Introduction

ENTERTAINING GERMAN CULTURE?

Stephan Ehrig, Benjamin Schaper, and Elizabeth Ward

Entertaining German Culture? For most of the twentieth century, combining the concepts of popular entertainment with German cultural and intellectual history—especially *Made in Germany*—would have seemed like the perfect oxymoron. Just as German literature took longer to embrace international forms of popular culture, the prioritization of popular over high culture was also a later development in German visual culture, which likewise met with considerable bourgeois resistance.[1] Ever since Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer voiced their famous verdict against the capitalization of the arts and their neglect of critical engagement with societal issues in favor of entertainment, German history and popular entertainment have been seen as two opposing poles within the cultural spectrum of the Federal Republic.[2] Furthermore, the strong sense of the serious and inward-looking nature of Germany's efforts to "come to terms" with its own past did not convince an international mass audience to *entertain*, as it were, the idea of engaging with German cultural and intellectual history on screen as a fun leisure activity.[3] International popular entertainment was commonly imported from the United States and Western Europe, however these productions frequently perpetuated images of Germany as the Nazi war enemy or of Cold War animosities, if indeed they featured German content at all.[4]

After reunification, Paul Cooke argues, a shift took place toward a "cinematic normalization":[5] German film and television proactively adopted Anglo-American Hollywood-style aesthetics and apolitical topics, providing the spectator with moments of escapism that ultimately served to affirm the social order of post-reunification German society.[6]

This, in turn, reshaped which themes were explored on screen and also how they were presented.[7] Parallel to these developments, the early 2000s saw a strong trend toward what Lutz Koepnick has termed a new German heritage cinema, which, due to its entertaining Hollywood-style format and "museal gaze" on familiar German twentieth-century history, produced a series of international hits.[8] Cooke argued that it was precisely this focus on Germany's problematic past that marked the "unique selling point" of German cinema as an internationally recognizable brand. Furthermore, he argued, the majority of films made around 2000, through their choice of twentieth-century historical themes, reaffirmed "the abnormality of the nation and its continuing need to address aspects of its past."[9] In this volume, we propose that this image has significantly changed since the turn of the twenty-first century. Since the mid-2010s, in particular, thematizations of German (cultural) history in film, television, and streaming series have radically shifted from the museal gaze of heritage cinema toward the adoption of transnational genre narratives—and, in so doing, have partially maintained the polarizing character of previous intellectual and artistic engagements with Germany's past. While this prioritization of transnationally recognizable entertainment strategies over national memory culture has led to an increasingly differentiated appreciation of German cultural and intellectual history in the (inter-)national mainstream, allowing for internationally less-known eras and facets of Germany's cultural heritage to circulate across the globe, it has also attracted criticism for pushing a critical engagement with Germany's problematic past into the background.[10]

The reorganization of German and European film funding and the promotion of Babelsberg as a transnational hub for film and television production in the early 2000s[11] put the famous historical studios and German "heritage" content firmly back on the international mainstream map, and resulted in much more differentiated genre explorations of World War Two in US–European co-productions.[12] This international production infrastructure with a transnational orientation, we argue, creates culturally hybrid images and fosters a global dissemination and reception of German entertainment content. In this context, German history—and, increasingly, cultural and intellectual history—serves as a creative inventory to inform especially European and North American narratives that transcend the straightforward documentation of twentieth-century terror, and instead to highlight new, entertaining, and playful approaches to German historical narratives. Simultaneously, with both Germany's increasing political importance and postwar self-

confidence, and an increase in public film funding, this revaluation of German culture both nationally and internationally has allowed for the emergence of a renewed mainstream cinema and television interest in central themes of German cultural history beyond the country's bellicose and divided twentieth century.[13]

This shift has been driven in no small part by the emergence of an increasingly transnational production landscape and global Video on Demand (VoD) streaming services. The success of internationally acclaimed productions such as *Dark* (2017–20), *Babylon Berlin* (2017–), and *Unorthodox* (2020) has signaled a renewed—and, in particular, international—interest in German history and culture. In the context of Netflix's international and multilingual expansion strategy, these series and films are part of a phenomenon known as "Netflixization," an approach that aims to rectify a national logic in television culture production and counter-Hollywood programming.[14] The media change facilitated by globally operating transnational streaming services provides a denationalizing force that shifts and partially homogenizes a transnational production scene, but one in which issues of national, local, and cultural representation and of authenticity remain prevalent.

In the introduction to their special issue on "German Netflix Culture" (2022), André Flicker and Xan Holt address this very tension. For example, Netflix's promotion of local content is not solely a part of the provider's own, economically driven business strategy; the emphasis on the local is in fact also a response to European Union legislation that requires that 30 percent of a streaming service provider's content be made in Europe. It is precisely the (mis)alignment between the transnational interests of the company and the specificities of local production contexts that can come to represent the "collision between global and local interests in the form and content of individual series," which conversely may actually lead to local productions being "denuded of some of [their] local specificity."[15] When we turn to the impact of these streaming services on German film and television, it becomes clear that German cultural and intellectual history on screen is not only changing and being modified, but its underpinning narratives are also being radically reimagined in line with the streaming services' economic interests, production structures, and genre narratives. Accordingly, we argue that this global shift has created, and continues to create, a new form of transnational German visual culture that has moved beyond "normalization" and outward-looking heritage cinema, while at the same time building on the success of both. We will showcase how transnationally conceived VoD streaming films and series employ a "translatable" and

"inverted cultural history" embedded in a "grammar of transnational-ism",[16] but without losing focus on the "economic undercurrents built into the reception"[17] of streaming series. In return, this may result in a schematic adaptation of historical German source material that does not allow for a deeper appreciation of its cultural specificities.

Here, Randall Halle's three-part analytical model serves as a helpful point of departure to understand the dynamics shaping the continuous transnationalization of German television and film.[18] In his analysis, Halle found that three different foci had been employed by scholars interrogating the concepts of the transnational turn in film studies. The first approach frames transnationalism as a cultural shift (from formerly international, cosmopolitan, metropolitan, postcolonial cinema) by underlining the complex relationship of transnationalism with the processes of globalization, which has undone the autonomy of national economies and undermined the sovereignty of the nation states. The second approach is to focus on motifs and images by placing German and European narrative strategies in contrast to Hollywood, which risks being reductive. The third approach attends to aspects of production, cast and crew, financing, and locations. However, rather than seeing them as separate research strands, Halle suggests we approach an analysis of transnational cinema in a way that attends to *economics*, to the *image* as a larger apparatus of the production, and to processes of *reception*—in other words, to examine how transnational cinema opens up new imaginative communities.

Building on Halle's three-part analytical model of transnational culture, we will interrogate what happens to the *image* of the German nation, German culture, and German heritage within this transnational film production and streaming landscape. We will, first, address the cultural shifts in German heritage cinema, production contexts, and narrative strategies toward popular entertainment television and film genres, and second, explore how these changes have created a new transnational hybrid visual culture that disseminates German cultural history globally, which in turn reimagines the narratives and imaginaries of German cultural and intellectual history that have dominated postwar cinema and television.

"Normalization" and Heritage Cinema

In order to understand the conditions that have facilitated the increased visibility of German film and television since the 2010s, it is important

that we employ a multi-stranded approach that identifies the different factors both on and off screen that have converged to give rise to this new chapter in German screen media. At this point, it is important to stress that these different factors were initially not so much the product of a nationally determined culture or media strategy, be that state- or industry-driven, as a unique moment in which different cultural and commercial trends converged and aligned, which only then were further developed as part of a deliberate strategy. This broader temporal prism through which to view these recent trends is key, as the breakthrough of German television, film, and streaming series is certainly new in scale, but not necessarily unprecedented in substance; that is to say, we must be careful not to overstate its novelty, because to a certain degree these changes are the product of a repositioning of German film and television outputs rather than an intrinsically new emergence or even caesura with past works. The new developments not only build on previous outputs and practices, but, as the chapters in the first section of this volume in particular will demonstrate, they also are intrinsically dependent on the erstwhile national and later international structures they created. In order to understand how and why German productions are achieving these new levels of cross-border appeal and success, it is thus necessary to separate the cultural factors from those of the industry itself, which are coalescing to facilitate this new phase in German television, film, and streaming series.

One of the risks when discussing recent developments in German film and television is the tendency to imply that the market for German television, and to a lesser extent German film, has hitherto been exclusively confined to German-speaking territories. It is certainly true that, until recently, German television was largely an import market, and audiences for German productions were overwhelmingly in German-speaking Europe. However, ever since the founding of Bioskop Film in 1973, co-productions have long formed a central pillar of German television and film, especially when it came to depicting German history. Longstanding co-production agreements have also been formalized through a series of bilateral and trilateral film production agreements between the German Ministry for Culture and Media and over twenty countries. These behind-the-scenes agreements not only rendered German television and film far more transnational than is often acknowledged on a production level, but they also meant that, structurally, German film and television were ideally placed to profit from the transnational production wave that unfolded at the start of the 2000s. German production companies, for instance, were actively

involved in the emergence of the "Scandi Noir" wave.[19] ZDF has subsequently formalized its co-production partnerships through the creation of Alliance with France Télévisions (France) and Rai (Italy) in 2018, and through the establishment of a development and co-production partnership with the BBC, agreed in 2019.

The structural frameworks that have facilitated the transnational emergence of German film, television, and streaming services have provided the key production and distribution platforms for German films and series. These nonetheless need to be understood alongside important developments in both the types of stories told and how they are told. The roots of these transnational developments are closely aligned with the reconfiguration of the national in twentieth-century Germany. The reunification of Germany in 1990 brought together two different German audiences from two differently imagined nations. While West German television consistently enjoyed far greater (illicit) cross-border appeal in the GDR than East German television could ever have hoped to enjoy, television producers and filmmakers were nonetheless faced with the challenge in the early 1990s of how to appeal to these two broadly defined audience groups under a new understanding of "we." In responding to this challenge, filmmakers notably turned to present-day comedy, a genre that is predominantly rooted in the national due to its dependence on a shared point of reference in order for the humor to resonate with audiences in what Eric Rentschler has termed the "cinema of consensus."[20] The popular resonance of this recourse to genre film and the overwhelming avoidance of explicitly political themes is borne out in box office data: in four of the first five years after reunification, the highest grossing German film each year was a comedy.[21] The targeting of new domestic audiences through comedy was certainly a successful strategy, but it also brought about a series of structural and economic challenges in the German film industry. In ways not dissimilar to the challenges that beset the West German film industry in the 1950s through the production of domestically popular but internationally unattractive *Heimat* films, the domestic comedies of the early 1990s found few markets abroad. The limited international appeal of German films created a twofold problem for the industry. Firstly, the limited international appeal of the films reduced the profitability of the productions, which in turn impacted the amount of money available for future productions. This then served to exacerbate the limited international appeal of the films further. Secondly, the limited critical and international popular appeal of the films impacted the international prestige of the German film industry. In no small part, the desire to redress the

artistic and economic problems that beset the German film industry in the 1990s underpinned the emergence of the production company X Filme. As X Filme co-founder and producer Stefan Arndt reflected: "We didn't ride the German comedy wave or make remakes of German films. We look for authentic material that is set in Germany or has to do with Germany, but works internationally. The goal is a sophisticated independent auteur cinema that is more in the tradition of the American independents."[22]

Around the same time, the newly founded Babelsberg-based production company teamWorx Television & Film and the Munich-based Constantin Film began to produce films that fused melodrama with historical subject matter. Whereas pre-1990 productions were overwhelmingly embedded within domestic frames of remembrance, and were structured around a clear appeal to the contemporary spectator to learn from the lessons of the past, the approaches of teamWorx and Constantin Film explicitly avoided political narratives and instead relied on historicized approaches that sought to "show history as it really was."[23] Through films such as *Der Untergang* (Downfall, 2004), *Sophie Scholl—Die letzten Tage* (Sophie Scholl—The Final Days, 2005), *Das Leben der Anderen* (The Lives of Others, 2006), and *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (The Baader Meinhof Complex, 2008), German film achieved unprecedented levels of popular and critical success abroad through what was subsequently labeled the German heritage film.[24] Central to this drive for authenticity was simultaneously the deployment of historical exhibits as props and the avoidance of expository social and political narrative detail. In this way, the past was to be told in the present tense, seemingly in order for audiences to experience the period without the guiding moral hand of the filmmaker. However, precisely because of the absence of a moralizing voice from a modern-day perspective, these films and series overwhelmingly presented the past as a chapter that had *been* overcome, rather than one to be overcome. Of equal significance was the international success enjoyed among critics and audiences by these reworkings of the German past. Indeed, one of the striking legacies of German heritage film is the marked discrepancy between the positive reception enjoyed internationally and the often negative reception of the films domestically. Strikingly, both the international praise and the national criticism coalesced around the same question: whether it was acceptable for German filmmakers to approach the past through the lens of melodrama and, above all, for them to privilege the visual over the political. Given the frequent criticisms leveled against melodramatic and depoliticized treatments of the

German past on film domestically, it is interesting to note that the early 2000s also saw the emergence of so-called "Event Television"—namely, extended television films focusing on World War Two and the GDR that were broadcast as ninety-minute episodes over consecutive nights. In contrast to German heritage films, "Event Television" broadcasts such as *Dresden* (2006), *Die Flucht* (March of Millions, 2007), and *Unsere Mütter, Unsere Väter* (Generation War, 2013) enjoyed widespread popular appeal and, in the case of the latter, marked a tentative breakthrough in terms of the exportability of German television productions.[25]

The successes enjoyed by the industry during this period do not, on first viewing, appear to be directly applicable to the emergence of German series as highly successful productions on streaming platforms: films and series exploring the Third Reich, the Holocaust, West German terrorism, and the GDR no longer seem to form the face of German film and television for international markets. While it is certainly true that series focus less on these historical periods, it is nonetheless clear that the industry has learned lessons from the German heritage film wave. Firstly, the series are firmly and explicitly embedded within genre conventions, often employing an explicitly melodramatic approach (see Carol Anne Costabile-Heming's chapter in this volume). Secondly, they foreground the authenticity of setting, be that historical or modern day.[26] Where the streaming models of VoD and SVoD do, however, diverge from television and cinema programming is in their reduction of the temporal and the expansion of the spatial planes in terms of viewing experiences. The streaming transnationalization of film and television is, in this regard, a multifaceted process that affects all stages of production and reception. It uproots a domestic product from linear and geographically targeted modes of consumption, and allows audiences around the world to enjoy the series at their own pace and in their own space. This volume, thus, interrogates how Germanness is conveyed through nationally rooted but transnationally mobile contemporary films, television series, and streaming series by exploring the transnational modes of production, design, and consumption that facilitate their cross-border appeal.

Shifting Transnational Production Contexts and Film Markets

A key factor when interrogating this transnationally conceived German-language visual culture is the ever-increasing amount of European

film funding available in combination with more and more cross-European and transatlantic international cooperation. This, we argue, has led to the emergence of a primarily European mode of production that forges correspondences between global, European, national, and local audiovisual markets. In a 2021 interview with *Variety*, Simone Baumann, the managing director of German Films, an organization that promotes German films outside the country, fittingly states that it is "hard to define what a German film is nowadays . . . Even among the German-language films, what is being produced is far from predictable. Films set during the Nazi era are becoming less common, while other periods are being explored."[27] This point is echoed by Thorsten Ritter, executive VP of acquisitions, sales and marketing at Beta Cinema, who identifies the success of the Oscar-nominated 2016 film, *Toni Erdmann*, as a milestone in "push[ing] the envelope of what was regarded as German cinema," arguing that the production company's own film *Ich bin dein Mensch* (I'm Your Man, 2021) sought to follow in the footsteps of the 2016 film with an approach that is closer to Hollywood screwball comedies than the "hard-hitting angst-ridden German films that many expect from the country's filmmakers," before adding, "It is very entertaining, smart, and quite commercial."[28] This very combination of German themes with Anglo-American production conditions and narrative structures creates a hybrid—and above all entertaining—screen culture that complicates what can be defined as a purely German film or television series.

A second major factor in defining this new era of German screen production is the rise of so-called "quality" and "complex" television, and longitudinal modes of television storytelling to which the German television and film market has been adapting.[29] As Florian Krauß argues, "quality series" should not be primarily understood as "good," clearly definable texts, but rather as a discourse within the heterogeneous and changing television (and film) industry in Germany, an aspiration and a tendency in its recent series productions.[30] A game changer in this regard and a prime example of these transnational ambitions is *Babylon Berlin* (2017–), co-written and co-directed by Tom Tykwer, Henk Handloegten, and Achim von Borries. *Babylon Berlin*, the first German series to be funded as a partnership between a public broadcast network (ARD/Das Erste) and a private subscription channel (Sky), was supported by funds from regional, federal, and transnational organizations, and was subsequently sold to Netflix for distribution in North America and Australia.[31] The series draws on the continued international allure of Berlin and German twentieth-century history, this time locating the

action in a gritty noir pastiche of the late Golden Twenties.[32] It further combines familiar and globally readable tropes from World War One, depicted through flashback sequences that transport the viewer to the Western Front. These scenes are interlinked with scenes of Weimar Berlin in 1929, and depictions of the myriad complexities of Germany's first democracy, from its economic turmoil shown through mass poverty and unemployment to the juxtaposition of sexual liberty and poverty-induced sex work in the capital city. The series, on the surface at least, delves into political issues including Berlin's mafia gangs and drug-fueled criminality, the street fighting between Communists and the police, and the rise of National Socialism. As Sara F. Hall argues, in so doing, the series "engages in a unique and timely practice of cultural reproduction shaped by a specific combination of historical subject matter and the present media-historical moment,"[33] thereby combining a pop cultural exploration of the Weimar Republic for a domestic audience with long-established quality TV formulae and transnational genre-readability to create an unprecedented international commercial success for a German-language show.[34]

With the changed production and funding contexts, Babelsberg as a new international production hub, Berlin's international appeal, and a German producer and funding scene seeking to imitate internationally popular genres (melodrama, political drama, crime noir, period drama), we therefore argue that a new transnationally minded German visual culture has emerged. As Kraus attests, a new "simultaneity of global and local impulses" characterizes the "practitioners' defi0 nitions, attributions, and references of 'quality series'" and also deals with the potential traveling of German content due to rather recent distribution options for "subtitled drama" in non-German, Anglo-American markets. However, as well as harboring clear aspirations for transnational markets, these media texts and their production are still very much shaped by national consumption and distribution models. Indeed, as a number of the productions in this volume attest, in many cases German global streaming hits begin as domestic television broadcasts.[35]

By contrast, Netflix and other transnational streaming services need to be conceptualized as a transnational system that integrates into national media systems and invests in an ideology of the nation where this is a requirement for entering the local media system. The ideology of the nation needs, therefore, to be conceptualized as a flexible system that is not necessarily threatened by deterritorialized transnational broadcasters, but is in a position to negotiate it, by deterritorial-

izing cultural artifacts while aiming at both international and national audiences.[36]

Genre as Transnational Narrative Strategy

To allow for the transnational circulation of German cultural and intellectual history, genre film and television production in the age of streaming emerge as a crucial strategy for rendering specifically German themes and productions accessible and appealing to an international audience.[37] In this context, genre should be understood as "cultural categories that surpass the boundaries of media texts and operate within industry, audience, and cultural practices as well."[38] Whereas research on film genre has traditionally focused on Hollywood, genre develops a new significance in the context of transnational film and television markets.[39] Analyses of genre and transnational film and television underline their reliance on concrete cinematic or television contexts. Consequently studies can reveal insights into specific production, distribution, and reception processes, as well as specific sociocultural backgrounds. By interrogating the role of genre in the transnational circulation of German cultural and intellectual history, it is not our aim to make claims about specific genres such as crime, romantic comedies, or fantasy, but rather to analyze "how they fit into larger systems of cultural power,"[40] and their "special ability to establish connections"[41] between different cultural and language communities. While definitions and practical implementations of individual genres are constantly in flux, generic structures still serve as a point of orientation for the audience.[42] Nonetheless, the question needs to be asked as to whether the general assessment that genres "provide spectators with means of recognition and understanding . . . [and] help render films, and the elements within them, intelligible and therefore explicable" still applies in a transnational context.[43] If we understand genre as such a dynamic processual concept, easy accessibility and a comprehensive understanding of genre rules for audiences are neither realistic nor vital. Rick Altman argues that different groups derive generic pleasure from different genres, and that genres develop different meanings when read by different groups so that genre is "not one thing serving one purpose, but multiple things serving multiple purposes for multiple groups."[44] Thus, even "within an overall atmosphere of imprecision, difference and contradiction, . . . varying levels of agreement among viewers are possible" as genres can "assure simultaneous satisfaction on the part

of multiple users with apparently contradictory purposes."[45] For the transnational circulation of German cultural and intellectual history in the age of streaming, this means that productions no longer have to prioritize a particular national audience, but rather can address various niche audiences around the globe. Hence genre rules—even for audiences from diverse cultural and linguistic communities—provide guiding principles that can mitigate difficulties at reception that stem from linguistic complexities and cultural specificities. Furthermore, genre not only facilitates communication between producers and recipients, but also among a "constelled community":[46] (online) networks and communities gain generic pleasure experienced when watching a film or television show, while also establishing, stabilizing, and reconfiguring genres "according to the interests of a current real-world community."[47]

Netflix serves as a paradigmatic example for the role of genre in facilitating communication between producers and constelled communities in the age of streaming. Genre structures Netflix's user interface and is thus crucial for the streaming service in building recommendations and communicating with its audience.[48] Mareike Jenner demonstrates how Netflix has more recently sought to broaden its audience appeal transnationally by embracing more popular genres which were traditionally considered highly formulaic such as comedy—in particular sitcoms—and reality TV, which is potentially at odds with Netflix's strategy of employing genres associated with "quality" or serious subject matter.[49] However, similar to Altman's arguments that genre films maintain a strong connection to the culture that produced them and are vital in resolving contradictions within specific cultural systems,[50] Jenner states that "transnationalism and domestication of texts are not opposing forces, but both part of Netflix' strategy for appeal across cultures."[51] The question of quality appears to be particularly acute in genre discourse in German cinema, with genre cinema traditionally seen as less prestigious and of lower quality than *Autorenfilm* (auteur cinema).[52] Recent scholarship, however, has challenged the claim that genre films were conventional, trivial, or of lower quality, while only the *Autorenfilm* could be artistically valuable as it expressed the artistic singularity of its creators.[53] Bringing together transnational film and television production, the circulation of German cultural and intellectual history, genre, and entertainment, we argue that transnational productions concerned with Germany's past apply familiar genre structures—as well as postmodern mixes of, and playful takes on, genre—in an entertaining and accessible way in order to address a broad international audience with explicitly German content. Consequently, current productions

differ significantly from previous mainstream productions, which, according to director Christian Petzold, had demonstrated a sense of "shame" about being set in Germany and had tried to be as American as possible instead of being "inspired by their German setting" (*aus den Orten eine Geschichte gewinnen*).[54] Not only are plots identifiably German but genre productions have also gained both more prominence and renown, which, as this volume will demonstrate, has only intensified with the arrival of streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon Prime Video.

Transnational German Visual Culture

In this volume, we argue that German film and television series are undergoing a profound shift toward internationally produced and transnationally conceived productions. This new form of transnational and transcultural German visual culture is underpinned by an increasingly internationalized film market. This fosters a mutually assimilating cultural exchange, whereby German producers export a nationally defined, but transnationally imagined, cultural and intellectual history and, in return, import popular international media formats in order to reach a broad national and international audience. We argue that this transcultural diversification and hybridization of German themes, motifs, and ideas transcends the postwar focus on Germany's Nazi and GDR pasts, and has established a new narrative culture that goes beyond "normalization." This includes taking into account the "perceived balancing act between the national and the transnational" that Sebastian Heiduschke points to "when these transnational German films still re-imagine the German nation and German national identity." The strategy chosen by companies such as Netflix to venture into foreign markets and co-produce local stories of a "transnational nature" with global appeal adds a new layer to this argument: producing content to which international viewers can relate and that is both understandable and enjoyable across borders, but that still tells a tale inserted in a specific cultural realm.[55] The combination of emplotting a grammar of transnationalism and postmodern genre mixes has allowed recent German-made and transnationally conceived productions such as Netflix's *Dark*, ARD/Sky's *Babylon Berlin*, and RTL's/Amazon Prime Video's *Deutschland 83*, *Deutschland 86*, and *Deutschland 89* to present complex reflections on German cultural and intellectual history to international mainstream audiences.

Beyond these transnational production strategies, we argue that the cultural productions resulting from this transnational turn are not merely hybridized jigsaws built from previous national set pieces, but rather a complex and continuous decentralized dialogue. In his work on the exchanges between UK and German theater practices, Benedict Schofield argues for a specific cultural porosity between the two cultural scenes; this does not, however, result in "direct acts of cultural transfer, but rather in processes of cultural transformation, strongly echoing Latour's stance that points of connection or mediation within a network are often places of dislocation, distortion, and translation." Schofield describes the transnational network as

> enabled not just by an abstract flow of aesthetic practices, nor simply by exposure to Germany through touring productions, but through the physical movement of UK practitioners to Germany to gain exposure to different practices, akin to a form of international apprenticeship. This circulation of practitioners is, however, heavily skewed to produce a vision of "Germany" that is ultimately filtered through a specific city (Berlin), specific theaters (the Volksbühne and Schaubühne), and even a specific practitioner (Ostermeier).[56]

Through the European funding scene and streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon Prime Video operating as transnational broadcasters in a local production context, a very similar effect can be applied to the film and television productions discussed in this volume. Building on Schofield's observations, this mutually assimilating cultural exchange, and the import/export of media formats, narrative strategies, and contents employed by any of the films/series should, as we argue in this volume, be seen as an interconnected process of inward and outward reabsorption. Thus, while German productions are still drawing on internationally established genres as well as narrative and aesthetic tropes from non-German films/series, and these tropes are consecutively modified at a local level within the series (= inward absorption), they are then modified and employed (received and/or even referenced) in series and films outside of Germany (= outward reabsorption). This becomes particularly acute if we follow Stiglegger's argument that cinema is globalized as never before and that cultural interaction and exchange have led to a hybridization of genre. Within this process, some genre conventions are still followed, but precisely because audiences around the world are more versed in genre than ever, such productions are undergoing a dynamic and fluid process of

transformation, which allows for more generic experiments than has previously been the case.[57]

A paradigmatic example for the productive exchange between Anglo-American and German production practices and themes in the age of streaming is Netflix's German-language Originals. *Dark*, Netflix's first and most successful German-language production to date, interweaves a plethora of complex storylines, characters, and themes with internationally recognizable pop cultural references (which are examined in depth in Lorena Silos Ribas's chapter in this volume). Set up as a sci-fi mystery series in a genre-typical *Weltendorf* (universal village) that is largely unaffected by national history and skips Germany's Cold War division and only indirectly references the two world wars, *Dark* becomes a complex narrative net around time travel and the teleology of human existence (inward absorption).[58] Time-topical pop cultural references (music by Nena, Cher, Dead or Alive, Apparat; *Back to the Future*, *Captain Future*) and other period features make the series translatable to international audiences (as well as anatopic items such as US pill boxes that deterritorialize the setting), while the plot, dialogue, and paratextual opening quotes are interwoven with strong themes and intertexts of German philosophy (Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Freud and psychoanalysis) and cultural history (Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* [Elective Affinities] and *Faust*, Romanticist tropes, and themes from Marxist postwar culture such as Bertolt Brecht and Heiner Müller). Further intertextual references include Greek mythology, Ibsen's *Gengangere* (Ghosts), physics, Christian iconography, and a historical focus around the postwar era and the environmental movement in the context of the Chernobyl disaster. In this way, *Dark* positions specific German themes along universally coded cultural references (outward reabsorption). All these layers make for a complex science fiction show that has attracted a global fan base who collectively discuss all family trees and cultural references in online discussion fora. *Dark* has received high reviews on *Rotten Tomatoes*,[59] and was ranked the 58th greatest television series of the twenty-first century by BBC Culture.[60] Season three became the second most watched Netflix show in August 2020,[61] and strikingly, 90 percent of its viewership was from outside of Germany.[62] No other German-language television series or film has ever received such global exposure, or such critical and popular success.

Transnationalizing strategies are also employed in Netflix's *How to Sell Drugs Online (Fast)*. The series draws on an even more readily translatable international model by employing the widely established US

computer nerd genre (*Star Trek—The Next Generation*'s Jonathan Frakes features in a short cameo appearance as himself) in combination with Silicon Valley tech stardom and a high school coming-of-age comedy drama (inward absorption) designed around a factual account based on the true events of a teenage online drug dealer in Leipzig, for which *Breaking Bad* (2008–13) had already delivered a popular blueprint.[63] The series has several of Netflix's core inclusion values (disabled, queer, and ethnically and socially diverse characters and themes that are otherwise still fairly uncommon in German film and television content) with German dialogue, while all visualized text (animations, animated texts, and emails) are in British English, thereby visually marking its transnational conception.[64] The real-life story is relocated to another universal village in western Germany, and the plot revolves around five high school friends who accidentally set up a successful online drug sales business and face a series of exploits and encounters related to drug trafficking, all set against the backdrop of a typical coming-of-age story interfused with teenage romance.[65] While not relevant for understanding the plot itself, all three seasons playfully reference (largely canonical) works of German literature for the sake of ironic entertainment, with German cultural identity markers performing a similar function to the English-language pop cultural referencing of Shakespeare and Jane Austen.[66] Here, the protagonists' German school lessons serve as a reference point for the plot development in each season: season one implements Frank Wedekind's 1891 play *Frühlings Erwachen* (Spring Awakening) as a metaphor for drug abuse and puberty troubles, aspects also explored via a Grimm's fairy-tale-themed restaurant called *Märchenwald* (Fairy-Tale World). Similarly, season two evokes Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Sorrows of Young Werther), while season three compares the characters' difficulties preparing for their *Abitur* school-leaving exams to Goethe's *Faust* (outward reabsorption). In an ironic sense of self-aware political history, in another lesson the teacher explains "the history of our country is so much more than just World War Two. There's also World War One, the Schmalkaldic War, . . . ," again forming a specific narrative hybrid that transculturates internationally successful media formats interspersed with specific German cultural history references, set in an "everytown," conceived for a transnational viewership.

In a bolder move regarding historical narratives, Netflix also produced its own retelling of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest in 9 AD with *Barbaren* (Barbarians, 2020–) as an apoliticized German founding myth void of its controversial nationalist reception history.[67] German

nationalists, including the Nazis, have used the battle as an ideological rallying point—a supposed foundational moment for German civilization and proof of their "superior pedigree" and fighting skills. To this day, the battle and the tribes' leader in the fight, Arminius/Hermann, remain sources of inspiration for far-right extremists, who regularly make pilgrimages to related sites. In a *New York Times* interview, Arne Nolting, a writer and showrunner on the series, said that he and the other showrunners were conscious of this political baggage, and explained that part of his inspiration for making a show about the Battle of Teutoburg Forest was a desire to reclaim a pivotal moment in European history from the far right (outward reabsorption), arguing "We didn't want to be scared away and leave the subject to those forces we detest." Jan Martin Scharf, another writer and showrunner on *Barbaren*, said that the production team had consciously taken a gritty approach to the subject matter to avoid glorifying the violence between the Cherusci and the Romans. They also wanted to emphasize Arminius's identity as a migrant, with Scharf adding: "It was important for us not to show him as some big war hero or the founder of a German empire."[68] Thus, the creators cast Laurence Rupp, an Austrian actor, in the role in part because, with his darker complexion and hair, he did not fit the blond, blue-eyed depictions of Arminius that have been common in the past. In line with Netflix's diversity strategy, season two further introduces a queer attraction between Arminius's brother Flavus and the Germanic leader Marbod, as well as the Black female character Dido from Karthage. Aesthetically, *Barbaren* makes clear reference to BBC History's successful *Vikings* (2013–20) and Mel Gibson's 2004 *The Passion of the Christ* (inward absorption).[69] As *The Economist* noted,

> sexy, impulsive, proto-German tribesmen take on an oppressive superstate led by cold, rational Latin-speakers from Rome. Produced in Germany, it has all the hallmarks of a glossy American drama (gratuitous violence and prestige nudity) while remaining unmistakably German . . . It is a popular mix: on a Sunday in October, it was the most-watched show on Netflix not just in Germany, but also in France, Italy, and fourteen other European countries.[70]

Even though the eponymous battle has already taken place, an open-ended second season was released in 2022, meaning that the transnational retelling of one of Germany's problematic founding myths is set to continue well beyond its actual focal point.

Netflix Originals thus functions as an umbrella for a diverse range of productions whose individual topics, genres, and aesthetics merge

with Netflix's own generic brand.[71] Through this brand, they seek to produce transnationally oriented, transculturally translatable hybrid genres that disseminate an increasingly profound and differentiated appreciation of German cultural and intellectual history in the (inter) national mainstream, which prioritize transnationally recognizable entertainment strategies over national memory culture.

Ausblick: Reception and Traveling Memory

This volume is not only interested in describing how a mutually as-similating cultural exchange in German film and television is playing out on a content level; it also aims to include and address the productions' international reception. As we argue that these transnationally produced and conceived entertainment formats offer a different and diverse image of German cultural and historical narratives, we also need to take the dimension of popular reception into account, and not only establish *that* these texts travel, but further analyze *how* they travel, and specifically *why* certain texts travel particularly successfully. In line with Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz's seminal 1990 study *The Export of Meaning*, we will integrate the receptive dimension of decoding as the "interaction between the culture of the viewer and the culture of the producer."[72] Liebes and Katz argued that it is not enough simply to analyze the "message" of the text; we must also analyze what messages reach the viewer, because meanings are produced through "a process of negotiation between various types of senders and receivers."[73] Within the context of their 1990 study, Liebes and Katz proposed that American television was successful in traveling across borders due to the universality of its themes and formulae, its polyvalency, and the market dominance and broad availability of American programs. This then allowed its programs' "meanings" to be transformed in unexpected ways during the reception process, depending on the cultural, social, and ethnic belonging of the viewer.[74]

Today, however, audiences operate in a markedly different context. Viewers are more interconnected, and content is more personalized than ever. Interpersonal decoding of content has increasingly moved from living rooms to social media, from national television stations to international streaming services, and from global production hubs to booming niche markets. The chapters in this volume will thus, as far as can be ascertained at present, analyze how the Video on Demand viewing experience has changed the approach to cross-cultural and trans-

national audience research and content communities reading transnational German film and television.[75] Specifically, we want to ask—as a kind of *Ausblick*—what long-term impact this shift in representation and dissemination will have for the image of German culture in the future. Here we propose that these new forms of transnationally produced and conceived entertainment have the potential to impact the transcultural and traveling memory of German cultural and intellectual history, and could even see German films, television, and streaming series emerge as a form of soft power via a globalized entertainment scene, which, often uncritically, frames Germany on screen as a multicultural, open, and connected European nation, thereby amending and partially replacing the hitherto strong thematic focus on World War Two and the Cold War.[76]

Astrid Erll has argued in her deconstruction of presumed nationalized memory cultures that, while the nation state may have proved a useful matrix for addressing nineteenth- and twentieth-century constellations of memory, in the current age of global media cultures and diasporic public spheres, the nation appears less as the key arbiter of cultural memory. Instead, she proposes using "transcultural" as an "umbrella term for what in other academic contexts might be described with concepts of the transnational, diasporic, hybrid, syncretistic, postcolonial, translocal, creolized, global, or cosmopolitan."[77] Global media cultures play an important role for a transcultural, traveling mnemonic culture "in which historical novels are quickly translated, movies dealing with the past are screened simultaneously in different corners of the globe, and worldwide TV-audiences can have mass-mediated experience in real time."[78] Moreover, in the production of transcultural "mnemoscapes," media and carriers of memory appear to be key factors. Thus if, as Erll suggests, the global circulation of mnemonic media such as film may indeed affect a change of perspective in viewers from other parts of the world and lead to empathy and trans-ethnic solidarity, it remains to be seen if this newly mediated and disseminated transnational German cultural and intellectual history will change the way German culture, history, and even language will be perceived globally in the future—and indeed whether this new *trans*national German "content" may return cultural memory to a pre-nation status, or at least reverse some of the highly nationalized imaginary around it.[79]

As Rebecca Braun and Benedict Schofield argue, the transnational asks us what value still lies in the traditional model of German Studies, and at the same time it asks us to start to unpick some of that canonicity and allow new voices to arise: "a form of deterritorialization of

German-language culture that shows how we can approach the problematic, ultimately reductive, concept of the nation without denying its existence and continued power."[80] For scholars in transnational German studies, global streaming services operate at the nexus of multiple essential fields such as communications, media, and area studies, as well as television, all of which will have an impact on the production of culture for national audiences and how they relate to the transnational media they consume in an attempt to understand better why some areas are elevated to universal cultural significance while others are not,[81] and whether these play out along cultural, geographic, ethnic, gender, or class lines.[82] As James Hodkinson and Benedict Schofield suggest, when thinking about the size, shape, and future of our discipline, it seems we need to find ways to define the continuing roles for both national cultures and transnational perspectives within them—how German culture [migrates] geographically and culturally and how it has transformed, adapted, and responded to the world in differing locations and in both contemporary and historical contexts.[83] In this volume, we offer a first comprehensive exploration of the impact that transnational German visual culture will have on the global perception of German cultural and intellectual history.

Volume Structure

The volume is organized around three parts. The first part, Transculturating Screen(ed) Heritage, explores precursory film and television industry developments, and frames these current changes within a broader context of twenty-first-century cinematic hybridizations of German cultural history.

In his historical overview, "The New German Television and the Newer German Film: A History of Industry Disruption and Synergy," Randall Halle explores the dynamic relation of big screen to small screen from the early days of German postwar film and television to the age of streaming in the early twenty-first century. He argues that the 1980s initiated an inversion in which private television broadcasting came to align with a model of the viewer as a consumer, which fostered a new popular cinema that stood in contrast to the critical mode of the 1960s and 1970s. In the 2000s, streaming services and the new golden age of quality programming have fundamentally transformed the market, ruptured terrestrial broadcast models, and created a multi-screen viewer experience. Similarly, streaming services' global storytelling

strategies have brought forward new stories catering for diverse niche markets within an all-encompassing market. Connecting these shifts in format to shifts in funding, Halle establishes a crucial link between production conditions and images/content in recent German broadcasting, which will be explored in the following chapters.

Halle's industry contextualization is followed by two chapters focusing on German and international films created within the traditional studio system. They explore their capacity for the transnational dissemination of German culture through studios' funding, production, distribution, and reception opportunities, which paved the way for the transnational streaming culture of the last decade. A. Dana Weber's chapter "Reenacting Propaganda: Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* and the Anti-Nazi War Film" investigates Tarantino's 2009 film and its various references to Fritz Lang's *Man Hunt* (1941) in the context of the film's funding, cast, crew, and shooting at the studios of the Babelsberg AG in Potsdam near Berlin. Her comparative reading of both films explores Babelsberg as a competitive hub for transnational filmmaking, which rather than tackling the hegemony of Hollywood seeks to attract US producers for transnational collaborations. Focusing on the reenacting of elements of historical filmmaking in Babelsberg, Weber shows how *Inglourious Basterds* performs a symbolic occupation of German cinema that sheds light on Tarantino's distinctive approach to history, and demonstrates the appreciation of German cinema in the global mainstream.

While Halle and Weber interrogate the production aspects of transnational cinema and television, Bridget Levine-West shifts the focus to the reception and dissemination of German cultural and intellectual history post-production and post-release. In "The Shakespeare Boom Comes to Germany: Eighteenth-Century German Literature and Transnational Media Literacy," Levine-West scrutinizes the accompanying *Filmhefte*, booklets that are a crucial part of government-driven media literacy incentives in Germany, which were intended to replicate the UK's Into Film project and provide contextual information and learning materials on selected films for secondary school teachers. As a paradigmatic example she examines Leander Haußmann's *Kabale und Liebe* (2005) and Philipp Stölzl's *Goethe!* (2010), and situates these films' adaptations of canonical works by, or portraying episodes from the life of, Weimar classicist protagonists Friedrich Schiller and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, respectively, as a response to Hollywood's Shakespeare-boom of the late 1990s. Levine-West argues that the German productions differ from their US predecessors in so far as they not only emulate

entertainment qualities and seek commercial success, but also advance specific pedagogical agendas—both transnational and national—by means of their plots, characters, and aesthetics. Analyzing these films through the lens of what she terms the "education apparatus," she aims to dismantle outdated hierarchical orderings of "source text" over "adapted text," and "education" over "entertainment," and demonstrates how the films support younger audiences, in particular in developing multifaceted understanding of the complex history, reception, contemporary instrumentalization, and overall cultural value of national literary and filmic works in transnational times.

The volume's second part, Transnational Streaming Ambitions, moves from studio film to television productions created within a national context, but which were either already co-produced or later acquired by a transnational streaming service in order to reach a broad international audience. In the context of the digital age's new distribution capacities, which enable simultaneous global broadcasting, the chapters investigate which traditional production formats, aesthetic approaches, and aspects of German cultural and intellectual history have proven themselves appealing to the transnational agenda of streaming giants such as Amazon Prime Video and Netflix.

Elizabeth Ward's chapter, "Deterritorializing the Stasi in *Deutschland 83/86/89*," examines the intriguing case of *Deutschland 83/86/89*, which was saved from cancellation after its first season's poor viewing figures in Germany due to its huge success in the UK and the US, and thanks to its acquisition by Amazon Prime Video, which then went on to produce the final two seasons of the show itself. To address this discrepancy between the reception of the show in Germany and that in the United Kingdom and United States, she compares the *Deutschland* series' reception to that of German heritage films, which were equally well received internationally but criticized for their superficial treatment of Germany's troubled past. Ward first compares the *Deutschland* series to the "museal gaze" of heritage film, and concludes that, in contrast to such films, the series embraces its temporal specificities, while offering the potential for broader identification through the spatial displacement of its protagonists. Consequently, the show enables a process of mutual orientation between the East German agent and the contemporary viewer as they both learn together what it means to be a spy on foreign territory. In the second part of her chapter, Ward then turns toward the transnational circulation of the show by considering the relationship between the series' employment of transnational genre

tropes and the process of deterritorialization as a means of depicting both the Stasi and the series' characters.

With "History in the Mainstream: *Charité*," Carol Anne Costabile-Heming discusses the German television series *Charité* and its fusion of medical history and hospital drama. The show had already attracted more than a million viewers nationally before Netflix acquired the rights to it in 2018 for multiple territories, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia. Costabile-Heming examines how the series' directors Sönke Wortmann, Anno Saul, and Christine Hartmann exploit the genre of the hospital drama to create engaging and enriching portrayals of the Charité hospital during three distinctly important and critical historical moments in its history (1888–91, 1943–45, and 1961). The reliance on typical characteristics of the hospital drama facilitates the series' transcendence of historical fiction: its Berlin setting and specifically German cultural context appeal to international audiences. By examining the US reception of the series, the chapter shows how streaming services such as Netflix contribute to more nuanced reception of German intellectual and cultural history.

Moving to the more recent, post-1990 Berlin context, Felipe Garrido Espinoza dissects the German capital's criminal underground in "Mapping Berlin: Space, Trauma, and Transnationalism in *Im Angesicht des Verbrechens* and *Sense8*." Both series revolve around the criminal distribution of power and space in the decades after German reunification. Their cinematic depiction of gang wars provides a fundamental structure that captures their shared understanding of aesthetic transnationalism—namely, global cinematic practices that allow for a merging and hybridization of transnational identities, while remaining structurally grounded in the (cinematic) Cold War divisions of the city space. In contrast to the covert transnational production regimes that underscore so much of European televisual and cinema production, *Sense8* is immanently transnational in its production context as well as in its imagery, use of space, and fundamental conception as a story about sensory transhuman connectivity. As such, Garrido Espinoza argues that *Sense8*'s Berlin plot offers a paradigm for the series' negotiation of transnational interconnectivity and traumatic temporalities underlying each of the eight sensates' backstories. The show's multiperspectivity thus adapts German history as a structure for its intradiegetic interconnectedness. The effect is decidedly ambivalent as the centrality of *Sense8*'s Berlin sequences, along with the other Western settings of the show, recenters a US American–European epistemology.

The final part of the volume, The Transnationalization of German Cultural History, focuses on original German productions by streaming services. The chapters explore how Netflix Originals and Amazon Prime Video produce German-language formats, merging transnational narratives and aesthetics with themes from cultural and intellectual history in order to appeal to a local German audience while simultaneously and successfully distributing them internationally.

Benjamin Nickl's chapter "Producing Denationalizing Television: The Netflixization of the New Berlin City Genre in *Dogs of Berlin*" embarks on a transnational investigation of the current phenomenon of the metropolitan city's rise in Netflix Global productions through the example of *Dogs of Berlin* (Netflix Global German, 2018–). He uses the concept of "Netflixization" to describe Netflix's strategy to appeal to its growing non-US customer base as well as the processes in transnational German television production in the 2010s as a denationalizing force through which the capital city becomes shorthand for a nation's culture and its socio-ethnic fabric, packaging big city drama and neonoir crime into a transnationally framed showcase for metropole fiction. Nickl examines the mechanisms that have earned German stream screen content its unabated popularity in the global Video on Demand market, and considers the sociocultural consequences of a digital mediation process that transports images of German culture and history into millions of homes and onto millions of screens. The gritty crime story of *Dogs of Berlin* turns on the same principle of locating itself in German culture through place-specific imagery and, more importantly, also draws on sociohistorical place-specific storytelling around the "Berlin experience" as a complex "German experience."

Tom Smith's chapter further challenges this reliance on the "Berlin experience" by exploring the international appeal of Berlin's techno scene and queer subcultures in "Now Mainstreaming: Queer Phenomenology, Techno, and the Transnational in *Beat* and *Futur Drei*." Through the example of Amazon Prime Video's series *Beat* (2018) and the film *Futur Drei* (2020), Smith analyzes how Germany's music scene is presented as bound up in exploitation and violence that transcend national and cultural borders. Both works resist any suggestion that electronic music and clubs might provide apolitical spaces of escape. Queer experiences of electronic music are positioned in both works, in Sara Ahmed's terms, as blockages within the flow of mainstream norms, albeit in opposite ways. While in *Beat* queerness is an irritant within the narrative dynamics and the club scene, *Futur Drei* imagines a small-town club scene where transcultural queer intimacies are entirely ordi-

nary, so that the film itself offers a utopian resistance to the restrictive opposition between mainstream and underground, queer and straight, German and non-German.

Lorena Silos Ribas's chapter, "Looking into the Abyss: The Transnational Puzzle in *Dark*," concludes the volume with an investigation into Netflix's *Dark*, the most successful German-language television series ever made. Similar to Nickl's chapter, Silos Ribas presents *Dark* as an example of the strategy chosen by companies such as Netflix to venture into foreign markets and to co-produce local stories of a "transnational nature" with global appeal. The chapter analyzes how *Dark* incorporates a "grammar of transnationalism" (international pop-culture references, science fiction/time travel genre, contemporary gender equality and environmentalism debates, Biblical and mythological references), which make the show readily accessible for international audiences, while it also establishes a dialogue with Germany's cultural and intellectual history, thereby offering additional appeal to local viewers. Beyond the various German pop-cultural references at a surface level, the chapter demonstrates how *Dark* also reflects upon prominent philosophical and literary developments in German intellectual history, which together with the series' complexity, character development, and enhanced visual quality, further both its value as an audiovisual product and its transnational appeal.

Stephan Ehrig is a Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in German at the University of Glasgow. He previously taught at the universities of Bristol, Durham, and University College Dublin. Alongside his monograph, *The Dialectical Kleist* (Transcript, 2018), which analyzes the Marxist appropriation of the nineteenth-century author Heinrich von Kleist in East German literature and theater, and co-edited volumes *The GDR Today: New Interdisciplinary Approaches to East German History, Memory and Culture* (Peter Lang, 2018) and *Exploring the Transnational Neighbourhood: Integration, Community, and Cohabitation* (Leuven UP, 2022), he has published on nineteenth-century landscape writing, female city walking in East German film, and cultural imaginings of modernist new towns in East German literature and film.

Benjamin Schaper is a Stipendiary Lecturer in German at the University of Oxford. He was formerly a teaching fellow at the universities of Munich and Durham, as well as a Sylvia Naish Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Modern Languages Research in London. He has published

widely on twentieth- and twenty-first-century German literature, film, and television, including his monograph *Poetik und Politik der Lesbarkeit in der deutschen Literatur* (Winter, 2017). His postdoctoral research analyzes loneliness and human–machine interaction in the ages of romanticism, modernity, and the digital age. Along with his interests in transnational visual culture and loneliness, his research further focuses on the literary market and literary networks.

Elizabeth Ward is a film historian specializing in German cinema. She is a Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin at the Europa-Universität Viadrina, and during the preparation of this volume was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Languages, Cultures and Societies at the University of London. Her research specialisms include East German cinema, Cold War German cinema, and contemporary historical film. Her monograph, *East German Film and the Holocaust* was published in 2021 by Berghahn Books. Her recent and forthcoming publications explore film and television stardom in the GDR, East German Holocaust documentaries, and constructions of childhood in *Trümmerfilme*. Alongside her research, she is also closely involved in developing inclusive practice at universities.

Notes

1. Peltzer, "Genregeschichte in Hollywoodkino," 316.
2. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*.
3. Prominent exceptions include Wolfgang Petersen's internationally successful *Das Boot* [The Boat] (1981) and *Die unendliche Geschichte* [The Neverending Story] (1984), Volker Schlöndorff's *Die Blechtrommel* [The Tin Drum] (1979), and Uli Edel's *Christiane F. Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo* [Christiane F.] (1981).
4. The critical inquiry into German cultural and intellectual history and popular entertainment overwhelmingly took place in academic and intellectual circles or in avant-garde movements, producing films of the New German Cinema that "interrogated images of the past in the hope of refining memories and catalyzing changes." Rentschler, "From New German Cinema," 263–64. See also Wolfgram, *Getting History Right*, and Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*.
5. Cooke, "Abnormal Consensus?," 224.
6. In this respect, the debates about genre film and television in the 2000s connect with broader debates about accessibility, entertainment, audience affinity, and commercial success. In the aftermath of the *Literaturstreit* in the early 1990s, publisher and critic Uwe Wittstock and author Matthias Politycki promoted a program of New German Readability. This sought to connect with the demands of a non-professional readership by promoting a middle-brow literary program based on Anglo-American postmodernism, entertainment, and the import of narrative forms from abroad, particularly from the Anglophone world, which was heavily contested by the custodians

of high culture. For more on the debate on readability in the 1990s and beyond, see Schaper, *Poetik und Politik der Lesbarkeit*.

7. Mikos, "Germany as TV Show Import Market"; Fisher and Prager, *Collapse of the Conventional*.

8. For instance *Der Untergang* [Downfall] (2004), *Das Leben der Anderen* [The Lives of Others] (2006), and *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* [The Baader Meinhof Complex] (2008), as well as television films such as *Der Tunnel* [The Tunnel] (2001), *Die Luftbrücke— Nur der Himmel war frei* [Berlin Airlift] (2005), *Dresden* (2006), *Die Sturmflut* [Storm Tide] (2006), *Die Mauer—Berlin '61* [The Wall] (2006), *Krupp—Eine deutsche Familie* [Krupp—A Family between War and Peace] (2009), and *Das Adlon. Eine Familiensaga* [Hotel Adlon—A Family Saga] (2013). Koepnick, "Reframing the Past."

9. Cooke, "Abnormal Consensus?," 225. See also Powell and Shandley, *German Television*; Mikos, "Germany as TV Show Import Market."

10. In regard to the presentation of Berlin in Netflix's *Unorthodox* (2020), Rob McFarland argues that settings such as the Wannsee were emptied of their own "horrific past" so that "problematic sites will mostly slip by unnoticed and problems of history . . . evaporate." While Etsy's trauma was shown to viewers constantly, the series nevertheless formed a "protective numbness" for the viewers: "By rendering individual, historical, and societal traumas into a drip-feed of constant entertainment, Netflix creates the conditions where . . . Germans (and Americans) can enjoy their time sitting on a couch and binging on Etsy's trauma without realizing how much her pain has to do with their own history, and the fundamental violence and racism that is still an integral part of their own institutions and common practices." See McFarland, "Etsy's *Erlebnis* and Moishes's *Mikveh*," 247 and 251–53.

11. Studio Babelsberg was re-established in a move that concluded the short-lived experiment of a German-based European-style transnational cinema. A renewed vision for Studio Babelsberg transformed it into a transnational cooperation hub that prioritized global integration above national competition, and, in so doing, facilitated a revival of the "Babelsberg myth" to create an appealing environment for Hollywood producers. The company is now a service provider and co-producer for other production companies and for television. Studio Babelsberg recently finished a large, multi-million-euro upgrade to create the outdoor metropolitan backlot "Neue Berliner Straße" [New Berlin Street], which resembles numerous European cities (London, Paris, Berlin), making it ostensibly geared toward international productions. Peters, "Neue Berliner Straße." See also Heiduschke, "Co-Producing World Cinema," 147–48.

12. For instance, Steven Soderbergh's *The Good German* (2006), Bryan Singer's *Valkyrie* (2008), Stephen Daldry's *The Reader* (2008), and Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* (2009).

13. Examples include the East German espionage past intertwined with Grimm's fairy tales in Joe Wright's *Hanna* (2011), Stefan Zweig's Austro-Hungarian legacy in Wes Anderson's *The Grand Budapest Hotel* (2014), a highly alienated Wagner Ring Cycle in Quentin Tarantino's *Django Unchained* (2012), and the versatile engagement with German culture in Lars von Trier's *Dogville* (2003), *Melancholia* (2011), *Nymphomaniac* (2014), and *The House that Jack Built* (2018).

14. Citton, *The Ecology of Attention*.

15. Flicker and Holt, "German Netflix Culture," 214.

16. Jenner, *Netflix*, 227.

17. Ibid., 213.

18. Halle, "German Film: Transnational," 517–18.

19. German companies co-produced the Swedish series *Beck* (1997–) and *Wallander* (2005–13), and the Danish series *Ørnen: En krimi-odyssé* [The Eagle: A Crime Odyssey] (2004–6), *Forbrydelsen* [The Killing] (2007–12), and *Broen* [The Bridge] (2011–18). Toft Hansen and Waade, *Locating Nordic Noir*, 151.

20. Rentschler, "From New German Cinema."

21. *Werner—Beinhart!* (1990), *Pappa ante portas* (1991), *Otto—Der Liebesfilm* [Otto—The Love Film] (1992), *Der bewegte Mann* [The Most Desired Man] (1994), and *Stadtgespräch* [Talk of the Town] (1995). A notable exception was 1993, when the World War Two drama *Stalingrad* was the highest grossing German film of the year.

22. Cited in Siewert, *Entgrenzungsfilme*, 221.

23. Hake, "Entombing the Nazi Past," 100.

24. Koepnick, "Reframing the Past."

25. Other examples include *Die Gustloff* (2008), *Krupp—eine deutsche Familie* (2009), *Eldorado KaDeWe—Jetzt ist unsere Zeit* [Eldorado KaDeWe] (2021), and *Der Palast* [The Palace] (2022).

26. Netflix's Anglo-German co-production *Munich—The Edge of War* (2021) here serves as an example of how the resistance against Hitler is presented as a joint Anglo-German concern by seeking to link British characters' concerns about the country's failure to understand the threat posed by Hitler with the inner-German struggles between the resistance and NSDAP supporters.

27. As well as German-language film, Baumann's 2021 portfolio included German co-productions such as Pablo Larraín's *Spencer* (2021), Wes Anderson's *The French Dispatch* (2021, with Studio Babelsberg as a co-producer), and Leos Carax's *Annette* (2021). Barraclough, "Why *Spencer* is a German Film."

28. Barraclough, "German Cinema Reaches Out."

29. See, for example, Thompson, *Television's Second Golden Age*, and Mittell, *Complex TV*.

30. Krauß, "Quality Series," 48. See also Nesselhauf and Schleich, *Das andere Fernsehen?!*; Mikos, "Germany as TV Show Import Market."

31. When it launched on Germany's public broadcast channel ARD, viewing figures reached 8.5 million, giving it a 24.5 percent market share. *Babylon Berlin* succeeded internationally as well, with distribution rights sold to sixty countries. Roxborough, "How the *Babylon Berlin* team broke the rules"; Clarke, "HBO Europe Picks Up German Drama *Babylon Berlin*."

32. For more detailed analyses, see Hester Baer and Jill Suzanne Smith's edited volume *Babylon Berlin*, Andreas Blödorn and Stephan Brössel's edited volume *Babylon Berlin und die filmische (Re-)Modellierung der 1920er-Jahre*, and Sara F. Hall's seminal article "*Babylon Berlin*: Pastiching Weimar Cinema."

33. Hall, "*Babylon Berlin*: Pastiching Weimar Cinema," 304.

34. Potter, "The (Trans)national Appeal within *Babylon Berlin?*" See also Daub, "What *Babylon Berlin* sees in the Weimar Republic."

35. When we look closer at how such series are presented to domestic audiences, we find an interesting development: while *Der Palast* [The Palace] (2021) was broadcast as a conventional "Event Television" miniseries on public service channels, the same production was repackaged on the broadcaster's online mediatheque as shorter multipart episodes. Such a move marks a clear break with previous, and often unsuccessful, attempts to appeal to both linear and nonlinear audiences with the same production. Krauß, "Quality Series," 49, 56. See also Elizabeth Ward's chapter in this volume.

36. Jenner, *Netflix*, 216. See also: Chalaby, "Towards an Understanding," 8.

37. Although film and television genres are not direct equivalents, our use of genre will always refer to both media, as common to both are the ways in which genre

depends on production, distribution, and reception contexts and functions as a point of orientation for audiences. For more on the relationship between genre in film and television see Mittell, "A Cultural Approach"; Mittell, *Genre and Television*; Kuhn, Scheidgen, and Weber, "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte."

38. Mittell, "A Cultural Approach," 3. See also Altman, *Film/Genre*; Blothner, "Filmgenres und Zielgruppen"; Frow, *Genre*; Kreimeier, "Am Anfang war das Chaos"; Kuhn, Scheidgen, and Weber, "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte"; Mittell, *Genre and Television*; Neale, "Questions of Genre"; Peltzer, "Genregeschichte im Hollywoodkino"; and Stiglegger, "Genrediskurs."
39. Cf. Kuhn, Scheidgen and Weber, "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte," 8. The history of genre research is summarized in Kuhn, Scheidgen, and Weber, "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte," 6–16; Altman, *Film/Genre*; and Stiglegger, "Genrediskurs."
40. Mittell, "A Cultural Approach," 16.
41. Altman, *Film/Genre*, 14.
42. For instance, Blothner, "Filmgenres und Zielgruppen," 203–4; Frow, *Genre*, 56, 91, and 110; Kuhn, Scheidgen, and Weber, "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte," 17 and 23; Mittell, "Serial Orientations"; and Urschel, "Making Progress," 2.
43. Neale, "Questions of Genre," 46.
44. Altman, *Film/Genre*, 151, 158, and 195. He further argues that while many scholars would "strive to eradicate contradictions, such differences necessarily constitute a basic component of genre reception" also amongst fans (ibid., 175).
45. Ibid., 176 and 195.
46. Ibid., 172.
47. See ibid., 168–69. Blothner also argues that films create their audience and the audience then again creates its films—a dynamic that creates brands such as the James Bond franchise, which then allows them to (re)adapt to the times. Blothner, "Filmgenres und Zielgruppen," 208–9.
48. For a detailed analysis see Jenner, *Netflix*, 119–20, 132–35, and 145–46.
49. See ibid., 139–57 and 227. For more on the notion of "Quality TV," see Thompson, *Television's Second Golden Age*.
50. Altman, *Film/Genre*, 26.
51. Ibid., 221.
52. For example, Stiglegger, "Genrediskurs," 5 and 12. Kuhn, Scheidgen, and Weber further elaborate that the supposed lower quality of genre film has also led German cinema scholarship to neglect genre for a long time: "Standing in the tradition of Weimar film theory and criticism, genre film was labeled an 'average production' (Kracauer, 1928) or a 'ready-made film' (Arnheim, 1932) and placed in opposition to the auteur-based 'filmic artwork' or the auteur film, long considered intellectually and culturally superior" (in "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte," 9).
53. See Ritzer, "Genre- und Autorentheorie," and Urschel, "Making Progress." Within the German cinematic context, this tension is exemplified by a debate between genre-filmmaker Dominik Graf and the Berlin School filmmakers Christoph Hochhäusler and Christian Petzold, in which Graf criticizes the idea that German films—be they for cinema or television—that focus on plot development and refer to traditional generic structures are increasingly denied artistic status and dismissed as seemingly trivial and mainstream. Cf. Graf, Hochhäusler, and Petzold, *Ein Gespräch*. For more on the *Berliner Schule*, see Abel, *Counter-Cinema of the Berlin School*.
54. See Graf, Hochhäusler, and Petzold, *Ein Gespräch*, 21.
55. Heiduschke, "Co-Producing World Cinema," 148–49.
56. Schofield, "Theater Without Borders?" 234.

57. See Stiglegger, "Genrediskurs," 7–8.
58. The use of a universal town is a strategy also employed in Netflix's *Stranger Things* (2016–), *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* (2018–20), *Riverdale* (2017–), as well as in David Lynch's *Twin Peaks* (1990–91 and 2017).
59. *Rotten Tomatoes*, "Dark."
60. BBC Culture, "The 100 greatest TV series."
61. Katz, "Netflix Shows."
62. Roettgers, "Netflix's Drama *Dark*."
63. In this context, the nerd functions as a transnationally recognizable archetype that can then be adapted into specific cultural contexts. For the international translatability of nerdom, see Cervelli and Schaper, "The Lonely Nerd." It is interesting to note that it was the hacker film *Who Am I—Kein System ist sicher* (2014), which itself creatively engages with Anglo-American predecessors such as David Fincher's Mark Zuckerberg biopic *The Social Network* (2010), that initially brought the filmmakers Baran bo Odar and Jantje Friese to Netflix's attention. For their next project, bo Odar and Friese developed Netflix's first German Original, *Dark*. For *Who Am I*, its Anglo-American influences, and its discussions of nerdom, see Schaper, "Conquering the Meatspace."
64. Netflix, "Inclusion & Diversity."
65. The town is called Rinseln and, although principal photography took place in and around Bonn, the name nonetheless recalls the Lower Saxon town of Rinteln, which has a reputation for being the most generic German town—so much so that it was chosen to represent the average voting demographic for the 2017 federal election by the private broadcaster RTL. The protagonists attend the fictional Anton Köllisch High School, named after the first chemist who synthesized MDMA, which is the drug they mostly sell. See Mühlens, "Dreharbeiten für neue Netflix-Serie in Bonn"; Gokl, "Spielt neue Netflix-Serie in Rinteln?"
66. Examples include *The Lion King* (1994), *Clueless* (1995), *10 Things I Hate About You* (1999), and *Bridget Jones's Diary* (2001), as well as many popular period genre adaptations.
67. For instance, Griffiths, "Hermanns Schlachten"; Ehrig, "From 'Völkisch' Culture"; Fischer, *Das Eigene und das Eigentliche*.
68. Rogers, "Reclaiming."
69. As in Gibson's film, all the Romans in the series speak Latin, while the Germanic tribes speak (albeit contemporary) German, similar to the use of Aramaic in *The Passion of the Christ*. *Vikings* acted as the model for most of the production design, while the visual appearance and characterization of *Barbaren*'s Thusnelda (Jeanne Goursaud) appears almost like a carbon copy of *Vikings*' Lagertha (Katheryn Winnick).
70. *The Economist*, "How Netflix is creating a common European culture."
71. Here we can also point to German Netflix series like *The Billion Dollar Code* (2021), which depicts the origins of Google Earth by framing German IT nerds and hackers in the ranks of Bill Gates and Steve Jobs, and is set against the background of the 1990s Berlin techno scene; the multilingual trans-European dystopian future fantasy *Tribes of Europa* (2021–), which draws on the narrative tradition of films such as *The Hunger Games* (2012–15) and *Maze Runner* (2012); the Vienna-based crime mystery series *Freud* (Marven Kren, 2020–), which strongly references Albert and Allen Hughes's *From Hell* (2001); and the drama series *The Empress* (2022–) on the early years of Elisabeth of Austria (Sisi) which employs musical and fashion anachronisms similar to Sofia Coppola's *Marie Antoinette* (2006) and Netflix's own *Bridgerton* (2020–).
72. Liebes and Katz, *The Export of Meaning*, x.
73. Ibid., 4.

74. See ibid., 5.
75. See Mikos et al., *Revisiting "The Export of Meaning."*
76. McFarland also recognizes this with regard to the depiction of Berlin in *Unorthodox*, but warns of neglecting the horrors of the city's past. See McFarland, "Etsy's *Erlebnis* and Moishes's *Mikveh*," 252.
77. Erll, "Travelling Memory," 9.
78. Ibid., 11.
79. Ibid., 12 and 15.
80. Braun and Schofield, *Transnational German Studies*, 6.
81. Perkins and Verevis, "Transnational Television Remakes."
82. Braun and Schofield, *Transnational German Studies*, 6.
83. Hodkinson and Schofield, "Introduction: German in its Worlds," 3.

Bibliography

Abel, Marco. *The Counter-Cinema of the Berlin School*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013.

Altman, Rick. *Film/Genre*. London: BFI, 2010.

Avila, Pamela. "*Money Heist*, *Lupin*, *Squid Game*: How Netflix's non-English shows became global hits." *USA Today*, 14 September 2021. Retrieved 8 February 2022 from https://eu.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/tv/2021/09/14/money-heist-elite-lupin-unorthodox-netflix-non-english-hits/8267105002/.

Baer, Hester, and Jill Suzanne Smith. *Babylon Berlin*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2023.

Barraclough, Leo. "German Cinema Reaches Out to the World." *Variety*, 13 February 2022. Retrieved 14 February 2022 from https://variety.com/2022/film/festivals/german-films-berlin-film-festival-1235179304/amp/?fbclid=IwAR2fglbxk8hNXPxY6pXhfSB5Hz5QKDDRCDTV93geWzB_dwJ_UmsojkodZXQ.

———. "Why *Spencer* is a German Film, and How *I'm Your Man* Reflects the Best in New German Cinema." *Variety*, 1 November 2021. Retrieved 2 February 2022 from https://variety.com/2021/film/global/german-cinema-spencer-im-your-man-simone-baumann-1235102018/.

BBC Culture. "The 100 greatest TV series of the 21st Century." 19 October 2021. Retrieved 28 January 2022 from https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20211015-the-100-greatest-tv-series-of-the-21st-century.

Bengesser, Cathrin, and Kim Toft Hansen. "Scandinavian success as European policy dilemma: Creative Europe's funding for TV drama co-productions, 2014–20." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 28, no. 6 (2022): 697–714.

Bielby, Denise D., and C. Lee Harrington. *Global TV: Exporting Television and Culture in the World Market*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.

Blödorn, Andreas, and Stephan Brössel. *Babylon Berlin und die filmische (Re-)Modellierung der 1920er-Jahre*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach-Wissenschaft Verlag, 2023.

Blothner, Dirk. "Filmgenres und Zielgruppen." In *Handbuch Filmgenre Geschichte–Ästhetik–Theorie*, edited by Marcus Stiglegger, 199–213. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020.

Bondebjerg, Ib, Eva Novrup Redvall, Rasmus Helles, Signe Sophus Lai, Henrik Søndergaard, and Cecilie Astrupgaard, eds. *Transnational European Television Drama: Production, Genres and Audiences*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Braun, Rebecca, and Benedict Schofield, eds. *Transnational German Studies*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020.

Buck, Amber M., and Theo Plothe, eds. *Netflix at the Nexus: Content, Practice, and Production in the Age of Streaming Television*. New York: Peter Lang, 2019.

Cervelli, Filippo, and Benjamin Schaper, "The Lonely Nerd." *Exchanges. The Interdisciplinary Research Journal* 9, no. 3 (2022).

Chalaby, Jean K. "Towards an Understanding of Media Transnationalism." In *Transnational Television Worldwide: Towards a New Media Order*, edited by Jean K. Chalaby, 1–13. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Citton, Yves. *The Ecology of Attention*, trans. Barnaby Norman. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017.

Clarke, Stewart. "HBO Europe Picks Up German Drama *Babylon Berlin*." *Variety*, 12 October 2017. Retrieved 28 October 2018 from https://variety.com/2017/tv/news/hbo-europe-buys-babylon-berlin-1202588085/.

Cooke, Paul. "Abnormal Consensus? The New Internationalism of German Cinema." *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*, edited by Paul Cooke and Stuart Taberner, 223–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Daub, Adrian. "What *Babylon Berlin* Sees in the Weimar Republic." *The Atlantic*, 14 February 2018. Retrieved 16 February 2018 from https://newrepublic.com/article/147053/babylon-berlinsees-weimar-republic.

Economist, The. "How Netflix is creating a common European culture." 31 March 2021.

Ehrig, Stephan. "From 'Völkisch' Culture to Dialectical Marxist Aesthetics: Staging Kleist's Hermannsschlacht in the GDR." *Publications of the English Goethe Society* 87, no. 2 (2018): 1–11.

Erll, Astrid. "Travelling Memory." *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 4–18.

Fischer, Bernd. *Das Eigene und das Eigentliche: Klopstock, Herder, Fichte, Kleist. Episoden aus der Konstruktionsgeschichte nationaler Intentionalitäten*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1995.

Fisher, Jaimey, and Brad Prager, eds. *The Collapse of the Conventional: German Film and its Politics at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*. Detroit: Wayne State University, 2010.

Flicker, André, and Xan Holt. "German Netflix Culture." *The Germanic Review* 97, no. 3 (2022): 211–18.

Frow, John. *Genre*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Gokl, Jakob. "Spielt neue Netflix-Serie in Rinteln?" *Dewezet*, 6 June 2019. Retrieved 30 January 2022 from https://www.dewezet.de/region/weserbergland_artikel,-spielt-neue-netflixserie-in-rinteln-_arid,2549309.html.

Graf, Dominik, Christoph Hochhäusler, and Christian Petzold. *Ein Gespräch via e-mail über die Neue Berliner Schule*. Berlin: Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin, 2006.

Griffiths, Elystan. "Hermanns Schlachten: Gender, Culture and the German Nation in the Long Eighteenth Century." *German Life and Letters* 61, no. 1 (2008): 118–36.

Hake, Sabine. "Entombing the Nazi Past: On *Downfall* and Historicism." In *Hitler—Films from Germany: History, Cinema and Politics since 1945*, edited by Karolin Machtans and Martin A. Ruehl, 99–131. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

———. *German National Cinema*, second edition. London: Routledge, 2008.

Hall, Sara F. "*Babylon Berlin*: Pastiching Weimar Cinema." *Communications* 44, no. 3 (2019): 304–22.

Halle, Randall. *German Film After Germany*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

———. "German Film: Transnational." In *The German Cinema Book*, second edition, edited by Tim Bergfelder, Erica Carter, Deniz Göktürk, and Claudia Sandberg, 517–18. London: BFI, 2020.

Hammett-Jamart, Julia, Petar Mitric, and Eva Novrup Redvall, eds. *European Film and Television Co-Production: Policy and Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Heiduschke, Sebastian. "Co-Producing World Cinema: Germany and Transnational Film Production." In *Transnational German Studies*, edited by Rebecca Brown and Benedict Schofield, 133–50. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020.

Hettich, Katja. "Form und Funktionen von Genrebenennungen." In *Handbuch Filmgenre*, edited by Marcus Stiglegger, 56–69. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Hodkinson, James, and Benedict Schofield. "Introduction: German in its Worlds." In *German in the World: The Transnational and Global Contexts of German Studies*, edited by James Hodkinson and Benedict Schofield, 1–16. London: Camden House, 2020.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W Adorno. *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2013.

Jenner, Mareike. *Netflix & the Re-Invention of Television*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Katz, Brandon. "Netflix Shows Have Longer Staying Power Than You Might Think." *The Observer*, 25 August 2020. Retrieved 28 January from https://observer.com/2020/08/netflix-ratings-most-watched-shows-umbrella-academy-dark/.

Koepnick, Lutz. "Reframing the Past: Heritage Cinema and Holocaust in the 1990s." *New German Critique* 87 (2002): 47–82.

Krauß, Florian. "Quality Series and their Production Cultures: Transnational Discourses within the German Television Industry." *International Journal of TV Serial Narratives* 2 (2018): 47–60.

Kreimeier, Klaus. "Am Anfang war das Chaos." In *Handbuch Filmgenre Geschichte–Ästhetik–Theorie*, edited by Marcus Stiglegger, 17–36. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020.

Kuhn, Markus, Irina Scheidgen, and Nicola Valeska Weber. "Genretheorien und Genrekonzepte." In *Filmwissenschaftliche Genreanalyse: Eine Einführung*, edited by Markus Kuhn, Irina Scheidgen, and Nicola Valeska Weber, 1–8. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.

Leuschen, Johanna. *Internetfernsehen. Eine angebots- und akteurszentrierte Analyse und Kategorisierung online vermittelter Bewegtbildinhalte in ihrer Einführungsphase (2005–2011) und ihre Auswirkungen auf die traditionelle Fernsehlandschaft in Deutschland*. Berlin: LIT, 2017.

Liebes, Tamar, and Elihu Katz. *The Export of Meaning: Cross-Cultural Readings of Dallas*, second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

McFarland, Rob. "Etsy's *Erlebnis* and Moishe's *Mikveh*: Experiencing Berlin in Netflix's *Unorthodox*." *The Germanic Review* 97, no. 3 (2022): 237–53.

Mikos, Lothar. "Digital Media Platforms and the Use of TV Content: Binge Watching and Video-on-Demand in Germany." *Media and Communication* 4, no. 3 (2016): 154–61.

———. "Germany as TV Show Import Market." In *German Television. Historical and Theoretical Approaches*, edited by Larson Powell and Robert R. Shandley, 155–74. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016.

Mikos, Lothar, Gisela Dachs, Benjamin Nickl, and Anne Beier, eds. *Revisiting "The Export of Meaning" Cross-Cultural Television Audiences in the Age of Streaming* (forthcoming).

Mittell, Jason. "A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory." *Cinema Journal* 40, no. 3 (2001): 3–24.

———. *Complex TV: The Poetics of Contemporary Television Storytelling*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

———. *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

———. "Serial Orientations: Paratexts and Contemporary Complex Television." In *(Dis)Orienting Media and Narrative Mazes*, edited by Julia Eckel, Bernd Leiendecker, Daniela Olek, and Christine Piepiorka, 165–82. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014.

Mühlens, Maximilian. "Dreharbeiten für neue Netflix-Serie in Bonn." *General-Anzeiger Bonn*, 10 October 2019. Retrieved 28 January 2022 from https://ga.de/bonn/hardt berg/neue-netflix-serie-dreharbeiten-finden-in-der-spreestrasse-statt_aid-46418697.

Neale, Steve. "Questions of Genre." *Screen* 31, no. 1 (1990): 45–66.

Nesselhauf, Jonas, and Markus Schleich, eds. *Das andere Fernsehen?! Eine Bestandsaufnahme des "Quality Television"*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016.

Netflix. "Inclusion & Diversity: Diversity in our Stories." Retrieved 31 January 2021 from https://about.netflix.com/en/inclusion.

Peltzer, Anja. "Genregeschichte in Hollywoodkino." In *Handbuch Filmgenre Geschichte–Ästhetik–Theorie*, edited by Marcus Stiglegger, 301–19. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020.

Perkins, Claire, and Constantine Verevis. "Transnational Television Remakes." *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 29, no. 5 (2015): 677–83.

Peters, Klaus. "Neue Berliner Straße: Die richtige Kulisse für eine wandelbare Stadt." *Der Tagesspiegel*, 30 July 2017. Retrieved 17 February 2023 from https://www.tagesspiegel .de/berlin/die-richtige-kulisse-fur-eine-wandelbare-stadt-3854221.html.

Potter, Hilary. "The (Trans)national Appeal within *Babylon Berlin*?" *Modern Languages Open*, September 2022. Retrieved 31 October 2022 from http://doi.org/10.3828/mlo .v0i0.373.

Powell, Larson, and Robert R. Shandley, eds. *German Television: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016.

Ramachandran, Naman. "Disney Plus Unveils Handful of European Originals, Star Titles, New Appointments." *Variety*, 16 February 2021. Retrieved 3 February 2022 from https://variety.com/2021/streaming/global/disney-plus-star-european-origin als-1234908329/.

Reichel, Peter. *Erfundene Erinnerung: Weltkrieg und Judenmord in Film und Theater*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2004.

Rentschler, Eric. "From New German Cinema to the Postwall Cinema of Consensus." In *Cinema and Nation*, edited by Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, 260–77. London: Routledge, 2000.

Ritzer, Ivo. "Genre- und Autorentheorie." In *Handbuch Filmgenre Geschichte–Ästhetik–Theorie*, edited by Marcus Stiglegger, 155–69. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020.

Roettgers, Janko. "Netflix's Drama *Dark* May Be from Germany, But 90% of its Viewers Are Not." *Variety*, 6 March 2018. Retrieved 28 January from https://variety.com/2018/ digital/news/netflix-dark-international-audience-1202719270/.

Rogers, Thomas. "Reclaiming, on Netflix, an Ancient Battle Beloved of Germany's Far Right." *New York Times*, 28 October 2020. Retrieved 28 February 2022 from https:// www.nytimes.com/2020/10/28/arts/television/barbarians-netflix.html.

Rotten Tomatoes. "*Dark*." Retrieved 28 January 2022 from https://www.rottentomatoes .com/tv/dark/s03.

Roxborough, Scott. "How the *Babylon Berlin* Team Broke the Rules to Make the World's Biggest Foreign-Language Series." *The Hollywood Reporter*, 26 December 2018. Retrieved 15 March 2020 from https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/general-news/how-babylon-berlin-team-broke-all-rules-make-worlds-biggest-foreign-lan guage-series-1171013/.

Schaper, Benjamin. "Conquering the Meatspace: The lonely nerd in David Fincher's *The Social Network* (2010) and Baran do Odar's *Who am I* (2014)." *Exchanges. The Interdisciplinary Research Journal* 9, no. 3 (2022): 11–29.

———. *Poetik und Politik der Lesbarkeit in der deutschen Literatur*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2017.

Schofield, Benedict. "Theater Without Borders? Tracing the Transnational Value of German Theater Beyond Germany: A UK Case Study." In *Transnational German Studies*, edited by Rebecca Braun and Benedict Schofield, 219–28. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020.

Siewert, Senta. *Entgrenzungsfilme—Jugend, Musik, Affekt, Gedächtnis*. Marburg: Schüren, 2013.

Stiglegger, Marcus. "Genrediskurs." In *Handbuch Filmgenre Geschichte–Ästhetik–Theorie*, edited by Marcus Stiglegger, 3–16. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020.

Szalai, Georg. "Netflix Unveils New German-Language Series and Films, Will Double Local Content Investments." *The Hollywood Reporter*, 8 February 2022. Retrieved 10 February 2022 from https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/business/business-news/netflix-unveils-new-german-language-original-series-and-films-1235088713/?fbclid=IwAR1a1cGwsXOMnfsNvgm8q_6MHGK26JVNIKsBOjr_vmerSeHnF4_I3cBvMK8.

Thompson, Robert J. *Television's Second Golden Age: From* Hill Street Blues *to* ER. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996.

Toft Hansen, Kim, and Anne Marit Waade. *Locating Nordic Noir: From* Beck *to* The Bridge. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Urschel, Martin. "Making Progress with Wittgenstein and Popular Genre Film." PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2018.

Vertovec, Steven. *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Vlessing, Etan. "TPG Real Estate Completes Deal for Germany's Studio Babelsberg." *The Hollywood Reporter*, 3 January 2022.

Wolfgram, Mark. *Getting History Right: East and West German Collective Memories of the Holocaust and War*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013.