

Introduction



Generational Divides and Difference(s)

On New Year's Day, 2016, I Skyped with a girlfriend who had attended a play the night before in Cologne, Germany. In passing she mentioned a chaotic scene on the subway platforms beneath the central train station, with aggressive revelers throwing firecrackers into the crowds. Within a few days, reports began to emerge of even more above-ground tumult instigated by roughly a thousand young men of Arab and North African origins. Their actions included attacking and sometimes sexually abusing young women as two hundred police officers largely failed to react. An appalling turn of events given Germany's attempts in the preceding months to welcome and integrate a million refugees, it further galvanized right-wing animosity, as well as reignited feminist debates on the cultural bases of misogyny.

By 5 January, elder feminist Alice Schwarzer published an article titled "The Consequences of False Tolerance" on her website.¹ In it she referred to the "gang bang party" at the Cologne Train Station as the means for immigrant men and their sons to "play hero like their brothers in the civil wars of North Africa and the Near East" and "make war in the middle of Europe." As the benefactors of false tolerance, she argued, these men embody the traditional, ingrained anti-Semitism and sexism of Arab culture that Schwarzer has long decried. Along now familiar lines, her rhetoric of "fathers, sons, and brothers" conjures an intergenerational ballast of patriarchal power seemingly impervious to liberal western mores.

Younger feminists Stefanie Lohaus and Anne Wizorek soon after published an article called "Immigrants Aren't Responsible for Rape Culture in Germany," in which they pointed to the yearly assaults and rapes at Oktoberfest celebrations.² According to a statistic they cite, 13 percent of

German women have reported experiencing sexualized violence, with many such acts never recorded at all. In essence, Lohaus and Wizorek challenged the notion that cultural beliefs “programmed” the attackers in Cologne, while critiquing the German legal system for the challenges it presents to women who have been assaulted.³ In a later discussion with Schwarzer published in *Spiegel Online*, Wizorek also admonished male politicians otherwise uninterested in sexism for “instrumentalizing” it in order to stigmatize a particular group.⁴

If exposing false tolerance by the left, as well as the right’s specious uses of sexism to bolster an anti-immigrant stance, provides the manifest content of these arguments, other comparative vantage points complicate familiar political divides. Less obvious to international readers are echoes of generational conflicts among German feminists in recent years. *Spiegel* alluded to this frame by describing Schwarzer as the “grande dame of German feminism” and Wizorek as “a prominent member of the new generation of feminists” who “often have different views about the direction the women’s movement should take.”⁵ While *Spiegel Online* accurately describes a generational rubric embraced by some German feminists with particular fervor in the 2000s, media incarnations of this divide have often tangled up substantive arguments with hype. Schwarzer’s 2001 debate with media icon Verona Feldbusch, dubbed “brain vs. body” by the talk show that provided the forum, provides one particularly egregious example. Opposing camps, of course, lend themselves to simplistic binaries, despite the layered resonances of the word “generation” within the German context. Though easily linked to Anglo-American feminist discourse, generational constructs have also buttressed the fraught parameters of German identity, imagined in alternately past and future-oriented, weighty and occasionally playful, terms. Given this larger, complex configuration of disjunctive elements, the feminist conflict that *Spiegel Online* alludes to in neutral tones in fact played out in Germany with particular force.

Within a larger feminist context, this framework shares ground with a cross-culturally ubiquitous trope of mother-daughter conflicts—what Astrid Henry has called “the central trope in depicting the relationship between the so-called second and third waves of US feminism.”⁶ In a recent essay, Birgit Mikus and Emily Spiers trace an even longer history among German feminists invested in a generational construct whereby daughters would continue to work towards the same overarching goals as their mothers. Significantly, they identify a “fractured legacy” between the first women’s movement in mid-nineteenth-century Germany and

contemporary feminists in both groups' understanding and uses of it: "From the very start, the founders and figureheads of the various political and social factions of the women's movement looked toward the future as the place where all of their demands, hopes, and dreams would be fulfilled, true equality between the sexes achieved, and women independent and self-determined beings."⁷

As much as feminist legacies are no doubt less unified than early German feminists optimistically imagined, their vision nonetheless presupposes enough commonalities to ensure a sustainable trajectory. Their optimism clearly warrants spotlighting for providing an antidote and implicit rebuke to divisiveness across the second and third waves. In Germany, such acrimony typically invokes, as Mikus and Spiers argue, the "1968 generation," which becomes "the object of affective displays of frustration and even intense dislike, as new German feminists accuse their forebears—Alice Schwarzer in particular—of prohibiting the progress they seek to secure."⁸ This tendency shuts down interest in historical antecedents with potentially ameliorative effects, as in the quote above.⁹ Along similar lines, an American focus solely on the second and third waves diverts attentions from a first wave that in fact extended across several generations. Such occluded knowledge reinforces what Henry calls the "persistent twoness of generations [that recalls] the mother-daughter relationship."¹⁰ And "persistent twoness" in the German context, as I suggested above, has amplified itself to the point of a kind of culturally specific obstinacy.

As the quote above from Mikus and Spears indicates, German feminism from the 1970s is inextricably bound up with the student movement of 1968, out of which it arose. This touchstone both raises the stakes and sharpens the edges around generational affinities in Germany, which extend back to World War II and its aftermath. Those who came of age during the student movement created their own vigorously defined parameters of selfhood by challenging their parents to confront and work through the effects of their fascist past. They thus prompted the work of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past)—that is, the perpetually reflective, reformative measures vital to defining Germany as an enlightened democracy over and against its totalitarian alter ego. Given the persistence of guilt and trauma across the second half of the twentieth century, this process necessitated hard labor in the form of perpetual self-critique. Psychologically, its effects clearly counter the collective empowerment associated with social movements.

Over time, subsequent generations have attempted to differentiate themselves from a seemingly overarching parentalism that would correct rather than affirm identity. Miriam Gebhardt, author of *Alice in No-Man's-Land: How the German Women's Movement Lost the Women* (2012), pointedly frames her book-length critique of Alice Schwarzer in a manner that invokes the rhetoric of 1968: "Young women don't want to listen to another lesson in patriarchal feminism, they don't wish for the conscience police but rather solutions for concrete concerns."¹¹ Strikingly, generational affiliations in the new millennium have had effects far more enabling than admonitory. Since the 1990s, Germans have been able to choose from a wide variety of generational constructs, defining themselves temporally ("Generation 78," "Generation 89"), geographically ("Generation Berlin"), or more idiosyncratically by consumer choices and media forms ("Generation Golf," "Generation Ally"). As Hester Baer has argued, such affiliations manifest a "concurrent embrace and rejection of elements of German history."¹² On a deeper psychic level they prize individuation—in carefully chosen, sometimes highly particular terms—over collectivity.

This culturally specific backdrop thus reveals an intense investment in difference, often articulated within a familial rubric that pits children against parents and thus resonates in relation to feminism's trajectory in Germany. Whether articulated by its proponents or within the media echo chamber, it often appears as a largely bifurcated whole. This structure, of course, belies the web of diverse, often intersecting voices that have characterized the movement across different cultures. In addition, it perpetuates not only overused tropes of mothers and daughters but more specifically a notion of the third wave as more socially progressive and thus able to correct second-wave blind spots regarding white privilege. The feminist debates around the Cologne assaults cited above evoke precisely this tension, even if three white feminists debating on the origins of sexism looks a lot like racially tinged elitism. Given this irony, the logic informing a younger generation's imperatives deserves closer attention, particularly the negative consequences when difference alone steers feminist rhetoric and aims.

An ever-evolving third-wave sensitivity about cultural and racial difference—which does double duty by also demarcating a boundary against an older generation's less progressive purview—cannot escape the consequences of its own logic. An emphasis on difference—a younger generation knowing better than its predecessors and also trying to avoid a know-it-all attitude on racial issues—preprograms con-

tinual clashes. Knowledge itself implicitly takes opposing forms: the cumulative wisdom of an ever-more-enlightened perspective and the many subjectivities at any given moment that expose the former's universalizing tendencies. No matter how cautiously a younger generation stakes its claims about women, pushback inevitably ensues when difference provides its own kind of universal baseline for political discourse. Indeed, despite a third-wave embrace of multiple contrasting viewpoints, many nonwhite women entered the feminist arena in order to challenge continued blind spots regarding the overlapping effects of sexism and racism. Peggy Piesche's edited volume *Your Silence Does Not Protect You: Audre Lorde and the Black Women's Movement in Germany* (2012) includes many vital and influential voices, including May Ayim's. In an essay written over twenty-five years ago, she trenchantly critiqued the psychic toll of a women's movement that ignored racism, which she described as both "alarming and shocking."¹³

Valerie R. Renegar and Stacey K. Sowards have argued that society is "awash in false dichotomies," which define difference in terms of competing antithetical forces that have a way of reproducing themselves ad infinitum.¹⁴ A third-wave need to expose and correct maternal parochialisms shares, of course, affinities with a Western imperative to inoculate Islamic culture against misogyny. Schwarzer's argument more overtly underscores this need, evoking what Fatima El-Tayeb has linked to a binary in which Europe is threatened by anti-Enlightenment migrant fundamentalism.¹⁵ What gets "instrumentalized" in the process is not simply sexism as the justification for an anti-immigrant stance. Rather, an image of the fundamentalist Muslim immigrant serves as a stand-in for Europe's longer, suppressed history of anti-Semitism, racism, and gender inequality.¹⁶ Consequently, a larger contradiction emerges between the "racelessness" of Europe's Enlightenment ideals and what El-Tayeb describes as a "not so subtle racialization of Europeanness as white and Christian and thus of racialized minorities as non-European."¹⁷ In *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*, El-Tayeb traces a long history of transnational feminist frameworks' effects on European feminism, which, like Piesche's volume, spotlights Audre Lorde's shaping presence for the Afro-German movement. She documents women of color not only reacting to racism, but more specifically challenging the normative, exclusionary identity formations that prop up European identity, as well as Schwarzer's line of argument.

Within the longer history of feminism, Schwarzer's response to the Cologne attacks relies on a collectivizing impulse—in this case Arab

men as the inverse of an oppressed, to a greater or lesser extent, female gender. A younger generation's logic, by contrast, exhibits more particularizing impulses, even if on the surface it appears to transplant Schwarzer's totalizing impetus to a German context. Less evident, however, are the kinds of sensitivities that inhibit the urge to speak for all women or all cultural others. As much as Wizerak and Lohaus speak back to German sexism as a pervasive force, their line of argument more subtly promotes the repair of self before others. This distinction, I would argue, reflects the trajectory of feminism from second-wave solidarity through the identity politics of the 1990s to contemporary awareness of whiteness as its own highly particular, rather than universal perspective.

What it Feels Like for a Mädchen

Despite the larger context provided here to identify, particularize, and of course critique dichotomous thinking, its presence and rhetorical force among German feminists in the new millennium have provided the launchpad for this volume. "Mad Mädchen" refers first and foremost to the kind of anger on display in debates that crested in 2008 when various younger feminists expressed their frustrations with an older generation, for whom Alice Schwarzer became exemplary. My title also draws on a "do or die" dynamic evident in what Madelyn Detloff has identified in an Anglo/American context as a "dynamic of contempt as the condition of autonomous selfhood."¹⁸ Along similar lines, Astrid Henry's critique of generational rubrics underscores their biological connotations—that is, life cycles that inevitably pass out of existence. More concretely, my title also references some of the disgruntled voices of 2008 that referred to themselves as Mädchen. In doing so, they hoped to reprise 1990's girl culture, with its playfully performative approaches as an alternative to what was perceived as second-wave dogmatism.¹⁹

By attaching the adjective "mad" to Mädchen, however, I want to underscore the differences between then and now. Combining girlish ebullience with overt antipathies creates an odd affective dissonance that undercuts the subversive potential of ironic detachment. And when anger overrides girlishness as an antidote to maternal power, it precipitates precisely the kinds of high-stakes oppositions that preprogram factionalism. Equally important, the self-imposed parameters of rebellious daughters also run the risk of creating an arrested state of development, evident in white, educated, middle-class feminists' ignorance

of oppression experienced by less privileged women. To wit: only a few years after the debates of 2008, some of the mad Mädchen of 2008 were confronted with evidence of their own racist blind spots in the globally linked forms of activism they subsequently pursued. Again, when always “knowing better” provides activism’s modus operandi, limited awareness of experiences beyond one’s own parameters of identity can undermine younger and older feminists alike. A larger ironic consequence is that “intersectionality” begins to look less like common ground among feminists than an across-the-board wielding of difference, but to various ends.

It perhaps goes without saying that this approach often shuts down an acknowledgement of affinities, which is striking given rhetorical strategies that historically united German women in pursuit of incipient feminist aims. As Myra Max Ferree has demonstrated in *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective*, German feminists since the nineteenth century have defined their project via an evolving concept of autonomy. She writes, “The central feminist self-definition as ‘autonomous’ critiqued the public gender order of the male breadwinner family in the West and the power of the Communist Party in the East.”²⁰ As I will discuss in greater detail in chapter 1, this approach involved creating separate spaces for women in relation to the patriarchy. More recently, however, the same dynamic appears to have created wedges within the movement, evident in feminist voices of 2008 that proclaimed the advent of a new brand of feminism. Even if German feminists have lately been less inclined to conjure affinities across difference, a longer historical perspective reveals the kind of anger that has spurred collective action among young and old feminists alike.

Anger fired up German feminists to hurl a tomato at male student-movement activists indifferent to women’s circumstances within a class-based critique of capitalist structures. And not only Schwarzer but also a wide range of feminists began to act collectively in the 1970s, forging alliances with the emerging Green Party that eventually led to actual changes in German laws that had disadvantaged women.²¹ The kind of anger that initially energized German feminists in the 1970s is still evident in Wizerak’s 2013 Twitter #aufschrei (outcry) campaign in response to everyday forms of feminism. A year later, #YesAllWomen called attention to ubiquitous forms of misogyny via individual stories posted online. The 2016 #ausnahmslos (without exception) campaign to alter Germany’s rape laws provides another salient example reminiscent of the 1970’s grassroots activism that galvanized women across

difference. It is partly the intention of this volume to root out the kinds of simultaneous affinities and differences that complicate an otherwise straightforward generational rubric intent on exposing a mother's or daughter's presumably insufficient knowledge.

This expanded canvas also takes into account an understanding of the adjective "mad" that extends beyond a logical affective response to untenable circumstances—that is, the sentiment behind a hurled tomato. Further along the spectrum we also find more dramatic responses to oppression—embodied, for instance, in the classic mad woman in the attic undone by the extreme privations of a circumscribed life. In this instance, it becomes clear how much perceptions of reality not only respond to oppression but also reveal the unique, sometimes psychologically attenuated perspectives of any given individual. And when a maternal figure stands at the gateway to feminist activism, affective responses can no longer be understood solely as the reverberations of patriarchal culture. Instead, they also speak to the kinds of identifications—as well as what Henry identifies as "disidentifications"—that are foundational to identity.²² This volume concerns itself with the unpredictable effects of individuals processing overtly political imperatives alongside the deeply subjective elements that characterize particular life circumstances. It pays close attention to the various ways that feminism is embodied and displayed, which extend from the logical to the unpredictable. One witnesses in this process not only the blind spots of, and incompatibilities among, various approaches, but also the full spectrum of human behavior with which political agendas necessarily work. Above all, the singularity of the psychological realm betrays a complicated mix of egotistical and enlightened imperatives that can potentially stymie as much as stoke collective feminist aims.

If generational discourses tend to flatten things out into tired mother-daughter tropes, the results when they seep into literary and filmic representations of women are anything but predictable. In this regard, Claire Hemmings's *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory* provides a useful reference point, given her examination of the stories that British and American feminists tell about their shared history. She identifies dominant narrative patterns that emphasize not only progress, but also loss (of unified political engagement) and return (to materialist approaches eclipsed by postmodernism). In order to locate alternative visions of a feminist past, present, and future, however, she underscores the need to intervene in these stories and tell them in more ethically accountable and politically transformative ways.²³

On the one hand, I very much share Hemmings's investment in the utopianism that feminist theories can enable. Yet in activating her attention to "citation tactics" and "textual affect" as starting points for transformation, I often encounter in my literary and filmic protagonists quite the opposite, namely confusion and fragmentation. While this response may implicitly critique conflicting feminist approaches for ameliorating women's circumstances, it also exposes complex psychological structures that process political dogma in their own contradictory ways. Fragmented psyches provide a perennial challenge to feminist approaches, including the possibility of a larger collective identity. This terrain takes us beyond cohesive narratives, like mothers losing touch with new perspectives. It also reveals how deeply subjective needs less amenable to correction can be far more complicated than a third-wave predilection for porn or postfeminist love of pumps. Yet as much as the mother-daughter nexus constitutes its own simplistic narrative, it nonetheless provides a useful touchstone given the complicated nature of initially primal bonds. These combine the sustenance that comes from overlapping selves with the gradual detachments that presage autonomy. They combine strong identification with the kinds of disidentifications that fuel the whole process of individualization. The simultaneity of seemingly antithetical forces not only provides an alternative to cut-and-dried political rhetoric, but also fosters the kinds of enigmatic relations that require art's more nuanced lens. This volume is primarily concerned with examining the complexities of generational tensions among women, often articulated via mother-daughter bonds, and meditating on their larger resonances for feminist discourse.

The significance of identification/disidentification for this bond requires further attention since this polarity will remain key to *Mad Mädchen*. If contrary forces feel like evidence of a bipolar selfhood, Diana Fuss has underscored the psychoanalytically normative nature of these forces in her 1995 work *Identification Papers*. Identification, she writes, is the psychological mechanism that instantiates identity via self-difference—that is, via "the detour through the other that defines a self."²⁴ She describes it, on the one hand, as an "embarrassingly ordinary process, a routine, habitual compensation for the everyday loss or our love objects," while also emphasizing its incalculable effects and the emotional turmoil that identification can cause. In addition, Fuss emphasizes its "astonishing ability" to reserve and disguise itself, to multiply and contravene previous identifications, and to disappear and reappear in ways that make identity profoundly unstable and perpetually open to

radical change. Indeed, Fuss's range of identifications includes various antagonistic binaries: feminine and masculine, maternal and paternal, centrifugal and centripetal, positive and negative.²⁵ Crucially for my study, however, the identification/disidentification dyad incorporates a "play of difference" *with* "similitude in self-other relations."²⁶ If the pairings above provide foundational forms of difference, my approach will balance the scales by searching for similarities, however opaque they remain to rebellious daughters.

Significant as well is the notion of identification as both unstable and open to change, which has far-reaching, if contrary, implications for the political uses of this mechanism. Writing in the wake of various seminal works on queer performativity, such as Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) and Eve Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990), Fuss continually emphasizes the challenges that identification provides for a politics of affiliation. For the latter to function, it must fully recognize, Fuss argues, the "sacrifices, reversals, and reparations involved in every imaginary identify formation."²⁷ By way of example she cites Butler's notion of *disidentifications* that in fact reveal a disavowed identification "that has already been made and denied in the unconscious."²⁸ This possibility clearly has ramifications for fraught mother-daughter bonds, particularly when identification "operates . . . as an endless process of violent negation, a process of killing off the other in fantasy in order to usurp the other's place, the place where the subject desires to be."²⁹ More generally it underscores the elastic and mobile nature of identification, which "exceeds the limits of its social, historical, and political determinations."³⁰

Fuss cites Douglas Crimp's observation that social movements such as ACT UP and Queer Nation were enabled by previous identifications with political movements such as Black Power, feminism, third world liberation, and the Gay Liberation Front. But she also quotes his insight that "there is no predicting what identifications will be made and which side of an argument anyone might take."³¹ This capriciousness bespeaks the role of the unconscious in producing identifications, a realm over which the political subject has no steady or lasting control. Fuss continues: "Given the capacity of identifications continually to evolve and change, to slip and change under the weight of fantasy and ideology, the task of harnessing a complex and protean set of emotional ties for specific ends cannot help but to posit intractable problems for politics."³²

If, for instance, the politics of young German feminists emerge from an affectively charged disidentification with an older generation, we can

recognize the basic operation of instantiating selfhood via differentiation from another. Despite this very “ordinary” and “everyday” process, the attendant emotional affect can extend, as it has in the German context, to anger and contempt as markers of separation. Such colossality would indeed suggest Butler’s notion of disidentification covering over an identification already made but subsequently disavowed. At the same time, Fuss’s use of the adjective “protean” above suggests that “emotional ties” can take ever-changing forms, influenced not only by ideology but also fantasy, forces that do not necessarily align with each other. It is particularly in the latter realm that identification “exceeds the limits of its social, historical, and political determinations,” revealing a deeply personal, idiosyncratic, and egocentric realm potentially at odds with larger collective aims. Yet fantasy need not be solely the result of deeply psychological needs in need of satisfaction. If it taps into the energies of ever-evolving identifications, it can also be the means through which the affiliations that fuel social movements continually reimagine themselves in the face of perpetual differences. In this sense, fantasy and ideology can also work in tandem and in the process create what Hemmings alludes to: alternative visions of a feminist past, present, and future that aim for political transformation. However optimistically humanist this goal appears in the face of fragmented psyches, it provides a potentially powerful antidote to embattled mothers and daughters.³³

Overview

Chapter 1 looks at German feminism during the first decade of the 2000s, using Anglo/American tensions in second-wave, third-wave, and post-feminisms as point of reference. Concretely, the early years of the new millennium brought the challenges of the “Demography Debate,” during which some conservative voices chastised feminism for causing falling birth rates. Curiously, two moments that crystalized generational tensions within German feminism bracketed this debate: the televised debate between Alice Schwarzer and Verona Feldbusch I mentioned above and the appearance of two bestsellers in 2008—Jana Hensel and Elisabeth Raether’s *New German Girls* and Meredith Haaf, Susanne Klingner, and Barbara Streidl’s *We Alpha-Girls: Why Feminism Makes Life Nicer*.³⁴ Both of these volumes advocated new forms of feminism that challenged basic tenets their authors associated with Schwarzer. If Feldbusch embodied a vanilla-flavored version of 1990’s girl culture,

again later revived by the emergent feminists of 2008, its efficacy was never situated directly in relation to the Demography Debate. The centrality that motherhood retains in German culture certainly raised the bar for girl culture performativity borrowed from an Anglo/American context as the means to alter long-entrenched cultural values. Significantly, only Schwarzer and journalist Iris Radisch provided trenchant critiques of the Demography Debate's reactionary and blanket social condemnation of feminism, perhaps providing early evidence of a highly polarizing decade for German feminism.

The profound effect of Judith Butler's groundbreaking work on young feminists in Germany, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, certainly contributed to this widening divide. As Mikus and Spiers observe, her text constituted a short-hand reference point for a seismic shift in feminist theory, signaling as well a spatial break with second-wave forbears given Butler's US context.³⁵ Yet by also examining, in chapter 1, Butler's critique of *Gender Trouble*, which includes its inattention to social context, I also identify two important elements for this study, one conceptual, one concrete. Significantly, both of these elements rely on a binding principle. Butler's self-critique included her initial omission of examining performativity in terms of its psychic and corporeal effects. If one keeps in mind the fragmented nature of selfhood, as I underscored above, it becomes possible to recognize how a psyche that imagines itself empowered can also coexist with bodily effects that communicate the opposite. Some of the literary works I analyze in the first half of this volume provide examples of women who embody feminist tenets in freakish or self-destructive ways. Butler understands bodies and psyches as both incongruous and inseparable, a notion that resonates in relation to the mother-daughter trope and the complexities I will examine in subsequent chapters.

Ironically, though she critiqued the second wave's unified sense of itself, Butler's framework, as she subsequently acknowledged, certainly did not occlude an understanding of solidarity as a kind of self-aware, ever evolving performance. In a similar but journalistic vein, the feminist magazine *EMMA*, which Schwarzer founded in 1977 and continues to edit, reacted to the debates of 2008 with two special issues emphasizing bridge-building among fractured feminists. Similarly, some of the voices who emerged in 2008, evident in Sonja Eismann's volume *Hot Topic: Popfeminism Today*, in fact promoted a hybrid approach that combined second- and third-wave imperatives.³⁶ What demands further examination, however, is an undercurrent in *We German Girls*, what Katja Kauer

has called a “sampling” of earlier forms of feminism, largely unacknowledged, which the volume otherwise expressly rejects.³⁷ In other words, the volume’s overt dichotomies obscure the simultaneous affinities and differences it otherwise displays. As much as I will examine, particularly in the final chapter of this volume, the bridge-building possibilities that *EMMA*’s two special issues and popfeminism open up, I find the psychological complexities of the mad Mädchen—overtly rejecting and tacitly embracing the preceding generation—equally compelling. Again, they point us in the direction of literature, where the warring factions that comprise selfhood can be fully displayed. And indeed, numerous novels dating back to the late 1990s vividly depict the impact of feminism in all its manifold forms.

Chapter 2 analyzes Zöe Jenny’s *Das Blütenstaubzimmer* (The pollen room; 1997), Alexa Hennig von Lange’s *Relax* (1999), and Elke Naters’s *Lügen* (Lies; 1999). All three novels examine deeply conflicted female protagonists, sometimes overtly or subtly situated in relation to feminism. Indeed, we witness profoundly neurotic behavior that creates a funhouse version of basic feminist precepts, as well as clichéd versions of student movement ideals such as escape and experience. What results is not so much a critique of either second- or third-wave feminism, though female grotesques may indeed reveal the underside of individualist approaches and their detachment from larger, collective goals. Instead one senses how some female protagonists perceive feminism not as a web of intersecting voices but as a disjunctive cacophony that further agitates already fragmented selves.

In this sense, all three novels implicitly depict how a socially progressive movement meant to improve women’s circumstances can also directly feed into the kinds of psychological distortions that thwart an integrated selfhood. “Striking the pose” for these protagonists becomes tantamount to putting fractured selfhood on full, uninhibited display.³⁸ Their strategic exhibitionism often betrays a regressive narcissism, with girl culture taking more literal, infantile form. Yet at the same time, this realm adds an entirely new affective response, situated in relation to a lost maternal object otherwise barred from cultural expression. In all three novels, anger and madness exist alongside melancholia for eclipsed bonds of intimacy, in another example of affective dissonance. More important, by tapping into the precultural roots of mother-daughter relations, *Lies* in particular suggests the possibility of individuality and shifting power relations coexisting with deep bonds and solidarity. And in an overtly performative vein, inspiration comes at the very end of the

novel when two women are deeply moved by the melodramatic woes of mothers and daughters in Douglas Sirk's *Imitation of Life* (1959).

Analysis of contemporary German feminism as refracted in literature would not be complete without attention to Charlotte Roche. She not only vigorously participated in the debates of 2008 but also penned two novels—*Feuchtgebiete* (*Wetlands*; 2008) and *Schoßgebete* (*Wrecked*; 2011)—with narratives structured around mother-daughter animosities. Just as she accused Alice Schwarzer of forgetting about the human being in the woman, Roche created female characters quite antithetical to a second-wave-style, exemplary femininity that defines itself in opposition to the patriarchy. Yet the young protagonist of *Wetlands* in fact embodies a potent mix of second- and third-wave impulses, literally wearing them on the surface of her body. The vaginal secretions she dabs behind her ears, for instance, recall both the natural body mandated by the second wave and a more contemporary, third-wave pleasure in styling. Similarly, she combines the self-reflexive “Innerlichkeit” (interiority) of German women’s novels of the 1970s with an in-your-face “Äußerlichkeit” (outwardness) reminiscent of girl culture’s exuberant playfulness. What complicates this seemingly less fraught paradigm of simultaneous affinity and difference, however, is a younger daughter’s inability to acknowledge the former. *Wrecked* takes this inability to an extreme, depicting a daughter highly invested in simplistic dichotomies that demonize the mother. Only once does the protagonist wonder whether her perceptions constitute a personality disorder. If both novels embody a younger generation’s heady anger towards its maternal forbears, *Wrecked* amplifies and implicitly critiques the irrational psychic structures that feed this emotion.

In chapters 3 and 4, I move into the realm of film, in both mainstream and more experimental form. Access to interiority necessarily shifts here from solely textual form to more varied filmic modes. As such, it becomes less explicit and more enigmatic because it resonates across a range of verbal and visual details. My analysis shifts somewhat as well, concerning itself as much with the influence of feminism on representation as with its impact on individual psyches. This broader vantage point becomes all the more relevant when two iconic and historically controversial women inextricably linked to the legacy of 1968—Ulrike Meinhof in Uli Edel’s *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (*The Baader Meinhof Complex*; 2008) and Uschi Obermaier in Achim Bornhak’s *Das wilde Leben* (released in English as *Eight Miles High*; 2007)—are the subjects of analysis. On the one hand, their legacies, as I will demonstrate,

do indeed reverberate differently through a feminist lens. Yet when representation shifts along politically progressive lines, this approach may not necessarily yield the kinds of insights with which feminism could complicate its notions of collective versus individual aims. Particularly in the realm of mainstream film, signifiers of a feminist trajectory that once prized authentic voices and now celebrate performative agency can quickly devolve into clichés.

In general terms, Edel's film implicitly speaks to an earlier era's sexism, embodied in hysterical media responses to female terrorists as an outgrowth of feminism. By couching *The Baader Meinhof Complex* in terms of Ulrike Meinhof's political awakening, Uli Edel retroactively corrects facile links between female emancipation and unbridled anarchy. In the process, he not only manifests Hollywood's tendency to enlighten spectators along liberal humanist lines, but also creates a conventional narrative of a woman finding her voice, a blueprint otherwise evident in German feminist classics of the 1970s such as Verena Stefan's *Häutungen* (English edition titled *Shedding*; 1975). Bornhak approaches his depiction of Obermaier by tapping into a more contemporary investment in performativity. If her assertive sexuality has been understood historically in terms of an era's hedonistic excesses, Bornhak links it to Obermaier's agency within the arenas of fashion and tabloid journalism. Significantly, his narrative, too, taps into earlier feminist impulses to represent women not only finding their voices, but also some form of authenticity, in Obermaier's case above and beyond the visual realms she so skillfully commands. Yet, if feminist frameworks render historically fraught female figures more sympathetic, they may also flatten out what could have been more artistically enigmatic, such as, for instance, the complexities of fragmented, incongruous selves. Each film gives us the sense of a social movement's overall effects on representation but not on individual psyches and their alternately self-empowering and self-aggrandizing manner of processing political precepts.³⁹

What happens, though, when a film combines mainstream and experimental elements tapped into historical approaches intended to complicate the representation of women's lives? Here I am referring specifically to Douglas Sirk's 1950's melodramas, Rainer Werner Fassbinder's female-centered *Bundesrepublik-Trilogie*, and the radical potential of feminist filmmaking imagined by Claire Johnston in 1975. These lineages, I argue in chapter 4, manifest their traces in Christian Petzold's *Die innere Sicherheit* (released in English as *The State I Am In*; 2000) and Fatih Akin's *Auf der anderen Seite* (released in English as *The*

Edge of Heaven; 2007) Given that four of the five names above belong to men, with Edel and Bornhak tipping the gender imbalance even further, my choice of these two films warrants justification. Sirk, of course, sympathetically portrayed female oppression—sometimes across race, as in the film *Imitation of Life*—within a liberal humanist frame that both exposed basic inequities and invited identification. The inspiration that Fassbinder took from Sirk's films manifests itself in melodramatic narratives, though coupled with estranging effects. We partly sympathize with his emotionally complex female characters but also witness the kinds of incongruities that reveal their complicity in the larger social structures that otherwise oppress them. Petzold's and Akin's films partly depict conflicts between mothers and daughters, situated in relation to leftist and humanist ideals within contemporary commodity culture and global capitalism. While their female characters, like Fassbinder's, embody the push and pull of antithetical forces, Petzold and Akin also create various forms of disjuncture that recall Johnson's paradigm, though ultimately to dystopian and utopian effects respectively.

The German title of Petzold's film, *Die innere Sicherheit*, or the inner security/certitude, and the young age of his female protagonist evoke primal needs and individualistic attempts at securing them. As the daughter of former RAF members, she looks to the consumer world around her to forge a separate identity. Nothing girlish or playful characterizes this process; instead what should offer the means to cultivate identity amounts to nothing more than generic t-shirts and shiny plastic bags. Ultimately, the film ends with her pain and injury after a car accident leaves her broken and bloody in a barren field. Here "disjuncture" takes the form of an affective register that puts the lie to neoliberal promises regarding an ever-deferred "good life," to borrow Lauren Berlant's formulation in *Cruel Optimism* (2011).⁴⁰ Similarly, there is no securing a "Heim" (home) in an uncanny world where consumerist fantasies eerily overlap with fairytales, fascism, and failed utopian projects. In essence, Petzold exposes how fallacious the whole project of self-realization remains within a larger, neoliberal framework, a dystopian endpoint particularly for forms of feminism invested in mass cultural forms as tools of expression.

Mother-daughter bonds, both in biological and ersatz cross-cultural form, are central to Akin's narrative, which provides its own utopian salve to the logic of exchange that structures the film. Specifically, *The Edge of Heaven* suggests how familial connections, particularly those characterized by deep divides, can nonetheless model solidarity in a

manner that has utopian implications for concrete national divides. This scenario resonates even more strongly given some forms of feminism in the 2000s that resolutely distanced themselves from larger global concerns about women's circumstances. As much as the family as metaphorical rubric can manifest difference at its very core, it also necessitates accepting difference in the name of retaining a life-sustaining bond. This structure suggests a utopian alternative to the European Union in its present form since the former is built across differences rather than invested in an Enlightenment-based supremacy. Ultimately Akin positions women, bolstered by humanist and revolutionary ideas as well as psychic mother-daughter bonds that extend beyond a German frame, as contemporary agents of change in the spirit of 1968. In his film, Johnston's concept of "disjuncture" involves attaching melodrama's contrived resolutions to abandoned political utopias that create a salve for contemporary social and cultural divisions.

The final chapter of this volume examines German feminism from 2012 to the present and activism that articulates itself on digital platforms and in globally connected, often highly performative, street-based demonstrations. Now more than in 2008 the undeniably multiple, intersecting, sometimes clashing voices of German feminists no longer lend themselves to bifurcated frames, yet the possibility of solidarity nonetheless remains a topic of discussion. In fact, the fifth anniversary issue of the feminist *Missy Magazine*, founded in part by Sonja Eismann not long after the debates of 2008, consists of feminist voices that partly bemoan the lack of solidarity among feminists. Despite *Missy Magazine's* status as a younger feminist's alternative to *EMMA*, this issue recalls *EMMA's* two special 2008 issues that attempted to build bridges with younger feminists. Implicitly, *Missy's* voices responded to fallout from a Berlin SlutWalk demonstration during which topless activists in blackface protested Islamic misogyny, which stoked tension with Muslim women and other people of color. As I argued above, despite a younger generation's heightened sensitivity to issues of difference, speaking for women inevitably constitutes a simultaneous speaking at women with differing experiences of oppression.

In the face of such continued conflict, I attempt to map out more fully the political possibilities of simultaneous differences and affinities—what my literary and filmic protagonists embody—and their implications for conceptualizing solidarity. In *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Chandra Talpade Mohanty imagines solidarity in the form of "mutuality, accountability, and the recognition of

common interests as the basis for relationships among diverse communities. Rather than assuming an enforced commonality of oppression, the practice of solidarity foregrounds communities of people who have chosen to work and fight together.⁴¹ While acknowledging unequal power relations among feminists, she also argues that by recognizing differences in all their particularities, it becomes all the more possible to see connections and commonalities. This outcome reflects the notion that “no border or boundary is ever complete or rigidly determining.”⁴² Her argument ultimately promotes a cross-cultural rather than hierarchical feminist pedagogy, which has typically favored Euro-American theories and activism over non-Western approaches that are reduced to a supplemental function. What I would like to retain for my purposes, and augment with literary and filmic examples, is first the importance of “recognizing differences in all their particulars.” Second, I will demonstrate how delineating a particular form of difference simultaneously sets the parameters for recognizing commonalities.

As my literary examples in particular show, difference can be understood in terms of basic psychic partitioning and conflicting impulses, evident when subjective needs bump up against more exemplary selfhood in feminist terms. Together these forces provide a useful metaphor for the difficulties of a larger solidarity. No matter how expansively progressive feminist agendas aim to be, individual parts of the whole—meaning, the varieties of feminism at a given moment—will always assert their own needs and aims. Political goals will never perfectly align given the uneven effects of power structures on women’s lives. If understood in relation to partitioned psyches, conflicting forces exhibit both an inability and an unwillingness to recognize each other. “Unable” underscores the difficulty of recognizing the partly unconscious needs that program behavior, like the narcissistic theatricality I identify in some of my novels as the base for feminist activism. In less psychological terms, being unable to perceive differing feminist imperatives could simply underscore how some women have little to no experience of material constraints beyond their own circumstances. “Unwilling” suggests more of a defensive response in the face of repetitive patterns clearly in need of correction, like when some feminists continually ignore the conditions that different kinds of women need to flourish.

This framework thus views repetitive conflict as normative, not cause for shock or recrimination. Equally important, all factions constitute part of an organic whole, opening up the possibility of ecological metaphors where individual elements infuse as much as impede

each other over the course of time. This dialogical relationship consists of past and present forms of feminism not only speaking to each other—however divisively—but also continually altering and ultimately sustaining each other. Topless activism provides a useful example of this interplay. First, it suggests affinities with an earlier moment in German feminist history when topless university students disrupted a lecture by Theodor Adorno. Yet its reactivation in a contemporary context simultaneously reveals a younger generation deeply concerned with cross-cultural forms of misogyny that oppress women beyond German borders, a key difference in a now more globally connected world. Mohanty's argument that recognizing particular kinds of differences simultaneously sets the terms for perceiving commonalities, however, brings additional elements into view. If recent topless activism deeply offended precisely the women it intended to support, the three women who leapt to Adorno's podium and bared their breasts received their own kinds of mixed reception. Not only did the press and public, as Barbara Becker-Cantarino argues, find their actions "shameless, immoral, and reprehensible," their image nonetheless appeared on various magazine covers, no doubt to bolster sales.⁴³

The larger insight that emerges alongside these examples of simultaneous differences and affinities is simply that historically connected approaches will necessarily resonate differently over time. Importantly, this perspective runs counter to a more teleological narrative in which succeeding generations always evolve beyond the blind spots of their successors. To embrace this notion is to reject a long, rich history as living substratum. In the best possible scenario, feminism consists not so much of tangled-up voices that stifle each other but rather a thriving ecosystem capable of modifications that ensure its ability to thrive over time. Given that some feminist approaches may be more noxious (toplessness as antidote to the hijab) than salutary in achieving a particular aim, the focus should be on the suitability of a particular approach at a given moment in time. Thus, solidarity needs to be imagined not as an endpoint in time and space but rather in ways elastic enough to accommodate repetitions of the same, or contrary needs perpetually reasserting themselves, as well as always shifting contexts. Mohanty emphasizes that it is "always an achievement, the result of active struggle to construct the universal on the basis of particulars/differences."⁴⁴

Given this volume's investment in literary and filmic representations and their implications for feminism, it should not surprise that my most utopian example of mother-daughter dynamics, evident in *The Edge of*

Heaven, offers a concrete example of this process. The German mother in this film represents the generation of '68, though her ideals have ossified and her German identity props itself up on a sense of enlightened superiority to Turkey. Despite the Turkish daughter's initial angry response to her—their first encounter culminates with her statement “fuck your European Union”—her globally informed activism ultimately rekindles buried impulses in the German mother. Rather than attempting to combat global forces, however, the mother recognizes and corrects her own authoritarian tendencies, on full display in her interactions with her biological daughter. As much as the Turkish daughter reignites an impulse to change, the mother also alters the Turkish daughter's unmitigated anger towards power structures writ large. Part of their initial encounter includes the mother's observation to her: “maybe you're just someone who likes to fight.” What we witness by the end of the film is not so much anger defused, but rather deep bonds that emerge within and across familial—but not necessarily biological—structures as the ur-locus of hierarchy. By tapping into each other's energies and tempering each other's excesses, these two women model a process of transformation whereby mothers and daughters continually reinfuse and sustain each other across difference. This relationship thus models solidarity not as quiescent endpoint but as residing in the continually shifting interstices between difference and affinity, imagined in ways that preserve a larger whole.

Notes

1. Alice Schwarzer, “Die Folgen der falschen Toleranz,” *AliceSchwarzer.de*, 5 January 2016, <http://www.aliceschwarzer.de/artikel/das-sind-die-folgen-der-falschen-toleranz-331143>.
2. Stefanie Lohaus and Anne Wizorek, “Immigrants Aren't Responsible for Rape Culture in Germany,” *Vice*, 8 January 2016, <https://www.vice.com/read/rape-culture-germany-cologne-new-years-2016-876>.
3. Such challenges were explicitly articulated in the #ausnahmslos campaign, released online on 28 April 2016 in order to influence parliamentary revisions of existing rape laws in Germany. Authored by more than twenty feminists whose names indicate a mix of German and non-German origins, the text critiqued the media's attention to sexual violence only when committed by those perceived as cultural others or against white cis-gendered women. To counter this skewed approach, they cited a range of statistics about the prevalence of sexual violence in European culture, including a 2014 study by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights that

one in two women experience sexual harassment. They also cited German police statistics that record 7,300 sexual assaults yearly, which amounts to roughly twenty each day. Equally important to #ausnahmslos was making sexual harassment a crime and revising existing laws that determined whether a rape has occurred based on the victim's behavior, specifically whether she tried to defend herself. The English version of their text can be found at <http://ausnahmslos.org/english>.

4. See Christiane Hoffmann and René Pfister, "A Feminist View of Cologne: 'The Current Outrage is Very Hypocritical'" (interview with Alice Schwarzer and Anne Wizorek), *Spiegel Online*, 21 January 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-feminists-debate-cologne-attacks-a-1072806.html>. Wizorek observed: "When I see the kinds of people that are now jumping into the debate over women's rights, it also includes, among others, the same politicians who, during the #aufschrei (outcry) debate in 2013, said that women shouldn't be so demanding. Now that men with immigration backgrounds have committed sexual assaults, it is being instrumentalized in order to stigmatize them as a group. I think that is racist."
5. The introductory text continues: "For decades, Schwarzer—as publisher of *EMMA*, the country's highly influential women's magazine—has been at the forefront of women's issues. In more recent years, a younger generation of feminists, led by Wizorek, has sought to challenge Schwarzer's preeminence." See "A Feminist View of Cologne."
6. Astrid Henry, *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third-Wave Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2004), 2–3. She writes, "In recent years, there has been an increasing tendency to speak of feminism in terms of generations. . . . In its most-often-used form, the phrase 'feminist generations' points to the existence of at least two—if not more—coexisting generations of US feminists: second-wave feminists of the 1970s and a new generation of feminists, who emerged in the 1990s, who are called the third wave. This latter term, the 'third wave,' has frequently been employed as a kind of shorthand for generational difference among feminists."
7. Birgit Mikus and Emily Spiers, eds., "Fractured Legacies: Historical, Cultural and Political Perspectives on German Feminism," *Oxford German Studies* 45.1 (2016), 6. They cite author and early feminist Hedwig Dohm (1831–1919): "In der Frauenfrage, wie in allen großen sozialen Fragen, gilt es nicht, festzustellen, was war und was ist, sondern was sein wird" (Regarding the Women's Question, as with all important social questions, it is not about determining what was and what is, but rather what will be, 9). Her vision also implicitly responded to differing approaches and ideologies within the movement by situating met goals in the future. As Mikus and Spiers argue, it was vitally important to her to create a "systematic structure of thought which can function as an intellectual and cultural legacy for women of future generations, so they can build from there" (11).

8. Ibid., 16.
9. In critiquing some of the younger generation of German feminism, Mikus and Spiers observe that “they generally avoid glossing a domestic feminist tradition before 1968, a phenomenon which contrasts the practices revealed by cognate texts in the Anglophone context.” They also argue that younger feminists prefer to cite Anglo-American discourse rather than German or European sources, beyond Simone de Beauvoir and Luce Irigaray (ibid., 16)
10. Henry, *Not My Mother’s Sister*, 3.
11. Unless otherwise stipulated, all translations are my own. Miriam Gebhardt, *Alice im Niemandsland. Wie die deutsche Frauenbewegung die Frauen verlor* (Munich: Verlagsgruppe Random House, 2012), 14.
12. This idea is taken from a paper Baer presented at the German Studies Association Conference in 2008.
13. This description appears in the following longer quote: “Das Beschweigen und Nichtwahrnehmen von Rassismus, auch durch ‘progressive Linke’ und unter frauenbewegten Frauen, empfand ich im Jahr 1990 als beängstigend und schockierend und doch überraschte es mich kaum. Zwar waren seit Mitte der 80er Jahre vermehrte Diskussionen zum Thema ‘multikulturelle Bundesrepublik’ geführt worden, jedoch nur in Ausnahmefällen mit der Konsequenz, die eigenen Lebens- und politischen Zusammenhänge so zu verändern, das seine kontinuierliche, gleichberechtigte Zusammenarbeit mit ImmigrantInnen und Schwarzen Deutschen zu einer unverzichtbaren Selbstverständlichkeit geworden wäre und die Auseinandersetzung mit Rassismus zu einem permanenten Bemühen” (To be sure, there had been discussions about the “multicultural Federal Republic” since the mid 1980s. But only by accident would these have the effect of adjusting one’s own personal and political relations in a way that would render it natural and inevitable to cooperate with immigrants and black Germans on a permanent, equitable basis in order to make the issue of racism an automatic consideration). See Peggy Piesche, ed., *Euer Schweigen schützt euch nicht. Audre Lorde und die Schwarze Frauenbewegung in Deutschland* (Berlin: Orlanda Frauenverlag, 2012), 63.
14. Valerie Renegar and Stacey K. Sowards, “Contradiction as Agency: Self-Determination, Transcendence, and Counter-Imagination in Third Wave Feminism,” *Hypatia* 24.2 (Spring 2009), 11.
15. Fatima El Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011). She observes, “Anti-Enlightenment migrant fundamentalism . . . places the continent in the position of victim, occupied with defending its values rather than imposing them on others. The imagery of a European culture faced with possible extinction or at least dilution invites a binary rather than an interactive view of

cultural exchange and has become a familiar feature in European discourse in particular on the continent's Muslim population" (xvi).

16. *Ibid.*, xxviii.
17. *Ibid.*, xxix.
18. Madelyn Detloff, "Mean Spirits. The Politics of Contempt Between Feminist Generations," *Hypatia* 12.3 (Summer 1997), 97.
19. As Mikus and Spiers note, by self-identifying as girls, these women distanced themselves linguistically and ideologically from an anachronistic "women's" movement ("Fractured Legacies," 20).
20. Myra Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 22.
21. Barbara Becker-Cantarino has tallied the successes of second-wave feminism in Germany: "Compared to the 1960s, women in the 2000s have gained—at least the possibility of—unrestricted access to (higher) education, to all professions and jobs including the military, more control over their own bodies and procreative functions, control of their own finances, protection against sexual and physical abuse by men, better financial report during the childbearing phase and for child-rearing for working parents, equal rights in divorce, guardianship, and a right to equal pay and pensions." See Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "The Politics of Memory and Gender: What Happened to Second-Wave Feminism in Germany?" *German Life and Letters* 67.4 (October 2014), 609.
22. Henry cites early feminist Ann Snitow's fraught relationship with her mother, a sentiment she identifies among other women in the second wave: "Snitow offers an illustrative example of disidentification: she suggests that the desire to escape her mother's life was particularly strong because she could . . . recognize herself in this life and in the female role it mandated. Thus, for many white, middle-class feminists of the second wave, according to Marianne Hirsch, mothers 'became the targets of the process of disidentification and the primary negative models for the daughter'" (*Not My Mother's Sister*, 8). This cycle, of course, then reprised itself with their third wave daughters.
23. Clare Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory* (Durham: Duke University Press), 1–2.
24. Diana Fuss, *Identification Papers* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 2.
25. Other pairings include primary and secondary, imaginary and symbolic, idiopathic and heteropathic, partial and total, narcissistic and regressive, hysterical and melancholic, multiple and terminal (*Ibid.*, 4).
26. *Ibid.*, 2.
27. *Ibid.*, 7.
28. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
29. *Ibid.*, 9.
30. *Ibid.*, 8.

31. Ibid., 8.
32. Ibid., 9.
33. Drawing on Jasbir Puar's notion of "affirmative becomings," Carrie Smith-Prei and Maria Stehle describe a similar process in their book, *Awkward Politics: Technologies of Popfeminist Activism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), i.e., "the creation of a space of multiplicity and emergence where acknowledgements of difference can become a starting point for developing a sense of political solidarity" (202).
34. See Jana Hensel and Elisabeth Raether, *Neue deutsche Mädchen* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2008); Meredith Haaf, Susanne Klingner, and Barbara Streidl, *Wir Alpha-Mädchen. Warum Feminismus das Leben schöner macht* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 2008).
35. Mikus and Spiers, "Fractured Legacies," 24.
36. See Sonja Eismann, ed., *Hot Topic. Popfeminismus heute* (Mainz: Ventil, 2007).
37. See Katja Kauer, *Popfeminismus! Fragezeichen! Eine Einführung* (Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag, 2009).
38. The effect bears resemblance to Carrie Smith-Prei and Maria Stehle's notion of "awkwardness," which describes the often contrary meanings that arise in a transnational arena of popfeminist performance art and street and hashtag activism. See Smith-Prei and Stehle, "The Awkward Politics"; and "WiG-Trouble: Awkwardness and Feminist Politics," *Women in German Yearbook* 30 (2014), 209–24.
39. Alternatively, in a film such as Doris Dörrie's *Alles inklusiv* (2014), which examines mother-daughter tensions around the spirit and effects of '68, we do see highly flawed and thus psychologically complex female characters. However, traces of feminism, whether their specific effects on individual characters or as larger shaping influence on the film's representational strategies, seem less evident in the film.
40. See Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
41. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke UP, 2003), 7.
42. Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*, 226.
43. Becker-Cantarino, "The Politics of Memory and Gender," 609. She actually argues that both the "Tomatenwurf" (thrown tomato) and "Busenattentat" (bosom assault) prompted this response given that both events "flew in the face of 'feminine' decency."
44. Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*, 7.