers her dark hair with a platinum blonde wig, wears blue contact lenses over her brown eyes and completes the look with heavy makeup, fishnet tights and knee high boots (figure 17).

Figure 17 Ayla dressed for her job at the "gone underground" nightclub in *Ayla*, 2010

Whilst such a performance may have been demanded by her employer, Ayla's precarious relationship with her father and her day job looking after children suggests that this character adopts this disguise in order to escape the social and professional expectations of her daily life. The name of the nightclub – "gone underground" – supports this. The fact that Ayla's disguise invokes stereotypical, racialised notions of "Germanness" highlights this character's contentious relationship with her "Turkish" identity and its provocative styling suggests her desire for a more explicit sexual identity. Indeed, when Ayla and Ayhan have sex,

[423] Although this might be down to the fact "Turkish" Ayla is played by Iranian German actor, Pegah Ferydoni.

Ayla comments ironically: 'Wir sind Türken, wir dürfen das nicht.' Although the eponymous protagonist's decision to live alone as a single woman causes tensions within her "Turkish Muslim" family, it also allows Ayla to determine her own sexual partners and hide Hatice and Elif in her apartment whilst on the run from Hatice's older brother Ayhan. Ayla also possesses physical strength and agility from her training in martial arts – an intertextual reference to the eponymous protagonist of *Yasemin* (dir. Hark Bohm, 1988). This training – coupled with Ayla's autonomy from practices and behaviours coded as "Turkish Muslim" – is what ultimately allows her to prevent Hatice's murder and help both Hatice and Elif to safety. Overall, the film contrasts its "Turkish German" protagonist with female "Turkish Muslim" characters Hatice and Hülya, and presents Alya's self-determined lifestyle as "un-Turkish" via her father's disapproval: when Ayla's father sees her working at the nightclub, he disowns her altogether. Similarly to young adult novel *Zimtküsse* (Deniz Selek, 2012) in which "Turkish German" female protagonist Sahra and her "modern" female relatives are contrasted with backward, oppressed and unkempt hijabi characters, *Ayla* employs a separation of "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities rarely observable in cultural products of the 1990s.

Both *Die Fremde* and *Ayla* suggest the inevitability of their violent denouements by foreshadowing part of the final scene at the start of the film. *Die Fremde* takes the notion of unavoidable tragedy to its extreme. The Aslan family demonstrates with increasing brutality that it will not prioritise Umay's wellbeing over convention and reputation. The female protagonist's continued insistence on reconciliation with her family – despite the obvious danger that such attempts leave her and son Cem vulnerable to – gradually makes Umay's actions seem

naïve and contrived. Even when her parents accept that Umay will not return to abusive husband Kemal, they still plan to return Cem to his father and lock both mother and son in the family apartment. Umay and Cem escape to a women's shelter by calling the police. When older brother Mehmet locates Umay and Cem, he attacks the shelter, throwing a rock through Umay's window and verbally threatening her. Following this attack, Umay still attends her younger sister Rana's wedding with Cem, although neither of them have been invited. When Umay makes a desperate plea to her parents to let her and Cem back into the family fold, Mehmet drags Umay screaming from the wedding venue and throws her repeatedly to the ground. Even Umay's younger brother – previously kind and sensitive Acar – strikes Umay across the face. Both Umay's best friend Atife and her boss Gül tell her that her insistence on familial acceptance is unrealistic. Restaurant owner Gül (played by Nursel Köse from *Anam*) tells Umay: 'Wenn sie [the Aslan family] sich entscheiden müssen, zwischen dir und der Gesellschaft, sie werden sich nicht für dich entscheiden.' Incredibly – after two physical attacks, multiple verbal rebuttals and an attempted abduction of Cem – Umay still returns to the family home at Eid to beg them to reconsider. The female protagonist's actions appear increasingly reckless and unrealistic, especially given her apparent devotion to Cem's wellbeing.

Such an escalation of violence, however, is necessary to steer the narrative towards its horrific conclusion. If Umay had prioritised her and Cem's safety over a connection to her family, the film would not be able to exploit the full emotive potential of Cem's death as a tragic consequence of a patriarchal "honour" code that apparently dictates the conduct of the "Turkish Muslim" community. After Umay prevents a second attempted abduction of Cem, her father Kader travels to

an anonymous village in Turkey to consult with an elder. On his return to Germany, Kader relays the results of this meeting to his two sons, Mehmet and Acar. No verbal exchange is included in either of these scenes: the male characters sit around solemnly. Later, both Mehmet and Acar are shown crying in private, implying that a plan to murder Umay in order to restore familial "honour" is now in place. The film implies that – despite the fact that Umay and Cem manage to escape abusive Kemal, despite the obvious affection and love shared in the Aslan family, despite the protection Umay receives at a women's shelter, despite the support of her best friend Atife and "German" boyfriend Stipe, despite the fact that Umay undertakes regular employment, further education and eventually has her own place to live – all of this is no match for the crushing force of "Turkish Muslim" patriarchy.[424] Thus, while some critics and scholars have commented on certain innovative aspects of *Die Fremde* – such as the suggestion that the Aslan men do not really want to murder Umay, but are forced to by community rules; the character of successful "Turkish" business woman Gül, or the gentle romance between Umay and "German" boyfriend Stipe that resists all connotations of the white male saviour narrative – such aspects are subsumed under the relentless and seemingly inevitable intensification of violence driven by the "Turkish Muslim" communities' insistence on upholding rigid and patriarchal sexual and social codes.[425] As David Gramling argues:

[424] Cf. 'Aladağ's film instead compels […] a predicate whose subject is the collectively imagined, young Muslim German Turkish woman. The predicate to which the subject is made to agree is the inevitability and omnipresence of patriarchal violence toward each and every Muslim woman – regardless of whether she is in Turkey or Europe, whether she wears a headscarf or does not, or whether the perpetrator of that violence appears integrated into, or hostile toward, proper Northwest European secular liberalism.' Gramling, 'The Oblivion of Influence', p. 34.

[425] Cf. 'Individuals [in *Die Fremde*] can only occupy a position of authority as long as they follow these rules and enforce their continued acceptance, but they may have to suppress their own wishes in the pursuit of such acceptance. This is perhaps Aladag's most important and unexpected contribution to the topic, as it suggests that even the patriarchal men's power is bound by a strict code which makes them, too, the object of performative pressures.' Uecker, *Performing the*

> In the half-decade between the Sürücü murder and the Aladağ film, a tectonic shift took place in the German-speaking debate on Islam and multiculturalism. […] Concurrently racialist diagnostic treatises (Sarrazin 2010) and ex-Muslim coming-out testimonies (Kelek 2005, 2010) flew off the shelves […] *When We Leave* [*Die Fremde*] is a revelatory moment in German film history because it offers a crystallization of all of these concurrent socio-political developments, without critiquing any of them.[426]

Indeed, in many ways, the film relies on well-established notions of the "Turkish Muslim" family living in Germany as working class, patriarchal and relatively unintegrated into majoritarian society.[427] *Die Fremde* presents a disparaging image of the "Turkish Muslim" community overall: in addition to the misogyny used to discipline Umay, her younger brother Acar is shown using drugs, her younger sister Rana is hiding an "illegitimate" pregnancy and the father of Rana's fiancé takes a bribe from Kader so that Rana's wedding goes ahead as soon as possible.

The tone of both *Die Fremde* (2010) and *Ayla* (2010) contrasts ethno-comedies *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit* (2006) and *Evet, ich will!* (2009), suggesting a (re)turn to more sombre and problem-oriented representations of minority groups associated with "Islam" in German film. The film *Shahada* (dir.

Modern German, pp. 197-8; 'Eine Türkin [Umay's boss, Gül] einer hier in Deutschland noch unbekannteren Art, selbstbewusst, weltgewandt und charmant, so wie man sie in den größeren Städten der Türkei wohl finden kann.' Angelika Kettelhack, 'Weltbürger der Herzen. Interview mit Feo Aladag.', *Neues Deutschland*, 11 March 2010; 'Und dann ist […] mitten in allem Familienhorror eine Liebesgeschichte anzustaunen, wie sie so minimalistisch und schön nur alle paar Jahre im Kino vorbeiweht.' Schulz-Ojala, 'Aufregendes Kinodebüt'.

[426] Gramling, 'The Oblivion of Influence', p. 33.

[427] Die Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung has also published an exercise book for use in schools to accompany *Die Fremde,* covering both aesthetic elements of filmmaking as well as a thematic focus on migrants, religion, honour and patriarchy. Such a publication demonstrates the legitimisation of certain discourses via officially sanctioned educational directives; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung/Fachbereich Multimedia, *Filmheft: Die Fremde, Feo Aladag 2010* (Wernigerode: Harzdruckerei, 2010).

Burhan Qurbani, 2011) contributes to this trend. *Shahada* follows the narratives of several “Muslim” characters’ living in Berlin and depicts the relationship between “Islam” and “modern life” as contentious, problematic and sometimes incompatible. “Turkish German” Maryam is hospitalised after an illegal abortion following an extra-marital pregnancy that she was desperate to keep from her father and local Imam, Vedat (played by Vedat Erincin from *Almanya, Willkommen in Deutschland* and *Evet, ich will!)*. “Bosnian Muslim” Leyla is relieved to lose her unwanted pregnancy following an accident involving police officer Ismail, and “Nigerian Muslim” Amira turns to prayer in an attempt to “cure” her son from homosexuality.

The racialisation of “Muslim” characters in German film

Die Fremde, *Ayla* and *Shahada* further demonstrate the overburdened signification of “Muslim” identity in cultural products and socio-political narratives. As argued throughout this thesis, contemporary invocations of “Muslim” go beyond an actual or imagined religious affiliation to include racialised, gendered and classed subject positions that (re)produce and are (re)produced by master narratives that assert the inherent “belligerence” of “Islam” vis-à-vis the “west”, as well as its relative “backwardness” in terms of women’s rights. Throughout the corpus of materials analysed in this thesis, “Muslim” figures are racialised and ethnicised via their presentation as members of “migrant/foreign” communities coded as “non-white”. In other words, “Muslim”, “non-white” and most often (but not always) “Turkish” identities are portrayed in an ambivalent and fluctuating relationship to one another. The constantly shifting nature of this relationship has a compounding and mystifying

effect on the subject positions available to the figure of the “Muslim” woman. The result is a regime of representation that positions a generalised notion of “Muslim-Turkish-foreignness” in opposition to subject positions coded as “secular”, “white” and “German”. Furthermore, female “Muslim” characters seem to be determined only by the practices, behaviours and beliefs of their racialised, religious and ethnic identities, while “non-Muslim” characters are able to act as individuals and choose the practices and values that suit them.[428]

Whilst the homogenisation of racialised and ethnicised identities with “Muslimness” operates across the genres considered in this thesis, this regime of representation is brought to the fore in film. Female “Muslim” characters in post-1990 German film are represented exclusively as members of minority groups in Germany: of the thirteen female “Muslim” characters in the corpus, eleven have “Turkish” backgrounds, with “Bosnian” Leyla and “Nigerian” Amira in *Shahada* providing the only exceptions (figures 18-22).[429]

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[428] Cf. ‘While autonomous liberal subjects are able to step in and out of culture, to “have” culture, their others are governed by culture.’ Scharff, ‘Disarticulating Feminism’, p. 131.

[429] Although my study has not uncovered any white “German” “Muslim” characters, serial television productions may offer more diverse representations of “Muslim” women. For example, successful soap opera *Lindenstraße* – which has been running since 1985 – features the character Lisa Dagdelen, a white “German” convert to Islam, whose religious identity makes up one element of her characterisation as a medical assistant, entrepreneur, wife, mother and survivor of childhood abuse. In addition, some studies suggest that the *Türkisch für Anfänger* TV series (2006-2008) offered more space for negotiations of “Muslim” identity through the character of Yağmur Öztürk and her position in the non-religious “patchwork” Öztürk-Schneider family. Televisual representations of “Muslim” women therefore present an exciting avenue for further research beyond the scope of this project. Cf. ‘DasErste.de – Lindenstraße – Lisa Dagdelen’, 2012 <http://www.lindenstrasse.de/Multimedia/Fotogalerien/_Rollenbiographie/Lisa_Dagdelen.jsp> [accessed 12 December 2014]; Yeşilada, ‘Turkish-German Screen Power’; Marie-Therese Mäder, ‘Eine deutsche Serie über die Anderen’, in *Filmbilder des Islam*, ed. by Stefan Orth, Michael Staiger, and Joachim Valentin, Film und Theologie 25 (Marburg: Schüren, 2014), pp. 126-141.

Figure 18 "Turkish Muslim" Anam (l) and "German" Rita (r) in *Anam*, 2002.

Figure 19 "Turkish Muslim" Aylin (l) and "German" Helena (r) in *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit*, 2006

Figure 20 "Turkish Muslim" Özlem (l) and "German" Helga (r) in *Evet, ich will!*, 2009

Figure 21 "Turkish Muslim" Umay (l) and "German" Atife (r) in *Die Fremde*, 2010

Figure 22 "Turkish Muslim" Yağmur (l) and "German" Lena (r) in *Türkisch für Anfänger,* 2012

The portrayal of female "Muslim" characters as members of minority groups indicates their divergence from hegemonic notions of "Germanness" imagined as exclusively white. The female "Muslim" characters' codification as non-white functions through racialised notions of "Turkish" phenotypes: all of the "Turkish Muslim" characters have dark hair, dark eyes and an "olive" skin tone. Indeed, this generalised notion of "Turkish" appearance allows actors with Indian and Iranian backgrounds to play "Turkish Muslim" women (e.g. Indian German Mandala Tayde as Aylin in *Hochzeit* and Pegah Ferydoni as Yağmur in *Türkisch für Anfänger* and as Ayla in *Ayla*). Such a narrow range of physical representations of "Turkish-Muslimness" constitutes racialised notions of

"Germanness" as fair-skinned with light hair and eye colour. Most of the films featuring female "Muslim" characters execute the racial codification of their "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" female characters via their direct juxtaposition, evidencing a visual trope that bifurcates such characters via an insistence on their phenotypical difference. Indeed, the success of messages asserting the superiority of subject positions coded as "German", "white", "secular" or "Christian" over those coded as "Muslim", "non-German" and "non-white" depends on their complete separation.

Reading from the same script? Female "Muslim" characters in film

Parts 1 and 2 of this chapter have revealed the marginalisation of female "Muslim" characters in (Turkish) German films and film studies: just one fifth of a corpus of films dealing with "Islam" and minorities associated with "Islam" feature female "Muslim" characters. As a common site for the representation of female "Muslim" characters, Turkish German film is an important and nationally specific genre within the research framework of this thesis. However, the challenges made by Turkish German cinema to the representation of minority groups associated with "Islam" since the 1990s have primarily diversified the narratives and roles inhabited by male characters. Indeed, this study shows that depictions of "Turkish" women trapped physically and psychologically by patriarchal practices dominate filmic representations of "migrant" women throughout the 1980s and 1990s (*40 QM Deutschland*, 1986; *Yasemin*, 1988; *Abschied von falschem Paradies*, 1989; *Berlin in Berlin*, 1994; *Yara*, 1998; *Lola + Bilidikid*, 1999). The prevalence of "Muslim" characters with "Turkish" backgrounds and/or relatives demonstrates the enduring significance of post-war

Turkish labour migration to West Germany in the country's relationship with and perception of its "Muslim" inhabitants. This chapter has therefore clarified the position of the marginalised figure of the "Muslim" woman in post-1990 film and offered a framework for the identification of such characters in a visual medium that often creates ambivalence between characters' "Muslim" and ethnic – i.e. "Turkish" identities.

In films from the 1990s in particular, female characters in the corpus are most likely to be coded as "Turkish", with their "Muslim" identities subsumed by or subordinate to their "ethnic" difference. An analysis of the press reception of female protagonist Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin*, for example, demonstrates the dominance of "Turkishness" in the representation of female characters associated with "Islam". Female "Turkish (Muslim)" characters from the 1990s, furthermore, inhabit peripheral and relational roles and function as focal points of (sexual) oppression and objectification (*Happy Birthday, Türke!* 1992*; Berlin in Berlin* 1994; *Lola + Bilidikid*, 1999). The trajectory of female "(Turkish) Muslim" characters from conditions of entrapment and oppression towards emancipation and self-determination is expressed through such characters' estrangement and distance from spaces and relationships coded as "Turkish (Muslim)" and their entrance into those coded as "German" (Turna in *40 QM Deutschland*; Dilber in *Berlin in Berlin*; Fatma in *Lola + Bilidikid*). This narrative arc functions to portray "German" society as relatively more egalitarian and progressive.

In films released after 2000, female characters' "Muslimness" is much more prominent and there is a heightened media awareness surrounding the hijab as a contested symbol of women's oppression in "Islam". *Anam* (dir. Buket Alakuş, 2002) in particular, suggests a turning point in the codification of female

characters from minority groups associated with "Islam" as explicitly "Muslim". Furthermore, post-2000 productions more readily functionalise the hijab as a sartorial marker of oppression or emancipation. Indeed, hijabi "Muslim" characters often represent the most conservative and unemancipated variation of female "Muslim" identity (Sevgi in *Anam;* Anna dressed as a hijabi Muslim in *Süperseks*; Fatma in *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit*; Yağmur in *Türkisch für Anfänger*). Removing the hijab, on the other hand, is used as a visual shorthand for the characters' renouncement of oppressive and exploitative conditions coded as "Islamic" (Anam in *Anam*; Fatma in *Lola + Bilidikid*).

In romantic "ethno-comedies" *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit* (dir. Stefan Hotlz, 2006) *and Evet, ich will!* (dir. Sinan Akkuş, 2009), homogenising notions of "gender equality" in two apparently oppositional "cultural" spheres are mobilised via relationships between a male "German" character and a female "Turkish Muslim" character to portray the social norms and expectations of "Turkish Muslim" families as rigid and conservative, whilst "German" families are more flexible and egalitarian. In *Evet, ich will!* the female "Turkish Muslim" protagonist (Aylin) functions as the object of competing sexual claims made by a male "Turkish Muslim" (Tarkan) and male "German" (Götz) character. Whilst both Tarkan and Götz sexually objectify Aylin, Götz is celebrated in the narrative as the more progressive and respective sexual partner – the "nice guy". Indeed, the disciplining of sexist "Turkish Muslim" men (Tarkan in *Hochzeit*; Mürtüz in *Berlin in Berlin*) vis-à-vis the exoneration of sexism perpetrated by "German" men (Götz in *Hochzeit*, Thomas in *Berlin in Berlin*) suggests the racialised notions of misogyny operating within the genre. Finally, both "ethno-comedies" associate the male "German" protagonists' mothers with feminist politics and

movements. The films then employ anti-feminist rhetoric to portray the mothers' reactions to their sons' marriages into "Turkish Muslim" families as outdated and inappropriate for the young characters' pragmatic negotiations of their "intercultural" relationships.

Narratives of attempted "honour killings" mark a (re)turn to more pessimistic and problem-oriented representations of Germany's "Muslim" minorities (*Die Fremde* (dir. Feo Aladag, 2010); *Ayla*, (dir. Su Turhan, 2010). By invoking the racialised discourse of "honour" based violence, both films attribute misogyny in minority groups to a generalising notion of "Islamic" patriarchy. The inevitability of such violent reactions asserted in both films reveals the culturalising gesture driving their plots: "Turkish Muslim" communities are portrayed as ultimately motivated by a homogenous set of patriarchal social codes. In *Ayla*, the distinctions made between "Turkish German" Ayla and "Turkish Muslim" Hatice indicates the differentiation between such categories in more recent narratives.

The chapter concluded by evaluating the homogenisation of racialised and ethnicised identities with "Muslimness". Indeed, it is often the bifurcation of "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" characters via an insistence on their phenotypical difference that enables the opposition of "non-Muslim" and "Muslim" subject positions. Many of the films analysed associate "Turkish Muslim" social groups with working class subject positions, unsuccessful or limited integration, homophobia and an unquestioning adherence to inflexible and outdated social codes. All films address – and less often, challenge – the pre-existing knowledge of their audiences regarding female "Turkish Muslim" characters, and as such, are embedded in wider social, political and economic discourses. Like the common

parameters governing the representation of "Muslim" girls in young adult literature, female "Muslim" characters in film rarely deviate from an established script of a fraught existence determined by an often violently enforced "Islamic" oppression, as well as patriarchal and heteronormative gender roles and expectations.

Conclusion

> *The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story. The consequence of the single story is this: It robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar*
> – Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie[430]

This thesis has interrogated the regimes of representation surrounding the figure of the "Muslim" woman in German life writing, young adult literature and film in the 25 years since unification. Throughout the study, "Muslim" has been used to highlight the overburdened signification of the term in contemporary narratives, whereby the invocation of "Muslim" signals not only an assumed or actual religious affiliation, but also brings with it a whole range of racialised, gendered and classed discourses. "Muslims" are imagined to be members of a global, homogenous community, whose behaviours and beliefs are governed by anachronistic religious scriptures that promote the subjugation of women and the destruction of the global "west".

The figure of the "Muslim" woman plays a crucial role in this overburdened signification. Under the above framework, she is the victim of oppression and misogyny; her sexuality is demonised and "hidden" by various veiling practices; she is controlled by and therefore must be saved from the always-implied villain: the sexist, aggressive, and potentially fanatical "Muslim" man. This thesis has referred to this figure as the trope of the "oppressed Muslim woman". Around the world, there are women whose lives resonate with this

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[430] Adichie, *The Danger of a Single Story.*

description: who suffer intolerable abuses that are – in part – perpetuated by misogynistic interpretations of "Islam". But to claim that such abuses dominate and/or define the lives of millions of women in various regional and national contexts, with divergent ethnicities, sexualities, class positions and indeed varying relationships to and practice of different branches of Islam is offensive, reductive and violent.[431] The aim of this thesis has been to make visible the underlying hierarchies and agendas that have made and (re)make the figure of the "oppressed Muslim woman" into the "single story", as well as to present analyses and materials that complicate such a story.

This thesis has addressed the specific national context of Germany, defined by the discourses of new nationalism and xenophobia in a post-unification landscape, racialised and ethnicised debates surrounding the right to citizenship, and the state's relationship with and categorisation of its Muslim minorities. Although Muslims living in unified Germany come from a diverse range of national backgrounds, my analysis has shown that representations and discussions of "Muslims" are dominated by the history of Turkish labour migration to and settlement in West Germany. The overburdened signification of the "Muslim" woman, however, also operates in globalised debates surrounding human rights, gender equality and Islam's relationship to and within the "west". Such debates shape and are shaped by the widespread desecularisation of discourse post-1990 and the increasingly "common sense" association of "Islam" with narratives of "security" and "terror". The results of this research thus hold significance for other national contexts and disciplines outside of German studies.

[431] Cf. 'Representations of the unfreedom of others that blame the chains of culture incite rescue missions by outsiders. Such representations mask the histories of internal debate and institutional struggles over justice that have occurred in every nation. They also deflect attention from the social and political forces that are responsible for the ways people live.' Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, p. 20.

Through symptomatic readings of three genres embedded in wider political, social and economic discourses, this study has clarified the functionalisation of the figure of the "Muslim" woman (or girl) in post-unification Germany. The thesis contributes to existing research via a dedicated analysis of this figure across three under-researched genres and scholarship thereof. "Muslim" women's life writing in Germany is part of a lucrative and international literary genre and has received relatively more academic attention. Female "Muslim" characters in film and young adult literature, by contrast, occupy marginal positions within both cultural products and scholarship thereof. Overall, the thesis demonstrates the constitutive role of the figure of the "Muslim" woman (or girl) in producing "non-Muslim" subject positions. The investigation shows that the figure of the "Muslim" woman performs a crucial role in producing notions of "Germanness" and "national belonging". The constitutive function of this figure, however, goes beyond "Germanness" and is also variously associated with notions of "Europeanness", and "the West", as well as ideas surrounding "non-Muslim" femininities, practices and beliefs. This figure's importance in narratives of "gender equality" and feminism has been interrogated across all three genres. The thesis has demonstrated the historically fluctuating nature of representational practices across all genres, as well as the intersectional nature of such representations, which variously employ and combine notions of gender, class, race, sexuality, ethnicity and nationality with "Muslimness".

Indeed, representational practices surrounding "Muslims" in the German context often operate in conjunction with notions of "Turkishness". This study has demonstrated that the relationship between both markers is ambivalent and never fixed, fluctuating over time, genre and even within individual texts and films.

Nevertheless, my research has indicated several dominant trends in this relationship. In film and young adult literature of the 1990s, female characters belonging to minority groups associated with "Islam" are predominantly represented as "Turkish". Such characters are coded via their ethnic or national "difference", both within the cultural products themselves, as well as in their reception in scholarship and the press, their "Muslim" identities playing a subordinate or implicit role to their "Turkishness" (e.g. Female "Turkish (Muslim)" protagonist Dilber in 1994 film *Berlin in Berlin* and the "Kopftuchmädchen" in young adult literature of the late 1980s and 1990s). In the genres of life writing and film, "Turkish" and "Muslim" identities are often presented as interchangeable and inextricable. Interventions by the "Islamkritikerinnen", in particular, employ generalising notions of "Turkish Muslim" culture to explain women's oppression (e.g. Seyran Ateş' foreword to *Wir haben Erfolg!*, 2008; Serap Çileli's foreword to *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, 2007). Films featuring female "Muslim" protagonists position such characters in a homogenising "Turkish Muslim" milieu. Such a regime of representation has a compounding and mystifying effect, whereby practices and regulations of "Turkish" and "Muslim" "culture" appear to conspire in the protagonists' oppression (e.g. *Anam*, 2002; *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit*, 2006; *Die Fremde*, 2010). By contrast, some recent contributions to young adult literature and film offer more differentiated notions of "Turkish" and "Muslim" female subject positions, seen in the opposition of female "Turkish" and "Muslim" characters in film *Ayla* (2010) and young adult novel *Zimtküsse* (2012). Overall, the results of this research support a discursive shift from "Turks" to "Muslims" in the categorisation of Germany's minority groups affiliated with Islam around

the turn of the century. The “Muslim” identity of female figures across all three genres – and indeed in academic narratives – has become more important post-2000.[432]

Furthermore, representations of “Muslim” women and girls are overwhelmingly racialised as well as ethnicised in the cultural products considered by this thesis. The homogenisation of racialised and ethnicised identities with “Muslimness” is a complex phenomenon that merits further research. With few exceptions, female “Muslim” figures are presented as members of “migrant” or “foreign” minorities coded as non-white (cf. the covers images of the “misery memoirs” in “Muslim” women’s life writing and the racialised depictions of female “Turkish Muslim” characters in film). The codification of “Muslims” as non-white plays a crucial role in the culturalisation of “Islam”. As shown throughout this thesis, the construction of two apparently mutually exclusive cultural monoliths “Islam” and “Germany” (or sometimes “Europe” or “the west”) often functions as a platform for self-congratulatory assertions of the latter.[433] The success of such messages depends on the complete separation of “Germans” and “Muslims”, often achieved through assertions of racialised “cultural” difference. As El-Tayeb argues:

> Islam at times appears as a signifier almost empty as race, ascribing a combination of naturalized cultural attributes to “Muslims” that has little to do with religious beliefs or even with being a believer. Instead, the trope of the Muslim as Other

[432] Cf. ‘After decades in which immigrants’ religion was unimportant, discussions on Muslims in Germany are now focusing on religious identity. This coincides with the construction of a unified Muslim community that does not actually exist.’ Spielhaus, ‘Religion and Identity’, p. 17.
[433] Cf. ‘The implication is that the West does not include itself in any illiberal values, whether chastity, religious moralism, intolerance, racism, incarceration, sexism, economic exploitation or inequality.’ Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, p. 125.

> offers an apparently easy and unambiguous means to divide Europeans and migrants.[434]

Presenting "Muslims" as representatives of their "culture" allows their actions, beliefs and experiences to be attributed to "Islam". Racialised, culturalised explanations of problems attributed to minority groups – such as violence against women or poor performance in the education system – allow majoritarian society to distance itself from such problems, as well as obscuring the social and economic inequalities that contribute to them (cf. the repeated association in young adult literature of the female "Muslim" characters' academic performance and their "Muslim" families' stance on girls' education). If Muslims living in Germany (including German converts to Islam and Muslims with dual or sole German citizenship) were fully acknowledged as part of German society, political interventions into patriarchal, racist and classist structures of inequality could be more effective.

Feminist theory and politics are at the heart of this thesis, as is the constitutive role of the figure of the "Muslim" woman in subject positions made available to "non-Muslims" and narratives of gender equality. The above discussed racialisation and culturalisation of misogyny and violence against women evidenced throughout the study serves to contain and extraterritorialise such practices to "Muslim" social constellations both internal and external to the state. Essentialising misogynistic abuse as part of "Islamic" culture not only creates barriers between at risk Muslim women and social support services, but also obscures the prevalence of violence against women in majoritarian communities. Racialised discourses of "honour killings", for example, imply the inevitability of the violent regulation of female sexuality in "Muslim"

[434] El-Tayeb, *European Others*, xxx.

environments and disarticulate the intimate partner violence that claims the lives of women across religious, social and economic boundaries in Germany on a weekly basis.

The dominant representation of the figure of the “Muslim” woman as a victim of “Islamic” oppression, furthermore, offers up an “emancipated” subject position to “non-Muslim” women. Narratives featuring an imperilled “Muslim” woman or girl often interpellate characters internal to the text/film and/or external reader/viewers to the role of “saviour/rescuer”. In “Muslim” women’s life writing, for example, the reader/viewer is called upon to help the “Muslim” woman via donations (*Mich hat keiner gefragt*) or via the female “Muslim” victim’s fixing gaze on the cover of the “misery memoir” (cf. figures 3-6). In young adult literature and film, male “non-Muslim” characters are repeatedly portrayed as precipitating and/or facilitating the emancipation of the female “Muslim” character from “Islamic” oppression (cf. in young adult literature: *Ich, die Andere*, 2007; *Gegen meinen Willen*, 2010*; Kopftuch*, 2006; and in films *Anam*; *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit*; and *Die Fremde*). Such a functionalisation of the figure of the “Muslim” woman repurposes patriarchal and colonial power relations, which justify interventions by the historically white, male, western subject in order to “save” the “Muslim” woman.

These narratives, furthermore, often portray the emancipation of the abused/imperilled “Muslim” woman as only possible via her complete extrication from environments and practices coded as “Muslim”, thus ostensibly confirming the female majoritarian “western” subject’s emancipatory achievements and simultaneously obscuring the contested terms of such a status. Hegemonic (feminist) discourses that are informed by the binary of the oppressed “Muslim”

woman versus the emancipated "western" woman thus perpetuate racialised geopolitical hierarches and undermine feminist politics.

In the rare cases that the figure of the "Muslim" woman functions to discipline and regulate "non-Muslim" subject positions (rather than celebrate them or assert their superiority), such a functionalisation supports heteronormative gender roles and anti-feminist rhetoric. In several young adult literature texts "traditional (Turkish) Muslim" families are contrasted with non-nuclear social constellations of "German" characters in ways that valorise heteronormative and patriarchal social structures and criticise family models that deviate from them. In particular, non-normative modes of femininity (e.g. queer characters and those who work outside the home) are targeted as inadequate mothers. In films *Evet, ich will!* (2009) and *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit* (2006), the "German" mothers of male characters marrying "Turkish Muslim" women also come under fire. Helga and Helena's discriminatory and outdated attitudes towards their sons' "intercultural" relationships are associated in both films to these characters' feminist politics. In a similar gesture to the texts by the "Islamkritikerinnen", which targeted left and liberal political positions for practising an ostensibly damaging "tolerance" of "migrants" and "Islam" that apparently undermines the values of freedom, democracy and gender equality in Germany, the films *Evet* and *Hochzeit* indicate the delegitimisation of left-leaning, feminist politics in mainstream cultural products.

"Muslim" and "non-Muslim" masculinities, while not the focus of this thesis, function in a mutually constitutive and co-dependent relationship with "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" femininities. Through their relationships with "non-Muslim" female characters or their comparison with "non-Muslim" male

characters, "Muslim" men and boys in film and young adult literature are repeatedly associated with (suspected) acts of terrorism, violence and misogyny. Although male characters coded as "German" also take part in expressions of misogyny (cf. Erik in young adult novel *Wohin ich gehöre*, 1999; Götz in *Hochzeit* and Thomas in *Berlin in Berlin*), these characters are routinely let off the hook, contributing to the normalisation of such modes of masculinity. Similar practices perpetrated by "Muslim" men, however, are pointed out, challenged and/or condemned.

Considering the genres of life writing, young adult literature and film together, the study reveals the dominance of representations that confirm hegemonic discourses of the "oppressed Muslim woman". Narratives challenging this trope, on the other hand, often occupy marginal positions. In "Muslim" women's life writing, for example, texts by so-called "Islamkritikerinnen" – which portray "Islam" and as inherently patriarchal, illiberal and backward – dominate. Endorsed by the media and various state apparatuses as uniquely qualified informants, figures such as Seyran Ateş, Serap Çileli and Necla Kelek repeatedly posit homogenising notions of "Muslim culture" as incompatible with the values they see as enshrined in "Germany/Europe", such as democracy, gender equality and self-determination. As such, texts by the "Islamkritikerinnen" and indeed the so-called "misery memoirs" of abused "Muslim" women advocate a trajectory from "Islamic" oppression to happiness and autonomy via a complete estrangement from practices and conditions they code as "Muslim" (e.g. *Mich hat keiner gefragt,* 2007*; Eure Ehre, unser Leid*, 2008).[435] At the same time, the

[435] Cf. 'Muslimische Gesellschaften begreifen sich als unauflösliche Gemeinschaften […]. Die entscheidende Frage, nicht nur für die Integration, sondern auch für die eigene Identität, lautet deshalb, ob der Einzelne es schafft, sich von dem verordneten "Wir" zu befreien, ein "Ich" mit

"Islamkritikerinnen" empower right wing narratives by attacking the concepts of "tolerance" and "political correctness" – presented as irresponsible practices of the political left – as jeopardising "secularism" and "freedom" in contemporary Germany. Counter narratives that promote a more differentiated view of Germany's Muslims and promote anti-racist and feminist agendas both within Muslim communities and in German society as a whole have received less institutional and academic recognition (e.g. *Muslimisch, weiblich, Deutsch!*, 2011). Life writing by converts to Islam – whose narratives move in the opposite direction to those of the "misery memoirs" – are also less common in the genre (e.g. *Von MTV nach Mekka*, 2009). Similarly, in young adult literature, several texts featuring female "Muslim" protagonists emulate the narrative arc of the "misery memoir" (i.e. freedom and happiness as only possible via a complete break with "Islam"), often incorporating a white, male "German" character as a romantic interest that precipitates the emancipation of the "Muslim" girl (e.g. *Ich, die Andere; Gegen meinen Willen; Kopftuch*). Aygen-Sibel Çelik's *Seidenhaar* (2007) is the only text to challenge the civilizational hierarchy that underlies such narratives and to point out the structural racism and sexism in embedded German society that impoverishes the lives of Muslim and non-Muslim girls alike.

Female "Muslim" figures are also portrayed in the same types of narratives, spaces and subject positions in all three genres. The aforementioned transformation narrative of the "oppressed", "ex" or "secular" "Muslim" woman in life writing and young adult literature – who is sometimes "rescued" by a white, male, "German/non-Muslim" saviour – also features in post-1990 German film (e.g. *Berlin in Berlin*; *Die Fremde*; *Ayla*). Hijabi "Muslims", in particular,

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einer eigenen Stimme zu werden und sich selbst zu entscheiden, für die Gemeinschaft, in der er lebt, Verantwortung zu übernehmen.' Necla Kelek, *Bittersüße Heimat*, p. 15.

represent the most unemancipated and illiberal female "Muslim" identity in all three of the genres analysed. The hijab functions as a visual shorthand in the figure of the "Muslim" woman's transformation narrative, with text and film using its removal as a sartorial expression of rejection of "Islamic" oppression and integration into "secular" freedom (cf. the hijab removal trope in young adult literature: *Gegen meinen Willen, Ich die Andere, Kopftuch*; in film: *Lola + Bilidikid*; *Anam*). The "ethno-comedy" – which aims to create humour via the juxtaposition of well-established gendered and ethnicised stereotypes of "Germans" and "Turks" – operates in life writing (e.g. *Tante Semra in Leberkäseland*, 2008; *Einmal Hans mit scharfer Soße*, 2005) and film (*Evet! Ich will*; *Meine verrückte türkische Hochzeit*). The success of such "ethno-comedies" depends on the extent to which such narratives can neutralise and/or circumvent contentious notions of "Muslimness" via a focus on ethnicised difference. Viewing life writing, young adult literature and film together thus reveals the intersecting and mutually constitutive nature of representations of "Muslim" women across genres.

The subject positions available to "Muslim" women in the genres analysed are predominantly heterosexual, relational and domestic: representations of "Muslim" women are often determined by their roles as wives, mothers, daughters and sisters-in-law, and by the accompanying domestic and reproductive labour. The spaces that female "Muslim" figures inhabit are often coded as "Islamic" and "oppressive" (such as in the home or in their families' country of origin), or "German/secular" and "emancipatory" (such as in German public streets or at school, in the case of most young adult characters.) If such figures work outside of the home, this is usually in a role with a low socio-economic status. Exceptions to

this trend in film are “Turkish Muslim” Özlem in *Evet, ich will!*, who is a law student, and restaurant manager Gül in *Die Fremde*. In life writing, the “Islamkritikerinnen”, “Islambefürworterinnen” and the converts to Islam occupy middle class positions of relative privilege. Throughout the cultural products analysed in this thesis, “Muslim” women are depicted in “realistic”, everyday situations and often in problematic or burdensome discourses: they face struggles at school, home and work. Explicit references to class position or economic conditions are rarely invoked in representations of “Muslim” women and girls.

The narrow parameters of representation for female “Muslim” figures and characters as evidenced by this thesis by no means reflect the range of lived experiences of Muslims in contemporary Germany. Nevertheless, such parameters do play a constitutive role in the subject positions available to Muslim women and girls. Media depictions of marginalised female subject positions – be they queer, disabled, fat or of colour – have significant potential, firstly, as points of reference for women and girls who do not identify with idealised and commodified notions of white, heterosexual, cisgender, thin, able-bodied femininity and secondly, to diversify how and where we are used to seeing typically marginalised women. Pakistani cartoon series *Burka Avenger* – featuring school teacher Jiya and her pro-education superhero alter ego – or Marvel comics’ Kamala Khan – the first Muslim *Ms. Marvel* superhero – suggests ways to diversify the regimes of representation surrounding Muslim women and girls and challenge producers and consumers of cultural products to look beyond the “single story”.[436]

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[436] Andrew Wheeler, ‘All-New Marvel NOW! Q&A: Ms. Marvel’, *Marvel.com*, 6 November 2013 <http://marvel.com/news/comics/2013/11/6/21466/all-new_marvel_now_qa_ms_marvel> [accessed 18 December 2013]; Hasnain Kazim, ‘Revolutionäre Cartoon-Serie: Burka kann Karate’, *Spiegel Online*, 27 July 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/burka-avenger-pakistanische-cartoon-serie-mit-raechendem-maedchen-a-913157.html> [accessed 2 April 2015].

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