Chapter 8

Now Mainstreaming

Queer Phenomenology, Techno, and the Transnational in *Beat* and *Futur Drei*

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As streaming has facilitated increasingly transnational productions, aesthetic transformations, and global consumption of film and television, it has had advantages for queer programming. Large multinationals like Netflix and Amazon reach a globally dispersed digital queer community better than broadcast media or art-house cinemas, and queer content is clearly marketable, given the frequent presence of LGBTQ+ as a category on streaming homepages, and indeed on the streaming platforms of traditional networks.1 Yet this mainstreaming of queer film and television also brings frustration, encapsulated in the concept of queerbaiting, when advertising suggests a queer storyline where there is at best a cursory nod to queerness.² Transnational financing, production, and distribution via streaming may be creating new markets, but queer programming, especially from queer of color and postmigrant perspectives, still lacks resources within the entertainment industry. Some recent productions featuring queer of color protagonists have cast exclusively straight actors, for example, or been accused of neglecting diversity behind the camera.3 Similar questions arise at an aesthetic level: some writers insert queer characters into marketable genres with transnational appeal without challenging those genres' dependence on heterosexuality. In this context, queer characters or storylines can appear out of place or stereotyped. Yet some productions stage and challenge these issues.⁴ In the German context, such productions suggest that the transnational must be more than simply mainstream programming with global reach. This version of the queer transnational chimes with Benedict Schofield's concept of the transnational, which entails "productive dislocation." It depends on a meeting of perspectives that disrupt or confound expectations and genres, explore new ways of working, and take seriously the transnational experience of queers in the entertainment industry.

In this chapter, I explore what it means for queer transnational film and television to be mainstream, and analyze two queer productions that approach this question in contrasting ways: Marco Kreuzpaintner's Amazon Prime Video series Beat (2018) and the Jünglinge film collective's feature Futur Drei (No Hard Feelings, 2020). While Beat suggests the incompatibility of queer storylines with transnational genres and mainstream platforms, Futur Drei draws on a pop cultural mainstream that is both queer and transnational, but does so outside of the mainstream broadcast and entertainment industry. Both films are multilingual: besides the English slang common in German pop culture, significant sections of Beat are in Russian and Arabic and Futur Drei features code-switching between German and Persian. Beat is an internationally funded streaming series backed by Amazon, with a local cast and crew and a global, albeit mixed, reception. Futur Drei had more success at festivals and with critics.6 It was one of the most successful debut features in 2020, and the pandemic meant that its creators explored the possibilities for a streaming release hosted with German distributor Salzgeber. This low-budget, locally financed debut by a young queer postmigrant collective is transnational not because of international finance but because of production methods emphasizing collectivity, positionality, and shared transnational experiences. Transnational production strategies are also reflected in the two works' hybrid aesthetics and their shared exploration of forced migration and refugee experience alongside portrayals of clubs, parties, and a global electronic music scene.

Taken together, these productions require critics to differentiate in how we describe the mainstreaming of transnational queer culture. They suggest that a queer transnational film and TV studies depends on challenging the normative function of entertainment multinationals and centering a diversity of queer perspectives within the industry. While *Beat* presents a nighttime economy dependent on transnational criminality, human trafficking, and the arms trade, *Futur Drei* insists that the queer transnational can exist in fleeting moments of joy and small, low-budget, collective productions. International finance, global mobility, and high-profile platforms are less important here than shared

experience, collective organizing, and queer postmigrant creativity. This understanding of the transnational has been developed especially in work on Black women's internationalism. In Keisha Blain's work on women's organizing in Chicago, she shifts focus to forms of internationalism pursued by working-class women without the resources to travel, but who "immersed themselves in global politics without ever physically crossing national borders."7 In the German context, Tiffany Florvil's work on Black History Month events in Berlin in the 1990s shows how queer and straight people of color in Germany have responded to global movements, sharing transnational knowledge and experience while remaining rooted in local communities.8 Beat's critique of globalization and the collective, entangled understanding of the queer transnational in Futur Drei suggest that theories of the transnational that avoid privileging mobility have important resonances for the study of film and TV in the streaming age. Advances in queer representation mean these questions are bound up with debates on the value of mainstreaming for queer culture's transnational reach. In the following, I discuss the production, reception, and aesthetic of the two works, and show how each articulates an opposing relationship to the idea of a transnational mainstream. I draw on Sara Ahmed's queer phenomenology and research from popular music studies to shed light on the ideas of the mainstream in both works. Despite their differences, Beat and Futur Drei suggest a powerful critique of production norms in film and television. Futur Drei goes a step further and offers a model for film and TV to challenge minoritizing trends by linking the transnational power of popular culture to a broader range of queer-centered perspectives.

Beat (2018): Mainstream Genres and the Transnational Underground

Beat, written and directed by Marco Kreuzpaintner and released on 9 November 2018, creates a collage of genres that juxtaposes the conflict between underground and mainstream in Berlin's techno scene with tensions between the local and transnational in its depictions of organized crime, arms sales, and human trafficking. It is among a growing number of German-language productions on Amazon's Prime Video platform since 2017. Amazon acquired distribution rights to existing series Pastewka (2005–20, Amazon from 2018), Der Lack ist ab (2015–, Amazon since 2017) and Deutschland 86 and 89 (2018–20). Amazon's first German-language original You Are Wanted (2017–18) was its first

non-Anglophone series on global release, and Beat develops its setting in Berlin and interest in transnational crime.9 The production of Beat parallels the interplay between global influence and local situatedness in Berlin's techno scene itself, drawing on Amazon's international financing and distribution structures while employing a largely local crew. German producers Pantaleon and Hellinger/Doll partnered with Warner Bros. who, Kreuzpaintner says, allowed him great freedom in his work with the series. 10 Kreuzpaintner is an established name in queer German cinema, best known for the queer coming-of-age film Sommersturm (2004). Beat cast members were well known in Germany, but while some had already had international success, especially Alexander Fehling (Goethe!, Inglourious Basterds, Homeland), most were still developing international profiles, including Jannis Niewöhner, Kostja Ullmann, and Karoline Herfurth, who had also appeared in You Are Wanted. Niewöhner has gone on to star in Netflix's Munich—The Edge of War (2021), suggesting Beat was an important career move into international streaming dramas. Many scenes in Beat were filmed on location in Berlin, making the most of internationally famous but recognizably local club spaces like Watergate, the venue Kraftwerk which shares a building with the club Tresor, as well as the steel and glass architecture of German government facilities along the Spree. Such spaces are general enough to appeal internationally, yet specific enough to offer rewards to viewers with knowledge of Berlin.

In the reception of the series, the release date of 9 November further targeted a knowledgeable audience by following a common tendency in German media to tie the techno scene to the opening of the Berlin Wall. 11 Amazon do not share viewing figures, so the reception of the series is hard to quantify, a fact that Kreuzpaintner himself welcomes. 12 It streamed worldwide with dubbing and subtitles in several languages, won the Grimme-Preis in Germany, and was reviewed in German- and English-speaking press, although these reviews were often lukewarm.¹³ The transnational appeal of Kreuzpaintner's portrayal of club culture was clear, with reviewers agreeing that Beat captures crowd dynamics and the mix of excitement and exhaustion perfectly.¹⁴ To film club scenes, the producers created an actual party with loud music that lasted through the night, and the sound mix was adapted in postproduction so that dialogue was audible where necessary.¹⁵ That meant that dancers were really dancing and the delirium and exhaustion on their faces is real. The success of these scenes led Amazon to release a 50-minute edit with a techno mix primarily of music by Aleph-1 entitled Club-Nacht Home Edition (2020) after the Covid-19 lockdowns had

closed Berlin's clubs. ¹⁶ Kreuzpaintner's mix of genres elicited a less enthusiastic response: reviewers described its combination of spy thriller, crime drama, Berlin film, mafia series, and absurdist horror as overly complicated and unsuccessfully realized. ¹⁷ Focusing on queer characters and motifs, however, shows how Kreuzpaintner's techniques draw attention to the awkward status of queer storylines within mainstream genres in transnational television.

Kreuzpaintner's thriller is set in Berlin's techno scene, imagined as a site of organized crime and the excesses of international capitalism. The series is a hybrid of genres, initially suggesting a whodunit before moving between a gangster plot, the spy genre, the more specifically German genre of the Berlin film, and the club settings that dominate mainstream queer representations internationally. Kreuzpaintner's play with thriller genres represents a substantial "inward absorption" of genres and styles that have proven internationally successful on streaming platforms, as well as on German broadcast media.¹⁸ However, the queer tropes in the series complicate a model of inward and outward influence. Club settings are a staple of queer television internationally, from Manchester's Canal Street in Queer as Folk (1999) to New York ball culture in *Pose* (2018–21). Using club scenes as a vehicle for queer German storylines might therefore represent "inward absorption" of motifs from Anglophone cultures. By drawing on the Berlin film, though, the series joins a lineage of internationally successful German productions, a kind of "outward absorption" of Berlin film tropes into queer visual cultures. 19 Queer characters, homoeroticism, and desire also unsettle the thriller genres, so that an influence of queer culture on straight genres is evident in the at times uncomfortable plot dynamics of Beat. This awkward hybrid suggests that not all influences are absorbed easily or equally into mainstream genre expectations. The result is a production that unsettles genre expectations and foregrounds the difficulties caused by mainstreaming queer culture.

The tension between mainstream and underground, local and transnational, and queer and heteronormative are central to the series, as they are in Berlin's club scene. The story revolves around a fictional techno club Sonar and its promoter Robert Schlag, alias Beat. Beat never describes his own sexual identity, but is presented as bi or pansexual. As in a police procedural, the plot begins with dead bodies discovered hanging from the club ceiling. This whodunit plot intersects with Beat's conflict with the club's new investor, Philipp Vossberg, who was brought in by Beat's friend and partner Paul. Beat's antagonism with Philipp is initially based on concern that the club has become too main-

stream. As he criticizes Philipp, Beat nostalgically describes Sonar's early days as an underground venue:

Beat: "We put on our first party in an auto repair shop and got drinks with a fake Metro card. I remember we were hoping back then that

a hundred people would come. How many came?"

Paul: "800."

Beat: "800. Insane [Alter]! That was success. Maybe we were already

screwed from that day on."20

Success here is negatively connoted, and carries associations of financial gain, mass appeal, and mainstream popularity. Drawing on tropes around Swabians in Prenzlauer Berg, Beat comments: "These people come to Berlin because Berlin is the way it is, and then they turn it into Stuttgart."21 "These people" here are Philipp and his associates, shown speaking Russian on the club's mezzanine, filmed in dark shadows with unsettled low- and high-angle shots and indistinct, unsubtitled dialogue. Philipp does not turn out to be an agent of gentrification, and the migration foregrounded in the film is not from Swabia but from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. The whodunit swerves into the gangster genre, as Beat discovers that Philipp is trading arms to terrorist organizations and then trafficking and killing the people displaced to sell their organs to transplant patients in Germany. As part of this operation, he is involved with a Ukrainian mafia family.²² The spy genre is also woven into the plot, with Beat recruited by European Security Intelligence (ESI) agents Richard Diemer and Emilia to spy on Philipp. In these plot twists, Beat's concerns about his club becoming mainstream and Berlin becoming gentrified are amplified into a portrayal of the worst excesses of global capitalism. Even Beat, with his opposition to mainstreaming and suspicion of ESI, becomes implicated in espionage and drawn into transnational flows of crime, money, and influence.

For all Beat protests his club's underground credentials, Kreuzpaintner depicts Club Sonar as a quintessential large Berlin club, a mainstream venue with an international clientele and carefully curated postindustrial aesthetic. Its appearance is assembled from several locations. The vaulted concrete and steel interior and smaller underground rooms were largely shot at Kraftwerk, combining features associated with Berghain and Kraftwerk's neighbor Tresor. KitKatClub is used for smaller interiors and Watergate's Mainfloor for one dancefloor; Watergate is also name-checked as a collaborator with the fictional Sonar. Outside Club Sonar, the railway lines along the Spree add to the postin-

dustrial aesthetic, while metal walkways and steps, like those around Warschauer Straße and Ostkreuz before their redevelopment, create a sense of provisionality. Even Beat's personal style combines clichés of the Berlin scene: tattoos, drug taking, and a chaotic shared apartment in a redeveloped East German block. The series addresses a dual audience, allowing those knowledgeable about Berlin's clubs to spot locations and references, and to access a specific level of critique of the commercialization of the Berlin techno scene. The series caters to viewers less familiar with club cultures in other ways: for example, Richard explains for his boss at the ESI, and for uninitiated viewers, what it means to be a club promoter and why Beat is the ideal informant. The techno scene is a vehicle for reaching global audiences, while exploring the specificity of Berlin as a location. Beat's concerns about people moving to Berlin reflect on a diegetic level the series' attempts to reach an international audience, by relating the boom in transnational television to concerns in Berlin around gentrification and mainstreaming.

In Beat, as in Berlin's scene, attempts to distance oneself from the mainstream are linked to a policing of belonging in the city's electronic music subcultures. Here the word "mainstream" is an accusation: anything mainstream is at once excessive—too dominant, too popular, too commercial—and insufficient: derivative, formulaic, uncool. This vague, usually dismissive usage was often voiced in earlier popular music scholarship, especially following David Hebdige's work on subcultures.²³ Writers on popular culture have since embraced the mainstream, arguing for the need to take seriously its genres and practices and criticizing the tendency to present mainstream music as too feminine or queer.²⁴ Scholars have also scrutinized the effect of the term itself. Sarah Thornton's pioneering ethnography of club cultures, for example, demonstrates the mainstream's power as a "trope" that young people mobilize to "imagine their social world, assert their cultural worth, claim their subcultural capital."25 She describes how "most clubbers and ravers characterize their own crowd as mixed or difficult to classify," but they use the idea of the mainstream to "identify a homogeneous crowd to which they don't belong."26 Germany's diverse and varied techno scene shows the ambivalence of these dynamics: while its electronic music industry profits from international success, scene insiders like Beat build community through disidentification with mainstreaming, gentrification, and commercialization.²⁷ Berlin's clubs have driven a boom in international tourism, yet this reputation depends on music, door policies, and aesthetics that help clubbers feel they have accessed something underground and exclusive.²⁸ Many Berliners, meanwhile,

link techno tourism and migration to gentrification, and are working to combat inequalities along lines of race, gender, sexuality, and class.²⁹ The premise for *Beat* explores the connections between these dynamics within the techno scene and broader social and economic factors, especially the interplay between the local and globalization.

Kreuzpaintner associates the mainstream closely with the transnational, and positions Beat in opposition to its representatives, including agents and DJs, the intelligence agency, and the mafia family. These conflicts also mean Beat fits uncomfortably within these genres and disrupts their flow. Ahmed's queer phenomenology focuses on the perceptions of those who do not or cannot go with the flow of mainstream norms, and argues that the force of those norms is perceived most keenly by those swimming against the tide. For example, she explores the concept of "flow" in so-called positive psychology: "Flow describes the experience of an individual engaged with the world, or involved with the world, where the world is not encountered as alien, as an obstacle or resistance."30 Marginalized subjects who experience the world and its norms as alien, and who feel the force of the mainstream, are prevented from achieving "flow" by constant resistance, stoppages, or countercurrents.³¹ To understand the norms that distinguish the mainstream from the underground, a discussion must therefore start with the perspectives of those who are stopped, turned back at the door, or blocked from self-realization within the scene. Ahmed also helps us think about the prestige attached to being outside the mainstream. In the techno scene, insiders like Beat prize going against the flow, and yet being successfully outside the mainstream depends even more on networks and access. Some profit more than others from maintaining underground credentials, and rejecting mainstream venues is often a luxury for financially successful artists and those well-known enough to receive such invitations. When clubbers dismiss the mainstream, their self-positioning as an outsider can disguise the structures of racism and heterosexism that shape cultures around techno.

Club Sonar is mainstream in Ahmed's sense too, in that it encapsulates how the club scene is bound up with normative forces felt most strongly by those marginalized or exploited. In *Beat*, these forces always operate transnationally and to the detriment of queer characters and refugees. As with Ahmed's discussion, *Beat* uses metaphors of flow and cycles to describe the exploitative workings of global capitalism. Philipp's criminality is explained in an episode entitled "Loop," referencing both the use of prerecorded loops in electronic music and

the circular flow of goods and capital in Philipp's arms and human trafficking trade. This metaphor adds to the emphasis in *Beat* that the techno scene is entangled with the most violent forms of capitalism. In episode two, Emilia reveals that Philipp has invested in Sonar because it is a former air-raid bunker with walls three meters thick that block surveillance, a reference to early 1990s club Bunker. The fabric of the building, which is important for its underground appeal, also makes Sonar valuable for Philipp's criminal empire. The club is a confluence for Philipp's organizations, so that its underground aesthetic is part of the mainstream capitalist system that Beat rejects. The victims in this system are primarily North African and Middle Eastern people displaced by violence and then kidnapped and murdered by Philipp's company, dramatizing in the starkest terms Ahmed's argument that the "force" of the mainstream is felt most keenly by those disadvantaged by global inequalities.

Although Beat seeks to mainstream queerness and normalize queer storylines in thriller genres, queer elements mostly disrupt and block these transnational flows, just as Ahmed describes how queer people are stopped by, but also stand in the way of, mainstream forces. The figure of queer obstructiveness at Sonar is its door manager, Beat's trans colleague Fräulein Sundström. She is authoritative, well liked, and confident, commanding respect at the door to an exclusive venue. Her character gestures to the importance of queer and trans people in Berlin's scene, referencing drag artist, writer, and actor Melitta Sundström and the Kreuzberg gay bar named after her. As door manager, Fräulein Sundström embodies the role of queers as blockages, in Ahmed's terms. She curates the crowd inside the club, determines people's access, and holds the power to stop would-be clubbers by refusing them entry. When Beat needs to hide from Philipp's accomplices, Sundström's apartment is the one place he can hide that is beyond his reach: "If there's anyone at all who can still protect me, it's her." There may be little escape in the series from the flows of capitalism, violence, or exploitation, but if any refuge is possible it is hyperlocal rather than transnational: close queer friendships and the history of Berlin's queer cultural life.

Beat is set up as a queer character when he first walks into Sonar, in a scene that resonates with hedonist parties in queer film and television from *Coming Out* (1989) to *It's a Sin* (2021). After a few establishing shots of a full club, Beat kisses a woman in the crowd. The camera cuts to him dancing with her and a young man with their arms around him, all three facing the camera. He kisses them both and they dance sensu-

ally to the music. Richard's voice-over over the rapid visual edits and fast-moving camera situates the ESI as outsiders, even voyeurs in this environment. As the agents discuss recruiting Beat, the images show him and his two lovers taking drugs and having sex, first in the club toilets and then in his apartment. Much of the scene is in partial darkness, occasional flashing lights illuminating the clubbers' skin and giving the effect of snapshots of their intimacy. The music and voice-over remain constant, while fast visual edits create an atmosphere of frenetic hedonism. This scene establishes Beat's bi- or pansexuality and creates Sonar as a space of queer sexual freedom, but viewers have only fleeting impressions and are required to piece them together. This surface treatment of Beat's sexuality adds to the first episode's play with clichés of Berlin clubs, but also normalizes his queerness and multiple partners as part of the scene's everyday. His sexuality remains an irritant for representatives of official institutions: after Beat's questioning about the dead bodies in the club, he overhears one policeman referring to him using a homophobic slur. Beat's conflict with police and intelligence agents as representatives of a broader societal mainstream ensures that Sonar remains part of a queer-coded underground. His queerness suggests that the series is treading two lines carefully: needing a generic Berlin aesthetic that will appeal to a large audience but still seem alternative, and balancing tropes from queer television with the straightcoded dynamics of spy or crime thrillers.

The genres on which Beat draws rely on heterosexuality as a plot device. Beat's ambivalent relationship with Emilia was likened by reviewers to the romantic and sexual tension between Carrie and Nick in *Homeland*, for example.³² Alexander Fehling, who plays Philipp, also featured as Carrie's boyfriend in season five of Homeland (2015) set in Berlin, suggesting this as an important model for the "inward absorption" of the spy drama into Beat's web of genres. Early on, Beat jokes about his disagreements with Emilia: "It's going so well with us. You're quite in love with me." Emilia replies good-humoredly: "Don't need to be. My job is guiding you safely through this assignment." Her role is as a guide rather than a romantic lead. Another transnational intertext here is the James Bond franchise, which Beat references by calling Emilia "Jane Bond." In Bond films, ambivalent, untrusting relationships between agents frequently have an erotic dimension. Beat's connection with Emilia, though, lacks any erotic spark that might direct their motivations along the "straight lines" of the spy thriller, to use Ahmed's term for the well-worn, normalized paths through heterosexual life.33 Kreuzpaintner's play with these dynamics reveals how heterosexuality

shapes the expectations of mainstream genres. Beat resists incorporation into the flow of these genres, just as they sit uneasily alongside one another in Kreuzpaintner's series.

Moments of queer affiliation disrupt the narrative and introduce additional genres that complicate the story and distract from the unravelling of the criminal networks. Beat's most loving relationship is his friendship with his gay housemate, Janik, which involves a jarring excursus into the gangster genre and the transnational world of the Ukrainian mafia family. One recurring motif of their relationship, which signals its intimacy, is Beat coming in while Janik is half-asleep in bed and haranguing him for something he has or has not done. In episode four, when Janik tells Beat that he has fallen in love, the two hold intense eye contact and communicate in partial sentences that signal familiarity and closeness. Their relationship displays everyday queer affiliation and intense loyalty. Janik's new lover is Danilo, whose brother Igor runs the mafia network. After Sonar's grand reopening, Beat catches Janik going with Danilo to a hotel after-party with the gangsters, and insists on accompanying them. He describes his relationship with Janik to Igor in fraternal terms: "I'm basically like his big brother; I'd like to keep an eye on him." Beat's reference to brotherhood is another performance of genre expectations, as in gangster thrillers where brotherly relationships are a source of allegiance and conflict, from the early Godfather films (1972, 1974) to the recent German series 4 Blocks (2017). In parallel with the series' repetition of prejudiced tropes around East European criminality and masculinity, Beat also engages in a sort of homonationalism.³⁴ Igor condones Danilo's queerness on the provision that he is the "real man" (muzhik) when he has sex with Janik. The Ukrainian gangsters' exaggerated homophobia and misogyny present Janik's sexual passivity in conflict with gangster masculinities, and make German characters and Berlin seem tolerant. These exchanges feminize and infantilize Janik: his naivety and passivity resist easy incorporation into the series' genres, just like the non-erotic love between him and Beat. At the mafia party, Danilo dies of an overdose and Beat, in saving Janik, loses a chance to learn about Philipp's dealings with Igor. Janik's melodramatic love for Danilo, and Beat's care for him, frustrate the unraveling of the mystery and involve characters in a generic excursus that makes little practical contribution to understanding Philipp's criminal networks. Janik is ultimately killed in Philipp's reprisal against Beat, standing in for reprisals against wives and children, who are frequently threatened in gangster movies. Janik's passive queerness is an irritant in the narrative, and his loyalty and friendship

with Beat are powerful enough to divert the flow of the spy genre in unexpected and unresolved ways.

Kreuzpaintner's play with so many genres, all with transnational appeal and a combination of straight and queer, German and international elements, was unpopular with critics and is not always successful. Yet a queer phenomenological reading that is attentive to the dynamics of mainstreaming reveals queer elements in its narrative and aesthetic. With Beat's relationships with Sundström and Janik, Beat centers queer dynamics in ways that disrupt the easy flow of genres. This resembles the "dislocation" of Schofield's understanding of the transnational, but in Beat it is not clear whether this dislocation is in the end "productive." Rather, queer storylines remain poorly integrated into the wider narrative and mainstream genres are not fundamentally unsettled. Janik draws Beat into a genre that fits uneasily within the spy story or club setting. Kreuzpaintner's excessive bricolage of genres plays with the aesthetic resources of transnational streaming television, and can be read as a critique not only of the trade in arms and human lives depicted in the narrative, but also, perhaps unintentionally, of the demands of the global entertainment industry. Queer relationships are an important underlying thread: Kreuzpaintner presents queer erotics and affiliations as irritants within the genres that drive the success of international streaming networks like Amazon. This season's narrative points to challenges in the mainstreaming of queer storylines. For its queer protagonist, mainstream television cannot offer a secure home any more than he can accept mainstream music, yet nor is he left with any viable underground. As the "loop" of Philipp's criminal empire emerges, boundaries between mainstream and underground are collapsed. Beat and his club are inextricably implicated in the worst excesses of transnational European capitalism and political violence, and his underground is revealed as an illusion.

Futur Drei (2020): A Queer Transnational Mainstream?

In contrast to *Beat's* development through international finance and production companies and its distribution through Amazon Prime Video, *Futur Drei* is an independent film by a queer, postmigrant film collective, Jünglinge. It shares several concerns with *Beat*, including clubs and bars as spaces for developing queer relationships and identities, and the critique of the conditions experienced by refugees in Germany. Unlike in *Beat*, where people fleeing war and violence are never

fully characterized, *Futur Drei* centers the experiences of its refugee characters. The clubs, bars, and parties here are on a smaller scale than Sonar in *Beat*, but these small-town venues are imagined as spaces of experimentation and creativity. *Futur Drei* requires a different perspective on the conflicting meanings of the term "transnational." It demonstrates the aesthetic and political importance of centering queer postmigrant voices, and challenges any version of transnational film and television that focuses only on big-budget productions from global streaming providers.

Like Beat, Futur Drei engages in the project of mainstreaming queerness, but does so instead by combining elements from popular culture that resonate with an international queer following. The "mainstream" in this film is not a subject of disdain or distrust, but of affection, affirmation, and affiliation. This approach chimes with recent pop culture scholarship inspired by queer approaches that proposes a re-evaluation of the mainstream, especially in pop and club music.³⁵ In contrast to the disidentification from the mainstream depicted in Beat and analyzed by Thornton and others, Jason Toynbee suggests an approach with greater resonance for the queer transnational community addressed by Jünglinge's film: "A mainstream is a formation that brings together large numbers of people from diverse social groups and across large geographical areas in common affiliation to a musical style."36 Toynbee's conception of the mainstream is plural, processual, and transnational. With his term "formation," he retains the image of a shifting phenomenon, but this is less the powerful and exclusionary flow emphasized by Ahmed. In absorbing the many metaphorical tributaries, Toynbee's "mainstreaming" creates room for diverse affiliations across geopolitical boundaries. These affiliations resonate with the queer digital communities suggested in Futur Drei and mobilized in the distribution of the film itself. The film samples and explores aspects of mainstream culture from across the world that have attained iconic queer status, and sets them in the specifically German and Iranian context of the three protagonists' postmigrant queer identities and relationships.

The most important difference between *Beat* and *Futur Drei* is their production. The Jünglinge collective, led by director and co-writer Faraz Shariat, co-writer and producer Paulina Lorenz, and research and casting director Raquel Kishori Molt, emphasizes the broad range of transnational and (post)migrant experiences brought together in the production collective. This production method is transnational in the sense described by Blain and Florvil, in that collective local work is closely engaged with transnational movements without the large budgets of

major streaming providers. Futur Drei is set and filmed in Hildesheim, a medium-sized city near Hannover, in line with an increasing focus in recent film and TV on small-town, rural, and suburban life.³⁷ The film was financed through grants from nordmedia, a funding body based in Lower Saxony and Bremen, Filmförderung Hamburg Schleswig-Holstein, the city of Hildesheim, parts of its university, and other trusts and foundations. The film benefited locally from the university's renowned Cultural Studies and Cultural Praxis program, which several Jünglinge members studied on.38 In financing terms, Futur Drei is a local production in comparison with Beat, but its production collective drew on transnational queer of color and postmigrant perspectives on German society and the German film and music industries. Jünglinge place great importance on the positionalities of cast and crew. They ran an "academy" that brought together all involved, including extras, to share knowledge and expertise, and to disperse filmmaking decisions.³⁹ Since the film's release, Jünglinge have continued to reflect on this process. Two members of the collective, Molt and Arpana Aischa Berndt, compiled a volume of essays, images, and reflections. It includes criticism of the film, such as a piece by Selin who calls for stories of displacement and forced migration to involve people with those experiences closely, on set and in the cast.⁴⁰ By foregrounding positionality and reflection, Molt and Berndt position the film not as a final product, but a point in an ongoing experimentation with activist filmmaking practices. 41 Unlike the reliance on mainstream genre stereotypes in Beat, Jünglinge explicitly emphasize the specificity of the milieus they depict in their work. 42 They appeal instead to popular culture with a queer following and with relevance to Shariat's own life experience and the broader Iranian-German context.

The film was among the most successful debut features in Germany in 2020 and, as Shariat has described, made back the money spent on it in mere weeks following its release. It premiered at the 2020 Berlin International Film Festival in its avowedly queer and international Panorama section, and won the Teddy Award for best queer film. Its cinema release in Germany and the UK was affected by the pandemic and, in partnership with distributors Salzgeber and Compulsory Viewing, the collective organized an online streaming launch to explore the potential of a virtual release. The Futur 3.0 Streaming Release Festival was able to reach a broader, more inclusive, and more transnational audience by removing the requirement for cinemagoers to travel to access the film. This format also experimented with ways of creating community among queer postmigrant film viewers in the reception of

the film. The festival's "watch parties," for example, were preceded by a special watch party for BIPOC viewers on 10 April, hosted by directors and writers Mia Spengler and Aslı Özarslan. ⁴⁵ By creating space for viewers of color, this online launch format allowed Jünglinge's production methods to be extended to the film's reception, continuing to create space for creators and viewers of color to share experiences and perspectives. Amidst the devastating effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on the film industry, Jünglinge and their distributors have continued to explore the transnational appeal of their film and endeavored to create new affiliations and solidarities in the film's reception.

The importance of mainstream popular culture for these transnational queer connections is at the center of the plot of Futur Drei too. Its creators depict popular culture as a space of empowerment for queers of color. Their film shows clubbing, singing, and dancing as forms of transnational queer of color creativity, while the straight, white mainstream becomes the irritant as characters face recurring racism. In Fiona Buckland's words, these parties and pop culture more broadly are spaces of "queer world-making," in which "queerness occupie[s] the center" and imagination produces "multiple, fluid possibilities." 46 Music, dancing, and singing do not allow characters to escape the racism of mainstream society, but they are part of characters' attempts to imagine a world centered on queer desires, queer of color perspectives, and transcultural identities. Whereas in Beat, the illusory independence of the underground is undercut and the flow of mainstream capitalism and television genres overpowers queer resistance, in *Futur Drei* this resistance is imagined *as* the mainstream. The transnational in this film is not about corrupt or unstoppable flows of capital and violence, but about queer connections, love, and creativity. This creativity manifests itself in production and reception techniques, but also in a stylistic heterogeneity that imagines a new transnational queer mainstream.

The film follows Parvis (Benjamin Radjaipour), a young, gay, Iranian-German man, who is sentenced to community service as an interpreter in a refugee hostel. There he meets Iranian siblings Banafshe (Banafshe Hourmazdi) and Amon (Eidin Jalali), who are awaiting the outcome of their asylum application. All three are queer, although their queerness plays out in different ways. The film follows Parvis from gay bars to Grindr hook-ups until he falls in love with Amon. His queerness is unquestioned by his family or environment, but encountering Banafshe and Amon forces him to realize how his privilege as a middle-class German citizen intersects with his gay male identity. By contrast, the homophobia of other men in the hostel makes Amon uncomfortable

with publicly acknowledging his queerness and also his sexual and romantic relationship with Parvis. Banafshe's queerness, as Jünglinge have since discussed, is less visible, a fact that gestures to the way that masculine, gay forms of queerness are frequently centered at the expense of bi- or pansexuality or the sexualities of queer women. **Futur Drei** and its characters refuse to present their perspectives as peripheral to a presumed mainstream. The film instead depicts Germany's club scene as a space of queer experimentation and empowerment, rejecting the idea of a single mainstream and focusing, in line with Alison Huber's research, on the specificity and situatedness of each individual's perspective on what is mainstream, hegemonic, or ordinary.**

The film's small-scale, queer-coded, often makeshift venues are less implicated in the fight over mainstream or underground status than major clubs like Sonar. They cater to a local audience, rather than the internationally mobile clientele of Berlin's large techno clubs. Yet the film presents these environments as transnational because of, not despite, their local focus. Parvis's family settled in Hildesheim before he was born, and the film is firmly rooted in the town's Iranian diaspora and its middle-class suburbs. White Germans were cast only where whiteness was essential to their characters, as with two of Parvis's lovers early in the film who ask questions about his background and exoticize him based on racial and ethnic stereotypes.⁴⁹ Instead, the film depicts the breadth of experiences within Hildesheim's local communities. Refugees like Banafshe and Amon are not on the city's periphery, but are engaged in creating the town's nightlife and shaping the film's view of German society. Their friends and acquaintances are from many different geographic, national, and racial backgrounds: close solidarity between queer characters of color is shown when Banafshe goes to her political discussion group to share the news that she has not been granted asylum. The camera spins slowly on its axis, focusing in a medium close-up on each of her friends seated silently in a circle as they hear Banafshe's news. The soundtrack is silent at first—we see Banafshe's lips move but hear no words—which emphasizes the despair in people's faces and their strong sense of solidarity. Banafshe's political group situates her most firmly of the three main characters in networks of queer of color and feminist activism in this medium-sized city. The group gestures to the affiliations built by people in Germany with experiences of racism and, in the cases of Banafshe and Amon, its asylum system. As in Blain's and Florvil's historical work, this film shows how, even in the most local of contexts, characters bring with them transnational biographies, stories of oppression, displacement, and migration, and close networks with people from different backgrounds.⁵⁰ Global

experiences are foregrounded, and the limitations of white German perspectives lead to them being placed at the periphery of the film's narrative.

The film's closest engagement with discourses around mainstream or underground taste comes during one of Parvis's Grindr hook-ups. He arrives at an older white man's apartment in a smart high-rise block. Its white walls are lined with white shelves full of vinyl records that fill the frame at the back of the room. Parvis's blue and yellow oversized shirt stands out against the white decor and fastidious neatness of the room. His date, Robert, is setting up house records on a turntable to the right of the frame, and is initially silent when Parvis walks in. The music starts quietly with four-to-the-floor beats as the two have a stilted conversation before they start kissing. The track changes abruptly each time the camera cuts to a new shot of them having sex in different parts of the apartment, always with turntables or sound equipment prominent in the shot. This stark editing and sterile setting add to the theatricality of the men's sexual positions and draw on aesthetics from pornography. The encounter is impersonal, and Robert is associated with superficiality and rigidity. His meticulous attention to detail in his apartment and music taste is part of a critical portrayal of whiteness. Robert gets Parvis's name wrong, confusing it with "Pavel" even before they have said anything. After they have sex, he reveals his investment in racial categories and the stereotypes that sustain them, saying: "I think that was the first time I've been with someone like you." He goes on to describe Parvis as a "foreigner" (Ausländer) and, when Parvis is nonplussed, he continues: "You know, hairy southern guys. Turks, Greeks, or whatever." Parvis looks away and seems to dissociate briefly, before retorting: "No big deal. I'm actually not that into aging white-bread twinks [junggebliebene Kartoffeln] either." In this scene, house music is not underground, but associated with the white middle classes, with racism, and, twenty years after techno's heyday, with "junggebliebene Kartoffeln."51 Parvis's interaction with his date reveals his everyday struggles against racism as he feels what Ahmed calls the "force" of the mainstream. The film does gesture to a white cultural mainstream, but always with sufficient irony that its power is questioned and challenged. The effect is to render whiteness specific and strange or curious, creating a filmic world where the taken-for-granted perspective is not white, but that of people of color in Germany.

Scenes in clubs and parties, by contrast, create transnational affiliations by celebrating queer forms of mainstream popular culture. Parvis is first introduced outside a club, significantly smaller than Sonar and

without its performance of an underground aesthetic. Parvis enters the club down a narrow staircase, and the interior is lit up in a pinkish-red light with ultraviolet strobes and green lasers. The palm trees silhouetted in the corner are part of the kitsch of small-town clubs, but also set the interior apart from Germany, perhaps looking to Ibiza as an alternative destination for electronic music. The decor shifts focus away from stereotypes of Berlin's scene and shows how smaller clubs are in touch with transnational sides of the music industry. Parvis's self-presentation in this opening scene also draws on queer of color creativity from around the world. His voguing draws on dance traditions from New York's Black and Latinx drag ball scene and reinvents it for his specific context as a young queer German-Iranian man in a Hildesheim club. In a later scene, Parvis dresses as Japanese manga figure Sailor Moon, another example of the film's appeal to popular culture from outside Germany to create queer affiliations across geographical and linguistic borders.⁵² The film imagines clubs not as mainstream or underground, but as a site for queers of color to carve out space for creativity. The club at the opening is set apart from the day-to-day suburban environments of Parvis's life: it is set back from the street down an alleyway and a steep flight of stairs, while the lighting makes its interior indistinct and creates the effect of a dreamscape. Parvis shows confidence and abandon as he dances to camera on his own, while remaining self-aware and conscious of his personal style. The scene is interrupted suddenly when Parvis is kissing a man who stops to ask: "Where are you from, by the way?" This line frames Parvis's experience of clubbing in light of the racism he experiences, and yet he is briefly able to use the club to assert his place in queer worlds beyond his local environment.

Whereas *Beat* explores ideas of flow primarily in the movements of capital and exploitation of North African refugees, *Futur Drei* interrupts the currents of oppression in society for short moments. Long takes like that of Banafshe at her political group or Parvis dancing use film aesthetics to create ways, in Ahmed's words, of "flowing into space" for queer of color characters.⁵³ Moments of singing, dancing, and partying enable characters to fill and shape the environments around them. These moments often happen in clubs and bars, but just as Parvis is allowed to flow for a moment into the space of the club, Jünglinge extend this effect into the film's other settings. In the scene with Parvis's birthday party, one guest sings a Persian melody "Morghe Sahar" [Nightingale] to the assembled family and friends. Parvis and his sister Mina exchange awkward glances, apparently less than engrossed in the singing, but the older generation listen with rapt attention. The singer

appears immersed, filmed briefly in close-up with her eyes closed and forehead furrowed to convey the emotions of the song. The slow, unaccompanied melody is a stark change from the techno of the club scene, but it affords a similar pause in the flow of the narrative and allows characters to reflect. As the singing continues, their connections are visualized with a montage of friends and family taking selfies together. Then in the next take, the guests dance to inaudible lively music while the slow unaccompanied song continues. This sequence explores close familial connections and means of "world-making" that center the guests' shared experiences as members of the Iranian diaspora in Germany. In musical interludes throughout the film, Futur Drei reimagines the idea of the mainstream, privileging the creativity of queer artists within and outside Germany and the cultures of Iran, Japan, and other countries outside Europe. The film thus creates an archive of queer of color strategies for "flowing into space." Centering Iranian and Iranian-German perspectives, both queer and straight, presents the obsession with the underground in German house and techno, exemplified by Parvis's Grindr date, not as a source of exclusion or belonging, but simply as an absurd curiosity.

After Parvis meets Banafshe and Amon, the film's aesthetic creates further utopian spaces for the three to develop a relationship. The film explores how their partying and queer world-making spill out into the town. After a party in the refugee hostel, Parvis and Banafshe go to a shisha bar and then around the city partying. Banafshe sings and dances to an Iranian song, "Man Amade Am" [I have come to you], under a brightly lit bus station; they both dance on the bus, lifting themselves and twirling around the poles and handles of the bus. They stage a photoshoot in a restaurant among the plates and tables. Amon joins them and they dance and talk in the streets, in underpasses, and on the roof of a parking garage. Throughout this sequence, the camerawork changes substantially. In the bus station, the white overhead lights first dominate the otherwise dark frame and stretch away into the distance. The handcam technique and soft focus contrast with the still shots in the shisha bar; the camera circles around Banafshe, rising and falling in close-up to emulate the pair's drunkenness and Banafshe's energy as she sings. The lighting in these scenes alternates between dark, neonlit streets, artificial fluorescent lights in the bus station and restaurant, and the grainy dawn light on the roof of the parking garage. The music moves between Banafshe's singing, Iranian pop music on her phone, and an electronic soundscape that emphasizes the playful absurdity of their drunken antics. The frequent use of grainy images, soft focus,

and disorienting camerawork help to depict their long night and early morning of wandering, dancing, and drunken conversation. The abrupt changes in setting, lighting, and music are representative of the film's heterogeneous aesthetic, which echoes in the film's form the sense that Parvis, Banafshe, and Amon are involved in a process of curating and experimenting with their identities in dialogue with their surroundings. The almost dreamlike settings signal the beginning of a utopian queer friendship that transcends the divisions of citizenship, language, and class. With the film's reminders of everyday racism deferred in this sequence, the three queer protagonists defiantly flow into space in a nocturnal Hildesheim.

The stylized aesthetics of Futur Drei are avowedly queer and transnational, and reimagine small-town Germany from queer of color perspectives. While scenes like Parvis's Grindr date suggest an opposition between Parvis as a man of color and Robert's mainstream tastes as a caricatured white house fan, the remainder of the film breaks down this dichotomy. Clubs and parties are a place of experimentation and self-invention, and that spirit of queer world-making and community spills out into the streets. Just as Beat is based on the premise that the club does not offer a refuge from the flows of transnational capitalism and exploitation, so Futur Drei explores how singing, dancing, clubs, and parties exist within a wider context of transnational connections. Whereas in Beat, the underground is inextricably connected to the unstoppable flows of exploitation, Futur Drei depicts the world from queer of color perspectives, and refuses to fit them into a model centered on a rigidly bounded mainstream. Here a new center is created, which spills over and transforms ideas about what is and can be mainstream. Jünglinge draw on mainstream popular culture to unite a transnational queer audience from the global majority, and in doing so disrupt the dependence on white perspectives and assumptions in definitions of the mainstream in Germany's club culture.

Conclusion

The most important insight from *Futur Drei* for contemporary Germany screen media is the collective's insistence not only on a queer transnational aesthetic, but on queer transnational production methods. This film is ultimately more successful than *Beat* in its attempts to unsettle heterosexuality and genre conventions, and to disrupt the attempts of streaming providers to mainstream queerness in marketable ways.

Taken together, these two works serve as a reminder that not all uses of the term "transnational" are the same, and that queer and postmigrant works may need a different approach from other forms of streaming film and television.

Ahmed's queer phenomenology sheds light on the place of queerness in these productions, which normalize queer sexualities, love, and friendships. The emphasis on queer affiliations and collectivity is strong in both films, but while in Beat these relationships are shown in opposition to what is presumed to be an oppressive transnational mainstream, Futur Drei suggests that those relationships are an important ingredient of the transnational. The praxis of the Jünglinge collective underlines this point, by locating the film's transnational critique of German society in the support, care, and heterogeneity of a diverse and creative group of filmmakers. It is difficult to imagine their activist production methods being scaled up to the budgets and size of an Amazon or a Netflix production, and yet the film has achieved remarkable reach and reception by creating its own queer transnational communities. Shariat has spoken, for example, about the messages he has received from other Sailor Moon fans sharing their queer fan perspectives.⁵⁴ These conversations around the film speak to the power of the queer transnational mainstream it envisages, as it draws on a wide range of popular culture with a global fanbase. Just as Beat and Futur Drei depict and explore these queer affiliations, the reception of Futur Drei shows the central role of queer screen media itself in forging and sustaining those transnational queer connections.

In both *Beat* and *Futur Drei*, the transnational is never a category free from the potential for exploitation or violence that transcend national and cultural borders. The transnational is not an ideal but a reality in contemporary Germany for both works, and the question is therefore how to navigate this transnational cultural landscape ethically and responsibly. Kreuzpaintner and Jünglinge show popular culture—including film and television—caught up in systems of inequality, hierarchies, and social privilege or disadvantage. Queer characters and relationships are positioned in both works as blockages within the flow of mainstream norms, albeit in opposite ways. While in *Beat* queerness is a local irritant within the narrative dynamics and the globalized violence around the club scene, *Futur Drei* imagines a small-town scene with transcultural queer intimacies at the center, so that the film itself offers utopian resistance to restrictive oppositions between mainstream and underground, queer and straight, German and non-German.

The play with genre in particular suggests in these two works that queer, transnational filmmaking must disrupt the easy unfolding of recognizable narratives. Beat is part of an exploration by filmmakers across the large platforms of how genres can be reworked, reinvigorated, and unsettled for the streaming age. To many reviewers, this appeared as an attempt to do too much, but if taken seriously, these genre choices draw our attention to the queer dynamics of relationships in Beat and their failure against the force of a heteronormative mainstream. The series raises important questions about the extent to which a mainstreaming of queer culture is possible through genre conventions that have historically marginalized queer people. Futur Drei answers these questions by looking elsewhere and to other genres for transnational appeal. Manga, Iranian traditional song, Black and Latinx dance traditions, and electronic music from many different parts of the world are brought together into a conscious appeal both to a global queer audience and to an audience in Germany with transnational identities and experiences. Jünglinge show that there is already a repertoire of mainstream culture that forms the basis for queer affiliations, and model just one way of appealing to those global connections as cinema rises to the challenges and opportunities of streaming media. Futur Drei sidesteps conventional genre boundaries in favor of a hybrid aesthetic, and its queer-centered production means its focus moves beyond what is recognizable only to funding panels at major platforms or broadcasters, privileging instead the queer recognition in references and pop culture forms that have often been dismissed as too sentimental, too flamboyant, or too niche.

In his discussion of the mainstream, Fred Moten suggests that we direct our focus away from the idea of a rigidly bounded mainstream separated from its margins: "The margin is in this constant, entangled apposition with the stream in its violent disregard of, or sometimes reticent withdrawal from, the very idea of the main." Beat and Futur Drei stage queer-centered explorations of the intersections between transnational culture and ideas of the mainstream, and in light of these works, Moten's imagery can help redescribe what is so important about the transnational for queer culture in and beyond Germany. As Moten suggests, Futur Drei explores the fluid dynamism of a stream that is inseparable from its margins, as both resist and defy the boundaries that define them. Jünglinge do not dispense entirely with what Moten terms "the limit, the bank, the frame," and are still concerned with showing the force of mainstream norms on queer characters of color. But they

allow characters to move beyond the "idea of the main" and to imagine ways of "flowing into space" on their own terms. In other words, the queer countercurrents of transnational cinema and television already exist and are not radically separate from the mainstream, and nor are they in need of a conscious "mainstreaming" through integration into genres dependent on heterosexuality. These multiple currents exist within use of "transnational" and within the increasing diversity of streaming media. These works show the potential for transnational queer screen media to hold categories of "transnational" and "queer" in balance, to challenge both as they become swept up in the stream's most dominant currents, and to forge new queer affiliations and allegiances in the process.

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Notes

- 1. The launch of WOW Presents Plus as an international streaming provider for the *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2009–) franchise is an example of this lucrative market. UK broadcasters BBC Three (*Queer Britain*, 2017) and Channel 4 (*Tofu*, 2015), and German broadcaster ARD (*All You Need*, 2021–) and ZDF (*Loving Her*, 2021) have all hosted streaming-only queer productions.
- 2. See Brennan, "Queerbaiting" [Journal of Fandom Studies].
- 3. Disney+'s US-produced *Love, Victor* (2020–) and ARD series *All You Need* (2021–) are two examples of TV shows that controversially cast straight actors in queer roles.
- 4. Sense8 is one example; see Felipe Espinoza Garrido's chapter in this volume. Joseph Brennan frames even queerbaiting as a prompt for creativity: Brennan, "Queerbaiting: The 'Playful' Possibilities."
- 5. Schofield, "Theatre without Borders?" 235.
- Charlotte, "Die Teddy-Award-Preisträger*innen 2020"; "Outfest Los Angeles 2020 Award Winners"; Kiang, "'No Hard Feelings': Film Review."

- 7. Blain, "Confraternity among all Dark Races."
- 8. Florvil, Mobilizing Black Germany, 130–56. See also El-Tayeb, European Others, and Breger, Making Worlds.
- 9. Roxborough, "Amazon Taking German Original."
- 10. Kreuzpaintner, "Ich bin nur ein Idealist."
- 11. See Weheliye, "White Brothers With No Soul."
- 12. Benedict, "'Beat'-Regisseur Kreuzpaintner."
- 13. "55. Grimme-Preis 2019"; KAE, "Deutsche Serie 'Beat'"; Baines, "Booze, Blood and Berghain."
- 14. For example, Airen, "Mehr Psychopathen"; Baines, "Booze, Blood and Berghain."
- 15. Benedict, "'Beat'-Regisseur Kreuzpaintner."
- 16. Amazon Prime Video Deutschland, *Club-Nacht Home Edition*. With thanks to Elizabeth Ward for this connection.
- 17. For example, Witzeck, "Es passieren unfassbare Dinge."
- 18. See Elizabeth Ward's chapter in this volume.
- 19. On cultural engagements with Berlin, see Webber, *Berlin in the Twentieth Century*. On Berlin in transnational streaming media, see the chapters by Felipe Espinoza Garrido and Benjamin Nickl in this volume.
- 20. All translations are mine from the spoken German.
- 21. See Feiereisen and Sassin, "Sounding Out the Symptoms."
- The series perpetuates stereotypes of East European gangsters in Germany. See Felipe Espinoza Garrido's chapter in this volume, and Graf's Im Angesicht des Verbrechens and Wachowski, Wachowski and Straczynski's Sense8.
- 23. Hebdige, Subculture: The Meaning of Style.
- 24. See, especially, Baker, Bennett, and Taylor, Redefining Mainstream Popular Music.
- 25. Thornton, Club Cultures, 114-15.
- 26. Ibid., 99.
- 27. Robb, "Techno in Germany," explores the early arguments about the mainstreaming of techno.
- 28. Garcia, "Techno-Tourism"; Peter, "Breaching the Divide."
- 29. See Garcia, "Whose Refuge, This House?"; Feiereisen and Sassin, "Sounding Out the Symptoms."
- 30. Ahmed, The Promise of Happiness, 11.
- 31. Ahmed, On Being Included, 208, note 9.
- 32. Witzeck, "Es passieren unfassbare Dinge."
- 33. Ahmed, Queer Phenomenology, 65–107.
- 34. See Puar, Terrorist Assemblages.
- 35. For example, Baker, Bennett, and Taylor, Redefining Mainstream Popular Music.
- 36. Toynbee, "Mainstreaming," 150: italics in original.
- 37. The fictional towns of Rinseln (*How to Sell Drugs Online (Fast)*) and Winden (*Dark*) are recent German examples, as is Charlotte Lindholm's move to Göttingen in *Tatort*. See Lorena Silos Ribas's chapter in this volume. *Futur Drei* is among several recent queer films (e.g., *The Miseducation of Cameron Post*, 2018) interested in community forged by queer people in small-town or rural environments.
- 38. Shariat, "German-Iranian Director Faraz Shariat."
- 39. See Berndt and Nguyen, "Behind the Scenes."
- 40. Selin, "Wer erzählt eigentlich unsere Geschichten?"
- 41. On *Futur Drei* as decolonial practice, see Stehle and Weber, "Decolonial Queer Futures."
- 42. Jünglinge Film, "Jünglinge Film UG."

- 43. Shariat, "Unconflicting Desires."
- 44. Futur 3.0.
- 45. "Timetable."
- 46. Buckland, Impossible Dance, 6 and 14.
- 47. Lorenz and Molt, "Byre World."
- 48. Huber, "Mainstream as Metaphor," 5.
- 49. Molt, "Was bedeutet Typecasting?"
- 50. Blain, "Confraternity among all Dark Races"; Florvil, Mobilizing Black Germany.
- 51. See Hüffell and Ismaiel-Wendt, "Knackendes Eis aka Kristall."
- 52. See Smith, "Futur Drei."
- 53. Ahmed, Queer Phenomenology, 139.
- 54. Shariat, "Unconflicting Desires."
- 55. Moten, Black and Blur, 260.
- 56. Ibid.

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