Marketing Authenticity: Production and Promotion of Muslim Women's Memoirs in Germany and Austria

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

Lindsay Jorgensen Lawton

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Arlene Teraoka

March 2014

© Lindsay J. Lawton 2014

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I owe a debt of gratitude to my advisor, Arlene Teraoka, for her patience, encouragement, and fortitude – as well as her critical eye – in reading so many drafts with such care and attention. I am also very grateful to Ruth-Ellen Joeres, chair of my committee, for her tireless support and expert guidance. Many thanks also to the other members of my committee, Rick McCormick, Matthias Rothe, and Barbara Wolbert, all of whom have been unfailingly generous with their time and their advice.

This project benefitted from the financial support of several institutions and individuals at the University of Minnesota, including the Department of German, Scandinavian, and Dutch; the Center for Austrian Studies; the Center for German and European Studies; the College of Liberal Arts; Hella Lindemeyer Mears; and Gerhard and Janet Weiss. For the funding, including the Zantop Travel Award, as well as for the welcoming, intellectually rigorous, and often hilarious community, I am especially grateful to the Coalition of Women in German.

I have been touched and humbled by the support, advice, and motivation provided by my peers and colleagues, past and present. Ashley Olstad deserves exceptional thanks for her advice and insight, both personal and professional, and for always cheering me on. Thanks also to Anne Wallen, Anja Shepela, Adrienne Damiani, Marnie Christensen, Rebecca Raham, Arsena Ianeva-Lockney, Ginny Steinhagen, and Sally Lieberman for helping me navigate the challenges of the past several years with something I can only hope approaches their grace under pressure.

Finally, I am grateful to my family for their understanding, their flexibility, and their trust. Special thanks to Rob, Grady, and Miriam for taking such good care of me and helping me keep this grand adventure in perspective.

Table of Contents

List of Figures ... iii
Glossary ... 2
Introduction ... 3
Emergence of a Genre ... 8
The Socioeconomics of Muslim Women's Writing ... 19
Methodology ... 26
Overview of Chapters ... 30
Chapter 1: Ayşe, or the Making of a Muslim Women's Memoir ... 34
Testimonio, Autoethnography, and Muslim Women's Life Writing ... 43
Paratexts & Genre Markers ... 48
Conclusion ... 67
Chapter 2: Sabatina, or a Shocking True Story of Faith, Sex, and Scandal ... 74
The Book ... 77
Production & Promotion ... 86
Sex, Gender, and Moral Panic ... 92
Epilogue ... 98
Chapter 3: Hatun, or Agency & Afterlife ... 102
Agency, Exploitation, and the Muslim Woman Victim ... 109
Social Fantasy, National Integrity, and Islam as Contagion ... 121
Sürücü's Image ... 128
Speaking for, Speaking about ... 133
Conclusion ... 141
Chapter 4: You can't tell a book by its cover. ... 144
Book Covers, Marketing & Material Contexts ... 146
Consumption, Promotion, (Re)production in Social Media ... 156
Enacting Authentic Identity ... 169
Conclusion ... 174
Bibliography ... 178
Appendix of Muslim Women's Memoirs ... 195

List of Figures

Figure 1: *Ehrenmord: Ein deutsches Schicksal*, 2011 © Hoffmann und Campe........................ 129

Figure 2: Sürücü at work; © rbb/WDR/Privat... 129

Figure 3: *Gefangen in Deutschland*, 2011 © Münchner Verlagsgruppe GmbH 149

Figure 4: *Befreiung vom Schleier*, 2013 © Münchner Verlagsgruppe GmbH 149

Figure 5: *Sterben sollst du für dein Glück*, 2004 © Knaur Taschenbuch.................................. 152

Figure 6: *Nur die Wahrheit macht uns frei*, 2011 © Pattloch Verlag 152

“When you save someone, you imply that you are saving her from something. You are also saving her *to* something. What violences are entailed in this transformation, and what presumptions are being made about the superiority of that to which you are saving her?”

(Abu-Lughod, “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?” 788-9)

Glossary

Muslim woman victim

A figure in which the categories of Muslim, woman, and victim are inextricably linked: the figure is categorized as Muslim by virtue of the gendered abuse she has suffered (not necessarily by her own faith or that of her abusers); her gender is marked by Muslim violence; and her status as a victim is due to her gender and her religion.

Muslim

Traditionally, a term used to describe individuals who consider themselves adherents of any branch of Islam. Especially since the turn of the twenty-first century, this term now often signifies a social category that connects ideology, class status, and phenotype.

Islam

"Islam" refers to religious traditions based on the Prophet Mohammed, including the most prominent branches, Sunni and Shiite. In some Western media, Islam has also come to stand for a set of rules governing a cohesive, transnational community of Muslims dedicated to the destruction of the West.

Author-narrator

I use this term to foreground the importance of the embodied narrator as public figure, as well as the fact that many of the women filling this role did not do the writing themselves.

Parallelwelt

Parallel world; communities in Europe that are independent from and inaccessible to non-Muslims, where Western laws, social and cultural norms, and ideals of individual freedoms do not apply (or are actively opposed).

Social media

Refers here to the vast array of applications that enable the creation and exchange of user-generated content, including but not limited to Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Wikipedia, as well as forums and comment fields on blogs, online news articles, and online retail sites.

Introduction

As he hiked through the dense underbrush of the German forest, the man heard the sound of a woman's tender voice penetrating the silence. He stopped. She sang, in broken German, about her heartbreak and worry, her homesickness for a faraway land and about the terrible violence that tore her from it after killing her father and brothers and destroying their castle, all because of their religious beliefs. She sang her tragic song to the accompaniment of a beautiful lute and the sobbing of a child. As the lovely music ended, the hiker scrambled over mossy rocks and deeper into the brush toward the voice. In a small valley, he found a pale, drawn girl sitting under an old oak tree, her own tears falling as she tried to comfort the crying child in her lap.

The singer jumped a little with surprise when she saw him, but she was friendly, and the child observed him with curiosity even as she clung to the singer more tightly. The singer explained that the hiker reminded her of her long-lost brother, who had avoided the war and might still be alive somewhere in Persia. The hiker's heart thrilled with sympathy for the girl; he comforted her with friendly words and asked her to tell him her story in greater detail. She did not seem at all reluctant, although her sad tale was often interrupted by her tears.

The hiker here is Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen. The singer is Zulima, one of the earliest depictions in German-language literature of a female Muslim victim - that is, a figure in which the categories of female, Muslim, and victim are inexorably linked. Despite her victim status, Zulima is shown to speak for herself and tell her own story, even though her voice is created by the author. In the pages that follow, I examine twenty-first century iterations of the same figure. Todd Kontje writes that Zulima

exemplifies “the Oriental woman as a helpless victim who needs to be rescued and protected by the Western man” (94) who also supports and inspires Heinrich’s “process of becoming” (94-95).

Zulima has a great deal in common with contemporary stereotypes of Muslim women, but it is the later figure of Goethe’s Suleika who has become the commonly referenced “original” Muslim woman in German-language literature. According to a variety of religious narratives that may have influenced Goethe’s choice of name, the historical Suleika (or Zulaikha) was the wife of Potiphar, captain of the Pharaoh’s palace guard (Shafak). Joseph was sold to him as a slave, and proved so trustworthy that he quickly became head of Potiphar’s household. In the story’s most basic form, Suleika tried repeatedly to seduce Joseph, and became angry when he refused her. She accused him of trying to rape her, and he was sent to prison. The Koranic version of the story includes a scene in which a group of women who had mocked Suleika for falling in love with a Hebrew slave were invited to visit her. She gave them oranges to eat, and then brought Joseph into the room. The women were so distracted by his beauty that they all cut their hands with their orange knives (Ünal, 533). Suleika is named in neither the Koran nor the Bible; the name comes from a medieval commentary on the Torah (Sefer HaYashar; Kalimi and Haas, 68).

According to Katherina Mommsen, Goethe chose the name Suleika because he was thinking “in terms of pharaoh’s daughter and wife of Potiphar, who is celebrated as the ideal of feminine beauty in many oriental poems” (82). Mommsen writes that Goethe was certainly aware of the negative associations with the name due to the biblical version of the story (which does not name Suleika), but that he also “knew from Djamis’

‘Jussuph und Suleika’ [from Jami's Haft Awrang ("Seven thrones")], as well as from other oriental poems, that a positive estimation of Suleika was current in the Orient” (82). Mommsen connects Goethe’s own “positive estimation” with the twelfth Sura of the Koran (‘Joseph’), which includes lines suggesting that Suleika’s love for Joseph was a “burning but chaste passion” that led her to find God, rather than with Genesis 39-41, the biblical version of the Joseph tale in which she is an adulterous, hyper-sexual villain. That said, the *Buch Suleika* in *Divan* is only very tenuously tied to the story of Joseph and Suleika, as Goethe refers to it just a few lines prior to announcing that he will call the recipient of the poem Suleika:

> Daß Suleika von Jussuf entzückt war,
> Ist keine Kunst.
> Er war jung, Jugend hat Gunst.
> Er war schön; sie sagen: zum Entzücken,
> Schön war sie, konnten einander beglücken.
> Aber daß du, die so lange mir erharrt war,
> Feurige Jugendblicke mir schickst,
> Jetzt mich liebst, mich später beglückst,
> Das sollen meine Lieder preisen,
> Sollst mir ewig Suleika heißen. (Goethe, ch. 9)

It is clear that the party addressed here is distinct from the legendary Suleika, since she is addressed as “du” and the legendary Suleika is referred to as “sie.” Like Zulima, Suleika appears in *Divan* as a speaking subject and narrator of several poems. Suleika is also the pseudonym for Marianne von Willemer, who inspired the poems in

Buch Suleika and even wrote some of them herself (Mommsen, 82). Like Zulima, Goethe's Suleika is unique because she uses her own voice: as Karin Yeşilada argues, "'Suleika' als literarisches Motiv begegnet uns in Goethes West-Östlichem Divan; hier erhält sie eines der seltenen Male eine eigene poetische Stimme, mit der sie dem lyrischen Ich antwortet: Aus dem Abbild der geliebten Suleika wird ein zweites, autonomes lyrisches Ich" (4).

Similarities between Marianne and the legendary Suleika include their reputations as beauties, the fact that both of them were married, and their love with men who were not their husbands. The use of the pseudonym strengthens the connection between the figure of Suleika, the actual woman Marianne, and the Muslim women's writing that I address here: the pseudonym offers protection and blurs the distinction between author and narrator. It also highlights female sexuality, an issue at the heart of contemporary debates about the autonomy of Muslim women. Marianne was married, and her contribution to *Divan* would have been scandalous if it had been acknowledged at the time of publication. Nonetheless, the pseudonym and circumstances of production still raise questions about the ethics of co-authorship that are also relevant for Muslim women's memoirs today.

Zulima and Suleika offer two separate, but not exactly opposing, models of Muslim women in early German literature, both of which are echoed by representations of Muslim women in contemporary German literature. Zulima is defined by her victim status, while Suleika is in no way portrayed, let alone defined, as a victim – at least, not of violence, and not due to her religion. Suleika carries connotations of sexuality, while Zulima cuts a more chaste figure. While both women are shown to speak for themselves

as literary subjects, this subjectivity is facilitated in different ways by male figures and authors. Marrianne was more than just a muse for Goethe, and her contribution to *Divan*, which was not publicly recognized until after her death, seems to have been the result of her abilities; she was the only one of the women to whom Goethe was connected who contributed writing to his work. Zulima is also shown to inspire and support the male protagonist through the telling of her own tragic tale, but it is her experiences and circumstances (and Heinrich's longing for a lute, which she happens to be playing when they meet) rather than her skills which make Heinrich listen.

Muslim women writing today are understood in fundamentally similar terms, and their memoirs, like Zulima's story, inspire and support a process of becoming for twenty-first century national and transnational identity. Like Suleika, they are subject to conflation with the figure of the Muslim woman victim, obscuring the actual, (usually) living, women whose experiences with abuse and oppression at the hands of their families are the foundation for first-person narratives characterized as Muslim women's memoirs. The widespread popularity of these memoirs can be traced to moral panic about twenty-first century Muslim violence as well as social fantasies of contagion that have their roots in the racialization of Islam. The discursive context in which Muslim women's memoirs are produced and consumed perpetuates troubling practices of speaking for oppressed populations and sensationalizing the suffering of author-narrators, both practices which perpetuate negative stereotypes. Even as the lived experiences of author-narrators are marketed as examples of the familiar script of Muslim women's suffering despite deviations from this script in the central texts, these narratives (and the stories about them) nonetheless have the potential to script Muslim women's experiences as

well.

Emergence of a Genre

"Eine Jungfrau soll ohne ihre Einverständnis nicht verheiratet werden. Und genügend als (Zeichen der) Zustimmung soll **ihr Schweigen** sein (wegen ihrer natürlichen Schüchternheit)" (Çileli, "Vorwort" 6).[1]

"Der Islam spielte bei uns in der Familie eigentlich keine besonders groβe Rolle" (Ayşe, 126).

The representations of Islam in and around these texts evidence some of the most important differences among these books, and highlight tensions between the authorial voice and the commercial/cultural apparatus that transforms experience into commodity. Memoirs of this kind are categorized together by booksellers and cited in reports about Islam in Europe even though the authors describe very different experiences of Muslim faith. Sabatina James' story documents her search for God, while Ayşe writes that Islam actually didn't play a very big role in her family, and another describes how she was taught as a child that to be Muslim "bedeutet ein Leben in ständiger Furcht" (Kalkan, 30) without stating her current religious beliefs. Just as the stories that audiences expect within these books are already familiar, so are the stories about them and about their authors. They are especially evident in marketing across the genre, performing the important function of aligning a spectrum of authors and obscuring the specificity of their experiences with and attitudes toward Islam (and the West).

Yeşilada describes Suleika's shift from her origins as "die türkisch-arabische Orientalin," an "exotischen, wilden, sinnlichen Schönheit, die nur schemenhaft hinter

[1] In this foreword to Ayşe's memoir *Mich hat keiner gefragt: Zur Ehe gezwungen - eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt,* Çileli is quoting a hadith (Buchari, Muslim); emphasis original.

dem Schleier bzw. Hinter den Pforten von Hamam und Harem erkennbar [ist]" (4) to the figure more commonly known in German language discourse in the late twentieth century: "eine dunkeläugige, exotische Schönheit mit langen lockigen Haaren, eine junge Türkin, die von ihrer Familie, besonders von Vater und Brüdern unterdrückt wird, und die erst durch das Eingreifen eines (blonden) deutschen Helden aus ihrem Joch befreit wird" (5). This later incarnation of Suleika is, Yeşilada writes, "fast ausschließlich vom deutschen Mann kreierte" and "stets eine geschundene" Suleika (closer to Zulima) who interests the German man as a woman he can free and "als Fremdbild, das er sich vom Anderen erschafft" (5). This figuration of Suleika is a prime example of what Spivak describes as brown women being rescued from brown men by white men. With the increasing prominence of the writing of "Autorinnen 'orientalischer Herkunft,'" Yeşilada sees another, more recent shift taking place: a "Perspektivenwechsel von der *beschriebenen* Suleika zur *schreibenden* Suleika" (6, emphasis original), which she characterizes as the Other speaking back. Nevertheless, Yeşilada argues that most German-language literature by female authors of Turkish heritage reproduces the existing trope of the "geschundene Suleika" and thus exhibits what she calls *Suleikalismus*, a "frauenspezifische Abwandlung" of Said's Orientalism (6).

Yasemin Yildiz draws on Yeşilada's analysis of Suleika to explain a recent shift in German public discourse in which Suleika is increasingly coded as Muslim rather than Turkish. In the 1970s as in the 2000s, Suleika is "foreign, deficient" and a "pitiable victim of domestic abuse" (465), but she is no longer a Turkish woman at the mercy of her culture. Instead, she has been recast as a "'Muslim woman' and is said to suffer from the tenets of her 'religion,' that is, Islam" (466). Yildiz reads the emphasis on religion in

stories of female victimhood as connected to the greater focus on religion/Islam in global and national politics since the turn of the twenty-first century. In an analysis that echoes Kontje's reading of Zulima, Yildiz argues that these stories "occupy a privileged, facilitating role in the shift [from Turkish to Muslim]" (467) primarily because of the way that gender is employed through ideology and affect to rearticulate "self and other in the production of a contemporary 'German subject' set in a larger European and global context" (467). This is especially true for texts that originate with the (once Turkish, now Muslim) victim herself.

The narrative type Yeşilada and Yildiz describe is evident in film, television, and news media, but has been especially successful since the early 2000s in the form of first-person life writing often referred to as Muslim women's writing. Dozens of these books, with similar stories of captivity, abuse, and eventual escape and even more strikingly similar cover art and marketing, have been published in Germany and Austria (and throughout most of Europe) in recent years. Many of these memoirs have become bestsellers and have been printed in multiple editions; some of the most polemic author-narrators[2] of such works have successfully published second books and developed careers as public speakers and activists. Memoirs of this kind share common themes of forced marriage, honor killing, or "crimes of honor" and they detail the cruelty and violence to which the protagonist is subjected during her quest to pursue a "Western" lifestyle. Muslim women's memoirs are framed as critiques or exposés of Islam, cited together in news reports about Islam in Europe, and categorized together by booksellers.

[2] I use the term author-narrator to refer to the women listed as authors of these books in order to draw attention to two items: the fact that they rarely (if ever) do the writing themselves, and their primary discursive positioning in relation to these books as narrators-in-the-flesh, as the actual women whose experiences so fascinate audiences.

On the one hand, this framing and reception seem somewhat contradictory, since these memoirs are premised on the author-narrators' rejection of Islam.[3] On the other hand, the stories about these memoirs, from marketing to activism to critical scholarship, have come to overshadow much of what is contained within them, including the diversity of attitudes toward and experiences with Islam. The categories of Muslim, woman, and victim are so closely connected around these texts that the author-narrators are prone to disappear as individuals. Here, I begin to tease apart the discursive knots that have formed around these texts by examining different facets of their production and promotion and attempting a reading that is open to what Spivak calls the "imagined agency of the other" (32) – that is, a reading which attends to the author-narrators as active, individual participants in the creation and promotion of their memoirs, to evidence of their voices and of their strategies for navigating political, economic, and cultural currents, and to the risk of both positive and negative essentializing of their work. I distinguish between central narratives and accompanying paratexts to reveal a range of attitudes and experiences that destabilize dominant understandings of these author-narrators and of female Muslim victimhood. I draw attention to the ways that gender, race, and class factor into an oversimplified and marginalizing view of these women and their writing as formulaic and interchangeable. What is at stake, and what is to be gained, in the transformation of a woman's experiences into such a clearly marked and highly marketable commodity? As Abu-Lughod asks, what violences does this entail?

These memoirs are similar in many ways, not the least of which is their focus on the author-narrators' experiences with threatened or accomplished "crimes of honor" like

[3] On the other hand, it could be argued that the contradiction lies in the idea of writing that is both Muslim and women's, since one common stereotype of Muslim women involves their harshly restricted expression.

forced marriage or honor killing. While the details, the author-narrators' responses, and the role of Islam vary from story to story, the basic plot points and characters in these memoirs are similar enough to map onto a general narrative framework. In broad strokes, some of these include the heroine's growing sense of oppression and exploitation, often coinciding with puberty and resulting in resistance to gender norms and expectations; the escalating physical, emotional, and usually sexual violence at the hands of a tyrannical figure (typically the heroine's father, mother-in-law, or husband); and the heroine's break with her family and community. The implication that these groups pose a continued threat to the author-narrator's safety serves as a bridge between the conclusion of the central text and the public story about the memoir. Many author-narrators publish their stories under pseudonyms for their own protection, but their photos are often featured on the covers and they participate actively in publicizing and marketing their work, making the exposed woman as much a commodity as her story.

Muslim women's memoirs are categorized as non-fiction, but because of the themes as well as the author-narrators, they do not have the same status as many other nonfiction genres. Instead, they have been described as "literature of the veil" ("Schleierliteratur"), "literature of the affected" ("Betroffenheitsliteratur"), and "trash novels" ("Schundromane"); Beverly Weber refers to them as "victim narratives" (*Violence and Gender* 140), Fatima El-Tayeb calls them "escape narratives" (*European Others* 100), and Lila Abu-Lughod describes them as "popular memoirs sold in airport bookstores and instantly recognizable by the veiled women stamped on their covers" ("Active Social Life" 2). Most of these designations imply "essentialism, inauthenticity, and a lack of artistic merit" (Warner, 28) and mark the entire genre as less than: less

significant, less literary, and less respectable. In a word, trivial – a label frequently applied to women's writing. The relatively low cultural status of this set of texts goes hand in hand with a tendency to regard author-narrators more as interchangeable figureheads, icons, or Abu-Lughod's "stamps" – rather than as writers, a designation which implies individuals with authorial agency.

The impression of uniformity among author-narrators is strengthened by the tendency to focus on the most famous and most polemic of them, such as the widely criticized and frequently quoted Necla Kelek.[4] Kelek and a few other prominent anti-Islam activists have been sought-after reviewers of these memoirs, and their own books have drawn significant attention in popular and academic coverage of this genre. Their fame in Germany plays a major role in the assumption that their experiences and opinions, as well as their books, are representative for those of other author-narrators writing in this genre. Their intensely critical focus on Islam has a great deal to do with the practice of labeling the genre, as well as the women at its heart, as "Muslim." The differences among these memoirs are also overshadowed by the idea of a monolithic and violent Islam as the source of these women's suffering and the belief that they must reject this religion as well as their families and communities in order to live a life free of abuse[5] – both of which are foundational components of the complex cultural context in which these books are produced and promoted.

As Brian Massumi notes, "the difference between marketing and consuming and between living and buying is becoming smaller and smaller, to the point that they are

[4] Although author-activists like Kelek have been roundly criticized for claiming the right to speak for Muslim women, their work is still treated as representative of all Muslim women's memoirs that address forced marriage or other crimes of honor.
[5] Or, among more critical audiences, the belief that the author-narrators believe this.

getting almost indistinguishable" with a growing trend toward marketing based on "contagion rather than convincing" (Massumi, 229). With this in mind, I look at the ways that these books are positioned in the public sphere by publishers, activists, authors and consumers, from cover design and print advertising; to physical and virtual displays; to promotional events, such as readings and interviews with the authors; to social media, with a particular focus on reader comments contained in product pages with online booksellers. In the following, I will show how the marketing of these memoirs (or, perhaps more to the point, marketing of the genre to which they belong) in text and image across such media portrays a gendered, racialized, and cynical version of Muslim faith and belonging, utilizing and reinforcing existing frames of reference among consumers. Beliefs about the nature of Islam as inherently violent, the idea of Muslim communities in Europe that are independent from and inaccessible to non-Muslims,[6] and the rhetorical substitution of *the* Muslim community for Allah are critical factors in shaping both the short-term commercial success of this genre and the long-term persistence of destructive stereotypes.

Despite the important similarities that allow these books to be understood as a genre, there is substantial variation in author-narrators' experiences with regard to family, integration, the state, and especially with religion. Before examining the commercial apparatus that shapes these narratives, the term "Muslim," and its connection to Islam, its application to these memoirs and their author-narrators merits further discussion. The label "Muslim" in the 21st century has multiple and fluid meanings, referring to adherents of Islam as well as to a range of practices, cultural identities, and ethnic and national heritage. Since approximately the turn of the 21st century, with the changes to German

[6] Widely referred to in German media as a parallel world, *Parallelwelt.*

citizenship laws that went into effect in 2000 and the resulting crisis of language[7] when referring to those previously (not always accurately) categorized as guest workers, Turks, migrants, or foreigners; acts of religious violence and the advent of the global war on terror; and the growing boundaries of and identification with the European Union, "Muslim" has been increasingly used to refer to a range of visible minority groups (Spielhaus). As Fatima El-Tayeb and many others have pointed out, this shift has coincided with hyperbolic discourse on national and transnational belonging informed by conservatives like Thilo Sarrazin and with growing Islamophobia that threatens to define Europe of the 21st century (Bunzl). In the discursive context that shaped (and has been shaped by) these memoirs, "Muslim" signifies a convergence of race, class, and national and cultural heritage in a monolithic category of otherness that is tied to a notion of a single, global, and equally monolithic Islam. As visible minorities and as (presumed) members of a transnational community that demands primary loyalty and opposes European values, those labeled "Muslim" are thus doubly marked as non-European (El-Tayeb, xxx).

Author-narrators are publicly defined by their gender, victim status, and a perceived connection with and expertise about Islam. These authors are a diverse group, yet their experiences are connected by a public discourse that at once trivializes and reifies the abuse that they suffered by labeling it Muslim. In the course of this project, I have tried out a number of labels for the narrative at its heart: Muslim family drama, abuse narratives, oppression narratives, escape memoirs…even the term *Betroffenheitsliteratur*, which was used by producers of these works in conversation with

[7] This difficulty is also evident in the traction gained since that time by the opposing, racially loaded terms "Bio-Deutsche" and "Pass-Deutsche," which differentiate individuals based on their ethnicity or race while acknowledging a common national citizenship. See especially Spielhaus, Rennefanz.

me, ultimately failed to convey the most critical information about these stories. Moreover, these terms also obscured important information about how such narratives are marketed to (and received by) the German reading public. My decision to use the term "Muslim women's memoirs" comes in part from my desire to draw attention to its inaccuracy, but also to provide faithful representation of German-language media, as well as the greater struggle in German language to balance accuracy, political correctness, and efficiency when describing a certain kind of Other and identifying a certain kind of perceived threat.

The story of the Muslim woman victim is so old and familiar in German-language literature that it constitutes the sort of paratext that Jonathan Gray describes as a filter through which audiences pass on their way to the text itself (17). The label "Muslim" when applied to an abused woman carries with it enough history for target audiences of these memoirs that it can distract them from how a particular text deviates from the script they know and anticipate. Another consequence of this labeling is that author-narrators' participation in public discourse does not extend beyond "Muslim" issues like forced marriage to other topics that arguably have greater impact on them, such as education or economic policies. This creates a double-bind: they must reject Islam and affiliated community for their speech to be heard, but their contributions are marginalized because of their perceived connection to Islam.

In addition to highlighting the various and sometimes contradictory representations of Islam in and around these memoirs, the quotes at the beginning of this section provide a useful point of departure for examining the relationship between the label and the author-narrator. As Çileli's foreword indicates, these memoirs are framed as

condemnations of Islam and the moral culture associated with it while the author-narrators are understood (or, in some cases – like Çileli's – self-identify) as "Islamkritikerinnen." Memoirs of this kind have been especially welcomed – and marketed – as the "authentic" voices of Muslim women victims, that is, women oppressed by the religious conviction of their Muslim families, but this impression is largely engineered. Ayşe's insistence that Islam did not play a big role in her family calls into question the significance of Islam in the construction of the figure of the Muslim woman victim (and the Muslim tyrant who torments her). It also highlights tensions between this figure and author-narrators. Yildiz has argued that "the figures that [stories about abused young women in Germany] create are ultimately made up of generic features and stock characteristics that show only slight variation" despite the fact that they "seemingly" refer to "actual women and their lives" (467). This is very often the case, particularly when it comes to news reporting and other narratives not created by formerly abused women. But the figures – both the narrative "I" and the public figure – created by these memoirs do, in fact, refer to *actual* individual women and their lives. The author-narrator's actual existence is emphasized when she is pictured on the cover, attends readings, and gives interviews. How can we make sense of the "artificial, yet affectively charged" (Yildiz, 467), overdetermined *figure* of the Muslim woman victim as well as and in relation to the *actual* women participating in the creation of such figures and appearing in reference to this figure in the public sphere?

One productive approach is to look at moments when gaps appear between the stereotype and the author-narrator or between the familiar script and the actual texts. Many of these memoirs include accounts of experiences and attitudes that do not fit the

well-known script about the oppressed Muslim woman and her quest for a liberated European lifestyle. In the familiar script, the heroine's total rejection of Islam (and practices like forced marriage and honor killing that are associated with it), her family, and "the" Muslim community is necessary to protect herself. But Ayse, who escaped her abusive husband and in-laws after nearly twenty years, includes in her memoir her decision to force her own teenage daughter to marry the son of her coworker while they were on vacation in Turkey (2225-227). After leaving the first marriage her family forced her into, Inci Y. reluctantly agrees to her family's plan for her second marriage to a German Muslim man she had never met (272). Hulya Kalkan departs from this script as well when she ends her memoir by describing how she repaired her relationship with her mother, who had tried to force both her daughters to marry and was the primary villain throughout most of the text.

The familiar narrative of the Muslim woman victim positions the Western state or its representatives as heroic. Yet many of these memoirs challenge this expectation by including critiques of the same state that, as Weber puts it, "asserts national (German) and transnational (European) identity by claiming to be the proper guardian of (immigrant) women's rights" ("Freedom from Violence" 200). Author-narrators' accounts of how public services like consulates, hospitals, shelters, social workers, and others failed to protect their rights (or even to inform them of such) are common in these memoirs. Ayşe comments that she should have attended school after arriving in Germany, but that she didn't know about the law and authorities never followed up with her mother-in-law (93). Sabatina James, whose memoir is otherwise a very close fit to the familiar script of female Muslim victimhood, wrote that her story "mag übertrieben

klingen….Und genauso reagierten die Behörden, als ich zum ersten Mal zur Polizei ging….Wahrscheinlich hielten sie mich für einen Teenager, der zu viele schlechte Filme gesehen und noch mehr Schundromane gelesen hatte" (10).

Such deviations from the standard narrative of the oppressed Muslim woman call into question the impression of a stable and autonomous "I" in which the narrator, the creative subject, and the author-narrator's public image cohere, and the extent to which this "I" correlates with that of other author-narrators. Muslim women's memoirs are marketed as courageous works by women who heroically risk their own safety to bring their suffering and oppression to light as a way of raising awareness of crimes of honor, yet the books are not uniformly the products of individual conviction or altruism. The networks that support their creation and production are dense and complex, and made up primarily of white German professionals. The marketing of such works often obscures the participation of co-authors or ghost writers, editors, designers, activists, and publishers in the creation of a commodity and in the cultivation of an audience of consumers. The contributions of (at least most of) these professionals is a given for the production of most any literature, but their roles in producing these narratives in particular deserves a second look because of the extent to which Muslim women's memoirs depend on the perception of a single, coherent "schreibende Suleika" for their success (Yeşilada).

The Socioeconomics of Muslim Women's Writing

Die Träume vieler türkischer Frauen, die geglaubt hatten, aus Zwangsehen und geistiger Unterdrückung ausbrechen zu können, scheitern.…Um zu überleben, verkaufen sie dort am Ende das einzige Kapital, das ihnen ihre Eltern mit auf den Weg gegeben haben: ihre

Weiblichkeit. (Inci Y., *Erzähl mir nix* 36-37)

To idealize feminine traits is to remain oblivious to the intense pressures of class on gender; the vision of a nurturing, noncompetitive femininity presumes a certain distance from the grubby reality of economic hierarchies. (Felski, "Nothing to Declare" 43)

While the proliferation of Muslim women's memoirs suggests a concomitant proliferation of concern for oppressed Muslim women, if not a proliferation of oppressed Muslim women themselves, the socioeconomics of the genre tell a different story. The first quote above is about women forced into sex work after striking out on their own, but because femininity (*Weiblichkeit*) in these narratives is synonymous with victimhood as well as sexuality, Inci Y.'s assessment extends to the women whose stories give rise to these memoirs. They may understand the story of their victimization to be the most valuable thing they possess, and trading on this victimization may prove more immediately effective than other methods of improving their situation. Indeed, there is much to be gained from the transformation of these experiences into marketable commodities. In addition to the benefit of exercising agency with regard to their victimization by speaking out about it (and evidently being heard by an interested audience), these books can represent upward socioeconomic mobility. This is especially evident in the case of those author-narrators who leverage their books into careers, such as activists like Kelek, Çileli, or James.[8] Yet as Felski suggests, their gender – and the victimhood it implies – is reified to such an extent that the "grubby reality" of class rarely intrudes into public discourse on Muslim women's memoirs as well as the figure of the

[8]These activists often have higher socioeconomic status prior to publishing their books, which likely plays a role in their careers as well as in the tone and amount of criticism they receive.

oppressed Muslim woman or Islam in Europe.

Other parties also stand to benefit from this transformation: publishers and booksellers see financial profit, and increased attention to the issues these memoirs address can lead to more revenue for certain activist groups. The notion that oppressed Muslim women everywhere also stand to gain something from these books is a basic premise of the awareness-raising work the books are thought to do. Muslim women trying to escape their families will be more confident about that choice, and receive more assistance and understanding from Germans because of the awareness raising work these narratives do - or so the argument goes. Such narratives also arguably benefit conservative political goals: these stories complement anti-terrorism discourse and seem to prove the need for increased interventions, scrutiny of immigrants and minorities, and stricter regulation of immigration and integration.

But some of these benefits are mostly hypothetical, and there are significant risks to this transformation as well. First and foremost is the very real possibility that women are being exploited as Muslim and their suffering redefined to suit dominant discourse, sensationalized for maximum profit by greedy corporations, and trivialized by those in positions of power. In short, by sharing her story of victimhood, the author-narrator may be victimized all over again. On a different scale, there is the risk of these texts exacerbating the very same problems they are said to address by contributing to negative stereotypes about and racialization of Islam, fueling xenophobia and limiting possibilities for minority and Muslim women to participate in the public sphere. Ewing argues that memoirs of this kind naturalize an extreme version of how Muslim women suffer and what responses to such suffering are appropriate. Her ethnographic research shows how

they limit possibilities for Muslim women who come into conflict with their families. She describes one woman's escape:

> The situation when she ran away had not been a crisis; her husband had not physically abused her, and neither she nor her child was in any danger. But even this well-educated young woman followed the only script she knew - to run and hide. The potential for violence in the first few days after her flight was enhanced by the polarization of this situation. She really had no idea how the men in her family would react to her flight, but the well-publicized script of violence could have served as a model for them as well. (*Stolen Honor* 90)

The potential risks and benefits of these memoirs' creation index two common critical responses to them. One views the genre as exploitative and insensitive, an example of a global industry satisfying the voyeuristic desires of audiences at the expense of vulnerable women. Given the differences between author-narrators and other producers and promoters, not to mention the often obscure processes of production, such a view is not without merit. However, it 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. Despite the overdetermined nature of these books and the many valid critiques that can be made of their production and promotion, to discount the possibility that some of these women experienced the process of producing and promoting their memoirs as empowering (a process not usually described in the narratives themselves) would be to discount the

possibility that their subjectivity predates the validation of their experiences by the interest of German and European audiences. Several author-narrators have said that the practice of putting their stories in print was in fact empowering for them, and the appetite audiences have demonstrated for such narratives has brought some of these women fame as well as personal and financial security. Sabatina James, for example, has noted in interviews and on her personal website that the increased visibility she gained by writing a bestselling memoir means she is less likely to be attacked by her family.

Another view reverses the roles of victim and exploiter. In this view, author-narrators are defrauding publishers and audiences by manufacturing or exaggerating their suffering and performing the Muslim woman victim to play on European anxieties about Islam. Such a view also devalues the narratives as more or less false; women are granted significant power and cultural awareness, but are also revealed as dangerous, scheming, and untrustworthy. Several excellent examples of this view are evident in 2003 Austrian news coverage of Sabatina James after her former ghostwriter went to the press with allegations that her memoir was not true.[9] Concerns about the truth of Muslim women's memoirs and the integrity of their author-narrators are supported by a few instances in which similar narratives available in a German translation have been proven false and pulled from the market by publishers.[10] This view also calcifies the victim status of the Muslim woman by suggesting that true victims are always silent; by speaking out, author-narrators undermine the validity of their suffering.

The deep anxiety about financial exploitation revealed by these critical views is

[9] Leutgeb also exposed James' interest in sex and money, widely regarded in traditional and social media as scandalous.
[10] For example, American author Norma Kouhri's memoir *Forbidden Love* was shown to be false by an Australian book critic and removed from shelves by Random House (and from the German-language market by Rowolt) in 2004.

especially interesting in light of the fact that the economic factors that can influence a woman's decision to leave a marriage, family, or community are generally ignored. Financial exploitation is a routine part of these memoirs: author-narrators are often forced to work as virtual slaves in their homes or at jobs arranged by their families with their income funneled into accounts over which they have little or no control. The financial negotiations surrounding engagement and marriage also play a role, as does the familiar trope of selling a daughter to the highest bidder. Ayşe, for example, endured nearly two decades of financial exploitation, working up to eighteen hours a day and receiving only a small allowance from her mother-in-law while her wages supported an extended family and several of her husband's failed business ventures. Ewing also describes how one woman's escape was motivated primarily by conflict with her husband over money sent to his family in Turkey, and not because of physical abuse or the arranged nature of her marriage. Money is certainly a factor in author-narrators' decisions to flee, but it does not play much of a role in the familiar script of the oppressed Muslim woman (beyond the question of a dowry). If anything, the villain is understood as shamefully greedy while the heroine remains poor but pure, fleeing for her freedom, not for upward socioeconomic mobility.

The financial circumstances surrounding these women's experiences are just one way that socioeconomic class is marked in and around these memoirs. Class plays an exceptionally complex role for participants in this industry, including producers, promoters, and audiences, as class status is often reflected by the nature of their engagement with these books. Like the figure of the oppressed Muslim woman, author-narrators tend to be marked as lower class in their memoirs. They or their parents are

usually immigrants and many of these books devote some pages to the difference (or hoped-for difference) in class status from the country of origin and the destination. Emphasis is often placed jointly on their precarious economic situations and their ignorance about basic Western practices resulting in a sense of extreme vulnerability – several of these books have scenes describing the heroine's first encounter with Western plumbing (see James, Ayşe,);[11] James writes about her bafflement when given a knife and fork with which to eat on a flight from Pakistan to Austria.

Education has a major impact on perceptions of class (and the author-narrator's control over the production and promotion of her book), and the heroine's quest for or lack of formal education is a common theme. Her family usually fails to value education, especially the education of females. This trait is not only a marker of lower class status within a European framework, but is also considered typical of Muslims and is a standard part of the familiar script. Education also has an impact on perceptions of authenticity: though better educated author-narrators like James tend to play a greater role in production and promotion and are more likely to go on to careers as activists and public speakers, the truth of their stories is more often called into question and they are more often and more harshly criticized for their prominence. Uneducated author-narrators, on the other hand, are thought of as more likely to be exploited by the industry, which reveals assumptions about their ability to use available resources and navigate powerful institutions despite evidence to the contrary.[12]

---

[11] Scenes in which the heroines describe their disgust at non-Western toilets and personal hygiene are also common. See especially *Koranschule* scenes as in Kalkan and James.

[12] The heroine's experience of oppression and abuse is often thought to persist as long as it does in part because of her inability to access or navigate available social services. But studies suggest that Turkish women actually use these services more than women of German or Eastern-European background (Weber, 17).

The higher socioeconomic status of the professionals involved in these memoirs, including contributing writers, publishers, reviewers, and activists is evident not only in the social and economic security which puts them in a position to facilitate the author-narrator's participation in the public sphere, but in the degrees of distance they demonstrate from the stories themselves. As Rita Felski notes, class difference is "shaped by consumption practices and lifestyle patterns that do not bear any simple relation to the basic division between capital and labor" (34). In this case, the difference is shaped by ways of consuming these memoirs: how or whether the books are read as paid labor, altruism, or entertainment is reflected in different kinds of commentary and criticism. Class differences are especially evident in the undercurrent of professional criticism suggesting that oppressed Muslim women ought to find a more "honorable" way to improve their situation than by capitalizing on their suffering, a way that does not betray the "frugality, decency, and self-discipline" that are expected of the poor (Felski, 34).[13]

Methodology

The industry behind the memoirs I study here needs to be examined with a critical eye to the potential exploitation of author-narrators, particularly because of the often vast differences between the women whose experiences are transformed into such marketable products and those who do much of the transformative work. It is important to remain aware of the extent to which producers and promoters have ultimately profited from the suffering of women who are marginalized in multiple ways. I have also been aware throughout this project of my own role as a potential exploiter as well as the differences

[13] For example, the iconic honor-killing victim Hatun Sürücü, who not only worked with state authorities to escape her family, but pursued training to become an electrician rather than trying to profit from her story (which did not stop the countless others who did profit from her story after she died).

in race, class, education, nationality, and especially experience between myself and the author-narrators. I stand to profit greatly from their work, and I have made every effort to treat their experiences with respect. By keeping my primary focus on the mechanisms of production and promotion as well as participants other than the author-narrators, I have attempted to direct scholarly attention toward the actions of individuals and institutions in positions of relative power. It is my hope that this work contests common stereotypes of oppressed Muslim women and reveals the extent to which these stereotypes are without trivializing the very real suffering some Muslim women do experience.

This project combines close reading with ethnographic methods of interviewing and observation. Having been aware from early on of the common criticism that scholarship on literature produced by marginalized writers often overlooks aesthetic qualities, I have also attempted to at least briefly address the style and literary merit of the narratives at issue here. The books I discuss here share themes and marketing strategies, but also a narrative style that resembles investigative reporting in its use of melodramatic language and structure and in its predictable chronological progression.

For this project, I have focused on just a few best-selling but under-researched examples of this popular narrative. I have included an appendix listing books which reflect the genre. I estimate two dozen first-person/autobiographical works fitting the parameters of this type have been published in the German language since the turn of the twenty-first century, with a handful of author-narrators publishing more than one title. In addition, several feature films and numerous documentaries focused on the same sort of stories have been produced, as well as countless news reports (print, radio, and television) during the same time span which rely on this narrative.

I first became aware of this narrative type or genre in a large chain bookstore in Berlin in 2006. Like many large bookstores, this business had several display tables near the entrance. Each table appeared to have a theme: a table to one side offered about twenty volumes of "chick lit" in various shades of pink; nearby was a table devoted to historical fiction and romance with titles involving minstrels, abbots, and duchesses. One table featured books about forced marriage, honor killing, and Islam – themes which had a high profile in the German media at the time. Most of them appeared at first glance to be autobiographical narratives, with veiled women on the covers and titles like *Wir sind eure Töchter, nicht eure Ehre!* and *Ich wollte nur frei sein*. I had been teaching at a secondary school in the diverse Neukölln district of Berlin for a few months, and one of the books on this table, *Zur Ehe gezwungen*, had recently been assigned to my tenth grade students (many of whom were practicing Muslims, and almost all of whom complained about having to engage with the topics of diversity, multiculturalism, and tolerance in yet another of their classes). I was also studying Turkish, and the instructor frequently provided colorful commentary about the "honor killings" and messy trials holding the attention of the German media at the time. These issues continue to be central to debates about minorities and integration in Germany today.

I read two or three of these books in the following month out of curiosity rather than research interest. Later, I used my experience selecting those first texts as a framework for identifying books that fit this broadly conceived type of product. I also used search algorithms like those offered by online booksellers such as Amazon - both the "customers who bought this also bought…" and the "often purchased together" varieties - and by browsing the category "Religion: Islam; Frauenschicksale" a

subcategory of "Biographies and Memoirs." Other resources included recommended reading lists posted on the websites of activist groups, suggestions in reader forums, reviews that addressed several such books at once, and suggestions from producers I contacted. Based on observation in stores and responses by readers in various online forums, my strategies for locating these texts resemble the way the genre is approached by everyday readers.

Not every book I picked up fit the pattern. At times, I worried that the pattern did not actually exist, but only appeared as a reiteration of cogent stereotypes of Muslim women. To summarize my criteria, I looked for stories that featured a female protagonist who suffered abuse and gendered oppression at the hands of her family before fleeing to build a better life for herself.[14] While I was initially concerned about defining my search based on the role of Islam, the more I read, the more clear it became that the importance of Islam in these stories varies greatly and is most pronounced in the marketing. Over several years of research I have only come across one book that fits the pattern but does not refer to Islam: *Scheherazades Tochter: Von meinen eigenen Eltern zum Tode verurteilt,* published by Ullstein in 2004. This book was written by a Kurdish woman under the pseudonym Ayşe (not the same woman as the Ayşe whose memoir is the focus of my first chapter) who fled her abusive family and forced marriage to a cousin. She wrote the book together with journalist Isabella Kroth. The story is strikingly similar to the other memoirs here, with the only difference that this Ayşe's family is Yezidi, not Muslim.

---

[14] a subset of this narrative type involves the death of the heroine at the hands of her abusive family. See Hanife Gashi or media coverage of Hatun Sürücü.

Overview of Chapters

My first chapter, "Ayşe, or the Making of a Muslim Woman's Memoir," begins with an overview of the bestselling 2005 memoir *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen – eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt*, written by a Turkish woman under the pseudonym Ayşe, together with a co-author, Renate Eder. This book exemplifies several conventions of the genre in question here and offers a number of productive points of analysis. The involvement of a coauthor or ghost writer is extremely common for such books; here, I examine the implications of such involvement, drawing on my 2009 interview with Renate Eder as well as published interviews with Eder and other writers working on similar projects. I also examine explanations from publishers and author-narrators. Eder's experience and relationship with Ayşe over the course of their work together, including moments of potential conflict such as public readings, fact-checking interviews with Ayşe's family, and Ayşe's second marriage, offer unique insights into the role of the most intimately involved participants in the making of Muslim women's memoirs. That said, there is evidence that Ayşe's experiences are comparatively less mediated than those of other author-narrators.

This chapter also begins to address the paratexts of this and similar memoirs, discussing the implications of parts of the material product that are external to the central text describing the author's experiences. These parts, such as fore- and afterwords, glossaries, maps, and advertisements for other books make significant contributions to the meaning of the story. The afterword of Ayşe's book was provided by women's aid organization Terre des Femmes, and she appeared in a documentary by filmmakers previously featured at this same organization's annual film festival, so this chapter

includes an examination of the involvement of this and other such activist groups in the production and promotion of such narratives, illuminating connections between women's rights groups and authors.

In my second chapter, "Sabatina, or a Shocking True Story of Faith, Sex, and Scandal," I address the ways that religion, the gendered body, and the notion of scandal or moral panic are deployed in and around the formulaic narrative that I study. I explore these issues through the lens of *Sterben sollst du für dein Glück*, the memoir of a Pakistani-Austrian woman writing under the pseudonym of Sabatina James. James' memoir is a close fit to the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim. Although her experiences are more obviously (over)produced than Ayşe's, her memoir is unique insofar as it is explicitly religious and ends with her conversion from Islam to Christianity. This difference received significant attention in German-language media, highlighting a few common tropes of Muslim faith and pointing to important ways that religious categories are coming to signify a range of differences, including racial/ethnic and national as well as cultural, political, and moral.

While the gendered body of the heroine is a critical component of each of these narratives, James' memoir is also unique because of her physical prominence in marketing and promotion. The heroine's gendered body reveals her naiveté when it comes to sex, childbirth, gendered power relations, and cultural difference while simultaneously pointing toward a natural but repressed sexuality. Her body also functions as a site for villains to exercise their power through abuse. The risk of continued violence that comes from telling her story is fundamental to her story's appeal, and provides audiences with a bridge between the abused heroine and the public figure of the author-

narrator, whose body is often featured on the cover of her book, where it demonstrates race and gender to consumers.

The exposure of the author-narrator for marketing purposes seems to contradict the threat that Muslim violence poses to her physical safety, and James was more exposed than most other author-narrators. She made numerous appearances on talk shows, gave public readings, and even traveling with a film crew to Ibiza for a TV special. Part of this overexposure came in the wake of various scandals that followed publication. James was embroiled in several scandals early in her career, which offers unique insight into the role of moral panic and (scandalous) sexuality in the production, promotion, and consumption of such narratives. Her former ghost writer leaked provocative nude photos of her to the Austrian press and gave interviews alleging that her story was false; soon after, the district attorney in Linz began investigating her for allegations of bigamy, and her family sued her for slander. The fact that James has recovered from these scandals, published a second book, and developed a relatively successful career as a public speaker and activist is a testament to the networks that support such narratives.

My third chapter, "Hatun, or Agency and Afterlife," continues the progression, begun in the first two chapters, from texts that adhere more closely to author-narrators' specific experiences and opinions to texts that offer more heavily mediated versions of actual women in the guise of the Muslim woman victim figure. Here, I look at how the absence of an author-narrator as an active participant affects a Muslim woman's narrative and the networks that produce it by examining the case of Hatun Sürücü. Sürücü was murdered by her youngest brother in Berlin in early 2005 in what was quickly termed an

honor killing and framed as a scandalous affront to German laws and values. Her death, and the subsequent trial of her brothers, received an enormous amount of press and has been the subject of numerous books and films. Drawing on feminist theory about life writing, I explore the implications of the mini-industry that has grown up around Sürücü's story, examining questions of agency and exploitation through a handful of biographies claiming to reveal the true Hatun, with a focus on the most well-known. In this chapter, I explore what Linda Alcoff calls "rituals of speaking" in texts that claim to speak to various degrees for the deceased heroine, her family, Germans, Muslims, and other groups affected by this murder. A comparison of the posthumous positioning of Hatun Sürücü in German-language media with that of living author-narrators reveals both the power of the Muslim woman victim stereotype and some possibilities for subverting it.

In my fourth and final chapter, I step back from case studies to look at the genre as a whole, with special attention to those external paratexts that seem to unite these narratives, including book cover design, physical and virtual proximity to one another, and marketing strategies that promote the genre (or the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim) rather than the individual narratives. In addition to obscuring the specificity of the author-narrators' experiences, such marketing contributes to the low social status of this genre, the racialization of Islam, and the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about Muslim faith. I also examine online reader responses to both individual memoirs and the overarching narrative about the genre. Although reader reviews must be taken with a grain of salt, these texts are important to consider because they offer a unique opportunity for readers to speak for themselves, to confirm or refute dominant

narratives, and importantly, to respond directly to one another in a kind of dialogic encounter. They often appear as part of the purchasing process, where they blur the lines between practices of production/marketing and practices of consumption. I argue that this blurring is not only the consequence of twenty-first century contagion-based marketing, but of the hope for connection inherent in the commodification of identity.

Chapter 1: Ayşe, or the Making of a Muslim Women's Memoir

The bestselling memoir *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen – eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt* was one of the first books of this kind that I read. Although the central narrative mostly sticks to the script, it does contain some surprises. It is, however, paradigmatic when it comes to practices of production and promotion for this genre. After summarizing the content of the memoir, I will discuss the role of the co-author and explain why this book and others like it cannot be fully explained by existing categories of life writing such as testimonio or autoethnography. In the following section, I discuss paratexts that accompany this text and others like it, as well as the complex and often contradictory expressions of the author-narrator's subjectivity and victimhood in and around the central text. Finally, I consider how these factors simultaneously influence the understanding of Muslim women's memoirs as a genre and fuel concerns about the potentially exploitative relationship between author-narrators and their audiences.

In *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, a woman writing under the pseudonym Ayşe (with the help of co-author Renate Eder) recounts her journey via forced marriage from a small Anatolian village in eastern Turkey to a city somewhere in southern Germany. Ayşe begins her story with a description of the timeless hardship of life in her village, Ballidere, where people have been living "unter härtesten Bedingungen" (13) for

hundreds of years.[15] Although her parents' marriage was abusive and cruel, she describes the earliest years of her childhood as idyllic, playing in the hills with other village children and building toys with bits of wood and scraps of fabric. But when she was five or six, her father insisted that she be "zum Arbeiten eingespannt" (17) in the household, helping with livestock, and working in the fields. Not long after, she began to attend school in a neighboring village. She made the three or four kilometer journey by foot, although she never had proper shoes but only plastic slippers ("nur Plastikschlappen"; 23). Ayşe struggled in school, since she only attended when she was not needed at home, and, once there, was often sent on to babysit the teacher's young child. Ayşe was eleven years old, and had only made it to the third grade, when she was engaged to her cousin Mustafa, who lived with his parents in Germany. At fourteen, she began to menstruate, and her father and her uncle got a false passport showing that she was sixteen; she and Mustafa were married in a quiet state ceremony, and she flew to Germany with her new in-laws.

Ayşe and Mustafa were legally married before they arrived in Germany, but they had not had a wedding celebration and "ein Türkisches Mädchen darf erst nach der Hochzeitsnacht mit ihrem Mann schlafen" (Ayşe 73). With this excuse, Ayşe resisted Mustafa's advances, but he raped her in his mother's apartment not long after they arrived in Germany, a few weeks before their wedding celebration. Ayşe told no one, and spent her days working in her mother-in-law's household cooking, cleaning, and helping care for her young cousins in addition to constructing small electronics. Her in-laws were

[15] This hardship, like most of what appears in her memoir, is portrayed as absolutely typical for the time and place. But the emphasis on its normalcy, as Ayşe experienced it, stands in stark contrast to its sensational reception. This almost aggressive normalcy emphasizes the distance between normative practices of readers and of those described in the book.

demanding, but their relationship with Ayşe only became truly awful when Ayşe was unable to give her mother-in-law a bloody sheet the morning after her wedding celebration as proof of her virginity. Soon Ayşe became pregnant. After her son was born, she was sent to work in a factory and her son was sent to live with her husband's relatives in Turkey. In the years that followed, Ayşe had two more sons and a daughter, and went back and forth between helping with her mother-in-law's manufacturing work at home and her job in the factory. During some stretches, she was responsible for both, working around 18 hours a day while her husband continued to rape and abuse her:

> Ich lebte jetzt drei Jahre in Deutschland. Aber dass ich nicht im Paradies gelandet war, hatte ich schon bald begriffen. Das Geld lag auch in Almanya nicht auf der Straβe. Nein, hier wurde hart gearbeitet. Sechzehn bis achtzehn Stunden am Tage habe ich geschuftet. Frühschicht in der Fabrik, danach daheim am Küchentisch. Auch meine Ehe war nicht das, was ich mir erträumt hatte. Prügel und Vergewaltigung waren an der Tagesordnung. (Ayşe 111)

But Ayşe refused to simply accept such a miserable life. She was eventually able to take some control of her own finances, and more than once tried to run away. She finally left her husband for good after nearly twenty years of marriage. She was able to get help from co-workers and from German social services, but her own family cut off contact, apparently on orders from her father. She was granted custody of her two younger children, Birgül and Ali, but her husband's family sent them to Turkey before she could bring them to live with her. When they were returned to her after a few months, Ayşe worked hard to help them adjust and to succeed in school despite the fact that Ayşe

herself was functionally illiterate. She also began a romantic relationship with a co-worker who had helped her escape her marriage, but she ended it when he began to drink heavily. Although she made efforts to re-establish contact with her two older sons, they wanted nothing to do with her and emphasized this fact by making Ayşe unwelcome at the wedding of her eldest son. Deeply wounded by this, Ayşe soon arranged a secret marriage for her daughter with the cousin of a Turkish-German co-worker. Ayşe soon realized that this was a mistake, and when her new son-in-law was denied a visa to join Birgül in Germany, she did not pursue it further. On their next trip to Turkey, Ayşe helped Birgül file for divorce. The book concludes with the death of Ayşe's father, and her expression of hope that she will be able to have a better relationship with her older sons in the future.

The memoir focuses primarily on Ayşe's personal and family history, her individual and social circumstances, as well as the power structures that led to her arranged marriage and subsequent enslavement in Germany. *Mich hat keiner gefragt* is just one of several variations on the same theme of women's mistreatment and oppression in Muslim communities. As is often the case with such books, the author-narrator emphasizes that many aspects of her life which might shock a German audience were utterly normal within her frame of reference (given the time, place, and culture). Poverty and hunger, lack of education, strict gender roles, hard physical labor, and abusive relationships between spouses are portrayed as common in this text:

> Die Ehe meiner Eltern war von Anfang an schwierig gewesen. Mein Vater war immer schon sehr aufbrausend, geriet schnell in Wut und schlug meine Mutter vom ersten Tag an. Nein, sie war nicht in ihn verliebt

> gewesen, und ausgesucht hatte sie ihn sich auch nicht.... Das war bei uns so üblich, und ist es heute noch. Romantik und Liebe haben im harten Leben von Zentralanatolien keinen Platz. Hier gelten ganz andere Gesetze. (18)

This writing situates the suffering of the author-narrator in a longer tradition of oppressed women, which is a rhetorical strategy quite common for these memoirs. If this does not exactly make such customs seem timeless, it certainly frames them as outdated or even antiquated relics. This language also equates laws with tradition and ties both to territory. However, the same traditions that led to the mistreatment of Ayşe's mother in Turkey are shown to cause other women to suffer in Germany despite the different location throughout Ayşe's memoir. Ayşe tells of a friend, Hatice, whose situation Ayşe describes as even worse than her own:

> Auch sie sah nie einen Pfennig [von ihrem Lohn]. Auch sie wurde von ihrem Mann regelmäβig verprügelt und – im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes – wie eine Sklavin gehalten.... Manchmal ging er so weit, dass er sie ans Bett fesselte, wenn er noch mal weggehen wollte. (122)

Ayşe also describes her niece Gonca, the eldest daughter of Ayşe's sister, who lived with her family in Hamburg. Gonca was a good student despite the fact that she was forced to care for her younger siblings, cook, clean, and otherwise run her mother's household. After graduating, Gonca tried to find an internship, which should have been simple given her good grades, but the headscarf she was forced to wear presented a major obstacle:

> "Weisst du, warum die mich nicht genommen haben, Tante?" fragte sie mich dann aufgebracht, "wegen des Kopftuchs. Ja! Ein Personalchef hat

> mir gesagt, er könne keinen Azubi mit einem Kopftuch einstellen. Das würde bei den Kunden nicht gut ankommen. Oh, wie ich es hasse, dieses Kopftuch!" Jetzt weinte sie. "Ich will es nicht mehr tragen. Aber du weiβt, wie Papa ist. Er sagt, ich muss. Also muss ich! Da bleibt mir doch nichts anderes übrig, oder?" (207)

Agency within Ayşe's cultural sphere is portrayed as deeply gendered; women's capacity to act in their own interest is depicted as limited by tradition (or the traditional attitudes of others). Gonca's statement that she had no other choice echoes the lack of agency that is central to descriptions of Ayşe's own struggles. Especially at first, Ayşe had "keine Ahnung" (57, 45, 96, 109, 111) about what was happening to her, and "es ist [ihr] gar nicht eingefallen" (46) to try to change her situation, since "es war eben so bei uns" (110). Ayşe describes the systematic cruelty of her husband, her father, and her mother-in-law in detail, as well as her periodic mistreatment by other figures such as her father-in-law and her son, but she continually circles back to the habits and traditions of a larger group, emphasizing how long it took for her to realize that she could choose not to live this way. For example, as Ayşe describes how her mother-in-law controlled Ayşe's finances and took her wages without permission, she explains how the principle of respect for one's elders would have prevented her from taking action even if she had known about it sooner, admitting:

> Ich hätte allerdings sowieso nichts unternommen, selbst wenn ich es gewusst hätte. Wir Türken werden so erzogen: Die Älteren kennen das Leben und wissen, was zu tun ist. Sie können deshalb über uns, die Jungen, verfügen. Und wir müssen ihnen Respekt entgegenbringen. So

einfach ist das. An diesem Prinzip habe ich lange nicht gezweifelt. (110)

This ambivalence about cultural traditions extends to Ayşe's failure to protest the mistreatment of her niece and even her decision to arrange the marriage of her only daughter, long after escaping her own marriage and becoming independent. The cultural practices with which Ayşe was raised, and which also shaped the attitudes and behaviors of her tormentors, are set up as the real tyrannical power and the true obstacle to her liberation. The end result is a somewhat surprising account of Ayşe's struggle to negotiate between her culture and the life she wants – a struggle to define her own multiculturalism.

It is important to keep in mind that Ayşe's memoir was written with a co-author, and the possibility that both women were engaged in a struggle to define multiculturalism for themselves and in relation to one another. It is impossible to know for sure to what extent the representations of cultural traditions, power dynamics, or religion reflect conflict or consensus between the two women. Situations like this have given rise to a vast body of work devoted to issues of agency and authority in life writing. As Smith and Watson note, there has been a veritable explosion of terms referring to different kinds of personal narratives in the last thirty or so years.[16] These terms, and the theories that go with them, often differ from one another in their focus on a single variable – the race, class, gender, religion, intention, or honesty of the narrator. They get at a way of reading personal narratives that allows for these narratives to exist and to reach an audience, while at the same time accounting for problematic aspects of the stories' production and commodification. They work to maintain the uniqueness, the particularity and the difference of each narrative/narrator without sacrificing the notion of a life-writing genre

[16] 52 of them are included in a glossary-type appendix to *Reading Autobiography.*

altogether. Given this complicated landscape, the intersections of race, class, gender, and religion at play in Ayşe's life and collaboration with Eder demand particular attention.

Unfortunately, detailed information about the relationships between the author-narrators of these kinds of narratives and their co-authors or ghost writers is rare. In fact, it is unusual for a co-author to be credited as explicitly as Renate Eder. This presents significant methodological challenges to an analysis of the collaboration. In order to learn more about Eder and her work on the book, I conducted an interview with her in Munich in May 2009. We met at a cafe, where we talked for several hours about how Eder came to be involved in this project.

Eder met Ayşe in 2004 through Angelika, a mutual friend who knew Ayşe's story and thought Eder might be interested in hearing it. When the two women first met, Ayşe was illiterate and living in public housing, marked as a minority by her appearance, her accent, and her class status. Renate Eder, a well-educated native speaker of German, was a successful journalist and author of several books. As Eder recalled, soon after they met "erzählte mir Ayşe, als wir uns schon näher kennen gelernt hatten, dass sie immer die Idee hatte, ihre Geschichte aufzuschreiben und das wohl auch mit Angelika besprochen hat ... Nun gab es den Zufall, dass Angelika wiederum eine Journalistin kannte" (Geiling).[17]

This inspired Eder to discuss the idea with another friend who worked as a literary agent. With this friend's encouragement, Eder and Ayşe spent about 3 hours working up a proposal, which was accepted by Blanvalet Verlag, a subsidiary of Random House. The

[17] Confirmed in my interview. Due to technical difficulties, I was unable to tape my interview with Eder. The quotes I provide from this interview were carefully recorded in my extensive notes; in instances where my notes are not detailed enough to directly quote Eder, I have turned to other published interviews for confirmation and quotes.

two women worked hard on the book, completing about 55 hours of interviews over the course of three months. They started with Ayşe's childhood and worked chronologically to her present situation. As the work progressed, Eder became more and more involved in Ayşe's life and got to know the people in it. Ayşe traveled with Eder to northern Germany and to Turkey so Eder could meet Ayşe's relatives and get a better sense of Ayşe's background. Eder was moved by the extent to which girls and young women in Ayşe's extended family and cultural sphere were oppressed, and described her own distress at the situation in which Ayşe's niece Gonca lived. Gonca's life as a servant for her family is described in the book; Eder explained to me that she initially wanted to take Gonca back to Munich when she and Ayşe left, but that she and Ayşe decided against taking such dramatic steps. Eder also described learning from one of Ayşe's friends about Ayşe's daughter Birgül's marriage to the son of one of Ayşe's coworkers. This caused some conflict between Eder and Ayşe, who said she had not shared the story initially because it was Birgül's story to tell. Eder ended up speaking with Birgül at length about the experience and getting her permission to include it in the book. Eder tried to help Ayşe and Birgül address the tension between them by bringing them to see a family therapist, but she told me that they did not return on their own.

Creating the memoir was emotionally difficult work for both women, according to Eder. She felt that the two of them developed a kind of symbiotic relationship which resulted in a lot of depression, aggression, and other strong emotions in both women. Nonetheless, Eder felt that Ayşe trusted and relied on her: "Da sie (Ayşe) keine Intellektuelle ist, hat sie sich sehr auf mich eingelassen, von mir leiten lassen" (Eder). During our interview, Eder expressed disappointment in the way that things ended up for

Ayşe, who had run into an old childhood friend at C&A in Germany, eventually married him, and moved back to her village in eastern Turkey. Eder had expected that Ayşe would learn something from the experience of writing the book, but does not think that this happened – at least, not what Eder expected or wanted her to learn. Eder declined to go into further detail about this, but her frustration was evidently shared by readers who posted reviews of Ayşe's memoir on online retail sites: one user even titled her review "Frustrierende Lektüre: Aus ihrem eigenen Leid hat Ayse leider nichts gelernt" ("Kundenrezensionen: Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt"). I offer a more in-depth analysis of reader responses to Muslim women's memoirs in my fourth chapter, but it is worth noting here that reader criticisms of Ayşe's choices have a great deal to do with what they characterize as her failure to connect a critical examination of her experiences as representative of large-scale cultural norms with a complete rejection of them (and people who adhere to them).

While Ayşe's role in arranging Birgül's marriage is the primary focus of these critical responses, Eder's feeling that Ayşe had not learned (enough) from her experience came up in our interview as Eder explained the impact of the book on Ayşe and her family. Eder described the emotional responses of Ayşe's sons, who had not been especially involved in the project, in contrast to Ayşe's apparent unawareness of how the project would impact them.

Testimonio, Autoethnography, and Muslim Women's Life Writing

Two well-researched varieties of life writing have potential to help clarify the relationship between Ayşe and Eder as well as the circumstances of writing behind other such memoirs. Testimonio is especially promising as a way to account for the unequal

co-authors that are typical in Muslim women's memoirs. As John Beverley notes, testimonio is often produced with the help of an interlocutor, since the narrators of such texts are often illiterate or not trained writers. Ayşe was illiterate, and therefore unable to write her own story, but some other author-narrators of similar books work with ghost authors more for stylistic reasons. According to Beverley, testimonio is "told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience" (30-31). Testimonio communicates the unjust (almost always political) situation of a group to raise awareness and/or to change the situation for the group (not only for the narrator). In fact, there must be "an urgency to communicate a problem of repression, poverty, subalterity, imprisonment, struggle for survival, implicated in the act of narration itself" (Beverley 32).

The interlocutor plays an important but limited role in testimonio. Beverley argues that the key issue in testimonio is not representation as such, but rather how representation - as evidence of how one "interprets the world, and, therefore how one seeks, and is able, to change it" - might be understood as part of the agency of the subaltern (xvii). While activist intent is necessary for the narrator, the recorder of the story need not share it. Eder explained to me that although she identifies as a feminist, her primary interest in Ayşe's story was a neutral curiosity about "Zwischenmenschlichenbeziehungen" (Eder) and not the activism that motivates members of the women's aid organizations supporting these books. At first glance, Ayşe also seems to fit Beverley's profile of an activist narrator. In an interview with German magazine *Mathilde,* Eder explained that "Ayşe will aufklären, will anderen Frauen aus

der Not helfen, aus der Anonymität herauszutreten, will ihnen sagen: 'Schaut her, ich hab's auch geschafft. Ihr könnt das auch. Ihr müsst nicht alles aushalten'" (Geiling). This activist sentiment is echoed in the foreword and afterword of the book, and in other marketing materials.

But it is *not* echoed within the book. Explicit connections between Ayşe's suffering and her desire to help other women like her – even strangers, a distinction which separates activism from friendship – are absent from her primary narrative. Ayşe's activist intentions are not just mediated, but may have only originated with her interlocutors, and are only in evidence in the story about her story. As Eder told me during our interview, women like Ayşe have something to prove, want to show their families that they've made it. Perhaps Ayşe's assertion "ich hab's auch geschafft" is directed as much toward her oppressors as toward other oppressed women. In this light, Ayşe's work seems to affirm her subjectivity and agency, but Beverley insists that such an affirmation be "in connection with a group or class situation marked by marginalization, oppression, and struggle" (41). Without this connection, such a narrative is only autobiography, with its "implicit ideology of individualism…built on the notion of a coherent, self-evident, self-conscious, self-commanding subject" (Beverley 41). While Muslim women's memoirs certainly have a strong connection to a group situation marked by marginalization, oppression, and struggle, that connection is clearer in the packaging or positioning of a woman's account in a commercial context rather than in the main text of such stories. Like *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, many such memoirs refer superficially to the activist impulses of author-narrators, but the activism seems to be a consequence of the books. The order of things is reversed in the case of testimonio, with

activism driving the creation of a narrative.

Beverley's work begins to make sense of several aspects of Muslim women's memoirs, including the subjectivity and agency of the author-narrator, but the question of activist intent on the part of the author-narrators as a motivation for writing prevents an easy classification of these texts as testimonio. Autoethnography has been referred to as a variation of testimonio (Beverley xvii) that also holds promise as a way to account for the creation of these narratives. Mary Louise Pratt's definitive explanation of autoethnography is broader than testimonio, and does not raise the same difficulties for *Mich hat keiner gefragt* and other such books, in large part because it does not rely so heavily or specifically on the altruistic intent of the author/narrator and his or her connection to a larger group. The author-narrator's motivation is secondary to the way that the representation depicts the situation of a group in relationship with its dominant others. Pratt has referred to autoethnography as a text in which "people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them" (64). Where ethnography indicates European metropolitan subjects representing others (and Pratt notes that these others are usually their conquered others) to themselves, autoethnography involves self-representation by those others "in response to or in dialogue with" the earlier ethnographic representations by members of dominant metropolitan groups (Pratt 64). Pratt's application of autoethnography is especially appealing as a classification for these memoirs because of her focus on how the subject (formerly an object of ethnography) adopts the idioms of the dominant culture, and writes with both literate members of her own group and members of the dominant culture in mind.

What form does this engagement, response, or dialogue take? Pratt's seminal example is the work of Guaman Poma, who adopted the style of a European chronicle, including writing and line drawings, to critique the poor treatment of indigenous Andeans after the Spanish conquest. Despite the critical nature of the text, Poma's chronicle demonstrates how autoethnography explains the self in terms that its dominant other can understand and is likely to approve of (Pratt 100). Ayşe's case is much more nuanced, but the possibility of resistance through engagement with dominant narratives is intriguing. Ayşe undoubtedly fits the role of a former subject of ethnography, reflecting the female Turkish immigrants portrayed in earlier studies from decades earlier – such as *Die verkauften Bräute: Türkische Frauen zwischen Kreuzberg und Anatolien* by Andrea Baumgartner-Karabak and Gisela Landesberger – which set the stage for this most recent wave of memoirs. Many of the stereotypes supported by these earlier works are also confirmed by Ayşe's story, such as the laziness of Turkish men and the resignation of Turkish women. Moreover, the model or form of the narrative shows chronological narration of personal development and growing self-awareness that echoes the *Bildungsroman* and what Beverley describes as a Western ideology of individualism.

Ayşe's book also critiques the power structures that contributed to her oppression, and the very existence of her memoir testifies to her resistance. However, the dominant forces that bear the brunt of this critique are the immediate sources of oppression: men, older generations, and traditional cultural practices. The institutions and structures of the dominant culture – the German state, the factory where Ayşe worked, or the hospital where she gave birth, for example – certainly play a role in the marginalization of minorities and are complicit in the suffering of these women. Direct, explicit criticism of

these institutions and structures is lacking in Ayşe's book and in most Muslim women's memoirs. Even moments of critique, like Ayşe's observation that the German state never followed up with her mother-in-law about sending Ayşe to school, are easily overwhelmed by the paratexts directing criticism toward Islam. Indeed, it seems to be the paratexts more than the central text here that engage with dominant narratives. Moreover, Ayşe's functional illiteracy warns against making assumptions about her understanding of those dominant narratives.

Like testimonio, autoethnography does not fully account for the diverse acts of representation in this text. While it is important to question whether the form of Ayşe's memoir reflects her own engagement with prior representations or Renate Eder's engagement with the same, it is also good to ask whether the book might also (or instead) reflect a dialogue between Eder and prior representations of German feminists writing about the plight of Muslim women. One fundamental problem with both of these classifications is the difficulty of representations to, of, or by the co-author, or, more broadly, the individuals and institutions involved in bringing this tale and others like it from the mouths of the author-narrators to the shelves of German and Austrian bookstores. All the participants involved in producing Ayşe's story contributed in some way to its meaning, and to ignore such involvement is to ignore the complex possibilities for dialogue, resistance, or understanding that these texts present.

Paratexts & Genre Markers

Though testimonio and autoethnography may not always be seeking strict accuracy in the representation of a narrator's experience, they cannot alleviate concerns about coercion and control, nor about the illusion of subjectivity and independent agency

in narratives where the interlocutor's involvement is hidden. The interlocutor, the transcriber, and the co-author are ambivalent figures. Such work might entail honest collaboration, suppression or subordination of the author-narrator's view, opinion, or preference, or, alternatively, an exaggeration of it. Although Renate Eder is clearly listed as co-author on Ayşe's book, her involvement in Serap Çileli's *Eure Ehre - unser Leid: Ich kämpfe gegen Zwangsehe und Ehrenmord* was not mentioned anywhere on the final product (Eder).

To carefully consider the mediating role - and therefore the agency and subjectivity - of others who contributed to Ayşe's memoir requires recognition of the final product as a polyphonic text resulting from the labor of multiple actors who are often invisible to the consumer. In addition to the co-author, this group includes Serap Çileli, who wrote the foreword; Christa Stolle, who wrote the afterword; and the more or less anonymous individuals responsible for the map, glossary, and cover design, to name just a few.[18] These people might be understood as endorsing the author-narrator's story, or as exaggerating it (or a part of it); as supporting the activist work of a marginalized woman, or as exploiting her suffering. These binaries reflect the opposing notions of selflessness and exploitation that inevitably accompany such books, and which constitute an important part of how audiences understand them, but the producers of paratexts and their intentions are only part of an equation that also includes content.

By paratext, I mean those parts of the material product that are external to the central text about the experiences of the author, but which contribute to the meaning of the story. In coining the term paratext, Gérard Genette wrote that illustrations, titles,

[18] Even the printer and binder can be considered part of this group, since their work also has an impact on perceptions of the text.

prefaces, etc. were not always obviously part of a text, “but in any case they surround it and prolong it, precisely in order to present it, in the usual sense of this verb, but also in its strongest meaning: to make it present, to assure its presence in the world, its ‘reception’ and its consumption, in the form, nowadays at least, of a book” (261). These pieces can communicate information about the validity, quality, and purpose of the work through the authority of their authors, as in the case of Çileli and Stolle, through the reputation of the publisher, or by framing the product in ways that reference other, more authoritative texts or genres. Paratexts also indicate a book’s genre and type. Authenticity is also conveyed by paratexts that set the central narrative within audiences’ existing frames of reference; in this case, by putting the memoirs in relation to the already familiar story of the oppressed Muslim woman.

Paratexts include glossaries, maps, advertisements for other books, fore- and afterwords, author biographies, and of course the cover. These are common additions to the main texts of Muslim women’s memoirs and help underscore their non-fiction status. Despite conventions of production such as fact-checking the author's stories, the material nature of books like Ayşe’s puts them in close relationship with entertainment media and especially tabloid journalism - which is also theoretically non-fiction, but certainly aims to entertain more than inform - by relying heavily on scandal to draw readers' attention. These memoirs seems to have a similar purpose: even though the alleged goal is an altruistic awareness-raising, the German-language market has been flooded by these books in a way that points to great profits (a supposition supported by the interest in these books by major publishing houses after they achieved significant success in their first runs at small publishers). These memoirs share dramatic titles such as *Schleier der Angst*

or *Ich wollte nur frei sein: Meine Flucht vor der Zwangsehe*. Their covers are also remarkably similar, depicting women who are often the pseudonymous authors themselves.

The fore- and afterwords of these memoirs underscore the fact that they are the products of numerous contributors and situate the memoirs as awareness-raising vehicles for the promotion of larger projects and causes. They exhort readers to take action against forced marriage and honor killing, to break their silence and to refuse to tolerate the oppression of Muslim women any longer. These pieces ultimately obscure the specificity of the authors' experiences by connecting them to a larger, even global struggle for Muslim women's rights. They emphasize the countlessness of such stories, and in doing so, they reinforce the perception of the Muslim woman victim as a (common) type.

The foreword for Ayşe's memoir was written by Serap Çileli, who is among the most well-known activists working in the field of Muslim women's rights in Germany today. The foreword is advertised on the front cover and Çileli is quoted on the back cover. Her bestselling memoir, *Wir sind Eure Töchter, nicht Eure Ehre!,* is advertised in the last pages of Ayşe's book and summarized in Çileli's introduction. In her memoir, one of the first of this most recent wave, Çileli describes her childhood as the daughter of guest workers in Germany, her forced marriage, and her struggle for freedom. Çileli went on to build a successful career as an activist, public speaker, and author. Her second book was published in 2008. She is co-founder of the aid organization peri e.V., which is focused on supporting the integration process of individuals with a migration background (per-ev.de). Çileli has received numerous awards for her work, including the *Verdienstorden der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.*

Serap Çileli uses her foreword in *Mich hat keiner gefragt* to position Ayşe's experiences as representative of the suffering of countless other women, to connect Ayşe's story with existing narratives about Islam, and to call readers to action against the practices of forced marriage and honor killing. Çileli shares a short version of her own story of oppression as well as the story of Hatun Sönmez, victim of a 1993 honor killing. By bracketing Ayşe's experiences with her own and those of Sönmez, Çileli emphasizes the formulaic nature of these narratives and the life-threatening danger oppressed Muslim women face.

Like many activists in this area, Çileli has been an outspoken critic of Islam, and brings this critical stance to her foreword. In Ayşe's story, Islam only comes up peripherally: "Der Islam spielte bei uns in der Familie eigentlich keine besonders groβe Rolle" (126). Yet Çileli begins her foreword to the book by quoting a hadith: "Eine Jungfrau soll ohne ihre Einverständnis nicht verheiratet werden. Und genügend als (Zeichen der) Zustimmung soll **ihr Schweigen** sein (wegen ihrer natürlichen Schüchternheit)" (7).[19] This is some of the first text a reader sees after the title page, and it reinforces the connection between experiences like Ayşe's and a violent, misogynistic, global Islam.

Çileli's foreword is ostensibly addressed to two separate readerships. In the first part, as she describes her suffering along with that of Ayşe and Sönmez, she writes about the "honor of the Turkish man" and her own motivation to share her tale. As she puts it, she wrote "nicht nur für mich, sondern auch für meine Leidensgenossinnen. Um ihnen

[19] Emphasis original. Hadith are stories and interpretations of the words and behaviors of Mohammed and his early followers; though their authenticity can be problematic, the Buchari and Muslim collections cited here by Çileli are thought to be most authoritative. Hadith are considered essential by many Muslims to understanding the Quran and/or practicing the true Muslim way of life.

die Botschaft zu vermitteln, dass es immer Lösungen gibt. Um sie wachzurütteln, um ihnen den Weg zu zeigen…." (11). By referring to her fellow (female) sufferers in the third person, Çileli indicates that they are not among her imagined audience. Moreover, Çileli writes that "nur die wenigsten [ihrer Leidensgenossinnen] wissen sich zu wehren" (11). Çileli contends that precisely because these women are so helpless, books like Ayşe's are critically important to alert Germans to the victimization of Muslim women:

> ...um die deutsche Gesellschaft, die Politik, die Medien und die schützenden und helfenden Institutionen aufzurütteln und sie aufzufordern, ihr Schweigen zu beenden und nicht mehr zu tolerieren, dass in ihrer unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft und mitten unter ihnen die fundamentalisten Menschenrechte der moslemisch-türkischen Frauen verletzt werden. (11)

This rhetorical move also separates Çileli's readers from German society, politics, media and other institutions that are failing Muslim women. On the next page, however, Çileli directly addresses her fellow sufferers in letter form: "Liebe Leidensgenossinnen," she writes, "suchen wir nach Wegen, die uns Frauen ein Leben aus eigener Macht erlauben.... Wir müssen endlich von der Selbstentfremdung zur Selbstbestimmung kommen.... Gemeinsam müssen wir nun Ansätze zur Verbesserung finden" (12). She concludes the letter with a curious reference to Martin Luther King, Jr., writing "Ich hatte einen Traum, [dass] der Glaube an die von Gott verliehene Herrschaft des Mannes bröckelte, und Frauen brachen scharenweise auf aus der Hilflosigkeit zum Widerstand" (12). Because the women's suffering described in this letter is so general, it could conceivably connect female readers with Ayşe and other women like her by positioning

them all as victims of patriarchy. Making her own suffering symbolic for the oppression of all women deepens female readers' connection with the author-narrator and exhorts all women to take action to free themselves as well as their sisters.

In addition to situating Ayşe's story within a familiar framework of misogynistic Islam and in relationship with other narratives about the oppression of Muslim women, Çileli's foreword lends authority to Ayşe's story. Çileli has firsthand knowledge of the kind of suffering Ayşe describes, and is herself a known quantity in German-language media. The fact that Çileli's endorsement of Ayşe's story is highlighted also indicates the two women share an audience and that Çileli's name is positive and meaningful to potential consumers.

Ayşe's story is also endorsed by Terre des Femmes, a women's aid organization based in Berlin, Germany. This network of women (men are not able to become members) has been extremely active in both the production and promotion of memoirs like Ayşe's and provided the afterword for *Mich hat keiner gefragt*. Terre des Femmes is a large organization, and has many projects beyond forced marriage. Among other initiatives, they sponsor an annual film festival featuring films about women and women's rights, called FrauenWelten. In 2007, a short documentary film called "Eat Sugar, Speak Sweetly" by Renate Bernhard and Sigrid Dethloff was shown there, which starred Ayşe along with her daughter, Birgül. In 2009, the film festival showed another film by the same women about female genital mutilation. Terre des Femmes has engaged numerous authors like Ayşe as "ambassadors," including Sabatina James, and counts lawyer, activist, and author Seyran Ates and film star Sibel Kekilli among its supporters.

Political activism that draws on narratives like Ayşe's focuses primarily on the

female victims of violence that is gendered male.[20] The most prominent activists in this area are also women. Wolfgang Ferchl echoed one common view when he said that such books "werden ganz maßgeblich von deutschen Frauen gekauft - weil sie anfangen, sich für die Schicksale muslimischer Frauen zu interessieren, mit denen sie seit Jahrzehnten Tür an Tür leben. Da entsteht plötzlich ein Gefühl der Solidarität" (Araghi 120). Ferchl's statement contrasts the long period of time during which Muslim and German women lived in such close proximity to one another with the suddenness of a feeling of solidarity; it is also an excellent example of the casual juxtaposition of German and Muslim. There is no reason given for this sudden feeling of solidarity (a feeling which Çileli evokes in her foreword), but activist interest in the fate of Muslim women is anything but new in the German-speaking world. Indeed, some of the earliest mentions of Muslim women in German-language texts involve the urge to identify with and to rescue them. To what extent is the narrative addressing an existing demand, and to what extent is it manufacturing or intensifying that demand? It is good business to nurture demand for a product in order to maximize profits – but it may also contradict the stated goals of activist organizations that participate in the production and promotion of such works, not to mention claims made on behalf of author-narrators about the purpose of their work.

In the afterword for Ayşe's memoir, Terre des Femmes appeals to Germans to take action on behalf of oppressed Muslim women. The afterword begins with a quote from Ayşe: "Ich hatte ja keine Ahnung, was das bedeutet, Ehe, Liebe. Ich war doch noch ein Kind" (239). The text that follows reads like a pamphlet, broken into short paragraphs with bold headings like "Warum Zwangsheirat?" (240) and "Zwangsheirat ist eine

[20] As many Muslim women's memoirs demonstrate, however, perpetrators are female as well. The mother-in-law is frequently the primary villain.

Menschenrechtsverletzung" (242). It also includes contact and bank account information "falls Sie TERRE DES FEMMES bei ihrer Arbeit unterstützen möchten" (245). The afterword encourages readers to attend their seminars to learn "wie [Sie] Signale erkennen, das Problem anpacken und helfen können" (Ayşe 243). Like the first section of Çileli's introduction, this afterword is clear in addressing women who are not the victims of violence in the name of honor. It addresses readers as "we" and "you" while relegating oppressed Muslim women to "they."

The afterword explains that those impacted by forced marriage are girls and women in "Migrantenfamilien" (239) and lists a number of countries from which these families might come. It also cites the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women as legally binding agreements "kulturellen Praktiken entgegenzuwirken, die Frauen diskriminieren und sie ihrer universellen Rechte berauben" (241). This presents a strong contrast to the first pages of the book, where readers encountered texts understood as binding for Muslims; such bracketing reinforces the sense that Islam and human rights are incompatible.

The feminist adoption of the Muslim woman victim as a cause presents a number of concerns that are especially pertinent to a discussion of these memoirs. First of all, as Alcoff puts it, this work has a "liberatory agenda that almost requires that women…speak on behalf of other women; yet the dangers of speaking across differences of race, culture, sexuality, and power are becoming increasingly clear" (98). German feminists risk denying the subjectivity of both oppressed and liberated Muslim women as well as the diversity of Islam while glossing over lingering, unaddressed issues of German identity

and belonging that have haunted the German public sphere for so long. Secondly, in their support (and shaping, and use) of such narratives, which almost inevitably end with the liberated woman living a better life in Germany, they contribute to a sense of Germany as the promised land, while neglecting to address Germany's patriarchal systems, government policies, and social expectations of difference that shape the lives of minorities there.

These difficulties are a reflection of early social science literature about Turkish cultural practices that continue to shape the attitudes and rhetoric of contemporary activism and public policy. Baumgartner-Karabak and Landesberger's 1978 study of Turkish women in Germany was considered groundbreaking at the time, but has been criticized repeatedly since the 1990s for its "one-sided and exaggerated" depictions of Turkish gender relations (Ewing, "Between Cinema and Social Work" 271). Nonetheless, the autocratic father, the object-status of daughters, the subordination of women, and especially the importance of honor and Islam as the foundation of male authority which appear in Baumgartner-Karabak and Landesberger's work are very much present in the public discourse, activism, and policy having to do with minorities, cultural difference and integration.

The growing ranks of authors-turned-activists appear at first glance to be shifting these power relations, or at least mitigating the problem of speaking for others across race and culture. Women like Serap Çileli, Seyran Ates, and Necla Kelek seem authorized by their experiences as victims of violent oppression to speak out on behalf of their still-oppressed *Leidensgenossinnen.* But they are still speaking across substantial differences. As I have shown, despite claims to the contrary, narratives like *Mich hat keiner gefragt*

are not testimonio in which the “I” can be “assumed indiscriminately by anyone” (Beverley 33) and in which the meaning of the text “lies not in [its] uniqueness but in its ability to stand for the experience of [its] community as a whole” (Beverley 34). The risk of treating these works as representative is to reinforce the object status of their authors. These books are marketed - and welcomed - as the “authentic” voices of the “oppressed,” yet they are heavily mediated by individuals and institutions that are neither of these things. The same activists working to give oppressed Muslim women a voice in fact limit their expression even as they help publicize and sell it. As Beverly Weber has pointed out, these groups exclude the narratives of practicing Muslim women, while activist groups of minority women that do include such participants (such as the Federation of Immigrant Women in Germany) are not vocal supporters of these books.[21] Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the way that Terre des Femmes works against forced marriage and honor killing is problematic in that it contributes to the industry that has emerged around the trope of the oppressed Muslim woman and to the blurring of boundaries between production, promotion, and consumption of these narratives.

The material trajectory of these memoirs is also important. Many of them first appeared as low-budget paperbacks, often from small regional presses. In many cases, after an initial period of success, rights were purchased and they were reprinted as paperbacks under bigger (international) labels and/or by large reprint or book club type presses. Weltbild Verlag has published versions of several of these memoirs under its

---

[21] The contrast between Terre des Femmes and Federation of Immigrant Women in Germany is even more striking in light of Terre des Femmes’ tendency to request donations in most publicity materials and at various points on their website, a practice the Federation does not follow.

"Weltbild Reader"[22] label, specializing in cheap reprints of bestsellers. Material differences between editions include the quality of paper, ink, and bindings, and may also require changes to the cover.

When glossaries and maps are included, they reiterate and reinforce a distance between the author-narrator and the reader, emphasizing the author-narrator's foreignness regardless of her birthplace or where she was raised. The maps are labeled in German but are of foreign places. In the case of Ayşe's memoir, the map spans two pages, and shows Turkey in relatively close detail, with rudimentary topographical shading, cities and towns, maps and rivers, and a large arrow pointing out the location of Ballidere, the village where Ayşe was born. The glossaries contain both foreign terms that appear in the memoirs and also German words such as "Verwandtenehe," "Brautgeld," and "Groβfamilie" which are common terms, especially in popular discourse about forced marriage. Other terms, like "Islam" and "Kopftuch" are almost certainly known to readers. These pieces initially seem to indicate that the target audience is made up of people unfamiliar with Turkey, forced marriage, or Islam - since these readers would be the ones to benefit from the map and from explanations of some of these terms. But even a reader with no prior knowledge of such practices could understand the words in Ayşe's glossary simply by their context (or because several of them are in German). Glossaries in particular posit a distance between text and reader; the glossary insists on the possibility that readers will struggle with understanding the content of the book without a clarification of a "specialized" vocabulary. Thurlow and Jaworski have argued that

[22] A special line of books from Weltbild: "Das gibt es nur bei Weltbild! Aktuelle Top-Bestseller als hochwertig ausgestattete Sonderausgaben! Historische Romane, fesselnde Erzählungen aus exotischen Ländern, anrührende Lebensschicksale, große Gefühle sowie packende Krimis & Thriller - hier finden Sie erstklassige Bücher von Bestsellerautoren! Viele davon exklusiv bei uns, obendrein deutlich preisgünstiger als die Hardcover-Originalausgaben!" ("Weltbild Reader")

foreign language glossaries are "structured by a desire to produce authenticating markers of exoticity and cultural difference" (295). Although many of the terms explained in the glossary in *Mich hat keiner gefragt* are German-language terms, and understandable to anyone able to read the memoir itself, they emphasize the cultural difference of the individuals and communities described in Ayşe's story. These paratexts also reinforce the authority of the book's producers.

Tackabery has found that glossaries "outline and protect the parameters" of discourse between a company and its customers (427). This is certainly true of the glossary in *Mich hat keiner gefragt*. While it includes some terms with fairly neutral explanations (e.g. "Ayran: Türkische Buttermilch, beliebtes Getränk," 245), it also strongly reinforces the position of this book as representative and authoritative, and the author as a kind of native informant or guide. For example, the entry on "Bedeutung der Hochzeit" (246) informs readers that "die Hochzeit ist der Höhepunkt im Leben einer jeden türkischen Frau und Familie" (246). The entry for "Abi" even more strongly outlines and protects the parameters of the discourse between the producers and consumers, essentially summarizing popular perceptions of conflict resolution in Muslim families. It informs readers that the "Abi" is the elder brother who, along with the father, is "der Represäntant der Familie und damit ihrer Ehre" (245). The glossary further explains that if a female family member should happen to lose her good reputation through immoral behavior, "so ist es an ihm, die Ehre der Familie wiederherzustellen, indem er die Frau und unter Umständen auch den beteiligten Mann tötet" (245).

The pseudonym, which is highlighted over and over again in the pages surrounding the central text, tells the reader that the truths revealed in such a memoir are

both dangerous enough to cost the author her life, and important enough to risk her life to tell them. In some cases, the pseudonym is explicit and justified. In Sabatina James' memoir, it is noted just after the title page that names were changed for security reasons on the advice of the police. The pseudonym is emphasized as a different kind of veil – protective where the Muslim veil is oppressive – and reinforces the oppression of women within (by) Muslim communities. Although the author-narrators are ostensibly no longer a part of these communities, they are still *shown* to hide themselves and live in fear of reprisal. In this way, the pseudonym represents the constant negotiation between exposure (risk, altruism, commitment to the greater cause) and safety (selfishness, modesty, attachment to a Western lifestyle), pointing to the performativity inherent in the marketing of these books. The name chosen for the pseudonym is also telling; it is never a typically German name, but usually identifies the author as "other" if not explicitly as Muslim, and contributes to the sense of these women as a "type." Ayşe was the name of one of the wives of the prophet Muhammad, and it is very common - even stereotypical - within the Muslim cultural sphere, and is also a common pseudonym for author-narrators of these memoirs.

According to Eder, Ayşe's pseudonym was Eder's decision (Eder). She wanted to protect Ayşe and her family, and to protect herself (Eder is not her full last name). Eder was afraid of the possible consequences, she said, especially from Ayşe's family (Eder). When asked by an interviewer for *Mathilde* why Ayşe told her story and whether it was not dangerous to do so, Eder responded:

> Ob es gefährlich ist, wussten wir lange selber nicht - weder sie noch ich, noch der Verlag. Wir haben den Justiziar des Verlages prüfen lassen, weil

> uns nicht klar war, was da auf uns zu kommen könnte. Für Ayşe war es eine Art Selbsttherapie, dass sie die Geschichte zunächst ihrer Mutter erzählte und dann mir. Und ich weiß noch: eins der ersten Gespräche, die wir miteinander geführt haben: da saß sie nur da und hat geweint. (Geiling)

The importance of the author's pseudonym cannot be overstated. It carries as much meaning as the rest of the text, and together with the cover art, it can tell a story that entirely overshadows the content of the book. The author-narrator's pseudonym highlights the conflict that she (or other producers) anticipated between her and the other people about whom she writes. Yet the conventions of production and promotion common to this genre require the author-narrator's exposure. This apparent conflict between the safety of the author-narrator and the promotion of her book raises numerous red flags about the possibility of exploitation and hints at potential tensions between the author-narrator and the other contributors to the project. The contradiction of the pseudonym that frames the image of the author-narrator leads us to question the motives and goals of participants, as well as the meaning of their work on personal, professional, and political levels.

The promotion of Ayşe's memoir served a similar function to the packaging and other paratexts discussed above. Despite gestures toward anonymity, Ayşe's exposure was a key part of the marketing strategy for this book. As Eder explained during our interview, the publishing house insisted that Ayşe be trained in dealing with the media, and hired a media coach to work with her before the book came out. Ayşe did at least 6 sessions with this coach (Eder). Ayşe, Eder, and an actress attended readings. The actress,

often (but not always) Karime Vakilzadeh, read the book and Ayşe and Eder answered questions afterward. At the beginning, Ayşe didn't do much, or say anything, but by the end of their book tour, Eder thought she was much more media savvy and professional, and she participated much more during promotional events. Only female journalists did interviews with Ayşe (Eder).

The readings the women gave were inevitably framed by charitable work, reinforcing the ostensible altruism that inspired the project. For example, the women read at Haus unterm Regenbogen, which "setzt sich ein gegen Unterdrückung, wirtschaftliche Ausbeutung, Unterprivilegierung und soziale Ungleichheit" ("Haus Unterm Regenbogen - Programm - Ayşe"). Another reading was incorporated as part of Göttingen's annual intercultural week, which included such events as screenings of the film *Kebab Connection* as well as podium discussions titled "Fremde Blicke – Deutschland und seine Kulturen" (Göttinger Stadtinfo). A reading at the Evangelische Stadtakademie in Munich was sponsored by Terre des Femmes as part of a day against violence toward women, which received support from representatives of the Advisory Council on Foreigners, Amnesty International, and Women's Aid Munich, among others (von Krause). As Eder told me during our interview, most attendees were white German women - these books are also read by minorities, but Eder stated that the Turkish women who read such books read the (cheaper) Weltbild versions, and that they do not come to readings or other events. In addition to readings, various radio spots were produced, including a story on Dom Radio, the radio station of the archbishopric of Cologne. Ayşe also participated in the documentary project *Eat Sugar, Speak Sweetly*, which was featured as part of the Terre des Femmes film festival "Frauenwelten" in Tübingen in 2007.

Like reviews (see Araghi 2005), these promotional activities situated Ayşe's book squarely in the context of other projects - a piece of a larger activist campaign to liberate oppressed masses of Muslim women around the world. But Ayşe seems to have resisted her (scripted) role in promoting this greater goal. During our interview, Eder told me that Ayşe was quite proud of the book and kept telling people about it despite Eder's warnings to keep it secret. To an outside observer, Eder's behavior seems contradictory. After all, Eder had conducted fact-checking interviews with Ayşe's relatives and friends, making them aware of the book project, at the behest of the publishing house and in Ayşe's company. Ayşe's own photo also graces the cover of her book (a photo section, with pictures from her life, was also considered, but it didn't make the final cut), and she made numerous public appearances to promote the memoir. It seems that there was never much possibility of keeping the project from Ayşe's relatives, who, after all, were still in contact with Ayşe's children – the same children who helped read the manuscript to their illiterate mother for approval.

Yet Eder cautioned Ayşe not to share her news. During our interview, Eder appeared to be slightly irritated that Ayşe had ignored this advice, which suggests that – at least, for producers – the catalyst for violence might not be the author-narrator's defiance of cultural norms so much as the exposure of her family or community. Although Eder did not go into more detail about this apparent tension, I believe that what appears as a contradiction is, at least for Eder and other contributors like her, perhaps more accurately a reflection of a particular understanding of subjectivity and of belonging. Eder understood her own subjectivity in a different way from Ayşe's, and continued to view Ayşe as a victim of her upbringing and her culture even after their

project had concluded. Indeed, Eder explained that her experience working with Ayşe had actually helped her broaden her understanding of victimhood: it made her realize that "die Männer Opfer sind, genau wie die Frauen." Since Eder herself did not have victim status (and possibly because she had more faith in the protection of her race and class), the potentially violent consequences of producing Ayşe's story may never have been truly real for her. It was unimaginable that she would be the victim of Muslim violence, and her ability to sympathize with the men in Ayşe's life who might have been perpetrators of violence further diminished that threat. Ayşe, on the other hand, never stopped being a victim for Eder or for much of her reading public. This is echoed in the disappointment expressed by Eder and others that Ayşe did not learn enough (change enough) through her experiences.

Eder shared with me that the closest the project came to violence was toward the end of the promotional tour, when Ayşe's former mother-in-law called her and said some mean things, but nothing came of it. In fact, I have not found a single incident of violence stemming directly from the publication of such a memoir. Seyran Ates, lawyer and author of *Große Reise ins Feuer. Die Geschichte einer deutschen Türkin*, famously closed her law practice in 2006 after she and her client were assaulted after a divorce hearing (Reimann). She had received plenty of hate mail over the years, and was the subject of a smear campaign in Hürriyet, a popular Turkish language newspaper in Germany, but ultimately explained her decision in one interview as a personal choice from which she could see political change coming:

> Denn wenn eine Einzelmeinung immer nur als polarisierend wahrgenommen wird, immer nur ein Ausschnitt gesehen wird, Sätze

> rausgegriffen werden, weil man eine Person stigmatisieren will - so wie man mich immer als hysterische Feministin dargestellt hat - wird die Debatte kontraproduktiv. Deshalb sollten wir uns als Einzelpersonen zurückziehen. Die Debatte sollte weg gehen von den Einzelnen - auch weg von Necla Kelek, Serap Çileli, Fatma Bläser. (Reimann)

Ates emphasizes the political gains that could come from shifting the focus of the debate about Islam away from individuals, but she has not removed herself from public life. Since closing her law practice, she has published three more books: *Der Multikulti Irrtum* (2008), *Der Islam braucht eine sexuelle Revolution* (2011), and *Warum ich in Deutschland leben möchte* (2013). Her assertion that the focus of the debate needs to shift away from the individual is nonetheless an interesting and important one, especially considered next to Ayşe's pride and perceived victim status.

In the process of producing and promoting this work, Ayşe risked becoming her story, which itself became a closed, coherent object with the production of the book. Based on Eder's account, Ayşe's pride was problematic because it drew what could have been the "wrong" kind of attention to the book project, that is, the attention of violent, radical Muslims. But Ayşe's insistence on bragging about the memoir also drew the attention of her peers to her labor – her specific, individual, productive, creative role. Eder's fact-checking and interviews also exposed Ayşe's participation in the project, but necessarily framed Ayşe's contributions more passively. Ayşe's pride in the work might have drawn attention from audiences to her continued existence (subjectivity) beyond that project as well, with all its ambiguity and dissonance with the script of the Muslim woman victim.

Conclusion

Mich hat keiner gefragt spent six weeks on the Spiegel bestseller list in 2005, and five more after it was re-released as a paperback in 2007 (buchreport). As of May of 2013 it has a 4.5 star rating on amazon.de and five stars on buecher.de. It was widely discussed in magazines and newspapers, often together with other such memoirs, and has been consistently included in bibliographies on the topic of Muslim women's rights in activist and academic publications. The publicly available information about the book's reception demonstrates how Ayşe's book has been situated in a context of much larger problems and projects, drawing the focus from the individual woman to a generalized group.

As her story is told and retold through the stages of writing, manufacturing, packaging, and promoting, evidence of her specific, individual subjectivity fades; she disappears into the large cast of producers and the larger project of liberating oppressed Muslim women altogether. What began with her speaking in her own voice of her own experiences becomes instead the reiteration of a type. This sense of the oppressed Muslim woman as a type is evident in the reception of Ayşe's book as well as news and entertainment media, activism, and scholarship addressing issues of integration, tolerance, and religious freedom. Ayşe's authority is diminished by the production process, and her voice is first shaped by, then given over to, others (e.g. the actress at readings) for marketing purposes. Ayşe's subjectivity is also reduced by the emphasis on her status as victim, particularly as a sense of danger is mostly manufactured around her project that extends her victimhood even after she has achieved relative security and independence.

Above all, this raises concerns about exploitation of the author-narrator discussed

in the previous chapter. The oppressed Muslim woman is a profitable figure, and the exposure of the author-narrator by various aspects of marketing – the cover image, the readings – is not without ethical concerns. But a similar concern about the exploitation *by* author-narrators is also evident in some responses to these books: given the enormously profitable industry that is based on the figure of the oppressed Muslim woman, there is some suspicion that Ayşe and other women like her have made calculated decisions in their own interest by taking part in such projects, embellishing their stories and defrauding the German publishing industry and reading public for their own profit. Another possibility, that of a mutually beneficial (or, of course, mutually exploitative) relationship, is rarely mentioned in coverage of such work. In this light, Renate Eder's comment that working with Ayşe was "eine Art Symbiose" is especially interesting.

Concerns about exploitation inevitably lead to questions about authenticity. Authenticity is certainly important in marketing such works, and there is a widespread perception that what they may lack in literary quality they make up for in authentic representations of realities foreign to readers. At the same time, the more Ayşe seems to disappear in the cast of producers and promoters, the more tempting it becomes to see the entire project as a commodity, an imitation of some other commercially successful product, with a veneer of authenticity as manufactured as the rest of the book. As Mary Louise Pratt notes, judging such works based solely or primarily on their authenticity may be counterproductive:

> when such 'ethnographic' texts are read simply as 'authentic' self-expression or 'inauthentic' assimilation, their transcultural character is obliterated and their dialogic engagement with western modes of

representation is lost. (Imperial Eyes, 100).

Ayşe's book, and others like it, document complex negotiations among producers and consumers as much or more so than the shocking secrets of the parallel world. Looking past judgments of authenticity to the transcultural character of these texts is a critically important piece of a reading that is open to the agency of the other while also acknowledging the realities of collaborative writing across significant differences. The transcultural character of these memoirs is perhaps not as evident as it is in some recent counter-narratives. Author-narrators employ forms and strategies of expression that are comprehensible to their audiences and involve some degree of collaboration with the structures and institutions of the dominant society, but the information contained within these texts may be critical of that society, and deviates in some way from the script of the Muslim woman victim current in that society. The extensive involvement of other producers (and, in Ayşe's case, perhaps that of her children as well) with the author-narrator and her story suggests the possibility of dialogue and engagement from a variety of cultural perspectives.

The very existence of the trend or genre, and its "repeated, expected, to-a-degree-predictable qualities" brings the integrity of this involvement as a generic convention into question (Newcomb 424). As the study of Ayşe's memoir shows, the qualities that mark this genre include aspects of the text as well as the production, such as the basic narrative of oppression and liberation, the timelessness and generality of tradition, or the involvement of numerous interlocutors, whether in the explicit role of a co-author or the more hidden role of ghost writer, editor, or other positions common to the production of most any literature. The sensational quality of the cover also marks the genre.

Other aspects of Ayşe's memoir, and of the genre, are more difficult to pin down. Activist intent is a necessary component of testimonio, and is a motivation attributed to or claimed by many author-narrators of these memoirs as well. But activist intent on the part of the interlocutors is trickier. The intent of interlocutors highlights the ambivalence of their position, and the tension between authenticity, exploitation, and dialogic engagement. When I asked Eder about her own motivation to work on this project, she said that she did not consider herself an activist, and did not work on Ayşe's project out of a commitment to a greater cause. But she did express disappointment at the rejection of feminism by young women today. During our conversation, I got the impression that any activist impulses Eder might have had at the beginning of the project (such as her hope to help rescue Ayşe's niece when she met her on a research trip to Hamburg) had been tempered by the intimacy and complexity of her relationship with Ayşe, but also by her acceptance of Ayşe's own subjectivity. Books like Ayşe's reflect a hope among activists (and, arguably, consumers) that within every "oppressed" Muslim woman, a "liberated" (read: German/European/Western) woman is struggling to get out, and, of course, the expectation that she will commit herself fully to that liberation when she does. But, as Eder explained, working so closely with Ayşe brought her to see a difference between a life free from violence and life as a European – and that Ayşe was satisfied to have the former, but was not interested in the wholesale rejection of her cultural heritage, family, etc. that the latter seemed to require. Perhaps Ayşe's decision to leave Germany with her new husband (a childhood friend) is indicative of this.

Based on my discussion with Eder and on the text of Ayşe's memoir, I do not doubt that the two women's motives and goals, as well as the personal meaning of their

work, were different from one another in many ways. Eder was already a published author when she began the project. She described meeting Ayşe as pure coincidence, and explained that the book had been Ayşe's idea. Her claim that she worked with Ayşe out of a general interest in interpersonal relationships is more believable given that she was not the one to initiate the project. But as a media professional, she could not reasonably have been unaware of the popular appeal of stories like Ayşe's. Eder gave me the impression that over the course of her work with Ayşe, she did experience some activist or liberatory impulses: she brought Ayşe and her daughter to see a therapist, and she considered intervening in the situation of Ayşe's niece. These details lead me to believe that Eder's initial motivation may have had been a combination of curiosity and ambition, and that she may not have initially regarded Ayşe as an individual subject so much as a type. While altruistic motives have been ascribed to Ayşe by activists and journalists, Eder explained that Ayşe also wanted to prove something to people who knew her. This resonates with Ayşe's explanation of her daughter's arranged marriage, which she admits had more to do with proving to her ex-husband that she also had the power to influence their children's lives than with the importance of tradition. Based on the limited information available about Ayşe's motivations and goals, it seems that her memoir had to do with asserting her subjectivity.

But it is important to note that there are similarities between the two women as well: Eder told me that Ayşe was proud of the memoir, and so was Eder. Eder criticized the sloppiness of the ghost writing in other such books (which she called *Betroffenheitsliteratur*) in comparison to *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, and described another memoir project, with an illiterate Roma woman, which she had ultimately refused to

pursue out of professional integrity (Eder's fact-checking led to significant doubts about the woman's story). *Mich hat keiner gefragt* became a major undertaking for both Ayşe and Eder. Yet in the end, neither woman leveraged their success into activist work or a career in Muslim women's rights, but turned to other pursuits.

This chapter has addressed several points of tension in the practices of production for Ayşe's memoir and others like it. In the initial writing phase, the relationship between the author/narrator and her ghost writer or co-author raises questions about agency and authority. Ayşe and Eder navigated major differences in class, ethnicity, and education which inevitably impacted the final product. Smith and Watson voice a common concern regarding co-authorship between unequal parties when they write that "collaborative life writing, as a multilingual, transcultural process, can be a situation of coercion and editorial control presented in the name of preserving the voice, the experience, and the culture of the life narrator" (Smith & Watson 55). These worries echo through the broadly conceived material stage of production, during which other pieces of the book (i.e. foreword, glossary, cover design) come into being. These paratexts frame the central text and also serve a marketing function. They lend weight to the author-narrator's account, but they also suggest quite strongly how the central text should be understood. Generally speaking, the marketing of such memoirs is particularly problematic in the way that it, like the fact-checking in the first stage of production, compromises the author-narrator's anonymity, putting her at greater risk of retaliation (since retaliation is understood to be the reason for a pseudonym in the first place) or calling into question the truth of her account. This second set of concerns about the degree to which such narratives are embellished or sensationalized leads directly into a third concern about

exploitation. While the balance of power (and the degree of benefit) must differ from book to book, considering the labor of the various contributors and what is known about the paths they took allows us to view the project as one mutually beneficial to those immediately involved producers.

Chapter 2: Sabatina, or a Shocking True Story of Faith, Sex, and Scandal

In this chapter, I show how the exposure of bodies profoundly marked by their gender and victim status, especially in combination with tropes of threatening religion and sexuality, contribute to a sense of scandal or moral panic among audiences. I focus primarily on a 2003 memoir by a Pakistani-Austrian woman writing under the pseudonym of Sabatina James. The exposed and gendered body, as well as moral panic tied to religious and sexual deviance, are evident throughout James' book as well as in its production, promotion, and consumption. I will begin with a discussion of these factors in the book's immediate paratexts, move on to the central narrative, and conclude with the book's relatively scandalous reception before considering how these factors trouble the conflation of the actual author-narrators of Muslim women's memoirs with the figure of the Muslim woman victim.

James' memoir follows a similar narrative pattern to other books in this genre: James describes her childhood in Pakistan and Austria, her family's attempts to force her to marry her cousin, and her escape from her increasingly oppressive family. This memoir is unique for several reasons. First, its extensive and explicit engagement with faith and religion sets it apart from other Muslim women's memoirs, in which the role of religious faith is more implicit or altogether absent. James describes her faith in detail, including her attempts to be a good Muslim and her eventual conversion to Christianity. Various Christian groups and networks have also played an important part in supporting James and Christian media outlets have produced the most positive coverage of her work. Here, I will examine the role of Islam as well as Christianity in the central narrative of James' memoir, in its marketing, and in media coverage of James from 2003 to the

present. This case study offers rich material for exploring how religious categories are coming to signify a range of differences in German public discourse, including racial/ethnic and national as well as cultural, political, and moral.

Secondly, James experienced physical exposure to a greater degree than most author-narrators. Examining the impact this exposure had on the story about her memoir sheds new light on genre-wide practices of physically exposing the author-narrator. As is the case for many of these memoirs, James' image is featured prominently on the cover and in marketing materials where it is marked as female and other. James' physical presence was integral to the apparent marketing strategy, as evidenced by numerous television interviews, talk show appearances, readings, and the photographs that accompany nearly every article about her, to say nothing of the press photos available for free download on her website. The prominence of her image has drawn criticism, since she is allegedly living in hiding, afraid for her life. This is just one example of the prominence of the gendered body in and around this narrative pattern, and of the marketing work linking the literary body of the heroine with the public body of the author-narrator. The heroine's body is central to the plot, as it reveals her naiveté when it comes to sex, childbirth, gendered power relations, and cultural difference while simultaneously pointing toward a natural but repressed (and sometimes scandalous) sexuality. The gendered body also functions as a site for villains to exercise their power through abuse within the story itself, but also in the story about the story - the risk that telling her story poses to the physical safety of the author-narrator is fundamental to the appeal of such narratives.

Gender is especially useful as a category of analysis for this narrative type

because the author-narrator's experience is rigidly structured by gender norms. In marketing and media coverage, gender is so deeply connected to religion that it becomes nearly impossible to separate the two; the heroine strives for liberation from a specific set of gender norms as much as from a religion or culture. The gender roles portrayed as typically Muslim in this kind of narrative (and in media responses to it) reflect an extremely rigid division between male and female, aligning with a public/private sphere division that is usually described as medieval - the antithesis of modern, cosmopolitan, more "evolved" German, Austrian, and European attitudes about gender. German-speaking audiences have expressed outrage and frustration about the perceived differences in gender roles in "Muslim" and "European" communities in direct response to narratives of this type.

Finally, *Sterben sollst du* offers unique insight into the role of scandal or moral panic in the production, promotion, and consumption of such narratives. Shortly after her memoir was first published, her former ghost writer leaked provocative nude photos of her to the Austrian press; soon after, the district attorney in Linz began investigating her for allegations of bigamy. She was involved in several lawsuits and has been widely criticized for overexposure over the course of her career as a public speaker and activist. The logic of these scandals emphasized James' body as female, sexually available (but also sexually dangerous), and victimized. While James' experiences are exceptionally dramatic, the marketing of Muslim women's memoirs depends on and therefore contributes to a sense of moral panic. This is most apparent in the simultaneous exposure of the author-narrator and emphasis on the physical danger she is in as a result of this exposure.

The Book

As is the case for most books of this kind, Islam is prominent in the packaging and cover art of *Sterben sollst du*. The first edition of the book, under the title *Vom Islam zum Christentum: Ein Todesurteil*, depicts the author bareheaded on the front cover and almost entirely hidden by a niqab and chador on the back cover. Almost all of the editions that followed (with the Knaur title, *Sterben sollst du für dein Glück: Gefangen zwischen zwei Welten*) included images of James. The two images from the Kleindienst edition were repurposed for the cover of the 2004 Knaur edition to be facing each other on either side of the front cover.[23] The Weltbild edition shows a model wearing a pink niqab and looking into the distance. I will focus primarily on the first Knaur edition, which was the most widely promoted (see figure 3).

The front cover of the first Knaur edition lists "Sabatina" above "Sterben sollst du für dein Glück," both in the same size and font, on a red column between the two images of James. Well below the title is the subtitle "Gefangen zwischen zwei Welten." This text conveys an enormous amount of information. Showing only James' first name increases the likelihood that viewers will understand that the name is a pseudonym. The use of "sterben" tells the reader just how high the stakes are, while the subtitle, in combination with the two opposing images (veiled and unveiled), evokes the idea of Islam as a separate (closed) world.

The back cover of the the Knaur edition offers a concise summary of the typical characteristics for narratives of this kind: physical abuse, gendered oppression, and conflict between Islam and the West. The short paragraph reinforces the message

[23] Following editions by Knaur - as well as the English translation issued by Phoenix Books in 2010 - showed a newer image of James, bareheaded and wearing heavy makeup, looking directly at the viewer with an expression that could be interpreted as slightly suggestive.

conveyed by the title and cover image (that this is a book about Islam and the oppression of Muslim women): "Die ungeheurliche Geschichte einer jungen und schönen Muslima." The reason given for her suffering is that "sie liebte das Leben im Westen" and that her parents find her "zu westlich," which leads them to send her to a "Koran-Schule" in Pakistan "wo sie geschlagen und misshandelt wird." James "flieht" back to Europe where she meets "die harte Antwort des Islam…." The ellipsis lets the reader fill in the form of this answer.

The *Über die Autorin* blurb in *Sterben sollst du* echoes the back cover. It explicitly identifies James as Muslim, references physical abuse, and makes Islam primarily responsible for her suffering: "Als sie auch noch gegen ihren Willen heiraten soll, flieht die junge Muslima aus dem Martyrium und kehrt nach Europa zürück. Doch trifft sie hier die harte Antwort des Islam umso mehr: Ihre Familie spricht am 2. Juni 2001 ein Todesurteil über die junge Frau aus" (title page). James is referred to in the packaging as a Muslim, and Islam is strongly emphasized here, while Christianity is only mentioned in the original Kleindienst title and not at all in the packaging of the Knaur or Weltbild editions. While Christianity is an implicit European characteristic, this omission suggests that the conflict is much more than religious.

The page opposite the author bio and the publisher name is basically the same as the cover, but without images. Following that are the copyright page and a page informing the reader that "auf Anraten der Polizei wurden die Namen aller handelnden Personen in diesem Buch aus Sicherheitsgründen geändert. Doch die Beschriebenen existieren; sie leben in Österreich und Pakistan." This notice underscores the dangerous nature of the narrative and the seriousness of the threat to the safety of those involved in

its production, while placing that danger in a certain proximity to the German-speaking reader.

James' memoir begins with a prologue in which she sets the stage for what is to come. This is a common move in such memoirs, and ensures that readers know early on how the story ends.[24] In her prologue, she tends toward melodramatic language as she describes her isolation and fear and gives the broad strokes of her story. She emphasizes Islam and Pakistani identity as the primary causes of her suffering:

> Ich flüchtete vor ihnen, vor ihren pakistanischen Wertvorstellungen, vor allem aber vor dem, was in der Koran von mir als Frau verlangt. [...] Nachdem ich monatelang meine Zweifel mit mir herumgetragen hatte, konvertierte ich zum Christentum. 'Komm zürück. Du weiβt, was auf den Glaubenswechsel in Pakistan steht', sagte mein Vater damals zu mir. Mir war klar, was er damit meinte: die Todesstrafe. (11)

James sets the conflated Muslim/Pakistani worldview in opposition to that of the Austrian/European identity she claims: "ich bin kein pakistanisches Mädchen mehr. … Ich bin Österreicherin geworden, doch ich habe Eltern, die noch immer nach Wertvorstellungen leben, die nicht mehr die meinen sind" (13). She ends the prologue by declaring these two cultures to be "nicht kompatibel" (14).

This prologue leads directly into James' description of her early longing for Austria as a child in Pakistan: "Ich wollte schon immer nach Österreich, damals, als ich noch klein war..." (17). Her family moved to Sarleinsbach in northern Austria when she was 10 years old. Her father had been working there in construction for some time and

[24] A recent study from UC San Diego suggests that spoilers, or knowing the ending of a narrative, may actually enhance audience enjoyment (Leavitt and Christenfeld).

had finally saved the money to bring his family. His position there, combined with his father's role as muezzin[25] in their home village gave the family a certain degree of prestige, and this move strengthened their status in Pakistan. James' description of their trip to Austria serves primarily in the story to showcase how ill-equipped the family was to handle basic cultural differences. James describes her terror in the airplane as she and her mother "beteten zu Allah, er möge uns beschutzen, und dafür sorgen, dass wir nicht ins Meer fielen" (25). The situation worsened when food was served with a spoon and a fork, neither of which James had ever encountered before (25). In Sarleinsbach, James and her mother continued to struggle. Her mother broke down when she discovered that her husband had failed to buy any pots or pans for her to cook with (28), and the two women had to ask James' father to explain how to use a European toilet and toilet paper (31).

The physical indignities suffered by the heroine are emphasized across this genre, and are a key part of the discourse on bodies that is at play in debates about Muslims in Europe. Scenes involving sex and childbirth are extremely common, typically with emphasis on how little the heroine understands about sexuality, intercourse, and reproduction. Scenes about the heroine's body adjusting to Europe are also common, especially those detailing her first encounter with a European toilet. These scenes suggest the temporal distance between "modern" Europe and "medieval" Muslim communities while clearly conveying the heroine's physical discomfort, confusion, and sense of foreignness. It also proposes that European customs are learnable, even that a body may be "educated into Europeanness" (Weber, *Violence and Gender* 148). James' memoir is

---

[25] A muezzin is a Muslim religious figure who leads the call to prayer five times each day. In some cases, including that of James' grandfather (James 18), a muezzin may take on additional religious duties such as officiating weddings and funerals or providing religious instruction.

especially interesting in this regard as she shares both her first experience with a European toilet and dwells on her revulsion at the Pakistani toilets in the Madrasa she was forced to attend later on. This juxtaposition states in no uncertain terms how European Sabatina had become during her time in Austria, and how irrevocably she and her body no longer belong in Pakistan.

Despite this rocky start, the family's life in Sarleinsbach and the family's relationships with Austrians were relatively harmonious. But James includes plenty of references to her family's attitude toward non-Muslims and to the distance she experienced from other children her age. She defended Islam in second-person plural terms ("we") to Austrian teachers ("them") in a classroom with a crucifix on the wall (42) and refused to sing the Christian songs that were often assigned in her music classes (43). James does not mention many of the common struggles faced by the children of immigrants, such as taking on adult responsibilities for parents who are unable to communicate with Germans; she does not reflect much on her family's class or social status, but it is clear from her experiences that she occupied a solidly middle or upper-middle class position.

After four years in Sarleinsbach, James' family moved to the more urban setting of Linz, where contact with a larger Pakistani community, along with adolescence and social pressure from her classmates led to increased tensions between James and her parents. After a great deal of conflict about issues such as clothing, makeup, and social life, they promised James the chance to pursue training in acting and singing if she would agree to first go with them to Pakistan to be engaged to her cousin Salman. But after more conflict during the trip, including James' refusal of the engagement, her parents left

her in Pakistan under the care of her cousin's family, at which point she was enrolled in a religious boarding school. After several months there, she was sent back to her cousin's family because of a prolonged illness, then enrolled in the second (non-residential) religious school. While conditions at the second school were better, James' cousin and future fiance began to sexually assault her. James brackets her account of this abuse with stories about the rape, abuse, and murder of other women in Pakistan. The gendered body is emphasized in this section of the narrative more than any other save for James' first arrival in Austria. James' reaction to her cousin's abuse – "ich hasste es, eine Frau zu sein, hasste es, in diesem Körper stecken zu müssen" (159) – echoes the rape scene in Ayşe's memoir, and is typical for narratives of this type in the way that the heroine sees her own body as a burden and her biology as fundamental to her suffering.

James was enrolled in two different religious schools during her six-month stay in Pakistan. In her detailed description of these schools, she portrays Muslim faith as essentially blind and unquestioning:

> 'Warum sind die Frauen nicht den Männern gleichgestellt?' Der Mullah erklärte es mir. Besser gesagt, er versuchte es zumindest. 'Das steht in Sura al Nisa 4.34, Tochter. Die Männer stehen über den Frauen, weil Allah sie ausgezeichnet hat und wegen der Ausgaben, die sie von ihrem Vermögen gemacht haben. Und wenn ihr fürchtet, dass Frauen sich auflehnen, dann vermahnt sie, meidet sie im Ehebett und schlagt sie.' Und das sollte der Prophet gesagt haben? Ehrlich gesagt, konnte ich mir das kaum vorstellen, aber ich wollte darüber nicht weiter nachdenken. Allah wollte es offenbar so – also durfte ich nicht daran zweifeln, dachte ich.

(165).

While the trope of the unquestioning Muslim is obvious here, at least at the second madrasa James still felt free to question the mullah and to challenge the Quran, even though it was clearly out of the ordinary for anyone to do so. This is one of the only moments in her memoir when a believing Muslim is anything but accepting of what they understand to be doctrine, and the imam is the only authority figure in the book who is at all interested in hearing challenging questions. Of this time, James writes:

> ...meine tägliche Auseinandersetzung mit dem Koran zeigte offenbar Wirkung. Ich war stolz, Muslimin zu sein, und fühlte mich den anderen Religionen eindeutig überlegen. Doch [...] in meine Rolle als pakistanische Hausfrau wollte ich mich nach wie vor nicht einfügen. Es musste doch eine Möglichkeit geben, auch als gläubige Muslimin nach einem westlichen Wertesystem zu leben. (165)

It is important to note the emphasis she places on her struggle to reconcile her Muslim faith and her identification as Austrian/European, which underscores her ultimate argument that these two things are thoroughly incompatible.

James eventually realized that accepting an engagement to her cousin was the only way she could convince her family to bring her home. Once they were convinced, her father returned to Pakistan to celebrate the engagement and take James back to Austria so she could finish her education before the wedding. James returned to Austria determined to find a way out of marrying her cousin, yet her faith remained very important to her:

> Obwohl ich früher schon gläubig gewesen war, hatte ich mich zu einer

> überzeugteren Muslimin denn je entwickelt. Der Islam war die einzig richtige Religion, und ich musste stolz sein, Muslimin zu sein. Alle fünf Gebete, die der Koran von einem gläubigen Muslimen verlangt, absolvierte ich, und ich las täglich mehrere Suren – genau so, wie ich es in Pakistan gelernt hatte. [...] So seltsam es auch klingen mag, aber der Koran hatte in dieser Zeit enorme Bedeutung für mich. Und je beklemmender die Situation mit meiner Familie wurde, desto wichtiger wurde der Koran: Das Lesen der Suren und die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Propheten gaben mir Halt. Es lenkte mich ab und gab mir das Gefühl, dass es wenigstens eine Konstante in meinem Leben gab....Ich erwartete keine Antworten, sondern sehnte mich lediglich nach einem Halt, nach etwas, woran ich mich klammern konnte. (181)

Back in Austria, James got a job and enrolled in night school, where she ran into an old classmate from her Gymnasium (given the telling pseudonym Christian), who had become and evangelical Christian while James was in Pakistan. She came to rely on him for social contact and emotional support as her situation at home worsened, and when she told him that she felt as if her prayers to Allah no longer had any effect, he gave her a bible. She continued to identify as Muslim, but began to learn more about Christianity: "…trotzdem war ich nach wie vor felsenfest überzeugt, der Islam sei die einzig richtige Religion. Doch dass mich das Christentum schon damals zu faszinieren begann, will ich gar nicht abstreiten…" (188). James' faith in Islam finally began to wane as her family insisted that she request a visa for her cousin, and reading the bible, she found more than the "Halt" that had been such a big part of her faith in Islam: "Staunend las ich von der

Güte und der Liebe, die diesem Jesus zugeschrieben wurde. Und wie sehr sich diese Bibel vom Koran unterschied, der an zahlreichen Stellen doch recht martialisch ist" (193). Some time later, after she had begun to consider herself a Christian, she told her mother that she would refuse to marry her cousin, upon which her mother threw her out of the house. While she stayed in a youth shelter, James confessed her conversion to her family, which led to the first of the death threats.

Her family's reaction fits the standard of unquestioning adherence to tradition or even the refusal of agency (as well as the female-victim-blaming) that she established early on in her portrayal of Muslim faith. She writes of her father's reaction to her conversion: "'Wenn du nicht wieder Mohammed annimmst, müssen wir dich töten. [...] Bitte, lass nicht zu, dass wir tun, was wir dann tun müssen" (218), which reads as if her family would probably prefer not to kill her, but feels obligated by religion. This is the trope of the unquestioning Muslim, who blindly follows the rules set forth in Islam's holy texts (and whose understanding of them is shown to depend on a figure of religious authority such as a village imam). The lone exception to this in James' memoir is her cousin/adopted brother/husband Salman. After she fled her family and even left Austria, James writes that "er würde hierher kommen und mir etwas antun. Und mein Glaubenswechsel gab ihm nach den Gesetzen des Islam sogar noch das Recht dazu" (225). Her choice of words, emphasizing that Islam gave him the right to hurt her (but did not inspire his desire to do so), is typical of the trope of the cynical Muslim, whose religion is nothing more than an excuse or a cover for his (rarely, her) cruel and violent impulses. Salman is so cruel that he would try to kill her even if he were not Muslim, but his religion gives him a convenient justification.

James concludes the main text of her story with several pages describing the threats that led up to her flight from Linz ("an jenem Samstag verliess ich Linz - für immer" (226)). The next thing readers see is a page printed with a column like those on the title page and the pages preceding each chapter, but with no text. What follows is a single page explaining the Pakistani law regarding blasphemy against Islam or Mohammed, a crime which is punishable by death, that threatens "jeden Christen" (229) and describes the life-threatening circumstances facing Christians in Pakistan that make them eligible for asylum in Germany and Austria. James ends the page by dedicating the book to "all jenen Menschen" (229). After the dedication is an epilogue in which James writes about living with the fear that "mich Angehörige nach den Gesetzen der Scharia ermordern könnten" (233). She is especially clear in connecting her family with *all* Muslims: "gemäβ der Scharia bin ich eine Schande für meine Familie, für meine ganze Sippe, für alle Moslems" (233). This synecdoche extends to the threats against James, who writes that "jeder Moslem hätte das Recht, mich umzubringen" (233).

James goes on to describe her loneliness, but also her patriotism ("dieses Land und diese Kultur sind mir näher als alles, was mir Pakistan zu bieten hat" (235)) and her faith. She writes that she does not understand why she cannot live in peace when "wir leben doch in einem zivilisierten, westlichen Land" (235), and that all she can do is to wait until "der Islam und das Christentum sich irgendwann einmal besser verstehen" (236).

Production & Promotion

In addition to replicating much of the familiar story of the Muslim woman victim, *Sterben sollst du* exemplifies the complex structures of marketing and promotion

common across this genre. The production of this narrative type is generally framed as a dramatic and potentially life-threatening undertaking because of the possibility that the author-narrator's family will find and kill her, but the backstory of James' first book is a veritable soap opera due in large part to the involvement of (and conflict between) two men most active in bringing her memoir to press: her first publisher, Josef Kleindienst, and Rupert Leutgeb, James' co-author or ghost writer.

Josef Kleindienst has a scandal-laden personal history, having first achieved fame as the whistle-blower in a scandal involving Austrian politician Jörg Haider at the turn of the 21st century. He spent years working as a policeman, during which time he witnessed extensive corruption, including Haider's use of classified police data against his political rivals, that he then described in his book *Ich gestehe.* According to *die Presse*,

> darin ist von FP-Politikern auf Fact-Finding-Mission im Bordell zu lesen. Oder von FP-Politikern, die sich illegal Informationen aus dem Polizei-Computer besorgen. Die ‚Spitzel-Affäre' sorgte monatelang für Wirbel und endete damit, dass der ‚Aufdecker' selber vor Gericht stand – und freigesprochen wurde. ("Der Spitzel ist reif für die Insel")

Kleindienst then turned to publishing books about how to avoid paying traffic tickets and how to get rich in the stock market. He must have done well: by the end of 2003, after selling the paperback rights to James' memoir to Droemer Knaur, he had moved on to work as a real estate mogul as founder of Kleindienst Group and developer of "The World," a group of luxury villas on manmade islands off the coast of Dubai ("Der Spitzel Ist Reif Für Die Insel") .

Leutgeb claimed to have discovered James, and had extensive connections to

other prominent Austrians in difficult situations - he seems to have a reputation as a kind of ambulance-chaser, a point to which we will return later. Aside from his work with James, he has written a few books, including how-to manual for writing memoirs.[26] According to Leutgeb, he met James in the waiting room of a photographer in Vienna. He was intrigued by the (apparently contradictory) combination of "eine freizügig und körperbetont angezogene Frau, die Jesus verehrt," especially in light of James' time in Pakistan and her assertion that Jesus "ihr bereits in sehr vielen heiklen Situationen geholfen hat" (Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45). They spoke on the phone several times, and in September of 2002 agreed to write James' memoir (Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45). In an interview with *NEWS*, Leutgeb also takes credit for finding a publisher, claiming that he knew Kleindienst from the Frankfurt Book Fair (Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45).

James and Leutgeb worked together for around four months, from October 2002 to February 2003, but just before they were planning to submit the manuscript, "ist es zu gröberen inhaltlichen Differenzen zwischen Kleindienst und [Leutgeb] gekommen" (Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45). Leutgeb told *NEWS* that Kleindienst "[wollte] die Geschichte übertrieben dargestellt haben - dass Sabatina unter Polizeischutz stehe und in einer 'Geheimwohnung' lebe" (Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45). Leutgeb goes on to insist that he himself wanted to stick to the truth, and that although threats against James were "aktenkündig," the district attorney had stopped proceedings against James' family. Leutgeb goes on to explain in pointedly vague language that "Hinweise tauchten auf" that James had participated in some photo shoots "die mit einem christlichen Weltbild nicht zu vereinbaren sind" (Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45). He refers, of course, to the provocative

[26] co-authored with Mukul Rajpal; *Jede Lebensgeschichte ist ein Buch wert: Ein Leitfaden, wie sie über Lebenserinnerungen und Erlebnisse ein Buch schreiben können*.

nude photos that accompanied the article and inspired its headline: "Sabatina: die nackte Wahrheit."

Finally, Leutgeb describes how James suddenly changed her mind about his work, claiming that she couldn't identify with the content of his draft. He was let go as ghost author and was not paid for his time, which is the basis of his lawsuit against Kleindienst. He ends the interview by insisting that "Karriere, Ruhm und Reichtum sind [James] mit Sicherheit wichtiger als Jesus" Ainetter, "Sabatina" 45). Leutgeb apparently had a talent for scandals: he was involved in the aftermath of Austrian singer Falco's death, and has been accused of taking advantage of the singer's mother for profit – even going so far as requesting the court declare her unfit to manage her financial affairs (Leidig). He also worked for some time as the "media manager" for kidnapping victim Natascha Kampusch's father, allegedly demanding "donations" from journalists wishing to arrange interviews (Leidig).[27]

The initial marketing of James' memoir is inextricably tied to the scandals about her that surfaced soon after her book was first published in early June 2003. By June 7, 2003, James' visit to the Austrian state television channel's talk show "Vera" was critiqued in the Austrian newspaper *Der Standard.* Around June 10, the Austrian news magazine *NEWS* had published nude photos of James in extremely suggestive poses along with a damning interview with her former ghost writer, Rupert Leutgeb. This story was picked up by the German news magazine *Bild* with the headline "Ist sie die Heuchlerin des Jahres?" (Ainetter, "Die Geschichte" 48). *NEWS* also published a story about James' 2002 marriage to an Egyptian man, which led to an investigation by the

[27] Natascha Kampusch was kidnapped in Vienna in 1998 and held in captivity for eight years in a cellar in a suburban part of the city before escaping in 2006. Leidig, together with Allan Hall, also wrote "The Girl in the Cellar," an unauthorized biography of Kampusch.

district attorney of Linz into allegations of bigamy. Other news media in Austria followed these scandals with interest through most of June. By June 20, James and Kleindienst had filed suit against *NEWS*, and the articles and photos were soon redacted. Although they are frequently referenced in various internet forums, they are themselves unavailable online; I accessed them in the private Terre des Femmes archive in Berlin in 2012. Perhaps because of the publicity she received in connection with these scandals, the bulk of the marketing of James' memoir took place after Knaur Taschenbuch became involved.

Knaur Taschenbuch (part of Droemer Knaur, which is co-owned by Weltbild and Verlagsgruppe Georg von Holtzbrink) bought the rights to the paperback edition, which was printed in 2004 under the new title "Sterben sollst du für dein Glück: gefangen zwischen zwei Welten." This saw several editions with Knaur before being reprinted in 2007 under the Weltbild label. According to Knaur representative Ariane Novel, "der Grund, warum [das Buch] bei Weltbild erschienen ist, liegt einfach darin, dass die Zielgruppe von Weltbild eine hohe Affinität zu einer solchen Art von Büchern hat." The release of the Knaur paperback edition coincided with significant marketing activity in Germany. From 2004 on, James appeared on television (Cosmo TV, N24 Ethik, Spiegel TV, WDR, Markus Lanz) and radio (SWR, Bayerischer Rundfunk, Dom Radio), and was featured in numerous print articles. She appeared in a ZDF documentary (37 Grad, "Zur Heirat verurteilt") and had a cover story in Focus. In 2006, James founded her charity organization, Sabatina e.V. She was also slated to publish a second book that year under the title *Tränenhochzeit* with Ullstein Verlag, which is listed on amazon.de and on her wikipedia pages, but Ullstein representative Katharina Ilgen wrote that it "musste dann

aber kurzfristig aus dem Programm genommen werden" for reasons she was not at liberty to discuss.

The positive media coverage of James after Droemer Knaur acquired rights to her book is especially interesting in light of the fact that Droemer Knaur is owned in part by media conglomerate Weltbild GmbH. Weltbild also has stakes in several other media outlets, including buecher.de and Hugendubel. The company website, weltbild.com, claims that "every fifth book in Germany is sold through Weltbild" ("About Us - Verlagsgruppe Weltbild"). Weltbild, in turn, is owned by "12 Catholic dioceses in Germany, the Association of German Dioceses as well as the Soldatenseelsorge Berlin," and is succinctly described as "a media and mail-order company whose entire business activities centre on its Christian principles" ("Shareholders - Verlagsgruppe Weltbild"). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Weltbild was recently embroiled in its own scandal when, in 2011, it was revealed that its book catalogue included thousands of erotic novels for sale.

James' success has also been supported by a large cast of other individuals, many of whom are connected to the evangelical community as well as the media in Austria and Germany. Bernd Merz, theologian and broadcasting representative of the Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland council, and Bernd Lohse, journalist, pastor, and author ("Tod in den Lofoten," "Familienbande"), co-founded the Sabatina e.V. association (dedicated to helping Muslim women threatened by oppression and violence) with James in 2006 ("Vorstand - Sabatina e.V."). The evangelical community in Austria seems to have played a major role in James' success – especially relative to other women who have authored similar memoirs without the same religious fervor. There is speculation that her connections with the evangelical community in Austria protected her and helped her

recover from numerous scandals after the publication of her first memoir. She has received significant coverage in Christian media, including Pro Christliches Medienmagazin, kath.net, and Christian Post as well as Dom Radio, run by the archbishopric of Cologne. James is also connected to the prominent women's rights organization Terre des Femmes, having worked as their "ambassador," but Terre des Femmes staff shared with me that differences of political opinion have prevented them from working more closely with James or her own non-profit, Sabatina e.V.

Sex, Gender, and Moral Panic

The media coverage surrounding James' first book echoes the emphasis on her body and religion on the book's cover by dwelling on how her gendered, sexualized, and racialized body intersects with or contradicts her religious faith. Body and religion are also the primary points of conflict in the scandals that helped make her famous.

The notion of scandal is a critical component of the narrative type in question - it is evident in the melodramatic titles and in the tone with which journalists, activists, pundits, and even readers respond to memoirs of this type. But what exactly constitutes "scandal" with regard to these narratives? This narrative type is marketed as inherently scandalous because it damages the reputation of the heroine's tormentors by exposing their behavior to public scrutiny. According to the stories about these memoirs, the author-narrator's behavior hurts their honor (which is why the heroine must fear for her safety and write under a pseudonym). Another reading of the scandal inherent in this kind of story is that it reveals the cruelty and violence of Muslim communities in Germany, Austria, and Europe, which is contrary to claims these communities make about their religion and their desire and ability to abide by the laws and values of their host

countries.

But when it comes right down to it, the sense of scandal – the shock of readers who are scandalized by Muslim women's memoirs, the outrage of activists working for Muslim women's rights – is rooted in a moral panic about the potential threat posed by Muslims to national (German or Austrian) and transnational (European or Western) identity. As Stanley Cohen famously defined the term, moral panic entails "a condition, episode, person or group of persons" that "become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people" (1). The greatest threat that Muslim women's memoirs reveal is that posed by those who tormented the author-narrators. By extension, this presents a threat to the values and interests of Germans, Austrians, and Europeans more generally because Muslims who violently oppose their way of life are present within their borders. The reputation of the host country and culture can be damaged by this information, not only because it now lacks social and moral cohesion, but because it allows these minorities to benefit from living within its borders.

The specific scandals surrounding James point to an important nuance to the moral panic surrounding Muslims in Europe. This particular moral panic has to do with contradictions: European tolerance and the rejection of intolerant Muslims, a need to protect freedom of religion and a need to scrutinize the way religion is practiced, sexual liberation and the public shaming of a woman for her sexuality. This last contradiction is especially pertinent for James; the project of liberating the oppressed Muslim woman is linked to the Muslim woman becoming sexually available (or even having agency when

it comes to her sexuality), yet there is also an obvious expectation of heteronormative chastity.[28] James' highly visible piety – including photo spreads showing her praying, holding bibles and crucifixes, and lighting candles at altars – was understood to be in direct conflict with the sexuality displayed in the numerous nude and erotic pictures and with the ambition (or greed, depending on perspective) that was evident in how she promoted herself, her book, and her career. This contradiction caused her to fall out of the frame of a "good" post-Muslim woman.

Certainly the Austrian media perceived a conflict between sexuality and pious Christianity, while also drawing heavily on the fantasy of the hyper-sexual, pious virgin (i.e. Catholic schoolgirl). In its first article ("Sabatina: Die nackte Wahrheit"), *NEWS* added the subtitle "Im Evakostüm. Sabatina James - so scharf wie das Schwert und so schön wie die sündige Maria Magdalena. Hier posiert die fromme Linzerin…in wenig gottgefälliger Stellung" (Ainetter 45). In the comment fields of various articles about her at the time, in the guestbook on her original website, and in live chats hosted by the *Kronen Zeitung*, German-speakers expressed the belief that James was too sexy to be a good Christian, posing questions like "Warum hast du Nacktfotos machen lassen, wenn du sooo schwer gläubig bist????" ("Krone Chat-Output 1"). They found that allowing such photos to be taken was "nicht sehr christlich" and inconsistent with the properly chaste attitudes of a good Christian woman ("Krone Chat-Output 1"). Audiences took issue with the original photos (a more modest set of pictures was later released) of James' baptism in a tight, revealing top as also contrary to what was expected of a woman who claimed such devotion to God, but her pastor defended her: "Hier kniet eine moderne

[28] See for example public responses to stories about the sex lives of "liberated" Muslim women, especially Sibel Kekili and Hatun Sürücü.

junge Frau, die sich zu ihrer gottgeschenkten Erotik bekennt!" (Ainetter, "Die Geschichte" 49).

The interesting thing about the "outrage" regarding James' erotic photos is that it refers to ideas about Christian modesty that seem to be in direct conflict with prevalent rhetoric in debates drawing on a Christian/Muslim binary. As is especially noticeable in debates about Muslim covering, i.e. the headscarf debate, revealing the body is positively weighted. Ewing writes about a particular German attitude toward nudity as evidence of health, good hygiene, healthy sexuality, and even purity - nudity means nothing to hide, and a kind of positively understood shamelessness -whereas "the cliché of the Muslim woman who is 'hidden' behind the headscarf and modest clothing…can be deployed to evoke disgust associated with that which is hidden and therefore uncontrolled" (*Stolen Honor* 196-197). But as James' case demonstrates, nudity and even revealing outfits are also viewed with suspicion and disapproval – her clothing, and even her bearing and appearance, are cited as reasons to doubt the authenticity and truth of her claims.

Gender is important in and around these works beyond the question of the author-narrator's sexuality. As with James' memoir, the author-narrator's female name – especially if it is a pseudonym – tends to feature prominently on the cover of most books in this genre. In some cases it is indistinguishable from the title, and in others its placement and size create a first impression that it *is* the title. The physical context of these memoirs is also gendered: they are featured together on display tables at (chain) bookstores next to (or even on the same table as) other genres targeted toward women readers, including romance, historical fiction, and "chick lit." These memoirs are also gendered by online booksellers: they are generally cross listed on amazon.de under

"Biographien und Erinnerungen: Frauen" (men's personal narratives are the unmarked majority), "Biographien und Erinnerungen: Religion: Islam" and "Biographien und Erinnerungen: Soziales: Flucht & Emigration."

Visual cues also emphasize the gendered aspect of this narrative. The covers of many such books feature veiled women, including numerous instances in which the cover figure reveals only her eyes (more conservative veiling than the headscarves more typically seen in Germany and Austria). Veiling, especially in this fashion, remains a salient symbol of Islam in the German-speaking public sphere despite arguments that veiling is a cultural, rather than religious practice. In popular discourse, the veil is understood as an obvious, unambiguous sign of a woman's religion, or - since it is often assumed that women are forced to veil - the religion of her male relatives. However, much like other aspects of Islam in popular discourse, this assumption dissolves under closer scrutiny: as evidenced in contemporary ethnographic work about minorities in Germany (i.e. Kosnick, Mandel), some women veil in Germany as a sign of their difference or membership in a non-German group, but do not when they elsewhere and again part of the unmarked majority.

Not only does the gendering of texts, media, and audiences intersect in the market cycles that support the production and consumption of the drama, they also intersect in the gendering of the Muslim victim as a cultural icon. The victim is female at every level of production and consumption; she is produced and consumed primarily by women. This obscures the possibility of Muslim men as victims of violence and Muslim women as perpetrators, not to mention marking a particular kind of gendered violence as Muslim. Moreover, it naturalizes the victimization of women; perhaps the identification readers

experience with the heroine is that they, too, perceive themselves as (at least potential) victims of patriarchal violence. This is supported by the fact that most of these narratives, especially the memoirs, end once the heroine is no longer a victim – she spends the bulk of the story suffering. This suggests that the victim is the most interesting role the heroine has (or that a woman can have). It is especially interesting to note that aside from women who have leveraged their experiences into careers as activists and speakers, author-narrators of such memoirs do not remain in the public eye for long. At the same time, some of the most well-known instances of this narrative are not those which end with the heroine living happily ever after in an undisclosed German town, but those in which the heroine is eventually murdered by her family (i.e. the case of Hatun Sürücü). These women become truly iconic in the struggle for the rights of Muslim women, but can also never move beyond their victim status.

The gendering of texts, media, and audiences also intersect in the figuration of female desire and the desirability of the female body. As evident in the marketing of James' memoir after it was reissued by Knaur Taschenbuch, the gendered body is an important part of marketing strategies for narratives of this kind. Physical exposure is a delicate balance, though, even for young and beautiful heroines. James has been widely criticized for being too sexy, and images of her since 2003 reflect a transition toward more conservative personal style and presentation. Even in positive articles, such as "Das Model Gottes" in *Der Spiegel*, journalists express suspicion: "Sie ist zu schön, um wahr zu sein" (Matussek). Nonetheless, as of December 2012, she offered press photos for free download on her website, and while some of them are predictable images of her charity work, some of them show her posing provocatively while dressed in a sari, referencing a

long tradition of highly sexualized, exotic, foreign women. Because the body is uniquely prominent in the marketing of these memoirs, it is helpful when the heroine fits media conceptions of beauty. James is young and pretty, and it is not surprising that her physical image is so much more widespread than, for example, Ayşe's – Ayşe was already middle-aged when she published her book, and the image used for the cover was of her on her wedding day decades earlier.

Because the entire production and consumption process is gendered female, the drama contributes to the construction of certain desires as naturally and universally female. This is implicit in the victim's struggle to escape her family after she has gotten into trouble, but this trouble is framed in the narrative as naturally occurring: the heroine surely did not ask for nor cultivate the character traits that lead to her transgression and punishment, and these traits do not change over the course of the story. Whether it is her curiosity that makes her want an education, her imagination that distracts her from her chores, or her passion that gets her involved with a man, it is a critical part of the narrative that these things cannot be changed by violence or authority of any kind. Instead, Western society will give her the freedom to be the way she naturally is, and to pursue those opportunities which her family denied her. These opportunities might encompass anything from eating certain foods, to taking off her veil, to pursuing an education and economic independence, but always implicit in this narrative is the heroine's desire for a romantic, sexual relationship with a man of her choice. This offers another possible point of identification with the heroine for the reader or activist.

Epilogue

Most of the press related to the early scandals is no longer accessible, James'

original webpage no longer exists on the live web[29] and her current websites do not have a place for visitors to leave comments. Her former ghost writer declared bankruptcy and has disappeared from the public eye after a protracted legal battle with British journalist Michael Leidig over interviews with Natascha Kampusch. Meanwhile, Sabatina has published another book, *Nur die Wahrheit macht uns frei* (2011) with Pattloch, another Droemer Knaur subsidiary which publishes religious books and focuses primarily on the needs of “ethisch engagierte Leser.” She now works with Susanna Lea Associates, a “content management” company with offices in Paris, London, and New York. Media coverage of James’ new book has been overwhelmingly positive and much more international than it was for her first, and the decade-old nude photos, retracted by *NEWS*, have not resurfaced despite occasional web content referring to them.

As I have shown, the category, as well as the function and the importance of gender in shaping this narrative type reveal much more when applied in connection with other factors which also impact its discursive context, such as the (sexualized) body and especially religion, all of which tend to converge in scandal. It is also important to consider how this narrative shapes its own discursive context over time, and how the context shapes each new iteration of it. Ewing has argued that the prominence of this kind of story limits the possibilities available to Muslim women in Europe:

> …young women’s perceptions of their situations and their decision to run away were themselves being shaped by circulating representations in other media and the knowledge/power constellations of governmentality as manifested in social services, ‘scripts’ the possibilities and choices of young women. (67)

[29] (snapshots are available via the global Internet Archive (archive.org))

This narrative type is a model for as well as a model of reality (Geertz), cyclical in the way that Muslim women consume and reproduce it. Even James admits this possibility when she writes “das mag übertrieben klingen….Und genauso reagierten die Behörden, als ich zum ersten Mal zur Polizei ging….Wahrscheinlich hielten sie mich für einen Teenager, der zu viele schlechte Filme gesehen und noch mehr Schundromane gelesen hatte” (10).

Part of what makes these memoirs seem scandalous is the way they “reveal” the faith of European Muslims to be in such profound opposition to “European” values. Religion is especially powerful in public discourse and in marketing because of the idea of a religious community - a transnational mass of people that is so commonly tied to rhetoric about Islam in the Western press, what Yildiz describes as “the projection of the existence of a transnationally connected, radically different, internal Other” (“European Subjects” 75).

James’ career as an ‘Islamkritikerin’ is only possible as part of a public discourse so caught up in the threat of Islam. Depending, of course, on the particular venue, James can be as strident and vitriolic as her peers (including, for example, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, whom James counts as a friend, and Necla Kelek): She is quoted in the *Katholische Sonntagszeitung* as saying that “Der Islam ist friedensunfähig“ and that “der Terror kommt nicht nur von Al Qaida, sondern aus dem Herzen des Islam”(Fels 2). She describes her conversion with less polemic language in her memoir, writing that “für mich, für mein Leben hatte die Bibel mehr Aussagekraft [als der Koran]” (197), but even by the end of that book, she is clear about her opinion that "das Christentum dem Islam eindeutig überlegen [ist]” (218), a clarity that has won her praise from a range of sources,

but most especially Christian media (for example, Joa) and internet users.

Chapter 3: Hatun, or Agency & Afterlife

Late one night in February, a young mother walked her brother to the bus stop in front of her Berlin apartment. It was cool, but she did not wear a jacket – her young son slept inside, and she wouldn't be long. She warmed her hands around a cup of coffee. They began to argue: he was upset by how she treated their parents and by many of her life choices, especially her decision to stop wearing a headscarf and to remain sexually active after the dissolution of her marriage; she was frustrated that he was so critical of her when she had worked so hard to build a life for herself and her son. It was a conversation they had had many times before, and neither sibling was willing to concede any ground. The young woman shivered and lit a cigarette, which only irritated her brother more. The argument escalated. The brother pulled a handgun from his jacket and pointed it at her head, demanding to know whether she regretted her sins. Then he pulled the trigger three times. Her coffee cup shattered as she fell to the ground, dead. Her cigarette glowed on the sidewalk as the young man walked to a different stop on the bus line; he tucked the gun away, boarded a bus, paid his fare, and took a seat.

The mother here is Hatun Sürücü, who was killed by her younger brother Ayhan in Berlin in 2005. Her death became the most famous and most sensationalized honor killing of this era, and has been the subject of numerous books and films as well as countless news reports. No project having to do with the figure of the Muslim woman victim in German-language media would be complete without at least a brief discussion of this case. While the murder and the intense public response to it have been productively analyzed elsewhere from a variety of angles (See Ewing, Weber, Yildiz, etc.), I will focus here on the case as inspiration for a wealth of cultural production that

echoes the memoirs discussed in previous chapters. If Sürücü had lived, she would have been an excellent candidate to write such a work; in death, her place in the public imaginary complements these narratives. Her story seized the imaginations of many writers and filmmakers, and in the course of so many tellings and retellings, she was framed as a sort of ideal or quintessential Muslim woman victim.

Yasemin Yildiz writes that abused Muslim women are "turned into reified figures…neither the subject nor the object of these discourses, but rather their vehicles" ("European Subjects" 80). This seems to be especially true for Sürücü, since neither she (nor her family as potential guardian of her memory) was in a position to resist such reification. Yildiz argues that Muslim women in Germany may be read as representative of Islam, but in fact "stand for a Germany threatened by the force of Islam and, in extension, for a liberal European order at risk" ("European Subjects" 81). As we have seen in previous chapters, living author-narrators play this role imperfectly, whether because of active resistance to the preexisting narrative, lack of awareness of it, or insufficient investment in it. By examining early responses to the murder and contradictory claims made to Sürücü's legacy, I examine how she came to be an embodiment of a threatened Germany par excellence, with particular attention to uses of her gendered, racialized image as well as references to her sexuality and socio-economic class that stoke the moral panic and social fantasies of contagion identified by Ewing in connection with this case.

This idealization would not have been possible were it not for the utter absence of Sürücü's agency in the representation of herself and her experiences. In an effort to clarify the role of agency in the production (or, as the case may be, subversion or

rejection) of this figure, I explore the mini-industry that has grown up around Hatun Sürücü, including biographies and documentaries claiming to reveal "the true Hatun." This cultural production offers further insight into the relationship between the figure of the Muslim woman victim and the author-narrator who embodies both victimhood and agency as a "schreibende Suleika." Sürücü could not participate in telling her story, so the books, films, and news reports depended on the voices of many others. The range of voices that participated in this cultural production raises many complicated issues, but in the pages that follow I will focus particularly on the public appetite for and media focus on the voices of the Sürücü family (especially the murderer, Ayhan) even as this group was roundly condemned for Sürücü's death, and on the extent to which public discourse contributed to discourse on civilizational conflict and the reification of victim status more broadly. What is at stake in the discursive substitution of the perpetrator's voice for that of the victim? To what extent are family members, friends, colleagues, acquaintances, and even total strangers speaking for Hatun Sürücü by way of biographies and documentaries, and to what extent are their contributions also being appropriated by producers of these works?

After summarizing Sürücü's life, death, and the aftermath of her murder, I will highlight some important differences and similarities between Muslim women's memoirs and writing about Sürücü. Among the most important of these is the origin and nature of claims to the heroine. Claims to Sürücü differ most from claims to other author-narrators in terms of Sürücü's absence of agency, but also in how her person and image were made to stand for Germany/Europe threatened by Islam, as well as the prominence of other voices in texts about her. I argue that these claims and voices may be read as "rituals of

speaking" that shed light on more widespread practices of speaking for Muslim women victims.

***

Nearly everything written about Sürücü includes some or all of the following information. She was born in Berlin and was forced to leave school at age 16 to be married to an older cousin in Turkey. She soon became pregnant, but her marriage was violent and unhappy. She left her husband and returned to her family in Berlin, where she gave birth to her son, Can, at age 17. She moved out of her parents' apartment and into a shelter for young single mothers. In the course of the next months and years, she received significant support from various government agencies and charitable groups (including extensive contact with the Jugendamt). She stopped wearing a headscarf, finished her *Hauptschulabschluss* and trained to become an electrician. She had moved into her own apartment with her son and was nearly ready to take her apprentice exam when she was killed. Press reports unfailingly mention that she had had an active love life, and had been romantically involved with at least one German man.

Her family had not supported these changes. Sürücü had notified police of at least one prior threat from her older brother, who has admitted to hitting her in public and the negative attention from her family was blamed in the press for the failure of one longer term relationship with a German man. Nonetheless, she maintained contact with her family. As the German media concluded, she had not given up hope that they would come to accept her lifestyle. Ayhan Sürücü confessed in court to murdering his older sister on the evening of February 7, 2005 because he disapproved of her lifestyle, but he insisted that he acted alone, which was considered by many commentators to be strategic

and intended to protect the family. Two of Sürücü's other brothers, Mutlu and Alpaslan, were acquitted based on a lack of evidence. This judgment was later reversed and a retrial was called, but both men had left Germany for Turkey, and Turkey has so far refused to extradite them.

The case continued to hold the public's interest in part because of several drawn out legal dramas connected to the crime, including Ayhan's conviction, his brothers' acquittal, and the attempt to retry them. Sürücü's younger sister Arzu also petitioned the court in late 2006, shortly after her brother Ayhan was sentenced, for custody of Hatun's son. This was received with general outrage (*Spiegel*, for example, printed a headline reading "Der Fall ist ebenso tragisch wie empörend: Die Familie der von ihrem Bruder ermordeten Deutsch-Türkin Hatun Sürücü verlangt das Sorgerecht für ihren sechs Jahre alten Sohn" ("Berliner Ehrenmord")) and the request was denied. Coverage of this story in particular included frequent references to the Sürücü "clan." Arzu appealed the (negative) decision in 2007 but was again refused. More legal drama ensued with the trial and conviction of Andreas Becker (aka Udo D.), founder of Hatun & Can e.V., a non-profit with the stated purpose of helping women escape forced marriages and other dangerous situations, on charges of embezzlement and misuse of funds. Becker's misdeeds came to light after prominent German feminist Alice Schwarzer requested an investigation into the use of 500,000 Euros that she donated to the organization after winning the money on a game show.

It is difficult to exaggerate extent and intensity of the public response to Sürücü's murder. Her death and the subsequent trial of her brothers were covered by nearly every news outlet in the German-speaking world, and the coverage went on and on. From

Spiegel, Stern, and *Bild* to *die Welt*, *Berliner Morgenpost, die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* Sürücü's story flooded German-language media for months after her death. It also made international headlines with the BBC, CNN, the New York Times, and others. Much of this coverage included claims – both implicit and outright – to Sürücü's accomplishments, memory, image, body, child, and legacy, ranging from expressions of solidarity to suggestions for legal action. Coverage of the stories surrounding the murder also provides ample evidence of widespread fear of Muslim violence among Germans.

Descriptions of Sürücü resemble portrayals of author-narrators in the emphasis placed on their liveliness, curiosity, and vague difference from other women in their demographic – all characteristics that got the women into trouble. News media reported that Sürücü was "anders als viele Türkinnen," "lebenslustig und kontaktfreudig" (Bakirdögen and Laninger, "Sürücü zu modern?"); "Fröhlich, weltoffen und kontaktfreudig," "'die Frau war sehr modern, attraktiv und nett', errinert sich die Rentnerin Gitta Bache" (Bakirdögen, Banse, and Laninger). These quotes reflect the widely accepted negative view of "viele Türkinnen," but also suggest, in keeping with the familiar script of the abused Muslim woman, that there is a 'Western woman' trapped inside them.

This news coverage was accompanied by sensational headlines in much the same style as memoir titles, situating Sürücü as a victim trapped between her love of freedom and her family's Muslim hatred toward modernity, gender equality, and other German values: "Lebte Hatun Sürücü zu Modern?" (Bakirdögen and Laninger), "Wie eine Deutsche" (Lau), "Mordmotiv: Blut für Ehre" (Banse and Laninger), "Zwischen

Tradition und Moderne" (Raabe). News reports also followed the narrative structure evident in the memoirs, beginning with a dramatic summary of the crime, then relating Sürücü's life from birth to death with a focus on integration and conflict with her family. Most coverage included images of Sürücü's corpse on the sidewalk where she died, draped with a white sheet. Other widely circulated photos of Sürücü smiling at the camera created a stark contrast between before and after her brother's crime. This combination of headline text and image echoes the cover design of many Muslim women's memoirs by drawing attention to the heroine's body and the violence she suffered.

Although the rhetoric and imagery of media coverage of this case was not in itself necessarily exceptional, the volume and frequency were. Sürücü's life and death quickly moved beyond news articles to more substantial texts. It has inspired numerous books, including *Ehrenmord: Ein deutsches Schicksal* by Jo Goll and Matthias Deiß; *Ehrenmorde in Deutschland - Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der Ermordung Hatun Sürücüs* by Carlin Wildt, and *Der Tod von Hatun Sürücü: Die Ehre wurde ermordet* by Wil van Bommel, as well as the planned *Honor, Enforced* by Rhea Wessel and Gunter Kohn. Other books connected to her story include a volume, still without title (and mostly on a blog called Two Sides of the Moon), by Mike Fladlien and the curiously titled *Halbmond über Palästina - in memoriam Hatun Sürücü. Warum wurde Ratzinger Papst? Einige Gedanken zum Mord an Theo van Gogh u.v.m* by Tilman Schöller, Fritz Erik Hoevels, Hubertus Mynarek and the *Bund gegen Anpassung*.

Sürücü's life and death have also inspired films, including the internationally acclaimed *die Fremde* directed by Feo Adalag, as well as *Verlorene Ehre – der Irrweg*

der Familie Sürücü by Jo Goll and Matthias Deiß (released concurrently with their book), the WDR documentary *Sie hat sich benommen wie eine Deutsche – Mord im Namen der Ehre?* by journalist Gert Mohnheim, and *Two Sides of the Moon*, a 2011 documentary by University of Iowa faculty member David Gould which inspired Mike Fladlien's blog(/monograph in progress) of the same name.

There are also hundreds of videos tagged with Sürücü's name on YouTube, varying in length from a few minutes to nearly an hour - some have been posted by familiar names, including Rhea Wessel and Serap Çileli (whose YouTube profile describes her as "eine der bekanntesten Kämpferinnen gegen die Tolerierung von Menschenrechtsverletzungen bei muslimisch-orthodoxen Einwanderern" ("YouTube - Serap Cileli")). It is notable that the most popular video on YouTube with references to Hatun Sürücü is the rap song "Köln Kalk Ehrenmord" by the Turkish-German rapper Eko Fresh, with over 8 million views. The song and video tell the story of a young woman whose parents "lebten streng nach dem Koran" (*Köln Kalk Ehrenmord*). She falls in love with a German man, loses her virginity, and is murdered, along with her lover, by her older brother after he hears rumors of her affair, who then takes his own life as the police arrive – reproducing the familiar story of the Muslim woman victim, but, like texts about Sürücü, told from the perspective of an outsider (*Köln Kalk Ehrenmord*).

Agency, Exploitation, and the Muslim Woman Victim

One of the reasons the case of Hatun Sürücü has been of such long-lasting and intense interest to the German public is that, in death, she has become a quintessential Muslim woman victim. Not only is her victim status complete, but information about her life seems to demonstrate the basic characteristics of the familiar script of Muslim

women victims: religiously motivated abuse of a young and beautiful woman who is strong-willed but humble and feminine but enlightened about gender roles. As the previous case studies have shown, the figure of the Muslim woman victim is a construct, not a living, breathing woman. Is the death of the heroine a necessary part of the transformation from woman into figure? In this section I consider how Sürücü came to occupy such a position through a close examination of *Ehrenmord: Ein deutsches Schicksal,* the most well-received book about her. By comparing this book (along with the documentary film produced in conjunction with it) with the first-person narratives discussed above, I will explore the extent to which the author-narrator's agency or even the possibility of her agency, along with the goal of making meaning from her suffering, factor into the final product, the marketing strategies that promote it, and the continual construction of the figure of the Muslim woman victim in tension with the "schreibende Suleika" Yeşilada describes.

Ehrenmord: Ein deutsches Schicksal is among the most comprehensive and well-respected books about the murder of Hatun Sürücü. The book was published in 2011 by Hoffmann und Campe (part of the Ganske Verlagsgruppe), which had not published other books on the topic of honor killing or forced marriage before. Deiß and Goll are both journalists who have primarily worked in television. Deiß studied political science and journalism in Munich and now works as a television correspondent for ARD in Berlin. Goll works as an editor and reporter for ARD-Tagesschau, and has spent much of his career focusing on right-wing and Islamic fundamentalists as well as migration politics. He and Goll wrote their book in conjunction with their work on a 45-minute television

documentary film, *Verlorene Ehre - der Irrweg der Familie Sürücü*[30] (mentioned above; winner of the Coburger Medienpreis in the category 'Wellenschläger'). This project was republished as *Im Namen der Ehre?* in 2013 by the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, giving it a very different status than any of the Muslim women's memoirs discussed so far.[31]

In addition to comparing the aesthetics of *Ehrenmord* with Muslim women's memoirs, including use of language and the visual presentation of the text, I will briefly discuss several other points of comparison, such as framing of the authors, their expertise and motivation; representations of Islam and tropes of Muslims; the role of familial and domestic violence; social pressure on the family; and the impression of a continual, even eternal, threat or conflict. I will also compare the assignment of or claims to victim status as well as the role of gender and sexuality.

Deiß and Goll's extensive research for their book, which included numerous interviews, is emphasized both in their text and in the marketing. A quote from Ulrich Wickert on the back cover calls the work "Ein Bravourstück von investigativem Journalismus." This framing is different from the memoirs described above: Deiß and Goll's work is explicitly (investigative) journalism, rather than literature or life-writing. Where author-narrators rely on the expertise of firsthand experience to support their claims to authority, Deiß and Goll rely on their professional credentials (which they share with some co-authors). The style of their writing contributes to the impression that the

[30] Mentioned above; winner of the Prix Europa Medienpreis 2011 ("PRIX EUROPA Medienpreise: Fünf Auszeichnungen Gehen Nach Deutschland") and Coburger Medienpreis in the category 'Wellenschläger.' ("Medienpreis 2011 – Die Gewinner").

[31] Deiß and Goll are among the only authors of texts in BPB's "Migration/integration" category with obviously German names. Interestingly, Lamya Kador's *Muslimisch-weiblich-deutsch!,* a counter-narrative that self-consciously objects to the familiar narrative of the Muslim woman victim, is also in this category.

work is a book-length piece of journalism, particularly in their use of incomplete sentences that add to the drama of the work. Deiß and Goll are framed as professionals, and it is their very professionalism which helps sell the book, which presents a sharp contrast to expectations for author-narrators, and their books, whose sales seem to depend to a large extent on producing impressions of authenticity. Their speech is authorized by their personal experiences, which are at once reified and trivialized by the conditions of speaking, but the common practice of fact-checking their speech is not part of the stories about their stories.

Nonetheless, there are significant similarities in the tone and structure of their work to the narrative pattern evident in Muslim women's memoirs. They begin the foreword by briefly summarizing Sürücü's murder, in much the same way that Muslim women's memoirs tend to start out by summarizing the apex of their conflict with their families and/or their quest for freedom. Deiß and Goll then devote significant space to a superficial consideration of why Sürücü died, focusing on her wish to live "ein eigenes, selbstbestimmtes Leben…wie eine Deutsche *und* von der eigenen Familie akzeptiert" (7, emphasis original). Conflict between self-determination (coded as 'Western') and the values of the heroine's family is closely mirrored in most Muslim women's memoirs; many author-narrators are of the same opinion as Deiß and Goll that choosing one's own path and being accepted by one's Muslim family are mutually exclusive. But the finality of this opposition is exaggerated and simplified by marketing. Part of what makes Sürücü so ideal as a Muslim woman victim is the fact that, in death, she is unable to resist or disrupt the familiar script in ways that author-narrators seem unable to avoid.[32]

---

[32] See discussion of Ayşe's second marriage, James' scandals; also repaired relationships between author-narrators and their mothers, as in the case of Hülya Kalkan or Fatma Bläser.

Deiß and Goll are aware of the magnitude of their subject, writing that "die Tat gilt bis heute als der bekannteste Ehrenmord-Fall in Deutschland" (7). But perhaps because of that, they offer readers very little to explain their motivation to pursue the project: only "Wie kann so etwas in Deutschland passieren? Auch wir haben [diese Frage] uns gestellt. Und nach Antworten gesucht" (8). The question itself is the same one that is posed in many other such narratives, press coverage, and individual reader responses. Their explanation, while understandable, also seems superficial given the enormous attention already dedicated to this case. Unlike Deiß and Goll, Muslim women authors tend to explain their motivation explicitly by claiming a selfless desire to help other women like themselves. Certainly one reason they must provide explanation is because they (are understood to) put themselves at risk by speaking out. Yet many of these women are suspected of exploiting the public and/or criticized for capitalizing on their suffering, while Deiß and Goll have been praised for shedding light on "the harsh and uncomfortable reality that integration has failed and that Turks and Germans exist in 'parallel societies'" ("Lost Honour - Prix Europa Jury Citation"). Why was public concern about the possibility of exploiting Sürücü so lacking? Aside from the fact that she was dead, and thus unable to experience any negative consequences of the attention, Deiß and Goll, as white, professional, upper middle class men, face significantly less scrutiny than author-narrators.

As is the case in most Muslim women's memoirs, readers are informed at the outset of *Ehrenmord* that some names have been changed. This probably has more to do with liability than with the safety of the individuals described. After all, the real names of involved parties were used extensively in early press coverage of Sürücü's murder. Legal

liability may also be a primary factor in the use of pseudonyms in Muslim women's memoirs as well, but this common practice is framed in terms of risk to the author-narrator because these books depend on her victim status. Deiß and Goll, who occupy an entirely different discursive space, do not fit into and have little to gain from employing this same victim framing. They also make a concerted effort, however, to avoid the role of saviors (compare, for example, with *Heirich von Ofterdingen*); their particular project is not to rescue Sürücü's memory or to protect other Muslim women victims, but (ostensibly) only to investigate an example of honor killing as an artifact of a foreign time and culture. Unlike the memoirs, it appears that Deiß and Goll did not receive support from non-profits (and, as non-victims, are understood to have had no need of additional support). Instead of activists, they relied on other networks: for example, in the foreword, they thank Gisela von der Aue, Berlin's Justice Minister (Justizsenatorin) and her former press secretary Bernhard Schrodowski, without whose support "wäre [das Projekt] nicht zustande gekommen" (8).

Islam comes up early, as the authors describe Ayhan Sürücü in the first chapter, "Der Täter und die Ehre." Ayhan has a prayer rug hanging on the wall of his cell which depicts Mecca. But the actual connection between Islam and the murder remains implicit - audiences must make their own leap from "Ayhan & the Sürücü family are Muslim" to "Islam is the reason Hatun Sürücü died." Deiß and Goll also demonstrate an awareness (or overestimation?) of the impact and context of the murder vis a vis Muslims in Germany, writing that it "wird den Blick auf viele Muslime in Deutschland auf Jahre hinaus trüben. Grosse Teile muslimischen Lebens werden nach diesem Abend auf Zwangsheirat und Ehrenmord reduziert" (10). They also refer to the melodramatic nature

of stories like this, writing that the murder was “Stoff für einen Spielfilm. Aber…sie ist real” (12). This echoes similar assessments present in Muslim women’s memoirs, including Sabatina James’ repeated assertions that her story must sound strange to European ears. Such claims may serve to demonstrate an awareness of the sensational nature of these narratives, but Deiß and Goll suggest that, unlike other such stories, their text will not be reductive about Muslim life in Germany.

As is the case with Muslim women’s memoirs, where the continued physical risk to the author-narrator is emphasized, the persistent threat of Muslim violence (especially toward women) is prominent in Deiß and Goll’s work as well. For example, Hatun Sürücü was unable to risk her life by telling her story, but Ayhan’s former girlfriend Melek A. did just that by testifying against him. Deiß and Goll describe her situation in much the same language as the coverage of the memoirs discussed earlier. In their documentary, they explain that Melek A. “Ist untergetaucht. Sie lebt mit neuer Identität irgendwo in Europa, fürchtet bis heute um ihr Leben” (Deiß and Goll). Despite the dangers, Melek A. agreed to discuss the case with Deiß and Goll after they spent months trying to make contact with her. The scene was reenacted (including the voice) for the film, since no cameras were allowed during the interview due to security concerns. Deiß and Goll dedicate an entire chapter to her in their book as well, noting repeatedly the extent to which Melek and her mother have suffered to serve (German) justice and the fact that it was not their choice. Melek, they write, “ist keine Frau, die sich nach Aufmerksamkeit sehnt,” but for the sake of the truth and to bring Sürücü’s family to justice, she gave up her life and “ist in eine neut Haut geschlüpft” (136). They also interviewed Melek’s mother, Ayla, who joined her daughter in witness protection

(leaving her husband and sons forever, as the documentary narrator informs viewers). Ayla spoke on camera, but the film shows only the shadow her profile makes on the wall and her voice is obviously disguised. She is the one who explains their decision to speak to the authors despite the enormous risk. In a locked office in an unnamed city, she explains “wir wollen reden, damit nicht alles umsonst gewesen ist” (136). Deiß and Goll also describe the security measures taken by police to protect the witness, including armored limousines, bodyguards, and bullet-proof vests, all of which are dramatically reenacted in their documentary.

Like the potential-to-probable continued threat of violent retribution, gender and sexuality were common themes throughout coverage of Sürücü’s murder, and Deiß and Goll’s book is no exception. Opposing understandings of gender roles were especially important in rhetorically separating Sürücü’s family (and, by association, other Muslims in Germany) from German society. Deiß and Goll offer a typical description of this so-called “parallel world:”

> Wenn Bekannte die Familie besuchen, halten sich Männer und Frauen in getrennten Räumen auf. Die Frauen tragen Kopftücher. Besonders die unverheirateten Töchter sind der Tradition gehorchend vor den Blicken anderer Männer zu schützen. »Das ist bei uns einfach so. Die Männer wollen das so. Und die Frauen auch. Wenn wir Männer zu den Frauen sagen würden, ihr könnt euch zu uns setzen, dann würden sie sagen: Nee, wir bleiben lieber unter uns«, erzählt Ayhan Sürücü. Im Nachbarhaus besuchen die Männer der Familie regelmäßig eine kurdische Moschee. Die Gemeinde ist der Berliner Ableger der Kürdistan Islam Hareketi, der

> Islamischen Bewegung Kurdistans, die nicht islamistisch, sondern kurdisch-nationalistisch ausgerichtet ist. Das Gotteshaus ist nicht mehr als eine große Wohnung, in der auch Ayhan, einige seine Brüder und der Vater regelmäßig beten. (14-15)

There is no mention of what the world is parallel to, which implies the reader's location in a separate plane that will not (should not) come into contact with this world. The markers of difference here are the strict gender roles and the trope of blind obedience to tradition.

The intensity of public interest in Sürücü that was sparked by her murder stands in sharp contrast to her apparent disinterest in such attention during her life. In many cases, claims to her memory were not explicitly about speaking for her, but about justifying a kind of speaking out for oneself as a potential victim of similar Muslim violence. Her death's impact was magnified by the scrutiny it drew to Muslim communities in Germany and the tension regarding Sürücü's legacy, fueled by suspicions that Muslims throughout Germany and Europe supported the Sürücü family and considered Hatun's murder justified. This suspicion seemed to be confirmed on February 17, 2005, just ten days after Sürücü's death, when German news media broke the story of the Thomas-Morus-Oberschule in Neukölln with headlines like "Schüler bejubeln Mord" (Banse and Schultz) and "Schüler heißen Mord gut." Some students at this school had reportedly praised Sürücü's murder, saying that she was "halt zu deutsch." This led the school director, Volker Steffens, to write an open letter to students, parents, and staff, in which he expressed shock not at Sürücü's death, but that some students at his school approved of the murder. The language of the letter offers a concise summary of the discursive

atmosphere at the time. Steffens writes:

> Eine junge Frau wurde auf offener Straße ermordet. Wir wissen inzwischen, daß die Frau sterben mußte, weil sie frei leben wollte. Nun kann man über das freie Leben sehr unterschiedlicher Meinung sein, und die Informationen über die Hintergründe sind nur durch Berichte zu uns gelangt. Worüber wir aber geschockt sind, ist die Tatsache, daß einige Schüler unserer Schule den Mord an der jungen Frau gut finden und sich an der allgemeinen Hetze und an Aktionen gegen Frauen, die nicht so sind wie sie sein müssen, beteiligen.
>
> Diese Schüler zerstören den Frieden des Schullebens,
>
> - wenn sie den Mord gutheißen,
> - wenn sie äußern, die Frau hätte sich wie eine Deutsche benommen,
> - wenn sie Mitschülerinnen hier in der Schule beleidigen und provozieren, weil diese Mädchen kein Kopftuch tragen oder anders leben.
>
> ("'Ehrenmord' an Hatin Sürücü"[sic])

Steffens' description of Sürücü's death (she had to die because she wanted to live freely), his criticism of students who agitate against or offend "women who are not how they ought to be" or who "live differently" and especially the connection between claiming that Sürücü lived like a German and destroying the peace demonstrate the understanding that Sürücü's murder was motivated by an arbitrary disapproval of German behavior/lifestyle. "German" is equated with freedom multiple times, and is set in opposition to the wearing of a headscarf, which functions as a sort of synecdoche for Muslim in this discourse (although *faith* is not part of the conversation). Steffens' letter

claims Sürücü as a German willing to die for her freedom. This rhetorical move positions the dead woman as a sort of patriotic hero or even a soldier.

Activist organizations also made implicit and explicit claims to Sürücü through their involvement managing or actively framing her murder through rallies, fundraisers, and memorials, as well as by providing commentary in news reports. One of the first rallies after Sürücü's death was called by the Berliner Lesben- und Schwulenverband, which also claimed Sürücü as a kindred spirit fighting to live according to a lifestyle of her own choosing.[33] *Die Tageszeitung* quoted one member of this group at the rally:

> "Eine Mahnwache musste jetzt passieren"[…]Niemand sonst habe die Initiative ergriffen. Man sei eben, ergänzt Bastian Finke von Maneo, mit den Frauen solidarisch. "Wir kämpfen dafür, dass eigene Lebensentwürfe akzeptiert werden." Soll heißen: Der Mord an Hatun Sürücü fällt klar in ihren Zuständigkeitsbereich. (am Orde 21)

Others attending the rally, however, found that the platform of the organizing group might have prevented the participation of Islamic and other organizations, suggesting proudly tolerant Germans locked in moral conflict with intolerant and radical Muslims:

> Die islamischen Organisationen sind nicht gekommen, auch die säkularen Vereine positionieren sich hier nicht. Überhaupt ist die Beteiligung der MigrantInnen gering. […] Die Veranstaltung sei schlecht beworben worden, der Zeitpunkt ungünstig, meint [Dochi Klein, eine Migrantin die in einem Qualifizierungsprojekt für Frauen arbeitet] vorsichtig. "Aber",

---

[33] Further research is called for to examine the parallel between the twenty-first-century activist argument that Germany/Europe allows freedom to choose a lifestyle (as opposed to Muslim communities) and the focus on the captivity of Muslim women in early German media during a hardening of Western gender roles that increasingly restricted the freedom of women. See Milani, Hausen.

> sagt sie dann, "vielleicht liegt es auch daran, dass der Schwulen- und Lesbenverband die Mahnwache organisiert hat." Ähnlich sieht es auch die PDS-Politikerin Evrim Baba: "Da gibt es große Berührungsängste", sagt sie. (am Orde)[34]

Terre des Femmes quickly got involved, as did many other women's rights organizations in Berlin along with the Green party and a number of artists and political figures. Terre des Femmes and others continue even now to hold rallies on the anniversary of Sürücü's death in order to remember the young woman and to advocate for the right to a self-determined life ("die Erinnerung an Hatun Sürüçü wachhalten und für das Recht auf ein selbstbestimmtes Leben eintreten" (Lesben- und Schwulenverband Berlin-Brandenburg)). The list of participants varies from year to year, but the promotion of these rallies functions in many ways as marketing for the organizing groups. Despite major differences in terms of privilege and discursive position, these rallies constitute a kind of claim to Sürücü on the basis of shared gender, politics, or the more ambiguous love of freedom/Germany/modernity, but especially on the basis of a perception of shared victimhood.

Obviously not all of these activists or commentators had been victims of Muslim violence, but a central tenet of public discourse surrounding Sürücü and related topics was the belief that anyone who enjoyed freedom, "lived differently," was German (and thus not Muslim) could be a target of Muslim violence. The sense of potential/probable victimhood among the German public helps explain the intense public interest in the case, and may also play a role in the motivations of those authors and filmmakers (not to

[34] Eliding, of course, the strict heteronormativity of mainstream discourse on abused Muslim women. Further, see El-Tayeb.

mention publishers and producers) who contributed to the large number of texts specifically dealing with Sürücü.

Social Fantasy, National Integrity, and Islam as Contagion

The emphasis on the parallel world in coverage of Hatun Sürücü's death, as well as Muslim women's memoirs more generally, reflects and contributes to anxiety about the nation/national belonging. The notion of a world or society that runs parallel to the German or European one, that never touches it, calls into question the role of immigrants and minorities at national and transnational levels. As Yildiz notes, "in the projection of the existence of a transnationally connected, radically different, internal Other, "Europe" itself takes shape as a coherent entity whose own internal differences and conflicts become obscured" ("Governing European Subjects" 75). These anxieties, fueled by high profile acts of religious violence such as the murder of Theo van Gogh, bombings in London and Madrid, and riots in France and Denmark, contributed to what Ewing describes as a "spiraling moral panic" (*Stolen Honor* 174), evident in the sense of urgency in media reports about honor killings and the extensive use of phrases like "breaking the silence" "wake-up call" and, of course, "taboo," which she relates to a "social fantasy of hidden violence and contagion" (*Stolen Honor* 177).

Sürücü's murder followed several other local and international high profile acts of violence connected (at least in the media) to Islam and the notion of honor ascribed to Muslim immigrants, exacerbating anxieties about the invisible threat of Muslim fundamentalists hiding in plain sight throughout Europe. These included especially the murder of Theo van Gogh in November 2004 by a Dutch-Morroccan Muslim man angered by van Gogh's short film *Submission*. The film, which van Gogh made together

with Ayaan Hirsi Ali, was highly critical of Islam and the violence toward women that it motivated or justified. Van Gogh was shot several times, and his throat was slit; a note containing some jihad slogans and general threats to the West, as well as accusing Ali, his collaborator, of various, equally serious offenses to Islam was found pinned to his body. In Augsburg in March of 2004, Ali Göbelek stabbed to death his wife, her 7-year-old daughter from a first marriage, her mother, her brother, and a friend from the Czech Republic before also fleeing to Turkey ("Ehrenmorde 2004 – Aylin). In Berlin, Semra Uzun was stabbed to death by her ex-husband on a street in November 2004 ("Ehrenmorde 2004 - Semra"). In January of 2005, Meryem Ö. was strangled in Neukölln by her husband, who then fled to Turkey ("Ehrenmorde 2005").

The context of Sürücü's murder was also shaped by the publication and promotion of a handful of memoirs on the topic of honor killings and forced marriages taking place outside of Germany, including *Bei lebendigem Leib* by Souad which became a bestseller in Germany before its veracity was called into question by Australian historian Thérèse Taylor. The Jordanian-Australian author Norma Kouhri's book *Forbidden Love*, a memoir about the honor killing of her Muslim friend Dalia, was pulled from the Australian market by Random House (and from the German-language market by Rowolt) in 2004 after her story was called into question (Pazargadi). Stories about honor killings that took place in Germany were also popular. Hanife Gashi began promoting her memoir in 2004, following the 2003 honor killing of her daughter by her husband, who was subsequently tried and convicted (Gashi). Gashi was the subject of a *37 Grad* documentary which aired in 2003 about her daughter's murder (Bauer). 2004 also saw the release of the film *Gegen die Wand,* directed by Fatih Akin and starring Sibel Kekilli.

The film is about the marriage of two Turkish-Germans and the conservative family of the character played by Kekilli (Akin). The film won high praise and Kekilli was awarded a Golden Bear at the Berlinale film festival, but days later *Bild* published a front-page story exposing her past work in pornographic films, which led to a rift between Kekilli and her family (Adorján).

Anxiety about the social, moral, and religious/racial integrity of Europe was also affected when, in 2004, Turkey began instituting reforms under Erdogan as part of its bid for membership in the European Union, including changes to its criminal code involving freedom of speech, adultery, and torture (Steinvorth). German-language news media reported heavily on the problem of honor killings in Turkey as part of the European discussion about admitting Turkey as a member state (Beste et al., Köhne, Wrege). That same year (2004) saw the biggest single expansion of the European Union with the accession of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. This expansion was accompanied by heightened anxieties about mass migration from the new member nations to the (richer) west (Mussler).

Given the social and political context described above, it is perhaps unsurprising that Sürücü's murder followed by the incident at the school exacerbated fears of a transnational, racialized, and radical parallel society, inaccessible to Germans/Europeans, violently intolerant and impervious to cultural or even temporal change. Deiß and Goll premise their investigation on the existence of this parallel world, a term which has been used very frequently in connection with Sürücü. Their description is typical in its aggressive exoticization of a space within Germany that is clearly not German:

> Der Polizeibericht aus diesem Kiez [Neukölln] füllt seit Jahren die Meldungsspalten der Tageszeitungen und sorgt für Gesprächsstoff in den Talkshows. Auf den Straßen hört man kaum ein deutsches Wort, die Läden in der Gegend sind fest in türkischer und arabischer Hand. Die Händler machen ihre Geschäfte mit alten Möbeln aus Haushaltsauflösungen, mit Mobiltelefonen, gebrauchten Computern. Mit Döner, Falafel und Schawarma. Im Frühjahr und Sommer sitzen die Ladenbesitzer an kleinen Tischchen vor ihren Geschäften, spielen Backgammon und trinken Tee. Manche rauchen Shisha, die arabische Wasserpfeife. Dann weht das Aroma von Apfelblütentabak über die Gehsteige. Hier gibt es Straßenzüge, in denen jeder Zweite arbeitslos ist. Und arabische Großfamilien, die in der dritten Generation von Sozialhilfe leben. (13-14)

In their documentary, they offer a scene in the area where Ayhan grew up, including statements from a friend of his who explains that it was a shock for Ayhan and his family when Hatun's behavior changed. The scene closes with an explanation from the narrator: "Ayhan und seine Freunde. Ein Leben streng nach Sitte und Tradition der türkischen Heimat. Übernommen von den Eltern ohne Widerspruch. Ein radikales Ehrverständnis. Mitten in Berlin. Mitten in Deutschland" (Deiß and Goll). These descriptions equate areas that have large minority and immigrant populations, high unemployment, and lower class status with tropes of Muslims as intolerant, inflexible, and especially unthinking (which restricts their agency as well). Such descriptions also articulate a fear of contagion by emphasizing that these areas are in Germany, but not German. The judge at the trial of

the Sürücü brothers expressed a similar opinion when he said that “Man lebte in Kreuzberg, aber wohl nicht in Deutschland” (Musharbash).

Coverage of Sürücü’s murder also juxtaposed a vulnerable, well-meaning, ultimately heroic state apparatus with the intransigence of young Muslims - notably, young male Muslims, although many reports about the school incident mentioned with a tone of surprise that one young woman had agreed with the boys that Sürücü had deserved to die (possibly disrupting the assumption that it is Muslim men who are doing the oppressing). This juxtaposition supports the contention that the state, working through education and social work, is not enough to integrate non-Germans into German society, raising the possibility that integration of any kind is not possible and that these populations are simply too different to coexist in the same state. As El-Tayeb writes about the French riots of 2005, incidents of this kind seem “to confirm the self-fulfilling prophecy of migrant youths’ threatening and invincible difference” (xxxi). The tone of media coverage devoted to the school incident praised Steffens, the director, in much the same language as the author-narrators of Muslim women’s memoirs: he was heroic because he “broke the silence” and articulated what many already believed or suspected about minorities in Germany, namely their disrespect for German/European lifestyles. Nonetheless, the relative silence of Muslim organizations was noted critically by the German press, especially in the aftermath of the school incident:

> Lauter als die wohlmeinenden Appelle der Teilnehmer dröhnte das Schweigen der Nichtteilnehmer, die eigentlich an vorderster Stelle hierher gehört hätten: islamische Verbände, die es ernst meinen mit ihrem Bekenntnis zu den Menschenrechten; Imame, die an die Verträglichkeit

> der Lehren des Korans mit dem Rechtsstaat glauben; fromme Muslime, die es nicht länger hinnehmen wollen, dass ihr Glaube zur Rechtfertigung von Frauenunterdrückung im Zeichen eines archaischen Ehrbegriffs herhalten muss. Den Repräsentanten der Muslime in Deutschland fällt jedoch nach dem Tod von Hatun Sürücü wenig mehr ein als die schmallippige Bekundung, solche Taten hätten »mit dem Islam nichts zu tun«. Wirklich? (Lau, "Kriminalität")

One of the reasons this story had such a major impact was because (especially in the absence of a living heroine able to comment or criticize as author-narrators have done) the German state appeared to have done everything possible to support the victim in her quest for freedom. Hatun Sürücü got state assistance, lived in a shelter, the Jugendamt helped set her up in an apartment, train for a career, helped her when she fell behind on rent, and even arranged for her to see a therapist; the coverage of her murder includes a lot of statements about how she would have been safe if only she hadn't loved her family so much, wanted to see them, etc. In a review of *Ehrenmord*, Verena Mayer writes:

> Unterstützt wurde Hatun Sürücü bis zuletzt von den deutschen Behörden. Aus hunderten Aktenseiten lässt sich rekonstruieren, wie sehr dem Staat daran gelegen war, Hatun das Leben zu ermöglichen, das sie führen wollte. Es gab eine Sozialarbeiterin, Hausbesuche, Hilfekonferenzen. Ein Mutter-Kind-Heim und ein Ausbildungsplatz wurden vermittelt, Therapien bezahlt, Mietschulden gestundet. Doch gegen die Liebe, die Hatun Sürücü immer wieder zu ihrer Familie zurückzog und damit in den

Dunstkreis ihres Bruders, konnte der Staat nichts ausrichten.

Yet Deiß and Goll touch on a number of aspects of the German state's involvement in Sürücü's life that were not exactly exemplary. The authors devote a chapter of their book to Sürücü's contact with the state, drawing heavily on interviews with the social worker who was her main contact with the Jugendamt and with her supervisors at her state-sponsored apprenticeship program. They point out that, in addition to a complaint Sürücü filed with police against one of her brothers (which was widely reported in the German media), she had contacted the Jugendamt about her fear for her safety and discussed this fear with apprenticeship supervisors as well. Their documentary includes a dramatic quote from a letter Sürücü wrote, characterized as a "letzte Hilfeschrei," explaining that she couldn't go into public freely. The narrator explains: "keiner greift ein. Auch weil Ehrenmorde in der Vorstellung der deutschen Beamten vielleicht in der Turkei, nicht aber mitten in Deutschland vorkomme" (Deiß and Goll, "Verlorene Ehre"). This is immediately confirmed in a clip of Sabine Scheichel, Hatun's case worker in the Jugendamt, who admits that "in meinem Denken kommen diese Art von Tat nicht vor" (Deiß and Goll, "Verlorene Ehre"). In the book, Deiß and Goll also quote one of Sürücü's supervisors, who claimed that Sürücü had said during a phone conversation shortly before her death that she felt like she was being followed (77). The supervisor did not take her seriously, and told the authors that "niemand hat mit uns über Traditionen wie Ehre gesprochen, weder während unserer Ausbildung noch spater bei Schulungen oder Seminaren. So konnte am Ende keiner die Zeichen lesen, die da waren" (77). At the same time, the general consensus among the state officials in contact with Sürücü as described in *Ehrenmord* was summarized by Scheichel, who continues to struggle with her grief:

“Ich glaube nicht, dass wir mit Hatun mehr hätten tun können” (79).

The German state’s power is thus shown to be limited, at least in the face of such powerful and insidious threats. At the same time, the threat of Islam is portrayed as not only violent, but contagious. Melek and her mother, Ayla, describe how Hatun’s sister, Nurhan, brought her into contact with Ayhan and the insidious way that she transformed Melek into a different person by teaching her about Islam: “Nurhan liest ihr aus dem Koran vor, zeigt ihr schriftliche Belege dafür, wie eine gläubige Frau sich zu benehmen hat. […] ‘Sie hat immer auf mich eingeredet. ‘Melek, mach das nicht immer. Lies mal, hier steht’s. Das ist Sünde’’” (138). According to Melek, this had nothing to do with her specifically; Islam is framed as a sort of virus that could have infected anyone: “’Es hätte damals jeden treffen können. Wäre ich es nicht gewesen, wäre es eine andere gewesen’” (138).

Representations of Islam as a contagion that may violently alter the course of anyone’s life are by no means restricted to Muslim women’s memoirs, but are also extremely common in 21st century discourse on terrorism. This contributes to the sense of moral panic by suggesting that anyone – even non-Muslims – may be victimized by Muslim violence, regardless (or precisely because) of how German they appear.

Sürücü's Image

Images of Hatun Sürücü support the argument that German audiences identify with the victimization of the heroine. Because she died before she was famous, and probably also because of copyright laws and her family’s strained relationship with the German press, there are only a limited number of images in circulation. Among the most prominent of these is the one featured on the cover of Deiß and Goll’s book and

documentary, as well as in promotional materials for Gould's documentary. Sürücü is heavily made-up, with dark lipstick and eyeshadow and artfully shaped, penciled eyebrows. Her hair is carefully styled, shorter than in other images of her, and she is wearing a small stud in her nose, two silver barrettes in her hair, and a silver necklace. She looks directly at the camera, but her expression is serious and unsmiling.

Figure 1: *Ehrenmord: Ein deutsches Schicksal;* 2011 © Hoffmann und Campe

Figure 2: Sürücü at work; © rbb/WDR/Privat

The other most prominent image of Sürücü is of her at work as an electrician's apprentice. She is wearing a sweater and the blue overalls typical for the German construction industry. She has very little makeup on and her hair is messy and loose around her face where it has fallen out of her ponytail. She is carrying a large power tool in her left hand and barely leaning against a bare cinder block wall with industrial scaffolding visible in the background. As in the other picture, she is serious and unsmiling - she is more obviously irritated here, with a furrow visible between her

eyebrows. Her mouth is slightly open, as if she is about to say something to the photographer.

Both of these photos emphasize the degree to which Sürücü seemed to have become German. Her clothing, makeup, and hair all support the narrative arc of her successful integration, an impression supported by reports in her files and commentary from those who knew her. An anonymous social worker reported on the change in Sürücü's appearance after moving into her own apartment:

> Ihr äusseres Erscheinungsbild war traditionell muslimisch verhüllt. Schon in den bald darauf stattfindenden Kontakten wurde eine allmähliche äussere Veränderung sichtbar. Das Kopftuch und der Mantel verschwanden, und ihr Auftreten wurde ihrem Alter entsprechend selbstsicherer und natürlicher. (57)

Although the original context of some of these images is unclear, the discursive context in which they were placed during the extensive media interest in Sürücü's death allows Sürücü's gaze in both images to be read as reproachful of the German state or public.

Other widely circulated images of Sürücü include several of her smiling and laughing toward the camera, as well as a few pictures of her hugging her young son. One even shows Sürücü on a trip to France with other apprentices. The discursive context of religious violence means that these photos are juxtaposed in the popular imaginary with images of unhappy looking women totally isolated by their veils. While the original source of these photos is often listed as "Privat," the rights to them belong to a variety of media corporations, including the Deutsche Presse Agentur, DDP images Gmbh, WDR, and RRB (the employer of Deiß and Goll). The other images related to Hatun Sürücü

which have saturated media coverage of her particular story and more general pieces about honor killings include the many, many pictures of the crime scene, with her corpse on the sidewalk covered by a white sheet. In some images, depending on the angle, her feet or a hand are visible. Finally, there are numerous images of protests and rallies in honor of Hatun Sürücü, from those immediately following her death, to those held during and after the trial of her brothers, to those which continue to happen on the anniversary of her death. These photos generally include some of the images of Sürücü described above, either as photos of her attached to signs or, in some cases, original drawings or paintings based on widely circulated photos.

The ubiquity of photos of Sürücü - and especially those of her corpse - reminds us again of the importance of the female body in and for this narrative type, especially in terms of promotion. The images of author-narrators on and around the memoirs, along with the emphasis on the physical danger they are in because of sharing their story can be read as the selling of the heroine's bodies. In the particular case of Hatun Sürücü, there is no further risk to her body, but it is nonetheless of critical importance in the debates that ensued in the weeks and months following her murder. Her body was instrumentalized early and often as representative of the German nation (or Europe), with vivid physical descriptions and images of her body bracketing or bracketed by statements about her desire to "live like a German" and her German citizenship, and contextualized by complaints about the failure of others in her family to integrate. Reporters unfailingly mentioned how long the Sürücü family had lived in Germany and the fact that Hatun's parents were less than proficient in German.

Over the weeks and months and years following the murder, media discourse slips

from outrage over the life that was ended to the offense against the German state and its constitution. As Yildiz argues, the figure of the abused Muslim woman is an "ambivalently positions vehicle of this discourse who is called upon as a stand-in for the threatened self, only to be displaced by it and disappear from view" ("Governing European Subjects" 85). She reads much of the discourse surrounding this figure as reinforcing certain attitudes, values, and politics as German/European, especially tolerance (most often linked to sexual identity, in opposition to Muslim intolerance for homosexuality). This reading is certainly accurate, and is evidenced in reactions to Sürücü's death, but it shifts violence done to a body to violence done to a set of concepts. The extent to which German language media were flooded with images of Sürücü's body troubles the displacement of the Muslim woman victim by Germany/Europe that Yildiz describes.

Ewing's reading of the exposed body in the German national imaginary offers one explanation. Ewing argues that in this national imaginary, "the nude body is a pure body and its public exposure is viewed as natural, and as a right to be protected, the man who is believed to force his women to cover is therefore depriving her of her right to be pure, natural, and German" (*Stolen Honor* 199). This reading is supported by Muslim women's memoirs and press coverage of Sürücü's death which emphasize how the heroine was always somehow different than other Muslim women, and is even evident in the social worker's notes about Sürücü's changing appearance that are quoted in *Ehrenmord.* Most widely circulated images of Sürücü are of that exposed body, but they are juxtaposed with the images of her corpse, covered by a sheet, hidden from view, creating a macabre before and after that mirrors the before and after on the covers of the memoirs.

These images of Sürücü, in particular those of her corpse, served as a visual crystallization of the assault on the German state and constitution by Muslim men. They also stoked moral panic by suggesting that *anyone* who lived a German/European lifestyle could fall victim to the same fate (a fear exacerbated by the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004). If Ayhan Sürücü (and other nameless, invisible sympathizers like those at the school) thought his sister deserved to die because she lived like a German, so the thinking went, he/they must think the same of everyone who lives like a German. Given this widespread understanding of the nature of Muslim violence and identification with victims of such violence, it is perhaps unsurprising that much of what has been written about Sürücü seems to take on her voice.

Speaking for, Speaking about

One of the most important aspects of Muslim women's memoirs is the impression they create of Muslim women speaking for themselves – the schreibende Suleika – despite interventions of varying degrees by a cast of producers and promoters and the claims some author-narrators make to speak for other oppressed Muslim women. This presentation stands in stark contrast to texts about Sürücü and her murder (although none that I have encountered explicitly adopt the first person to convey her voice). Some contributors to Sürücü's narrative emphasize her essential victimhood when they insist that there is a moral obligation to speak for her by objecting to Muslim violence against women, since she is unable to speak for herself. Other contributors claim authority to speak for her based on their unique perspective on her or on issues of Muslim women's rights, integration, etc.

Linda Alcoff's exploration of the practice of "speaking for" can be productively

applied to many of the questions raised about the integrity of the authorial voice in Muslim women's memoirs as well as discourse about Sürücü's death. Alcoff argues for the importance of questioning not only who is speaking, but who is speaking to whom and in which discursive context, "where the speech goes and what it does there" (113), and points out that speaking for is very close to speaking about someone. When activists draw on Sürücü as an example of a Muslim woman who felt trapped between two worlds, are they speaking about her experience of integration, or on her behalf? This nuanced difference gets at a difficult issue at the center of the media response to Sürücü's death, especially considering all the claims staked on her legacy: is there a way to talk about what happened to Sürücü, especially a way to object to what happened, that does not appropriate Sürücü's voice (and, by extension, the voices of countless other Muslim women in Germany and Europe)? This section is an attempt to answer this question, and to understand the "rituals of speaking" that connect this case to the memoirs described above by examining who is speaking to whom, in which discursive context, and the probable impact of that speech.

The author-narrator serves as the authority and native informant in the case of the memoirs, mediating between audiences and an otherwise inaccessible parallel world. As I have shown, she may leverage this role into greater agency. The information she provides is confirmed by others, but their confirmation is not explicit in the text; their voices are obscured. In the case of Hatun Sürücü, there are a number of individuals who claim particular authority to similarly guide audiences into this parallel world. The speakers involved include members of Sürücü's family, who are often cited as sources for the same few sensationalized sound bites. Most other quotes (or interviews, in the case of

film) given in connection with this case come from individuals who had direct personal contact with the victim or her family (set collectively in the role of perpetrator), but plenty of speech about Sürücü comes from individuals or groups connected to her only by virtue of the way she died. These include anti-Islam activists like Necla Kelek and Seyran Ates, other women who were victims of Muslim violence, and many white Germans who anticipated becoming or perceived themselves to already be victims of Muslim violence.

While the memoirs often create the impression of a unified voice in a manifesto, the chorus of voices contributing to the story of Hatun Sürücü is diverse and often conflicted, but Hatun is always already a victim, without agency, and without a voice. This imbalance is problematic, for, as Alcoff points out, speaking "should always carry with it an *accountability and responsibility"* (emphasis original; 112). While author-narrators may be accountable to their families, co-authors, and others, those speaking for or about Sürücü cannot be accountable to her, and, with the possible exception of Deiß and Goll, choose not to be accountable to her family either. On the other hand, many of those who knew Sürücü were asked to speak about Islam, honor, and the capacity of the Sürücü family for premeditated violence rather than for or about the victim herself. Much of this speech involved reproduction of existing tropes of Islam, and supports Yildiz's contention that abused Muslim women are neither subjects nor objects of this discourse, but rather its vehicle. In this case, Alcoff's question about "where speech goes and what it does there" (113) highlights the problem of mediating and reproducing speech.

In his 2005 documentary *Sie hat sich benommen wie eine Deutsche – Mord im Namen der Ehre?*, journalist Gert Mohnheim relied primarily on interviews with Hatun's father, her brother Engin, Engin's wife, and Hatun's ex-boyfriend, Sascha. The owners of

a kiosk across the street from Sürücü's Tempelhof apartment, a social worker from the underage mothers' shelter where Hatun and her son lived for a short time, and a colleague from Hatun's apprenticeship also speak briefly in the film. Mohnheim also included interviews with a few people who had not had direct contact with Hatun, but who were acquainted with other family members, such as the imam of a mosque that some of Hatun's brothers had visited and a teacher from the school attended by several Sürücü children.

By comparison, Deiß and Goll's award-winning 2011 documentary *Verlorene Ehre - der Irrweg der Familie Sürücü* includes an entirely different cast. They focus on extensive interviews with Ayhan Sürücü, the younger brother who confessed to the murder. Mutlu Sürücü, one of the brothers wanted as an accomplice, and Arzu Sürücü, the younger sister who sued for custody of Hatun's son, also appear in the film. Other interviews were conducted with Melek and Ayla A., who are in witness protection after Melek testified against Ayhan (her former boyfriend) during his trial; Hatun's former social worker; a friend of Hatun's from the underage mothers' shelter; a friend of Ayhan's from the neighborhood; the director of the school Ayhan attended prior to the murder; and several others. Deiß and Goll interview Mutlu Sürücü, one of the two brothers suspected of helping or pressuring Ayhan to kill Hatun. In the parts of the interview that appear in the documentary, he fits neatly into the trope of the unquestioning Muslim. When he is asked whether he finds it just for a woman to be stoned to death for the crime of fornication, Mutlu hesitates, swallows, then answers simply "Ich akzeptiere die islamischen Gesetze. Ich akzeptiere die islamischen Gesetze. Das, was Allah mir vorgeschrieben hat, das akzeptiere ich" (Deiß and Goll, *Verlorene*

Ehre). The camera zooms close in on his eyes, then cuts to a shot of Hatun's grave while a somber piano solo swells in.[35]

One of the reasons that Sürücü's story has such a hold on the public's imagination is its tragedy - how hard she tried to achieve independence without rejecting her family, only to be killed by one of them - but another, equally important reason is the public exposure of her killer, and indeed to her entire family. The level of exposure the Sürücü family faced in the wake of Hatun's death is many times over what most families of the narrator-authors experienced, with most media interest focused on male relatives. Ayhan Sürücü was approached by numerous journalists, but he worked especially closely with Deiß and Goll on their book and the accompanying television documentary, which also included extensive interviews with another brother, Mutlu, as well as more distant male relatives in Anatolia. Although not all of these men purport to speak for Hatun Sürücü, the typical gendering of the Muslim woman victim's narrative is turned on its head – men are center stage here, as speaking subjects and as mediators. As Verena Mayer notes,

> Grundsätzlich muss sich das Projekt die Frage gefallen lassen, ob man einem Mörder eine solche Plattform bieten darf. …Nicht umsonst untersagen die meisten Gefängnisse solche Interviews, wie sie diesem Buch zugrunde liegen. Andererseits verdanken sich der Täterperspektive wesentliche Erkenntnisse.

In an interview, Deiß and Goll explain what it was like to work with Ayhan:

> Goll: Wir haben gesagt, das einzige was wir ihm bieten können, ist eine

[35] Although he had died of cancer before Deiß and Goll began work on their project, Hatun Sürücü's father, Kerem, gave an interview to Gert Mohnheim for his 2005 documentary that reflects a similar interest in Islam. In the film, Kerem responds to several leading questions (such as "could your sons have been influenced by fundamentalist or islamist friends or sects?") in the negative, repeatedly saying "ich schwöre beim heiligen Buch."

> faire, saubere Aufarbeitung. Er darf sagen, wie er die Dinge sieht und wir werden das senden. Er kann unterscheiden, was Boulevard ist und was öffentlich-rechtliches Fernsehen. Ihm war klar, wenn er das macht, dann mit uns. Es hat länger gedauert und er hat immer wieder hin und her überlegt.
>
> Deiß: Er dachte am Anfang, wir machen ein Buch zusammen, da haben wir klargestellt: Es ist unser Buch, unser Film. Sie kommen darin vor, aber Sie werden eingeordnet. Sie bekommen die Gelegenheit ein ausführliches Interview zu machen, alles andere machen wir.
>
> Goll: Wir haben ihm auch immer gesagt: Wir werden ein kritisches Buch schreiben, einen kritischen Film machen. (Schwarzbeck and Pöppl)

The interviewer puts a finer point on the question: "Was war seine Motivation mit ihnen zu sprechen? Deiß: Er will überzeugen, dass er kein schlechter Kerl ist" (Schwarzbeck and Pöppl).

Although Deiß and Goll do not explain in any detail exactly how their interviews with Ayhan came about, Wessel and Gould have made public on their websites (honorenforced.com and twosidesofthemoon.com, respectively) evidence that Ayhan tried to profit from interviews with them. Both websites include pdf files of letters in which he requests payment for interviews (from 5,000 to 50,000 Euros). In another letter available on twosidesofthemoon.com, Ayhan Sürücü writes "ich möchte Ihnen mitteilen, dass für mich Geld keineswegs eine Rolle spielt. Die von mir gefordete Summe war als Spende für ein Waisenhaus gedacht" ("Letter #2"). In a later letter, Ayhan writes:

> ich möchte *keineswegs* Geldprofite verschaffen, die für persönliche

> Zwecke gedacht sind.[…] Ich habe mich von meinen Anwälten beraten lassen und ich habe Persönlichkeitsrechte usw. Daher verbiete ich es, jegliche Verfilmung usw. über mich ohne Vereinbarung mit mir auszustrahlen. (emphasis original, "Letter #3")

Ultimately, it remains unclear whether Ayhan or how other interviewed parties received money from journalists, authors, or filmmakers. But Sürücü's story has also been deployed for monetary gain by countless others, including producers of texts about her; just as the story of their victimization is the only currency some author-narrators possess, the story of his crime - and, in some accounts, the story of his own victimization - is also the only currency Ayhan seems to have, and the story of potential victimization appears to be valuable for other participants as well. If victim narratives may be treated as currency, what does it mean that the most profitable are ones from which the primary victim cannot profit?

The act of speaking, and the question of whether it is to, about, or for (or some combination) Sürücü, are complicated by the fact that these individuals are most often speaking to journalists or "the media," made up primarily of white upper-middle-class men who have reliable access to public discourse and are in a position to make speech acts public. In their position as mediators between speakers and the public, these journalists represent the interests of a particular German public vis-a-vis interviewees. To apply Alcoff's question of where speech goes and what it does there, the speech of interviewed parties often went through a process of mediation into an atmosphere of intense interest with a flavor of judgment and shock or the moral panic Ewing describes. There, it often confirmed stereotypes about unquestioning Muslim men and victimized

Muslim women, as well as the heroism of the German state. Certainly it also reached audiences beyond members of dominant groups. What this heavily edited and mediated speech largely failed to do was to contribute to the dialogic engagement, or speaking to, for which Alcoff advocates. Even Deiß and Goll's work, which creates the appearance of dialogic engagement by focusing each chapter primarily on one perspective and covers a range from Sürücü's convicted killer to her social worker to politicians, thus bringing diverse voices and perspectives into contact, is ultimately an example of journalistic skill rather than dialogue. After all, participants spoke to the authors, not to each other, and the authors never explicitly acknowledged their discursive role (but even referred to themselves in the third person a few times).

In previous chapters, I discussed how the specificity and individual subjectivity of the author-narrator is at risk of disappearing in the process of production and promotion, and how what is presented as her voice is overdetermined by influential factors such as ghost authors, editors, and publicity teams. The case of Hatun Sürücü demonstrates this risk perfectly. Her voice is barely evident: quotes from her complaint to the police about her brother and from a letter she wrote to the Jugendamt are occasionally referenced, and many of those who knew her claimed to repeat things she told them before she was killed. But her voice is easily overwhelmed by the voices of her family, those who knew them, and many with only the most tenuous connection to the case. As a consequence, texts about Hatun Sürücü tends to present a clearer picture of the experiences of the perpetrator(s) rather than the heroine's experiences - the heroine as agent – that are at the heart of the first person narratives.

On the other hand, *Ehrenmord* does hold the possibility of complicating the

familiar script of the plight of the Muslim woman victim. By including such a variety of perspectives, in particular those of the Muslim men held responsible for Sürücü's death, Deiß and Goll arguably walk a dangerous path that verges on reifying such acts of violence and/or reinforcing destructive stereotypes. But this same variety of perspectives creates the impression of the story as a tragedy rather than a melodrama (or a *Bildungsroman*) by humanizing all parties involved. Alcoff argues that "the very act of speaking constitutes a subject that challenges and subverts the opposition between the knowing agent and the object of knowledge" (110). In *Ehrenmord,* the act of speaking is opened up to a broad enough range of subjects to at least remind audiences of the complexity of interactions between Muslim women victims, their families, and their social, cultural, physical, and political environments, thus disrupting assumptions about knowing agents and objects of knowledge.

Conclusion

The murder of Hatun Sürücü and the public interest that followed reflect the moral panic and social fantasy of contagion that have also contributed to the popularity of Muslim women's memoirs. The intense and long-lasting public response to her death, and especially the commercial success of cultural production having to do with it, also points to the voyeuristic or transgressive pleasure audiences derived from gaining (unauthorized) access to spaces understood as off-limits to Germans. There was little accountability for those speaking on her behalf, and stories about her originated from sources other than her own account of her experiences, which sets cultural production to do with her apart from Muslim women's memoirs.

Producers of Sürücü's story often hint at a debt owed to her or to her memory, or

a quest to keep her death from having been in vain. This rhetoric equates Sürücü with a soldier and makes her a fighter in the struggle for the liberation of Muslim women. This problematic position is essentially the same one that was rejected by Ayşe (and, interestingly, Ayhan Sürücü) and that was so fervently adopted by Sabatina James. By positioning Sürücü as a fighter for a cause, despite the fact that she is dead and that there is no record of her participation in activism for Muslim women's rights, various producers and promoters may appear to mitigate or even rescue her from her fate or grant her some sort of agency from beyond the grave. But this move really reflects the separation of the actual abused woman from the heroic figure of the Muslim woman victim, and underscores the troubling reality that Sürücü's reification as a quintessential victim of Muslim violence depended on her death.

If the figure of the Muslim woman victim is defined by the combination of the categories of Muslim, woman, and victim, the Hatun Sürücü produced by most texts is a Muslim woman victim par excellence. "Muslim" need not (and usually does not) refer to the figure's own faith, but rather to the professed faith of her tormentor. This aspect of the Sürücü case is more than evident in media coverage, including Deiß and Goll's work. Sürücü's gender, and the role it played in her victimization, is also evident in speculation about her sex life, reminders that she stopped wearing a headscarf, and references to the different standards the Sürücü family – and, by extension, all Muslims in Germany – had for male and female children. The fact that she was a mother also emphasized the connections between her gender and her victim status, since this gendered role was understood to have been forced upon her as part of her arranged (and abusive) marriage. Finally, the prominence of male voices in the telling of her story reminds audiences of the

stereotypically female nature of Muslim victimhood.

Facts that weaken connections between her family's professed faith, her gender, and her victim status were downplayed, including the support she received from her family during her divorce or the question of her own personal faith. As for Sürücü's victim status, the fact that she is dead seems explanation enough. But in public discourse around Muslim women in Germany, victimhood implies both a lack or loss of agency, a silence, an invisibility; and at the same time, it can be a catalyst for the exercise of agency, the ability to speak out and participate in that same discourse by publicly objecting to abuse predicated on gender and religion, even (or especially) when this act increases the risk of further violence. Sürücü escapes this paradox of simultaneous victimhood and agency – the schreibende Suleika – but that has not prevented fantasies about granting her agency even in death.

Sürücü's death was framed as tragic, but also inevitable. Most news articles, as well as Steffen's letter and Deiß and Goll's book include the phrase "sie musste sterben." This phrasing represented an important step in the logic of "Islam vs. the West" discourse, seeming to prove once again that Islam is incompatible with German/European/Western values. Her death interested audiences suspicious of the ambivalence of living author-narrators, whose continued existence suggests that perhaps Islam is not quite as lethal as had been feared, that the boundaries aren't so clear, as well as the possibility that their choices might fall outside the frame of acceptable post-Muslim women's behavior. So if Hatun Sürücü had to die, perhaps her death was more necessary for the grand narrative of civilizational conflict than for her family's honor.

Chapter 4: You can't tell a book by its cover.

This project has so far focused on German-language literary texts that contribute one way or another to popular understandings of individual Muslim women as victims of religiously motivated gender violence. Even texts about Hatun Sürücü, though more explicitly produced due to the non-participation of the heroine and not written in the first person, are connected to an individual woman; authors are at least somewhat accountable for their writing, and texts are made public in traditional forms. In this chapter, I move even further away from the individual author-narrator's story to look more closely at marketing patterns across the genre. Uniform marketing suggests more than simple intertextuality, but rather that these memoirs may function on some level as little more than paratexts to the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim. Much of the separation that occurs between the actual abused woman and public figure she becomes upon publication of her memoir – the extent to which she is produced in the image of the stereotypical Muslim woman victim – happens at the edges of the text, where her narrative gives way to paratexts and epitexts, the cast of producers grows, and connections to similar books and the familiar script are strengthened.

In order to shed new light on this stage of transformation from individual, lived experience to packaged commodity, as well as the emergence of Muslim women's memoirs as a genre, I will look at conventions in book cover design. Trends in book cover design reflect how deeply this genre is shaped by ideas about gendered violence and racialized Islam, and, especially when considered together with the books' material context, helps explain some of the sweeping generalizations made about Muslim women's memoirs that are not supported by evidence from the texts themselves. It is in

this liminal space, where the author-narrator's story touches the story about the story, that consumers first join in producing the books and their author-narrators within familiar frames of reference.

I will discuss how consumers contribute to stories about Muslim women's memoirs, with particular attention to evidence of consumer responses to these texts produced via social media. I argue that the quickly increasing use of social media that happened concurrent with the spike in popularity of these memoirs has had a unique impact on the familiar script of the Muslim woman. Although large-scale social media responses to any kind of cultural production are frequently dismissed as hype and widely considered to be little more than another flavor of advertising, social media responses to Muslim women's memoirs deserve closer consideration. Social media responses did not all happen at once, nor did they simply repeat information provided by an original author (i.e. reposting comments). This is more often the case today, but early social media responses, especially those on specifically consumer-oriented websites such as Amazon evidence something resembling the dialogic encounters Spivak and Alcoff call for, which are otherwise absent in textual responses to this trend.

Many social media responses include readers' own first-person narratives. In some cases, the stories readers tell the public about themselves in response to these texts simply reiterate the familiar script of female suffering under violent Muslim patriarchy. But other instances of reader responses reject that script. In order to demonstrate the potential of social media to disrupt and complicate this script even in supporting the memoirs, I will compare producers' marketing strategies (evidence of the reaction publishers might hope for among consumers) with social media responses. I first offer an

overview of genre-wide marketing strategies, including an analysis of book cover design. Then I will examine the use and potential impact of various social media channels in connection with these books. Finally, I will consider the possibility of reading social media responses as a form of successful autoethnography which fits Pratt's definition in ways that Muslim women's memoirs do not, and truly anonymous authors as offering a potentially more powerful staging of Muslim women's agency than the memoirs to which they respond.

Book Covers, Marketing & Material Contexts

Book covers are often the first point of contact for consumers of any kind of literature, whether in stores, online, or as even as graphics included in television interviews or review articles. Visual and textual cues on the covers of Muslim women's memoirs homogenize these narratives by emphasizing connections between Islam and the oppression of women, the lack of agency Muslim women experience, tropes of Muslim faith as blind obedience or a cynical excuse for violence. Covers also suggest a continuity between the author-narrators and the figure of the abused Muslim woman. This is conveyed by the extensive use of portraits of veiled women (or in some cases, women with their faces obscured by graphics resembling veils as in the case of Souad, Leila, or Hanife Gashi) – often the pseudonymous author herself. Two books of this kind, *Schleier der Angst* by Samia Shariff and *Verschleppt im Jemen* by Zana Muhsen, even use the very same cover image. The women's eyes are frequently the only exposed or visible part of the face; their mouths are often covered by their veils and their expressions are difficult to read. They are mute, inscrutable, and trapped. These portraits are framed by author names and titles that give the images context. Names are often obvious

pseudonyms – Ayse, Leila, or Inci Y. come to mind – and these are displayed as prominently as the titles. Titles refer to forced marriage, honor killing, and/or a loss or lack of agency like being trapped or forced; some specifically reference Islam as well.

This combination of visual and textual cues draws several connections. First, because the veil remains a salient reference to Muslim faith and belonging as well as a gender marker, this type of cover design identifies the authors as Muslim women and refers, at least implicitly, to existing ideas about forced marriage, honor killing, and absence of female agency as inherent or essential characteristics of Islam. Secondly, by visually connecting Muslim belonging and violence with a pseudonymous author, these covers emphasize the risk to the author's personal safety that comes from sharing her story. Finally, and perhaps most fundamentally, these covers connect the female Muslim body with covering, victimhood, and oppression – even as the book seems to also offer proof of the author-narrator's agency, voice, and visibility.

This type of cover contributes to the increasingly common racial overtones associated with the term Muslim. The female Muslim body is racialized on and by these covers, insofar as the covers contribute to the discursive production of a social category that connects ideology, class status, and phenotype. As Fatima El-Tayeb argues, "the hijab worn by some European Muslimas has become a highly charged symbol of racial, cultural, and gender as much as religious difference (83)." The female bodies on these covers are marked as Muslim already by the veils and the context given by titles. The phenotypic otherness in these portraits is most clearly communicated by the cover of Katja Schneidt's 2011 memoir *Gefangen in Deutschland* (Fig. 1), which shows a blond-haired, blue-eyed woman in a veil, with the subtitle "wie mich mein türkischer Freund in

eine islamische Parallelwelt entführte." The image is carefully composed and richly colored: Schneidt's blond hair is cut into bangs which cover her forehead, and the veil that covers the rest of her hair as well as her mouth is a vivid blue that matches her eyes and evokes the blue mantle of the Virgin Mary. She stares straight into the camera, and there is an urgency in her expression. The colors and textures are obviously digitally enhanced, especially Schneidt's skin, which is considerably smoother and a paler shade than in other images of Schneidt or her live television appearances. Her face takes up almost the entire cover. This cover summarizes her experience of loss of agency to a Turkish man and forced relocation (migration?) to a world not her own. It also hardens the division between "German" and "Islamic" worlds. Her boyfriend is specifically, explicitly "Turkish" and has access to the "Islamic parallel world" where Schneidt was held captive. Everything a viewer needs to know about Schneidt herself is communicated implicitly – through her image, and through the context of the book. The cover depends on the production of a kind of cognitive dissonance among viewers by juxtaposing a body coded as German with the veil, which is coded not only as Muslim (and therefore not German), but a tool of the oppressive Islamic world which is – or should be? – separate from the world in which Germans live.

Figure 3: Gefangen in Deutschland, 2011
© Münchner Verlagsgruppe GmbH

Figure 4: Befreiung vom Schleier, 2013
© Münchner Verlagsgruppe GmbH

Like many authors of this type of memoir (i.e. James, Inci Y.), Schneidt has published a second book, due out in March 2013, entitled *Befreiung vom Schleier: Wie ich mich von meinem türkischen Freund und aus der islamischen Parallelwelt lösen konnte*. The cover of this book (Fig. 4) depicts Schneidt in the act of freeing herself from what is clearly meant to be a veil. She is shown holding the same blue cloth from the first cover, which floats above and around her, as if she is throwing it off. I write "as if" because, like the cover of her first book, the image is obviously digitally enhanced. Her entire face, head, and neck are exposed, and she offers the camera a half-smile. This half-smile is especially meaningful next to the cover of her first book, and the other portraits of veiled women described above, as it presents a striking contrast between the abject Muslim woman victim and the happy European subject.

Although the covers of Schneidt's two books are interesting for a variety of

reasons, I would like to return here to the question of race. This kind of cover design reflects the extent to which “Muslim” has become a catch-all term in Germany, referring not to practices or experiences of religious faith but to a culturally, ethnically, and spiritually diverse group of people. This group is bound almost exclusively by its perception (interpellation?) as “other.” Schneidt's cover portraits are striking because audiences expect to see something behind the veil that Schneidt is not – the portraits play on the ubiquity of the typical cover images described above, but the only real differences are the author's name and her appearance. While the typical portrait for memoirs of this type shows a dark-haired, dark-eyed woman readily identified by viewers as “Muslim” despite the fact that she is not likely – due to the circumstances necessary for the production of such a work – to have Muslim faith, Schneidt's pale, blond, blue-eyed image is understood not as that of an oppressed Muslim woman, but of a German woman oppressed by Muslims.

Critiques of the German-language vocabulary used to describe people who do not look like Schneidt have become more common over the years, as the *Orientalin, Gastarbeiterin,* or *Türkin* became women *mit Migrationshintergrund*. While many of these critiques have argued against labeling veiled women and bearded men (Muslims) as immigrants, since they are just as likely to be German-born, recent scholarly work has argued against a different tendency: the increasing use of “Muslim” to refer to a group of phenotypic traits rather than religious faith (see Spielhaus, Sieg, El-Tayeb). Spielhaus connects this growing trend to the 2000 change in German citizenship laws, since “ehemalige Türken” could no longer be identified simply by their nationality. In her examination of the commonly cited statistic that 2.8 to 3.2 million Muslims live in

Germany, she found that the numbers were based on statistics about migration to Germany from countries with Muslim populations, naturalized German citizens from predominantly Muslim countries, and the number of Germans who chose to list their religion as Islam in the 1987 census. Her point is that the label may have changed, but that its othering function remains basically the same, as does its referent; many people once incorrectly identified as immigrants are now being incorrectly identified as Muslims. The disconnect between the label "Muslim" as it is used in German today and the actual religious beliefs of the individuals to whom it might refer is especially evident in the use of this label for women whose careers are based on their rejection of Islam.

These women, who often self-identify as *Islamkritikerinnen,* have also written books that fit the same narrative pattern as the memoirs described above. A common variety of cover design for this type of memoir features a full portrait of the author, bare-headed and in Western dress, with an expression of wistful courage and determination. These covers show empowered women who claim simultaneous roles as public figures or activists *and* native informants, and are often used by authors writing under their own names, whose work tends to include stories of other women as well as their own experiences. Interestingly, a few of these covers also hint at the racialization of Islam in the lightening of the liberated author's skin. Compare, for example, book covers from Sabatina James' first and second books: on the cover of her first memoir, (*Sterben sollst du für dein Glück,* originally titled *Vom Islam zum Christentum: Ein Todesurteil*),[36] she appears veiled against a sepia background on one side, and only slightly less cloaked by her long, dark hair on the other side.

---

[36] Rights were sold soon after the first edition to Knaur Taschenbuch, a subsidiary of Droemer Knaur; later editions featured the same images in a slightly different configuration.

Figure 5: Sterben sollst du für dein Glück, 2004 © Knaur Taschenbuch

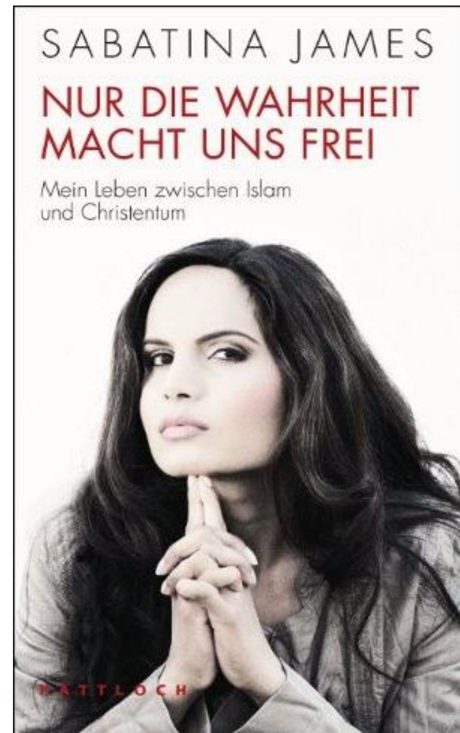

Figure 6: Nur die Wahrheit macht uns frei, 2011© Pattloch Verlag

The cover of James' most recent book, *Nur die Wahrheit macht uns frei: Mein Leben zwischen Islam und Christentum*, depicts her in a more confrontational pose with a more aggressive expression. The image is against a white background and has itself been artfully faded to the point that her dark hair appears to be touched with gray in places and her skin looks white. These cover images by themselves are perhaps not much different from the cover of any other autobiography, but the titles reference honor, forced marriage, and Islam, and they are grouped together with the covers depicting veiled women in brick-and-mortar stores, online booksellers, and in media coverage about the abuse and oppression of Muslim women in the west. This physical and virtual proximity, along with the similarity in titles, sharpens the contrast between the images of women

coded as Muslim by their veils as well as their oppression, and what, for lack of a better term, we might call the post-Muslim woman. I use "post-Muslim" because these women are identified by – and their careers seem to be premised upon – their experiences with Islam, rather than their identity (religious or otherwise) after escaping their abusive families. That is, regardless of when or whether they ever experienced Muslim faith, they continue to be categorized as Muslim, primarily on the basis of their public (often polemic) criticism of Islam. Their experiences as victims are intimately tied in their public images to deep personal knowledge of the religion and a claim, whether implicit or explicit, to speak for other abused Muslim women; together, these legitimize their criticism. As Fatima El-Tayeb points out, it is this criticism which gains them a voice in public debates about the role of Islam in Europe (103). The juxtaposition of the Muslim and post-Muslim figures on the covers of these memoirs is especially meaningful because it sets up a sense of before and after for spectators as well as readers. The familiarity of the genre along with the information in the titles ensure that audiences know the veiled woman is the before and the book is proof of the after.[37]

Images of veiled women representing an absence of agency are thus set in opposition to images representing a particular kind of critical, activist subjectivity. Such memoirs constitute a metaphorical exposure – unveiling[38] – of a secretive, scandalous

[37] These narratives are also placed in physical and virtual proximity to polemics by (white male) politicians decrying the "false tolerance" of Germany. These "scandalous" polemics, framed as memoirs like the bestselling works by Thilo Sarrazin and Heinz Buschkowsky, also shape the meaning of the women's memoirs described above. The two types of books are mutually reinforcing, arguing for and demonstrating the existence of the dreaded parallel society (*Parallelgesellschaft*). The polemics and the memoirs play on deep fears about consumers' ability to know the true state of the world in which they live.

[38] In the case of Katja Schneidt, a literal unveiling. It is worth noting that of all the memoirs of this narrative type which I studied for this project, only the cover of Schneidt's second book shows a woman in

parallel society (*Parallelgesellschaft*) as well as of the author-narrator herself. Because the particular market context of these memoirs lacks images of veiled Muslim women in positions similar to those of the female post-Muslim activists,[39] the exposure appears to grant the author subject status, emphasizing a causal (rather than correlative) relationship between unveiling and subjectivity. One effect of this rhetorical strategy is that it prevents an understanding of veiled women as subjects with agency, framing them instead as always already victims of (male, Muslim) oppression. At a time when so many post-Muslim women are so prominent on national and international stages, the fact that practicing or veiled women are so rare (or rarely acknowledged) as active participants in debates about integration and Islam in Europe underscores the extent to which the "mainstream public persistently ignore the work done by Muslim and minority women who struggle to change structures within their communities rather than condemning them wholesale" (El-Tayeb 102). The prominence of these memoirs reinforces the widespread stereotype of Muslim women as mute victims. But despite their non-fiction status, the attention these books receive reflects much less about the actual subjectivity of Muslim women than it does about the appetites of a reading public that fails to understand veiled women as agents in the same way as the unveiled post-Muslim activist. Along with news reports, film, television, and social media, these book covers shape their own discursive context such that the author-narrators they depict seem to disappear entirely as individual

---

the symbolic act of unveiling herself. Whether it is significant that only a white woman is shown in this position of symbolic power over Islam is a topic for another paper.

[39] A condition which is slowly changing, with the publication of works like *Muslim, Female, German!: My Way to a Modern Islam* (*Muslimisch - weiblich - deutsch!: Mein Weg zu einem zeitgemäßen Islam*) by Lamya Kaddor, who, incidentally, is pictured on the cover along the same lines as the post-Muslim activists described here.

and specific agents. I propose that the way that marketing and consumption situate these memoirs leans more toward promotion of a brand – the brand of oppressed Muslim women – than that of discrete, individual products of diverse experiences.

The marketing of these memoirs is much more than just their covers. Other marketing strategies include reviews, advertisements, and public readings, which generally reinforce the cover's message and further expose the author-narrator. Because these other aspects of marketing tend to happen in the context of larger campaigns, they also contribute to the sense of an enormous – unknowable and mostly untold – number of such stories, all fitting the same familiar narrative pattern. Reviews often address several such memoirs at once, as in the case of Verena Araghi's 2005 article "Flucht aus der Ehehölle" in the German news magazine *der Spiegel*, which includes an image of six such memoirs with a single caption "Erfahrungsberichte unterdrückter Frauen: ‚Da entsteht plötzlich ein Gefühl der Solidarität'" (119). Some of the most common print advertising for these books is within others of this type: *Mich hat keiner gefragt,* for example includes an ad for Serap Çileli's bestseller *Wir sind eure Töchter, nicht eure Ehre*.

Public readings also tie these memoirs to one another, presenting readings in connection with or in the context of other projects and campaigns that have to do with physical violence against women by Muslim men: forced marriage, honor killings, and most recently, female genital mutilation. Such framing supports the idea of Muslim women's memoirs as small pieces of a grand, transnational struggle (and author-narrators as fighters in this struggle, risking their safety for the benefit of others) to liberate

oppressed masses of women around the world from their male, Muslim tormentors. Marketing strategies of this kind actually draw audience attention away from specific texts, including those that deviate from the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim. But 21st century marketing also typically involves the use of social media as a way of engaging audiences, which can provide an opportunity for audiences to do the same work of challenging assumptions and stereotypes even as it contributes to marketing that appears to reinforce them.

Consumption, Promotion, (Re)production in Social Media

Because it is such a powerful and common tool for advertising, social media around Muslim women's memoirs offers huge amounts of rich material for analysis. Although it has been widely used by publishing houses and aid organizations to promote these memoirs, social media has also provided an important venue for German-speaking individuals to participate in shaping the reception of this narrative type, and perhaps most importantly (if only rarely) facilitate dialogue between audiences and author-narrators. In many instances, the integral role of social media in the consumer experience has meant that those who stand to profit from the popularity of these books are not necessarily in control of the narratives surrounding them. From the unmoderated "guestbook" pages on the websites of authors early in the 2000s to the reader reviews available on the websites of online booksellers such as amazon.de and buecher.de, individuals have produced their own publicly accessible original content in response to these memoirs, addressing their truth value, their contribution to public discourse, their literary quality, and even the character of the authors.

Analyzing this material presents a number of theoretical and methodological challenges, not the least of which is clarifying my use of the term social media. Today, the term tends to evoke platforms like Twitter and Facebook, but a broader definition as applications that enable the creation and exchange of user-generated content allows me to include content produced by users on other sites, some of which were never actually intended for exchanges between audience members. In this section, I will address reader responses available via online retail sites, responses posted on sites tied to specific authors, and responses in public forums in order to sample a broad range of site types and user interfaces. My choice of sites was also influenced by factors such as public accessibility (whether posted responses are visible to anyone, registered users, approved viewers, etc.) and archival integrity (whether individual responses could be removed, and if so, by whom and for what reasons).

Among the most problematic aspects of analyzing comments on these sites is the same question of authorship – anonymity and authenticity – which has also been raised in connection with these memoirs. Most social media platforms do not require authentication of a user's identity beyond the verification of an email address, and especially in the early 2000s, not even this was necessary. As the New York Times reported in a 2012 front-page article, "about one-third of all consumer reviews on the internet are fake," but it is next to impossible for consumers to tell those apart from legitimate ones (Streitfield; see also Mukherjee, Liu, and Glace). Positive reviews might very well be the work of reviewers paid to write positive responses, or of authors, publishers, friends or family of the author, or other parties invested in the success of the

book; negative reviews might also come from questionable motives and have nothing to do with the content of the book. Both of these extremes are evident in the volume of audience comments available online. Even without knowing for sure which individuals, institutions, or agendas are behind these reviews, we cannot ignore the potential they have to impact the position of such memoirs in the public sphere, and to provide some insight into the reception of this narrative type.

The risk of ratings manipulation points to their extreme importance in online book sales – otherwise no one would go to the trouble of creating fake reviews. And online sales of German-language books are not insignificant: in 2011, fewer than half of all books sold in Germany were sold in brick-and-mortar stores, while Amazon controlled around 20% of the German book market, with sales on amazon.de growing exponentially in recent years ("Amazon ist in Deutschland größer als bisher angenommen"). In addition to the rapidly growing importance of the online book market, increasing connectivity has allowed customers to research books via smartphone before purchasing them in brick-and-mortar stores, thereby increasing the potential impact of online reviews well beyond available data about points of sale.

Reader ratings and comments posted on product pages of online booksellers – unlike comments on independent public forums or author-narrator's own websites – are especially significant because of how they are positioned during the purchasing process. On amazon.de, average ratings are displayed next to the cover images of books at almost every stage of viewing. Reader comments are judged as helpful or unhelpful by other users (who may or may not leave their own comment or respond to comments that they

themselves rated); the most helpful are shown first as users scroll down a book's page, and when users click on "alle Rezensionen ansehen" they are shown the most helpful positive and most helpful critical reviews next to each other at the top of the screen.

The content of reviews on retail sites is especially interesting for how clearly and succinctly markers of public discourse on the plight of the abused Muslim woman, integration of minorities, and anxiety about national and continental integrity appear. Such markers include a focus on religion, the equation of spatial or temporal distance with moral differences, (potential) violence to readers who are not Muslim women, and the offering of personal experiences to legitimize the authority of one's judgment. At the same time, social media platforms have offered some exceptional possibilities for users to publicly challenge the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim. One comment for *Sterben sollst du für dein Glück* on amazon.de, by a user writing as Isnija Musljija, is a paradigmatic example of social media responses to Muslim women's memoirs:

> ich komme selbst aus einem islamischen background, aber bei uns geht es so überhaupt nicht zu. es macht mich krank, dass mitten in deutschland oder össterreich soetwas passieren kann, kaum zu fassen. und ich verachte menschen, die 'ehrenmord' durch religion rechtfertigen. das sind keine moslems, dass sind teufelsanbeter. [sic] ("Kundenrezensionen: *Sterben Sollst Du Für Dein Glück*")

Indeed, user reviews are one of the only places where the connection between Muslim faith and the violent oppression of women is actively and publicly disputed *as part of the consumer process.* Similar discussions also take place on other social media platforms,

such as Facebook, YouTube, and Wikipedia, but these sites do not function as points of sale.

Where women's aid organizations avoid mentioning religion by name, Islam comes up repeatedly in user comments. In one review of *Mich hat keiner gefragt* on amazon.de, a user with the screen name Edessa writes "Trotz immer wieder vorgebrachter gegenteiliger Behauptungen von Muslimen ist die Frau im Islam dem Mann nicht gleichgestellt" and goes on to quote the Koran ("Kundenrezensionen: *Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt*"). In doing so, this user assumes religious authority and contributes to discourse equating Muslim faith with blind obedience. Edessa also reiterates the connection between Muslim faith and female oppression, strongly implying that a faithful Muslim adheres exactly to what is set forth in the Koran. In a response to this review, another user questions whether Edessa has read the Bible. And just like that, experiences in which the author claims that "Islam spielte eigentlich keine Rolle" (Ayşe, 126) become the catalyst for an active debate about faith. This type of exchange is extremely common.

Although Islam is often placed in opposition to Christianity in such user reviews, it is worth noting that the notion of universal human rights also plays a role. Activists and reviewers frequently refer to the violence that author-narrators experienced as "Menschenrechtsverletzungen." One user writing as G. Lange on amazon.de notes that "Fundamentale Menschenrechte werden in Deutschland in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft mit Füßen getreten" ("Kundenrezensionen: *Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt*") while Christa Stolle, director of Terre des Femmes, cites a number of human rights treaties in her afterword for *Mich hat keiner gefragt*, including the United Nations Universal

Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women as legally binding agreements to "kulturellen Praktiken entgegenzuwirken, die Frauen diskriminieren und sie ihrer universellen Rechte berauben" (241). Social media responding to these narratives reveals the extent to which users perceive and assert the identification of Germany with Europe, Christianity, and the ability to understand and defend the natural and inherent rights of all humans.

Reader reviews also use spatial and temporal discourse to emphasize that Islam or practices associated with it are incompatible with Europe. One review of *Mich hat keiner gefragt* on amazon.de, rated most helpful by other users, calls it "ein Buch, das einen wachrütteln sollte. Diese Form der modernen Sklaverei ist hier in Deutschland leider weit verbreitet. Die Frauen aus der Türkei werden total isoliert, können unsere Sprache nicht und sind der Willkür ihrer Männer hilflos ausgeliefert" ("Kundenrezensionen: *Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt*"). Other comments voice shock that such a story happened "mitten in Deutschland" or "vor der eigenen Haustür" and, surprisingly, "nicht im Mittelalter" ("Kundenrezensionen: *Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt*").[40]

Isnija Muslgiga and K.H.'s reviews above, like many reader responses, also suggest some degree of negative physical impact or violence to the reader. Readers experienced strong physical reactions to the memoir, from tears to nausea; they were "gefangen," "gefesselt," and "berührt;" the book was "erschütternd," "fesselnd," and

[40] The perception of forced marriage as a medieval custom is especially evident in the extreme popularity of historical fiction, in which the forced marriage of the white, German heroine is central to the plot. See especially the bestselling works of Iny Lorentz.

"ergreifend." Although readers use these terms with positive intention to describe powerful narratives, the physical impact the stories have on readers is negative and indicates a (comparatively minor) loss of agency. Reviewers also reveal information about themselves to give context and authority to their reviews, presenting a more diverse readership than Ferchl described and disrupting the notion of homogenous and universally oppressed Turkish-Muslim womanhood. One writes: "Da ich selber Türkin bin, hat es mich fasziniert wie meine Landsleute früher (auch heute) eigentlich leben oder gelebt haben" ("Kundenrezensionen: *Mich hat keiner gefragt*"). Another writes: "Ich bin selber Türkin aber habe solche Geschichten weder selber erlebt noch in meiner Verwandtschaft gehört" ("Kundenbewertungen: *Mich hat keiner gefragt*").

As Brian Massumi has pointed out, "when we buy a product, we're buying potential connections with other things and especially other people. [...] What's being sold more and more is experience, social experience" ("Navigating Moments" 227). The nature of that social experience as one of expressing and reinforcing certain kinds of belonging may seem clear in light of the widespread generalization and boundary drawing evident in social media responses to Muslim women's memoirs. For example, reader reviews of Ayşe's memoir on amazon.de reflect the same us/them discourse as news media coverage of Hatun Sürücü's murder, as they express and reinforce one another's disappointment in Ayşe's decision to arrange a marriage for her own daughter. One reviewer of James's book on amazon.de wrote: "Für uns modern erzogene Menschen ist so eine Geschichte und Lebensweise unvorstellbar" ("Kundenrezensionen: *Sterben sollst du*"). Yet almost every discussion has at least one comment disputing

perceptions of Islam as violent and misogynistic. Another reviewer writes: “Im Gegensatz zu Sabatina habe ich ‘den Richtigen’ Islam gelehrt bekommen. Und in dieser Religion steht in KEINER Seite des Korans, dass der Mann seine Frau schlagen darf und dass die Frau weniger wert ist als der Mann!” (“Kundenrezensionen: *Sterben sollst du*”). Could it be that the social interaction users seek is the kind of dialogic encounter denied by the structure and marketing of Muslim women’s memoirs and mainstream media?

Although retail sites like Amazon are a critical piece of the book market, individual websites or pages specific to author-narrators also shape the virtual landscape of consumer engagement with Muslim women’s memoirs. Today, most such pages are hosted by publishers, some of which include a comment function as well as opportunities to connect via other social media like Facebook, Twitter, etc. Some relatively independent sites remain active (see, for example, cileli.de or katjaschneidt.de), but none of these maintain a site-specific comment feature, instead encouraging users to “like” the page on Facebook. Biendarra argues that individual author pages serve, among other purposes, as a way for authors “eine Form von Selbstbestimmtheit zurück zu gewinnen” (266), which may help explain the shift to platforms that allow greater control over user comments (Facebook, for example, allows page owners to independently delete and/or restrict comments).

This was not always the case: in the early 2000s, just as Muslim women’s memoirs were beginning to spike in popularity, the web presence of their author-narrators was very different. Among the most extreme and well-preserved examples is Sabatina James’ first website, dating to 2003 (prior to the acquisition of paperback rights by

Droemer Knaur). When James's memoir was first published, she and her publisher, Josef Kleindienst, launched a website to promote the book.[41] This original site included long blocks of text as well as numerous photos of James and a way to purchase the book directly from Kleindienst. It also offered a *Gästebuch*, which quickly became an unmoderated asynchronous chat forum,[42] with more than 800 pages of comments and several repeat users who built relationships with one another through repeated interactions while debating the nature of Islam, problems of integration and whether James's story could really be true.

The structure of this guestbook does not differ significantly from the comment field currently available on the author page for James on the Droemer Knaur site. On James' original site, users did not need to create an account, which is necessary to leave a comment on droemer-knaur.de, but they were asked to provide their names and email addresses. This structure suggests an assumption that comments would be directed toward the author or publisher. While the registered account function common on most social media platforms, including retail sites, ensures that a user's comments are all connected to that user, the structure of the guestbook presumes that commenters would not leave more than one message. But the way this guestbook was used is dramatically different from the expectations of its creators: not only did users frequently leave name and email fields blank (except when they made up screen names), they often responded to

---

[41] This site, www.sabatina.at, is no longer active, but is accessible via the Internet Archive (archive.org), a 501(c)(3) non-profit that collaborates with the Library of Congress, Smithsonian, and other public institutions to document the rapidly changing landscape of the internet and preserve digital cultural artifacts.

[42] As opposed to more moderated forums like the comment fields on Amazon or YouTube, where users can flag comments as offensive, or entirely moderated ones like Facebook, where the page owner (James, in this case) can remove comments herself.

other posts on the site and ignored the 'guestbook' frame indicating that they should leave messages for James or her publisher. In this instance, the social media aspect of the website came to be used primarily for communication among commenters.

When users subvert the institutional frame (or the authorial intent) of a social media application as the users of James's guestbook did, they demonstrate an understanding of such applications as tools for communication with each other – a kind of product- or theme-oriented social network. Unlike the content on droemer-knaur.de, these users did not seem especially interested in addressing the author or publisher. Instead, they seemed primarily invested in the relationships they developed with one another. Users wished each other good night or talked about possible face-to-face meetings; on more than one occasion, a user was accused of impersonating other frequent commenters (easy to do by simply adopting their screen names). Differences between the structure and the actual use of social media are also evident on some retail sites and on the discussion boards of Wikipedia. This pattern complicates the notion of social media as paratext, since user-generated content that is beyond the control of the author and her allies falls outside Genette's definition. On the other hand, user-generated content that is not authorized by the producing institutions still has a function similar to that of authorized paratexts, which Jonathan Gray describes as 'not simply add-ons' but entities that can have significant influence:

> [Paratexts] create texts, they manage them, and they fill them with many of the meanings that we associate with them. [….] Just as a parasite feeds

> off, lives in, and can affect the running of its host's body, a paratext constructs, lives in, and can affect the running of the text. (6)

Communication between users, whether it is argumentative or adds information to the author's published story, can be especially important in shaping the meaning of a text for readers because it offers the possibility of social connection or a sense of community – as the relationships evident in James's guestbook show.

Massumi argues that social networks and "cultural nodes" are typically created around a product by corporations and companies; the more the product is used, the more social networks "radiate out from it" as they are replicated by different stakeholders – including individual consumers ("Navigating Moments" 227). Comments like those above reflect the extent to which consumers consider themselves stakeholders in the familiar story of the Muslim woman victim, if not always in the specific narratives categorized as Muslim women's memoirs. Not only do commenters actively and consciously engage with reception of a text by writing and posting their reactions online as an extension of their purchase, as in the case of amazon comments; they contribute to perceptions of the author-narrator by linking their opinions about her and about other readers to authorized paratexts, as in the case of James' guestbook.

Massumi's claim that social networks radiate out from popular products is perhaps more complex than it seems, since the term "product" need not refer only to material goods like books or films. In the case of Muslim women's memoirs, the familiar script of the abused Muslim woman may be understood as a kind of product as well, which helps explain connections between some of the various social media platforms

where commenters react to specific texts or author-narrators. Conceptualizing the script as a product could also clarify the role of private social networks created (and regulated) by contributors to Muslim women's memoirs, including the forum "Du hast keine Macht über mich" run by author-narrator Katja Schneidt or the site zwangsheirat.de (earlier under the domain ehrverbrechen.de) run by Terre des Femmes, both of which are explicitly intended for use by victims of domestic violence and forced marriage or other crimes of honor, respectively. While these sites are officially unaffiliated with the popular memoirs, they reproduce similar narratives in short form, either as user entries, or, in the case of the Terre des Femmes site, blog entries by a few different anonymous victims.

The social networks that emerge around the central notion of the figure of the Muslim woman victim are not always immediately obvious, but they do exist. Author-narrators might follow, like, or otherwise endorse one another; activists link to similar stories; readers review multiple books and recommend some over others in their comments. Some contributors to the wealth of social media content related to Muslim women's memoirs even claim personal knowledge of author-narrators, bypassing the book and its cast of producers to bring an ostensibly less mediated version of the author-narrator into the social network. Several instances of this appear in James' guestbook, but one especially interesting example is a review of Ayşe's book on the popular buechereule.de forum, written under the screen name bibihexe76:

> Aufgrund meiner ehrenamtlichen Tätigkeit für Terre des Femmes hatte ich das RIESENGLÜCK, Ayse gemeinsam mit ihrer Journalistin Renate Eder, zu Lesungen zu begleiten und vorab einen kleinen Vortrag zum Thema

> Zwangsheirat zu geben. Dadurch habe ich das Buch natürlich mehrfach gelesen und noch öfter Ausschnitte daraus gehört. [...] Da ich mich ja lange Zeit mit den Themen 'Zwangsheirat' und 'Ehrverbrechen' beschäftigt habe, habe ich entsprechend viel Lektüre konsumiert. Natürlich sind hier keine Pulitzerpreisverdächtigen Werke dabei, aber dies Buch gehört in dem Themenkomplex in meine Top 3. ("Buechereule.de - Ayse - Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt")

In addition to illuminating some of the influence of activist organizations in the promotion of these works and dismissing their aesthetic qualities, bibihexe76 reminds us that contributors to these narratives are also private citizens, even volunteers. Another commenter on büchereule.de wrote "für einen aufgeklärten Westeuropäer ist es nicht ganz einfach, diese Geschichte zu begreifen. Vor allem die Tatsache, dass so etwas sich in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft abspielt, erscheint auf dem ersten Blick absurd" ("Buechereule.de - Ayse - Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt"). This reader then provides other users with a link to the Terre des Femmes website for further information about forced marriage. At the same time, comments like this remind us of the possibility that institutions may (attempt or appear to) control social media through individual employees or contacts – producing a kind of viral marketing under the guise of personal communication.

Massumi's framing of the creative dynamic between business and product sets social media production related to Muslim women's memoirs in an interesting light: although each book has generated social media exchanges, the social networks evidenced

in user-generated content seem to radiate from the general narrative type rather than from the individual books. Like bibihexe76, many commenters discuss how these memoirs compare to other, similar works, and/or, like Edessa, comment on the genre rather than the specific product. Amazon uses search algorithms to display related books, with their reader ratings, that other customers bought along with or instead of the book currently being viewed, while users link to and recommend other books in their comments. These practices support Massumi's assertion that marketing based on contagion rather than convincing is becoming more and more common, and that "the difference between marketing and consuming and between living and buying is becoming smaller and smaller, to the point that they are getting almost indistinguishable" ("Navigating Moments" 227).

Enacting Authentic Identity

The marketing and consuming of Muslim women's memoirs – including the perhaps unintentional marketing constituted by social media as a byproduct of consumption – demonstrates how relatively inconsequential the specifics of each narrative are to the popular imagination of the figure of the oppressed Muslim woman. If we regard this marketing as promotion of a brand, or the abused Muslim woman as what Massumi calls a "cultural node," parallels to the identity-based marketing behind many eco-tourism, regional investment, or national branding projects begin to appear. In the examples of such campaigns offered by J.L. and J. Comaroff, agency in the objectification/commodification of identity seems to belong primarily to the performers of that identity – the Shipibo shaman who offers "visionary consultation" for tourists or

the Scots employed by the organization "Scotland the Brand." As I have shown, commodification of the experiences of abused Muslim women often means the conflation of an actual, individual woman with the figure of the Muslim woman victim. While many author-narrators decline to participate fully in this commodification, the work of post-Muslim activists is striking in its similarity to the roles Comaroff and Comaroff describe. As native informants and survivors of Muslim violence, these women also claim to speak for a population of oppressed Muslim women whose existence they depend on for their continued relevance and who represent an inaccessible parallel world. Although post-Muslim activists' work does not explicitly connect to an ethnic group, it serves a similar purpose in letting outsiders glimpse that parallel world even as they mark it as separate, distinct, and cohesive. But this project has also shown that the actual content of Muslim women's memoirs, as well as consumer responses via social media, challenge the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim: commodification of such stereotypes does, in some cases, provide better exposure for complex and specific narratives.

Comaroff and Comaroff argue that these processes of commodification have

> produced a new sensibility, and explicitly new awareness of [identity's] essence, its affective, material, and expressive potential…ethnicity is *both* commodified, made into the basis of *value-added* corporate collectivity, and claimed as the basis of shared emotion, shared lifestyle, shared imaginings for the future. (2, emphasis original)

While the memoirs in question here arguably obscure or at least complicate agency, I argue that they too offer commodified identity as the basis of shared emotion, lifestyle,

imaginings for the future. For the authors, the identity-based marketing of their memoirs may also allow them to "(re)fashion identity, to (re)animate cultural subjectivity, to (re)charge collective self-awareness, to forge new patterns of sociality…by *ambiguating* the distinction between producer and consumer, performer and audience" (26). Rather than understanding these women solely as victims – first of abusive Muslim men, then of exploitative industry professionals – or simply as producers, performing a role they know will sell to consumers who are absolutely separate from them, it is worth looking at how the familiar script (or cultural node) of the Muslim woman victim is instrumentalized by author-narrators *and* users of social media.

By enacting their own identity, "producers of culture" – here, author-narrators as well as audiences – "objectify their own subjectivity, thus to (re)cognize its existence" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 26). Do memoirs of this type really offer an opportunity for abused women to become cognizant of their own subjectivity? In some cases, this is certainly true. And even when it seems doubtful, the sheer volume of content produced by audiences about these women, their experiences, and their books seems to show that such narratives serve a purpose along similar lines for consumers. These books, along with their authors, audiences, supporters and detractors, have a significant web presence including numerous websites, Facebook pages, Twitter feeds, YouTube channels, along with wikis, blogs, and message boards where these stories are reproduced in order to promote awareness of issues like forced marriage and honor killing, and often, to solicit donations. The networks that connect this web content are complex and extremely variable over time, but again serve to reinforce something of a closed loop or

convergence of producers and consumers while simultaneously suggesting that violent Muslims could be hiding anywhere.

As I have shown, the marketing of these books depends heavily on "Islam" while standardizing the divergent representations of religion and violence within the books being promoted. The women whose experiences constitute the basis of such memoirs disappear into the marketing conventions of the genre and the brand of the oppressed Muslim woman. The ubiquity of this narrative type and the prominence of religion in its marketing both reference and reiterate an undefined, invisible threat of Islam to "Western civilization" – and, in doing so, draw on existing tropes about the violent nature of the religion and the blindness and/or cynicism of Muslim faith. Ultimately, the marketing of these memoirs is part of a larger cycle in which discursive contexts are shaped and strengthened by consumers who also function as producers and promoters. As some organizations become more aware of how their work might reinforce negative stereotypes and reproduce tropes of Muslim violence and female oppression, they have fallen silent on the topic of religion. Social media has filled that discursive vacuum in a way reflective of a cynicism and dismissiveness toward the notion of sincere Muslim faith that is so common in debates about Islam as to go largely unnoticed. Even as social media promises an opportunity for faithful Muslim women to have a voice in these debates, to disrupt the promotion-consumption cycle, and to destabilize the Muslim/German dichotomy, it also provides a platform for perhaps the clearest articulation of suspicions that the authors' tormentors did not truly act according to faith in a higher power, but rather in the power of their Muslim community, and employed their religion merely as a

justification for cruelty and violence.

Conclusion

Near the entrance to the main exhibit hall of the 2012 Frankfurt book fair, a stand is surrounded by placards in English and German demanding the closure of Iran's embassies, the release of jailed workers, the immediate end of executions, torture, and oppression, and the adoption of humane laws governing asylum. In addition to images of jailed workers, these signs are accompanied by large portraits of an anonymous woman peering out at viewers from a small opening in a black veil, which is rhetorically connected to prison by several metal bars that appear to span this opening.

Necla Kelek has been promoting her most recent book (*Hurriya heißt Freiheit: Die arabische Revolte und die Frauen - eine Reise durch Ägypten, Tunesien und Marokko*). She participates in a moderated "conversation" hosted by Vorwärts, the news magazine of the SPD, with Bilkay Öney, minister of integration in Baden-Württemberg. The crowd gathered around the stand is so large that it blocks traffic in the corridor. Öney argues against headscarf bans, insisting that "man kann den Frauen nicht vorschreiben, welcher Freiheitsbegriff der richtige ist." Kelek strenuously disagrees. Öney suggests that Kelek is exagerrating the threat presented by veiled women because Kelek needs to sell books, while Öney can take a more realistic view because she has other goals.

Heinz Buschkowsky's reading from his recent book, *Neukölln ist überall*, is similarly well-attended. The former mayor of the diverse, working class Neukölln district of Berlin receives spontaneous applause when he reminds the audience that "Multikulti ist gescheitert" and explains that he refuses to naturalize Muslim women whose veils hide too much. In the question and answer portion of the event, several references are made to

“Bio-Deutsche” (as opposed to “Pass-Deutsche,” immigrants, or other minorities).

Viewers at another event were provided with pink champagne while they waited to hear Dr. Reyhan Sahin, aka Lady Bitch Ray, read from her book *Bitchism: Emanzipation, Integration, Masturbation.* Sahin has a Ph.D. in Linguistics (she wrote her dissertation on the semiotics of the Muslim headscarf) and is a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Hamburg, but is primarily known as a controversial rapper, radio host, actor, and author whose sensational, sexually provocative public persona is inevitably juxtaposed with her upbringing in a conservative Turkish guestworker family.

The Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung is handing out free copies of the German constitution. On another level of the exhibit hall, I am handed a copy of the Qur’an; elsewhere, a bible. Although I visited hundreds of exhibits, these were the only books I saw aggressively handed out to passers-by.

I do not see a single woman wearing a headscarf outside of the foreign nation exhibits until the fair is opened to the general public for the weekend.

***

The discursive space occupied by these memoirs is shaped by assumptions about the author-narrators based on their gender, class, race and apparent power in the public sphere. Because these author-narrators are women, but also visible minorities, non-native speakers of German, often isolated, and sometimes even illiterate, whose participation in the public sphere is enabled by the story of their own victimization, they are at once trustworthy and suspicious, pitiful and dangerous, oppressed and liberated. They are stereotypical stock figures and actual, individual women, a contradiction that can

illuminate tensions between the way each woman presents herself (or is presented) at different stages of the process of exposure.

These apparent contradictions illustrate the struggle faced by author-narrators and other producers of Muslim women's memoirs as they (at least claim to) attempt an authentic representation of the women's experiences: perceptions of authenticity appear to depend largely on pre-existing stereotypes among audiences and are easily shaken by demonstrations of agency or disruptions of familiar scripts on the part of author-narrators. Eva Karpinski has argued that "the possibility of immigrant autobiography seems to be premised on its ability to serve the interests of the culture it addresses" (7). At its foundation, this narrative type serves the interests of German and European culture by positing European gender roles and family dynamics as superior to those of groups marked as Muslim. Moreover, it supports Europe in its "process of becoming" a more cohesive social, cultural, and political entity by providing evidence of a common threat that spans national borders. At the same time, this narrative type contributes to the racialization of Islam and thus to idea of Europe as racially unified. These factors alone seem to show that Muslim women's memoirs should not be universally dismissed as trash or trivial literature; their importance as a catalyst for the enacting of subjectivity according to (or in explicit rejection of) specific scripts rather demands it.

At the same time, the violences entailed in the transformation of author-narrators' lived experiences to highly marketable commodities call into question the superiority of that to which they are being saved or shown to be saving themselves. The tendency among author-narrators who pursue careers as activists to speak for the victims of

violence coded as both domestic and religious is troubling. The marketing of Muslim women's memoirs fails to support their consumption by these actual victims, which, together with the tendency of activists to speak for these groups, creates an obstacle to dialogic encounters with or "speaking to" victims. Meanwhile, audiences appear to take voyeuristic pleasure in imagining themselves as (at least potential) victims of Muslim violence, even as they support a portrayal of the state as heroic.

Throughout this project, I have highlighted ways that Muslim women's memoirs and some responses to them disrupt or diverge from the familiar script of the Muslim woman victim figure. I have also shown how these author-narrators are conflated with this figure in public discourse and in the marketing and other paratexts that accompany their memoirs. Ultimately, these works and those who produce, promote, and consume them resist easy classification with regard to their impact on discourse of integration, cultural, racial, and religious minorities, and national/transnational coherence. They also resist neat conclusions.

Bibliography

Abdelhamid, Esma and Marianne Moesle. *Löwenmutter: Mein Ausbruch aus 12 Jahre Zwangsehe in Deutschland und der Kampf um meine Kinder*. Frankfurt: Kruger, 2008.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. "The Active Social Life of 'Muslim Women's Rights': A Plea for Ethnography, Not Polemic, with Cases from Egypt and Palestine." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6.1 (2010): 1–45. Web. 13 Apr. 2013.

---. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American anthropologist* 104.3 (2002): 783–790. Print.

---. "Seductions of the 'Honor Crime'." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 22.1 (2011): 17–63. Print.

---. *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1993.

Ackermann, Lea, Mary Kreutzer and Alicia Allgäuer. *In Freiheit Leben das war lange nur ein Traum: Mutige Frauen erzählen von ihrer Flucht aus Gewalt und moderner Sklaverei.* Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 2010.

Adelson, Leslie A. *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration*. Studies in European Culture and History. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Print.

Adolph, Andrea. "The Reader's Body: Reader Response and the Consuming Body in Helen Dunmore's *Talking to the Dead*." *Lit: Literature Interpretation Theory* 17.3-4 (2006): 353–377. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

Adorján, Johanna. "Sibel Kekilli im Interview: Es ist mein Leben." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* 22 Feb. 2004: 19. Print.

Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992. Print.

Ainetter, Wolfgang. "Die Geschichte der S." *NEWS* 17 June 2003: 46. Print.

---. "Sabatina: Die Nackte Wahrheit." *NEWS* 10 June 2006: 45. Print.

Akin, Fatih. *Gegen Die Wand*. 2004. Film.

"Aktionismus Nach Dem Ehrenmord." *taz, die tageszeitung* 24 Feb. 2005: Berlin Aktuell; S. 21. Print.

Aladag, Feo. *Die Fremde*. Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 2010. Film.

Albrecht, Monika. "Postcolonialism, Islam, and Contemporary Germany." *Transit* 7.1 (2011): n. pag. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Alcoff, Linda. "The Problem of Speaking for Others." *Cultural Critique* 20 (Winter 1991-92): 5-23; rpt. *Who Can Speak? Authority and Critical Identity*, ed. Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995, 97-119. Print.

Akyün, Hatice, and Alexander Smoltczyk. "Allahs rechlose Töchter: Muslimische Frauen in Deutschland - die verlorenen Töchter." *Der Spiegel* 15 Nov. 2004. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 29 Sept. 2011.

Alsleben, Thorsten. "Hübsche Konvertitin präsentiert hässlichen Islam." 4 Nov. 2011.

Web. 8 Sept. 2013.
am Orde, Sabine. “Die Ehre der Toten.” *taz, die tageszeitung* 23 Feb. 2005: Berlin Aktuell; S. 21. Print.
---. “Zehn Punkte gegen Gewalt.” *die Tageszeitung* 26 Feb. 2005: 21. Print.
“Amazon ist in Deutschland größer als bisher angenommen.” *www.buchreport.de*. 5 Feb. 2013. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.
Amirpur, Katajun. “SWR2 Wissen: Verdrängung oder Panikmache - die gegenwärtige Diskussion über Muslime in Deutschland.” *swr.online*. 28 Nov. 2006. Television.
Anders, Florentine. “Wer es hier schafft, kommt überall klar.” *Welt Online* 27 Feb. 2005. Web. 6 Sept. 2013.
Anderson, Benedict R. O. G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print.
Araghi, Verena. “Flucht Aus Der Ehehölle.” *Der Spiegel* 15 Aug. 2005. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 12 Sept. 2013.
Arat, Zehra F. *Deconstructing Images of The Turkish Woman*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000. Print.
Asad, Talal. *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press, 1973. Print.
---. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Cultural memory in the present. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003.
Ateş, Seyran. *Der Islam braucht eine sexuelle Revolution: Eine Streitschrift*. Berlin: Ullstein, 2011. Print.
---. *Der Multikulti-Irrtum: Wie wir in Deutschland besser zusammenleben können*. Berlin: Ullstein, 2008. Print.
---. *Grosse Reise ins Feuer: Die Geschichte einer deutschen Türkin*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2003. Print.
---. *Wahlheimat: Warum ich Deutschland lieben möchte*. Berlin: Ullstein, 2013. Print.
Ayla. Dir. Su Turhan. Perf. Pegah Ferydoni. Burkert Bareiss Development, 2010. Film.
“Ayse - Mich hat keiner gefragt.” *Buechereule.de*. Web. 12 Aug. 2012.
Ayşe and Renate Eder. *Mich hat keiner gefragt: Zur Ehe gezwungen: Eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt*. München: Blanvalet, 2005. Print.
---. *Mich hat keiner gefragt: Zur Ehe gezwungen: Eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt.* München: Verlagsgruppe Weltbild, 2005. Print.
Bakirdögen, A., D. Banse, and T. Laninger. “Kripo sucht Motiv für mysteriösen Mord an 23jähriger Türkin in Tempelhof.” *Welt Online* 2 Sept. 2005. Web. 26 Sept. 2013.
Bakirdögen, Ayhan. “Blumen zur Erinnerung an Hatun Sürücü.” *Die Welt* 25 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 33–47. Print.
---. “Gewalt löst keine Probleme, sie verschlimmert sie noch.” *Berliner Morgenpost* 23 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.21. Print.
---. “Religionsattaché verurteilt Ehrenmorde; Ziya Ersin: Islam ist keine Rechtfertigung - kein Verständnis für neuköllner Schüler.” *Berliner Morgenpost* 22 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.21. Print.
---. “Runder Tisch gegen Gewalt an Frauen.” *Berliner Morgenpost - Berlin*. Web. 6 Sept. 2013.
Bakirdögen, Ayhan, and Tanja Laninger. “Lebte Hatun Sürücü zu Modern?; Kripo

vermutet, daß Lebenslust des 23jährigen Mordopfers Täter provozierte." *Die Welt* 10 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 35. Print.
---. "War Hatun Sürücü zu modern?; Polizei vermutet Eifersucht oder gekränktes Ehrgefühl als Tatmotiv - 23jährige soll ihren Mörder gekannt haben." *Berliner Morgenpost* 10 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.21. Print.
Banse, Dirk. "Mordfall Sürücü: Jüngster Bruder soll als Täter ausgesucht worden sein." *Berliner Morgenpost* 18 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.22. Print.
---. "Schoß der 18jährige Bruder?; Neue Verdachtsmomente der Ermittler nach dem Mord an junger Türkin." *Die Welt* 17 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 34. Print.
---. "UN: Weltweit 5000 Opfer pro Jahr." *Die Welt* 19 Feb. 2005: Innenpolitik; 3. Print.
---. "Verdacht: Jüngster Bruder soll als Schütze ausgesucht worden sein." *Die Welt* 18 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 35. Print.
Banse, Dirk, and Tanja Laninger. "Mordmotiv: Blut für die Ehre." *Die Welt* 16 Feb. 2005. *Welt Online*. Web. 18 Sept. 2013.
Banse, Dirk, and Hendrik Schultz. "Jugendliche bejubeln Mord; Rektor der Morus-Schule droht Konsequenzen an - Brüder des Opfers Hatun Sürücü weiter in Haft." *Berliner Morgenpost* 17 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.22. Print.
Başer, Tevfik. *40 Qm Deutschland*. Arte edition. S.l.: Kinowelt Home Entertainment, 1986. Film.
Bauer, Ulrike. "Mein Mann, der Mörder meiner Tochter." *37 Grad*. ZDF, 18 Jan. 2005. Television.
Baumgartner-Karabak, Andrea, and Gisela Landesberger. *Die verkauften Bräute: Türkische Frauen zwischen Kreuzberg und Anatolien*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978. Print.
Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth. "Turkish Brides: A Look at the Immigration Debate in Germany." *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos.* Eds. Y. Michael Bodemann and Göçke Yurdakul. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. 185-194. Print.
Beckmann, Christa. "'Dokument der Verrohung'; Entsetzen und Abscheu bei Eltern und Politikern über die Billigung des Mordes an junger Türkin." *Berliner Morgenpost* 18 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.22. Print.
---. "'Integration nicht ohne die Väter'; Nach dem Mord in Neukölln: Zwei Politiker Türkischer Herkunft über die Rolle der Familie bei der Erziehung zur Demokratie." *Berliner Morgenpost* 20 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.18. Print.
---. "Özcan Mutlu: 'Alle haben versagt'." *Die Welt* (2005): Berlin; 35. Print.
Behar, Ruth. *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996. Print.
Biebl, Sabine, Verena Mund, and Heide Volkening. *Working Girls: Zur Ökonomie von Liebe und Arbeit*. Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2007. Print.
"Berliner Ehrenmord: SPD-Politiker nennt Sorgerecht der Familie für Sürücü-Sohn unvorstellbar." *Spiegel Online* 18 Apr. 2006. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 18 Sept. 2013.
Bernhard, Renate, and Sigrid Dethloff. *Iss Zucker und sprich süß – Zwangsheirat, die sogenannte Familienehre und ihre Opfer*. CouRage, 2005. Film.
"Bessere Integration Gefordert; Klaus Wowereit sieht die Politik in der Pflicht." *Die Welt* (2005): Berlin; 37. Print.

Beste, Ralf et al. “Da sträubt sich etwas.” *Der Spiegel* 10 Apr. 2004. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 27 Sept. 2013.
Beverley, John. *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. Print.
Biendarra, Anke. “Autorschaft 2.0: Mediale Selbstinszenierungen im Internet.” *Globalisierung Und Gegenwartsliteratur*. Ed. Wilhelm Amann, Georg Mein, and Rolf Parr. Heidelberg: Synchron: Wissenschaftsverlag der Autoren, 2010. Print.
Blanken, Kora. “Hilfe bei drohender Zwangsheirat - das neue Gesetz der Bundesregierung.” 25 May 2010.
Böhmecke, Myria and Marina Walz-Hildenbrand. *Im Namen der Ehre: Mishandelt, Zwangsverheiratet, Ermordet: Hilfsleitfaden für die Arbeit mit von Zwangsheirat/Gewalt im Namen der Ehre bedrohten oder betroffenen Mädchen und Frauen*, Tübingen: Terre des Femmes, 2007.
Bosch, Mineke. "Telling Stories, Creating (and Saving) Her Life. An Analysis of the Autobiography of Ayaan Hirsi Ali." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 31.2 (2008): 138. Print.
Brantner, Cornelia, Katharina Lobinger, and Irmgard Wetzstein. “Effects of Visual Framing on Emotional Responses and Evaluations of News Stories about the Gaza Conflict 2009.” *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 88.3 (2011): 523–540. Print.
Braun, Christina von, and Bettina Mathes. *Verschleierte Wirklichkeit: Die Frau, der Islam und der Westen*. Aufbau Verlag GmbH, 2007. Print.
Breashears, Caroline. “Scandalous Categories: Classifying the Memoirs of Unconventional Women*,” Philological Quarterly* 82.2 (2003): 187-212. Print.
Briggs, Charles L, and Clara Mantini-Briggs. *Stories in the Time of Cholera: Racial Profiling During a Medical Nightmare*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2003.
buchreport. “Bestseller-Archiv.” *buchreport.de*. Web. 18. May 2013.
Bund gegen Anpassung, et al. *Halbmond über Palästina - in Memoriam Hatun Sürücü. Warum wurde Ratzinger Papst? Einige Gedanken zum Mord an Theo van Gogh u.v.m*. 2005. Print.
Bunzl, Matti. “Between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Some Thoughts on the New Europe.” *American Ethnologist* 32.4 (2005): 499–508. Print.
Çağlar, Ayşe. “Mediascapes, Advertisement Industries and Cosmopolitan Transformations: German Turks in Germany,” *New German Critique*, 92, (Spring-Summer, 2004): 39-61. Print.
---. “The Prison House of Culture in the Studies of Turks in Germany,” *Sozialanthropologische Arbeitspapiere*, Nr. 31, Berlin: FU Berlin Institute für Ethnologie, 1990. Print.
Caldwell, Christopher. “Where Every Generation is First Generation,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 27 May 2007, 44-49. Print.
Cerwonka, Allaine, and Liisa H. Malkki. *Improvising Theory: Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. Print.
Chin, Rita. “Turkish Women, West German Feminists, and the Gendered Discourse on

Muslim Cultural Difference." *Public Culture* 22.3 (2010): 557–581. Print.

Çileli, Serap. "Peri e.V. unterstützt Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund bei ihrer Integration." *peri - Verein für Menschenrechte und Integration e.V*. Web. 16 Sept. 2013.

---. "Vorwort." *Mich hat keiner gefragt: Zur Ehe gezwungen: Eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt*. München: Blanvalet, 2005. Print.

---. *Wir sind eure Töchter, nicht eure Ehre*. München: Blanvalet, 2006. Print.

---. "Serap Çileli." *cileli.de*. Web. 18 Sept. 2013.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. Print.

Cohen, Stanley. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. Psychology Press, 2002. Print.

Comaroff, John L, and Jean Comaroff. *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. Print.

Deiß, Matthias, and Jo Goll. *Ehrenmord ein deutsches Schicksal*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2011. Print.

---. "So Brachte Ayhan Sürücü Seine Schwester Hatun Um." *Welt Online* 26 July 2011. *Welt Online*. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

---. "Verlorene Ehre - Der Irrweg Der Familie Sürücü." WDR & RBB, 27 July 2011. Television.

Derin, Seyhan. *Ben Annemin Kızıyım – I Am My Mother's Daughter*. München: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 1996. Film.

"Der Spitzel ist reif für die Insel." *die Presse* 14 June 2007. *Diepresse.com*.Web. 16 Sept. 2013.

Dines, Gail, and Jean M. M. Humez. *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 1995. Print.

Donato, Katharine M., et al. "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review*. 40.1 (2006): 3-26. Print.

Downing, John. *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*. SAGE, 2004. Print.

"Du hast keine Macht über mich." *Du hast keine Macht über mich Forum*. Web. *du-hast-keine-macht-ueber-mich.xobor.de* 21 Sept. 2013.

"'Ehrenmord' an Hatin Sürücü: Bundespräsident Köhler dankt couragiertem Schulleiter" (sic). *Spiegel Online* 8 Dec. 2005. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 18 Sept. 2013.

"Ehrenmorde 2004 - Aylin." *ehrenmord.de*. Web. 12 Aug. 2012.

"Ehrenmorde 2004 - Semra Uzun." *ehrenmord.de*. Web. 12 Aug. 2012.

"Ehrenmorde 2005 - Meryem Ö." *ehrenmord.de*. Web. 12 Aug. 2012.

El-Tayeb, Fatima. *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. Print.

Endres, Franz Carl. *Türkische Frauen*. Munich: A. Hertz, 1916. Print.

Erney, Hans-Georg, and Todd Kontje. "German Orientalisms." *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 59.2 (2005): 97. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Ewing, Katherine Pratt. "Between Cinema and Social Work: Diasporic Turkish Women and the (dis) Pleasures of Hybridity." *Cultural Anthropology* 21.2 (2006): 265–

294. Print.
---. *Stolen Honor: Stigmatizing Muslim Men in Berlin*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008. Print.
Falkner, Markus. "Das Schweigen hat ein Ende; Schüler der Morus-Schule haben einen Mord verharmlost." *Berliner Morgenpost* 18 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.23. Print.
---. "Rektor: 'Kollegen haben mir den Rücken gestärkt'; Mord an Türkischem Mädchen." *Berliner Morgenpost* 18 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.23. Print.
---. "Trauer um Hatun Sürücü; Interview mit Arnd-Michael Nohl." *Berliner Morgenpost* 22 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.21. Print.
Farrokhzad, Schahrzad. "Exotin, Unterdrückte und Fundamentalistin: Konstruktionen der 'fremden Frau' in deutschen Medien." *Massenmedien, Migration Und Integration : Herausforderungen Für Journalismus Und Politische Bildung*. Ed. Christoph Butterwegge & Gudrun Hentges. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006. 55-85. Print.
Fels, Thorsten. "Christsein als Todesurteil - der Leidensweg der Sabatina James." *Katholische Sonntagszeitung* 8 Oct. 2011: 1–3. Print.
Felski, Rita. "Nothing to Declare: Identity, Shame, and the Lower Middle Class." *PMLA* 115.1 (2000): 33–45. Print.
Finkelstein, Kerstin E. *"Wir haben Erfolg!": 30 muslimische Frauen in Deutschland*. Fackelträger, 2008. Print.
Fleishman, Jeffrey. "The Voice of the Oppressed." *Los Angeles Times* 26 Oct. 2005. *LA Times*. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.
Fresh, Eko. *Köln Kalk Ehrenmord*. 2011. Music Video. Web. *YouTube.com*. 8 Sept. 2013.
Gashi, Hanife, and Sylvia Rizvi. *Mein Schmerz trägt deinen Namen: ein Ehrenmord in Deutschland*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2005. Print.
Gebert, Stefanie. "Zwangsehen in Deutschland." domradio.de, 19 Dec. 2005. Television.
"Gedenken an Hatun." *taz, die tageszeitung* 23 Feb. 2005: Aktuelles; S. 2. Print.
Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973. Print.
Geets, Siobhán. "Muslimas: „Eine neue Generation wächst heran"." *Die Presse* 14 July 2012. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.
Geiling, Ursula. "Ayses Ehe: Arrangement des Schreckens." *Mathilde* Feb. 2006: n. pag. *Mathilde.de.* Web. 8 Sept. 2013.
Genette, Gerard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge University Press, 1997. Print.
Genette, Gérard, and Marie Maclean. "Introduction to the Paratext." *New Literary History* 22.2 (1991): 261–272. Print.
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *West-östlicher Divan*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lesering, n.d.
Goettinger Stadtinfo. "Interkulturelle Woche 2005." *GoeSt.de*. Web. 8 Feb. 2013.
Gokberk, Ulker. "Culture Studies und die Turken: Sten Nadolnys Selim oder die Gabe der Rede im Lichte einer Methodendiskussion." *The German Quarterly*. 70.2 (1997): 97. Print.
Göktürk, Deniz. "Beyond Paternalism: Turkish German Traffic in Cinema," *The German*

Cinema Book, ed. Tim Bergfelder, Erica Carter, and Deniz Göktürk, London: The British Film Institute, St. Edmundsbury Press, 2002. Print.

Göktürk, Deniz, David Gramling, and Anton Kaes. *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. Print.

Gooze, Marjanne E. "The Definitions of Self and Form in Feminist Autobiography Theory" *Women's Studies* 21 (1992): 411-429. Print.

Gould, David L. *Two Sides of the Moon*. Mysweetlord Entertainment, 2011. Film.

---. "Two Sides of the Moon." *twosidesofthemoon.com*. Web. 2 Jan. 2013.

Graham-Brown, Sarah. *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. Print.

Gray, Jonathan. *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media Paratexts*. New York: New York University Press, 2010. Print.

Greve, Martin et al. *Berlin Deutsch-Türkisch: Einblicke in die neue Vielfalt*. Berlin: Der Beauftragte des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration, 2008. Print.

Groys, B. "The Border Between Word and Image." *Theory, Culture & Society* 28.2 (2011): 94–108. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.

Gür, Metin. *Meine fremde Heimat: türkische Arbeiterfamilien in der BRD*. Cologne: Weltkreis, 1987. Print.

Hauke, Frank, Ulrike Plewnia, and Britta Weddeling. "Verbrechen: Eine Frage der Ehre - Deutschland." *FOCUS* 28 Feb. 2005. Web. 26 Sept. 2013.

"Haus unterm Regenbogen - Programm - Ayşe." *Haus-unterm-Regenbogen.de.* Web. 25 Oct. 2012.

Hausen, Karin. "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere': eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas: Neue Forschungen*, ed. Werner Conze, Stuttgart: Klett: 1976, 363-393. Print.

Hirsch, Marriane. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory.* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1997. Print.

Holzer, Kerstin, and Kayhan Özgenc. "Deutschland: „Alibi für Unterdrückung"." *FOCUS Online* 29 Nov. 2004. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

Hübner, Irene. *"--wie eine zweite Haut" : Ausländerinnen in Deutschland*. Weinheim: Beltz, 1985. Print.

Huyssen, Andreas. "Diaspora and Nation: Migration into Other Pasts." *New German Critique*.88 (2003): 147. Print.

Ilgen, Katharina. 'Tränenhochzeit' von Sabatina James. 27 July 2012. E-mail.

Inowlocki, Lena, and Helma Lutz. "Hard Labour: The 'Biographical Work' of a Turkish Migrant Woman in Germany," *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 7.3 (2000): 301-319. Print.

James, Sabatina. *Vom Islam zum Christentum: Ein Todesurteil.* St. Andrä-Wördern: Verlag Kleindienst, 2003. Print.

---. *Sterben sollst du für dein Glück: gefangen zwischen zwei Welten*. München: Knaur-Taschenbuch, 2004. Print.

Joa, Norbert. "Sabatina James Spricht Klartext." *Eins zu Eins - der Talk*. 24 Jan. 2012. Television.

Kaddor, Lamya. *Muslimisch weiblich deutsch!: mein Weg zu einem zeitgemäßen Islam.* München: dtv, 2011. Print.

Kalimi, Isaac, and Peter J. Haas. *Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Christianity*. Continuum, 2006. Print.

Kalkan, Hülya. *Ich wollte nur frei sein: meine Flucht vor der Zwangsehe*. Berlin: Ullstein, 2006. Print.

Karpinski, Eva C. "Negotiating the Self: Eva Hoffman's Lost in Translation and the Question of Immigrant Autobiography." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28.1 (1996): 127. Print.

Kelek, Necla. *Die fremde Braut: Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland.* München: Goldmann Verlag, 2006.

---. "Eure Toleranz bringt uns in Gefahr." *Welt Online* 26 Feb. 2005. Web. 6 Sept. 2013.

Keseling, Uta. "Im Namen der Ehre; in Berlin wird eine junge Türkin erschossen, offenbar weil ihren Brüdern ihr westlicher Lebenswandel mißfällt. Moslemische Jugendliche begrüßen die Tat offen: Das Opfer habe sich benommen wie eine Deutsche." *Die Welt* 19 Feb. 2005: Innenpolitik; 3. Print.

Khouri, Norma. *Forbidden Love*. London; New York: Doubleday, 2003. Print.

Klimek, Peter, Werner Bayer, and Stefan Thurner. "The Blogosphere as an Excitable Social Medium: Richter's and Omori's Law in Media Coverage." *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and its Applications* 390.21-22 (2011): 3870–3875. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Köhler, Regina. "'Schule hat viel zu wenig Einfluß'; Lehrer und Grüne plädieren für eigenständigen Werte- und Ethikunterricht." *Die Welt* 19 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 34. Print.

Köhne, Gunnar. "Kadriyes Tod: Eine Familie aus Diyarbakir hat ihre Ehre wieder, aber eine Tochter verloren." *Gesichter Europas*. Deutschlandradio, 20 Nov. 2004. Television.

Korkmaz, Aylin. "Aylin Korkmaz im Gespräch über 'Ehre'," Interview with Terre des Femmes, *TDF Zwangsheirat Newsletter* 1/10, (2010). *www.zwangsheirat.de*. Web. 9 Sept. 2013.

Kontje, Todd Curtis. *German Orientalisms*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004. Print.

Korteweg, Anna and Yurdakul, Gökçe. "Islam, gender, and immigrant integration: boundary drawing in discourses on honour killing in the Netherlands and Germany," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32: 2 (2009): 218-238. Print.

Kosnick, Kira. *Migrant Media: Turkish Broadcasting and Multicultural Politics in Berlin*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007. Print.

Kratz, Corinne A. "On Telling/Selling a Book by Its Cover." *Cultural Anthropology* 9.2 (1994): 179–200.

"Krone Chat-Output 1." *Krone.at*. 23 June 2003. Web. 12 April 2011.

"Krone Chat-Output 2." *Krone.at*. 25 June 2003. Web. 12 April 2011.

"Kundenbewertungen: Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt." *buecher.de*. Web. 15 Sept. 2013.

"Kundenrezensionen: Mich Hat Keiner Gefragt. Zur Ehe Gezwungen - Eine Türkin in Deutschland Erzählt." *amazon.de*. Web. 15 Sept. 2013.

"Kundenrezensionen: Sterben sollst du für dein Glück: Gefangen zwischen zwei Welten." *amazon.de*. Web. 12 Sept. 2012.

Kunz, Thomas. "When Ayse Goes Pop: Das Medium Jugendzeitschrift als Ort stereotyper genderspezifischer Fremdheits-und Eigenbilder." *MedienImpulse: Beiträge zur Medienpädagogik* 2 (2010): 1–15. Print.

Ham, Murat. "Kurz und kritisch - Matthias Deiß, Jo Goll, 'Ehrenmord.'" *Deutschlandradio.* 30 Oct. 2011: Kultur. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

Laninger, Tanja. "'Menschenrechte gehören uns allen'; 120 Besucher bei Trauerkundgebung für Hatun Sürücü am Tatort in der Tempelhofer Bärensiedlung." *Die Welt* 23 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 35. Print.

---. "Plädoyer Für Menschenrechte; 120 Besucher bei Trauerkundgebung für Hatun Sürücü am Tatort in Tempelhof." *Berliner Morgenpost* 23 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.21. Print.

Lau, Jörg. "'Wie eine Deutsche'." *Die Zeit* 24 Feb. 2005. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

---. "Kriminalität: Kulturbedingte 'Ehrenmorde'." *Die Zeit* 3 Mar. 2005. Web. 18 Sept. 2013.

Leavitt, Jonathan D., and Nicholas J. S. Christenfeld. "Story Spoilers Don't Spoil Stories." *Psychological Science* (2011): 1152–1154. Web. 16 Sept. 2013.

Leidig, Michael. "Falco, Klammer and Kampusch and the Man That Nobody Knows." *Austrian Times* 22 June 2010. Web. 16 Sept. 2012.

Leila. *Zur Ehe gezwungen.* Germany: Droemer/Knaur, 2007. Print.

Leonowens, Anna Harriette. *The Romance of the Harem*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1873. Print.

Lesben- und Schwulenverband Berlin-Brandenburg. "Gedenken an Hatun Sürüçü - Politik Und Zivilgesellschaft Setzen Zeichen Für Freiheit Und Selbstbestimmung." *berlin.lsvd.com*. Web. 28 Jan. 2013.

Leslie McCall. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs* 30.3 (2005): 1771–1800.

Leutgeb, Rupert, and Mukul Rajpal. *Jede Lebensgeschichte ist ein Buch wert: ein Leitfaden, wie Sie über Lebenserinnerungen und Erlebnisse ein Buch schreiben können*. Vienna: Cool & Culture, 2004. Print.

Liu, Bing. *Sentiment Analysis and Opinion Mining*. San Rafael, Calif: Morgan & Claypool, 2012. Print.

Lola Und Bilidikid. Dir. Kutlug Ataman. Absolutmedien, 2002. Film.

"Lost Honour - Prix Europa Jury Citation." *Europenews.dk*. 31 Oct. 2011. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

Mahler, S. J., and P. R. Pessar. "Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender across Transnational Spaces." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*. 7 (2001): 441-460. Print.

"'Man kann von einer Art Hinrichtung sprechen'; im Fall der am Montag ermordeten Hatun S. hat die Polizei noch keine Hinweise auf einen möglichen Täter. Spekulationen über Ehrenmord bezeichnet die Polizei als Stimmungsmache." *taz, die tageszeitung* 10 Feb. 2005: Berliner Thema; S. 20. Print.

Mandel, Ruth Ellen. *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. Print.

Mani, B. Venkat. *Cosmopolitical Claims: Turkish-German Literatures from Nadolny to Pamuk*. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2007. Print.

---. "Rehearsing Acquired Privileges: The Nonnative Informant and Didactics of Difference." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*. 8.2-3 (2009): 144-158. Print.

Massumi, Brian. "Navigating Moments: A Conversation with Brian Massumi." *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*. New York: Routledge, 2003. 210.

Matthes, Frauke. "Islam in the West: Perceptions and Self-Perceptions of Muslims in Navid Kermani's Kurzmitteilung1." *German Life and Letters* 64.2 (2011): 305–316. Print.

Matussek, Matthias. "Religion: Das Model Gottes." *Der Spiegel* 17 Dec. 2011. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 16 Sept. 2013.

Maurer, Renate. "Hinter Mauern und Schleiern - Bücher der Anklage von deutsch-türkischen Autorinnen" *Deutschlandradio Kultur*. Web. *Dradio.de* 8 Sept. 2013.

Mayer, Verena. "Buchkritik 'Ehrenmord - Ein deutsches Schicksal': Aus der Parallelgesellschaft." *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 30 Aug. 2011. *Sueddeutsche.de*. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Mazali, Tatiana. "Social Media as a New Public Sphere." *Leonardo* 44.3 (2011): 290–291. Print.

"Medien: Prix Europa Für ARD-Doku Über «Ehrenmord»." *Die Zeit*. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

"Medienpreis 2012 – Die Gewinner." *Coburger-medienpreis.de*. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

Mernissi, Fatima. *Beyond the Veil: Male-female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987. Print.

---. *Geschlecht, Ideologie, Islam*. Munich: Verlag Antje Kunstmann, 1991. Print.

Milani, Farzaneh. "On Women's Captivity in the Islamic World." *Middle East Report* 246 (2008): 40–46. Print.

Mommsen, Katherina. "Goethe and the Arab World." *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* XIX (1965): 77–92. Print.

Monheim, Gert. "'Sie hat sich benommen wie eine Deutsche...': Mord im Namen der Ehre?" *story*. WDR/ARD, 22 Sept. 2005. Television.

Montagu, Mary Wortley. *Turkish Embassy Letters*. London: Virago Press, 1994. Print.

Moore, Donald S. *Suffering for Territory: Race, Place, and Power in Zimbabwe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. Print.

Morokvasic, Mirjana. "Birds of Passage are also Women," *International Migration Review* 18.4 (1984): 886-907. Print.

Muhsen, Zana, and Andrew Crofts. *Verschleppt im Jemen: Die verzweifelte Suche nach meiner Schwester Nadja*. München: Heyne, 2005. Print.

Mukherjee, Arjun, Bing Liu, and Natalie Glace. "Spotting Fake Reviewer Groups in Consumer Reviews." Lyon, France: International World Wide Web Conference (WWW-2012), 2012. Web. http://www.cs.uic.edu/~liub. 8 Sept. 2013.

Mai, Mukhtar & Marie-Therese Cuny. *Die Schuld, eine Frau zu sein.* Augsburg: Droemer/Knaur, 2007. Print.

Musharbash, Yassin. "Ehrenmord-Prozess: 'Man Lebte in Kreuzberg, Aber Wohl Nicht in Deutschland'." *Der Spiegel* 13 Apr. 2006. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 17 June 2013.

Mussler, Werner. "EU-Osterweiterung: Die Wohlstandsunterschiede nehmen zu." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 4 Jan. 2004: 17. Print.

Novalis. *Heinrich von Ofterdingen: ein Roman*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1982. *Open WorldCat*. Web.

Novel, Ariane. Anfrage aus dem Kontaktformular - Sonstiges. 25 Jan. 2012. E-mail.

Oguntoye, Katharina, May Ayim, and Dagmar Schultz. *Farbe Bekennen: Afro-deutsche Frauen Auf Den Spuren Ihrer Geschichte*. Frau in der Gesellschaft. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1992. Print.

Oser, Thomas. "Buchtrends: Allahs Töchter begehren auf." *FOCUS Online* 4 July 2005. Web. 24 Sept. 2012.

Ören, Aras, and Gisela Kraft. *Die Fremde ist auch ein Haus: Berlin-poem*. Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1980. Print.

Ören, Aras, and Peter Schneider. *Leyla und Medjnun: Märchen für Musik*. Berlin: Babel Verlag, 1992. Print.

Özakın, Aysel. *Der fliegende Teppich: Auf der Spur meines Vaters*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1987. Print.

Özakın, Aysel. *Die Leidenschaft der Anderen: Roman*. Hamburg: Luchterhand, 1992. Print

Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. "Meine deutschen Wörter haben keine Kindheit: Eine Dankrede," *Der Hof im Spiegel: Erzählungen,* Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2001, 125-132. Print.

Özdamar, Emine Sevgi. *Mutterzunge: Erzählungen*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1998. Print.

Özdamar, Emine S. *Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei: Hat zwei Türen, aus einer kam ich rein, aus der anderen ging ich raus*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1992. Print.

Özdamar, Emine S. *Die Brücke vom goldenen Horn: Roman*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1998. Print.

Pazargadi, Leila. "Marketing 'Honor Killing' Memoirs: Confronting Western Depictions of Muslim Women." *Thinking Gender Papers, UCLA Center for the Study of Women* (2010): n. pag. Web. 20 Sept. 2013.

Personal Narratives Group. *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989. Print.

Plewnia, Ulrike. "INTEGRATION: Die ihr Leben riskieren - Neuheiten." *FOCUS* 25 July 2005. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Pratt, Mary Louise. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Negotiating Academic Literacies* (1998): 171–185. Print.

---. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London; New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

"PRIX EUROPA Medienpreise: Fünf Auszeichnungen gehen nach Deutschland." *Presseportal.de*. Web. 12 Feb. 2013.

Raabe, Margarete. “Zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Muslimische Frauen.” *Berliner Morgenpost* 18 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.22. Print.

Radway, Janice. *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. Print.

Rectanus, Mark. "The Politics of Multicultural Promotion." *New German Critique* (Spring - Summer 2004): 141-158. Print.

Reichert, Martin. “Wenn das Familiengericht tagt: Das Phänomen der Ehrenmorde hat man in Deutschland zu lange ignoriert.” *taz, die tageszeitung* 22 Feb. 2005: tazzwei; S. 13. Print.

Reimann, Anna. “Anwältin Seyran Ates: ‘Ich wollte nicht enden wie Hirsi Ali’.” *Der Spiegel* 9 June 2006. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Rennefanz, Sabine. “Eine Tagung über das Image des Islams in den Medien: Bio-Deutsche in der Parallelgesellschaft.” *Berliner Zeitung* 29 Feb. 2008. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

Richter, Michael, Cengiz Yağlı, and Dilek Zaptcioğlu. *Gekommen und Geblieben: Deutsch-türkische Lebensgeschichten*. Hamburg: Edition Körber-Stiftung, 2003. Print.

Robben, Antonius C.G.M. and Carolyn Nordstrom. “The Anthropology and Ethnography of Violence and Sociopolitical Conflict,” *Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival*, ed. Carolyn Nordstrom and Antonius C.G.M. Robben, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995, 1-23. Print.

Rosen, Rita. “*…Muss kommen, aber nix von Herzen” Zur Lebenssituation von Migrantinnen.* Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1986. Print.

Rottmann, S. B., and M. M. Ferree. “Citizenship and Intersectionality: German Feminist Debates About Headscarf and Antidiscrimination Laws.” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 15.4 (2008): 481–513. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

“Sabatina - Gästebuch.” *sabatina.at*. Web. 11 Aug. 2003.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978. Print.

Sanders-Brahms, Helma. *Shirins Hochzeit*. Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1975. Film.

Sawallisch, PH., and J. Noack. “Gedenken an Hatun Sürücu: Hatun Sürücü als Mahnung.” *die tageszeitung* 7 Feb. 2005. *taz.de*. Web. 26 Sept. 2013.

Scheffer, Paul. "Das Schweigen der Muslime." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 9 Nov. 2004, Feuilleton: 40. Print.

Scheinhardt, Saliha. *Drei Zypressen: Erzählungen über türkische Frauen in Deutschland*. Herder Spektrum. Freiburg: Herder, 1992. Print.

Scheinhardt, Saliha. *Frauen, die sterben, ohne dass sie gelebt hätten*. Berlin: EXpress, 1983. Print.

Scheufele, Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. “Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models.” *Journal of Communication* 57.1 (2007): 9–20. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.

Schießl, Michaela, and Caroline Schmidt. "Augen fest verschlossen." *Der Spiegel* 15 Nov. 2004. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 20 Sept. 2013.

Schiffauer, Werner. *Die Gewalt der Ehre: Erklärungen zu einem deutsch-türkischen Sexualkonflikt*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983. Print.

Schiffauer, Werner. "Die Türken, ein deutscher Glücksfall." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* 28 Nov. 2004. Feuilleton: 31. Print.

Schiller, Nina G. "Pathways of migrant incorporation in Germany," *Max Plank Institute for Social Anthropology: Report* (2002-2003): 31-52. Print.

Schimmel, Annemarie. *My Soul Is a Woman: The Feminine in Islam*. New York: Continuum, 1997. Print.

Schloemann, Johan. "Die Muslima als Sklavin" *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 23 May 2009, Feuilleton.

Schmidt-Stölting, Christina, Eva Blömeke, and Michel Clement. "Success Drivers of Fiction Books: An Empirical Analysis of Hardcover and Paperback Editions in Germany." *Journal of Media Economics* 24.1 (2011): 24–47. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.

Schmitt, Cosima. "'Oft erziehen Frauen zum Ehrenmord'; anstatt strengerer Gesetze gegen die Täter brauchen wir ein Umdenken der islamischen Mütter, sagt die Expertin der SPD, Lale Akgün. Denn diese Frauen haben das Denken ihrer Männer verinnerlicht und geben es an ihre Kinder weiter." *taz, die tageszeitung* (2005): Inland; S. 6. Print.

Schneider-Özbek, Katrin. "(Liebes)Kampf der Kulturen und wortgewaltige Verzauberung: Interkulturalität in den autobiographischen Romanen von Natascha Wodin und Ilma Rakusa." *andererseits* 2.1 (2011): n. pag.

Schneidt, Katja. *Befreiung vom Schleier wie ich mich von meinem türkischen Freund und aus der islamischen Parallelwelt lösen konnte*. München: mvg-Verl., 2013. Print.

---. *Gefangen in Deutschland: Wie mich mein türkischer Freund in eine islamische Parallelwelt entführte*. Bastei Lübbe, 2013. Print.

---. "Katja Schneidt." *katjaschneidt.de*. Web. 10 April 2011.

"Schüler heißen Mord gut - Konsequenzen angedroht." *Die Welt* 17 Feb. 2005: Berlin; 34. Print.

Schwarzbeck, Martin, and Michael Pöppl. "Faszination der Abgründe: Ehrenmord." *Zitty Berlin* 11 Aug. 2011. Web. 12 June 2012.

Seils, Christoph. "Morde im Namen der Ehre entsetzen Berlin; türkischstämmige Frau wurde offenbar von ihren Brüdern erschossen, weil sie aus der Familie ausgebrochen war." *Frankfurter Rundschau* 23 Feb. 2005: Nachrichten; 4. Print.

Şenocak, Zafer and Leslie A. Adelson. *Atlas of a Tropical Germany: Essays on Politics and Culture, 1990-1998*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. Print.

Şenocak, Zafer. *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*. Munich: Babel Verlag, 1998. Print.

Seyhan, Azade. "Is Orientalism in Retreat or in for a New Treat? Halide Edip Adivar and

Emine
Sevgi Ozdamar Write Back." *Seminar*. 41.3 (2005): 209. Print.
---. *Writing Outside the Nation*. Translation/transnation. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001. Print.
Sezgin, Hilal. “Integrationsdebatte - warum wir so wenig über Sibel, Dilek und Mihriban wissen. Ein Plädoyer für mehr Ehrlichkeit in der Integrationsdebatte.” *Böll.Thema* 22 Feb. 2006: 10–11. Print.
Shafak, Elif. “Women Writers, Islam, and the Ghost of Zulaikha.” *Words Without Borders*. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.
“Shareholders - Verlagsgruppe Weltbild.” *Weltbild.com*. Web. 30 Nov. 2012.
Shariff, Samia, and Monika Buchgeister. *Der Schleier der Angst: Sie lebte in der Hölle bis die Angst vor dem Leben größer war als die Angst vor dem Tod*. Köln: Bastei Lübbe, 2010. Print.
Sieg, K. “Black Virgins: Sexuality and the Democratic Body in Europe.” *New German Critique* 37.1 109 (2010): 147–185. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.
Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. “Introduction: Situating Subjectivity in Women’s Autobiographical Practices,” *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*. Wisconsin studies in American autobiography. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, 3-43.
---. *Reading Autobiography: a guide for interpreting narratives.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. Print.
Smith, Sidonie. “Construing Truths in Lying Mouths: Truthtelling in Women’s Autobiography,” *Women and Autobiography*. Ed. Martine W. Brownley and Allison B. Kimmich. Worlds of women, no. 5. Wilmington, Del: SR Books, 1999, 145-163. Print.
---. “Performativity, Autobiographical Practice, Resistance.” *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*. Wisconsin studies in American autobiography. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, 108-114.
Soliman, Tina. “Zur Heirat verurteilt.” *37 Grad*. ZDF, 25 May 2010. Television.
Souad, and Marie-Thérèse Cuny. *Bei lebendigem Leib*. München: Blanvalet, 2005. Print.
Spielhaus, Riem. “Media Making Muslims: The Construction of a Muslim Community in Germany through Media Debate.” *Contemporary Islam* 4.1 (2010): 11–27.
---. “Religion und Identität.” *Internationale Politik* (2006): 28–37. Print.
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. “History,” *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 218-310. Print.
---. *Other Asias*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2008. Print.
Spivak, Gayatri C, and Rosalind C. Morris. *Can the Subaltern Speak?Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
Stanitzek, Georg. “Texts and Paratexts in Media.” *Critical Inquiry* 32.1 (2005): 27–42. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.
Steinvorth, Daniel. “Turkey’s Faltering Reform Drive: Erdogan Striking Nationalist Tones.” *Der Spiegel* 12 Sept. 2008. *Spiegel Online*. Web. 27 Sept. 2013.
Stepchenkova, S., A. P. Kirilenko, and A. M. Morrison. “Facilitating Content Analysis in

Tourism Research." *Journal of Travel Research* 47.4 (2008): 454–469. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.
Stienen, Inga. *Leben zwischen zwei Welten: Türkische Frauen in Deutschland*. Berlin: Ullstein/Quadriga, 1994. Print.
Stoldt, Till. "Die War Halt Zu Deutsch." *Welt am Sonntag* 20 Feb. 2005: Die Welt am Wochenende; 14. Print.
Stolcke, Verena. "Talking Culture: New Boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe. With CA Comment." *Current Anthropology.* 36.1 (1995): 1-24. Print.
Streitfeld, David. "Fake Reviews, Real Problem." *New York Times* 10 Sept. 2012. *NYTimes.com*. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.
---. "Book Reviewers for Hire Meet a Demand for Online Raves." *New York Times* 25 Aug. 2012. *NYTimes.com*. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.
---. "For $2 a Star, a Retailer Gets 5-Star Reviews." *New York Times* 26 Jan. 2012. *NYTimes.com*. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.
Stowasser, Barbara F. *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.
Sürücü, Ayhan. Letter #1 to David Gould. 29 Aug. 2007. *Twosidesofthemoon.com*. Web. 13. Sept. 2013.
---. Letter #2 to David Gould. 26 Sept. 2007. *Twosidesofthemoon.com*. Web. 13. Sept. 2013.
---. Letter #3 to David Gould. 15 Apr. 2008. *Twosidesofthemoon.com*. Web. 13. Sept. 2013.
---. Letter to Rhea Wessel. 1 Sept. 2007. *Honorenforced.com*. Web. 13. Sept. 2013.
Tackabery, Michelle Kidd. "Defining Glossaries." *Technical Communication* 52.4 (2005): 427+. Print.
Taylor, Thérèse. "Truth, History, and Honor Killing - A Review of Burned Alive." *Antiwar.com.* 2 May 2005. Web. 12 Sept. 2013.
Tekinay, Alev. *Die Deutschprüfung: Erzählungen*. Literarisches programm, 12. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 1989. Print.
Teraoka, Arlene. "Talking "Turk": On Narrative Strategies and Cultural Stereotypes," *New German Critique*, No. 46, Special Issue on Minorities in German Culture (Winter1989), pp. 104-128. Print.
---. "Turks as Subjects: The Ethnographic Novels of Paul Geiersbach." *Culture/Contexture: Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*. Ed. E. Valentine Daniel and Jeffrey M. Peck. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996. 195-213. Print.
Tertilt, Hermann. *Turkish Power Boys: Ethnographie einer Jugendbande.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1996. Print.
Terre des Femmes. "Begriffsdefintionen." *Ehrverbrechen.de.* Web. 12 Sept. 2012.
---. "Zwangsheirat.de - Fachkräfteportal." *info.zwangsheirat.de*. Web. 23 Aug. 2013.
Thurlow, Crispin, and Adam Jaworski. "Tourism Discourse: Languages and Banal Globalization." *Applied Linguistics Review* 2 (2011): 285–312. Print.
Topçu, Canan. "Bücher von und über Muslima: In zwei Welten lebend." 11 Jan. 2011. *fr-online.de*. Web. 8 Sept. 2013.

“Türkischer Bund: Diskriminierung von Frauen Ächten.” *Berliner Morgenpost - Berlin*. Web. 6 Sept. 2013.

Türkisch Für Anfänger. Perf. Adnan Maral, Elyas M'Barek, Pegah Ferydoni. Universum Film, Das Erste, 2009. DVD.

“Übersicht: Verlorene Ehre - Der Irrweg Der Familie Sürücü.” *3sat.de*. Feb. 2012.

Ünal, Ali. *The Qur’an with Annotated Interpretation in Modern English*. Somerset, N.J.: Tughra Books, 2008. Print.

Verlagsgruppe Weltbild GmbH. “About Us - Verlagsgruppe Weltbild.” *weltbild.com*. Web. 30 Nov. 2012.

Vinson, Pauline Homsi. "Shahrazadian Gestures in Arab Women's Autobiographies: Political History, Personal Memory, and Oral, Matrilineal Narratives in the Works of Nawal El Saadawi and Leila Ahmed." *NWSA Journal*. 20.1 (2008): 78-98. Print.

van Bommel, Wil. *Der Tod von Hatun Sürücü: die Ehre wurde ermordet*. Berlin: Bommel Verlag, 2009. Print.

von Dirke, Sabine. “Multikulti: The German Debate on Multiculturalism,” *German Studies Review*, 17.3 (Oct. 1994): 513-536. Print.

von Krause, Juliane. “Stadt Informiert - Lesung 18.11.05 Terre Des Femmes.” *Ari Dergisi* Nov. 2005. Web. 12 Sept. 2013.

“Vorstand - Sabatina e.V.” *Sabatina-ev.de.* Web. 14 Dec. 2011.

Walther, Wiebke. *Women in Islam*. Princeton: M. Wiener Pub., 1993. Print.

Warhol-Down, Robyn, and Herndl D. Price. *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1991. Print.

Warner, Chantelle. *The Pragmatics of Literary Testimony: Authenticity Effects in German Social Autobiographies*. New York: Routledge, 2012. Print.

“Was ist Ehre? Schüler diskutieren über den Mord an Hatun Sürücü.” *Berliner Morgenpost - Berlin*. Web. 6 Sept. 2013.

“Was läuft in Berlin falsch bei der Integration von Muslimen?” *Berliner Morgenpost - Berlin*. Web. 6 Sept. 2013.

Weber, Beverly M. “Freedom from Violence, Freedom to Make the World: Muslim Women’s Memoirs, Gendered Violence, and Voices for Change in Germany.” *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature & Culture* 25.1 (2009): 199–222. Print.

---. “Hijab Martyrdom, Headscarf Debates: Rethinking Violence, Secularism, and Islam in Germany.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 32.1 (2012): 102–115. Print.

---. *Violence and Gender in the “New” Europe: Islam in German Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Print. Weismantel, Mary J. *Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. Women in Culture and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. Print.

“Weltbild Reader – Bestseller zum Weltbild Preis” *Weltbild.at.* Web. March 18 2009.

Welty, Ute. “Interview mit Matthias Deiß zur Zwangsheirat in Deutschland.” *tagesschau.de* 11 Sept. 2011. Web. 10 Sept. 2013.

Wessel, Rhea, and Gunther Kohn. "Honor, Enforced." *honorenforced.com*. Web. 20 Sept. 2013.

Wildt, Carolin. *Ehrenmorde in Deutschland: Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der Ermordung Hatun Sürücüs*. Munich: Grin Verlag, 2009. Print.

Wolbert, Barbara. "Migration und Biographie – eine Vorgeschichte." *Der getötete Paß: Rückkehr in die Türkei – eine ethnologische Migrationsstudie.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995. Print.

Wolf, Margery. *A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press, 1992. Print.

"Wowereit fordert verstärkte Integration." *Berliner Morgenpost* 22 Feb. 2005: Stadtleben; S.21. Print.

Wrege, Henriette. "Todesursache: Ehrenmord." *DW.DE* 18 Mar. 2004. Web. 27 Sept. 2013.

Y, Inci. *Erstickt an euren Lügen: eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt*. München: Piper, 2005. Print.

---. *Erzähl mir nix von Unterschicht die Geschichte einer Türkin in Deutschland*. München; Zürich: Piper, 2009. Print.

Yeşilada, Karin. "Die geschundene Suleika: Das Eigenbild der Türken in der deutschsprachigen Literatur türkischer Autorinnen." *Pera-Blätter, Orient Institut Istanbul* (2000): n. pag. Print.

Yildiz, Erol. "Stigmatisierende Mediendiskurse in Der Kosmopolitanen Einwanderungsgesellschaft." *Massenmedien, Migration Und Integration : Herausforderungen Für Journalismus Und Politische Bildung*. Ed. Christoph Butterwegge & Gudrun Hentges. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006. 37–54. Print.

Yildiz, Yasemin. "Governing European Subjects: Tolerance and Guilt in the Discourse of 'Muslim Women'." *Cultural Critique* 77 (2011): 70–101.

---. "Turkish Girls, Allah's Daughters, and the Contemporary German Subject: Itinerary of a Figure1." *German Life and Letters* 62.4 (2009): 465–481. Print.

Young, Lori, and Stuart Soroka. "Affective News: The Automated Coding of Sentiment in Political Texts." *Political Communication* 29.2 (2012): 205–231. *CrossRef*. Web. 13 Sept. 2013.

"YouTube - Serap Cileli." *YouTube*. Web. 26 Sept. 2013.

Zaimoglu, Feridun, and Günter Senkel. *Schwarze Jungfrauen*. Berlin: Friedrich Berlin Verlag, 2006. Print.

---. *Schwarze Jungfrauen*. Theater performance. Hebbel am Ufer 3, Berlin, 3 March 2007.

---, Maren Eggert, Leonhard Koppelmann. *Schwarze Jungfrauen: Hörspiel*. Kultur // NDR. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2008. Sound recording.

Zournazi, Mary. *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*. Psychology Press, 2002. Print.

Appendix of Muslim Women's Memoirs

Abdelhamid, Esma and Marianne Moesle. *Löwenmutter: Mein Ausbruch aus 12 Jahre Zwangsehe in Deutschland und der Kampf um meine Kinder*. Frankfurt: Kruger, 2008.

Ackermann, Lea, Mary Kreutzer and Alicia Allgäuer. *In Freiheit Leben das war lange nur ein Traum: Mutige Frauen erzählen von ihrer Flucht aus Gewalt und moderner Sklaverei.* Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 2010.

Apfeld, Nourig. *Ich bin Zeugin: des Ehrenmords an meiner Schwester*. Reinbeck: Wunderlich, 2010.

Ateş, Seyran. *Grosse Reise ins Feuer: die Geschichte einer deutschen Türkin.* Berlin: Rowolt Verlag, 2003.
—. *Grosse Reise ins Feuer: die Geschichte einer deutschen Türkin.* Berlin: Rowolt Verlag, 2006.

Ayşe (pseudonym) & Renate Eder. *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen - eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt.* Munich: Verlagsgruppe Weltbild, 2005.
—. *Mich hat keiner gefragt: zur Ehe gezwungen - eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt.* Munich: Blanvalet Verlag, 2005.

B. Fatma. *Hennamond*. Ullstein Taschenbuch, 2001.

Çileli, Serap. *Wir sind eure Töchter, nicht eure Ehre.* Michelstadt: Neuthor Verlag, 2002. & Munich: Blanvalet Verlag, 2005.
--. *Eure Ehre – unser Leid: Ich kämpfe gegen Zwangsehe und Ehrenmord*. Munich: Blanvalet Verlag, 2010.

Gashi, Hanife with Sylvia Rizvi. *Mein Schmerz trägt deinen Namen: Ein Ehrenmord in Deutschland.* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rororo Taschenbuch, 2005.

James, Sabatina. *Sabatina: Vom Islam zum Christentum: ein Todesurteil.* St. Andrä-Wördern: Verlag Kleindienst, 2003.
--. *Sterben sollst du für dein Glück: Gefangen zwischen zwei Welten.* Munich: Knaur Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004.
--. James, Sabatina, and Regina Carstensen. *Nur die Wahrheit macht uns frei: mein Leben zwischen Islam und Christentum*. München: Pattloch, 2011. Print.

Kalkan, Hülya. *Ich wollte nur frei sein: Meine Flucht vor der Zwangsehe.* Berlin: Ullstein Taschenbuch, 2006.

Kelek, Necla. *Die fremde Braut: Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland.* Munich: Goldmann Verlag, 2006.

Leila. *Zur Ehe gezwungen*. Germany: Droemer/Knaur, 2007.

Mai, Mukhtar & Marie-Therese Cuny. *Die Schuld, eine Frau zu sein.* Augsburg: Droemer/Knaur, 2007.

Schneidt, Katja. *Gefangen in Deutschland: Wie mich mein türkischer Freund in eine islamische Parallelwelt entführte*. Munich: mvg Verlag, 2011.
--. *Befreiung vom Schleier: Wie ich mich von meinem türkischen Freund und aus der islamischen Parallelwelt lösen konnte.* Munich: mvg Verlag, 2013.

Shariff, Samia. *Der Schleier der Angst: Sie lebte in der Hölle bis die Angst vor dem Leben größer war als die Angst vor dem Tod.* Trans. Monica Buchgeister. Cologne: Bastei Verlag, 2010.

Souad & Marie-Therese Cuny, Anja Lazarowicz. *Bei lebendigem Leib*. Munich: Blanvalet Verlag, 2004.

Wagner, Heike. *Gefangen im geliebten Land: Meine ägyptischen Jahre.* Ullstein Taschenbuch, 2001.

Y., Inci. *Erstickt an Euren Lügen: eine Türkin in Deutschland erzählt*. Munich: Piper Verlag, 2007.
--. *Erzähl mir nix von Unterschicht: Die Geschichte einer Türkin in Deutschland*. Munich: Piper, 2009.