

Chapter 7

PRODUCING DENATIONALIZING TELEVISION

The Netflixization of the New Berlin City Genre in *Dogs of Berlin*

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Berlin Neo-Noir: From National Historicity to City Ambience of Capital Crime

A new German stream screen production has emerged over the past ten years: Berlin city fictions. These fictions that replicate Berlin on the stream screen have managed to fuse elements of two blockbuster genres that dominate popular screen entertainment in the twenty-first century: Scandinavian neo-noir crime and the essentials of big city fiction. This inter-genre balancing act is the focus of my chapter,¹ in which I ask how and to what effect the producers of *Dogs of Berlin* (2018–) merge the neo-noir wave of Scandinavian crime drama with components of productions that feature the world’s capital cities as characters alongside the cast. To this end, I will mobilize the mix of aesthetic and narrative styles that viewers know from the Icelandic series *Karppi* (Deadwind, 2018–21), *Ófærð* (Trapped, 2015–), and *Brot* (The Valhalla Murders, Netflix, 2019–20), and the popular Danish series *Broen* (The Bridge, 2011–18). Further elements that inform my discussion appear frequently in the way that *Sex and the City* (1998–2004) presents a turn-of-the-millennium Big Apple, *Mad Men* (2007–15) features a vintage New York, and *Emily in Paris* (2020–) displays the capital of France as a modern metropole at the heart of Europe. The new Berlin city genre encompasses elements of the two genres, “crime noir” and “big city,” to create the neo-noir-metropole allure of productions like *Dogs of Berlin*. As I will argue here, transnational audiences can consume this allure as something that looks distantly international but feels immediately close and comfortably familiar in what one could term “ambience entertainment” or “stream globals.”

I refer to this on-demand phenomenon of ambience entertainment as “Netflixization.” The Netflixized neo-noir Berlin can manipulate our emotional relationship to content that is meant to feel historically German and authentically national, but clearly is neither. Hence, the city that appears in *Dogs of Berlin* caters to audiences’ tastes for intimate familiarity with what they experience on a global online platform.² At the same time, *Dogs of Berlin*’s version of Berlin city incentivizes viewers to invite an international screen aesthetic via digital streaming into their homes or onto their tablets and smartphone screens. This points to a curious development in the economy of Video on Demand streaming. As they provide their audiences across the world with experiments in transnational production, global streamers such as Netflix hide unfamiliar fusion formats under the guise of emotional familiarity. It is a process that seeks to make the emperor’s new clothes feel pleasantly old by uprooting specific content from its individual national and sociocultural contexts. That content then gets embedded into the generic form and the successful formula of attention models that were tried and tested by the aforementioned metropole and crime noir series.³ It is a form of emotional transfer and transferability of feeling that is at play here, one which readies contemporary Germanness for global Netflix consumption in a multibillion-dollar attention industry.⁴

However, because there are different kinds of shows with different aesthetics and structures, I do not think it productive to equate Netflixization with standardization; even though one could argue that what we are dealing with means to make “Germanness” palatable across the board to millions of audiences in all the countries that can access Netflix. But, as I will show with a case study of Netflix Global Germany’s series *Dogs of Berlin*, the new Berlin city genre necessarily entails *specific* German form, substance, and action. There are particular histories and certain landmark sites, and distinct events and communal identities. They all require scrutiny as a contextualized structure within a purposeful constellation of content elements. This means that the series that fall into a popular stream genre at the intersection of drama, neo-noir, and the city of Berlin as its main locus, share a denationalizing quality, which transforms Berlin into the invaluable anchor that secures the new Berlin city fictions to two of the four regimes of mediated screen attention. Boullier describes these broadly as the regimes of *loyalty* and *immersion*.⁵ They play an essential part in our current era of attention scarcity due to an overabundance of popular screen culture. Or, to put all this in the vocabulary of popular culture and stream screen theory, we are dealing here with the regimes of *fandom* and *binge-watching*.⁶ As

an example of a new stream-TV entertainment model, the new Berlin city fiction I am dealing with in this chapter seeks to secure a place for its contemporary Germanness in those two regimes.

Dogs of Berlin's narrative features and transnational aesthetic demonstrate how this is done. Both the story and its styling create a trans-temporal and translocal stream screen Germanness, which codes an *everywhere Berlin* as the *anywhere Germany*: the city becomes nation, and Berlin becomes Germany. From such a position onward, one may go further and reflect on the streaming ecology that houses the new Berlin city genre that in turn houses this new Berlin. How has streaming helped this new Germanness to carve out a space for itself? And, how did it create a terrain for popular productions where new forms of "stream Germanness" can be consumed and discussed widely outside of their original German production context on the back of vehicles such as *Dogs of Berlin* and its screen cousins, *Babylon Berlin* (2017–), *Deutschland 83/86/89* (2015–20), *Charité* (2017–), *Berlin Station* (2016), *Ku'damm 56/59/63* (2016–21), *Counterpart* (2017–19), *4 Blocks* (2017–19), and *Sense8* (2015–18)? Such questions require reflection on the authentic Germanness that Netflixized metropole fictions like *Dogs of Berlin* retain. What does this Germanness look like vis-à-vis the popular crime noir and big city template, and how is it reworked for stream consumption across the world? For while the fusion format allows German television series to circulate worldwide as global entertainment that is popular and marketable, it also makes these series shed their historicity and thereby their realness and originality.⁷

The quo vadis of transnational Germanness on demand guides my thinking, with contributions on the consumption of screen content and its bundling via streaming providers in Mareike Jenner's *Binge-Watching and Contemporary Television Studies* assisting me in figuring out this new and unresolved puzzle. The timely collection of think pieces in this edited volume suggests that the era of stream productions comes with a new screen-content-consumption phenomena. Glebatis Perks, for one, discusses the effects of non-gapped episode content as a viewing condition of the streaming audience,⁸ while Stolz investigates the impact of the "cultural binge"⁹ on clear-cut divisions between traditional screen content labels, such as national and domestic productions. Again, related to another issue of transnational viewing, Watts proposes that stream binge consumption requires a whole new paradigm for screen researchers and scholars of popular media circulation to conceive of national television as a transnational screen experience. The streaming experience, he writes, can approximate the experience

of immersive cinema.¹⁰ It can do so because the binge's affective overload makes up for the size of the smaller screen, be it laptop, tablet, or phone. All this suggests that stream content productions and their new modalities of consumption exceed our knowledge of traditional television. They deliver a novel cinematic immersion in our post-network and readily available, hyper-affective televisuality of transnationalizing genre narratives.¹¹ The new Berlin city fiction genre lives in this immersive experience space of stream cinema.

But what about the bigger picture here (pun intended)? What are the off-screen implications for the hyper-affective binge viewings of cities like Berlin, when these cities turn into precarious national miniatures and reductive consumer goods that are today more readily available than ever before in the history of popular entertainment?¹² Key considerations that matter for such concerns include the influence that streaming has on current German culture. Central as well is the relationship between viewer and content. Another core issue relates to what it takes to make contemporary Germanness more *streamable*. I may hence phrase these questions about the relevance of contemporary screen culture and German sociohistorical representation even more poignantly: What does it mean for contemporary German culture and those living out Germany's social realities in the wake of the country's real histories, if this new Berlin becomes what one may call a *Puppenhaus der Nation* [dollhouse of the nation]?¹³ What happens to Germany when the country turns into a plaything for the screen world that distances the social realities of Germanness from audiences rather than (im)mediating them, making them less real instead of more? I will make this case in the concluding section, with brief reference to the pioneering media criticisms of Adorno's and Krakauer's contemporary, Günther Anders.

As a matter of analytical process, I should stress that the Netflixization of German culture via the Berlin city genre is a twin practice. One can refer to this formula as the procedural mechanics of transnational German stream entertainment. It consists of a duality of content production and content consumption. I will focus more on the nature of the first by describing *Dogs of Berlin* as a relevant stream culture artifact, and by embedding the series in a theoretical framework of transnational fusion culture and city-space scholarship. I will reflect on the specific characteristics of the latter, namely the consumption of denationalized Berlin TV as German city fiction, by drawing on Anders' theory of the mediation of our modern world through screens as world-experience interface.¹⁴ That theory holds that mediation technologies reduce all

mediated experience to mere templates of the real, and thus distance us from objective reality the more we consume the allegedly authentic representation. In brief, the irony is that the more we see of Germany on screen, the less we actually see—or want to see—of Germany in objective reality. Such a theoretical understanding of media production and consumption spells out a warning that technologies that mediate reality trick us into believing that we consume the real thing, no matter how denationalized or otherwise “de-realized” that representation may be.

My overarching concern in this chapter, therefore, is to examine how transnational streaming as a cultural technology is processing Germanness under the umbrella concept of new Berlin city fictions, and what that does to us, the viewers. It is all about adding new knowledge about the role that Video on Demand plays in contemporary television studies, and how streaming mediates cultural knowledge between the natural world and the viewer of that world’s representation.¹⁵

Netflix Noir’s Berlin

The process that transforms Berlin into a denationalized stream reality is complex, but we can explore aspects of this process by turning first to *Dogs of Berlin’s* narrative and the fusion of neo-noir crime and big city. In *Dogs of Berlin*, it is Berlin’s “Pervasive Crime” main plot that grounds the story. The show’s introduction reveals, with a gruesome murder, that crime is ubiquitous in this dark version of Berlin. The viewer finds out during the first episode of season one, which consists of ten episodes in total, that a Turkish-German soccer player by the name of Orkan Erdem (played by Cino Djevid) was brutally killed only days before a big match in which Germany were to play Turkey. News of this atrocious act sends Berlin into a frenzy, as interethnic tensions in the city come to a boiling point, and the list of potential suspects lurking in the shadows of Berlin’s ganglands is long. It could have been a hate crime committed by members of a group of neo-Nazis from the Marzahn borough of Berlin; the Arab Mafia rules this neighborhood in which the victim grew up, and where Erdem violated gang law by playing clean and refusing bribes to facilitate insider betting. Then there are militant Turkish nationalists who had a motive because they hated the rising soccer star for playing for Germany instead of Turkey. To complicate the issue even more, Erdem could have been killed by random soccer fans, or by hitmen sent by the Berlin Mafia.

We do not know the real Berlin as well as we think. Watching this show will help us understand the big city's dark underbelly better and help us solve the case. This sense of exploration, of finding out more about the unknown elements of a Germanness in the country's capital city that we think we already know so well, forms *Dogs of Berlin's* narrative premise. Guided by the question of who killed the promising young Turkish-German soccer player at the height of his career, the creators of the show present us with a story of captivating unfamiliarity. It equates denationalization with defamiliarization. On this story's back, intricate narrative strands about the Germany-we-know-yet-do-not-know unfold. The premise of Berlin as a crime noir metropolis also allows elements of other TV genres—often dealing with ethical, social, and political issues—to surface in this big city crime drama's primordial mystery. To move the whodunit storyline along as it competes with the series' local "Berlin Culture Clash" plot and a national "Nazi History" plot, we encounter one of the two protagonists of *Dogs of Berlin*: a middle-aged German police detective called Kurt Grimmer (played by Felix Kramer; see also the outline of a male figure centered in the frame of Figure 7.1).

Shortly after Grimmer's introduction, the series' showrunner Christian Alvart pairs him with fellow homicide detective Erol Birkan (played by Fakhri Yardim, see Figure 7.2), a by-the-book Turkish-German police officer whom the chief of Berlin's capital city police force orders to co-head Erdem's murder investigation. All this happens in a lavishly pro-

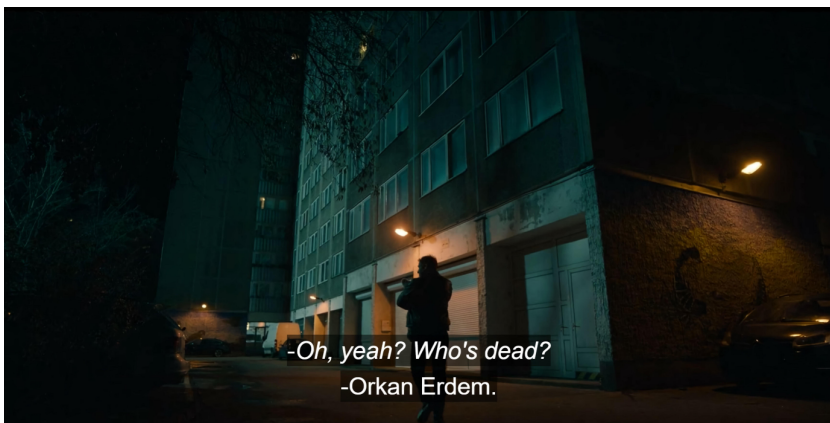


Figure 7.1. Felix Kramer as police detective Kurt Grimmer, kicking off the murder-mystery plotline that underpins the series. *Dogs of Berlin*, season one (2018). Screenshot by Benjamin Nickl.



Figure 7.2. Fakhri Yardim as police detective Erol Birkan, who co-heads the homicide investigation into Orkan Erdem’s murder, and who lives in two worlds. *Dogs of Berlin*, season one (2018). Screenshot by Benjamin Nickl.

duced style that justifies the high production costs for the single-camera show, and for which Netflix commissioned Alvarth’s Berlin-based production company, Syrreal Entertainment.¹⁶

But not everything about this noir version of Berlin is new. What we experience as we delve into *Dogs of Berlin’s* version of Germany’s capital city should be familiar terrain to crime drama fans. Season one opens with imagery, sites, and sounds that the global TV fandom of so-called Nordic noir is intimately acquainted with. Creeber provides a useful summary of those features that derive from a format also known as the Scandi crime noir genre, writing that:

Nordic Noir is best understood as a broad umbrella term that describes a particular type of Scandinavian crime fiction, typified by its heady mixture of bleak naturalism, disconsolate locations and morose detectives. Broadly speaking, it has been described as a cross between the British Golden Age of crime writers like Dorothy L. Sayers and Agatha Christie with the American hard-boiled private detective stories of Raymond Chandler and the police procedurals of Ed McBain. It first became [popular] in the 1960s with the ten-part series of novels by Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö, featuring Inspector Martin Beck. This Marxist-inspired fiction introduced social criticism as an important element of the genre, a tradition that has continued to the present day with Stieg Larsson’s *Millennium* (2005–9) trilogy, now made into a series of films beginning with *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*.¹⁷

Figure 7.1 illustrates that very definition of Nordic noir. The opening shots of *Dogs of Berlin* introduce the Netflix viewer to the nitty-gritty setting of inner-city Berlin. Overall, it is a contemporary look. Bleak, dark night scenes blend in with broody gray locales and desolate-looking concrete high-rises. The camera lingers with its dreary panning shots on cracked-up concrete structures, old streets, and shabby sidewalks. Police sirens cut through the night and accompany a montage of panorama shots that feature deserted buildings in dire need of upkeep. We look at these architectural structures from the bottom-up through unnatural side-view angles under the eyeline, which makes the city read as imposing and dangerous. The dwarfing of the human viewpoint vis-à-vis the existence of the metropole is a staple of crime drama's aesthetic, so that the big city of Berlin feels uninvitingly cold and threateningly anti-human in both sonic and visual styling. Cinephiles may recognize that *Dogs of Berlin's* angular geometry, and how the series features buildings in the city as imposing entities that reinforce a repelling sensation, borrows from the stylistic repertoire of Fritz Lang's iconic 1927 production *Metropolis* (see Figure 7.3).

Yet again, structures, textures, and angles are not all that places *Dogs of Berlin* in the world of crime noir metropolises. Alvar't's series prominently features that dimly lit aesthetic that made Nordic noir dramas so famous: "Hence the implicit reference to film noir that is matched by a slow and melancholic pace, multilayered storylines and an interest in



Figure 7.3. The imposing might of the mega-city appears to the viewer in a panoramic crosscut of the big city as an artificial and eerie landscape. Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927). Screenshot by Benjamin Nickl.

uncovering the dark underbelly of contemporary society.”¹⁸ It is quite certainly in this tradition of a dark and bleak city-drama-fiction genre, as my point about the visual legacy of Lang’s German city cinema suggests, that we encounter *Dogs of Berlin*’s metropole “Germanness” on Netflix’s stream screen. This is a century after German visual artists such as Lang, and German literary artists such as Alfred Döblin, introduced audiences to the big city and to Berlin as a backdrop for what it means to live an urban life in modern society. As its plotlines unfold, *Dogs of Berlin*’s murderous narrative and the excesses of violence, corruption, and betrayal in each episode confirm the noir concept of big city crime. Netflix’s stream representation of Berlin shows us a space—a whole ecology—of sociopsychological violence in which we would not be surprised to hear of organized crimes or criminal activities in which all the characters participate. We find ourselves in a setting that suggests that what is done in darkness may not be savory, but it surely will not prompt questions as to whether something is too good to be true, as was the case in harmonious and bright-eyed big city multicultural fictions set in Berlin city in the late 2000s.¹⁹ Rather, the opposite may be true: is *Dogs of Berlin*’s transnational crime noir image of Berlin too brutal to be real, to be convincingly and credibly German?

It is in this arena of a German-Nordic fusion genre that *Dogs of Berlin*’s Netflix detectives go to work. Although questionable at first, the Grimmer and Birkan pairing is the right move as the viewer finds out in episode two. Grimmer has a severe gambling addiction. His debts force him into the pocket of crime kingpin Tomo Kovač, leader of the Croatian Kovač clan that rules the legal and illegal gambling and betting businesses in Berlin. Grimmer also entertained ties to, and is still in contact with, an underground neo-Nazi cell in Marzahn, which his white-supremacist mother and brother run. It is here that Birkan joins the investigation to work the Erdem case with Grimmer, which creates a conflict crucial to the two protagonists’ character development. Birkan is an openly gay man with an observant Muslim father who vehemently rejects the way his son lives his life. His close collaboration with Grimmer intensifies Birkan’s identities—gay/Muslim, Turkish/German—around the question of which part of Berlin, and thereby of German society, he wants to live in, and whose rules he wants to follow. Grimmer, in return, confronts the ethical issues that arise from his off-duty life and his ties to German right-wing extremists.

This is, however, not a *Sherlock* (2010–17) or a *Lethal Weapon* (1987, 1989, 1992, 1998) scenario where both men teach each other valuable lessons in the context of a cop-buddy drama. What we have here are two

police officers of equal rank. Next to the more obvious good cop/bad cop paradigm,²⁰ Grimmer and Birkan bring vastly different skills and lived experiences in “Germany as Berlin” and “Berlin as Germany” to the investigation. Their unlikely pairing sets them immediately at loggerheads, which their vastly different personalities further compound. The way that they experience and navigate Berlin’s city spaces and their clashing identity markers all add tension. Grimmer is a corrupt police officer whose choices make his life spiral out of control. Birkan plays by the rules but is frustrated to find that playing by the rules and being the good son gets him nowhere. Their collaboration, therefore, forced as it may be, makes for a formidable arc of introspective character development in both men. Birkan has a corrective influence on Grimmer, while Grimmer’s behavior prompts Birkan to embrace moral ambiguity instead of judging all that he experiences in the city of Berlin as either black or white. The result is an entertaining pedagogy of progress, with the two protagonists updating each other’s Germanness despite certain growing pains. One may argue that the promotional artwork (see Figure 7.4) that foreshadows this “personal growth” plotline as an interface thumbnail on the Netflix selection feed confirms as much. The thumbnail is a reworked still image from episode nine of *Dogs of Berlin* that shows the two detectives bruised yet positioned closer to each other than they ever were in the first six episodes of the series.

Progress may not always be desirable or easy. But it is necessary for a diverse society such as Germany to evolve by fusing all its different segments and realities. Light must merge with dark. Episode eight



Figure 7.4. Crime noir’s tried-and-tested trope of the two detectives working the same case. *Dogs of Berlin*, season one (2018). Screenshot by Benjamin Nickl.

delivers this message about the need for transnational German society to evolve beyond its sociohistorical limitations so everyone can progress, and move on, and live in the gray zone that their shared new reality *actually* is. Here, one's assumptions about the worst elements of society give way to the mundane in-between, allowing us to see things as inconspicuous third spaces waiting for us to explore them. As *Dogs of Berlin's* detectives realize, evil does not reside in the exceptionally extreme, but in the terrifyingly ordinary. Shortly before the tensions caused by Erdem's murder explode into a massive fight scene between soccer hooligans and a group of neo-Nazis in episode nine, the series unveils an elderly German man by the name of Albert Meiser (played by Bernd Michael Lade) as the real murderer of the Turkish-German soccer player. Meiser found himself disoriented after the dissolution of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the fusion of East and West Berlin. The GDR's rule of law made sense to him, but this new, reunified Germany and the way it works confused Meiser. The way that neo-noir Berlin's gangs make their own laws appalled him. So did members of the Turkish-German community that now live in Berlin as Meiser's next-door neighbors. Banal as it seems, Meiser killed Erdem over Erdem's dog fouling Meiser's backyard. This, explains Meiser to a bewildered Grimmer, was in reaction to Erdem's "foreign" intrusion of his "German" territory, and to defend his way of Germanness, which he felt was under threat from the Other.

A hate crime committed by an ordinary person sets in motion a series of extraordinary acts of hatred and violence. Grimmer and Birkan could only have stopped the chain reaction that Erdem's murder sets off if they had applied a bird's eye view to the myriad forces at work and the identities at play in the big city in time to find the right point to intervene. *Dogs of Berlin's* narrative design delivers this lesson with its crime noir investigators, channeling what they learn and uncover about a big city's confronting reality through the eyes of Grimmer's "old" Germanness and Birkan's "new, postmigrant" Germanness, both of which collide with each other as well as internally. The truth about contemporary Germany lies somewhere in between past and present. The conflicts that could lead us to resolution of some kind are far from resolved; or so the show points out to us visually as the credits of episode ten roll, and the showrunner sets up a cliffhanger for season two.

In this respect, the complexity of multi-storytelling in *Dogs of Berlin's* big-city-crime setting not only represents very different sides of policing, but the convergence of a host of diametrically opposed types of moral and ethical codes; different kinds of Germanness and German

sociohistorical developments coming to the fore and clashing across time and space. Take, for instance, the issue of reunification, which Meiser's character references. He stands in for *Ostalgia* and East–West German conflict, as well as the growing divide between social prosperity and economic welfare in various parts of the country. Then there are geopolitical realities and societal problems that Germany faces as a nation in objective reality, and that the Netflix stream screenshots within its reproduction of Berlin city's noir world: racism, xenophobia, culture wars, class wars, Islamophobia, homophobia, addiction, crime, extremism, toxic masculinity, a surge in neo-Nazi activities, and a rise of the alt-right in politics. Crime in Berlin, more than anything else, connects to the phenomenon of immigration to Germany. But any chance of harmonious integration dies with Canberk, Birkan's mentor, who seeks to broker a peace between rival gangs and the German authorities in the police no-go zone next to Marzahn. Of course, it is an "eerie coincidence" that all these realities and timelines would cross and intersect. How likely is it that Grimmer and Birkan, four gangs and their respective crime ring leaders, ethnic communities, people of diverse cultural backgrounds, age groups, languages, and social classes, neo-Nazis, and soccer hooligans all encounter each other at the very same point in time and in the very same place, in late 2010s Berlin, over the murder of a young man?

The answer would have to be "not very" if we were dealing with another genre. Yet the unlikely convergence of so many divergent life stories in the city world of Germany's capital is a trademark feature of Nordic noir. With the noir crime genre and the way it designs places to gather a world of different stories, histories, cultures, and languages in the same location, denationalization and dehistoricization are a given. According to Creeber, noir means a drama of destinies that drives modern longform narratives.²¹ With crime noir, the unlikely, the untimely and the improbable frequently feature together in the same place and at the same time. Waade describes the idea of translocalized destiny as the noir nexus that forces all plotlines to intersect in a city or village or midsize town. These locations as focal points, as unavoidable places of fate, are therefore always present. The dialogue, the diegetic and non-diegetic sounds, and the visibility of the screen actions and background landscapes must evoke these points of convergence constantly, so that all characters and their lives will be—and more importantly feel—present for the viewer in the noir location. Nowhere is Nordic noir's influence on modern fusion genres in contemporary entertainment TV more pronounced than in this aspect of big city crime as one's inevitable

fortune. Being bound by the fates to the same place is a neoromantic reaction to the Nordic cultures' melancholic yearning for connectivity.²² So it is no coincidence that one place, one visual screen canvas, bears out everything that happens. Location is after all central to the bleak project of crime drama serials, and not only for production contexts as I have already indicated them. A noir place also guides the search for meaning amidst a landscape of grim, gloomy, and barren lives that tortured characters experience while navigating the sheer breadth of social problems and overpowering isolation of postmodern existence.

The fate-as-place concept, as exemplified by *Dogs of Berlin's* unavoidable clash scene in episode ten, may sometimes work on a level beyond all human rationality and otherwise realistic rules of the narrative universe.²³ But it is noir's extremely emotional "destiny philosophy" that the scholarship suggests is what makes viewers gravitate that much towards the genre. We want our screen narratives to reassure us that there is a meaning for us, and that the place we live in holds this meaning. However, just how effective this aesthetic is in attracting viewers to the crime noir-big city fusion genre, and what it means for streaming allegedly authentic images and sounds of Berlin as a denationalized screen production of national Germanness, presents of course another issue entirely. And it is to this question that I turn next, for what is happening in front of the screen *while* we watch is only one part of the denationalizing stream story. What is happening *because* we watch is quite another.

Streaming Germany's Cultural Spaces

Netflix announced late in October 2021 that the streaming giant was changing the way it calculated and reported on viewership trends and rankings such as "most-watched" and "top-ten."²⁴ To date, Netflix, without any third-party or otherwise independent corroboration, had measured viewership as the number of its paid subscribers who had watched at least two minutes of a TV series or a movie. For instance, 142 million subscribers consumed at least two minutes of *Squid Game* during the Korean drama's first four weeks of availability in the streaming feed. This measure made it Netflix's biggest and most-viewed original series by far. Moving forward, Netflix announced a change during the company's third-quarter earnings call, saying it would report viewership for new originals as a total of hours watched by all member accounts. According to Netflix co-CEO and chief content officer Ted Sa-

randos, the streaming platform implemented this revised approach to provide “a slightly better indicator of the overall success of our titles.”²⁵ Additionally, the company stated, “we will start to release title metrics more regularly outside of our earnings report so our members and the industry can better measure success in the streaming world.”²⁶ Given that Netflix and other streaming providers received criticism for the lack of transparency around their streaming figures and the accuracy with which these corporations track their catalog titles, cast and crew unions welcomed any change that would make it easier for them to negotiate contracts and adjust payouts based on the success stats of shows. The two-minute metric had arguably been confusing, and it clearly risked misrepresenting the true success of a series or film.

I raise this question about how we measure popularity, and how we keep track of what viewer-users choose and keep choosing to see, because it matters. Primarily, it matters in a study of the new Berlin city genre’s production culture, which questions how popular denationalized Germanness is with stream audiences, and asks what the consumption of noir Berlin does to the viewers. Here we find again that the red thread of space-place-screen scholarship that weaves throughout this chapter fosters an understanding of the perception of Germanness as transnational stream content. There is a relationship between platform space and the willingness and eagerness of so-called account holders to consume reproduced screen spaces such as the city of Berlin. What is at stake when these stream Berlins turn into entertaining screen fillers for millions? What would be the consequence of 142 million users watching *Dogs of Berlin*, if only for two minutes? Which truths and realities about German culture and contemporary Germanness would stick with them after watching 248 million minutes, or roughly 540 years, of Berlin noir content that shows them an image of Berlin teeming with crime and complex introspection? Could the experience of real Berlin even compete with such an avalanche of hyper-affective stream attention for the storyline of a former Nazi and a gay Turkish-German police officer? It is not for nothing that the past two decades of German screen studies scholarship have led us to a critical transnational screen aesthetic that seeks to answer questions like this about popular screen production and platform consumption.²⁷ This field, which grew out of distinct strands of TV, cinema, live-stage performance culture, and online entertainment streaming concerns itself now, more than ever, with popular perceptions and receptions of Germanness across the world, and as I do in this part of my discussion about how Netflix “Netflixized” German culture through Berlin noir.²⁸

Rather than keeping a narrowing focus on the national perception and the national market, I follow the lead of recent production studies that deal with the attention that viewers pay to transnational entertainment, and the question of what makes for quality TV on streaming platforms.²⁹ This is not to say that the inside of the nation has become inconsequential—quite the opposite, as I have already shown with *Dogs of Berlin*'s distinct turn to the national stories, sights and sounds of its neo-noir Berlin, recent German history, and transnational migration. But a consensus seems to have formed among screen media scholars around the need to know more and to venture beyond that level of narrative analysis and intranational consumption. Thinking about the stream-content-popularity model outside the nation in dialogue with ideas about transnational screen consumption helps us comprehend the shape of a quickly burgeoning phenomenon such as the new Berlin city genre. The critical analysis of a Berlin Netflixized for the streaming screen adds not only to fields of German history and screen studies, communication science, and digital media, but, by cutting across film, TV, and literary studies, it also adds to the latest developments in the lore of spatial turn scholarship in cultural studies.³⁰ To locate the place of German culture in the global stream is a formidable challenge.

How German Is It Really?

So what do we know about the production of popular German content, the streaming screen experience, and Netflix, and where does *Dogs of Berlin* fit into this triangulation? How do viewers embrace the mediated imagination of Berlin crime drama? Do they pay attention to its realness or question its narrative authenticity? To answer these questions, one should first note that Netflix US, as the parent company of Netflix German Global that commissioned *Dogs of Berlin* as part of its original production titles, has produced and distributed an extraordinary amount of original content since 2012. This includes documentaries, variety shows, and feature films. Yet it is Netflix's original scripted television series that interest screen studies researchers and TV culture critics the most.³¹ I too suggest that the mediatization of fictional German content on streaming platforms holds valuable clues to Berlin as a transnational production site of what Huyssen calls urban miniatures of the German imaginary. When comparing Kracauer's scattered literary representations of the city with those in Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße*, Huyssen writes of them "as an experimental literary space to test new

metropolitan perceptions in the context of the breakdown of boundaries between the visual and the verbal arts and the rise of new technological image media.³² How else would we continue the popular production and reception narrative of German screen history, from the Tempelhof Studios to DEFA to Studio Babelsberg to Netflix Global, if not by tracing the use of popular Berlin screen productions as long-standing cultural technology to mediate Germanness for millions, first on page and now on screen?

New Berlin city fictions are now circulating digitally in the billions across the globe. They move around in the shape of popular metropole stories that keep finding their way directly into the homes and onto the screens of viewer-users. These screen miniatures tell stories of Berlin's Bloody May in *Babylon Berlin*. They depict peak Cold War tensions between East and West, and German-on-German espionage in *Deutschland 83*. Or, as in my discussion of *Dogs of Berlin's* main plotlines, they carry denationalized tales about interethnic tensions and identity clashes in the German metropole to streaming audiences in over 190 countries—with the exception of China, Syria, and North Korea. With Netflix's global availability, Berlin screen miniatures have likewise become globally available. They emerge from account feeds across the world at the same moment in time and to the globally concerted, promotional fanfare of "One Story Away" campaign. Overall, it would seem that Netflix has reaped the benefits of the promotional seeds that it sowed. International audiences have taken notice of the new German kid on the stream programming block, and are paying attention.

A specific corner of YouTube that houses an extremely resolute online audience proves as much. There are an enormous number of video-stream users who log on for hours to watch live-reaction reviews of trailers for upcoming Netflix stream series. The genre of the reaction video and its attention economy on YouTube is significant, for it is part of our global contemporary screen economy, both in areas of traditional content production and promotion and even more so with the release of streaming content and the creation of digital buzz around it.³³ It is, after all, the interactional construction of attention that adds to the very production of *Dogs of Berlin's* Berlin screen product—that is to say, the actual series that is manufactured by Netflix's calculated, networked, cultural diffusion campaigns. More importantly, however, the informal fan review culture on YouTube functions as a tool for stream co-consumption and co-production. Review videos with their comment sections allow for a sensorial communication on YouTube. Reviewers and users can express how they feel about the streaming product that

yet another streaming platform introduces them to in excerpts (see Figure 7.5).

When watching a live-reaction review of *Dogs of Berlin's* pre-release trailer and reading its comment section, one will encounter a discussion dedicated to the concept of realness and authenticity around *Dogs of Berlin's* "Berlinness" as a representation of national Germanness. The reactions to the teaser's glimpse at the big city *Kulturminiatur* (culture miniature) of neo-noir Berlin are not surprising, given that the question "How real is it?" permeates hundreds of thousands of YouTube's review and react videos.³⁴ The same is true for videos in the genre of *expert reacts to/real* (insert profession), *comments on*, or videos presenting *my review of* narratives. The underlying question is always the same: "Is it real and is it authentic?" This brings us to the question "How German is it really?" and how does the online usership feel about this denationalized screen Germanness? Marked by the use of hybrid genres and communication styles, humor, irony, or sometimes anger and insults, and the idea of co-consuming and thereby co-creating, there is a sense of relational, secondhand curation that emerges from the review users' real reactions to fictional-content Berlin. In the example I cite here, the review users co-critique, co-reflect on, and co-author the impact of the *Dogs of Berlin's* trailer review video, which in turn creates an ecology of true participation around *Dogs of Berlin's* screen Germanness. It is crucial to note that this Berlin does not necessarily feel real because of the way it appears on screen or because of what is shown and what the characters say. Rather, this version of Berlin feels real to the people talking about it and reacting to it, because their interest in the series is real.

In stark contrast, domestic critics and large parts of the German-speaking streaming audience found the show lacking in realness. A major point of their criticism, as summed up by a review for the Turkish-German news website *Ahval*, touches on the sense of inauthenticity and a reaction of distrust and disconnect. The series evoked these reactions among viewers who were familiar to some extent with Berlin's local and Germany's national history and cultural context in objective reality: "The reviews are in for Netflix's second German production, and most agree that *Dogs of Berlin* is overly grim, with too many clichés, too much going on, weak writing and cynical characters more representative of stereotypes than actual human beings."³⁵ Going into a detailed explanation for its stance on a lack of authentic representation in *Dogs of Berlin*, the review I cite here takes up the question of reality, and how accurately the series presents the issues it purports to thematize as part of Berlin city's Germanness:

One of the recurring themes of the show is the tensions inherent in being a person of Turkish heritage in Germany. Germany has the second-largest Muslim population in Western Europe after France. Among Germany's nearly 4.7 million Muslims, around 3 million are of Turkish origin, more than any country outside Turkey. Anti-Muslim and anti-Turkish views have increased since Germany accepted a million refugees in 2015 and 2016. . . . At times, *Dogs of Berlin* almost reads as an apology, from liberal-minded Germans to their Turkish compatriots.³⁶

#KinoCheck #Trailer #DogsOfBerlin
DOGS OF BERLIN Trailer German Deutsch (2018) Netflix
 KinoCheck 2.91M subscribers
 4.6K likes | Share | Save

537K views · 4 years ago
 offizieller "Dogs of Berlin" Trailer Deutsch German 2018 | Abonnieren ▶ <http://abo.yt/kc> | (OT: Dogs of Berlin) Serie Trailer | Release: 7 Dez 2018 | FilmInfos <https://KinoCheck.de/serie/d24/dogs-o->
 "Dogs of Berlin" erzählt die Geschichte zweier Berliner Kommissare, die trotz all ihrer Gegensätze gegen ihren Willen zusammenarbeiten müssen. In einem Machtkampf mit der Berliner Unterwelt werden sie mit ihren eigenen menschlichen Schwächen und Verbrechen konfrontiert und zu einer endgültigen Entscheidung darüber gezwungen, auf welcher Seite des Gesetzes sie eigentlich stehen...more

473 Comments | Sort by

Add a comment...

YouTube AU

Der brandneue #Trailer zu #DogsOfBerlin mit Fahri Yardim ist hier! 🇹🇷
 Hat Dir das Video gefallen? Dann teile es mit deinen Freunden oder lasse uns dein Like da. 🍌
 Mehr Infos findest Du unter: <https://kinocheck.de/serie/d24/dogs-of-berlin-2018>

27 likes | Reply
 3 replies

3 years ago (edited)
 Anfangs schlecht (gerade die Fussballszenen), ab Mitte bis zum Ende aber immer besser, trotz aller übertriebenen Klischees. Ich fands echt unterhaltend weil kein Leerlauf entsteht und immer was passiert und das ganze irgendwie völlig großwahnsinnig ist! Hoffe auf Staffel 2!!!

163 likes | Reply
 1 reply

years ago
 Kranker Serie! Konnte nicht aufhören zu schauen, wollte immer wissen wie es weiter geht. Einfach super Gelingen, geile Story! Staffel 2????

20 likes | Reply

3 years ago
 Ich verstehe nicht, wieso alle die Serie so schlecht machen. Is ne echt geile Serie

318 likes | Reply
 7 replies

3 years ago
 Ich liebe die Serie - mega spannend und trotzdem mit Empathie und Mitgefühl erzählt! YEAH!

13 likes | Reply

2 years ago
 Absolut geile Serie!!!! Da muss unbedingt noch ne zweite Staffel kommen 🍌

4 likes | Reply

2 years ago
 sehr gute serie!! Ich warte auf die zweite Staffel, weil es für einige unvollendete Dinge der Handlung eine neue Staffel verdienen würde

5 likes | Reply

year ago (edited)
 Einer der krassesten Serien ich freue mich schon auf Staffel 2

5 likes | Reply

3 years ago
 Bitte eine 2 Staffel!!! Die geilste Deutsche Serie ever. Spannend bis zum Schluss, und das kann nicht der Schluss gewesen sein.

2 likes | Reply

Figure 7.5. German-language user comments published in the comment section one to two years after the initial release of the series. Posted by KinoCheck channel, original post 9 December 2018. Screenshot by Benjamin Nickl.

Dogs of Berlin's denationalized screen Germanness polarizes. That much is clear if one follows the tale of its reception that emerges from the different coordinates of transnational reception online (see figure 7.5), a Rotten Tomatoes audience score of 85 percent, and a second season whose future is still unknown at this point. A comment by the series' director, Christian Alvart, caused additional controversy among the German Arab and Muslim communities when the German-born filmmaker and screenwriter said that there "is a real example, an original template that I know from my real environment for each character that appears in the series. And I trust that."³⁷ Yet the online reviews, the critics' remarks, and viewer-users' exchanges about the series in real life contributed significantly to the revenue that *Dogs of Berlin* contributed to Netflix's "After Dark" section. It would also seem that, in time, *Dogs of Berlin* has managed to produce a second-wave reception after the initial launch of the series that shows a shift in German-speaking audience attitudes. This achievement owes much to the initial 2018 critical reception in German-speaking stream environments online and, in no small measure, owes as much—if not more—to the global attention phenomenon surrounding the streaming TV craze that is Berlin noir. The Berlin city fandom had already been at work for years before its supporters started to embed *Dogs of Berlin* in the wider network of related series such as *4 Blocks* (2017–19), *Babylon Berlin* (2017–), and *Beat* (2018).

Berlin's New Platform Phantoms

Netflix has certainly recognized the achievement of original German stream content, doubling investment in German-language streaming content to 500 million euros between 2021 and 2023.³⁸ The representation ecology around neo-noir Berlin has created a profound cultural, economic, and technological opportunity for streaming audiences to indulge in a frenzy of German dancing, drug taking, and crime chasing, and the (re)historicizing of culture. A new version of digital Germanness has emerged from Netflixized stories about the past and present structures and national conflicts that define German society. The denationalized Germany of stream screen Berlin now lives on in global memory, and has become part of a worldwide conversation about a cultural presence the world can learn from or at the very least be entertained by. But how is this possible? How exactly can one define these fictional versions of Berlin that travel the global stream of televisual content at unprecedented rates of consumption and with inordinate

amounts of temporal consumption? And what will be the sociocultural impact and the real-world consequences if audiences in 190 countries consume such a large amount of German culture and history immediately and simultaneously via the Netflix binge? How can screen studies scholars approach the millionfold replication of the narrative of *Dogs of Berlin* and the effect of its consumptions that takes another million minutes at the least?

The popularity of the new Berlin city fictions reflects a platform and attention *Zeitgeist*. The mediated micropolis that Anders would describe as a phantom of the real, or a cultural miniature of the urban reality of Berlin as Huyssen writes, forms part of a contemporary stream content phenomenon: denationalized, de-historicized, and hyper-localized yet at the same time omni-global³⁹—an anywhere Berlin for an everywhere audience that consumes the popular neo-noir-crime city across the world in release-unison via streaming platforms such as Netflix, and curates its reaction via second or third screens and social media. Through the easy availability and shareability of this Berlin, its circulation creates additional layers of textuality around the plaything that is the city of Berlin and its mediated Germanness. In this volume on *Entertaining German Culture*, with German culture as readily available on-demand entertainment, I therefore end my chapter by scrutinizing the novel “embedded everydayness” of the new Berlin city genre as an anytime and anyplace experience.⁴⁰ It is a genre that has been around for an exceptionally long time. Yet, I have not sought to do so in terms of a linear progression, where one mediated form of Berlin city supersedes the other and thus turns the earlier version obsolete and outshines it. The neo-national stream screen city is extremely accessible, quick to consume and to get hooked on, with transnational genre-fusion formulas that deliver a neo-local core while forgoing all the specific national aspects.

The larger question that emerges is thus whether this stream screen experience is still the social experience that we have previously associated with TV representation or literary technologies that mediate Germanness. It is here that inroads made in televisual content and new TV technologies of mass consumption are helpful in finding an answer by turning to concrete case studies such as popular big city, neo crime noir longform streaming entertainment. Major research projects on linear TV in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, most of which are studies of television’s cultural narrative, have identified a number of essential qualities in the aggregate experience of all images and sounds carried by the

small box.⁴¹ Some of their qualities also surface in this chapter and my study of the new Berlin city genre, not least “liveness” and “connectedness,” the perceived simultaneity of image capture, and reproduction of Berlin space in millions of geographically dispersed locations.

Piper’s concept of an embedded, personalized everyday practice of TV consumption, and how it can be articulated in TV audience research, thus goes back to that very same line of thought that I have raised throughout this chapter in reference to space-place-screen thinking and the place(s) of mediation for Berlin city. Citing this paradigm here in conclusion, for it is the linear TV experience that bleeds across borders of devices and countries now online, I suggest that contemporary German culture studies may want to invest more substantially in examining what nations do with content that is rooted in their daily screen reality; and, more urgently, what that content does with the nature of imagined national space as it delivers representations of the Germanness both within and beyond its national borders and cultural boundaries. What is the nature of stream content mediation and what are its effects? How have and how will the screen presence of *Dogs of Berlin* and more of these series yet to come affect millions of viewer-users? And what kind of responsibility, if any, does this put on the providers and the programmers and creators of this content?

We still know too little about “transmedia television,” a concept pioneered in Elizabeth Evans’s 2011 study.⁴² Even less is known to us about the intersection of transmedia TV and national Germanness and popular culture. “Transreal television,” as I refer to the phase that we find ourselves in right now with popular screen culture, poses urgent new questions. They are meant for scholars who have already examined how globalization, digitization, neoliberalization, and personalization have all played their part in shifting the (inter)face of television as a cultural event in the last two decades. As it stands, this is precisely the problem this chapter addresses. To chart the neo-noir Netflix city of Berlin and the capital city more than other space-place-locale configurations in the cultural geography of Germany is to chart the representational praxis of Germanness. Generations of scholars have pursued this transnational paradigm that focuses on content creation, mediation, and consumption. German cultural anthropologists have, for instance, examined how Germany’s nationhood is made to be seen. To that end, they have been “pursuing strands of cultural debate in literature, history, the visual arts, and language from the eighteenth century to the present.”⁴³ Now it is time for German screen studies

scholarship to move this discussion on to the Video on Demand portal and to streaming.

In this realm, Netflix intrigues. In fact, it fascinates because of the borderless-viewing-yet-distinct-liveliness-experience message that it crafts with global-made-to-feel-local realities such as the one presented in *Dogs of Berlin*. This approach recalls not only HBO's cunningly marketed "Not TV" era, but also, as pushed primarily through the European Union's post-Cold War period, brings back notions of cultural integration of states wholly or partially in Europe or nearby: borderless binging, borderless Berlin, borderless Germany and a universal Germanness. In online streaming, we find a world unbound that is mediated but real. We consume a screen reality that has been miniaturized and literally given into our hands as playthings. For Turner, the way that Netflix positions itself and its viewer-users' content experience responds to these integrated-integrating "cultures of use" that have implanted the lived realities of people's lives deeply into how individuals and communities consume television across spaces and devices.⁴⁴ So deep in fact that, when the visual media reinvented itself for the digital era of streaming, it sought to position itself as the reflection of the diversity that audiences experienced in a rapidly changing world. Each experience, and this includes contemporary Germanness and its neo-noir residence in the big city, is now just one screen and one download away.

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Notes

I would like to acknowledge Gisela Dachs from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Anne Beier from the Freie Universität Berlin. This chapter builds in parts on our research group's work on cultural technologies and streaming, and an audience research project on the transnationalization of meaning via Berlin city on television. The chapter presents the extension of my research talk that I delivered on the Netflixization of *Dogs of Berlin* at the 2019 German Studies Association annual conference meeting in Portland, Oregon. I also wish to thank another research project partner of mine, Chris Müller from Macquarie University in Sydney. Our collaborative research work and translations of the trailblazing media and screen studies philosophy of Günther Anders proved invaluable for my reflections on the nature of streaming and the stream screen's content experience as "real" reality.

1. Devitt, "Re-Fusing Form in Genre Study," 29–30.
2. Audience studies have shown that Netflix and other on-demand platform users prefer familiar content structures over unfamiliar ones, hence the suggestions for what viewers will likely enjoy based on content, and formats they are already acquainted with. This ecology of familiarity is provided by the feed algorithms, and represents a datafied taste profile of a user or group of users under the same platform account.
3. Citton, *Ecology of Attention*, 23–24.
4. Nickl, "Romancing the Reich," 90–92.
5. Boullier, "Designing Envelopes," 66.
6. Mikos and Castro, "Binge-Watching," 112–14.
7. Müller and Nickl, "Script for an Audio Adaptation," 1–2.
8. Glebatis Perks, "Binge-Watching Conditions and Multitasking," 88–90.
9. Stolz, "National, Transnational, Transcultural Media," 146.
10. Watts, "National TV as Transnational 'Cinematic' Object," 163–66.
11. Jenner, "Transnationalising Genre," 183.
12. None of the points that I raise, of course, are entirely new when it comes to what I call "screen city" scholarship. Nor do I pose completely novel questions about the city of Berlin on screen and its relationship to stream audiences and to the off-screen original. The scholarship on cinematic (Shiel, "Cinema and the City in History and Theory," 2), or televised (McCarthy, *Ambient Television*, 5–10), or handheld (Hawley, "Locative Narrative and an iPhone App") screen city fictions already offers approaches to genre productions such as *Dogs of Berlin*. These approaches relate to series that feature a big city as shorthand for a national experientiality. Of the city as the subject of visual anthropology and associated communal feeling, whether it is a feeling of trauma or a feeling of joy, Lindner also writes that the screen city's "accompanying pictures and symbols make the physical space even more 'real', since the imaginary is not, after all, opposed to reality, but draws on it and 'deepens' it in a specific way" (Lindner, "The Imaginary of the City," 114).
13. Anders, *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen*, 104–7.
14. *Ibid.*, 103.
15. In German Screen Studies (as opposed to popular television and series histories and to mainstream culture studies, which stress viewer-text interactions and analysis of representation), it seems that most researchers who work on television cities consider the metropolis mainly in regard to its historical place in the nation and/or read the images of the city on screen in relation to cultural milieu and the sentiment complex of Heimat. In their work on the screen city's socio-national (em)place(ment) and the

images offered there—though absolutely vital to any understanding of the big city as a focal point for civil society and its larger cultural clashes and struggles—these scholars only footnote the metropole’s equally important and long relationship with screen technology. However, as I argue here based on Jenner’s essay collection on the binge experientiality, studies that dismiss the screen as the text’s affective medium ignore a large part of the streaming experience.

16. Only the second original production in Netflix’s so-called “After Dark” programming block, *Dogs of Berlin* is rumored to have spent heavily on cast, crew, and on-site shoots. Various online forums peg the production value for season one at close to 18 million euros. If confirmed by Netflix’s tight-lipped production offices, it would still be only half of the 40 million euros that it cost to produce an average season of *Babylon Berlin*, the German noir crime series that is described as the most expensive drama series in Germany to date. This figure dwarfs the cumulative annual budget of all fifteen versions of *Tatort*, the German crime and detective series that is produced by the various regional divisions of ARD, Germany’s premiere public broadcasting channel. The only exception here is *Tatort*’s Berlin production franchise, which contributes two episodes a year at a cost of 1.4 to 2.8 million euros each (Kimmelman, “German Viewers”). Given the audience draw of Germany’s capital city that I discuss in this chapter, and the fact that public and private TV programmers find themselves in competition for audience attention, one may call such lavish spending necessary in face of the streaming boom and its primacy with screen audiences.
17. Creeber, “Killing Us Softly,” 21–22.
18. *Ibid.*, 22.
19. See my discussion of metropole Berlin as the backdrop for German multicultural comedy fictions in the TV series *Turkish for Beginners* (2006–8) in *Turkish German Muslims and Comedy Entertainment* (Nickl, 2020).
20. Forshaw, *Nordic Noir*, 10–14; Bergman, “The Well-Adjusted Cops,” 35.
21. Creeber, “Killing Us Softly,” 31.
22. Waade, “Melancholy in Nordic Noir,” 382–85.
23. *Ibid.*, 384.
24. Keck, “Netflix Is Shifting the Way It Ranks Its Most Popular Titles.”
25. Keck, “Netflix Reveals How Many Accounts Are Actually Watching Its Top Titles.”
26. *Ibid.*
27. Halle, “German Film, Aufgehoben,” 7; Halle, *German Film after Germany*, 12–14.
28. Nickl, *Turkish German Muslims*, 35–40; Nickl, “Romancing the Reich,” 93–95.
29. Krauß, “Quality Series,” 47–48; Mikos, “Berlin as Location and Production Site,” 373–75.
30. Fisher and Mennel, *Spatial Turns*, 1–13.
31. Wayne and Uribe Sandoval, “Netflix Original Series,” 1–2; Burroughs, “House of Netflix,” 1–3.
32. Huyssen, “The Urban Miniature,” 173.
33. Kim, “Globalization of the Privatized Self-Image,” 345–47.
34. Müller and Nickl, “Script for an Audio Adaptation,” 1.
35. Lepeska, “The Trouble with Being a German Turk.”
36. *Ibid.*
37. Lukic, “*Dogs of Berlin*.”
38. Grosser, “Netflix Unveils New German-Language Films and Series.”
39. Anders, *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen*, 148.
40. Piper, “Broadcast Drama,” 164.

41. Jenner, "Transnationalising Genre," 184–86.
42. Evans, *Transmedia Television*, 1–4.
43. Herminghouse and Mueller, "Looking for Germania," 1.
44. Turner, "Approaching the Cultures of Use," 222.

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