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## OCCUPYING AMERICAN “BLACK” BODIES AND RECONFIGURING EUROPEAN SPACES—THE POSSIBILITIES FOR NONCITIZEN ARTICULATIONS IN BERLIN AND BEYOND

### INTRODUCTION

In what follows, I am working through the circulations and transformations American “Blackness” undergoes as it moves from the United States and occupies other places with other people (e.g., non-citizens) who may or may not be considered “Black.” This is not simply an essay about images or representations, it is one that analyzes these dimensions of occupation as they relate to performance, embodiment, and ultimately also to social mobility and the possibilities for social change. The occupying presence of American “Blackness” in what I describe below takes on social, psychic, and physical dimensions. Reading the contemporary reception of MTV and Hollywood in Germany are not enough to sustain this analysis, and occupation is not only significant as a result of its military history.

### AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ENTRÉE—RIDING THROUGH BERLIN

As I sat on the *UBahn* (the subway) in the summer of 2011 in Berlin, I noticed that the young man across from me, with very short, straight, black hair and an olive light-brown complexion was wearing a track jacket (blue, with black and white stripes down the arms) with the word “Negro” embossed over his right pectoral. I wanted to ask him why he was wearing this jacket and what it meant. I wanted to take a picture so that others would believe what I actually saw, but I did not. My daughter was sitting next to me and I was not sure where this conversation would lead or how he would react. Maybe I should have asked him something innocent like, “Where did you get that jacket?” But maybe he would have taken offense. He was young, slim, and athletic. He did not make eye contact, even though I was obviously looking at his jacket. He did not smile or frown either. He just looked straight ahead.

As he sat across from us, it struck me that he did not embody any stereo- or phenotypical ideal

of “Blackness.” Other than the word “Negro,” his clothing did not assume an aesthetic that Americans or Europeans would immediately associate with being “Black.” The way he wore his clothing seemed more typical of Berlin urban style, which is often in conversation with the images and imaginations of the New York streets but also always slightly different—skinnier, narrower, not usually oversized.

But the word “Negro” was clearly racial. Was he aware of this? The jacket was clearly not homemade but a product that appeared to be the result of a mass production. But for which bodies was this product intended?

Perhaps this jacket caught my attention because I was already thinking about the relationships between marked bodies, occupation, Americanization, Europeanness, and “Blackness.” What advantage, what pleasure, could his wearing this jacket entail for this young man, sitting on the Berlin *UBahn*, whose body most likely would not be read, by most “White” Germans, as being in conversation with American “Blackness” were it not for the word “Negro” stitched into his jacket? Without that word, most Germans would probably see his body simply as “foreign” or “immigrant,” definitely not as German. Even hearing his voice would not significantly alter this latter finding.

Responding to the national context in which this young man wears this jacket, one “Afro-German” woman recounts:

I have dark skin, too, but I am a German. No one believes that, without some further explanation. ...When I respond to the remark, “Oh, you speak German so well” by saying “So do you,” people’s mouths drop open.

It is only recently that I have been able to feel more comfortable in my brown skin and come to terms with my blackness. After a long hard struggle through psychoanalysis, I can say, “Yes, I am Black”. (Opitz et al. 1991:109–110)

But was the wearing of the word “Negro” on a track jacket part of this same struggle? Was the young man also saying, “Yes, I am Black,” even though, in his case, it could not be easily read from his skin? If so, what could be the benefit? To what political effect could this statement be oriented?

#### **“DIASPORIC AESTHETICS” AND UNANTICIPATED SUBJECTS**

Thinking through the German example and the example of “African American” occupation, I have been working through some of the unanticipated implications of what Stuart Hall (1990) refers to as the promise of a “diasporic aesthetic.” “African American” cultural forms not only gained an unanticipated profundity via the actual presence of “African American” soldiers and their children in post-World War II Germany, but their actual presence created possibilities for new access, new identifications, and new enunciations (i.e., places and positions from which to speak [see Hall 1990]) for noncitizens, including African immigrants, Palestinian subjects, Turkish subjects, and African-, Palestinian-, and Turkish-Germans, among others. In Hall’s formulation, “diasporic aesthetics” are configured via artistic practices (such as filmmaking and photography) that allow African diasporic subjects to reassemble a past, to imagine a different future: “We have been trying to theorize identity as constituted, not outside but within representation; and hence of cinema, not as a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists, but as that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak” (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–237). He goes on to note that the point of these aesthetics is not to create an “authentic” singular past, but “to construct those points of identification, those positionalities we call in retrospect our ‘cultural identities’” (*op. cit.*, p. 237). In this formulation, Hall’s notion of “diasporic aesthetics” offers new possibilities for transnational affiliation and support for subjects who might otherwise have no “anchor” (Fanon in Hall, p. 226) to keep them from being permanently adrift amid the nation-state-centered organization of contemporary life (see Anderson 1991) in which they live in a place where they are not a “natural” part of that nation-state.

Hall’s formulation, however, does not account for the possibility that unanticipated audiences find power in an aesthetics that never had them in mind, that authenticity, pleasure, and social

transformation might be achieved through aesthetic borrowings, new embodiments, new circulations, and reformulations based on a shared experience that is shaped more by what is happening now than by any search for lost origins. Arjun Appadurai’s (1996) notion of ethnoscapings also does not account for these potential audiences, that is, racialized subjects who identify with and structure their lives in relation to Americanized “Blackness,” even if they themselves are not of the “African Diaspora.” Appadurai’s notions of media-, techno-, finance-, and ideo-scapes (*Ibid*), though, open up the possibility of analyzing these situations differently (see also Sharma 2010).

#### **OCCUPATION AND EMBODIMENT— BECOMING AMERICAN “BLACK”**

In a much earlier twist on German identifications with “Blackness,” in the immediate post-World War II period, Hans Jürgen Massaquoi, the son of a “White” German mother and a Liberian diplomat, recalls not only his identification with, but also his impersonation of an “African American” GI (Massaquoi 1998; see also Partridge and Larry A Greene 2011). Fresh from masquerading as an American GI and then being evicted from a U.S. Army base in post-World War II Germany, he enters another scene of (African) American occupation. In this instance, he and a German friend decide not to wait for their train with the allied personnel but in the German waiting hall, where travelers seem much less affluent than their military occupiers. Mistaking them for Americans, “Black” MPs approach Massaquoi and his friend and tell them to move to be with the Allied personnel and away from the Germans (see Massaquoi 1998:320).

In this instance, Massaquoi’s “Blackness,” which had exposed him to racial exclusion under the Nazis now has a transformed meaning. In the era of post-War occupation, his “Blackness” would mean that he would be read as “Black” American. This interpellation comes through the enforcement power of occupying “Black” American Military Police.<sup>1</sup> Theirs and others reading of his body as “Black” American has the effect of changing his life. In fact, Massaquoi ultimately turns this post-War performance (one that originated in an attraction to and performance of American Jazz) into a vehicle for his movement to the United States where he ultimately becomes a middle-class American and even managing editor of *Ebony* magazine.

“African American” occupation since World War II in Germany, in particular, is simultaneously

military and imaginary. Its efficacy is established in the movements of otherwise marginalized subjects alongside post-War Americanized re-education programs including military funds to promote American film and American Jazz (see Schroer 2007). The programs also included the performances of Negro spirituals at U.S. State Department-funded America Houses based in Germany (Schroer 2007):

American officials seeking to convince Germans of the quality of American music favored spirituals...The capstone...was an African American choir's 1949 tour of every major city in the American zone... In Munich, '[o]ver 800 people jammed the theater and the hall immediate[ly] outside the theater and gave overwhelming applause to the Choir.'... [According to the U.S. information center, in Heidelberg,] [t]he audiences for the performances grew from at least 800 at the first concert to 2,000 at the second. (*op. cit.*, pp. 159-160)

The point, here, is not to valorize Americanization or militarization, but to think critically through the ways in which "African American" (as opposed to simply American) occupation shifts the dynamics of occupation, Americanization, and social mobility.<sup>2</sup> Americanization is not always unmarked, as is often imagined. It is not simply the expansion of private property, free markets, or imperial Whiteness, it also involves African American (among other hyphenated) occupiers. Furthermore, it involves not only the occupation merely of territories but also of imaginations. In this sense, I ask: What unexpected possibilities does this occupation reveal? What unexpected audiences gain access to social mobility, and thus get transformed in the process? Given this history, the word "Negro" on the young man's jacket takes on a different significance, as do the meanings of occupation and Americanization.

Complicating the position of "African American" occupiers themselves, as Heide Fehrenbach (2005) points out in *Race after Hitler*, many "Black"<sup>3</sup> soldiers found the notion of post-War German occupation-as-liberation contradictory, inasmuch as they felt freer in Germany than they ever had in the segregated Army or under Jim Crow (which was still in effect) in the United States. Moving from the immediate post-War period to the present, I have been examining the relationships between contemporary aesthetics,

post-War "African American" military occupation, and German citizenship. How does the doubly displaced performance of and desire for "Black" American bodies figure in relation to the European performance of citizenship? How do the desire for and expressions of Americanized "Blackness" relate to the success of this performance? How are "African American" bodies transformed in their German translations? What are the political possibilities of these reconfigurations? What new opportunities for coalition arise?

Moving from the immediate post-War period to Stuart Hall's analysis and articulations of "diasporic aesthetics" to their actual practice in contemporary Berlin, through street scenes, artistic performances, and their representations, I have been analyzing both the possibilities and the limits for occupying "Blackness" as it relates to coalition building and social transformation through the practices and aesthetics of these art scenes. In what follows, I examine the multiple shifts of subjectivity as the "Black" American soldier's body helps to reconfigure the national gaze and mobility of Othered and non-Germans. I end by analyzing how these expressions are also always gendered.

#### AFRICAN OCCUPYING AFRICAN AMERICAN

In a conversation several years ago in the United States with a theater director from the Congo about my research on hypersexuality and "Black" bodies in Germany (see also Partridge 2012), I learned that even in sub-Saharan Africa, young men planning to migrate to Europe were practicing their performance of "Black" American masculinity, learning to dance, speak, and move like "African Americans." In my own observations (beginning in the mid-1990s) in contemporary German clubs and asylum hostels, I saw African men wearing American baseball caps and FUBU jackets, dancing to what Germans now call "Black music" (e.g., R&B, hip-hop, and soul). In the mid-1990s, from asylum camps to dance clubs, I observed this performance as one of the only ways in which they could be intelligible as ("modern"—not starving, humanitarian aid dependent) human beings in contemporary Germany. Even if "White" German women seemed to be saying it is really Africa they desire,<sup>4</sup> Americanized "Blackness" offered the reassurance of something familiar. English became the mode of speech. Hip-hop clothing became critical attire, and grinding to R&B became central.

In many ways, a history of “African American” occupation suggests the possibility of national recognition for contemporary African men through the performance of “African American” subjectivity. (Of course, as Judith Butler [1993] notes, recognition always comes at a cost; see also Partridge 2008).<sup>5</sup> “Black-only” GI clubs in post-War Germany prefigure contemporary clubs where “African-Diasporic” men go to meet German women and vice versa.

In the student film *Falsche Soldaten* (Fake Soldiers [Mora-Kapi 1999]), the Benin-born director depicts the ways in which African immigrants in Germany begin to impersonate American GIs by speaking English, carrying fake IDs, and driving American cars to gain access to, and social and legal recognition (often via marriage) by, “White” German women. The possibility of social reconfiguration, for example, Africans finding a legally recognized place in Germany, often requires occupying the symbolic space of the “African American” body.

#### **OTHER MODES OF OCCUPATION: TURKISH-GERMANS EMBODY “BLACK” AMERICANS**

A *New York Times* article entitled “A Bold New View of Turkish-German Youth” reported on April 12, 2003:

The film “Alltag” [Everyday Life] has been criticized by some in the German press as too American in its sensibility and direction. But Kreuzberg’s<sup>6</sup> youth, in Mr. Celik’s recounting was strongly influenced by Hollywood and by the presence of Americans in Germany. It was also shaped by the black urban subculture transposed onto the children of Turkish immigrants in Germany, a force adapted by Mr. Celik into his movie.

“Everything has to do with American movies,” he said, explaining the Kreuzberg world that, he believes, shaped him and his generation, the second, of Turkish-Germans. “There’s also the Turkish culture and our group mentality, but mostly it was American movies.”

“In the 1980s, everybody saw “Scarface,” and everybody here called himself Tony Montana,” Mr. Celik said. He was talking about the ruthless drug trafficker played by Al Pacino.

Hip-hop was introduced to the neighborhood by the children of American servicemen

stationed on Berlin’s outskirts. “They showed up as rappers at hip-hop parties,” Mr. Celik said of the Americans, “and hip-hop and gangs belong together.”

Mr. Celik’s own gang was called the Thirtysixers, named after the last two digits of Kreuzberg’s postal code.<sup>7</sup> There were battles with the Black Panthers, a rival Turkish gang from Wedding, another heavily immigrant district of Berlin.

“We all took drugs and went to these parties,” Mr. Celik said, “but we weren’t criminals, and the police kept a pretty close eye on us. And we were all Turks because there were so many of us.”

Then, in another adaptation of urban American culture, Mr. Celik became what he called a graffiti sprayer.... (*New York Times* 2003, p. A2, col. 2–3)

In a prior conversation with Celik in 2002 at a film conference at the British Council that featured Turkish-German and British Asian filmmakers, I asked him how he managed to become a filmmaker and get funding without getting any formal film training or attending one of the prestigious German film schools. He remarked: “Have you seen *Training Day*?” “Yes,” I said. “You know how he [Denzel Washington’s character] said you have to be like a wolf? ...I was a wolf.” Celik’s reference to extrahuman embodiment is simultaneously a reference to Denzel Washington’s hyperbolic performance of American “Blackness.” Celik does not refer to the actor directly, but to the performance of “Black” masculinity, and the necessity of this performance to make it in Germany.

In the *New York Times*’ text and in his use of *Training Day* (Fuqua 2002 [2001]), it becomes clear that Celik is participating in his own authentication as a “modern” subject—in which he demonstrates “modernness” by demonstrating his “Blackness.” In this sense, one must read *Training Day* as a training film not only for Ethan Hawke’s character—the “White” American rookie who Denzel Washington’s character trains to police the urban L.A. streets—but also for Neco Celik. Beyond the film, Celik’s training and authentication comes through an identification with oppositional youth culture in the United States as transported through the bodies of occupying “Black” youth in Germany—the children of American GIs on the American base in pre-unification (pre-1989) West Berlin. It is worth

noting that he refers to the actual physical presence of these youth and not only to popular processes of Americanization as they are experienced in German movie theaters or on German TV. Celik came of age in the youth center the Naunyn Ritze. As he notes, "I am, myself, a graffiti artist from the 80s." This is the same place where he later became a youth worker. He recalls that the youth center was a project started by the allies to teach democracy. And then, Celik points out, the "guest worker children" came, "and they had other problems." The occupying presence, however, also had an impact on these unanticipated subjects. As Celik's artistic initiation as graffiti sprayer suggests, the occupying presence provides real possibilities for transnational affiliation of an aesthetic politics that counteracts forces and feelings of displacement. He moves from youth participant, to youth worker, to film, theater, and then opera director. On the other hand, inasmuch as the "Turkish-German" never quite achieves the status of becoming "Black" American, he has to insist even more on the authenticity of his performance (as "Black") to gain broader social recognition—to be on center stage.

In a *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (a national newspaper) article entitled "Der Spike Lee von Kreuzberg" (The Spike Lee of Kreuzberg) (2003), the tone, at some points, seems mocking, perhaps reflecting a broader public skepticism about the place of "Turkish-Germans," even the refusal to recognize that such a hyphenated subjectivity could or does exist. Clear, however, even in the title of the article, is the central place African Americanness as a model for the possibility of inclusion and recognition. Celik's authenticity as "Black" is at stake in understanding him as "modern."<sup>8</sup> African Americanness becomes the grounds through which recognizability by the broader German public can be obtained. These grounds are critical both for Celik and for the journalist, which might explain the journalist's insistence on referring to Celik's Turkishness and refusing to authenticate his Americanized "Blackness," as can be seen in the journalist's representation of Celik's difficulty in becoming Spike Lee. The critical tone, which reflects the broader relationship to Turkish-Germanness, is found in the extended title of the article itself ("The Spike Lee of Kreuzberg: Earlier, Neco Celik was in a gang, today, he makes films, tomorrow, he wants to be world famous"). The journalist writes:

"It's a long damned way from Kreuzberg to Hollywood," one wants to say to him. "It

could be that one life time is not enough for this long trek."

But if Neco Celik had told one ten years ago that he wanted to make films, real feature films with real actors, closed-off streets, and a crane that carries the camera into the sky above Kreuzberg, then the reply would have assuredly been the following: "Grow up Neco, get your *Abitur* [pre-university high school degree], or learn something Practical! Film-making is a dream, on the order of becoming a jet pilot, or the captain of a Tanker. You don't have a clue Neco. You don't have any connections. You don't have a chance."

This is the way, or nearly the way, that Neco Celik's father speaks today. As the son was filming, the father was invited onto the set. "Look here, Kreuzberg is blocked-off for three weeks. Look at the big lights and the actors and the whole film crew. Of all of these people, I'm the boss." The father was not impressed, Neco Celik explains: His brothers had acquired more practical skills. One is a mechanic, the other a police officer. This impresses the father who came in the 70s from Anatolia. (*Ibid*, my translation)

Here, the journalist contrasts the film industry (read Americanized life, values, and dreams) with the values, dreams, and hopes of rural Anatolia. He contrasts Neco Celik and his father, creating fake quotes to suggest that the "traditional" practicality impedes modern Americanized life.

In the end, it seems that establishing gang affiliations and connections to American soldiers was part of establishing authenticity and place. Spike Lee was a mark of intelligibility for a mainstream German media. For the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, though, it was not yet clear whether or not Celik had succeeded, whereas for the *New York Times*, he had already demonstrated the never-ending presence and supposed "superiority" of Americanized desire and American becoming.

In a later conversation with Celik whose film "Alltag" (Everyday Life) subsequently aired on ARD (the most-watched German television station), he pointed out that it was only after an interview with him and review of his film appeared in the *New York Times* article that a number of German journalists began to change their opinion about him and the film: "Since when did the *New York Times* become the *Maßstab* (standard) for the German press?" he questioned. Yet, through

the process of becoming publicly recognizable, through the release of his first feature film, on the path toward establishing his authenticity by connecting his work and his life to the American “ghetto,” to American “Blackness,” Neco Celik has, according to his own observations, begun to be recognized as a German filmmaker. Inasmuch as “Turkish-Germans” can become Germany’s “Blacks,” inasmuch as they can be consumed, they relink Germany to an Americanized process, which simultaneously includes consumption, “modernity,” and globalization. In many ways, the persistence of this reality remains part of the national subconscious. “[T]he cultural hegemony of the United States was perhaps never as dominant as it is now, but—and this is my point—it is not perceived as such. For West German artists and intellectuals in their twenties and thirties, the import of American culture is not part of a cultural imperialism or an unwanted Americanization but, rather, an accepted part of life” (Gemünden 1998:210).<sup>9</sup> What is significant about Celik’s and the related cases I have been describing thus far is that incorporation happens through the occupying power of “Black” Americanness, in particular.

If one watches German TV, goes to the German movie theater, or listens to much of German popular radio, one experiences the undeniable persistence of what Timothy Brown (2006) has called “(African-)Americanization” in German everyday life.<sup>10</sup> More broadly, “In recent years American films have accounted for 75 percent to 85 percent of the German market, whereas German films make up about 10 percent of the domestic exhibition market” (Gemünden 1998:203). Furthermore, “Since the introduction of cable television in the mid-1980s more and more American programs have been imported to fill the greatly expanded time slots...” (*op. cit.*, p. 204). Within this context, the presence of “Black” bodies is critical not only to processes of Americanization but also to the possibilities of social mobility, in Germany. After all, many of the imported images are also “Black.”

### OCCUPYING “BLACK POWER”

Informally called “the Turkish Malcolm X” by German critics (see Qantara.de 2008), Faridun Zaimoglu introduces his book *Kanak Sprak. 24 Mißtöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft* (Kanak Talk. 24 Dissonant Tones from the Edge of the Society) with the figure of American “Black Power” to intervene in the German literary imaginary. In fact, this move is what helps him, Feridun Zaimo-

glu, to become a German celebrity. Celik calls him his favorite author in Germany.

Zaimoglu writes: “Analogous to the Black consciousness movement in the USA, the individual Kanak subidentities will increasingly become aware of overlapping relationships and contents. The demystification has been introduced; the way to a new realism has been set. In the middle of a mainstream culture, the first raw proposal for an ethnic structure in Germany has come into being” (2000 [1995]: 17, my translation). Here, an “African American” social movement, a movement that followed the Second World War, provides a model for *Kanak* articulation in Germany. *Kanak* (a racist term usually used against “Turkish-Germans” and “Turks” in Germany) stands for a particularly German form of positioning that immediately points to the contradictions of national citizenship, in this case, for Turkish and other racialized Germans, through the analogous contradictions of “African American” experience. Again, it is through the occupation of and by “Black” bodies that a form of enunciation can take place.

Linking Zaimoglu’s published work to his public interviews, literary theorist, B. Venkat Mani notes, “The journalistic portrait of Zaimoglu as a young author established him on the one hand as an assimilated Other who can communicate and can be comprehended in the language of the majority, indeed, in the vocabularies of assimilation, and on the other hand as the Other who protects and sustains his Otherness through a persistent defiance of assimilation” (2007:127). As in the case of Celik, Zaimoglu achieves popular recognition and is viewed as “authentic,” not as a result of the perception of some authentic Turkishness but via the language of the African Americanized street: “[H]e defines this [his] public work as a process of empowerment of minorities and the reclaiming of cultural hegemony” (*op. cit.*: 132). I read this “reclaiming of cultural hegemony” directly in relation to a process of occupation, which then also exceeds the initial relationships established in the post-War moment. In this sense, occupation directly engages the politics of cultural citizenship (see Ong 1996, 2003). It reformulates how one can be in Germany. It means that one need not only think of effecting social change as it relates to the context of the federal government or formal politics. It offers different political possibilities. Graffiti, also as articulated, for example, in Celik’s films and other artistic works, operates as a form of occupation, as does the reconfiguration of the German language offered in Zaimoglu’s books,

Celik's films, in schools, youth centers, and on the street. Of course, the difference between the other aesthetic renderings and the street formulations is that the mainstream (normative) public no longer sees the theater, film, and published versions as negative. In these articulations, it is critical to understand occupation in the double sense I have been suggesting thus far, that is, both as a physical and as an imaginary (psychic) form. Graffiti occupies physical space and is simultaneously an aesthetic that occupies the imaginations and desires of Berlin and other cities. There are government policies to remove it and yet there are also special paid tours to go see it.

On the West Side of the Berlin Wall during the Cold War, it was seen as an articulation of "freedom," while the East German side was, of course, unmarked. As I witnessed it in 1989, as the Wall was falling and street hawkers began removing and selling pieces, the most valuable pieces were those that had been spray painted. In fact, in Berlin in 1989, after renting a chisel to get my own pieces of the Wall, I noticed that to make them appear more valuable, men who were selling the interior pieces would first spray paint them before removal, as if the suggestion of graffiti would insure its authenticity. After the Wall fell, an artist project known as the East Side Gallery was commissioned to have a large portion of the formerly unmarked East side painted by international artists. Twenty years later, the (street) artists were invited back again to renew their work. Now, graffiti on gentrifying housing blocks may be responsible for keeping rents down, as one sprayer put it, according to a recent tour guide of Berlin graffiti and street art: "Because of the graffiti on this building, your rent is lower."

#### **THE NECESSITY TO OCCUPY REVEALED IN THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF BECOMING "WHITE"**

In addition, the physical marks left by graffiti to aesthetically and symbolically claim space, in this essay, I have been using the term occupation to mean a form of embodiment—noncitizen youth embodying Americanized "Blackness" through postures and positions, writing, dancing, and dress. I have also been using the term to describe a particular history of military occupation in which claims of liberation carried with them a necessary reconfiguration of globalized racial politics in a way that even the American post-War planners had not anticipated. Furthermore, I have been using occupation to think through the reconfiguration—

including the opening up of—social and physical space as the normal rules give way (at least in part) to the rules of occupation—including those of and enforced by the "Black" occupiers. Finally, I have been thinking about the cultural politics of occupation. In this case, occupation is not only significant as a result of its military presence but also as a result of the fact that it is involved in creative reformulation of consumption and desire. But to a large extent, occupation is necessary, because noncitizenship persists.

In this respect, it must be noted that Germany has not traditionally defined itself as a "country of immigration." Even if immigration has been a critical part of its history (see Herbert 1990), those who did not blend in, with the exception of a few officially recognized "minorities," have historically faced severe sanctions. While the citizenship law was liberalized in 2000 to make it easier for those with parents with permanent residence to become legal citizens, the social regimes that regulate incorporation have been dragging their feet, so to speak, on the possibility of full inclusion. Within this arena, Turkish-German filmmaker Fatih Akın has been an *Ausnahme* (an exception). He is arguably the most famous contemporary German filmmaker both nationally and internationally. He won the Golden Bear, the highest and most prestigious prize, at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2004 and the award for the best screenplay at Cannes in 2007. In 2008, he was the president of the Cannes jury (see Festival de Cannes 2010). Nevertheless, in a public discussion with Feridun Zaimoglu at the Free University Berlin (Zaimoglu 2008), Neco Celik recalled his own difficulty with the reality of Fatih Akın's success. Speaking about the making of his first short films and trailers on his path to making his first feature, Celik recounts:

At the same time, I was working on a feature film in which I wanted to tell a story from the neighborhood. Then, Fatih Akın came and made his films—*In July*, *Solino*, *Head-On*. And the people said: "Yes, but Fatih Akın has already made that kind of film. We don't want any more Turk-films." I said: "I'm not making a Turk-film. This is Kreuzberg [Berlin]; that is Altona [Hamburg]. What's the problem? I'm Neco and that's Fatih". They still came back and said: "No, it's too much"

...After five years, I came to the understanding, that this story, even though I had never noticed it, was in fact a Turkish story. I then

rewrote it as a German story. (Celik in Zaimoglu 2008:135-137, my translation)

In this instance, telling a “German story” means not veering too far away from normative tropes. If one does, one needs permission.

In another articulation of this story, Celik reveals that the producer told him that the majority of the German audience could not identify with the story if a “Turk” were the main character. In the rewriting, while keeping it as a story about his neighborhood, Celik relented and made the main character a “White” German. Until he did this, the producers, who had the power to decide whether or not Celik’s film would be financed, rejected it precisely because of their perception of its Turkishness and thus perceived lack of appeal to the German main stream. On the other hand, what film theorist Barbra Mennel (2002a,b) identifies as a “ghetto” milieu (but what Celik, himself, calls a neighborhood film—in the spirit of Spike Lee) is appealing to the mainstream funders, perhaps precisely because of Spike Lee’s success. In a discussion about the interview in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Celik told me that he thought it was an honor to be compared to Spike Lee. In other words, the sociocultural space that Spike Lee occupies in the German imagination makes some breathing room (if not total liberation) possible for Celik.

Addressing the problematics of racialized film production in Germany, a number of Germanist film scholars have written about the links between German funding and the particular genres in which “Turkish-German” film directors are able to operate. In these analyses, the critics point out that funding for film in Germany primarily comes from television—the principle moneymaker for German-produced film/video productions (see Halle 2008; Mennel 2002a, b, Göktürk). This funding, in turn, has been primarily public—supplied by federal and state sources. In other words, as with the politics of occupation and the promotion of “African American” among other aesthetic forms, artistic production becomes a state matter linked directly to the contemporary politics of democracy and citizenship.

In analyzing Akin’s success, one should note that he began his career by complying with some of the then acceptable “African-Americanized” formulas, including what Mennel (2002b:134) calls an aesthetic of “ghettocentrism and auteurism.” While Mennel (2002b) and Randall Halle (2008) see *auteurism* (in which the film director establishes

a distinctive aesthetic) as a European dynamic, I would argue that the mix of ethno-racial neighborhood dynamics and *auteurism* is also part and parcel of the success of filmmakers such as Spike Lee. In Göktürk (n.d.) and Mennel’s (2002b) analyses, they argue that the aesthetic forms that Akin used were already a departure from the ethnicized Turkish productions, what Deniz Göktürk, adopting a model from the British case (see Malik 1996), identifies as a (potential) shift from a “‘cinema of duty’ to ‘the pleasures of hybridity’” (Göktürk n.d.). (I should note that I have problems both with the terms “hybridity” and the identification of Akin’s aesthetic in his first feature as “ghetto,” but I will return to this point below.)

Describing the shift from duty to the contemporary “ghetto” form, Mennel (2002b) writes: “The ‘cinema of duty’ remains for Malik ‘social issue in content, documentary-realist in style, firmly responsible in intention.’ It ‘positions its subjects in relation to social crisis, and attempts to articulate “problems” and “solutions to problems” within a framework of centre and margin, white and non-white communities” (pp. 136-137). As both Mennel (2002b) and Göktürk (n.d.) note, the films associated with this genre emphasize the social and spatial boundedness of Turkish immigrants. They thematize problematic gender dynamics, including women cut off from the society by dominant men. While made by Turkish, Turkish-German, and “White” German directors, these films, both Göktürk and Mennel suggest, leave both the male and female (but primarily the female) Turkish immigrant as voiceless victims with little power to change their situation. The significance of the filmic form here has to do with the fact that while fictional, these films take the place of documentary, fulfilling mainstream expectations about the “backwardness” of the immigrant Turk. Furthermore, and this cannot be emphasized enough, the fact that these, as opposed to other films, get made at all is linked to the vision of the state-backed funders. “[W]e find that schemes of film financing and subsidy (‘Filmförderung’) on a federal or regional level as well as through co-productions with television, mainly with the public broadcasting channel ZDF, have sometimes proved to be counterproductive and limiting, in the sense of reinforcing a patronizing and marginalizing attitude towards ‘Ausländerkultur’, the culture of foreigners” (Göktürk, n.d.). The already existing supposed “sociological perspective” is authenticated in *fiction* film, which gets read as documentary—with

the “authentic” behind-the-scenes images now supplied to the “White” German viewer.

One such film thematizes a Turkish woman who joins her Turkish husband in Germany, perhaps in line with the family reunification policies of the German government since the early 1970s. The film takes place entirely in one room until the end, when the female protagonist kills her husband. Confirming the power of this image, “*40qm Deutschland* [40 square meters of Germany] (1986) ... received the Bundesfilmpreis [the Federal Film Prize] in 1987, an award given by the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs—dutiful national acknowledgement, which paradoxically seemed to cement the subnational status of ‘Ausländerkultur’” (Göktürk, n.d.). If there were just one film, perhaps this portrayal could be seen as the exception, but, as others have demonstrated, this is part of a trend with films made by different filmmakers, all of whom received official backing.

In the 1990s, however, the commercial success of a number of “African American” filmmakers also opens up new possibilities for “Turkish-German” cinema. Spike Lee, the Hughes Brothers, and John Singleton (among others) in the United States reconfigure the possibilities for filmmakers and writers such as Celik, Akin, and Zaimoglu in the sense that these films then become viable as forms that have already proven to be popular. Guerrero (1993 [quoted in Mennel 2002b]) refers to a “black movie boom” (p. 138), which consists of American films of the early 1990s. Mennel (2002b) problematizes the masculinist dimensions of these possibilities. Of course, these possibilities are being realized, just as the broader public and the German media continue to be troubled by the image of the Muslim/Turkish/Arab woman under the headscarf. In Akin’s, Celik’s, and Arslan’s<sup>11</sup> films, Islam is not a primary emphasis, and women are sexualized, some even as prostitutes. In Akin’s breakthrough film, *Gegen die Wand*, there was a major controversy surrounding the fact that the lead female character had appeared previously in pornographic films. (This protest noticeably did not come from the mainstream “White” Christian German public.) While Celik once remarked to one of his colleagues, in my presence, that even though they did not want to believe it, he is a practicing Muslim, when I was transferring his first feature film *Alltag* to a different video format at a public venue at the University of Michigan, someone called the security, claiming that he/she was being exposed to explicit sexual images. In my defense, I should add that the film contains no nudity.

In her work, based on “Black British” cinema, “Malik sees a shift from ‘in-betweenness’ to ‘diasporic experiences [that] are not limited to victimhood and struggle’” (Mennel 2002b:137). But, ultimately, Mennel (2002a) suggests that “performing the pleasures of hybridity might just have become the new duty” (Mennel 2002a:53). In the examples above, this involves sensationalizing the representations of the “migrant” in film and popular culture. From this argument, it follows that recognized “Turkish-German” films are now stuck in a new problematic dynamic of what Ed Guerrero (1993) has called “neo-Blaxploitative” filmmaking.

Moving beyond this point, I ask: To what extent is the German national culture, itself, imprisoned in and by its own images of the “Turkish-German” other? How might this imprisonment reduce possibilities for a more vibrant exchange and even more vibrant aesthetics? On the other hand, how does the occupation by and of “African American Blackness” shift this dynamic, providing some grounds for a conversation, even if it involves translation and transposition? Ultimately, Germanness via “Blackness” offers a different possibility for the wider distribution of Akin’s, Celik’s, and Arslan’s artistic production. Occupation via American “Blackness” becomes the condition under which the two audiences—“White” German and racialized Germans—are brought together. This coming together, however, is not equivalent to assimilation. Even as the filmmakers gain new audiences, they cannot become normative citizens with access to the full range of creative possibility. While it opens up space, the occupation of and by American “Blackness” also constrains movement. The Turkish-German filmmakers have not (and most likely cannot) become “White.”

#### **IMPORTING A MODEL OF ETHNIC SUCCESSION?—A BLENDING OF THE FILMIC AND THE REAL**

In analyzing Fatih Akin’s success in Germany, one should note that Hamburg, where Akin grew up, was not, in fact, part of the American zone of post-War military occupation. In Akin’s films, respectively, one sees that America (and specifically American “Blackness” as an African diasporic presence) is less immediately apparent, although the tropes of ethnicized and racialized Americanized possibility remain central. From a Hollywood Italian mob-stylized aesthetic to the visual and aural insistence on hip-hop and graffiti among other aesthetic forms, one sees in Akin’s first

feature, *Kurz und Schmerzlos* (Short Sharp Shock), a blending of a Hollywood Italian-American trope alongside an African American aesthetic backdrop shot on location in a filmic Hamburg including urban surfaces decorated with graffiti and a dance club scene that revels in hip-hop and that places its racialized youth squarely into “modernized” urban life.

Thinking more concretely about how Italian-American Hollywood tropes fit in relation to American “Blackness” and ultimately recognition in Germany (the possibility of success that also comes at a cost), one should have in mind American models of “ethnic succession”: “a set of expectations that in a just and moral world, ethnic minorities will attain entry to the mainstream of American society through gains achieved in successive generations” (Ong 2003:3). In these examples, there is an important parallel between ethnic and racialized immigrants and histories of labor migration in Germany and the United States. In the American context, however, one identifies ethnic succession not only with the process of becoming a formal citizen, as Ong notes, but also with the process of becoming “White” (Ong 2003:11; see also Roediger 2002 [1991]).<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Roediger (2002 [1991]), and Rogin (1996) have linked Jewish and Irish ethnic succession to the successful performance of “Blackface” in the United States. By performing “Blackface,” one distances him/herself from “Blackness,” unless one is seen as the “authentic” “Black.”

A central concern for this essay is the extent to which “Turkish-Germans” can also fit this model of ethnic succession, particularly in a context in which there is much less space for hyphenated belonging than in the United States. The other question is: To what extent has American “Blackness” opened the possibility of at least partial incorporation? What possibilities does this incorporation exclude? In Akin’s artistic repertoire, one sees a blending of the filmic and the real. The filmic is represented via the form of his first feature film itself, a film inspired (according to his own commentary [see Akin 2004]) by Martin Scorsese’s first feature *Mean Streets* (1973 [1973]), a film, like Akin’s, featuring a story of friendship and the (Italian) mob but shot in New York as opposed to Hamburg.

Akin’s film, *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, also portrays the ethnicized and criminalized fringe; it includes pimps, prostitutes, and a portrayal of friendship among characters who are immediately identified via onscreen titles as Greek, Serb, and

Turkish. The mobster foreground finds its place in Germany via a hip-hop background (in music and images of graffiti in the diegesis) representing the materialization of everyday ethnicized life in Germany. Akin does not make an explicit issue of this background in the film, but it is very visible in the frame, and he comments publicly on his affinity for hip-hop among other musical influences.

The question, however, remains: To what extent can the racialized other become a “White” German and find a permanent place in the German mainstream? While the “Turkish-German” main character in the film suggests that he will give up and escape to Turkey, the filmmaker, himself, remains in Germany and does this to great acclaim. In fact, in his filmic oeuvre, the tension between origin and *Heimat* (homeland) remains a constant theme, with characters usually traveling to Turkey to recover or redeem some part of themselves that has been (perhaps permanently) lost.

Given that Akin never becomes a “White” German filmmaker, even if he does become a German one, it seems that this is possible precisely because of the space that American “Blackness” (in his case implicitly) opens up for the possibility of being in the social imaginary. Hip-hop is the springboard for racialized incorporation as opposed to ethnic succession, in which, as Michael Omi and Howard (1994) argue, ethnicity as opposed to “race” implies the possibility of becoming “White.”

In the context of Berlin, and particularly Kreuzberg, actually part of the formally American-occupied zone, the relationship to American “Blackness” is less abstract. As Celik recounts: “The next thing that I was involved in was the hip-hop scene...I did Graffiti” (Celik in Zaimoglu 2008:129-131, my translation). Even in the narration of his story; however, there is an important relationship between the filmic model of ethnic succession and the production as a German “Black” artist, revealing the open but constrained (and problematic) possibility of recognition. In his introduction, as part of his residence at the Free University, an educational institution that is itself a result of American occupation and post-War rebuilding,<sup>13</sup> Zaimoglu introduces Celik as follows:

He was hyped by the American media as the “Spike Lee of Germany.” Neco and I met a couple of years ago. One should picture it in their mind as follows—even if it is not so nice

for him that I put it this way: It was something like a scene in the film *Godfather*. I have seen it a couple of times. Real thugs and fighter-types—at least by their looks—came to him, kissed him on the hand, and said: “Big brother Neco...” (*The audience and Zaimoglu laugh.*) So we should call him: “The Godfather of Kreuzberg”. (Zaimoglu 2008:118, my translation)

In his response to this introduction, Celik immediately plays down Zaimoglu’s stylization of their initial encounter: “Okay, about the hand kissing: That was my younger nephew (*general laughter*) who kissed my hand because he wanted to show respect, because I’m his uncle. I told him: ‘Stop that!’ He (*Celik signals toward Zaimoglu*) is, of course, dramatizing that moment.” (Zaimoglu 2008:118, my translation). The dramatization to which Celik refers (and tries to soften), is, of course, the staging of him (Celik) as a mob-type figure. While he might have been involved in a neighborhood gang as a youth, Celik is now a thin, stylish, easy-going, sharp, but friendly, artist and youth worker. The play between the models of ethnic succession and American “Blackness,” however, is important to the strategy of making it in Germany. If one looks back to the *New York Times* article that launched Celik on the global and national scene, then one can see the ways in which he, himself, plays with this ethnic/“Black” American dynamic.

“Blackness,” however, represents both the possibility and the limit of ethnic succession in Germany (and the United States). The “Black” American referent (and its popular global consumption), however, means that the German public at large will be able to distinguish between his and his father’s background in rural Anatolia. This differentiation, however, reifies his father’s marginality (even if Celik would (and he does) vehemently fight against it).

It is important to note here that in spite of this occupation with and by “Blackness,” in everyday life, there can simultaneously be a distancing from African-Diasporic people:

NECO CELIK: The hip-hop scene is—especially here in Berlin—shaped by youth of Turkish descent. This issue of “honor” is implanted by their parents who come from Turkey and raise their kids traditionally. The youth use these words, but they don’t do anything to back them up.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Does it have something to do with the feeling of being an underdog? Like the Blacks in the USA, who stylize such terms? Is that practice adopted here?

NECO CELIK: Yes, surely MTV plays a huge role. MTV rears our kids. The youth in the Naunyn Ritze [the youth center where Celik has worked] won’t have much to do with Blacks. But strangely enough, they rap. They want to be like the Black rappers on MTV. It’s a paradox. (Zaimoglu 2008:139)

From the perspective of Celik’s generation (he was born in 1972), one wonders about the extent to which the absence of actual “African American” occupying troops in the post-1989/post-Cold War era contributes to the distancing of the contemporary “Turkish German” youth from the politics and the physical presence of African-Diasporic “Blackness.” While American “Blackness” may continue to act as a social resource in Germany and beyond (see Brown 1998), the distance from its physical presence as an occupying force produces new challenges for coalition work.

#### **OTHER TENSIONS OF COALITION: GENDERS OF OCCUPATION AND “AFRO-GERMAN” SUBJECTIVITY**

While occupation through “African American” GIs and a hip-hop aesthetic emphasizes a masculinization of “African American” occupation, the “Black” bodies by and through which occupation has taken and continues to take place are not necessarily male. As the authors of *Farbe Bekennen (Showing Our Colors)* note, part of their response to the exclusion of “White” West German feminists in the 1980s was to assert their place as “Afro-Germans” and to point to the necessary links between race and gender. This intervention is inspired, empowered, and informed by the U.S. Civil Rights movement and the presence and articulation of “Black” women: “With Audre Lorde we created the term “Afro-German,” borrowing from Afro-American, as the term of our cultural heritage” (Opitz et al. 1991 [1986], p. XXII).

According to Lorde: “In the spring of 1984, I spent three months at the Free University in Berlin teaching a course in Black American women poets and a poetry workshop in English, for German students. One of my goals on this trip was to meet Black German women, for I had been told there were quite a few in Berlin” (1992, p. vii).<sup>14</sup>

Since the end of the Second World War, it has been through the term *Besatzungskinder* (occupation children), that many “Afro-Germans” have come to be popularly known (again, through the occupation of “Black” American bodies) even if this is not the sociological reality. “After World War II there was hardly any further mention of the Afro-Germans born before or after 1919,” (Opitz et al. 1991:79). Here, the authors refer to so-called “*Rheinlandbastarde*” (“Rheinland Bastards,” i.e., children of French African troops and “White” German women) and the disappearance of their presence from social memory, following their sterilization and stigmatization. However, the shift in the social imagination from “Rheinland Bastards” to “Occupation Babies,” suggests a significant shift in the possibilities for “Black” belonging, even if the term “occupation” in this context is sometimes understood and used negatively.

As historian Heide Fehrenbach notes: “As federal and state officials became all too aware, their response to the children was an important early testing case for postwar German democracy” (2001, p. 164). She continues:

What emerged from reports by native local authorities were not narratives of German female victimization similar to the ‘black horror’ stories that circulated after the First World War or tales of mass rape by Soviet troops in the East during the spring of 1945, but narratives of national disorder that linked racialized American masculinity with unrestrained native female sexuality, criminality and materialism. (*op. cit.*, p. 168)

These qualities, at least materialism and female sexuality, would eventually be embraced by critical components of the German public in the post-World War II (“African-”) Americanized era.

Beyond this initial move toward the possibility of acceptance, as the author’s of *Farbe bekennen* make clear, the presence and politics of Audre Lorde in post-World War II Berlin becomes critical to processes of “Afro-German” politicization in their attempts to effect a broader social transformation beyond the scope of military occupation. In a foreword to *Farbe bekennen*, Audre Lorde recalls:

Afro-German. The women say they’ve never heard that term used before.

I asked one of my Black students how she had thought about herself growing up. “The nicest thing they ever called us was ‘warbaby,’” she said. But the existence of most Black Germans has nothing to do with the Second World War, and, in fact, predates it by many decades. I have Black German women in my class who trace their Afro-German heritage back to the 1890s. (1991: VII)

Here, in spite of the social reality, the social imagination is critical, as is the possibility for visibility (even if at first negative) that occupation makes possible. It is only after the Second World War that a social space for “Afro-Germans,” even if as “war babies” or “*Besatzungskinder*,” becomes part of the broader social imaginary beyond the post-World War I obsessions with racial purity and eugenics. This later occupation provides the grounds for social reconfiguration.

## CONCLUSION

I have pointed to many of the ways in which “African American” occupation is linked to processes of social transformation—i.e., the reconfiguration of social and physical space, shifting positions of “Blackness” from ones of marginality to those anthropologist Jacqueline Nassy Brown calls “diasporic resources” (Brown 1998; see also Camp 2004). But here, these resources are rearticulated, to include not only those originally perceived as being of “African descent,” but also those in other spaces of displacement or noncitizenship.

Furthermore, while this essay is heavily influenced by the specific histories of military occupation, in the end, this is not the most significant meaning of the term or its possibilities. It is only a starting point for thinking about articulations and limits, histories, and futures. Through this research, it has become clear that transformative occupation must possess both material and imaginary dimensions. It must both inspire displaced subjects and occupy dominant space. Occupation, itself, can become a position from which to speak, but speech alone will not be adequate.

In conclusion, I would like to return to a quote from the beginning of this essay: “We have been trying to theorize identity as constituted, not outside but within representation; and hence of cinema, not as a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists, but as that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak” (Hall 1990). To

what extent can occupying presences constitute us as new kinds of subjects? Including, but also moving beyond film, how might the aesthetic dimensions of occupation open up real possibilities for social change?

While emphasizing specific histories and relationships, this essay has suggested some possibilities for and articulations of unanticipated alliances. To think more specifically and more strategically about occupation in particular might advance the efficacy of these social forms, already in process. While this essay has pointed to potential alliances, as Neco Celik's among other commentaries suggest, these alliances, for the most part, are not yet formed strategically as such. Their infrastructures are thin and there is too little thinking about the political economy of their sustenance. Occupation as a political strategy, of course, means more than the simple adoption of aesthetic forms that happen to flow as the result of market forces. Critical occupation must be based on consciously coordinated efforts, planning, and articulations with specific goals in mind.

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#### NOTES

1. As Butler notes, "In Althusser's notion of interpellation, it is the police who initiate the call or address by which a subject becomes socially constituted. There is the policeman, the one who not only represents the law but whose address 'Hey you!' has the effect of binding the law to the one who is hailed." (1993:122).

2. While historian Timothy S. Brown (2006) has written about the process of "(African) Americanization and Hip Hop in Germany," importantly pointing out the mass appeal of the genre (also amongst "White" Germans), I am interested here in the longer trajectory of the relevance of "Blackness" to political mobilization in unanticipated locations. Following Ayse Çalgır (1998), I am also interested in the degree to which the promotion of the global connections to "Blackness" at times take on official state forms, such as in the work of social workers at youth centers in Berlin (see also Bennett 1999 for the connection between state-sponsored youth centers and the promotion of hip-hop). In a 2009 tour of his neighborhood, Neco Çelik pointed out that American officials had actively participated in the programming of his youth center where he grew up and ultimately became a media pedagogue.

3. I use "Black" in quotes here and throughout, not only to point to the fact that this designation is a social construction (albeit one that is political and that can be used to empower racialized subjects), but also to point to the mobility of the term and the various possibilities of its uses.

4. Of course, the desire for "African American" men and Africa are linked, as can be seen in the example of Leni Riefenstahl's visual shift from Jesse Owens to "The Nuba."

5. “Althusser conjectures this ‘hailing’ or ‘interpellation’ as a unilateral act, as the power and force of the law to compel fear at the same time that it offers recognition at an expense” (Butler 1993:122). The cost of recognition is a result of the fact that the subject being hailed/interpellated is simultaneously being identified as one who has trespassed—i.e., violated the law. Butler asks later: “Are there are [*sic*] other ways of being addressed and constituted by the law, ways of being occupied and occupying the law, that disarticulate the power of punishment from the power of recognition?” This is a critical point underlying the politics of occupation. Under conditions of “African American” occupation, the performance of “Black” Americanness opens up the possibilities for others to be recognized and not punished for not living up to previous ideals of Germanness. Occupation changes the conditions of enforcement while still referencing a politics of recognition, by the Military Police in Massaquoi’s case—the fact that he is hailed does not lead to punishment but to a transformation of his status—to German women who now openly desire and ultimately recognize African men in spaces and contexts made possible, in part, as a result of “African American” occupation.

6. In popular discourse, Kreuzberg has become shorthand for Turkish German urban life, or, more crassly, “the Turkish ghetto.” On the other hand, one should note that since Çelik’s youth, this position has changed significantly. Kreuzberg, once on the edge of West Berlin, is now in the center of the unified city. Since the fall of the wall, it has rapidly become one of the most popular districts for hip students and partygoers, in addition to remaining a long-term mecca for 68 generation bohemians, anarchist house squatters, and other cosmopolitans.

7. This was part of one of the two original postal codes. The postal code 36 still signifies the “rawer,” more radical side of Kreuzberg.

8. In the German context, one can link “African Americanness” to “modernity” not only via the history of occupation, but also via its link to “urban culture” in contrast to “rural Anatolia,” seen as a space of tradition, and linked (in the popular German imagination) to women wearing headscarves.

9. Gemünden (1998) notes that Americanization comes in part through a culture of opposition: “As Theodor W. Adorno once remarked, ‘It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that a contemporary consciousness that has not appreciated the

American experience, even in opposition, has something reactionary about it.’ Though Adorno did not know Frank Zappa, he may well have been thinking about him when he made this out-of-character statement because it captures Zappa’s obstinate, oppositional, and irreducible music” (p. vii).

10. Aihwa Ong (2003) points out that for Southeast Asian immigrants to the United States, there is not this same possibility, as they are more likely to become “Black” along the “Black”/“White” pole of American incorporation.

11. Arslan is another “Turkish-German” director who receives funding to make films about his neighborhood, what Mennel (problematically) analyzes under the rubric of a transnational “ghetto” aesthetic

12. Aihwa Ong (2003) points out that for Southeast Asian immigrants to the United States, there is not this same possibility, as they are more likely to become “Black” along the “Black”/“White” pole of American incorporation.

13. In recounting its history, the Free University’s website recounts: “A protest meeting was organized in the West part of the city as the University Unter den Linden withdrew the admission of three students on political grounds. On December 4, 1948 active students and professors with support from Berlin politicians and the American occupation power founded the Free University’ ([http://web.fu-berlin.de/chronik/chronik\\_Home.html](http://web.fu-berlin.de/chronik/chronik_Home.html) (Accessed on February 28, 2010)).

14. Again, one should note the relationship of the founding of the Free University to the politics of the Cold War and American occupation.

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