

Doctoral thesis

Screening and Watching Nostalgia

An analysis of nostalgic television fiction and its
reception in Germany and Spain

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Participant:

Was ich total interessant finde, äh, weil eigentlich sind ja alle Ausschnitte, die wir
gesehn haben ham ‘nen nostalgischen Hintergrund. [...] Also *Knight Rider* war ja
wirklich original. Und da ham wir ja nostalgische Empfindungen, äh, und zum Beispiel
Mad Men ist ja neu is ja aber ‘ne andere Zeit versetzt. Is ja aber auch nostalgisch. Aber
nur, halt wieder anders...

[What I find totally interesting, well, err, because all the excerpts we saw have a
nostalgic background. Well *Knight Rider* was really original. And there we have
nostalgic feelings. And, for example, *Mad Men* is new but set in another time. And it’s
also nostalgic. But again in a different way]

Interviewer:

Und würdest du sagen, du bist nostalgisch?
[And would you say that you are nostalgic?]

Participant:

Ja. auf jeden Fall.
[Yes. In any case.]

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1. Introduction

“Wer hat an der Uhr gedreht?” [Who has turned the clock] was the title of an article in the German magazine *Focus* with reference to the Oscar nominations of *Hugo Cabret* (Scorsese, 2011), *Midnight in Paris* (Allen, 2011), or *The Artist* (Hazanavicius, 2011) in 2012 (Brand and Pauli, 2012, p. 83 [o.t.]). Nostalgic, say the authors, are the times in which we live. And indeed: nostalgia is everywhere! Films appeal to nostalgia, music appeals to nostalgia, and advertisements call upon the nostalgic feeling.¹ Also in German and Spanish television the nostalgic look backwards is present. Just as Kompare (2005, p. 221) states, “[t]he ‘old’, ‘new’ and the ‘newly old’ continue to merge on the TV-time machine”. Even if we only focus on the past three years of international programmes broadcasted in both countries, with reruns such as *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982), *The A Team* (NBC, 1983), *Alf* (NBC, 1986), or *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961), remakes like *90210* (The CW, 2008), *Burn Notice* (USA Network, 2007), and *Hawaii Five-0* (CBS, 2010), or period dramas such as *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2010), *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011), *The Tudors* (BBC2 et al., 2007), or *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) a list of programmes can be named that broadly take their inspiration from the past.

Even though we may surely state that not every of these formats is *per se* nostalgic and provokes nostalgia in its audiences, with the previously quoted interview section (see page 2) may be exemplified, that the different programme categories are classified as nostalgia texts by audiences. At the same time, they are associated with the feeling of nostalgia. We can state: across the boundaries of genres, nostalgia is a decisive characteristic of contemporary television fiction and its reception, “not only”, as Feyerabend highlights in a more general context of contemporary nostalgia, “on a national level but indeed on a more global or transnational scope” (Feyerabend, 2009, p. 5). However, the phenomenon, as far as the interrelation between text and reception is concerned, is only scarcely investigated by media and television studies, not to mention the lack of country comparative studies.

Although, so it can be argued, an interdisciplinary approach is needed in order to investigate nostalgia in television adequately, the different disciplines, which meet on the subject of nostalgia only roughly enrich each other. This study wants to contribute

¹ This shall not mean that our times are marked by a higher degree of nostalgia than others. Wilson (1998, as cited in Storey, 2001) highlights for example that the “evidence [especially Hollywood film from the 1920s onwards] from the past that pastiche and nostalgia have been pervasive in popular culture throughout the twentieth century and indeed earlier appears to contradict Jameson’s belief that ‘nostalgia mode’ is peculiarly a feature of his postmodern era”.

its part in such a synthesis of the disciplines and collaborate in the process of filling the gap regarding the lack of investigation into the interrelation of text and reception. Questions for whether nostalgia is reactionary or progressive, if it impedes innovation or not, will be set aside (for further reading see e.g. Keightley and Pickering, 2012, pp. 133 ff.). It is rather about grasping the characteristics of ‘nostalgic objects’ and their reception in the field of television. “What is nostalgia in television?” and “How can the phenomenon be grasped theoretically?” are the main questions. Further sub-questions already reflect the later composition of the work. It will be asked: “What are the ‘genres’ of nostalgia?” “What textual characteristics does it have?” “How far does a nostalgic text prefigure nostalgic emotions?” And finally: “How are the nostalgic texts received from within the frames of different ‘we-groups’ and against the background of different lifeworlds?” In the end, against the background of a specific sample of nostalgia texts and a specific group of recipients, a first picture of nostalgic television fiction and its reception in Germany and Spain will be drawn.

The overall frame of the investigation is inevitably enhanced by the researcher’s own disciplinary background in media and communication studies. An important influence is ‘reception aesthetics’, which sees the investigation of the interrelation of text and reception and its respective socio-cultural contexts as inevitable (see e.g. Mikos, 2001; Chandler and Munday, 2011, p. 358).

In order to investigate the previously mentioned questions, the study consists of three main parts: Part I provides the theoretical background for the investigation, Part II is dedicated to the television analysis of a total of six examples from different nostalgia ‘genres’, and, Part III investigates the side of reception, conducting focus group discussions with two age groups from both Germany and Spain.

At first, some basic definitions of nostalgia are made. Here, the study highlights the origins of the term and major connotative changes it went through. Specific meanings in German and Spanish culture are also considered. Already here, the importance of bridging the gap between text and reception appears as necessary. The questions of how we can explain nostalgia concretely and which approaches do exist in order to explain the phenomenon are then in the focus of the following section, the literature review. Besides a dichotomy of ‘mood’ and ‘mode’, as it has already been identified by Grainge (2002), here four different strands of argument *Nostalgia as contemporary malaise*, *Nostalgia and identity* and *Nostalgia: death of historicity or paradigm shift* through to *Nostalgia as a cultural style* are highlighted. By means of using the discourse many

aspects can be clarified. First characteristics of nostalgia can be explained. At the same time, however, an analysis model that enables us to investigate the interrelation of nostalgia on the layer of the text and nostalgia on the layer of reception is not provided. Due to this reason, two additional chapters, which deal with memory studies and the study of aesthetic emotions, supplement the yet existing investigations on nostalgia.

The understanding of nostalgia as an emotion is central. The study departs here from authors such as Jameson (e.g. 1991) who describe postmodern nostalgia as explicitly affectless. Correspondingly, the subject is approached. Inspired by investigations of suspense and television (see e.g. Mikos, 1996; Haible, 2003) in the context of which it is assumed that suspense is a “complex network of spectator’s cognitive and emotional activities that might have been stimulated by various textual characteristics” (Mikos, 1996, p. 37), also this investigation of nostalgia considers both cognitive and emotional aspects. Text, reception and the interrelation between the two will be investigated, just as Eder (2005) argued in the context of the investigation of emotions and media in general (Bartsch et al., 2007a, p. 10). In the interdisciplinary working method, cognitive psychology and its investigation of aesthetic emotions will also be central.

The integration of theories on aesthetic emotions into the investigation of nostalgia has not been entirely neglected in media studies. Cardwell (2002), for example, considers the emotive characteristics of nostalgia. Her work is an important attachment point also for this study. But if we want to bridge the gap between the nostalgic text and the nostalgic emotion, we need to go further.

In the focus is Tan’s (1996) approach on aesthetic emotions, which, although not developed for television, proves to be transferable. Depending on the respective object of appraisal, the author basically distinguishes two different forms of emotions: Firstly, the so called “fiction emotions” or “F emotions” that find its stimulus on the fictional layer of the text, secondly, so-called “artefact emotions” or “A emotions” that are provoked by the artefact layer. The categories will serve in order to combine the different approaches to nostalgia. On the one hand, on the basis of Tan’s ‘radical object-centrism’ the discourse is brought into a new ‘order’. The different studies on nostalgia are, so to say, unravelled and combined. On the other hand, the theory on aesthetic emotions works as a bridge in whose context the yet existing studies may be made fruitful for an investigation of both the cognitive and emotional components in nostalgia. In so doing, the first section of the work generates the framework for the further investigation of nostalgia in different ‘genres’. First ‘modules’ of analysis for nostalgia

are generated. Basically, and in using and ‘continuing’ Tan’s terminology, we assume here ‘F nostalgia’ and ‘A nostalgia’ and further empathetic and non-empathetic sub-groups.

In the second and third part of the study, the framework is applied, and assumptions are investigated. The main aim here is to identify nostalgia in television fiction, more precisely television series in the form of reruns, remakes and period dramas, and its reception by German and Spanish audiences from two age groups. The focus has above all been set due to practical considerations and in order to delimit the empirical domain. Regarding the ‘genre’ selection, it can also be stated that other programme forms in television are marked by the ‘look backwards’.² However, we can assume that television series in their different occurrences play a special role as potential triggers of nostalgia. It was and is not only one of the main “*pilares*” [pillars] of European television (Prado and Delgado, 2010 [o.t.]), according to García-Muñoz et al. (2012, p. 349), television fiction in general is also “one of the most highly appreciated genres amongst audiences”. As Smith highlights, television series in particular “may engross millions [of audiences] for years or even decades, forming a vital part of the affective and everyday life of a nation” (Smith, 2006, p. 1) and beyond, as the study will show. With, as Moragas and Prado (2000, p. 185) state, American fiction as a “common denominator”, especially the television series is a programme form that has been long since traded worldwide. This makes it again appropriate for country comparative (reception) research.

At the same time the study focuses on two different age groups from Germany and Spain. In doing this, “cultural specific meanings” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 934) of nostalgia and differences against the background of different memories can be considered. With a view on the media memories, above all ‘overlaps’ between the age groups are expected (see also Volkmer, 2006c, 256 ff. on generational entelechies in the global public space). With the two countries, two ‘memory communities’ were chosen, in which the experience of fascism, respectively its memory, can be thought to have left

² With regards to German television we may here for example refer to so-called *historytainment* formats such as *Die Burg* [The Castle] (ProSieben, 2005), *Schwarzwaldhaus 1902* [The Black Forest House 1902] (Das Erste, 2002) up to shows such as *Die DDR-Show* [The GDR Show] (RTL, 2003), as they have been named by Bleicher (2007) in the broader context of self-references in media. With the living-history format *Curso del 63* (Antena 3, 2009) or its new *Curso del 73* (Antena 3, 2011) edition, the Spanish adaptations of the British format *That’ll teach ‘Em* (Channel 4, 2003), or the television show *Los mejores años de nuestra vida* [The best years of our lives] (TV1, 2009), similar formats can be identified in Spanish television.

its mark on possible nostalgias.³ Due to the focus on international broadcasts, questions of representation do not have to be posed against this background – it is the reception study where the different contexts are taken into account. Different connotations of nostalgia among different groups of recipients as they can be identified on the basis of the questionnaire are here set into interrelation to provoked nostalgias or non-nostalgia. The focuses will enable us to study the range of possible triggers of nostalgia and different influential factors for their reception broadly.

In Part II, first of all the broader category of ‘nostalgia film’, and respectively ‘nostalgia television’ is described and fragmented into sub-categories. Also here, so it can be stated, Tan’s ‘radical object-centrism’ is decisive. Thus, based on the yet existing writings the ‘fragmentation’ concentrates primarily on the different objects on the macro-layer. Different ‘genres’ of nostalgia, more precisely, reruns, remakes and period dramas, are separated and described more closely, also against the special German and Spanish backgrounds. The ‘modules’ as they have been distinguished on the basis of Tan’s theory, are then re-combined with a view on the characteristics of each ‘genre’. In doing this, each sub-chapter contains an introduction, which reflects upon potential ‘nostalgic objects’ within the respective ‘genres’. Against this background, further, (sub-) assumptions can be made. Thus, it is assumed that the different ‘genres’ depend upon different aesthetic structures of media impact with different relations to the memory of the recipients. While ‘artefact nostalgia’ is basically expected to be dominant in remakes, period dramas are thought to offer above all potential triggers of what is called ‘F nostalgia’, and reruns are assumed to have a mix of ‘F and A nostalgia’ on offer.

The ‘modules’ are then applied in the television analysis of each two ‘genre’ examples. In order to be able to compare possible similarities and differences between Germany and Spain, an emphasis has been set on those television series, which were broadcasted in both countries, among them the German and Spanish reruns of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) and *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) and their respective remakes and the two period dramas *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011). Those series have been chosen, which can be seen as exemplary for their category. Apart from that,

³ As Schlipphacke (2010, p.14) states with a view on Germany and Austria, “nostalgia after Nazism is fraught with the burdens of history” (2010, p. 15), even though the “taboo on nostalgia” “does not foreclose nostalgic longing” (Schlipphacke, 2010, p. 31). Schlipphacke investigates this on the example of contemporary literature and film. Regarding the Spanish context, with Morgan-Tamosunas (2000, p. 116) it can be stated that “the historical associations of Francoist period cinema with perceptions of manipulation, misinterpretation and the privileging of a highly prescribed socio-cultural and ideological discourse, have [...] produced critical wariness of the [costume drama] genre”.

the respective first-runs, and respectively “premakes”⁴, of the chosen reruns and remakes fall into the so-called “reminiscence bump” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 266), and respectively “formative” years of each one age group, those years that with reference to the literature can be assumed to be best remembered, respectively that can be thought to be especially decisive in the formation of a generation (Volkmer, 2005, p. 236; Volkmer, 2006a, p. 6). Already against this background, differences in the reception of the two age groups are assumed. Further clues on potential differences between the countries can be made by a contextualisation of the respective series into the respective German and Spanish backgrounds in the course of the television analyses. In parts, a consideration of the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles in both countries allows further assumptions. If the nostalgia on offer in the text indeed provokes nostalgia in its audiences is scrutinised in Part III.

Based on questionnaires and focus group interviews with two different age groups from both Germany and Spain, it is here where the results from the television analysis are set in relation to the reception and where further characteristics of nostalgia in television are scrutinised inductively. Again Tan’s ‘object-centrism’ will lead this. In particular this means that the potential triggers and objects of appraisal in the context of which nostalgia is developed are now in the focus. A final conclusion will shortly reflect about the applicability of the theoretical framework and further need of research.

If we want to investigate nostalgia in television comprehensively, many aspects from the general characteristics of nostalgia, to its dependence on different memory communities, aspects of archive and genre, textual aspects, emotive aspects through to the concrete process of reception have to be recognised. Only an interdisciplinary, multi-method approach can cope with that task. This study wants to collaborate in the process of filling this gap. It summarises, combines, modifies and explores. Against this “explorative” background it cannot be excluded that limitations may arise. This is taken into account by a systematic exposure of working steps in the course of the study and an explicit reflection of eventual shortcomings in its end. In any case, in what lies ahead, the work will bring up first responses that help to understand the interrelation of ‘nostalgic texts’ and the nostalgic reception better and on the basis of which further studies can attach.

⁴ This term has been proposed by Oltmann (2008) in order to point to the source of inspiration of a remake. It shall also be applied in this study.

Part I – Theoretical background and methodological design

2. Nostalgia

Before the theoretical discourse on nostalgia shall be presented, the following chapter takes a first look on the general definition of the term nostalgia, its origins and the connotative changes it went through.

2.1. A first definition – the origins of the term and its development

The term nostalgia, as it is used in English, German or several romance languages such as Spanish, was coined by the Swiss medic Johannes Hofer who first used it in his dissertation titled *De Nostalgia, Heimwehe oder Heimsehnsucht* (1678). The word is derived from the Greek *nóstos*, which means ‘return (to the homeland)’ and *álgos*, which signifies ‘pain’ or ‘grief’ (Pfannkuche, 1978, p. 7; Hart, 1973, p. 398; Corominas, 1981, p. 240). While with Boym (2001, p. 12) it can be stated that the term would later displace both the German *Heimweh* and the Spanish *mal de corazón*, the term also went through major connotative changes from its “migration” “into new social contexts and discourses” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 11).

In the past, *nostalgia* signified a pathological phenomenon. Swiss soldiers and students were commonly diagnosed with the condition, who far from their usual surroundings would develop symptoms such as insomnia, anorexia, melancholic madness or abjectness (Pfannkuche, 1978, 124 f.; Davis, 1979, 1 f.). These symptoms “were understood to be triggered in its victims through sights, sounds, smells, tastes – any of a number of associations that might influence them to recall the homes and environments they had unwillingly left behind” (Hirsch and Spitzer, 2002, p. 258). In the second half of the eighteenth century, the phenomenon – still part of the medical discourse – underwent first changes. By this time, according to Fischer (1980, p. 12), the medic J. G. Zimmermann (1764) had already accentuated the importance of a certain symbolical linkage to reality. When it began to interest psychiatrists, it “went from being a curable medical illness to an incurable (indeed unassuageable) condition of the spirit or psyche” (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 194). This “demise as a medical condition can”, according to Sprengler (2011, p. 14), “[...] also be explained by a growing interest in mental afflictions in the late eighteenth century”. Rousseau (1764), as referred to by Fischer (1980, p. 12) finally sets the symbolical mediation of the nostalgic yearning in the centre of the definition. Nostalgia now does not only signify the yearning for a

location but also a longing for the form of living linked with this location, for instance the “*einfaichen und unverdorbenen Sitten*” [simple and un-decayed customs] of rural areas in times of industrialization (Brockhaus, 1991, p. 6 [o.t.]). As Sprengler (2011, p. 16) highlights with reference to Casey (1987), “[o]ther changes happening within modernity [...] [such as] the privatization of the family” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 16) led to a further “shift in responsibility from the community to the family as the source of the longing sentiment”. Around 1828, a description in the German *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie* reflects the expansion of the use of the word nostalgia from the fixation on geographical location towards ‘locations’ in time, such as the personal past in the form of childhood or adolescence (Fischer, 1980, p. 13). From then on, it did not take long for nostalgia to lose its medical disease category.

“In 1899, The Lancet published an opinion piece defending the Royal College of Physicians’ decision to exclude it from its ‘Nomenclature of Diseases’, arguing that it was ‘a purely selfish disorder’ and unworthy of medical classification”. (Sullivan, 2010, p. 585)

However, for the public discourse, the term long seems to have had less importance. While in both medicine and psychology nostalgia was used up to the end of the nineteenth century (Pfannkuche, 1978, pp. 8), Grainge (2002, p. 19) states that it “retained a medical resonance as late as 1946”, the term *homesickness* was more common in everyday use (Brockhaus, 1931, pp. 511, 329). According to Fischer (1980, p. 15), in the 1950s, nostalgia even seems to have vanished from the ‘social consciousness’. The case seems to have been slightly different in Spain. Here a search for the term in the online database of the daily newspaper *La Vanguardia* (2011) shows that ‘nostalgia’ was, even though only rarely (one to 20 times per year), already used in the public discourse between 1881-1940, its usage increased from 1941 onwards. Thus, it is not surprising when Fischer (1980, p. 15) highlights that it was the Spanish encyclopaedia *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (1959) that can be deemed responsible for re-launching the term in Germany by the end of the 1950s. Nevertheless, the medical connotation, in combination with the idea of homeland, is here dominant (Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, 1958, p. 1193), whereas the public discourse presented by newspaper articles already reflects a broader application.⁵ In the 1970s, mainly

⁵ Next to “*nostalgia de la patria*” [nostalgia for the homeland] (Montsant, 1946 [o.t.]) or “*nostalgia a los viejos cafés*” [nostalgia for the old cafés] (Clarasó, 1956 [o.t.]) which indeed is directed toward a lost physical space, authors refer here for instance to “*la nostalgia por la aventura*” [nostalgia for adventure]

influenced by the so called ‘wave of nostalgia’, and in terms of the booming interest in pre-industrial life and societies from a mass media and cultural critique, nostalgia finally became a cultural term and took broad root in everyday language (Brockhaus, 1991, p. 6; Kremkau, 2003, p. 11). The temporal dimension is now a dominant part of its definition (Fischer, 1980, p. 16). As Fischer (1980, p. 16) highlights, nostalgia signifies a feeling of loss on the side of the subject that finds its object not only in the absence of the home country but also in culturally mediated artefacts. “Thus what is meant, is a specific connection to tradition, not the object itself” (Fischer, 1980, p. 16 [o.t.]).⁶ In this context Fischer (1980) already highlights the high relevance of reception in the definition of nostalgia. Thus, the “nostalgic object”, he states, contains “structural elements”, which allow that it is approached with nostalgia, however it is not “*per se* nostalgic” (Fischer, 1980, p. 269 [o.t.]). This is more explicit in this following quotation where Fischer also refers to Sontag’s (1968) work on camp:

“In current language to behave nostalgic towards an object means to relate biographical-intimate emotions to it, that are fed by the past; means further, to maintain the realization of the nostalgic satisfaction on a symbolic level, since the historical context of the object is not perceived at the same time. On the other hand, it allows the nostalgia infected ‘to enjoy the failed attempt rather than to be disappointed of it’”. (Fischer, 1980, p. 16 [o.t.])⁷

For Cook (2005, p. 3 [my italics]), today’s nostalgia “can be defined as a state of longing for *something* that is known to be irretrievable”.

2.2. Literature review – discourses on nostalgia

As the definition and the use of the term show, *nostalgia* has long been part of the medical and psychological discourse. Above all with the so-called ‘wave of nostalgia’ in the 1970s, it also became of greater interest for other disciplines. Judging from the number of publications on the topic, the theoretical discourse on nostalgia as a media

(Gutiérrez Gili, 1936 [o.t.]).

⁶ Original quotation: “[G]emeint ist also ein spezifischer Traditionsbezug, ein Verhältnis zu den Dingen, nicht die Dinge selbst” (Fischer, 1980, p. 16).

⁷ Original quotation: “Sich einem Objekt gegenüber nostalgisch zu verhalten, heißt im heutigen Sprachgebrauch, biografisch-intime Gefühlswerte mit ihm zu verbinden, Gefühle, die sich aus der Vergangenheit speisen; heißt weiter, die Realisierung der nostalgischen Befriedigung auf einer symbolischen Ebene festzuhalten, da nicht gleichzeitig auch der historische Objekt-Kontext mit rezipiert wird. Andererseits erlaubt dies dem nostalgisch Infizierten ‘das Scheitern des Versuchs zu genießen statt enttäuscht davon zu sein’” (Sontag)” (Fischer, 1980, p. 16).

and cultural phenomenon gained its major impulses in this time. This paragraph will give a review of these works. Due to the fact that authors with different backgrounds deal with nostalgia and since, as Sprengler (2011, p. 33) puts it, there is a “fair degree of cross-fertilization between disciplines” a relatively wide range of approaches from critical theory, anthropology, history, sociology, film and television studies up to media and cultural studies has been considered. In most cases it cannot be directly called a discussion – as authors mostly only partly relate to each other – which is why the paragraph works out similar argumentation lines that emerge across the boundaries of the disciplines. A sub-chapter will give insights into the discourse in Germany and Spain. Even though parts of the discourse will be set aside in the course of the work, only this broad look at the subject will give a comprehensive introduction and make it possible to draw on relevant links regarding the representation and reception of nostalgia in television, and to reflect upon further need of research. Since this work has no purpose to conduct experimental studies, it will exclude an intensive review of nostalgia in consumer studies (see e.g. Holak and Havlena, 1998) or psychology (see e.g. Sedikides et al., 2004). However some references on these works will be made in a subsequent chapter that creates the link from nostalgia to theories on aesthetic emotions in film and television studies.

2.2.1. Nostalgia as a contemporary malaise

During the heyday of the so-called ‘wave of nostalgia’ many works were published that first of all tried to find an explanation for the appearance of the phenomenon. Using the example of the USA, Lasch (1984) gives an overview of these first assessments. The author explains that, from the side of many intellectuals, nostalgia received refusal as being regressive, conservative, or restorative. Nostalgia is mostly described as a symptom or disease resulting from societal changes at the time. According to Lasch, three main theses are dominant: (1) the thesis that “nostalgia expresses a legitimate revulsion against decadence” (Lasch, 1984, p. 68); (2) the shock thesis claiming that “[c]aught in the transition from the industrial to postindustrial society, Americans in large numbers felt themselves losing their psychological, social and moral bearings” (Clecak, 1983 cited in Lasch, 1984, p. 69); and (3) the thesis of identity repair, proclaiming that the “‘nostalgia wave of the seventies’ [...] was a response to the ‘massive identity dislocations’ of the sixties” (Lasch, 1984, p. 69), held, for instance, by

the here partially cited Fred Davis (1979). It will be shown that similar assessments of nostalgia appear in discourses in other countries such as Germany, nevertheless, it has to be said that Lasch's presentation is characterised by a certain polemic. At least, it can be argued, the additional value of, for instance Davis' work, for the nostalgia discourse is not sufficiently recognised in subsuming it under the label 'trauma of rapid change'. Thus the field of 'identity' has become one of the major ones within the nostalgia discourse. This will now be explored in more detail.

2.2.2. Nostalgia and identity

Davis was not the first author outside of psychology who investigated nostalgia in the context of identity. As Kremkau (2003, p. 19) notes, in the 1960s, the theologian and philosopher Ralph Harper (1966) ascribed nostalgia to processes of identity formation. Already Kant, as referred to by Boym (2001, p. 13), "saw in the combination of melancholy, nostalgia and self-awareness a unique aesthetic sense that did not objectify the past but rather heightened one's sensitivity to the dilemmas of life and moral freedom". Apart from that, the link between nostalgia and identity has to be seen in the broader context of memory studies (see e.g. Assmann, 2006; Lowenthal, 1986), where the interrelations between memory and both individual and national identity construction has been investigated intensively over the past years (see also Kremkau, 2003, p. 6). Nevertheless, Davis is surely one of the most cited scholars within the nostalgia discourse. He is also representative of authors who have been subsumed under the label 'mood agents' by Grainge (2002) – those who put the emphasis on nostalgia as a "feeling determined by a concept of longing and loss" (Grainge, 2002, p. 11) and triggered "in the context of present fears" (Grainge, 2002, p. 24).

According to Davis (1979, p. 31), nostalgia is one of the mechanisms we employ to (re)construct our identities, above all "in the context of present fears, discontents, anxieties or uncertainties" (Davis, 1977, p. 420). As examples, Davis (1979, p. 49) names transition phases in the life cycle, such as the change from childhood to pubescence, or general shiftings rendered by history. Regarding the individual layer, the author assumes that since nostalgia generates continuity, it helps people to defend and maintain an awareness of their identity and to cultivate an appreciation of a former self in phases of threats (Davis, 1979, pp. 35 f.).

This also applies to a collective level⁸, where Davis (1979, p. 111) understands nostalgia as a mediator for the creation of, for instance, generational identity. In any case, nostalgia is not reduced on being regressive, conservative, or restorative but is understood to appear in different shades. Davis (1979) distinguishes three forms of nostalgia, namely simple, reflexive and interpreted nostalgia:

(1) *“‘Simple nostalgia’ is that subjective state which harbours the largely unexamined belief that things were better [...] then than now.”* (Davis, 1979, p. 18)

(2) *“Second order or Reflexive Nostalgia: Here the person does more than sentimentalize some past and censure, if only implicitly, some present. In perhaps an inchoate though nevertheless psychologically active fashion he or she summons to feeling and thought certain empirically oriented questions concerning the truth, accuracy, completeness, or representativeness of the nostalgic claim.”* (Davis, 1979, p. 21)

(3) *“Third Order or Interpreted Nostalgia [...] moves beyond issues of the historical accuracy of felicity of the nostalgic claim on the past and, even as the reaction unfolds, questions and, potentially at least, renders problematic the very reaction itself”.* (Davis, 1979, p. 24)

Aside from this, Davis classifies nostalgia as both “emotion” (Davis, 1979, pp. 47 f.) and “form of consciousness”⁹ (Davis, 1979, p. 78) and differentiates it from other states related to the past such as “[h]istory, remembrance, recollection, reminiscence, revivification, and recall” (Davis, 1979, p. 13). “[T]he nostalgic feeling”, explains Davis, “is infused with imputations of past beauty, pleasure, joy, satisfaction, goodness, happiness, love, and the like, in sum, any or several of the *positive* affects of being” (Davis, 1979, p. 14).

While the author makes the mood side of nostalgia more tangible, its material basis is only cursorily studied. Thus Davis refers to nostalgia in arts and other media

⁸ “Collective nostalgia, however, refers to that condition in which the symbolic objects are of a highly public, widely shared, and familiar character, those symbolic resources from the past that under proper conditions can trigger wave upon wave of nostalgic feeling in millions of persons at the same time. [...] By contrast, private nostalgia refers to those symbolic images and allusions from the past that by virtue of their source in a particular person’s biography tend to be more idiosyncratic, individuated, and particularistic in their reference, e.g., the memory of a parent’s smile, the garden view from a certain window of a house once lived in, for Proust the little cakes from his childhood at Combray” (Davis, 1979, pp. 122 f.).

⁹ Thereby, Davis refers to the concept of “multiple realities” developed by Alfred Schutz (Davis, 1979, p. 74 ff.). “To sum up, nostalgia as a form of consciousness can be characterized in Schutzian terms as: a heightened focus on things past (time perspective) along with an enhanced credence in them (epoché), accompanied by considerable musing (from of spontaneity), mild detachment of that sense of we-ness strains our conduct” (Davis, 1979, p. 81).

(see e.g. Davis, 1979, pp. 129 ff.), however, detailed analyses are not provided. Furthermore, the author sees a kind of automatic relationship between the nostalgic object and nostalgia as an emotion at work¹⁰, which earns him critique from scholars associated with cultural studies such as Pickering and Keightley (2006, p. 929).

Somehow prefigured by and in some respect comparable to Davis is the work of Boym (2001), one of the few American authors who dedicated a whole monograph to the topic of nostalgia (see also Legg, 2004, p. 100 ff.). Boym investigates nostalgia in the context of the transition processes after the end of the Cold War with an emphasis on post-communist communities. Nostalgia is likewise understood as a mediator between individual and collective identities. As Boym (2001, p. xvi) argues, nostalgia “is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups and nations, between personal and collective memory”. Comparable to Davis, Boym (2001) sees nostalgia as a symptom of the present global age – a “defense mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals” (Boym, 2001, p. xiv). Like Davis, she puts the emphasis less on the analysis of nostalgic objects but on the nostalgic person or collective. Also the categorisation she proposes is comparable to her predecessor, even though it stresses more on the dependence of different kinds of memory. Boym (2001) distinguishes two categories of nostalgia, namely “restorative” and “reflective” nostalgia. Restorative nostalgia, characteristic for national movements and more about ‘national’ memory than individual memory, “stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home” (Boym, 2001, p. xviii). It is a kind of nostalgia that does not reflect upon itself and locates the “absolute truth” in the past (Boym, 2001, p. xviii). Reflective nostalgia, “thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately. [...] [It] dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity” (Boym, 2001, p. xviii). This kind of nostalgia, says Boym (2001, p. 49), calls the absolute truth into doubt and does not want to rebuild the past. It is “more about individual and cultural memory” (Boym, 2001, p. 49).

Next to Boym and Davis, the philosopher and scholar of religious studies Hart (1973) also relates nostalgia to matters of identity, and this mainly on the level of the individual. By referring both to the concept of the life-project and to the discussion on

¹⁰ The artist, so Davis, “‘knows’ by training, intuition, and prior exercise what configuration of line, pigments, sounds, movements, or words will touch nostalgic ‘chords’ in the audience. [...] The audience, too, without necessarily having any immediate or ‘real’ reason for feeling nostalgic, will upon seeing or hearing the material respond nostalgically” (Davis, 1979, p. 82).

the constitution of the “I” of the German sociologist and philosopher Scheler (1966), nostalgia is understood as “an instance of one of these unique moments of ‘gathering’” (Hart, 1973, p. 405) – an experience, which may make us assure of ourselves. It is above all studied on the example of the work of Marcel Proust.

2.2.3. Nostalgia: death of historicity or paradigm shift

The spectrum of postmodern theory is another major field in which nostalgia is discussed. As Chase and Shaw (1989, p. 15) highlight “some cultural critiques have identified the whole experience of postmodernity as a kind of macro-nostalgia”. “History”, according to Lipsitz (1994, p. 28), has been rejected altogether. A comprehensive look on the discussion cannot be provided in this review. Nevertheless, within the discursive field, two positions on nostalgia can perhaps be seen as paradigmatic; namely one position from the Marxist cultural critic Fredric Jameson on the one hand, and one position from the literary scientist Linda Hutcheon on the other. On the basis of their work other similar argumentation lines in the context of *nostalgia as death of historicity or paradigm shift* can be pointed out.

Jameson, like Baudrillard, whose concepts decisively influenced his theory (Winter, 2010, p. 59; Felluga, 2011), describes postmodernism as a-historic. Instead of historicity it is dominated by ‘historicism’, “the random cannibalization of all the styles of the past” (Jameson, 1991, p. 18). The presented past is seen as nothing but depthless and affectless ‘pastness’. Since, according to the author, it has nothing to do neither with the past nor with the present, but is, as Radstone and Hodgkin (2003, p. 22) put it, a “substitute for a truly historic consciousness” – a representative of “our ideas and cultural stereotypes about the past” (Jameson, 1998, p. 10) – nostalgia is described as quasi paradigmatic for this matter of facts. In order to back his thesis, Jameson draws on examples from architecture, literature, video-art, television or film – the latter thereby is one of his main objects. Above all the ‘ordinary’ nostalgia film also named “nostalgia-deco” or “pastiche” (Jameson, 1991) perfectly illustrates the postmodern condition, namely the exposition of historicism “in a bad sense of an omnipresent and indiscriminate appetite for dead styles” (Jameson, 1991, p. 286). Using, as Jameson (1991, p. 20) argues, “a whole battery of aesthetic signs” in order to ‘program’ the spectators on the nostalgia mode, these films expose nostalgia in a pure superficial respectively stylistic manner – “the past as fashion plate and glossy image” (Jameson, 1991, p. 118).

Jameson not only refuses the audiences any ability for an active reception of the ‘nostalgia films’, which made him a target of criticism by scholars associated with cultural studies (see e.g. Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 923; 929), in opposite to other authors (see e.g. Schweinitz, 2006¹¹; Hutcheon, 1984; 2000) he also intermingles the different ways of referring to the past by subsuming every kind of intertextuality under the title of “‘nostalgia’ art language” (Jameson, 1991, p. 19 f.), that it even seems as if he first of all uses the term as bone of contention, in order to moan about the postmodern condition as such. And indeed, retrospectively Jameson wants ‘nostalgia film’ to be understood as

“in no way [...] as passionate expressions of that old longing once called nostalgia but rather quite the opposite; they are a depersonalized visual curiosity [...] ‘without affect’ [...]. But one can no more alter a term like this retroactively than substitute some altogether different word for postmodernism itself”. (Jameson, 1991, p. xvii)

In contrast to the mood-agent Davis, Jameson, so Grainge (2002, p. 36 f.) denies nostalgia any affective relation to the past but rather describes it as a pure style or surface phenomenon, which is why Grainge also subsumes him to the so-called ‘mode’ agents. Similar argumentation lines can be found in the works of authors such as the Graham (1984) or Lasch (1984).¹²

Opposed to Jameson is the elaboration of nostalgia made by Hutcheon (1984; 2000). Mainly concentrating on architecture and literature – here above all on the so-called “historiographic metafiction” – Hutcheon (1984, p. 4) defends the works of postmodernism. Instead of proclaiming the death of history, she rather observes a paradigm shift, highlighting that “[d]espite its detractors, the postmodern is not ahistorical or dehistoricized, though it does question our (perhaps unacknowledged) assumptions about what constitutes historical knowledge” (Hutcheon, 1984, p. xii).

¹¹ Schweinitz (2006, p. 290) distinguishes under the label of the postmodern dealing with stereotypes nostalgia from for instance fascination, irony, and mockery.

¹² Graham (1984, p. 350) describes the “apparent [around 1984] obsession with recent history” as an “obsession with *pseudohistory*” to be equated with amnesia. The commercialization of nostalgia is seen as the expression of this tendency (Graham, 1984, p. 348). As Jameson does, the author thereby describes nostalgia as an a-historic phenomenon of ‘pure form’ (Graham, 1984, p. 360) and likewise equalises it with the intertextuality of postmodern culture in general (Graham, 1984, pp. 350, 354). In contemporary film, she argues, “the world of film becomes the *only* world” (Graham, 1984, p. 360). This similarly applies to Lasch (1984). Under the subtitle of “losing history” he describes the widespread nostalgia of the 1980s as a conglomeration of dead styles (Lasch, 1984, p. 70). The “‘nostalgia boom’” respectively ‘cultural fashion’ nostalgia, is described as hype created by the media (Lasch, 1984, p. 70).

Thus, what vanished following Hutcheon (1984) with the rise of the postmodern is not history at all, but the light-heartedness that dominated dealing with history until then. Hutcheon's work on nostalgia must be seen before this background even though her first examination of the phenomenon within the concept of postmodernism is rather nihilistic. Arguing that the "postmodern' has little to do with nostalgia and much to do with irony" (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 190), nostalgia, when it was mentioned, is likewise negatively connoted. The simplifications, nevertheless, seem to result from a polemical extinction in service of the positive definition of postmodernism.¹³ In her more recent work Hutcheon (2000) refuses first rough assessments of the phenomenon and studies nostalgia more closely. Even though not to the same degree as irony, she now concedes it a certain role to increase the awareness of the textuality of the past, which is typical for her understanding of postmodernism. Here, firstly, nostalgia is no longer only seen as conservative revisionist but "conservative in its praxis", however, "transideological" since both utilised by the left and the right (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 199)¹⁴. Second, nostalgia is distinguished from other forms relating to the past. As she says: "There are, of course, many ways to look backward. You can look and reject. Or you can look and linger longingly" (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 196).

Hutcheon's work is mainly focused on literature. However, similar approaches that open up different perspectives on postmodern engagement with history can also be observed within the film studies discourse on nostalgia. Dika (2003, p. 9) for instance, following Jameson, describes and uses nostalgia film as a general subcategory to indicate the "tendency to return to past film images", namely to use pictures of other pictures, or to return to old genres (see e.g. Dika, 2003, p. 55). However, within this frame the author works out forms of resistance – "film and art that use past images and genres in oppositional ways" (Dika, 2003, p. 20) – which is where her perspective most evidently diverges from the one of Jameson.

Similar to Schweinitz (2006), who mentions nostalgia as one possible way postmodern culture deals with stereotypes, nostalgia becomes one of many other possible characteristics of the postmodern text (see e.g. Dika, 2003, pp. 58, 89). In

¹³ In a later article she writes that she'll "try to understand why [she] had earlier chosen to all but ignore the nostalgic dimension of the postmodern in favour of the ironic" (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 190).

¹⁴ Nonetheless, when Hutcheon later comes to the conclusion that postmodern nostalgia always comes around with certain ironic distance, it almost seems as if she suddenly decided to refuse the positive definition of the phenomenon. "[M]ay be", so she says "one way the postmodern has of taking responsibility for such responses by creating a small part of the distance necessary for reflective thought" (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 207), almost as if the viewers otherwise wouldn't reflect on what they receive.

detailed analysis and by a method that considers “textuality, temporality and the relationship of the image to the natural real” (Dika, 2003, p. 223) the postmodern aesthetic could be said to be ‘broken open’. For instance, regarding ‘new genre films’ “disjunctions” between the new film and the classical genre are analysed (Dika, 2003, p. 216). In the case of genre films such as Bertolucci’s *The Conformist* (1970) it is worked out how “arguably ‘nostalgic’ surface[s] [are] set against the historical events represented by those images” (Dika, 2003, p. 98) and the knowledge of the respective audiences (Dika, 2003, p. 98).

To identify the critical potential of nostalgia films is also the purpose of a more recent work written by Sprengler (2011). In contrast to Dika, the author exclusively concentrates on the layer of the artefact, stating “we need to consider how the visual dimensions of the cinema might be the source of both its nostalgic label and its critical consciousness when bolstered or even impeded by narrative and thematic content” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 90).

2.2.4. Nostalgia and the (re)construction of ‘history’

Comparable to the position of Hutcheon is the line of argument, which, put simply, investigates nostalgia in the context of the (re)construction of history and tradition – a line of argument that can above all be observed in the British scientific reflection on nostalgia, which started around the middle of the 1980s mainly in the field of the historical studies and which, according to Kremkau (2003, p. 22 [o.t.]), often led into the “typical British” context of cultural heritage. One study that in a major section pays attention to nostalgia is *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1986) by David Lowenthal – an American historian who taught at University College London. In seven chapters the author presents a broad examination of the role and characteristics of ‘history’ from different perspectives such as art and architectural history, psychology, or archaeology (Lowenthal, 1986, p. xxv). The title of the book, a reminiscence of the beginning of Leslie Poles Hartley’s *The Go-Between*, can here be understood as antithetical to the author’s conclusions on the characteristics of memory, history and relicts. All three categories are described as appropriation rather than truthful reflection of the past. Even though Lowenthal does not explicitly consider historicity from a poststructuralist standpoint, the notion of poststructuralism surrounds the statements, above all the definition of history as “by its nature consensual” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 214). Corresponding is the author’s attitude towards nostalgia – according to Lowenthal

(1986, p. 4) the 1980s “universal catchword for looking back”. Its manifestations are located but only superficially investigated on a broad sample of disciplines from arts, architecture, furniture and autobiographies, to film and advertisements, through to the history of ideas and restoration (Lowenthal, 1986, pp. 4 f.; Kremkau, 2003, p. 21). In contrast to other critics (see e.g. Jameson 1991; Lasch, 1984) who mostly mock nostalgia for its lacking seriousness toward historicity, the function of the “ghost features kept in existence by nostalgia” is above all seen in the context of a sense making process regarding the present, and a justification of present attitudes both used in the service of the left and the right (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 40).

Further essays on nostalgia have been collected in *The imagined past* in the context of a conference on the uses of history, hosted by the University of Leeds in 1985. The publication encompasses a wide range of disciplines from history and literary studies to politics and philosophy through to art history (Chase and Shaw, 1989a). Already the introduction of the collection characterises the phenomenon as manifold, both regarding its connotation and the circle of people it concerns (from the individual, to classes to the ‘collective’) (Chase and Shaw, 1989). Correspondingly, the articles presented hold a wide range of perspectives on the topic. Lowenthal, deepening his earlier studies on nostalgia, this time explicitly distinguishes himself from other British (and American) scholars who denounce nostalgia as “reactionary, regressive, [and] ridiculous” (Lowenthal, 1989, p. 20 [addition by the author]).

“[I]t is wrong to imagine that there exists some non-nostalgic reading of the past that is by contrast ‘honest’ or authentically ‘true’. Nostalgia shares its presentist bias, if not its anodyne aims, with many other historical perspectives” (Lowenthal, 1989, p. 30).

Nearly without exception, the contributors to the publication do not criticise the nostalgic return to the past in general (see also Kremkau, 2003, p. 22), but rather analyse it critically in the context of the present and use it in order to highlight the constructedness of many historical perspectives and its blurred boundaries to “invented traditions” (Chase and Shaw, 1989, pp. 11 ff.) or myths (Stafford, 1989, pp. 33 ff.). The authors are thereby well aware of the ‘dangers’ of nostalgia. Thus, Chase and Shaw (1989, p. 14) highlight, “[w]e should look carefully at the process of cultural construction to see how, when, and by whom they become articulated, and look equally carefully at their intentions and effects”. Exemplary, the “self-serving” nostalgia of President Ronald Reagan in the US or the (re)construction of British ‘heritage’ during

Thatcherism in the 1980s (Lowenthal, 1989, pp. 25 f.; see also Croft, 1989, p. 168) are named by authors of the collection.

The heritage context is also where film-related discourses on nostalgia attach, namely in discussions on so-called English heritage films. Authors writing about the subject (Higson, 1993; 2006; Wollen, 1991) draw for example on costume dramas such as *Brideshead Revisited* (ITV, 1981), *Chariots of Fire* (Hudson, 1981), *Another Country* (Kaniewska, 1984), or *A Room with a View* (Ivory, 1986). Also here, the question of a (re)construction of the national past and national tradition is important. Thus for Higson (2006, p. 93) heritage films “[by] turning their backs on the industrialised, chaotic present [...] nostalgically reconstruct an imperialist and upper-class Britain (or its other side, the picturesque poverty of *Little Dorrit*)”. The author then makes a detailed analysis of the textual characteristics of heritage films stating that:

“Even those films that develop an ironic narrative of the past end up celebrating and legitimating the spectacle of one class and one cultural tradition and identity at the expense of others through the discourse of authenticity, and the obsession with the visual splendours of period details”.
(Higson, 2006, p. 100)

While the earlier work of Higson (1993) was very much alike to Jameson describing the films as an emotionless spectacle of the surface (Higson, 1993, p. 119), in later texts he opens the view towards a more reflective treatment of nostalgia and, as he himself states, “adopted a perspective much closer to reception studies” trying to likewise consider the “range of readings and audience responses these films have generated” (Higson, 2006, p. 109). In any case, the analysis of the nostalgia ‘mode’ dominates the investigation.

This similarly applies to Wollen (1991), who however does not have a purpose to investigate the textual characteristics in detail. Wollen (1991, p. 179) also puts the question of how nostalgic screen fictions reconstruct the “national identity” via the reconstruction of the national heritage in the centre of her work. As from the perspective of other authors highlighted in this section on “Nostalgia and the (re)construction of ‘history’” from Wollen’s point of view, “nostalgic screen fiction”, even though its spectrum may sometimes limit the perspective, rather retrieves the past back for the “investigation” of the audiences (Wollen, 1991, p. 180).

Lastly, the work of Cardwell (2002) is referred to, even though it could be said it almost extends the limits of this section. In integrating Smith’s (1999) concept of filmic moods, her work, which is dedicated to adaptations within the heritage genre, takes a

decisive step towards an analysis of the interrelations between ‘mood’ and ‘mode’ (Cardwell, 2002, pp. 144 ff.). This is also why it can be seen as lead-over to the subsequent section of this literature review, named “Nostalgia and cultural style”, which will argue for this combination.

2.2.5. Nostalgia and cultural style

This section of the literature review unifies those works, which may be located inside or at least tend towards the fluid “set of formation” (Hall, 1992, p. 278) of *Cultural Studies*, insofar that their authors are less concerned with the reasons and consequences of nostalgia, and more with questions about its characteristics. The authors who are subsumed in this section first of all deplore the lack of research that surrounds the aesthetic and reception of nostalgia and engage a multi-perspective view of the phenomenon.

One of the first scholars to be commented here is the film scientist Grainge. Based on the nostalgia discourse, it already has been mentioned before that Grainge (2002, pp. 36 f.) distinguishes nostalgia as a structure of feeling and nostalgia as style, respectively nostalgia mood and nostalgia mode. According to Grainge (2002, p. 36), a model that is able to grasp nostalgia must be able to “mediate” between these poles. Grainge’s (2002) own study focuses on black and white aesthetics. With the focus on a black and white aesthetic employed in advertising, and in Hollywood film and print media, Grainge concentrates his work on visual aspects, referred to as the ‘nostalgia mode’. This is not only a calculated disregard of the side of reception – in shifting the centre of the investigation towards monochrome, nostalgia, the point of origin, is also sent on a secondary position.

In reference to black and white, indeed the different possible meanings of the stylistic code such as “intellectual abstraction, artistic integrity, documentary realism, archival evidence, fashion chic, and film classicism, depending on the nature of a text’s production and reception” (Grainge, 2002, p. 69) are highlighted, but the possible meanings of nostalgia as a style are less scrutinised. Referring to *Schindler’s List*, he postulates:

“To think of the Holocaust in terms of nostalgia is clearly perverse. However, if one concentrates more on the (monochrome) mode of Schindler’s List than on its actual subject matter, there is perhaps a

character of nostalgia for a previous cinematic moment". (Grainge, 2002, p. 131)

Criticising Grainge, Pickering and Keightley (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 932) state that "[a]lthough not claiming a complete loss of meaning, Grainge asserts that, as an aesthetic style of memory, monochrome representation defers a text's content to its evocation of a generalised feeling of pastness". And indeed in doing so, it can be argued, that he declares black and white as *per se* intertextual, and intertextuality as nostalgic – arguing with a similar logic to Jameson. In this sense, all contemporaneous black and white films could be called nostalgic. However, later it will be shown how far the work is productive for the analysis of nostalgia also in the context of the present investigation.

Equally important in this context is the work of the social scientist Stuart Tannock who, like Davis, relates nostalgia to both certain discontentedness and the search for a stable identity from the side of the nostalgic subject (Tannock, 1995, p. 454). Tannock criticises the *per se* negative connotation of nostalgia, which he believes is located in a narrow perspective analysis. According to him (1995, p. 456) the critique of "content, author, and audience" has to be separated from the general nostalgia critique.

"The 'positively evaluated' past is approached as a source for something now perceived to be missing; but it need not be thought of as a time of general happiness, peacefulness, stability, or freedom. Invoking the past, the nostalgic subject may be involved in escaping or evading, in critiquing, or in mobilizing to overcome the present experience of loss of identity, lack of agency, or absence of memory". (Tannock, 1995, p. 454)

In any case, nostalgia's modalities are multiple and surely not only reactionary (Tannock 1995, p. 454). In his article Tannock refers both to the "nostalgic text" (Tannock, 1995, p. 461) and the nostalgic "structure of feeling" (Tannock, 1995, p. 453) or "emotion" (Tannock, 1995, p. 456). Even though the interrelation of both is not further scrutinised, the author aspires to grasp the characteristics more closely. Central to this is the "rhetoric of nostalgia", which consists of: (1) the prelapsarian world, with the source of nostalgia as free from negative components (2) the 'lapse' and (3) the present respectively postlapsarian world (with lacks and deficits) (Tannock, 1995, p. 456 f.). "A critical reading of the nostalgic structure of rhetoric should focus, then," says Tannock (1995, p. 457), "on the construction of a prelapsarian world, but also on the continuity asserted, and the discontinuity posited, between a prelapsarian past and a postlapsarian present".

Lastly, a discourse contribution of the British media scientists Pickering and Keightley (2006) shall be considered. The authors – who in many areas refer to the concepts of Grainge (2002) and Tannock (1995) – put in a nutshell what could be summarised under the title ‘Towards a cultural studies perspective on nostalgia’. Thus, they reject critique of media nostalgia, for example the postmodern theory of mistakenly homogenising the audiences, stripping them of active participation, and for seeing nostalgic thinking and nostalgic texts as interchangeable (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, pp. 924, 929). Instead, they stress that “nostalgia is a way of thinking and feeling rather than being directly produced or constituted by consuming nostalgic media texts, but there are nevertheless cultural artefacts that facilitate nostalgia as a way of feeling and thinking” (Pickering and Keighley, 2006, p. 930).

This consequently leads to the statement that on the side of the text “the modes of representation and operation involved in the communication of nostalgia” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 930) have to be worked out. On the side of the viewers “different sites of meaning-making” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 930) have to be taken into account – always having in mind that nostalgia “is subject to circumstance, motivation, and interests, and over both time and space, to degree, variation and change” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, pp. 928 f). This is a statement that will also be relevant in the course of this work.

2.2.6. Nostalgia in Germany and Spain

As the following sub-chapters show, similar strands of argumentation can be exemplary identified on the Spanish and German discourse on nostalgia.

2.2.6.1. Germany: From *Nostalgie* to *Ostalgie*

As in other countries, in the German-speaking countries the discussion was stimulated by the often so called ‘nostalgia wave’, which found its expression in different cultural fields, such as film and television, music, fashion, advertising, design, or architecture. And in terms of disciplines that consider the topic, the academic discourse is just as broad. Alongside a revived interest in nostalgia from the side of medicine history –, Kremkau (2003, p. 16) refers to the two dissertations of Brunnert (1984) and Pfannkuche (1978) – nostalgia is discussed by well-known sociologists, historians, educationalists, or anthropologists. Their first assessments can be subsumed under what

has previously been referred to as ‘nostalgia as a contemporary malaise’. Thus the intellectuals address nostalgia less as a textual, but rather, societal phenomenon. Even without exception the authors have “*kulturkritischen Anspruch*” [cultural critical intention] (Kremkau, 2003, p. 15 [o.t.]). Be it that nostalgia is seen as escapism or regression towards pre-industrial circumstances (see Schivelbusch, 1973; Gehlen, 1976), that it is equalised with a new conservatism, or related to a certain ignorance for history (see Baacke, 1976), the contributors to the discourse, whether from the left or from the right political spectrum, are all quite sceptical towards the phenomenon. Baacke (1976), educationalist and member of the Frankfurt School, does not only describe nostalgia as a-historical, uncritical, un-political, and flat, he also sees it as a “symptom of a certain intellectual, artistic and mental immaturity” (Baacke, 1976, p. 444 [o.t.])¹⁵ which is the reflection of a collective alienation in the course of modernisation (Baacke, 1976, pp. 450 ff.). Furthermore, Gehlen (1973) – an anthropologist and rightist antagonist of the Frankfurt School – claims that the accelerated modern era, which is dominated by terrorism, unemployment and the loss of values, is responsible for nostalgia (Gehlen 1973, p. 439). The only author who is less fatalistic towards the phenomenon is Schivelbusch (1973), a member of the German school of cultural studies. Like his contemporaries, he sees nostalgia as collective regression in the course of the hectic industrialised world (Schivelbusch, 1973, p. 275 f.). Nevertheless, his explanatory model is not based upon the assumption of a regressive mind, but relates to Barthes’ work on the libidinal relationship of consumers towards commodities (Schivelbusch, 1973, p. 274). Because, he assumes, in the industrialised world consumer products are constantly replaced by new ones, human beings escape into nostalgia (Schivelbusch, 1973, p. 274 f.). All in all, even though different lines of argument can be shown, the scholars agree that nostalgia is a reaction on modern times. However, detailed analyses of nostalgic objects are not provided, not to mention a consideration of the side of reception.

An exception can be found in the dissertation of the design and architecture critique Fischer (1980). The author pursues a more holistic perspective to the subject. Although he confirms the conservative, escapist or regressive tendencies of nostalgia (see e.g. Fischer, 1980, pp. 52 f., 182) – which is very similar to what has been subsumed under the label *nostalgia and (re)construction of ‘history’* – he also underpins

¹⁵ Original quotation: “*Kurz: Nostalgie ist Symptom für eine gewisse intellektuelle, künstlerische und seelische Unreife*” (Baacke, 1976, p. 444).

its capacity of making history accessible (Fischer, 1980, p. 55), its potential innovative power in contrasting with the contemporary or in meeting the actual *zeitgeist* (Fischer, 1980, pp. 45, 179), and its critical potential concerning the present (Fischer, 1980, p. 246). His assumptions are based on concrete investigations – even though thematically broadly applied. Fischer (1980) does not only give an overview on the subject fields of nostalgia from design to television and architecture, he also centres on nostalgia’s semantic fields from kitsch to the ‘fantastic’ and its forms of representation. Already in the introductory section, Fischer (1980) points out the importance of a differentiation of object layer and reception: “The term ‘nostalgic object’ [...] signifies that it is about an object, which inherits structural elements that allow the submission respectively the development of nostalgic sentiments of identification” (Fischer, 1980, p. 269 [o.t.])¹⁶. Even though in this broad applied investigation many aspects – for instance this latter one – are only touched upon, one can say that Fischer extends the discourse towards describing nostalgia as a multiple phenomenon – an approach that also has been formulated by scholars of *Cultural Studies*.

More recently, the discourse has flared up again in the context of the Ostalgie/Westalgie¹⁷ discussion (see e.g. Ludewig 2006; Blum 2006), which, although not restricted to German speaking regions (for further reading see Cooke, 2003; Allan, 2006; Enns, 2007), also attach to the existing, general nostalgia discourse.

2.2.6.2. Nostalgia in Spain

In Spain, the nostalgia discourse was also inspired by a so-called ‘wave of nostalgia’ in the 1970s. Only a brief look at non-academic publications such as the daily newspaper *La Vanguardia* shows a relative accumulation of nostalgia related articles between 1969 and 1974 (La Vanguardia, 2011). As the ongoing reinforcement of nostalgia in the United States is occurring¹⁸, similar tendencies in Spanish society are discovered (see e.g. La Vanguardia Española, 1974). Generally, the public discourse seems less

¹⁶ Original quotation: “Der Begriff ‘nostalgisches Objekt’ meint [...] lediglich, daß es sich um ein Objekt handelt, dem Strukturelemente inhärent sind, die erlauben, nostalgische Identifikationsgefühle an das Objekt heranzutragen bzw. an ihm zu entwickeln” (Fischer, 1980, p. 269).

¹⁷ ‘Ostalgie’ is a term derived from a combination of *nostalgie*, the German word for nostalgia, and *Osten*, the German word for East, which in this case stands for the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). ‘Westalgie’ is the West-German counterpart to ‘Ostalgie’, namely nostalgia for the West, respectively *Westen* as it is in German.

¹⁸ “Never a country which bases upon the myth of being young on the one hand and the figure of the old Uncle Sam on the other, has been so nostalgic for yesterday” (A.Z., 1974 [o.t.]); Original quotation: “Nunca un país con el mito de ser joven contrapuesto a la figura del Viejo Tío Sam, se había sentido tan nostálgico de ayer” (A.Z., 1974).

emotionalised. The phenomenon is rather perceived as a self-evident component of society with critical potential rather than as a reactionary bone of contention.

In regards to academic publications, many monograph titles refer to “nostalgia”, whereupon the term only contains a kind of an eye-catcher rather than an indication of the topic. In any case the term is used in a very general manner, signifying a longing for material as well as immaterial objects.¹⁹ Apart from that, recent publications in the field of audiovisual culture can be found that are dedicated solely to nostalgia. The Spanish series *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó* (TVE) is often at the centre of investigation. Referring above all to Boym’s (2011) concept of reflexive nostalgia and to Fiske’s (1987) concept of television realism, the Spanish scholar Corbalán (2009, p. 345 f.) explains how the series confronts the personal historical reconstruction of the viewers with the personal historical reconstruction, which is presented by the narrator of the series. In making both a text analysis and qualitative questionnaires, Corbalán is one of the few authors who realises what has been demanded by scholars, here subsumed under the label ‘nostalgia as a cultural style’ (for more details see chapter 7.1).

In a more detailed textual analysis, Laffond and Gómez (2009), in making a comparative analysis between *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó* (TVE) and the American series *The Wonder Years* (1988-1993) explain how nostalgia is evoked on different layers of the text such as typology of the protagonists, representation of family, presentation of values or dominant characteristics of the formal layer. Here – similar to the monograph titles mentioned previously – they distinguish different directions of nostalgia such as “*nostalgia del barrio*” [nostalgia of the hood] (Laffond and Gómez, 2009, p. 398 [o.t.]) or “*nostalgia de la época*” [nostalgia of the epoch] (Laffond and Gómez, 2009, p. 401). As a matter of course, the ‘banal’ nostalgia is distinguished from “*reflexive y moderadamente crítica*” [reflexive and moderately critical] nostalgia (Laffond and Gómez, 2009, p. 399 [o.t.]). Additionally, Laffond and Gómez perform a comparison of the nostalgic narration with ‘actual’ historical events, in a similar fashion to what has been claimed for by authors such as Pickering and Keightley (2006). Nevertheless, Laffond and Gómez underpin their analysis with works on history and television. The nostalgia discourse stays rather excluded. Beyond that, further essays on television’s engagement with history have been collected under the title *Historias de la Pequeña*

¹⁹ See e.g. “*Nostalgia. La cultura del exilio vasco*” (Amezaga Aresti 1993), “*Nostalgia de la aventura*” (Filmoteca Valencia, 1989), “*La nostalgia de los libros perdidos*” (Amat Noguera, 1998), and “*Religiosidad popular. Nostalgia de lo mágico*” (Maldonado, 1975).

*Pantalla*²⁰ (López et. al., 2009), among which an article written by Teresa Herrera-De La Muela is dedicated to nostalgia. The author draws on modern myth theory in order to explain textual characteristics that make reruns of the television series *Verano Azul* (TVE, 1981) capable for nostalgic reception. Her work may be allocated to what has previously been referred to as ‘nostalgia and the (re)construction of history’.

2.3. Conclusion on the discourse and transition to following research steps

“Despite the word’s changing connotations since the seventeenth century, there remains one indisputable, albeit banal, feature of nostalgia upon which all agree, from those who have reflected only casually on the phenomenon to those who have studied it closely: This is that the material of nostalgic experience is the past”. (Davis, 1977, p. 415)

The above passage is quoted from an article by the sociologist Fred Davis in 1977. By this time, the so-called ‘nostalgia wave’ had inspired a huge amount of academic investigation on the topic of nostalgia. In the beginning this was an emotional discourse with, as Sprengler (2011, p. 31) put it, “most heated debates on positive or negative effects”. Later a change of trend led the discussion towards more dimensional definitions. Today – more than thirty years later – the quotation is apt to introduce this conclusive chapter on the current state of nostalgia discourse. Also in the present day, the theoretical grasping of nostalgia is difficult. Perhaps the only common denominator is that nostalgia somehow refers to the past. Also in this chosen form of presentation, it becomes apparent that a dispersion of the discourse has occurred.²¹ Dispersion insofar as there is no consistent research tradition in the sense of Rogers’ description as “a series of investigations on a similar topic in which successive studies are influenced by preceding inquiries” (Rogers, 2003, p. 39). “Deployment of the category in such different academic domains as psychology, history and cultural studies creates

²⁰ Whole title “*Historias de la Pequeña Pantalla: Representaciones históricas en la televisión de la España democrática*” (López et al., 2009), translatable as: ‘Histories of the Small Screen: The representation of history in the television of the democratic Spain (2009).

²¹ It shall here be hinted to the fact that the dominant lines of argument have been considered. The boundaries between these strands are not always clear cut. Thus Lowenthal, who here has been subsumed under the title of “Nostalgia and the (re)construction of history and tradition” likewise links nostalgia to the construction of identity (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 193ff.), Jameson (1989) as cited in Hutcheon (2000, p. 202) “feels that the postmodern taste for [nostalgia] films corresponds to certain needs in what he calls ‘our present economic-psychic constitution’”, the film scholar Sprengler here subsumed under the label “Nostalgia: death of historicity or paradigm shift” links also to cultural studies, the sociologist Davis, here referred to under the label “Nostalgia and Identity” likewise draws on nostalgia as a cultural style, and Boym’s concept of restorative nostalgia, subsumed under the label of “nostalgia and identity”, is at the same time linked to what here has been called “Nostalgia and the (re)construction of history and tradition”.

difficulties of application and reference within a coherent explanatory framework” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 922).

Only a few authors such as Davis (1977; 1979) and Jameson (1991) are regularly cited and ‘processed’. In many cases instead of harnessing a predecessor’s investigations, the discourse is still caught up in a struggle to position the phenomenon. This is not only reflected by a broad range of assessments of nostalgia from different perspectives – explanations range from “Nostalgia as a contemporary malaise”, to “Nostalgia and Identity”, “Nostalgia: death of historicity or paradigm shift”, “Nostalgia and the (re)construction of ‘history’” up to “Nostalgia as a cultural style” – but also by the definition of nostalgia as such. A previous definition of the term is not always a self-evident component of the works, which makes a discussion on a common basis more difficult. Some authors clearly distinguish nostalgia from other forms of referring to the past (see e.g. Hart, 1973; Davis, 1979) while others, such as Jameson (1991), use it “in no way [...] as passionate expressions of that old longing once called nostalgia” (Jameson, 1991, p. xvii) and draw the frame so wide that any intertextual reference could be called nostalgic. The dispersion is equally observable among works that approach nostalgia from a film and television studies perspective. Apart from the fact that they, as the rest of the discourse, approach nostalgia in film and television from different stand points as they have been explained, they also focus, I would argue, on different layers of the text respectively on different objects of nostalgia, which is what makes their application additionally difficult.

At the same time the dispersion of the discourse can be described in a more positive way, namely as a multi-layered quality. It could be shown that nostalgia is not un-investigated, and the phenomenon has been studied from different perspectives, which in combination could be fruitful for further investigation. Authors such as Grainge (2002) and Pickering and Keightley (2006) have already highlighted the importance of a perspective on nostalgia, which combines both the ‘mood’ and the ‘mode’ perspective. Here one can argue that huge parts of, as Pickering and Keightley (2006, p. 930) call it, “the modes of representation and operation involved in the communication of nostalgia” and “different sites of meaning-making”, are already in parts investigated within the different strands.²² But they have to be made applicable.

²² Thus Davis makes no in-depth analysis of concrete examples or of the complex interrelation of text and reception, but his differentiation of nostalgia may teach us a lot about the general characteristics of nostalgia.

They have to be ‘ordered’ to make them usable in combination. One must think about elements that may work as bridge between text and reception.

Three following sub-chapters of this conclusion will briefly reflect upon aspects that can already be useful for the analysis of nostalgia on these two levels and others that are not clear in the discourse, but can be clarified by further theory from outside the nostalgia discourse. Three points shall be highlighted: (1) *Nostalgia as a ‘mood’*, (2) *From the cognitive-emotional to the textual part of nostalgia* and (3) *The bandwidth of nostalgia*. They will lead over to the following chapters.

2.3.1. Nostalgia ‘mood’

Firstly, mostly in the spectrum of authors who Grainge (2002) also calls the “mood agents”, nostalgia is frequently described as a past-related affect. According to Davis, the “nostalgic feeling is infused with imputations of past beauty, pleasure, joy, satisfaction, goodness, happiness, love, and the like, in sum, any or several of the *positive* affects of being” (Davis, 1979, p. 14). At another place the author highlights that it is “more likely to be classed with such familiar emotions as love, jealousy, and fear” and set against “such ‘conditions’ as melancholia, obsessive compulsion, or claustrophobia” (Davis, 1979, p. 5). Thus Davis talks about the “nostalgic feeling” (Davis, 1979, p. 14) but later calls it an “emotion” (Davis, 1979, p. 82). Grainge (2002, p. 11) however, subsumes this idea under the so-called ‘mood agents’. Furthermore, also Cardwell who investigates the subject more closely states that it “is difficult to determine [...] whether nostalgia is better understood as a feeling or an emotion” (Cardwell, 2002, p. 144).

However, if nostalgia, apart from being a ‘mode’, can be called an emotion and is an emotion that television can elicit in its viewers, studying emotions in relation to film and television will be highly relevant for its analysis. Cardwell (2002), as previously mentioned, already makes a step into this direction. This investigation will look at further studies on emotions and aesthetic emotions from outside the nostalgia discourse.

2.3.2. From the cognitive-emotional to the textual part of nostalgia

Secondly, and without falling prey to a simple cause-and-effect way of thinking, already the nostalgia discourse from outside film and television theory characterises the

phenomenon closely. The here outlined aspects can again be made useful for the investigation of nostalgia in television, both regarding the textual layer and regarding the reception. Thus Davis (1979, p. 13) describes nostalgia as different from remembrance, recollection, reminiscence, or recall. At the same time, nostalgia can be linked to a certain bittersweet sadness, which has its origin in the irretrievability of the past the 'nostalgist' longs for (Hart, 1973, p. 399). This may also be the reason why nostalgia is often brought together with what has been named "aura" by Walter Benjamin (see e.g. Boym, 2001, p. 45), "the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be" (Benjamin, 1936 (2008), p. 23).

Nostalgia includes the present by embracing circumstances and conditions, which are seen as being worse in comparison to the past (Davis, 1979, p. 15). This is also where another constitutive factor of the rhetoric of nostalgia is linked, that is its trisection in prelapsarian, 'lapse', and postlapsarian world (Tannock, 1995) and its composition of "loss, lack and longing" (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 921). As Pickering and Keightley (2006) highlight with reference to Smith (1998) and Lowenthal (1989), "a desire to imaginatively return to earlier times is then felt to correlate with an acute dissatisfaction with the present, and to involve an attempt to recapture a putative continuity and coherence unavailable in the fragmented modern or late-modern environment" (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 923).

In contrast to memory, where the past present and the actual present are different, in the case of nostalgia "the past present coincides with the actual present by including it 'in some way'" (Hart, 1973, p. 404). According to Davis (1977, p. 416) this is reflected in the fact that the "knowledge" that something is past is an experience, which is made in the present. Furthermore, closing the circle, it can be explained by the fact that emotions are always an issue of the present (see Bennett, 2003, p. 27). Further, we here shall review the categories which have been described by Davis and Boym according to which nostalgia can adopt various stances – from simple, to reflexive, to interpreted nostalgia (Davis, 1979, pp. 18 ff.), or from restorative to reflective nostalgia (Boym, 2001). Apart from that, within film and television studies, concrete textual characteristics of nostalgia are explained.

2.3.3. The bandwidth of nostalgia

Thirdly, many scholars agree that modern nostalgia's reference somehow is the past. "Modern societies", according to Chase and Shaw (1989, p. 2), "share a view of times

as linear with an undetermined future. If either of these requirements is not met, then nostalgia seems very unlikely”. Nevertheless, it is not always clear which bandwidth (both regarding the human memory and the physical archive) nostalgic material may refer to. From this, the following questions occur: What are the minimum and maximum time spans of nostalgia? Is nostalgia a matter of personal past and therefore comprises only the time span that refers to personal experience, or will objects that are outside the lifespan of a person also trigger it?

Regarding the question of the minimum time span an object has to go through in order to serve as a trigger for nostalgia, we can refer to Davis (1977; 1979) and Lowenthal (1986; 1989). Both authors highlight the necessity of a certain contrast to present times. Lowenthal refers to revolutionary changes that “rapidly distanced all known pasts” and may therefore create sources for nostalgia (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 49). Furthermore, Davis (1977, p. 417) argues that there should be “some necessary passage of time before the events of our lives come to serve as fit objects of nostalgia”. According to him, this ‘necessary’ depends on the way the nostalgic person “makes” events “contrast” with the present circumstances (Davis, 1977, p. 417; Davis, 1979, p. 12). From Davis’s perspective, a ‘contrast-generator’ could be, for instance, the beginning of another life passage or changes rendered by history (Davis, 1979, p. 49). This is also in line with what Böhn (2007, 146) highlights with reference to Friedl (1990), that “situations of abrupt political change, combined with the destruction of former social structures and hierarchies, have always favoured nostalgia and musealization”. With Davis (1979) can be stated that relating to private experiences such as a “parent’s smile [or] the garden view from a certain window of a house once lived in” changes are likely to occur within very a short time span, so that also an object or experience of the latest past could become an object of nostalgia (Davis, 1979, pp. 122 f.).

In general, authors (see e.g. Fischer 1980, p. 196) observe an overall reduction of the time spans of nostalgia. This is explained with reference to the accelerated circulation of goods, the increasing pressure to innovate, and the faster storage of documents in modern times (see e.g. Fischer, 1980, p. 196). As Huyssen (1995) states: “The more memory we store on data banks, the more the past is sucked into the orbit of the present, ready to be called up on the screen” (Huyssen, 1995 cited in Hutcheon, 2000, p. 197).

The definition of the maximum time span mostly depends on whether an author considers personal memories as a basis for nostalgia, if personal memories are considered as an only basis for nostalgia, or if the frame is drawn wider than that. Describing “the repulsive effect of current conditions” (Gehlen, 1976, p. 438 [o.t.])²³ as a main source of nostalgia, in the 1970s, Gehlen (1976, p. 438) generally settles the time of reference from 1850 up to pre-World War I times. With nostalgia located in a fixed time span the author has an outsider status. More common is a consideration of the time spans of nostalgia that start from personal experiences. Only Hart (1973, p. 412) argues that nostalgia “occurs essentially for the individual in the privacy of his memory and in the exclusiveness of his own personal history”. Most other authors consider the possibility of a kind of ‘transferability’ of memories. According to Fischer (1980, p. 16), next to personal memories, biographical links can also be generated artificially. In this context he describes the possibility of the symbolical appropriation of biographies by the consumption of media that extend the time span of personal experiences (Fischer, 1980, p. 41). Fischer (1980, p. 16 [o.t.]) describes this as “pseudo- oder krypto-biografisch” [pseudo- or cryptobiographical] memory. According to Lowenthal (1986, p. 6), nostalgia encompasses an each time broader range of past. He claims “the past we depend on to make sense of the present [...] stems mainly from our own few years of experience” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 40), but, at the same time, “we conceive of things not only as seen, but also as heard and read about before” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 40). With reference to Tyler (1977), Lowenthal (1986, p. 197) draws on the possibility of the formation of ‘second-hand memories’ by the adaptation of family memories. Furthermore, he states, “people are so eager to be part of ‘history’ that they falsely ‘remember’ their responses to, or even having been present at, some momentous event” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 197).

Davis (1977; 1979) makes a similar argument. On the one hand the author states that the material of nostalgia is personal experienced past “rather than one drawn solely from, for example, chronicles, almanacs, history books, memorial tablets or, for that matter, legend” (Davis, 1977, p. 416).²⁴ On the other hand, he opens up the spectrum

²³ Original quotation: “*die abstossende Wirkung der gegenwärtigen Zustände*” (Gehlen, 1976, p. 438).

²⁴ Since personal experiences highly relate to life passages, “nostalgia acquires considerable sociological significance – is often of a highly conventional cast, e.g. marriage, children, job success, a home of one’s own” (Davis, 1979, p. 12). It also refers to “historic events”, important persons which likewise kind of divide or mark ‘our time’ for us (Davis, 1979, p. 53). Additionally, the life passages and events are to a high degree collective, it is here where Davis draws the line to nostalgia as a collective experience. Nostalgia, so Davis, thus “mediates the selection, distillation, refinement, and integration of those scenes,

arguing that, “when today’s adolescents reach middle age it is probable that their nostalgic revivals will include symbolic fragments and residues of what had been the nostalgia of their parents” (Davis, 1979, pp. 61 f.). This means, nostalgia actually does not *solely* relate to personal experienced past, but this past can also be ‘transmitted’. In this case it could at least embrace more than one generation. But Davis does not leave it at that. In the context of media nostalgia, he amplifies the ‘transmitability’ of memories by the use of media (Davis, 1979, pp. 119 ff.). Thus, Davis argues, “media products may now serve memory where once houses, streets and persons did” (Davis, 1979, p. 129)²⁵ and as personal experiences, this adopted memory or, as Davis (1979, p. 121) describes it, “created, secondhand reality”, may again work as basis for nostalgia.

Boym (2001) has also considered that media somehow has the power to generate second-hand memories. As she states, “[i]t seems that 1990s nostalgia for the Brezhnev era was partially based on the old Soviet movies that reappeared on Russian TV at that time” (Boym, 2001, p. 61). Additionally, she refers to evoked involuntary memories and the difficulty to distinguish whether these memories belong to personal experiences, or to a once seen television commercial (Boym, 2001, p. 352). It’s a nostalgia, as Boym states elsewhere in her study, which Appadurai (1996) also defines “as ‘ersatz nostalgia’ or armchair nostalgia, ‘nostalgia without lived experience or collective historical memory’” (Appadurai, 1996 cited in Boym 2001, p. 38). Since this point will be crucial not only for the general framing of nostalgia’s material basis (be it memory or archive), but also for later considering its reception, it shall be explained in a further chapter, which integrates studies on memory and archive that have their origin outside the nostalgia discourse.

events, personalities, attitudes, and practices from the past that make an identifiable *generation* of what would otherwise remain a featureless demographic cohort” (Davis, 1979, p. 111).

²⁵Also regarding media memories, he again draws the argument to collective nostalgia. Thus: “Collective nostalgia, however, refers to that condition in which the symbolic objects are of a highly public, widely shared, and familiar character, those symbolic resources from the past that under proper conditions can trigger wave upon wave of nostalgic feeling in millions of persons at the same time. [...] By contrast, private nostalgia refers to those symbolic images and allusions from the past that by virtue of their source in a particular person’s biography tend to be more idiosyncratic, individuated, and particularistic in their reference, e.g., the memory of a parent’s smile, the garden view from a certain window of a house once lived in, for Proust the little cakes from his childhood at Combray” (Davis, 1979, pp. 122 f.).

3. Two ‘archives’ – nostalgia’s relationship to the past

As Chase and Shaw (1989, p. 4) state, one of the “requirements for nostalgia is that objects, buildings and images from the past should be available”. This means, to describe nostalgia regarding text and reception, should include that the phenomenon which always appears with a reference to ‘the past’, has to be considered in its relation regarding two ‘archives’: On the one hand, the human memory with, as Landsberg (1997, p. 85) calls it, “one’s intellectual and emotional archive”, and, on the other hand, physical and digital archives such as television archives or libraries. We have already seen first clues of this in the nostalgia discourse, however it has been shown that answers are diverse and sometimes divergent. This study will therefore combine studies on nostalgia with those on memory and archives that have their origin outside the nostalgia discourse. To further clarify the nostalgia discourse, the study will draw on both personal and ‘collective’ memories. Two sub-chapters highlight the characteristics of prosthetic memories and media recollections. Finally, a section on physical/digital archives draws a picture of the changing notion of archives in the course of the time referring both to Germany and Spain, because only what has been stored can be made productive again for the uses of nostalgia.

3.1. Memory

As highlighted by Schmidt (1991, p. 9), despite its almost century-long history, there exists no consistent theory of memory at all. Nevertheless, inside the philosophic-cultural-historical and the biologic-physiologic discourses on memory some concepts seem to build some kind of denominators. As Schmidt (1991, p. 26) and Parkin (1993, p. 2) note, in experimental psychology William James’ (1890) concept of the memory became generally accepted. James (1890) as referred to by Parkin (1993, p. 2) basically distinguishes short-term and long-term memory as primary and secondary memory. According to Eysenck and Keane (2005, p. 191), primary memory or short-term memory is built up by information that remains in the consciousness after its perception, and that belongs to the “psychological present”. Secondary or long-term memory “contains information about events that have left consciousness and are therefore part of the psychological past” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 191), such as our last vacation or how to drive a car (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 229). Hereby, following the literature (Schmidt, 1991, p. 11; see also Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 261 on every day memory),

store-house concepts of the memory are mostly rejected. Instead, memory is conceptualised as being under permanent construction (see e.g. Schmidt, 1991, p. 11).²⁶

3.1.1. Personal memory

Except for Gehlen (1976, p. 438), who settles the reference time of nostalgia from 1850 to the pre-First World War era, and in so doing declares personal experience to an unnecessary condition, the scholars of nostalgia discourse (see e.g. Hart, 1973; Davis, 1979; Fischer, 1980; Lowenthal, 1986) agree that nostalgia somehow refers to personal memory or individual memory, which in cognitive psychology (Robinson, 1992; Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 263 ff.) is also called “autobiographical memory”.

“[A]utobiographical memory is memory of events of one’s own life” (Conway and Rubin, 1993 cited in Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 263). According to Howe and Courage (1997), as referred to by Eysenck and Keane (2005, p. 264), it emerges with “the development of the cognitive self late in the second year of life” and, as investigations from cognitive psychology show, it is most active “between 10 and 30, and especially between 15 and 25” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 263) – a phenomenon that is also called a “reminiscence bump” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 266). Autobiographical memory, according to Robinson (1992, p. 244), as a kind of long-term memory, “can be distinguished from knowledge of other peoples experiences or public events, and from general knowledge and skills” (Robinson, 1992, p. 223). As Ebbrecht highlights with reference to Welzer (2005), “next to a cognitive-reflexive dimension the memories always also have an ‘emotional tone’” (Ebbrecht, 2008, p. 88 [o.t.])²⁷.

Investigating autobiographical memory is to a large degree related to the way we “organize” and “retrieve” information of our personal past (Parkin, 1993, p. 5 [o.t.]). Therefore, people’s accounts of their experiences are seen as “influenced by various motivational factors” and contextual factors, such as the occasion of the recall (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 262), “the location of remembering as well as the location of the event remembered” (Kumar et al., 2006, p. 211). Additionally, Barclay and Hodges (1988) as referred to by Robinson (1992, p. 237) argue that “memories are regularly reconfigured as we revise our self-perceptions and personal histories”. Furthermore, state Eysenck and Keane (2005, pp. 263, 269), what is stored in the autobiographical

²⁶ Schmidt (1991, p. 11 [o.t.]) refers here to Müller’s (1911-1917) concept of the “creative role of memory” and Bartlett’s (1932) work on the “dynamic character” of retention and recall.

²⁷ Original quotation: “*Neben einer kognitiven-reflexiven Dimension haben Erinnerungen dabei auch eine ‘emotionale Tönung’* (Welzer 2005: 36)” (Ebbrecht, 2008, p. 88).

memory is influenced by the goals of the working-self, such as life goals, emotions and personal meaning. Mills and Coleman (1994), as cited in Wilson (1999), explicitly call nostalgia a “type of autobiographical memory”.

Similarly, it is also formulated by the philosophic-cultural-historical discourse on personal memory. Despite the fact that memory is grasped as an “active process” of permanent reworking (Popular Memory Group, 1982, p. 243), following Halbwachs, authors such as Assmann (2006, p. 25) note that individual memory is also socially determined by its dependence on oral exchange. For this reason, Assmann (2006, p. 25) also calls individual memory “communicative memory”. “By telling, listening, questioning and retelling”, she stresses, “the radius of the individual memories expands” (Assmann, 2006, pp. 25 f. [o.t.])²⁸, in so far that it comprises various generations (Assmann, 2006, p. 26). This means that the boundaries between personal memories and for instance family memories are blurred (Assmann, 2006, p. 206). Since human beings are integrated in different so-called “*Wir-Gruppen*”, [we-groups], they share memories on different layers (Assmann, 2006, p. 22 [o.t.]). Family is only one of them. According to Assmann (2006, p. 22), others may be, for example, peer groups or generations. Regarding the latter, each person is influenced by certain “*Schlüsselerfahrungen*” [key experiences] of his age group, and shares “*kulturelle Deutungsmuster*” [cultural interpretative patterns], worldviews, or values with it (Assmann, 2006, p. 26 [o.t.]). As Assmann (2006, p. 26) notes, Karl Mannheim called this “*Generationengedächtnis*” [generational memory]. In this context he introduced the term “*entelechies*” (Mannheim, 1951 cited in Volkmer, 2006a, p. 7) which, according to Volkmer (2006a, p. 7), refers to the “underlying structure of common experiences of each generation”. This development from the individual to the social memory becomes especially apparent in the case of media memories (see 3.1.4.).

3.1.2. ‘Collective’ memory

As previously shown, the nostalgia discourse does not solely relate to nostalgias that arise in the private, but also that arise in broader contexts. Davis (1979) for instance, refers to “collective nostalgia” which, one can assume, is based in collective memories. Collective memory is also a topic of the memory discourse. According to Schmidt (1991, p. 39 [o.t.]), “cognitive parallelism and homogeneity” generated via, for example,

²⁸ Original quotation: “*Durch Erzählen, Zuhören, Nachfragen und Weitererzählen dehnt sich der Radius der eigenen Erinnerung aus*” (Assmann, 2006, pp. 25 f.).

common socialisation or the use of mass media, “intersubjectively allow the complex construction of ‘narrative families’, which also can be seen as an equivalent of the term ‘collective memory’”²⁹.

Nevertheless, the distinction between individual and collective memory is something that has been applied in everyday use, but which has often been questioned critically by scientists (see e.g. Assmann, 2006, pp. 29 ff.). According to Assmann (2006, p. 35), the term collective memory is much too “vague”. It is rather that both the intergenerational social memory, which has its basis in different social groups, and the trans-generational cultural memory, which bases upon symbolical storage media such as photographs and films, contain collective elements (Assmann, 2006, pp. 35 f., 54, 60). From individual to collective, notes Assmann (2006, p. 59), memory passes through various ‘we-groups’. ‘Collective’ “in a narrow sense can only be called those memory formations, which together with strong bonds of loyalty also produce strongly standardized we-identities” (Assmann, 2006, p. 36 [o.t.])³⁰. The author (2006, p. 36) refers here exemplary to ‘national’ memory.

3.1.2.1. Excursus: retrieval of memories

In regards to autobiographical memories within cognitive psychology (see e.g. Eysenck and Keane 2005) two forms of retrieval are distinguished – generative retrieval and direct retrieval. Generative retrieval, according to Conway et al. (2001) as cited in Eysenck and Keane (2005, p. 269), signifies the way in which “‘memories are actively and intentionally constructed through an interaction between the working self goal structure and the autobiographical memory knowledge base’”. It is a form of voluntary memory (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 269). Direct retrieval, involving involuntary memories, “occurs when someone encounters a specific cue that causes activation to spread from the relevant specific autobiographical memory to more general associated memories” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 269). In this context, Teer-Tomaselli also talks about so-called “triggers” – “stimuli that recall particular memories” (Teer-Tomaselli,

²⁹ Original quotation: “*Kognitive Parallelität und Homogenität, die zum Aufbau eines vergleichbaren Wirklichkeitsmodells und zur Verpflichtung aller Handlungen und Erlebnisse auf dieses Modell führen* (Heijl, 1987), erlauben intersubjektiv die Konstruktion von ‘Erzählfamilien’, die als Äquivalent des Ausdrucks ‘kollektives Gedächtnis’ angesehen werden können” (Schmidt, 1991, p. 39).

³⁰ Original quotation: “*In einem engeren Sinne ‘kollektiv’ kann allein eine Gedächtnisformation genannt werden, die zusammen mit starken Loyalitätsbindungen auch starke vereinheitlichte Wir-Identitäten hervorbringt*” (Assmann, 2006, p. 36).

2006, p. 242).³¹ Sutton (2010) suggests that these processes may both work on a conscious and on an unconscious level:

“He [the person who remembers] may simply find himself tearful, the music making him sad because of its previous coupling with affliction in his experience, although he remains unaware of this association. Alternatively, he may be well aware of the specific and tragic past occasions on which he has heard the galliard, perhaps being able to give detailed affective, temporal, and contextual information about those past experiences, and perhaps even to use this knowledge to work through the revived emotions”.
(Sutton, 2010)

Referring to the results of his own research on the subject, Berntsen (1998) as cited in Eysenck and Keane (2005, p. 271) highlights, that “we maintain a considerable amount of specific episodes in memory which may often be inaccessible for voluntary [generative] retrieval but highly accessible for involuntary [direct] retrieval”. This point is especially interesting, since the philosophic-cultural-historical discourse often relates nostalgia to involuntary memories. Some authors go even so far as to restrict nostalgia to this kind of retention. One example to which several authors refer is Marcel Proust’s description of the so-called “*mémoire involontaire*” in *In Search of Lost Time*, suggesting that “[t]he past is hidden somewhere [...] beyond the reach of the intellect, in some material object [...] which we do not suspect” (Proust, cited in Klippel, 1997, p. 15). According to Hart (1973, p. 401), the works of Proust have “given expression to the basic elements of the experience” of nostalgia. The author thus restricts the nostalgic longing to its involuntary aspects and stresses, “a nostalgic past, unlike a memory of the past [...] cannot be recalled at will” (Hart, 1973, p. 397). Schivelbusch (1973, p. 275 [o.t.]) draws a similar picture, describing the Bergson-Proustian *mémoire involontaire* as the “*persönlich-privatistische Variante*” [personal-private variant] of nostalgia.

The retrieval of emotions is a different case. According to Claparède (1911), as cited in Bennett (2003, p. 27), “[i]t is impossible to feel emotions as past. One cannot be a spectator of one own feelings; one feels them, or one does not feel them; one cannot imagine them without stripping them of their affective essence”. From this, Bennett states that “[e]motions are felt only as they are experienced in the present; in memory they become ideas, representations, and representation inherently implies distance, perspective” (Bennett, 2003, p. 27). Nevertheless, this does not mean that

³¹ See also Hoskin (2004, p. 110) on “iconic events” in television which work as triggers in order to release specific memories.

emotions stay irretrievable. As previously mentioned, memory is always infused with an “emotional tone” (Welzer, 2005 cited in Ebbrecht, 2008, p. 88). In this case cues or triggers may serve to reactivate the previously felt emotion. Therefore, Bennett (2003, p. 27) states, referring to James, “if emotions are not retrievable from memory, they are *revivable*; hence, we don’t remember grief or ecstasy, but by recalling a situation that produces those sensations we can produce a new bout of emotion”.

3.1.3. Postmemory and prosthetic memory

As previously discussed, various authors from within the nostalgia discourse draw on the possibility of ‘transmitted’ memories as a basis for nostalgia. Nevertheless, relating these questions, the lines of argument are diverse, and the theoretical foundation is unclear. With Assmann (2006), we have seen that the individual memory is always interrelated with the memories of other ‘we-groups’. Assmann already comes to talk on the subject of (media-) ‘transmitted’ memories (see e.g. Assmann, 2006, pp. 59 ff.; 133). The philosophic-cultural-historical discourse on memory offers here two further useful concepts: firstly, Alison Landsberg’s concept of the prosthetic memory (Landsberg, 1995; 1997), and secondly, Marianne Hirsch’s work on postmemory (see e.g. Hirsch, 2001). Both authors somehow break with the distinction of ‘real’ and ‘unreal’ memories. Both authors somehow let the, as Radstone and Hodgkin (2003, p. 2) describe it, “boundaries between individuals” melt and at the same time make the melting of the boundaries between the memories of the different, ‘we-groups’ (Assmann, 2006), more tangible.

With the term “prosthetic” Landsberg signifies memories that, in contrast to autobiographic memories, “do not come from a person’s lived experience in a strict sense” (Landsberg, 1995, p. 175). Nevertheless, as she suggests, they cannot be distinguished from these ‘real’ memories, as they have been “experienced with one’s own body” (Landsberg, 1997, p. 66). Mass media, such as theme parks, interactive museums such as the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, film, and television builds the centre of her argument. This is because, according to Landsberg (1995, p. 179), what individuals see and explore via mass media “might affect them so significantly” that it “actually become[s] part of their own personal archives of experience”. This potential of the media, above all the transgenerational ‘transmission’ of knowledge, becomes especially important against the background of eye-witnesses of the Holocaust, who are dying out – a point that is outlined in a later article of Landsberg

(1997). Her main argument is that despite the always claimed threatening danger of “historical revisionism”, mass media with its potential for stimulating prosthetic memory also “provide individuals with a public opportunity to have an experiential relationship to a collective or cultural past” (Landsberg, 1997, p. 74).

Furthermore, Hirsch’s concept of so-called postmemories describes the possibility of a kind of ‘transmission’ or adoption of memories. She developed her theory originally in the context of Holocaust memories (see e.g. Hirsch, 2001). Postmemory in this context describes the

“relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents. [...] Experiences that they ‘remember’ only as the narratives and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to construct memories in their own right”. (Hirsch, 2001, p. 9)

It is “retrospective witnessing by adoption” (Hirsch, 2001, p. 10). Nevertheless, this is the first strict sense of the term presented by Hirsch. Firstly, in a wider sense, postmemory is not restricted to families (Hirsch, 2001, p. 9). Therefore, the author (2001b, pp. 9 f.) states, “through particular forms of identification, adoption, and projection, it can be more broadly [transgenerationally] available”. Secondly, as Hirsch and Spitzer (2002, p. 257) explain in a later work, it is not exclusively linked to cultural or collective trauma but it can also be applied on the adoption of positive, nostalgic memories. The nostalgia ‘transmitted’ to the next generation expresses itself again in a, according to Hirsch and Spitzer (2002, p. 263), “rootless” nostalgia – “a longing driven by the layered postmemories”. In this point Hirsch and Spitzer differ from Landsberg, who seems to break with the distinction of ‘real’ and ‘unreal’ memories. Nevertheless, both concepts make nostalgia on the basis of adopted memories probable and allow this study to widen the reference-time of nostalgia, regarding both the layer of the text and the layer of reception.

3.1.4. Media memories

Media memories can somehow be situated on each of the previously mentioned layers – individual, ‘collective’, and prosthetic. With the increase of leisure time in the modern era, “the prominence of mass media cultural products in our lives has [...] been greatly accelerated” (Davis, 1979, p. 127). Furthermore, states Böhn (2007, p. 146), “they are also the object of our personal memory” and biography.

Hackl (2001, p. 88) shows, with reference to Du Bois (1993), that we remember media contents, such as television programmes, often better and recall them easier than, for example personal family experiences. What is remembered, state Hoffmann and Kutscha (2010, p. 226) in the context of films, may have once caused intensive emotions. Aside from this, media memories may work as cues or anchors by which recipients recall emotions that were, for instance, related to the reception (Hoffmann and Kutscha, 2010, p. 226) or whole reception situations (Böhn, 2007). As Böhn (2007, p. 145) argues, “the circumstances of the moment of our first hearing [of a special song] will often be remembered when we here the same music again”. The same applies to television programmes. Perhaps every reader of this work has a personal experience with this kind of remembrance. Thus, as O’Sullivan (1991, p. 163) shows, early television memory “tends to function as a point of symbolic, biographical reference”. The media memories are entwined with our personal life stories. Apart from memories of specific programmes, the author shows that “[m]any of the recollections of TV in the period appear to function as ‘markers’ for remembered domestic situations or celebrations involving particular relatives or friendships” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 170) but also “historical events and process” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 172).

Later, in a further step, media memories become one crucial factor that generates the previously mentioned fluidity between the memories of different ‘we-groups’. As Kompare notes in the national context of the USA, “some of [...] [the] country’s most prominent collective memories of the last 50 years have centered on television” (Kompare, 2005, p. 106). Therefore to continue without the disputed term ‘collective’, it can be assumed that media memories reinforce so-called ‘we-identities’ by, as it can be said with Palacio (2008, p. 11 [o.t.])³², “unifying” recipients against those who do not know the programmes.

“Past television clearly functions in this manner today, as a cultural and historical resource for all generations. It is widely used as a cultural touchstone, instantly signifying particular times”. (Kompare, 2005, p. 103)

This point does not only apply to the national level. As it could be shown by several studies in the context of *The Global Media Project* (Volkmer, 2006), media experiences differ between different age groups. According to Volkmer (2006a, p. 6), “media and the

³² “[V]er televisión y el acervo histórico de recuerdos televisivos son elementos de lo más reconocible en la autoidentidad de las comunidades: lo que nos unifica frente a los ‘otros’ que no han visto los mismos programas que nosotros” (Palacio, 2008, p. 11).

increasing global news flow has, in fact, created very similar generational specific worldviews and very particular notions of the global public space”. Media events such as royal weddings or football World Cups “are often of considerable interest to many populations” and become integrated in the memories of a ‘global’ audience (Moran, 2010, p. 14).³³ Not to mention that formats today, more than ever, are traded worldwide (Moran, 2010, p. 15). With Moragas and Prado (2000), it can be assumed that in a European, respectively Spanish/German, context this applies above all to American fiction – the “common denominator of European taste” (Moragas and Prado, 2000, p. 230 [o.t.])³⁴. Additionally, the internet shares content throughout the world, so that “generations growing up worldwide dispose of media-shaped ‘experiential contexts’” (Volkmer, 2005, p. 235, [o.t.])³⁵.

Finally, media memories are strongly linked to the mediation of memories – the bridge to what has been previously described under the terms prosthetic or postmemory (see chapter 3.1.3.). Also, in this case, the process cannot be restricted to the national level. As Lipsitz (1994, p. 5) puts it, “consumers of electronic mass media can experience a common heritage with people they have never seen, they can acquire memories of a past to which they have no geographic or biological connection”.

3.2. Physical and digital archives

It has been shown that memory from individual to social through to cultural memory relies on the interchange of narratives between different individuals and ‘we-groups’. As Klippel and Winkler (1994, p. 125 f.) stress, in non-literate societies this interchange has been organised via oral transmission of repeated texts. “Literate societies additionally build up storages or archives, in which media documents are collected and are made available again for the individual production of sense” (Schmidt, 1991, p. 46 [o.t.])³⁶. As various authors (see e.g. Assmann and Assmann, 1990 cited in Schmidt, 1991, p. 46;

³³ The term ‘global’ as it is used by Volkmer should here not be interpreted in a very strict sense. Maybe ‘widely shared’ would also be suitable. Moran argues for instance that “[w]hile collective audiences of these events fall into billions, nevertheless there are viewers and even nations bypassed by such coverage. Global television seems as much a phantom as local television” (Moran, 2010, p. 14).

³⁴ Original quotation: “*el denominador común del gust europeo*” (Moragas and Prado, 2000, p. 230).

³⁵ Original quotation: “*Während im 19. Jahrhundert Jugendgenerationen in Japan, Deutschland und Mexiko kaum Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen, verfügen gegenwärtig weltweit aufwachsende Generationen über medial geprägte ‘Erfahrungszusammenhänge’*” (Volkmer, 2005, p. 235).

³⁶ Original quotation: “*Schriftliche Gesellschaften bauen daneben Speicher und Archive auf, in denen Mediendokumente gesammelt und für individuelle Sinnproduktion wieder zur Verfügung gestellt werden können*” (Schmidt, 1991, p. 46).

Innis, 1972, p. 10) highlight, consequently the range of the individual memory is extended, and it becomes “verifiable” (Innis, 1972, p. 10).

Nevertheless, as states Wirth (2005, p. 17 f.), the pure existence of archives does not mean that everything is collected and that everything is accessible to everybody. Firstly, only the things that are seen as valuable from the perspective of the specific culture at a certain time are stored (Wirth, 2005, p. 17 f.; Groys, 2004, p. 56). Secondly, regarding access, “public, private, and secret archives” have to be distinguished (Wirth, 2005, p. 18 [o.t.])³⁷. Furthermore, authors (Wirth, 2005, p. 25 f.; Edmondson, 1997) refer to further difficulties of the restricted physical durability and format obsolescence. It is for this reason that many scholars note that archives today are rather “dynamic systems of self-organized liquid data” (Assmann, 2001 cited in Wirth, 2005, p. 25 [o.t.])³⁸ with the internet as the epitome of this development (Wirth, 2005, p. 25).

3.2.1. Television archives in Germany and Spain

In regards to television, the previously outlined scenario is indeed quite fitting. As Nelson and Cooke (2010, p. xviii) highlight, “[m]any archives remain patchy in their coverage and difficult to access, and some material is, of course, irretrievably lost because transmitted live prior to recording technologies”. On the example of archive access to German *Fernsehspiele* (television plays), Anderson (2010, p. 101) points out “numerous dilemmas for the prospective researcher” to access archive material. In general, states Anderson (2010, p. 94), three categories of difficulties appear – “incompleteness, insularity, regionalisation”. Only the first is important for the research presented here.

Aside from the fact that early television was a live-medium and only partly recorded on film (Ernst, 2007, pp. 168 f.), throughout television history and particularly in the period between 1950 and 1960, both in East and in West Germany preservation was not always a priority (Anderson, 2010, p. 93). With reference to Pollert (1996) Anderson (2010) notes that private broadcasters, permitted in Germany since the early 1980s, “have long refused to commit themselves to archive their own materials for reasons other than their own commercial interests” (Anderson, 2010, p. 93). In other

³⁷ Original quotation: “*So ist zwischen öffentlichen, privaten und geheimen Archiven zu unterscheiden*” (Wirth, 2005, p. 18).

³⁸ Original quotation: “*An die Stelle der Suche nach einem ‘dauerhaften Datenträger’ tritt eine archivistische Praxis, in der Schrift und Archiv zu einem ‘dynamischen System der Selbstorganisation flüssiger Daten’ geworden ist*” (Assmann, 2001 cited in Wirth, 2005, p. 25).

cases “some records have been deleted, destroyed, or lost” (Anderson, 2010, p. 95). A legal depository as it exists for the publication of books does not exist for film (see Orbanz, 2007, p. 83; Lersch, 2008). However, in 2006, a German Television Museum was founded (Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, 2012). Although the museum also misses some documents, and struggles with licences, copyrights and a lack of financing (Niggemeier, 2006), the institution nevertheless contributes to the legitimacy of television as a cultural value. At least public service broadcasters have been more ambitious regarding the online availability of current programmes. However, the so-called *Telemedienkonzept* “requires that ARD and ZDF remove certain videos from their web portals after a period of time” (Berthold et al., 2010, p. 14).

The state of television archives in Spain is not very different. Despite the fact that regular transmissions of Spanish television have officially existed since 1956 (Palacio, 2001, p. 31) – the same year that magnetic recording has been made possible by Ampex³⁹ (see also Fernández-Quijada and Fortino, 2009, p. 546) – in 2008 the archive situation was far from being perfect, and access to historical programme sources was extremely difficult (Palacio, 2008, p. 12). As described by Palacio (2008, p. 12), as well as the access to the archives of the public broadcaster *Radiotelevisión Española* (RTVE) being restricted, its first Documentation Centre was not launched until 1982. “A huge amount of previous material has not been catalogued or is missing” (Palacio, 2008, p. 12 [o.t.])⁴⁰. This was a similar situation with private television channels, which were launched in 1990 (Palacio, 2008, p. 12). Today, the state of affairs is only slightly different. There are few regulations that obligate the channels to store their programmes – not to mention the non-existence of a legal deposit (Fernández-Quijada and Fortino, 2009, p. 546). A public television archive still does not exist, nor does a public television museum.

Nevertheless, television did arrive in the museum. For example the exhibitions “TV World. Television Culture” (*Món TV. La cultura de la televisió*) launched in 1999 in the *Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona* (CCCB) and “Are you ready for TV?” (*¿Estáis listos para la televisión?*) launched in 2010 in the *Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona* (MACBA) can here be named.⁴¹ As Fernández-Quijada

³⁹ Palacio hints to the fact that Spanish television was live until around the mid-1960s (Palacio, 2008, p. 145).

⁴⁰ Original quotation: “*Por no decir que el Centro de Documentación de RTVE se abrió en 1982 y buena parte de los materiales previos están descatalogados o desaparecidos*” (Palacio, 2008, p. 12).

⁴¹ While the first treated with the representation of reality in television and its social impact and contained

and Fortino (2009, p. 545) explain, the private channels still show little ambition in preserving and making available television's heritage. However, since 2006 the legal obligations for the public service broadcasters have been strengthened, obligating RTVE to "digitise, conserve and preserve" the archive and to facilitate its availability (Ministerio de la Presidencia, 2006 [o.t.]⁴²; Fernández-Quijada and Fortino, 2009, p. 546). This also applies to the accessibility of current content via the internet. While public broadcasters grant access to an ordered collection of complete versions of their contents in parts up to the 1980s⁴³, on the internet only some of the private channels' more recent programmes can be accessed (see e.g. Antena3, 2012; Telecinco, 2012). Apart from that, internet portals such as YouTube or storage media such as DVDs have at least supported a selective, and in parts, fragmented access to the television archives both in Germany and in Spain.

3.3. Conclusion

As shown previously regarding the memory discourse, memory is not an archive but instead is conceptualised as something that undergoes permanent reconstruction. Built up around the second year of an individual and especially active between the age of 10 and 30 (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 263), its structuring and recall is influenced among others by personal goals and societal expectations (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, pp. 269, 263). With Assmann (2006) it can be stated that there are no clear distinguishable boundaries between for instance, individual memory and the memory of the family. Thus, as Assmann highlights, "[a]lready the memory of individual experience is underlined and interwoven with the experiences of others, since it is built in the

everything from television series, over documentaries and newsreels up to game shows (Balló, 1999), the latter approaches television from a rather highbrow perspective, which is above all reflected in its selection. The exposition, highlights Martínez, has "no museological strategy" (Martínez, 2010a, p. 8) nor does it want to gather the popular Spanish television heritage. Instead it presents a choice of worldwide works of artists and philosophers such as Jean-Luc Godard, Guy Debord, Richard Serra, Carlota Fay Schoolman, or Andy Warhol, who, as the curator suggests, "were, or are, outside of their time" (Martínez, 2010) and only "pretending to be television" (Martínez, 2010a, p. 7). This is surely far from the "validation of the popular" as it is for instance described by Kompare (2005, p. 102) in the US-American context.

⁴² Original quotation: "*la Corporación Rtve tiene la obligación, en el período de vigencia del presente Mandato-Marco, de digitalizar, conservar y preservar en condiciones óptimas para su uso y consulta, el archivo histórico heredado de Rtve [...]. La Corporación Rtve facilitará que esos archivos tengan presencia en buscadores y puedan ser visualizados o escuchados a través de las redes telemáticas, fijas y móviles*" (Ministerio de la Presidencia, 2006).

⁴³ See e.g. the coverage of *Cuéntame cómo pasó* on RTVE A la carta which goes back to 2002 (RTVE a la carta, 2011). In 2011, the collection of TVEs daily news *Telediario* reaches back to 14.4.2008 and offers complete versions (RTVE a la carta, 2011a). Apart from that an archive with 'historical' pieces is accessible (RTVE a la carta, 2011b).

communicative exchange and therefore depending on inter-linkage and confirmation” (Assmann, 2006, p. 59 [o.t.]).⁴⁴ Scholars from the *Popular Memory Group* highlight, that “[p]rivate memory cannot [...] be unscrambled from the effects of dominant historical discourses” (Popular Memory Group, 1982, p. 211).

The membership and participation in different ‘we-groups’ (Assmann, 2006, p. 59) is of particular relevance. Non-existent own experiences may be replaced by “*Sekundärerfahrung*” [secondary experience] (Assmann, 2006, pp. 59 f.). Furthermore, there is evidence that memories may also be subsequently ‘created’ by using mass media. Therefore, media contents are not only part of personal memories as they are part of the personal lives of the viewers, or of the memory of different ‘we-groups’, and work as triggers and anchors for personally made experiences or group experiences, they may also serve in order to ‘transmit’ memories of actions and events that have not been personally experienced by an individual. In order to explain this, this study draws on two theoretical approaches; Hirsch’s (2001) concept of “postmemories” and Landsberg’s (1995) concept of the so-called “prosthetic memories”. They describe the possibility of a trans-generational and up to trans-cultural adoption of memories. Finally it can be stated what Ebbrecht (2008), with reference on Welzer (2005), highlights:

“Memory traces of personal experiences which have taken place in a different space-time context, the revival of personal emotions or emotions conveyed by the media, such as the import of ‘foreign’ memories merge into the memory experience (see Welzer 2005, 40)”. (Ebbrecht, 2008, p. 90 [o.t.])⁴⁵

Using this background, several assumptions and conclusions concerning nostalgia can be made both regarding the textual part of nostalgia and the part of reception. Firstly, considering that autobiographical memory is especially active during the so-called “reminiscence bump” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, pp. 263 ff.) we may suggest that nostalgia towards this time span is likewise explicitly active. This also coincides with the sociologist Davis (1979, p. 60) who notes that late teenager-years are often an object of nostalgia. Additionally, Kumar et al. (2006, p. 219) observed in the context of *The*

⁴⁴ Original quotation: “*Bereits das Erfahrungsgedächtnis ist allerdings immer schon durch die Erfahrungen anderer unterfüttert und von ihnen durchwirkt, weil es im kommunikativen Austausch aufgebaut wird und deshalb auf Anschlussstellen und Bestätigung angewiesen ist*” (Assmann, 2006, p. 59).

⁴⁵ Original quotation: “*Erinnerungsspuren an eigenes Erleben, das auch in einem ganz anderen raumzeitlichen Kontext stattgefunden hat, das Wiedererwecken von eigenen oder medial tradierten Emotionen so wie der Import von ‘fremden’ Erinnerungen verschmelzen zum Erinnerungserlebnis (vgl. Welzer 2005, 40)*” (Ebbrecht 2008: 90).

Global Media Project that the nostalgic colouring of memory may increase with the temporal distance. Both points have to be kept in mind with regard to the reception study. Secondly, the notion of multiple nostalgias has an additional meaning. It cannot only refer to the reflective meta-layers, such as the question of whether a text explores or a viewer experiences a simple, a reflexive, or an interpreted kind of nostalgia (Davis, 1979, pp. 18 ff.), it also refers to the question of whether nostalgia is personal or 'shared', and whether it is based on 'real' or 'prosthetic' memories.⁴⁶ Therefore, this section on memory could help to underpin and examine major aspects and help to clarify some discrepancies and uncertainties.

Firstly, since the boundaries between the different memories are vague, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish whether nostalgia is individual or 'shared'. Secondly, even though they are shared, 'collective' in the strict sense are only a few memories such as 'national' memory (Assmann, 2006, p. 36). This is also congruent with works on transcultural media research (Hepp, 2009). As Hepp (2009) states, it is on the level of "nation" and "association of nations" where "territorial cultural thickenings" appear. Therefore what Davis (1979, p. 122) calls "collective nostalgia" shall in the course of the study rather be broken down into several 'we'-nostalgias. Only Boym's "restorative nostalgia", that "evokes national past and future" (Boym, 2001, p. 49), will be seen as collective in a strict sense.

Since Europe, which will be important regarding the country-comparison in this study, as it seems can only be partly seen as a memory-based cultural community (Assmann, 2006, p. 250 ff.), it can be assumed that on this level there will be less 'shared' nostalgia. On the other hand, with the rise of the 'global' audience and the rise of trans-border media memories⁴⁷, trans-border or global nostalgias can be expected (see Feyerabend 2009, p.5). As Feyerabend (2009, p. 5) states, a "general cultural nostalgia, which functions not only on a national level but indeed on a more global or transnational scope" becomes possible. According to Hepp (2009), next to "diaspora", "social movements" and "religious communities" it is "popular cultural communities" where "deterritorial cultural thickening" (Hepp, 2009) appears.

⁴⁶ In consumer studies Havlena and Holak "discuss nostalgia imagery using a four-way typology - personal, interpersonal, cultural, and virtual - based on two dimensions related to: (1) whether the nostalgia is personal or collective in nature and (2) whether it results from direct or indirect experience" (Holak and Havlena, 1998, p. 224).

⁴⁷ Apart from that Higson also refers to the fact that "cross-cultural intertextuality [...] is such a strong feature of contemporary aesthetics" (Higson, 2003, p. 6).

The term prosthetic memory or postmemory is also relevant here. In order to be able to define some possible time spans of nostalgia texts and target groups of nostalgia, the question was whether nostalgia only refers to first-hand experiences, or if they may also be based on a kind of adopted memory. With the theories on prosthetic memory and postmemory, the possibility of nostalgia on the basis of a ‘transmitted’ memory has been supported. Apart from that, also the ‘transmission’ of nostalgia (see Hirsch and Spitzer, 2002, p. 257) has been shown as possible. In this context, both those series temporarily located in the distant past and those located in a more recent past could work as basis for memory-related nostalgia.

Media contents play a crucial role here. They are not only the provider of a basis of ‘shared’ experiences. Feyerabend highlights:

“[A] member of the so-called ‘Generation X’ can watch the same film and – in spite of not having shared the filmed experience (which, in this case, takes place before the viewer is born) – relate to the content and harbor a nostalgic notion for one or several aspects for what is seen: for example, a fondness for Marilyn Monroe, interest in the filmic genre, an adoration of 1950s culture, music, architecture, and so on, all of which will, at least through the ‘mediating’ experience of the mass media and postmemory, have entered his/her mnemonic archive”. (Feyerabend, 2009, pp. 46 f.)

They are part of the personal lives of the viewers, or of the memory of different ‘we-groups’ and may thus be the object of nostalgia, they may work as triggers for personally made experiences or group experiences, but they may also serve in order to ‘transmit’ memories of actions and events that have not been personally experienced by the subject and provoke nostalgia on that layer.

A viewer may be nostalgic towards aspects of a series or experiences made with it, he/she may be nostalgic towards an experience or situation whereby the series works as cue or anchor to recall that⁴⁸, and it may help provoking nostalgia towards, for example the 1960s, as something that has been experienced in the course of the reception of a film about the 1960s.

Finally, the section contained a sub-chapter about physical/digital archives. They are important for nostalgia in two respects: on the one hand they make the contents of the past available for the (nostalgic) reuse in the present (see e.g. Fischer, 1980, p. 196;

⁴⁸ Davis explains this in the context of the interrelations between personal and ‘collective’ memory: “[A] nostalgic summoning of ‘everybody’s favorite song from 1943’ (essentially a collectively oriented symbol) may inwardly shade off into some very private reminiscences of a particular romance in a particular place on a particular day, replete with special fragrances, sounds, and visual traces” (Davis, 1979, p. 124).

Huyssen, 1995 cited in Hutcheon, 2000, p. 197). On the other hand, they play a part in the valorisation of the past (see e.g. Kompare, 2005, p. 101 ff.), a matter that will be relevant in the context of nostalgia and reruns and remakes. Not only regarding the side of reception, but also regarding the side of the text, it will have to be clarified in which way the different nostalgia 'genres' relate to the archive respectively to memory. In this respect we may also talk about multiple nostalgias, and this chapter will be important to the later analysis.

4. Aesthetic emotions – on nostalgia's relationship to the present

As a last step towards the analysis of nostalgia in television, this section draws on emotions as part of the film and television studies' discourse. After briefly drawing on the history of the discipline in general, firstly it shall be shown in which way nostalgia fits the definition of emotions, and secondly, the different ways of the audiovisual text to provoke emotive reactions in its viewers shall be studied. Tan's categorisation of (sub-) types of emotions experienced by the film viewer will serve as a basis for the description. As Tan (1996, p. 1 ff.) explains, in comparison to scholars who predominantly studied emotions in relation to single film genres, his approach attempts to give a more general, exemplary insight into the emotional potential of film, which is what makes it also transferable to television. According to Tan (1996, p. 81), "[t]he first classification of film emotions is related to the aspect of the stimulus on which the situational meaning is based, namely, either the fictional action or the film as artefact". In a second classification the emotions are "characterized according to the criterion of empathy" (Tan, 1996, p. 82).

4.1. The discourse on emotions in film and television studies

While emotions belong to the object of psychology since its beginnings, the investigation of emotions in film, television, and media studies is relatively young (Tröhler and Hediger, 2005, p. 7 ff.). Thus, in early film studies up to the 1950s the legitimisation of film as an art was central (Tröhler and Hediger, 2005, p. 7). Also in later strands within film theory, Tröhler and Hediger (2005, p. 10) refer for instance to Bordwell's (1989) cognitivist approach, the study of emotions had less importance. Today, many scholars focus their study on the emotive reactions on film. In one group, Tröhler and Hediger (2005) refer to Serge Daney, Pascal Bonitzer, Raymond Bellour,

Jacques Aumont, Nicole Brenez, Laura Marks, or Guiliana Bruno, and in a separate group they refer to authors such as Noël Carroll, Murray Smith, Ed Tan, Peter Wuss, Torben Grodal, Linda Williams, Christine Noll Brinckmann, and Hans Jürgen Wulff. Following the authors' approach (Tröhler and Hediger, 2005, p. 10 ff.), the first group can be seen as the 'philosophic-aesthetic' strand of study, while the latter belongs to the 'psychological-cognitivist' one, which will be dominantly applied in this section. It we may assume that most of the assessments made in the context of film are likewise transferable to television (see e.g. Tan, 1996, p. 37).

Besides, these works have also influenced the study of emotions in media and television studies. As shown by Krotz (1993, p. 90 f.), in media and television studies, emotional affects are investigated as a significant aspect of the reception of television. In the early 1990s, Krotz (1993, p. 94) referred to a row of scholars who deal with the subject of emotions in the context of television, among them Herta Sturm, Herta Herzog, Jan-Uwe Rogge, Dolf Zillmann, or Saxer and Märki-Koepp. In describing television as a "flow of feeling", Krotz (1992, p. 115) himself declares the emotive aspect of television as a defining factor of the medium. A broad range from articles to chapters to complete monographs (see e.g. Prado, 1999; Mikos, 2001, p. 110 ff.; Döveling, 2005; Bartsch et al., 2007; Döveling et al., 2011) shows that also in more recent times, the interest in emotions and television is just as important.

4.2. Characteristics of emotions

Much literature (see Zillmann, 2004, p. 102 ff.; Barlett and Gentile, 2011, p. 60) usually distinguishes between affect, emotions and moods. According to Barlett and Gentile (2011, p. 60), Larson (2000) "defines affect as a feeling tone that is evaluative, and can be either positive or negative, and comprises both mood and emotions". It is therefore a sort of overall category. Moods are not directed towards an object (Tan, 1996, p. 204; Zillmann, 2004, p. 108), they are characterised by a long duration and are also often described as having low affect intensity (Zillmann, 2004, p. 108). Emotions on the other hand are characterised by high affect intensity, shorter duration, and a higher directedness towards an object or a certain circumstance (Zillmann, 2004, p. 102, p. 108; Eder 2005: 227 ff.).

Frijda (1986, p. 453 ff.), who represents the so-called appraisal theory, now assumes that objects or circumstances acquire the characteristics of a stimulus because

they are respectively ‘appraised’ from the side of the subject. Tan (1996, p. 44), notes that the “emotional system is geared toward establishing the relevance of certain situations for the concerns of the individual and, if such relevance exists, to enforce the priority of cognition and action in accordance with those concerns”. According to the “*Bewertungsmuster*” [patterns of appraisal] (Mangold et al., 2001, p. 167), different emotions emerge. From this, we can state that (1) any “emotion signals a concern” (Tan, 2002, p. 32), and (2) any emotion may be defined by either “the consciousness of a change in action readiness⁴⁹, which is experienced as motivated or caused by situations that have been appraised in a specific manner” (Tan, 1996, p. 47) or by “the nature of the emotional object” (Frijda, 1986, p. 73). As Mikos (2001, p. 111) notes, the social component of emotions also has to be taken into consideration. According to the author, emotions are always related to the “*sozialen Realität der Individuen*” [social reality of the individuals] since they arise in “*situativen Rahmen sozialer Interaktionen*” [situative contexts of social interactions] (Mikos, 2001, p. 111 [o.t.]).

As Zillmann (2004, p. 104) describes, regarding the single emotions among scholars, there is only consensus about the so-called basic emotions fear and anger. While Plutchik (1962, 1980), as cited in Zillmann (2004, p. 104), additionally distinguishes joy, trust, surprise, sadness, disgust and anticipation, Ekman (1982, 1984) – referring to facial expressions – names six basic states of emotions, which are, apart from fear and anger, happiness and sadness, surprise and disgust (Zillmann, 2004, p. 105). Emotions that are not considered as basic are often described as specialisations of the latter (Tan, 2005, p. 267), or as “mixtures or blends” (Frijda, 1986, p. 72). Nevertheless, not all theorists agree in this point. According to Frijda (1986, p. 72) “most important nonbasic emotions can not be so defined”. The scholar (1986, p. 73) rather stays with his twofold model of definition, consisting of the factors ‘action-readiness’ and ‘emotional object’. This model shall also be referred to in order to further scrutinise nostalgia as an emotion.

4.2.1. Nostalgia as an emotion

Nostalgia is mentioned as emotion by various authors. While Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1999, p. 371), with reference to Starobinski (1966), describe nostalgia as “an emotional upheaval, related to the workings of memory”, Johnson and Multhaup (1992,

⁴⁹ “Emotional action tendencies [...] are states of readiness to archive or maintain a given kind of relationship with the environment” (Frijda, 1986, p. 75).

p. 39) list it among other “[e]motions or affective responses”, and Stearns (2008, p. 21) discusses nostalgia in the context of historical research on emotions. Gardner (1985), as referred to by Holak and Havlena (1998, p. 218), describes that “nostalgia may be experienced as an intense emotion, it is also likely to take the form of a weaker mood that colors the individual’s experience”.

In general, also from the perspective of a personal experience, it can be argued that nostalgia fits the criteria of the definition of emotions. As other emotive reactions nostalgia, which is provoked for example during the course of watching a television series, may be temporarily limited and directed towards an object or circumstance. We are nostalgic because of something. As argued by Frijda (1986, p. 73), nostalgia, as other emotions such as jealousy or shame, is even primarily defined by its object, which, according to the author (1986, p. 76), can be loosely described as ‘something past’. Therefore, it cannot be “recognized from expression alone” and its categorisation is “highly dependent upon which objects – sort of events – are being considered and distinguished important by the environment providing the categorization” (Frijda, 1986, p. 73 f.). In this context Frijda (1986, p. 74) highlights the importance of a consideration of “cultural differences” regarding the object-defined emotions. The “action tendency” is here locatable on the “mental plane” (Frijda, 1986, p. 76).

“Nostalgia is awareness that something past, while desired, cannot be regained, except by maintaining proximity in thought. If search tendency nevertheless gets the upper hand, it turns into recurring grief; if impotence with respect to desire is added, it turns into belated painful suffering”.
(Frijda, 1986, p. 76)

Regarding this background, a study of nostalgia in the context of aesthetic emotions is important and makes sense. However, when, as Holak and Havlena (1998) suggest, nostalgia may likewise appear in form of a mood, concepts on film and television and mood have at least to be kept in mind in the course of the film and television analysis and the reception study.

4.3. Aesthetic emotions

Referring to the “appraised object” (Visch et al., 2010, p. 1440), Tan (1996) draws the basic distinction between fiction emotions or fictional world emotions; the so-called F emotions, respectively FW emotions, and artefact emotions, also called A emotions. While the stimulus in the first case is “rooted in the fictional world and the concerns

addressed by that world” (Tan, 1996, p. 65), in the latter case it is connected to a concentration on the film as an artefact (Tan, 1996, p. 64 f.).

4.3.1. Fiction emotions

Regarding Tan (1996), one can state that F emotions dominantly arise in the reception of the traditional feature film or fiction television programmes. Here the so-called diegetic effect – “the illusion of being present in the fictional world” (Tan, 1996, p. 52) – states that the viewers are first of all concentrated on what occurs in the fictional world of the film (Tan, 1996, p. 81). “[R]ealistic effects”, notes Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 190), ensure that the viewers “may become immersed in the fictional world”. At the same time, the text conceals its constructedness (Tan, 1996, p. 53, p. 81; see also Ang, 1986, p. 50).

F emotions are generally described as so-called “witness” emotions (see e.g. Tan, 1996, p. 82; Schneider, 2005, p. 145; Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 189). When the emotion is rooted in an ‘empathetic understanding’ of a protagonist, it is related to so-called ‘empathetic F emotions’. In case that “the focus of the situational meaning is limited to the event itself as a scene” (Tan, 1996, p. 175) the F emotions are non-empathetic. According to the literature (Tan, 1996; Schneider, 2005), they may be provoked by ‘spectacles’ such as the look of a character (Schneider, 2005, p. 145), a “breathtaking landscape”, or “indoor spaces that most people have never been privileged to enter” (Tan, 1996, p. 83) as they are, for instance, in costume dramas or historical dramas (Tan, 1996, p. 175). As examples for emotions that may appear as non-empathetic F emotions, Tan (1996, p. 175) lists enjoyment, excitement or horror. Furthermore, according to the author, “fear of witnessing certain fictional events or a desire to watch other events” (Tan, 1996, p. 82f.) is nonempathetic. Here it also becomes apparent that the emotions may be strongly related to genres (Tan, 1996, p. 175 f.), as it is also mentioned by other authors (Carroll, 1999, p. 34 ff.; Wuss, 2005, p. 219 ff.; Mikos, 2008, p. 33). Therefore, the versed viewer of horror films for instance knows that the murderer, who has been overpowered at the end of the film, will probably get up again to raise his axe against the hero. In this case, the viewer may feel fear without being empathetically involved. Thus, genres are not only connected to certain emotions – “comedies are funny, dramas are sad, horror films are frightening” (Bartsch, 2007, p. 124), they also “generate narrative expectation (Grodal, 1997) and emotional moods (Tan, 1996)” (Visch et al. 2010, p. 1440).

4.3.1.1 Empathy

Since, as Tan notes (1996, p. 82), “the action in the traditional feature film narration is realized by protagonists who display human traits and whose goals and fate are of interest to the film viewer”, most F emotions are empathetic. Above all, this relates to film genres such as the melodrama or the psychological drama where “the explication of the meaning of events for the characters enjoy primacy” (Tan, 1996, p. 176) and there is no room for “intellectual distancing” (Ang, 1985, p. 62).

However, there does not exist a consistent definition of the phenomenon. According to Wuss (2005, p. 217 [o.t.]), theoretical attempts reach from “*Fremdverstehen*” [foreign understanding] to “*Teilhabe an den Emotionen anderer*” [participating in the emotions of the others]. Wuss himself is of the opinion that an understanding of “empathy as ‘empathetic understanding’ seems to be most productive” (Wuss, 2005, p. 218 [o.t.])⁵⁰. Similarly, Tan defines empathy as “all the cognitive operations on the part of the viewer that lead to a more complete understanding of the situational meaning for the character” (Tan, 1996, p. 172). The empathetic emotion, he argues, “is characterized by the fact that the situational meaning structure of the situation for a character is part of the meaning for the viewer” (Tan, 1996, p. 174). In doing this, the author draws a line of questioning that would be disputed by others, which is either this signifies that the viewers share the same feelings with the character or not. While Neill argues, “if he [the protagonist] is in an emotional state, to empathize with him is to experience the emotion(s) that he experiences” (Neill, 1996, p. 176), other authors (see e.g. Bruun Vaage, 2007; Tan, 1996) open up various possibilities. Tan becomes more explicit, stating that

“a situation evoked in a character does not necessarily coincide with the empathetic emotion of the viewer [...] and yet these emotions may be seen as empathetic, because their quality is determined by the viewer’s understanding of the situational meaning for the character”.

(Tan, 1996, p. 174)

In any case, as Brinckmann (2005, p. 335) argues, the empathetic emotion normally embraces a lesser extent and is imbued with personal emotions of the viewers. While the viewer is here normally immersed into the fictional world, Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 195) shows with recourse on the literature that “[e]pisodes where personal memories

⁵⁰ Original quotation: “*Im Hinblick auf Filmerleben scheint die Auffassung von ‘Empathie als einfühelndem Verstehen’ am produktivsten zu sein*” (Wuss, 2005, p. 218).

and personal relevance are triggered may indeed often trigger self-reflection". In this case, explains Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 196), the fictional world is left.

According to Tan (1996, p. 82, p. 179) empathy embraces emotions such as hope, fear, admiration, shame, anger or sympathy. Tan (1996, p. 178) suggests the latter is a "precondition for empathetic emotions". Other authors (Brinckmann, 2005, p. 339; Eder, 2005, p. 237) argue that it is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the empathetic emotion, even though a sympathetic disposition with a character facilitates empathy. This similarly applies to identification (see e.g. Brinckmann, 2005, p. 339), which is often mistakenly equalled with empathy.

Furthermore, the literature (see e.g. Brinckmann, 2005; Eder, 2005; Bruun Vaage 2008; Mikos, 2008) distinguishes narrative, dramaturgical and aesthetic devices that may reinforce the empathetic understanding both in film and in television. As Eder (2005, p. 237) highlights, audiovisual texts facilitate empathy, for instance, by impeding the tempo, or with specific music. 'Subjectivation' via body language, voice, or explicit expression of the emotions by gesture and mimic are named (Brinckmann, 2005, p. 336 f.). Brinckmann (2005, p. 340) argues that close-ups of the character's face have special importance. Other devices that increase the 'subjectivation' are point-of-view structures, perception shots, "mind screen", or "stream-of-consciousness structures" (Brinckmann, 2005, p. 343; Bruun Vaage, 2008, p. 36; Mikos, 2008, p. 227 f.).

In general, many scholars assume that it is not one factor alone that influences empathy, but rather the interplay of different aspects of the text. Wulff (2002) as cited in Mikos (2008, p. 32 [o.t.]), uses the so-called "*empathische Feld*" [empathic field] term. Here, he moves away from the character-centrism that is usually implied in the term empathy and rather points to the importance of the "symbolical contexts," inside which a character is integrated in a film and regarding to which empathy is developed (Wulff, 2002 referred to in Mikos, 2008, p. 32). According to Brinckmann (2005, p. 341), the whole mise-en-scène may help the development of empathetic emotions. Català (2009, p. 36 ff.) refers here also to a 'visualization of the inner world', respectively a 'visualization of emotions'. Morari (2007) describes a similar circumstance with the term "emotional objectivation". According to the author (2007, p. 93) this kind of visual manifestation of emotions "represents the functional basis of visual metaphors, as well as non-narrative film structures". Again, these processes are thought to be especially dominant in the genre of melodramas (see e.g. Kappelhoff, 2005; Català, 2009).

4.3.1.1.1 Somatic empathy

Next to the empathy that is related to imagination, the literature (see e.g. Brinckmann, 2005, p. 335; Eder 2005, p. 237) distinguishes a more body-related type which has been called somatic empathy, motor mimicry or, when referring to facial reactions, facial feedback. This kind of empathy is less dependent on how we understand a situation, but is rather a kind of automatic reproduction of expressions related to the body (Eder, 2005, p. 236 f.; Bruun Vaage, 2008, p. 29). Brinckmann (2005, p. 335 [o.t.]) refers to somatic empathy or ““motor mimicry””, “when we innervate muscular effort of another person in our own body”⁵¹. As well as film genres such as thriller, horror or action film (see e.g. Mikos, 2008, p. 179 f.), which can also potentially provoke bodily reactions, some art forms put an emphasis on this kind of empathy. Elsaesser (2005, p. 426 [o.t.]) highlights here so-called “*körperzentrierte Performance-Kunst*” [body-centred performance art], such as the works of the Viennese actionist Vallie Export. Bennett (2003, pp. 29 ff.) refers to the “art of sense memory” of artists such as Dennis Del Favero.

4.3.2. Artefact emotions

The traditional feature film tends to hide its formal layer. Nevertheless, as suggested by Tan (1996, p. 65), unexpected changes in the plot or incongruences in the presentation can “cause the viewer[s] to become aware of the telling of the story”. Furthermore, according to Tan (2002, p 38), “intense feelings caused by fictional representations” may provoke the viewers’ awareness of the artefact layer. In these cases, so-called A emotions or artefact emotions – “emotions that arise from concerns related to the artefact” (Tan, 1996, p. 65) – may be elicited. As typical artefact emotions, authors (Tan, 1996, p. 82; Visch et al., 2010, p. 1442) name admiration, astonishment, desire (for example for the return of a certain element), or enjoyment, focused for instance on “spectacular special effects, a sample of superb acting talent, and/or impressive photography or staging” (Tan, 1996, p. 65). When it moves from a focus on the film as an artefact, fascination may also appear as an A emotion (Visch et al., 2010, p. 1439). Since they are led by an enjoyment of the formal aspects of the text, Tan (1996 pp. 34 f., 65) supposes that A emotions most probably appear in recipients who are characterised by a certain “*cinephilia*” or film fandom.

⁵¹ Original quotation: “[...] wenn wir die Muskelanstrengung einer beobachteten Person am eigenen Körper innervieren” (Brinckmann, 2005, p. 335).

4.3.2.1 Internal and external empathetic artefact emotions

Similar to the fiction emotions, which also may arise as empathetic F emotions, A emotions have empathetic counterparts (Tan, 1996, p. 82). The first kind of this empathetic engagement relates to empathetic artefact emotions as an “external” aesthetic experience. According to Tan, it has to do “with synthetic proprioceptive activity, such as mirroring a certain type of movement on the screen” (Tan, 1996, p. 82). As an example, he refers to “the viewer’s delight at a whirling camera movement in combination with a lyrical sound track” (Tan, 1996, p. 82).

Nevertheless, as stated by Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 193), “aesthetic engagement need not be external, it can also be internal to the fictional world”. For this reason the author (2007, p. 193) distinguishes a second kind of empathetic artefact emotions, which is also called “internal aesthetic engagement”. In a first step, she refers to observations made by Grodal (2000), who had described that moments of narrative stagnancy can give way to “unfocused subjective associations” (Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 193) from the side of the viewers. Apart from that, this kind of empathy may be evoked when “sensuous experience[s]”, be it of characters or of events, step into the foreground (Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 193). While, states Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 193), “in fictional engagement the imagination is used in narrative playfulness, [...] in aesthetic experiences the imagination engages the spectator in sensuous playfulness”. This means, that upon seeing a cake, viewers may imagine the taste of it. Following the camera through an old attic, they might imagine how old things ‘surrounding them’ could smell.

4.4. Conclusions, hypotheses, and transition to the analytical parts

With regards to theories of emotions it could be shown that nostalgia may be conceptualised an emotion. It is also likely to appear as a mood. To further study the question of the cognitive and emotional components of nostalgia, this last section, on the way to the analytical part, presented the theoretical basis of aesthetic emotions, in order to combine it with nostalgia. We have seen that in the course of watching a film or a television programme various different emotions, so-called aesthetic emotions, may be provoked. Depending on the object of appraisal (Visch et al., 2010, p. 1440) these emotions may be distinguished in so-called fiction emotions or fictional world emotions, which are empathetic F emotions and somatic-empathetic F emotions on the one hand, and artefact emotions, including internal and external artefact emotions on the other.

Moods are also relevant to the investigation of film since, (1) the aspiration of a mood may be a motive to watch a film or a television programme (Tan, 1996, p. 204) – key word mood management (Zillmann, 1988) – (2) the genres generate moods (Tan, 1996), and (3) moods may build the ground for some emotions and inhibit others (Tan, 1996, p. 204).

If we transfer this to nostalgia we can make the following conclusions and assumptions. Regarding mood characteristics – generally since genres generate emotional moods (Tan, 1996) – it has to be seen if ‘nostalgia’ genres exist. Since “[m]ood is a disposition that encourages certain emotions” (Tan, 1996, p. 204) they can be expected to influence nostalgia in the course of the reception. In the context of period dramas, Cardwell (2002) has already made important steps in this direction, as it will be further explained in the following sub-chapter (4.4.1).

Later, regarding the emotive characteristics of nostalgia, first assumptions can be made, which later have to be compared with the yet existing nostalgia discourse. It can be assumed that depending on the respective object that is in the centre of the (nostalgic) appraisal, different nostalgias can be distinguished. Firstly, on a non-empathetic fictional layer it can be assumed that nostalgia may for instance be provoked by a nostalgic fictional world – a fictional world that enables its viewers to immerse into past beauty, highlighted against an unsatisfactory present, and so every layer of the audiovisual text may contribute to the narration. Secondly, we can assume that nostalgia may arise as an empathetic F emotion – what with reference to Tan (1996) may be called ‘empathetic F nostalgia’. According to Tan’s (1996, p. 174) understanding of empathy, the empathetic emotion can, but does not have to, be concordant with the character’s emotion. However, in both cases, we can assume, an ‘empathetic understanding’ of a character may favour nostalgia. Viewers may for example ‘share’ nostalgic feelings with a nostalgic character or feel nostalgia due to an empathetic understanding of a protagonist who is not explicitly nostalgic.⁵² Referring to concepts such as “emotional objectivation” and “visual narration”, it is imaginable that nostalgia expresses itself on every layer of the audiovisual text. From the mise-en-scène up to single formal devices, everything may be imbued with nostalgia. As many scholars refer

⁵² See also Mikos (2001, p. 169 [o.t.]) who states: “It does not matter whether the actor feels the represented emotions or not, but it is the complex interplay of narrative, dramaturgy, aesthetic and design that creates the opportunity for the audience to feel empathy”. Original quotation: “*Es ist unerheblich, ob die Schauspieler die darzustellenden Emotionen selbst empfinden oder nicht, sondern das komplexe Zusammenspiel von Narration, Dramaturgie, Ästhetik und Gestaltung schafft für die Zuschauer die ‘Möglichkeit, Empathie zu empfinden’*” (Mikos, 2001, p. 169).

to the fact that empathy normally ties in with analogue experiences from the spectator's own life, and often leads to the uncoupling of similar personal emotions (Brinckmann, 2005) or provokes self-reflection (Bruun Vaage, 2007), a very personal nostalgia may presumably be related to empathy, which may also leave the fictional world just as Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 196) describes it in the context of empathy and self-reflection in general. Since, as Frijda (1986, p. 73) argues, nostalgia belongs to a type of emotions that "have no characteristic facial expression and their presence cannot be recognized by means of expressive behaviour alone", the possibility of something like a 'somatic empathetic nostalgia' can probably be excluded.

Furthermore, many studies distinguish so-called artefact emotions. Here, a consideration in the context of nostalgia seems appropriate. We may assume that 'artefact nostalgia' may be released by increased attention on certain stylistic elements – that have already lost their dominance – may be the longing desire for the return of a certain artefact or an experience (another A emotion) that was related to it. As Tan (1996, pp. 34 f.) argues, artefact emotions probably arise in people who have a special affection for the medium. Therefore, in case of nostalgia and television, a target group of very 'telephile' viewers could be imagined. However, it can at least be assumed, that regarding television everybody who was a child of his/her time could be an 'expert'. This will undergo further scrutiny in the reception section of this study.

Lastly, the literature distinguishes external and internal empathetic artefact emotions. According to Tan (1996, p. 82), external empathetic artefact emotions arise for example, in the course of "synthetic proprioceptive activity". Nostalgia as an emotion, which is primarily defined by its object (Frijda, 1986, p. 73), can thus be assumed not to be relevant in this context. The case is different regarding the internal empathetic artefact emotions. As Bruun Vaage (2007, p. 193) argues, the internal aesthetic engagement is a "sensuous playfulness". Therefore "unfocussed subjective associations" (Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 193) may come from this. Consequently, most nostalgic sentiments may arise in this context. It is additionally important that on every of these layers personal memories and emotions are interwoven. As Mikos notes "emotions as situational quality of experience and sensual experience" always rely "on earlier experiences, which have been important for the life story of the audiences"

(Mikos, 2008, p. 32 [o.t.]).⁵³ In case that they prevail, we can assume, what I would call 'own' nostalgia may be most dominant.

Regarding empathetic F emotions respectively 'empathetic F nostalgia' and also regarding internal aesthetic engagement, this has already been established. According to Mikos, "visual correspondence" between the "scenic arrangement of an audiovisual text or situation" and the memory of a bygone experience can elicit the reawakening of emotions that have been related to this memory (Mikos, 2001, p. 114 [o.t.])⁵⁴. Certain affects could be reactivated with corresponding situations in the film and television texts (Mikos, 2008, p. 33). In the broader context of 'prosthetic memories', Ebbrecht (2008, p. 93) describes a similar process that mainly concerns the fictional world and where viewers 'synchronise' autobiographical experiences with the audiovisual texts. The development of nostalgia here is also imaginable.

The question now is: Where do we locate the 'object' of the nostalgic longing? When it is part of the fictional world, such as a positively viewed past contrasted against a negative present, the according to Tannock (1995) for nostalgia so essential gap between prelapsarian and postlapsarian world is inside the text and the nostalgia, so we can assume, may be elicited in every viewer who gives the text this connotative meaning and who is capable of the nostalgia.⁵⁵ In other cases, such as 'F nostalgia' as a longing towards a lost emotion, or nostalgia directed towards a memory that has been triggered by the text, the nostalgia can be assumed to arise individually respectively in different 'we-groups'. Referring to the background of memory studies, here we can ask how 'shared' the respective object of nostalgia is. When it is about media memories for example, a 'shared' nostalgia between Germany and Spain would be very likely.

Nevertheless, when we look at the emotive aspects of nostalgia, differences between Spain and Germany can be expected. Although the basic emotions seem to be similar in different cultures (Krotz, 1993, p. 104; Smith, 2005, p. 303; Ekman, 1982 cited in Tan, 2005, p. 266) this seems not to be always the case regarding the more

⁵³ Original quotation: *Denn "Emotionen als situative Erlebnisqualität und sinnliche Erfahrung" beruhen immer auch "auf früheren, lebensgeschichtlich bedeutsamen Erfahrungen der Zuschauer"* (Mikos, 2008, p. 32).

⁵⁴ Original quotation: *"Aufgrund der visuellen Entsprechung von szenischem Arrangement oder Situation im Fernsehen und szenischem Arrangement in der Phantasie und Erinnerung der Zuschauer können in der Rezeption vergangene Erfahrungen und die mit ihnen verbundenen Konstellationen von Gefühlen wieder belebt werden"* (Mikos, 2001, p. 114)

⁵⁵ As Tan (1996, p. 66) writes: "With respect to the fictional world, the cognitive coding of the stimulus requires little more than a knowledge of the world, which almost everyone who is part of Western society has at his or her disposal".

specific emotions. As Krotz argues, “feeling depends [...] on cultural, social and personality-related determinants” (Krotz, 1993, p. 98, [o.t.])⁵⁶. Furthermore Mikos (2001, p. 111), previously mentioned, highlights the respective social realities of the recipients as determinative factors for the development of emotions. Therefore the meaning of the word nostalgia is the same both in Germany and in Spain, if this also applies to the cognitive and emotional aspects of nostalgia has to be scrutinised.

In this context, the statement that nostalgia is multiple gains more meaning: the term relates not only to the meta layer, thus whether nostalgia is simple, reflexive, or interpreted (Davis, 1979, pp. 18 ff.), nor to the question of whether the nostalgia is personal or ‘we-group’ related, ‘real’ or ‘prosthetic’, or if it bases upon an object represented in memory or physically observable, but rather also points to the fact that nostalgia may arise in the context of the fictional world or may be artefact based. The theory on aesthetic emotions provides a basis to the question of how the television text may elicit these nostalgias. However, even though they appear with other labels, the worked out categories are not all new. As it will be shown in a further sub-chapter to this conclusion, they are in parts congruent with the nostalgia discourse and may be complemented by the latter. On the other side, the identified categories will help to structure the discourse and to in parts fill gaps where the discourse left questions open. Following this last revision, and another short methodological reflection, the work will lead over to Part II, where the categories will be applied.

4.4.1. A combination of the approaches

Apart from a few studies, such as from the film and television scholar Cardwell (2002) – which will be commented in more detail in this section – film and television studies do not consider the interrelation of textual and emotive aspects of nostalgia as central to the investigation of the topic. Apart from Jameson (1991) who denies contemporary nostalgia every affective component, other authors such as Sprengler (2011) investigate the topic in the context of “visual triggers” which, says Sprengler (Sprengler, 2011, p. 33), “are often mobilized on a self-conscious way that signifies the idea of nostalgia without necessarily evoking an emotional response”. Even though the side of reception is included in the conceptualisation and analysis of nostalgia – if not it would make no sense when Sprengler talks of “visual triggers”, the evocation of nostalgia is mentioned

⁵⁶ Original quotation: “*Fühlen ist [...] von kulturellen, sozialen und persönlichkeitsbezogenen Determinanten abhängig*” (Krotz, 1993, p. 98).

throughout the work of Sprengler (2011), and also Dika refers in the context of *American Graffiti* to the fact that “the major question is one of reception” (Dika, 2003, p. 94) – the focus however stays on textual nostalgia.

Nevertheless, the consideration of previous study is surely one major part in the context of this investigation. In case that the affective side is not already part of the theoretical concepts, the outlined transfer of studies on aesthetic emotions to nostalgia can work as a bridge in whose context the yet existing studies may be made useful for an investigation of both ‘mood’ and mode, to consider both the cognitive and emotional components in nostalgia, and thus to provide a first step regarding the claim of scholars from the spectrum of cultural studies (see Grainge, 2002; Pickering and Keightley, 2006) for a combination of ‘mood’ and mode, in order to deal adequately with nostalgia.

An incorporation of these studies in the categories deduced from Tan and others is possible.⁵⁷ Firstly, the identified categories are not all new for the nostalgia discourse where similar concepts can be observed, even though they have not been deduced from the theory on aesthetic emotions and even though they do not appear with the same labels. There are indeed many points of accordance, which makes this chapter in parts a reconstruction of the yet existing. At the same time this verifies the applicability of the categories. Secondly, together with other studies from the nostalgia discourse, the combination of the approaches will ‘fill’ the categories with the necessary content in order make them useful for the analysis. Further refinements can be made with a view on the question of how the texts may work as triggers for nostalgia. Thirdly, the combination of the approaches facilitates the systematisation of the dispersed nostalgia discourse. It will help to refine the ‘list’ of possible nostalgia triggers respectively help the ‘search for the gap’.

Before we study the single categories, we will consider Cardwell’s (2002) notion of nostalgia as a mood. As previously mentioned, Cardwell (2002) is one of a few

⁵⁷ Even though huge parts refer to Tan, his theory, it shall be reminded at this place, is utilised inside the framework of an approach oriented on ‘reception aesthetics’. In no case the television text is seen as ‘emotion machine’ but rather as prefigurative for, as Prommer et al. (2003, p. 60 [o.t.]) put it in the context of a reception analysis on humour, “the cognitive and emotional engagement of the audiences”. [Original quotation: “[...] ihre Gestaltungsmittel strukturieren die kognitiven und emotionalen Aktivitäten der Zuschauer vor (Prommer et al., 2003, p. 60)]. Apart from that, from Hediger (2002) it can be highlighted that “Tan described the film as an emotion machine, but this does not alter the fact that also he in the end treated the film as a programme that must process by the spectator: the emotions that are produced by the film remain attached to the cognitive processes of the viewers” (Hediger, 2002, p. 49 [o.t.]). [Original quotation: “Tan bezeichnet den Film als emotion machine, was aber nichts daran ändert, dass letztlich auch er den Film als Programm behandelt, das der Zuschauer verarbeiten muss: Die Emotionen, die der Film produziert, bleiben an die kognitiven Prozesse des Zuschauers gebunden” (Hediger, 2002, p. 49)].

scholars within the film and television studies discourse on nostalgia who takes account of the emotive characteristics of nostalgia. In the context of heritage films, she emphasises that “the relationship and differences between textual style and mood (i.e. the style and mood that can be ‘found’ within a text) and extra-textual ‘nostalgia’ (broadly the audiences feeling or emotional response) remain unexplored” (Cardwell, 2002, p. 143). She further examines nostalgia under Smith’s (1999) concept of moods, which “the primary emotive effect of film is to create mood” (Smith, 1999 cited in Cardwell, 2002, p. 145). From this, the author assume that the nostalgic texts contain so-called “emotion markers” (Cardwell, 2002, p. 147) that reinforce the nostalgic mood again and again. For Cardwell (2002, p. 147), this supports the definition of the heritage genre as a nostalgia genre. This fact is also relevant in the course of this study, since genres affect moods and expectations of the viewers. Even though in order to identify the “emotion markers” Cardwell only roughly refers to Tan’s study (see Cardwell, 2002, p. 107) and the categories introduced by the author are not as fully explored as in this study, her study interlocks with the present approach and can also be seen as one of its starting points.

In general, it may be stated that frequently, the basis of a potential ‘F nostalgia’ is described in the discourse both in its empathetic or non-empathetic form. Scholars studying heritage films most often refer to a fictional world dominated by the nostalgic gaze on a better past which, it shall be argued before the background of aesthetic emotions, builds the ground for ‘F nostalgia’. Wollen (1991) for instance, demonstrates a general nostalgia in heritage culture in the television series *Brideshead Revisited* (ITV, 1981) or films such as *A Passage to India* (Lean, 1984), or *A Room with a View* (Ivory, 1986). They “are all nostalgic in that pasts were represented as entirely better places” (Wollen, 1991, p. 186). This similarly applies to Higson (see e.g. 2006). As he notes, “[b]y turning their backs on the industrialized, chaotic present, [the heritage films – these “characteristic features of postmodern culture” (Higson, 2006, p. 95)] nostalgically reconstruct an imperialist and upper-class Britain (or its other side, the picturesque poverty of *Little Dorrit*)” (Higson, 2006, p. 93). That also reruns may cause nostalgia on the F layer in case that they import a ‘whitewashed’ perspective into the present is shown by Herrera-De La Muela (2009). This similar is shown by Fischer (1980, p. 45) on the example of returning film genres.

Furthermore, characteristics of the texts – the “iconography of the genre” (Higson, 2006, p. 97) – are identified showing that nostalgia may be supported by every

single layer of the text. They are identified as “both a bid for historical realism (and visual pleasure) and a function of the nostalgic mode (seeking an imaginary historical plenitude)” (Higson, 2006, p. 97). Higson refers to the selection of places and settings such as country houses, and picturesque, verdant landscapes, the *mise-en-scène* – a “spectacle of authentic objects” (Higson, 2006, p. 105), which makes the past desirable, actors (intertextual references to other heritage films), narration (intertextual references to an ‘original’, slow narration), or a “pictorialist” camera style (Higson, 2006, pp. 97 ff.).

Also with reference to other authors formal devices that evoke nostalgia related to the fictional world can be highlighted. Various authors (see Dyer, 2005; Sprengler, 2011) highlight the specific function music may have in evoking nostalgia. As Sprengler stresses, “[a]ccording to recent film scholarship, music can be nostalgic as a trigger evoking nostalgic longing in its listener and in its structure” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 76). In the first case, music may work as “mnemonic prompt by calling to mind experiences from the time it was first heard or the time during which it was most often listened to” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 76).⁵⁸ In the second case, Sprengler (2011, p. 77) refers to a study conducted by Flinn (1992). The scholar describes the ability of some film music scores “to connote an ‘[...] nostalgic condition’” (Flinn, 1992 cited in Sprengler, 2011, p. 77) pointing to the fact that the “scores are structured around a musical desire to return to an earlier moment through a series of melodic forays that stray from the original key only to return to it in the end” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 77). Dyer notes that the instrumentation of *The Godfather* (Coppola, 1972) consisting of “restrained trumpets or mandolins” (Dyer, 2005, p. 133 [o.t.]) seems nostalgic. Other scholars highlight formal devices that may evoke nostalgia. With reference to Konigsberg (1997), Brockmann notes that slow motion “‘is particularly effective in evoking a mood of nostalgia’” (Konigsberg, 1997 cited in Brockmann, 2005, p. 155).

Finally, what we shall call ‘fiction nostalgia’ is demonstrated on contemporary films set in contemporary times. Fischer (1980, p. 18) for instance, names Segal’s *Love Story* (1969) as an example for nostalgia in cinema, not because of its recreation of a certain period or the adoption of a bygone style, but because the film staged a longing for an “American way of life” during the Vietnam war. Furthermore, the television scholar Smith (2009a), shows that the Spanish drama series *Pelotas* (TVE, 2009-2010)

⁵⁸ It has to be seen if not also other layers of the text may work as ‘mnemonic prompts’.

displays a certain nostalgia for past types of urban cohabitation (Smith, 2009a, p. 79), which we can argue, is likewise an 'F nostalgia'.

Various authors have noted the general possibility of what has previously been referred to as 'empathetic fiction nostalgia'. Cardwell (2002) refers to nostalgia inherent to the diegesis of *Brideshead Revisited* (ITV, 1981), where "nostalgia is encouraged in the viewer through eliciting his or her sympathy for the characters" (Cardwell, 2002, p. 123). She explains several "focal-points" of the protagonist's nostalgia (Cardwell, 2002, pp. 125 ff.). Here, the flashback narrative plays a central part (Cardwell, 2002, p. 123). This similarly applies to Higson (2003), who argues that "[i]n some films, the nostalgic perspective is built into the narrative itself, since the films purport to present us the reminiscence of one of the protagonists as an older man or woman" (Higson, 2003, p. 83). He also refers to "flashback narratives" in films such as *Mrs Dalloway* (Gorris, 1997) or *Chariots of Fire* (Hudson, 1981) (Higson, 2003, p. 83).

The source of 'empathetic F nostalgia' is mentioned but not further investigated by Sprengler (see e.g. Sprengler, 2011, pp. 25, 74 ff.), who highlights the general possibility of nostalgia "enabled by identifying with characters who wistfully long for past times, childhood or home" (Sprengler, 2011, p. 25). Holdsworth (2011) describes the protagonists longing in *Life on Mars*, which makes the narrative nostalgic (Holdsworth, 2011, p. 107). Furthermore, Feyerabend refers to the possibility of 'empathetic fiction nostalgia', stating, "the reader/viewer can participate in a protagonist's nostalgia" (Feyerabend, 2009, p. 55). She later notes that "[t]he viewers can share this [nostalgic] sentiment, as probably everyone likewise has recollections that instantaneously come to mind" (Feyerabend, 2009, p. 66).

With a reference to the theory of aesthetic emotions (Brinckmann, 2005, p. 339; Eder, 2005, pp. 236f.), we can suppose that identification is not essential for the development of 'empathetic F nostalgia'. This similarly applies to personal memories as they may be triggered in the course of reception (Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 195). Apart from that, from the perspective of a broader understanding of empathy (see e.g. Tan, 1996) it can be supposed that 'empathetic F nostalgia' would not explicitly rely on a nostalgia felt by a character. However, it also can be stated that the category is underpinned by the discourse.

Aside from this, the discourse shows that nostalgia in the course of "emotional objectivation" and "visual narration" expresses itself on every layer of the audiovisual text. The film theorist Català refers to this circumstance in the context of the

postmodern “*giro intimista*” [intimistic turn] (Català, 2009, p. 32 [o.t.]), which he sees related to a postmodern ‘melodramatic aesthetic’ in whose course nostalgia infuses everything up to material forms (Català, 2009, p. 15).

Also ‘artefact nostalgia’ – a nostalgia stemming from a concentration on the artefact layer of a film or television programme, rather than from an immersion into the fictional world – is implicit to the film and television discourse on nostalgia. Kompare (2005), mentions nostalgia directed on the artefact in the broad context of the rerun as an artefact as a whole. The author describes how “reruns played a key role in the new nostalgia of the seventies” (Kompare, 2005, p. 103). He already makes clear that on this layer “retrospective classifications” (Kompare, 2005, p. 105, 139) are important in preparing the ground for the possible nostalgic reception, respectively in the creation of the ‘gap’ between a better then and the worse now, which is so important for nostalgia.

Regarding single layers of the text, intertextual references are often called nostalgic. Firstly, we must refer to Jameson. Within the frame of aesthetic emotions, his work can be explored again for ‘real’ nostalgia when situated within the category of ‘artefact nostalgia’. Therefore, Jameson’s main criteria for calling a film ‘nostalgic’, as previously mentioned, is the ‘intertextual’ character – the effect of the connotation of pastness, which is significant for the “cultural dominant” (Jameson, 1991, p. 4) postmodernism in general. According to Jameson, on different layers such as actors, mise-en-scène, setting, plot, and up to the design of credits, ‘nostalgia’ is exhibited in backward oriented “aesthetic sings”. Named here are for instance intertextual references to an ‘original’ in the case of a remake, references to an ‘outdated’ “styles of acting” or the type of actors cast for a role, or the ‘intertextual’ references of period dramas to a former representation of the period (Jameson, 1991, pp. 20 ff., 281 f.; 1998, p. 8). As previously mentioned, and as Jameson notes, nostalgia in a strict sense is not the topic of his work. “Nostalgia film”, says Jameson, should rather be understood as representative for any kind of postmodern artefact (Jameson, 1991, p. xvii). Thus the scholar denies the nostalgia film every relation to affect.

Nevertheless, this is not where Jameson’s engagement with nostalgia ends. Firstly, Jameson himself is somehow nostalgic towards a loss of the ‘real’ (see also Storey, 2001, p. 245, 249). His work reminds us of what Stauth and Turner (1988, pp. 512 f.) call the “[t]he elitist critique of mass culture” which, say the authors, “nostalgically presupposes a world in which there was a unity of art, feeling and communal relation”. Storey (2001) also hints explicitly to this fact. As the author states:

“[t]here may therefore be a certain (postmodern) irony in Jameson’s complaint about nostalgia effacing history, given that his own critique is structured by a profound nostalgia for modernist ‘certainty’, promoted, as it is, at the expense of detailed historical understanding of the traditions of popular entertainment” (Storey, 2001, p. 245). Secondly, coming from here we may state that Jameson’s descriptions fit what Tan expresses under the catchword “awareness of the artefact” (Tan, 1996, p. 65). In this respect the intertextual references Jameson highlights may be described as originating in the reading of a cineast, who, against the background of his knowledge of the medium, concentrates on the layer of the artefact.⁵⁹ And thirdly, Jameson’s descriptions of nostalgia film are not emotionless. For example, Jameson writes about the science-fiction series *Star Wars*, another example of ‘nostalgia film’. Jameson puts the series in the context of the “Saturday afternoon serial of the *Buck Rogers* type”, “one”, as he stresses, “of the most important cultural experiences of the generations that grew up from the 1930s to the 1950s” (Jameson, 1998, p. 8).⁶⁰ He then revives some of the most important characteristics connected to this genre, or, as it could also be argued, some of his most present memories:

“Star Wars reinvents this experience in form of a pastiche. [...] Far from being a pointless satire of such dead forms, Star Wars satisfies a deep (might I even say repressed?) longing to experience them again: It is a complex object in which on some first level children and adolescence can take the adventure straight, while the adult public is able to gratify a deeper and more properly nostalgic desire to return to that old period and to live its strange old aesthetic artefacts through once again” (Jameson, 1998, p. 8).

Besides the fact that Jameson relates different receptions of the ‘nostalgia film’ to the memory of different ‘we-groups’, he also describes the cognitive and emotional components of what here shall be called ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’. With Mikos it can be stated “that intertextuality does not only activate the knowledge of the audiences, but also modes of experiences, which among others are

⁵⁹ In this context it is worth considering what Dika (2003) writes about Carroll’s (1982) work on the ‘new condition’ of culture: “Using the term ‘allusionism’ rather than Jameson’s ‘pastiche,’ Carroll discusses the rising presence of recent films that recycle such elements as plots, themes, lines of dialogues, lighting, style, and gestures from the history of film into new works. Unlike Jameson (whose essay was published a year later), Carroll does not see this style as being caused by postmodern cultural condition, but rather he sees it as a result of the rise of film literacy among an educated group of moviegoers and moviemakers” (Dika, 2003, p. 14).

⁶⁰ Jameson (* 1934) himself grew up in this era.

emotionally bounded” (Mikos 2008, p. 278 [o.t.]⁶¹). Depending on the ‘retrospective classification’, obviously nostalgia may be one of them. The understanding of intertextuality as a potential trigger of ‘own artefact nostalgia’ is further supported by studies from the spectrum of memory studies. Furthermore, O’Sullivan describes how television memories may work as reference point to remember “aspects of the difference perceived between identity or circumstance ‘then’ and ‘now’” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 163). Therefore, we may also locate a further gap here.

Intertextuality as potential trigger of ‘artefact nostalgia’ is further supported by other scholars within the nostalgia discourse. In the course of her investigation on the oeuvre of Woody Allen, Feyerabend states that in order to provoke “the nostalgia in the viewers Allen uses a lot of references to literature, philosophy, psychoanalysis, theatre, film, music, art, or celebrities” (Feyerabend, 2009, p. 42). Looking at adaptations among heritage films, Powrie states that “[c]learly all of these films are nostalgic in the sense that they are literary adaptations, and therefore play upon the replay of real or imagined pleasures connected with the act of reading (or viewing in the case of theatre)” (Powrie, 1997, p. 14). Böhn (2007) refers to quotations, for instance, of formal elements suggesting that they “can be used to play with the emotions associated with these forms or to create a historical distance from them which may cause a nostalgic longing for their restoration” (Böhn, 2007, p. 150).

If we understand intertextuality as “[t]he various links in form and content which bind any text to other texts” (Chandler and Munday, 2011, p. 224) here is also where Grainge’s work on ‘monochrome memories’ can be located. In the context of the film *Schindler’s List* (Spielberg, 1993) the author states: “if one concentrates more on the (monochrome) mode [...] there is perhaps a character of nostalgia for a previous cinematic moment” (Grainge, 2002, p. 131). The author has been criticised for this classification of black-and-white aesthetic as the “evocation of a generalized feeling of pastness” (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 932). However if we understand the statement as one that has been made by a cineaste who concentrates on the artefact layer of the film, just as Tan (1996) describes it in the context of ‘artefact emotions’, monochrome aesthetic becomes understandable as a possible trigger for ‘A nostalgia’. In any case, an analysis that also considers intertextuality as potential trigger of nostalgia may never be made conclusively, just as intertextuality may never be analysed

⁶¹ Original quotation: “Wichtig ist, dass Intertextualität nicht nur Wissensbestände der Zuschauer aktiviert, sondern eben auch Erlebnisweisen, die u.a. emotional gebunden sind” (Mikos, 2008, p. 278).

conclusively, since it is defined by all texts with which viewers approach a current text, socially determined and dynamic (Mikos, 2008, pp. 272 ff.). Indeed, whether the artefact becomes later integrated in a nostalgic rhetoric has to be scrutinised. With Hutcheon (2000, p. 196) we may assume that there are various “ways to look backward”.⁶²

Here, and this is where the study will follow into the work of Dika (2003) and Sprengler (2011), the study will comment on the authors who explain forms of resistance of the ‘nostalgic’ text and who will allow this study to explain different degrees of reflexivity of nostalgias, similar to those that have been described by Davis as simple, reflexive, or interpreted nostalgia (Davis, 1979, pp. 18 ff.).⁶³ According to Dika, the ‘nostalgia films’ can take a “variety of positions regarding their replication of old images, and in so doing [...] raise new questions” (Dika, 2003, p. 197). The intertextual references described by Jameson are again explored for multiple ‘ways of looking back’ and among them multiple nostalgias, both critical and uncritical. Since the intertextual character is understood to import a critical potential into the narration of the past, the analysis is relevant for what here has been called ‘fiction nostalgia’.

An explanation of the critical potential of nostalgia films is also the purpose of a more recent work by Sprengler (2011). Her main thesis, is that “props [and costumes] may initiate oppositional and critical readings” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 4) and display their critical potential by bringing in “their own histories into a film” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 4). Backed by prop theory, these “own histories” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 4) are described as “cultural baggage” (Lord, cited in Sprengler, 2011, p. 94) an object has accommodated in the context of its production, and in the contexts of its use within the course of time. Her analysis concentrates on films that “mobilize props, costumes and ‘deliberate archaism’” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 3). As Sprengler explains with reference to Le Sueur (1977), the latter signifies films that “strive to recreate not only the look and feel of the period in question but also the appearance of art from that distant time” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 86). They are distinguished from films that employ what Le Sueur (1977) calls “surface realism” (see Sprengler 2011, pp. 144, 163). “Surface realism is produced

⁶² As Storey (2001, p. 244) highlights: “The intertextual, understood as a form of borrowing from what already exists, is always also (at least potentially) a making new from combinations of what is old. In this way, popular culture is and has always been more than a pastiche or a nostalgic recycling of what has been before”.

⁶³ This shall not mean that not also other authors refer to modes of resistance within the texts. Wollen (1991) for instance highlights “occasional hints of something rotten” (Wollen, 1991, p. 182) in the fictional world her nostalgia films encompass which means also here certain graduations of nostalgia are made.

through the use of period markers such as dress, cars and setting and is indicative of the obsession with period details characteristic of all nostalgic art” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 85). Much like Dika (2003), Sprengler permits both to open up the gaze for different dimensions of ‘A nostalgia’ on the layer of intertextual references and ‘F nostalgia’ directed on the fictional world.

The possibility of ‘internal empathetic artefact nostalgia’ is not discussed in the nostalgia discourse. However, this is perhaps where the famous ‘Madeleine’ example of Marcel Proust may be located – an example where the sensuous experience of the protagonist steps into the foreground and the “internal aesthetic engagement” may arise.

In conclusion, we can state that film and television studies only scarcely consider the emotive aspects of nostalgia or the interrelation of text and reception. Not without a reason Grainge (2002) introduced the ‘mood’⁶⁴/mode dichotomy. However, it has been shown that those studies that mainly focus on nostalgia as a style can be explored for an investigation which aims to combine ‘mood’ and mode. The theory of aesthetic emotions may work here as a bridge. It tells us *where* to search and how possible categories could be like. The broader nostalgia discourse gives us indicators of the characteristics of nostalgia or the existence of different degrees of reflexivity (Davis, 1979) and therefore informs us *what* to search. It could be shown that a combination of theories on aesthetic emotions and the nostalgia discourse of film and television studies allows us to ‘fill’ the categories with the necessary contents, and at the same time to supplement and further refine the yet existing. A one-to-one ratio transition is not always possible. With reference to the literature it cannot always be said whether an artefact works as a “mnemonic prompt”, stemming from an immersion into the fictional world or due to a concentration on the film as a construct. When we assume that nostalgia may be directed towards emotions that were once related to a television programme, we cannot always say whether this is related to the F or the A level of the text. In any case, here the ‘object of appraisal’ must be closely considered whenever possible.

Aside from this, one can argue, it is the combination on the basis of the theory on aesthetic emotions that makes any eclectic use of the discourse actually possible. With its radical ‘object-centrism’ the theory on aesthetic emotions allows us to understand the differences between the studies, and to give them a ‘new order’ to make

⁶⁴ Mood is here set in simple quotation marks, since, it has been shown, nostalgia contains both characteristics of a mood and an emotion.

them usable in combination. One can say it allows a restructure of the discourse and gives the different objects with which the scholars deal a name. Against the background of aesthetic emotions discrepancies within the nostalgia discourse become explainable. Thus, for example, it has been shown, that when Grainge (2002) describes black-and-white aesthetic as nostalgic, it is not about nostalgia *per se* but about ‘artefact nostalgia’. Or when Higson (2006) states that the heritage genre is a nostalgia genre, it is mostly about ‘fiction nostalgia’.⁶⁵ We should keep these differences in mind. Alternatively, in order to apply the yet existing and to understand and to compare it, the basis of discussion – the object – has to be made clear.

With focus on the two questions *where are potential nostalgia objects?* and *where are potential gaps?*, the ‘fragmented’ discourse can now be merged systematically in the course of the case studies of different nostalgia ‘genres’. If we refer to the memory discourse we may assume that these objects may again be widely ‘shared’ or not. The ‘genres’ shall be explained in a subsequent chapter (see Part II). Before this, a chapter on methodology will explain the following steps of research.⁶⁶

4.4.2. Methodology

If we want to investigate nostalgia both as a textual mode and emotional state, an interdisciplinary approach is necessary, which can integrate yet existing studies from within the nostalgia discourse, studies from the perspective of memory studies, and studies from the spectrum of aesthetic emotions. First steps towards the combination of the approaches have been made. However, since “[a]ny attempt to understand the relationship between the media and emotions broadly, must consider at least three aspects: the structure of the media offer, the emotion of the audience and the systematic interrelations between the two (see Eder 2005)” (Bartsch et al., 2007a, p. 10 [o.t.])⁶⁷ reception studies should be additionally conducted.

⁶⁵ Probably this is also the reason why *American Graffiti* (Lucas, 1973) is once assign to the nostalgia films and once not. As Grainge (2002, p. 25) highlights, Davis sees the ‘hyperrealism’ of Coppola’s *American Graffiti* as “artistic failures as nostalgia films” (Davis, 1979, p. 89), for Jameson (1991) this is an example for the typical nostalgia film. Grainge explains this by subsuming Davis under the mood agents and Jameson under the mode agents. At the same time however it could be argued that while Davis searches for the narration of the better past as an attribute for nostalgia, for Jameson the intertextuality stands in the foreground.

⁶⁶ An earlier draft of this combination of approaches has been presented at the conference *Discourse, Communication, Conversation Conference*, Loughborough University, 21-23 March 2012 (see Armbruster, 2012).

⁶⁷ Original quotation: “Dabei muss jeder Versuch, den Zusammenhang von Medien und Emotionen umfassend zu verstehen, mindestens drei Aspekte berücksichtigen: die Struktur der Medienangebote, die

The frame for the combination, and therefore the overall frame for this study, is reception theory, more precisely ‘reception aesthetics’, as deduced from the German *Rezeptionsästhetik* (Chandler and Munday, 2011, p. 358). The study will draw on what has been proposed in the context of the so-called *Babelsberg Approach* which, inspired by the method of triangulation, argues for the combination of different qualitative methods, such as film and television analysis and reception studies (Mikos and Prommer, 2005, p. 162 ff.). Using this perspective, the study will be able to consider the properties of nostalgia. The frame will use existing studies from different disciplines without falling into total relativism. Presumed differences between Spain and Germany will also be considered. Therefore, the work contains two further sections, one dedicated to the film and television analysis of presumed triggers for nostalgia and one dedicated to the investigation of the reception.

4.4.2.1. Film and television analysis

Following Prommer et al. (2003, p. 60 [o.t.]), the investigation assumes the television programmes as “communication media” which “communicate with the audiences” and which, on the textual layer, “prefigure the cognitive and emotional activity of the spectators”. (Prommer et al., 2003, p. 60 [o.t.]).⁶⁸ Correspondingly, not only will each layer of the text from narration, aesthetics and design, up to characters be analysed systematically, but also contextual factors will be considered (Mikos, 2008). The interdisciplinarity of film and television analysis, which obliges the researcher to integrate theories depending on the respective research interest (Mikos, 2008, p. 41), make the method especially appropriate for this study. In combination of the theories on nostalgia, memory and aesthetic emotions, it will explain potential triggers for nostalgia on the textual layer. For this purpose, the ‘modules’, as they will be called, in which the discourses have been fragmented, will be recombined depending on the respective nostalgia ‘genre’. Each sub-chapter of analysis will then be advanced by this respective theoretical reflection (see chapter 6 for more details).

Emotion der Zuschauer und die systematischen Verbindungen zwischen beiden (vgl. Eder 2005)” (Bartsch et al., 2007a, p. 10).

⁶⁸ Original quotation: “*Ausgangspunkt [...] der Fernsehanalyse ist, dass Film- und Fernsehsendungen als Kommunikationsmedium zu begreifen sind. Sie treten mit den Zuschauern in Kommunikation und ihre Technik- und Gestaltungsmittel strukturieren die kognitiven und emotionalen Aktivitäten der Zuschauer vor*” (Prommer et al., 2003, p. 60).

4.4.2.2. Reception study

If a potential trigger for nostalgia is ‘decoded’⁶⁹ as such by the audiences will be scrutinised in a reception study; the ‘standard instrument’ of qualitative media studies (Prommer and Mikos, 2005, p. 193 [o.t.]). A widely used method is the focus group discussion, which will be applied in this research.

“The focus group is a special type of groups in term of purpose, size, composition, and procedures (...). In summary, a focus group is a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment”.

(Krueger, 1994 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 26)

Liebes and Katz (1990, p. 7) name the “discussion group as a simulation of the social mechanisms which contribute to the viewers’ understandings, interpretations, and evaluations”. Focus groups allow the disclosure of emotional backgrounds of statements (Lamnek, 2005, p. 84). They provide insights into the “structure and processes” of both individual and collective views (Lamnek, 2005, p. 84 [o.t.]; see also Paus-Haase et al., 1999, p. 43), and will allow this study to explain the actual reception of the nostalgia that is on offer in the texts and the transitions between personal nostalgias and those which are ‘shared’ among larger ‘we-groups’ (see Part III for more details). Using the qualitative method, no representativeness will be gained or aspired to. Instead and with focus on the specific sample of the study, it will be possible to obtain in-depth information about nostalgia, its backgrounds and sufficient conditions, as may not be possible with quantitative research.

⁶⁹ The study refers here to Hall (1973 (2000)).

Part II – Text

5. The ‘genres’ of nostalgic fiction

In order to lead over to the film and television analysis of presumed nostalgia on offer in the text, this paragraph will contain a revision of different ‘genres’ of nostalgia. The chapter will mainly draw on categorisations of nostalgia as made in film studies. Although many authors also explore nostalgia television under the label nostalgia film, in order to not to lose sight of the specific characteristics of television by mainly using this film-centred theory, the study will also consult studies from within television studies and other academic disciplines that contribute to the investigation of nostalgia in television. Since nostalgia, comparable to suspense (Carroll, 1999, p. 42), can be assumed to be possibly provoked by a range of different texts, in most cases it is not referred to as a genre in the strict sense of the word. For this reason, the term is mostly put into single quotation marks. Nevertheless, *nostalgia film* or *nostalgia television* may be discussed as groups of films and television programmes that are widely considered under the label of nostalgia.

The term ‘nostalgia film’ has different meanings, which is why it shall be defined in a first step. Also here, so can be argued, the differences may be explained with different foci on different objects.⁷⁰ While one author uses ‘nostalgia film’ in order to refer to the intertextual character of postmodern cinema (see e.g. Jameson, 1991), another foregrounds the representation of past beauty (see e.g. Higson, 2006) in its definition, no matter if there is an intertextual relation to past representations or not. Correspondingly, depending on the perspective of the author, ‘nostalgia film’ comprises a wider or smaller range of ‘genres’.

Perhaps the widest frame can be seen from Jameson (1991)⁷¹ and Grainge (2002). Jameson divides nostalgia films in “postnostalgia” films such as *Blue Velvet* (Lynch, 1986) or *Something Wild* (Demme, 1986), and ‘ordinary’ nostalgia films, also named “nostalgia-deco” or “pastiche”, for example presented by films such as *American*

⁷⁰ Böhn (2007) partly describes the different focuses the descriptions of nostalgia genres may have. The author names period pictures – they refer “to a bygone world at the level of representation” (Böhn, 2007, p. 145) – and remakes, which refer “to a previous movie and implicitly or explicitly to a past of the mediated film” (Böhn, 2007, p. 145), also quotations of, for instance, formal elements (Böhn, 2007, p. 150) and, also “re-adoptions of seemingly out-dated film-genres” (Böhn, 2007, pp. 144 f.).

⁷¹ Even though Fredric Jameson was not the first to apply the term *nostalgia film* (Jameson, 2001, p. xvii) – Sprengler indicates that the term goes back to the text *Theory Number Five: Anatomy of Nostalgia Film: Heritage and Methods* by Marc Le Sueur in 1977 – Jameson’s work builds the centre of the discussion (Sprengler, 2011, p. 83).

Graffiti (Lucas, 1973) or *Body Heat* (Kasdan, 1981) (Jameson, 1991, pp. 279-296). Already these examples show that nostalgia films are not restricted to one specific genre. They rather encompass everything from period dramas or coming of age films (e.g. *American Graffiti*), thriller remakes (e.g. *Body Heat*) with “contemporary setting” (Jameson, 1998, p. 9), up to science-fiction remakes (e.g. *Star Wars*). The main criteria is their intertextual character – the effect of the connotation of ‘pastness’, which is so significant for the “cultural dominant” postmodernism in general (Jameson, 1991, p. 4). With *American Graffiti* (Lucas, 1973), this is expressed by the “stylistic recuperation” of the 1950s, which, according to Jameson (1991, p. 281), instead of basing upon the reality of the 1950s, exclusively refers to other representations of the time – something that Le Sueur (1977 cited in Sprengler, 2011, p. 86) also calls “‘deliberate archaism’”. In the case of *Body Heat* (1981) – Kasdan’s remake of the film noir *Double Indemnity* (Wilder, 1944) – nostalgia is expressed in the intertextual references to further versions of the text (Jameson, 1991, p. 20). If, with Grainge (2002), we understand the black-and-white aesthetic as one possible (intertextual) mode of nostalgia, then the frame can even be drawn wider towards all genres and generic categories that employ the ‘nostalgia style’.

Furthermore, Dika (2003), following Jameson, describes and uses nostalgia film as a general subcategory to indicate the “tendency to return to past film images” (Dika, 2003, p. 9). Apart from remakes such as Gus van Sant’s *Psycho* (1998) and period recreations based upon past images, such as *American Graffiti* (Lucas, 1973), the category nostalgia film encompasses here also “new genre films”⁷² such as *Badlands* (1973), or nostalgic returns⁷³ of classic film genres, such as the Western or the gangster film (Dika, 2003, pp. 3, 90, 205). Only the latter again builds a wider category, ranging from the “inclusion of old film clips into new works” (Dika, 2003, p. 220), to the return of classic titles, or the return of classic elements on the level of character, image and story (Dika, 2003, p. 78; 220).

Focused differently, but still broad, is ‘nostalgia film’ according to Cook (2005, p. 14). In her definition the intertextual character of the images is less important. Central

⁷² ‘New’ refers here to the fact that while “[t]he recycling of past conventions into new works has once been the very definition of genre production, [...] the more recent film can be distinguished by their discontinuous movement, one that *skips a generation* (significantly, that of the 1960s) in its evocation of previous forms. This type of discontinuity imparts an indelible connotation of pastness onto the works, and it does so in a way that distinguishes them from earlier genre films” (Dika, 2003, p. 56).

⁷³ “Unlike the genres of an earlier period [...] these forms display a second-hand quality, a feeling of being copies of the original” (Dika, 2003, p. 207).

is rather that the films “reconstruct an idealised past as a site of pleasurable contemplation and yearning” (Cook, 2005, p. 3). Coming from here, ‘nostalgia film’ or “nostalgic memory film”, as Cook mostly calls it, incorporate “heritage cinema, period melodramas and westerns, as well as remakes and pastiches” (Cook, 2005, p. 3). All these genres, writes Cook,

“conjure [...] up a golden age, which is both celebrated and mourned, providing an opportunity to reflect upon and interrogate the present. Past and present are conflated, as contemporary concerns are superimposed on earlier historical periods in the process of reconstruction. Despite all their claims to authenticity, nostalgic fictions depend upon a slippage between current styles and period fashion in order to draw audiences in to the experience”. (Cook, 2005, p. 10)

Finally, Powrie (1997) concentrates his examination of nostalgia films on works that aspire “to recreate specific historical periods” (Powrie, 1997, p. 13) and locates nostalgia film within the frame of so-called “quality costume drama, labelled heritage film by Andrew Higson” (Powrie, 1997, p. 13). As this quotation indicates, the link of costume drama, respectively heritage cinema, to nostalgia film does not have its origin in Powrie’s work. In general, the literature relates the heritage genre to nostalgia. Thus, even though Higson, one of the most quoted experts of the genre, does not use the term ‘nostalgia film’, he ascribes nostalgia to the heritage films (Higson, 2006, p. 93).

If we look at television, it can be stated that even though the term “nostalgia film” as such seems not to have an equivalent in ‘nostalgia television’, television is not outside the considerations of nostalgia. Firstly, works on nostalgia film to a certain extent also include television. Therefore, in his broadly conceived investigation of intertextuality, Jameson (1991, pp. 280 f.) also refers to self-referential period representations in television. Aside from this, examples from within the spectrum of film, such as the period drama *American Graffiti* (Lucas, 1973) or the thriller remake *Body Heat* (Kasdan, 1981), have their ‘genre’ equivalents in television. Grainge’s (2002) investigation on the black-and-white aesthetic can be equally applied to other media. Furthermore, Cook’s and Dika’s nostalgia genres, namely remakes, period melodramas, heritage dramas or Westerns have an equivalent in television. Above all, the heritage genre or the wider category of the quality costume drama self-evidently includes television series such as *Brideshead Revisited* (ITV, 1981) or *The Jewel in the Crown* (ITV, 1983) (see e.g. Higson, 1993; 2006). Holdsworth (2011) investigates the hybrid period drama *Life on Mars* (BBC one, 2006) under the label of nostalgia. In an earlier

section of this study, it has been shown that researchers in the Spanish context refer to the period drama *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó* (TVE) as an example of nostalgia in television (see e.g. Corbalán, 2009; Laffond and Gómez, 2009).

Another reference that has been named was Herrera-De La Muela's study (2009) on possible nostalgic readings of reruns. This context is also one of the most common fields, in which nostalgia in television is mentioned (see e.g. Davis, 1979, pp. 130 ff. on 'old TV shows' and their replays; Fischer, 1980, pp. 18 f. who refers to reruns of so called *Heimatfilm* on German television; Williams, 1994, pp. 173 f.; Spigel, 1995; Grainge, 2002, pp. 47 f.; Kompare, 2005). The category may encompass nearly every television genre from drama series to game shows (see chapter 5.1.). Lastly, nostalgia in television is discussed in the context of contemporary drama series set in contemporary times, such as the Spanish drama series *Pelotas* (TVE, 2009-2010) (Smith, 2009a, p. 79).

Since it is not the purpose of this study to explain the whole range of nostalgia 'genres' but to investigate the variety of nostalgia on the layer of the text and its reception in different contexts, a clearly restricted quantity of examples is necessary. The study will therefore focus on television fiction, more precisely on reruns, remakes and period dramas. In the following section the characteristics of these 'genres' shall be outlined in more detail. They will give a first survey of the main fields, inside which nostalgia in television fiction can be expected. It is not the purpose of the section to claim that every example inside the categories is *per se* nostalgic. Whether a single programme can finally be named nostalgic has to be scrutinised in in-depth case studies, which will be the purpose of a subsequent section. Perhaps this will not always be the case. From the previous chapters, we already know that a pure reference to the past is not enough. As Hutcheon (2000, p. 196) expresses, there are surely "many ways to look backward" and not everyone has to be nostalgic.

5.1. Television reruns

In its broadest sense *rerun* means everything that is not first-run, therefore repetition, reissues, or retransmissions are used as synonyms (William, 1994, p. 162; Kompare, 2005, pp. xi, 170). Furthermore, according to Contreras and Palacio (2003), other more "euphemistic formulas" can be named such as "*multidifusiones*" [multi-diffusions] or "*segundo pases*" [second passes] (Contreras and Palacio, 2003, pp. 215 f.). All these

terms signify the practice of broadcasting a programme for more than one time, with purposes such as the amortisation of production costs, the adaptation on the advertisement market, or the addressing of different audiences at different times (Contreras and Palacio, 2003, p. 215; Schümchen, 2006, pp. 172 f.).

Two main kinds of reruns can be distinguished, namely “*kurzfristige Wiederholungen*” (Schümchen, 2006, p. 146), translatable as ‘short-term repetitions’, and ‘long-term’ repetitions. Schümchen (2006, p. 146) uses the term ‘short-term repetitions’ in order to describe repetitions in the context of early retransmission of programmes, as they can mostly be found in full programme channels. As an example for this kind of reruns, the author refers to fictional programmes in particular, such as TV films, feature films, daily soaps or series (Schümchen, 2006, pp. 146; 170 ff.). Some first-runs, daily soaps for instance, are repeated in the morning slots of the following day (Schümchen, 2006, p. 146). According to Weller (2004 cited in Schümchen, 2006, p. 116) depending on the license, some films are re-broadcasted in 24- or 72-hour intervals.

The second type of rerun, a rather ‘long-term’ type of repetitions, draws back on what Kompare (2006) names “television heritage”. For example, the author refers to reruns of 1950s television series in the 1970s (Kompare, 2006, pp. 101 ff.). Furthermore, these repetitions seem to be mostly concentrated on fictional series. However, they may also encompass a bigger range of genres than the short-term reruns. Kompare (2005, pp. 110 f.) for example, refers to reruns of shows and game shows, but also to news retrospectives such as *NBC: The First Fifty Years* (NBC 1976) or *CBS: On the Air* (CBS 1978), which include rerun pieces.

In general, reruns have not always been part of television schedules. As Williams (1994, p. 162) shows, until the Second World War in the US, reuses of television programmes were uncommon. “Repeat audience attendance was desirable, but maintaining a constant flow of individual patrons week after week remained a greater priority” (Williams, 1994, p. 162). It was not until the 1950s, when it became apparent that “repeats were successful in attracting not only the rapidly growing ‘new’ television audience, but also viewers who had already seen the original broadcasts” (Kompare, 2005, p. xvi), did it become a frequent practice (Williams, 1994, p. 163; Kompare, 2005, p. 131).

This is in line with what Schümchen (2006, p. 170) notes regarding Germany, where repetitions have long been seen as an indicator of the lesser quality of the television programme. However, according to Hickethier (1998, pp. 130 f.), already

with the early expansions of ARD⁷⁴ in the late 1950s, repetitions were broadcast during the non-primetime in order to fill the programme schedules. After the approval of private broadcasters in 1986 (Hickethier, 1998, p. 417), the number of reruns on German television further increased (Schümchen, 2006, p. 170). Many series that have been launched by private broadcasters had already been aired on public service channels (Hickethier, 1998, p. 436; see also Klippel and Winkler, 1994, p. 123). A quotation from *Der Spiegel* (1998), one of Germany's most read weekly magazines, documents this development:

“Experts have calculated that in the seventies, one out of ten, and today [1998] every third broadcasting minute includes a dacapo. Furthermore, the intervals between first and second broadcast have become shorter. And, unlike before, hardly any viewer complains about it. On the contrary, protest letters reach the stations if digestible mixes will not be served again”.
(*Der Spiegel*, 1998 cited in Schümchen, 2006, p. 170, [o.t.]⁷⁵)

The quotation not only underlines the increase of reruns in German television, it also indicates the changing connotation of reruns from a disruptive element towards a broadly accepted service (Schümchen, 2006, p. 170 f.) – a development that, according to Schümchen (2006, p. 171) must be seen in the context of the increasing extension of the television programme, which made it more difficult for the viewers to follow the first-run programme. With reference to Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992), it can be stated that within the course of time, watching reruns also became related to other ‘gratifications’ than first-run watching, with nostalgia as one of them.

In Spain, the use of reruns has also increased over the past decades (Contrera and Palacio, 2003, p. 215). Contrera and Palacio (2003, p. 216) refer here to both short-term repetitions (e.g. *Ally McBeal* on Telecinco) and long-term repetitions (see e.g. *Los vigilantes de la playa* [*Baywatch*] on Antena 3). Apart from the financial crisis of the television channels that has more recently increased reruns from the 1970s and 1980s (Bernal, 2012), a major factor was also the new multichannel landscape, which grew since the admittance of private television channels at the end of the 1980s (Moragas and

⁷⁴ The acronym ARD stands for *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [Consortium of public-law broadcasting institutions of the Federal Republic of Germany].

⁷⁵ Original quotation: *“Fachleute haben ausgerechnet, dass in den siebziger Jahren jede zehnte, heute aber jede dritte Sendeminute ein Dakapo beinhaltet. Außerdem sind die Zeitabstände zwischen Erst und Zweitausstrahlung deutlich kürzer geworden. Und anders als früher ärgert sich heute kaum ein Seher darüber. Im Gegenteil: Protestbriefe erreichen jetzt die Sender, wenn sattsam Verwurstetes nicht noch einmal serviert wird”* (*Der Spiegel*, 1998 cited in Schümchen, 2006, p. 170).

Prado, 2000, p. 212; Contrera and Palacio, 2003, pp. 215 f.). In this context, Contrera and Palacio (2003, pp. 215 ff.) forecast a similar development regarding the audience's acceptance. Therefore while, note the authors (2003, p. 215), the reruns often provoke critique, "the audiences will demand these broadcasts since every time it will be more difficult to concentrate big audiences with a single run" (Contrera and Palacio, 2003, p. 216 [o.t.])⁷⁶. Here we may also assume that apart from the demand of reruns from audiences who haven't seen the first-run, new 'gratifications' such as nostalgia play a major role. The institutionalisation of the nostalgia rerun is seen with the Spanish *Canal Nostalgia*. First broadcasted in 1996 on satellite television and later, from 2005 to 2007, under the title *TVE-50* in DVB-T, the channel was exclusively dedicated to show the archive material of TVE (see e.g. EvaSF, 2005; Sánchez, 2010; Tele Digital, 2010). Since 2010 it has been transmitted via IPTV (see e.g. Tele Digital, 2010).

Canal Nostalgia also reflects a development in the 'nostalgia industry', namely the growing importance of digital television (DVB-T) and internet television (IPTV). First of all, the further multiplication of channels due to DVB-T obviously included rerun content. In Germany, some pay-TV channels have rerun programmes as their main selling point. The most explicit is perhaps the special interest channel *Sky Nostalgia*, as well as *MGM Channel*, *kabel eins classics*, *Das Vierte* and *Heimatkanal* (on the German *Heimatsfilm* and nostalgia see also Ludewig, 2011). While *Sky Nostalgia*, *kabel eins classics*, and *Das Vierte* point to its programme mix of 'classic' movies and cult series (Sky, 2011), the other examples have their main focus on film reruns. We can also assume that other channels may focus on cheaper rerun programmes, an assumption that cannot be investigated further in study.

In Spain, *LaSexta3*, which focuses on classical and modern films, may be seen as in parts a rerun dedicated channel. As Contrera and Palacio (2003, p. 216) indicate, also for the pay-TV channel Canal+, reruns are one of the most important components. At the same time according to Prado (2010 [o.t.]) "online television consumption is an activity to that internet users dedicate each time more hours. Here videographic contents occupy more space than any other type of data"⁷⁷. Since, as Kompare (2005, p. 222) argues, "'new' media have an historic tendency to repackage 'old' media", reruns are

⁷⁶ Original quotation: "El público va a demandar estas emisiones en tanto en cuanto cada vez va a ser más difícil concentrar grandes audiencias en un solo pase" (Contrera and Palacio, 2003, p. 216).

⁷⁷ Original quotation: "Y así es como el consumo televisivo en línea es una de las actividades a las que los usuarios de Internet dedican cada vez más tiempo y el tráfico videográfico ocupa la Red en mayor proporción que cualquier otro tipo de datos" (Prado, 2010).

among their prior contents. Whether via legal (see e.g. Livestream, 2012; RTVE a la Carta, 2011b) or illegal internet sites – as Kompare (2005, p. 223) indicates, “[i]n an ongoing age of hacking, poaching, dubbing and ‘ripping’, the activities of [...] [the] users alter the rules of repetition” – the audience’s access to rerun programme has increased. Furthermore, says Kompare (2005), recording methods such as VCR are “explicitly designed upon the premise of mediated repetition, and have thus added a significant new dimension to the concept of the rerun, and to the very concept of the media text” (Kompare, 2005, p. 199). The “ultimate bearers of televisual repetition” (Kompare, 2005, p. 200) are DVD box sets. Kompare (2005, p. 208) calls this the “acquisitive repetition”.

5.2. Television remakes

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2012), a remake is “a film or piece of music that has been filmed or recorded again and rereleased”. As Oltmann (2008, p. 12) notes, it adapts an original film, the so-called “premake”⁷⁸, “to changing historical and cultural conditions and contexts” (Oltmann, 2008, p. 11 [o.t.]⁷⁹). According to the literature (Horton and McDougal, 1998; Oltmann, 2008) this again has consequences for the source text. Thus, in so doing, as Horton and McDougal (1998, p. 3) state, “a new text (the hypertext) [also] transforms a hypotext”. According to Oltmann (2008, p. 27) it is the remake that gives the premake the status of the ‘original’. The reception of the remake, says Oltmann (2008, pp. 31 ff.), may be understood as a kind of “rewriting” of the premake and as continuation of its discourses.

Generally, remakes are not always easy to differentiate from, for instance, sequels and prequels, spin-offs or parodies (Oltmann, 2008, p. 24). This is also the reason why Dika (2003, p. 205) talks of a general “crisis of the remake as a descriptive category”. With Oltmann (2008, p. 11) two main types of remakes can be distinguished, namely remakes that realise the adaptation on a local level – the author names for example Hollywood remakes of French comedies – or those that realise the adaptation on a temporal level, such as remakes of early Hollywood films in the 1990s. These

⁷⁸ Following Oltmann (2008) this term shall also be used in this work in case that it is referred to the first film. When it is called ‘original’ the term is at least put into simple quotation marks.

⁷⁹ Original quotation: “[Es] passt eine Story unter Rückkoppelung an den Vorgängerfilm veränderten historischen und kulturellen Gegebenheiten und Kontexten an” (Oltmann, 2008, p. 11).

categories are sufficient in the context of this work.⁸⁰ They may also be transferred to television.

Regarding adaptations on the local level it may be referred to the German and Spanish adaptations of the British format *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*. Here, it should be noted that in the context of television the term “remake” refers also to adaptations in the context of the trans-border format trade. According to Moran (2009, p. 115), “[t]he TV program format is a kind of template or recipe whereby particular industry knowledges are packaged to facilitate this process of remaking”. The format ‘remakes’ are further distinguishable in “‘close’ and ‘open’ adaptations” (Moran, 2009, p. 118 f.).

In the second case, we can also name remakes that may be located on a temporal level, for example, contemporary US remakes of early US television programmes such as *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982-1986; 2008-2009). They are more important in the context of this work, and will be explained more closely (see also chapter 6.2.). Other current examples (2009-2011) are here, for example (1) *90210*, the American remake of the success series *Beverly Hills, 90210* (FOX, 1990), which has been transmitted in a synchronised version both in Germany (Pro7, 2009) and in Spain (Telecinco, 2009) – here under the title *Sensación de Vivir: La nueva generación* – (2) *Burn Notice*, the American remake of the American series *Get Smart* (NBC, 1965) – the synchronised version in Germany was titled *Mini-Max* (ARD, 1967) and in Spain *Superagente 86* (TVE, 1968) – broadcasted both in Germany (Vox, 2009-2010) and in Spain, here as *Último Aviso* (Cuatro 2010 f.), or, (3) *Las chicas de oro* (TVE, 2010), the Spanish remake of the American television series *The Golden Girls*, which was broadcasted originally in the US between 1985-1992 and, since 1986, in a synchronised version in Spain.⁸¹ With these few examples it is evident that overlaps between the temporal and local level are not unusual.

As in the case of reruns, remakes are often made for economic reasons (see e.g. Frutkin, 2008, p. 8) – “the remake as ‘presold’ property” as Braudy (1998, p. 328) puts it. “But”,

⁸⁰ For a deeper categorisation see e.g. Eberwein (1998, pp. 28 ff.) who in the context of film distinguishes a total of fifteen categories of remakes with different subcategories each.

⁸¹ Other examples are *Hawaii Five-0* (USA 2010), the American remake of the American series *Hawaii 5-0* (USA 1968-1980), which as a remake, was broadcasted both in Germany (ARD, 1971) and in Spain (*Hawai 5-0*, TVE, 1973) and could be watched as synchronised remake in both countries (Sat.1, 2011; Telecinco, 2011). *V* (2009-2011), the American remake of the American series *V - The Final Battle* (USA 1983-1985) – broadcast in Germany under the title *V – Die außerirdischen Besucher kommen* (Sat.1 et al, 1988) and in Spain as *V* (TVE, 1985) – which could be watched in both countries, in Germany under the title *V – Die Besucher* (Pro7, 2011) and in Spain as *V* (TNT, 2010). *Knight Rider* (USA, 2008-2009), the American remake of the American original (USA, 1982-1986), broadcasted both as a synchronised first-run, rerun and remake in Germany and in Spain.

Braudy continues, “to conclude that remakes happen primarily for financial reasons obscures the way in which the remaker must also believe that this particular story still inspires what Ira Konigsberg here calls ‘another attempt to get it right’” (Braudy, 1998, p. 328) and, most important in the context of this work, that it might be related to added ‘gratifications’ such as nostalgia.

5.2.1. Film remakes of television series

The strategy of remaking ‘old’ texts into new ones is not restricted to one medium. It happens also from one medium to another. There is also a lot of exchange from film to television and *vice versa*. Eberwein (1998, p. 28) refers here three different possibilities: “a) a film remade as television film [...]; b) a film remade as a television miniseries [...]; c) a television series remade as a film”. Regarding the latter, which is furthermore most relevant in the context of this work, in 2004 Black (2004, p. 99) even talks about a “recent vogue”. He refers here to *Star Trek* (e.g. Wise, 1979; Abrams, 2009), *The Flintstones* (Levant, 1994), *The Addams Family* (Sonnenfeld, 1991), or *Wild Wild West* (Sonnenfeld, 1999) among others – all in all examples that “draw on a variety of television genres” (Black, 2004, p. 100) from science-fiction to Western.⁸²

With Black (2004, p. 101), the remakes of television programmes may be further categorised according to their relation to the sources: “they update the time frame (or not), alter the characters and/or the casting (or not), change from animation to live-action, renarrate familiar events, narrate new events, and so forth”. Here, we may also apply Oltmann’s (2008) distinction in local and temporal adaptations, whereby the latter is again most relevant in the context of this work.

5.3. Period dramas

The group of films that shall be commented in this section have many labels. Apart from period drama, a label that shall be used in this work, authors refer to them as costume dramas, heritage films, period films or also period pieces (Higson, 2003, p. 9;

⁸² Further examples are *Mission Impossible* (De Palma, USA, 1996) a film remake of the television series *Mission: Impossible* (USA, 1988-1990), *Wickie und die starken Männer* [Vicky the Viking] (Herbig, D, 2009), a live-action remake of the German/Japanese/Austrian animation series broadcasted in the 1970s (J/D 1972-1974), *The A-Team* (Carnahan, 2010), regarding the time frame updated film remake of the 1980s television series *The A-Team* (USA, 1983-1987), *Miami Vice* (Mann, 2006) temporally updated film remake of *Miami Vice* (USA, 1984-1989) or *Águila Roja* (Écija, 2011) film remake of the Spanish television series with the same title.

Neely, 2005, pp. 241 f.; Smith, 2006, p. 31; Voigts-Virchow, 2007, p. 123). In general, clear boundaries are hard to find. According to Çelik Norman (2009):

“Defining the parameters of the genre is problematic. The commercial labels ‘period drama’ and ‘costume drama’ may be attached by promoters and reviewers to any work with historical setting. No distinction is made between films based on literary classics, original film scripts and modern novels. There is no agreement as to when a historical moment becomes a ‘period’ and no effort to determine the significance of the historical context in the narrative of the film”. (Çelik Norman, 2009, p. 56)

However, in Glen Creeber’s *Television Genre Book* (2008) the costume drama indeed appears as a single television genre (Nelson, 2008). With television series such as *The Jewel in the Crown* or *Brideshead Revisited*, Nelson (2008, p. 49) refers to “big-budgeted, sumptuous” adaptations of English novels, both classic and modern (Nelson, 2008, p. 50). “While”, according to Nelson (2008, p. 49), “period adaptations of historical novels have long been a tradition of British television, ‘costume drama’ might be seen as more recent phenomenon”. This becomes also apparent in Higson’s (2003) work. The author describes the genre as follows:

“These are films set in the past, telling stories of the manners and proprieties, but also the often transgressive romantic entanglements of the upper and upper middle-class English, in carefully detailed and visually splendid period reconstructions”. (Higson, 2003, p. 1)

Even though the author’s investigation focuses on the English costume drama since 1980, he uses the label in a broader sense and highlights its fluidity regarding other genres (Higson, 2003, p. 12). Higson (2003, p. 12) takes the stance that “the costume drama label covers all period films, whether they depict actual historical figures or clearly fictional figures”. Therefore, they may encompass historical events or be literature adaptations (Higson, 2003, p. 12) and include both those films set in the distant and those set in the more recent past (Higson, 2003, p. 34). Apart from that, period dramas in general may not only be restricted to British film and television. Powrie (2003) for example, transfers the work of Higson to the French context. Furthermore, in other countries period dramas belong to the self-evident components of the television landscape.

There is a lot of evidence of period drama in Spanish television. As Smith (2006, p. 31) highlights, “[f]rom Francoism, through the transition, to the consolidation of Socialist dominance, period drama held a major place on Spanish television”. It seems

that the ‘legacy’ of the Franco Regime can be seen as one of the main reasons for that (see e.g. Morgan-Tamosunas, 2000, p. 113). Thus, as Morgan-Tamosunas (2000, p. 113) stress with respect to film, under Franco the tone and content of any representations of history was strictly determined, always in line with the regime.

“It was [thus] hardly surprising [...] that one of the first cultural projects of the transition – in cinema and other forms of cultural production – was one of historical retrieval, with the purpose of rewriting recent Spanish history from the previously disfranchised perspective of the losing side of the civil war”. (Morgan-Tamosunas, 2000, p. 113)

This goes hand in hand with what Palacio (2008) notes regarding television, stating that “[t]he basic operation of the huge TVE productions [during the transition] consisted in contributing to change the collective imagination of the Spaniards” (Palacio, 2008, p. 153 [o.t.])⁸³. For example, Palacio (2008, pp. 153 f.) refers to period series such as *Curro Jiménez* (1976), *Cervantes* (1980), *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1980), or *Los gozos y las sombras* (1982).

As Smith (2006, p. 31) highlights with reference to Palacio (2001), today “in-house ‘fiction’ remains the key element in lending legitimacy to a single channel or an entire TV system”. More recent examples are in *Águila Roja* (TVE1, 2009), an adventure series set in the Spain of the seventeenth century, or *Bandolera* (Antena 3, 2011) set in the Andalusia of the late nineteenth century. Clear period pieces, even though about the more recent past, are *La chica de ayer* (Antena 3, 2009), the Spanish adaptation of the British programme *Life on Mars* (BBC 2006), or the long-running period drama *Cuéntame cómo pasó* (La 1, 2001), which in 2011 reached its thirteenth season. A significant part of Spanish period dramas also deals with the Spanish past in the time of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936/39) with series such as *El Grand Hotel* (Antena 3, 2011), *La Señora* (La 1, 2009), or *Amar en tiempos revueltos* (La 1, 2002).⁸⁴ Apart from that, period dramas broadcasted in Spain in the time span 2009 to

⁸³ Original quotation: “*La operación básica de las grandes producciones de TVE consistió en coadyudar al cambio de imaginario colectivo de los españoles creando historias que posibilitaran los procesos de auto-identidad colectiva o, al menos, la socialización política*” (Palacio, 2008, p. 153).

⁸⁴ In contrast to the 1970s and 1980s period pieces that have been named by Palacio (2008), these examples are neither literature adaptations nor biopics, they rather take historical facts as starting point or background in order to narrate a hybrid of romantic dramas, melodramas, crime and/or adventure stories. While the period telenovela *Amar en tiempos revueltos* (La 1, 2002) foregrounds the historical – as Smith shows “*los elementos románticos puros [...] están constantemente incrustados en el comentario histórico o político, o viceversa*” [the pure romantic elements ... are constantly embedded in historical or political commentary or vice versa] (Smith, 2009, p. 128 [o.t.]) – in other examples such as *El Grand Hotel* (Antena 3, 2011) the historical background plays a rather secondary role even though also here issues of

2011 embrace international productions such as *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al vicio* (Cosmopolitan TV, 2011; original title: *Borgia*), *Los Borgia* (Cuatro, 2011; original title: *The Borgias*), or *Los Tudor* (Canal+, 2007; La1, 2010; original title: *The Tudors*), retelling European heritage in the form of, as Higson (2003, p. 4) puts it, “old stories about its monarchs” or popes. Other productions on Spanish television that show pieces of the American past are *Aquellos Maravillosos 70* (Antena3 Neox; original title: *That 70s Show*), or *Mad Men* (Cuatro, 2009; AMC, 2007).

It is a different case with the German television landscape. Apart from few in-house ‘in-country’ productions such as *Weißensee* (ARD, 2010) – a family drama series set in the German Democratic Republic of the 1980s, period television series mainly encompass those US or European productions that already have been mentioned in the Spanish context.⁸⁵ In-house period drama productions that retell German history focus more on TV movies (see e.g. *Go West – Freiheit um jeden Preis* (ProSieben, 2011), *Hindenburg* (RTL, 2011), *Laconia* (Das Erste, 2011), or *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (Das Erste, 2009)).

6. Case studies on nostalgia on the textual layer

This section is dedicated to the qualitative television analysis of nostalgia on offer in the text. It will provide an in-depth analysis of two examples from the nostalgia ‘genres’ as they have been previously outlined. In order to compare possible similarities and differences between Germany and Spain, an emphasis has been put on those television series, which was broadcasted in both countries. The series have been extracted from a sample of three years (2009-2011) of Spanish and German television fiction, choosing the best examples for their category. Since some of the outlined nostalgias are dependent on memory and since several investigations from the side of cognitive psychology could show that memory is most active “between 10 and 30” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 263), five examples have been further chosen according to the “reminiscence bump” of two different age groups. At the same time two, respectively three, fall into the “formative” years, those years of childhood and early adulthood namely which according to Mannheim are especially decisive in the formation of a generation (Volkmer, 2005, p. 236; Volkmer, 2006a, p. 6), of each one age group. In

class and gender are consequently broached.

⁸⁵ See *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011; ZDF, 2011), *Die Borgias – Sex. Macht. Mord. Amen* (*The Borgias*, USA 2011; ProSieben, 2011), or *Die Tudors* (original title *The Tudors*, USA 2007-2010; ProSieben, 2008).

order to cross-check possible nostalgias against the background of a purely media-transmitted, ‘prosthetic’ memory, one example is situated outside the life-span of both age groups. The following series are part of the sample:

- The first season of the rerun *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) (*Knight Rider* (RTLplus 1985); *El coche fantástico* (TVE, 1985)) and the fifth season of the rerun *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) (*Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966); *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966)).
- The first season of the remake *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) (*Knight Rider* (RTL, 2009); *El coche fantástico* (La1, 2008)) and the film remake *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998).
- The first season each of the period dramas *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) (ZDFneon, 2010; Cuatro, 2009) and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011) (*Borgia* (ZDF, 2011); *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al vicio* (Cosmopolitan TV, 2011)).

In each case, the analysis focuses on the layers of context, narration, aesthetic and design and characters (Mikos, 2008). Following the premises of the television analysis (Mikos, 2008) as they have also been stressed in the methodological part, it will integrate aspects from the nostalgia discourse, memory discourse and studies on aesthetic emotions as they have been outlined and combined in the theoretical section. It has been shown that concerning nostalgia, context and living environment are especially important, because in relation to different memories, personal or ‘we-group’ related, ‘real’ or ‘prosthetic’, it may elicit nostalgias in different ‘we-groups’ or not. Here the study must contain an ethnographic component. The Spanish and German audiences and eventual smaller ‘we-groups’, their “*spezifischen kulturelle[] Kontexte[]*” [specific cultural contexts] and the “*lebensweltliche Hintergründe*” [backgrounds of lifeworlds] (Mikos and Prommer, 2005, p. 163 [o.t.]) will be considered, in so far that each analysis is accompanied by a short review of the respective temporal contexts and programme contexts. Thereby, it should be noted here, no claims of completeness or depth can be made.

Later, every layer of the texts will be asked in which way it may “prefigure the cognitive and emotional activities of the spectators” (Prommer et al., 2003, p. 60 [o.t.]) in order to work as a trigger of nostalgia and where the possible nostalgia triggers may be located, be it on the level of the fictional world or on the level of the artefact. Where it is suitable, the public discourse from newspaper articles will be considered – as Higson (2003, p. 2) says, the “very specific audience of professional cultural

commentators” and “film critics”. In the German context it will mainly be drawn on articles from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SDZ), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* (FAS). Regarding the Spanish context, articles from *La Vanguardia*, *El País*, *ABC*, and *El Mundo* will be consulted. A complete discourse analysis will not be done here. The discourse fragments (this could be whole newspaper articles or text passages) will rather be interrogated regarding the question if the observations, arguments and comments made correspond with what has been explained on the textual layer as potential trigger of nostalgia. Some first conclusions regarding eventually shared nostalgias in different ‘we-groups’ can be drawn here. Both the cross-checking and contextualisation will give some first indicators of possible different readings. It will further allow in parts to “open to different cultural mappings” (Hepp, 2009), just as Hepp (2009) notes in the context of transcultural studies in general. However, in this step of the analysis the complex memory circumstances can only be considered in a very simplified form. If a reading is actually made, it will be scrutinised in the reception study in the last part of this work.

Next to the general genre contextualisation that has been previously mentioned, each sub-chapter is preceded by a short revision of the theoretical part in which the ‘modules’ that have been gained from the combination of the approaches shall be re-combined with a view on the analysis of the single genres. In the case of the remakes, the dominant relation to the past is the ‘reference’ to the premake, regarding reruns it is both the ‘reference’ to the first-run and the relation to the ‘original’ temporal context, and in the case of period dramas it is the narration of the better past. Coming from here, it is assumed that in each nostalgia ‘genre’, as they have been described previously, different nostalgias and nostalgia triggers are dominant. While ‘artefact nostalgia’ is expected to be dominant in remakes, period dramas are thought to offer above all potential triggers of what is called ‘F nostalgia’, and reruns are assumed to contain a mix of ‘F and A nostalgia’ on offer.

6.1. Reruns and nostalgia

Aside from the general lack of research regarding nostalgia and television and that a similar lack of research concerning television reruns has been highlighted by authors (Furno-Lamude and Anderson, 1992, p. 362; Spigel, 1995, p. 18; Kompare, 2005), television reruns are named frequently when it comes to nostalgia and television, both

regarding the scientific (Furno-Lamude and Anderson, 1992; Williams, 1994, p. 173 f.; Spigel, 1995; Grainge, 2002; Kompare, 2005; Dika, 2003, pp. 22 f.) and the public discourse⁸⁶. With reference to the literature, the introductory chapter on television reruns already stated that within the course of time a shift of connotation of the programme form took place, whereby nostalgia can be seen as one possible added meaning. This chapter will now look at reruns as possible triggers of nostalgia. The author is conscious of the fact that different readings of the reruns are possible – some of them may be explicitly not nostalgic. Nevertheless, the purpose of this analysis is to identify those layers of the text, which, according to the theoretical section, may possibly provoke nostalgia and favour the nostalgic emotion. If the nostalgia on offer is finally ‘decoded’, it will be scrutinised in the reception analysis in Part III of this study. Since some authors have already named reruns in the context of the nostalgic feeling, here we can draw on some previous studies. Further refinements will be made by means of application of the ‘modules’ as they have been worked out in the theoretical part of the work.

In contrast to other forms of nostalgia-fiction that also will be considered, reruns are the television programmes that have been seen as worth preserving and that have been taken from the archive as they are. It can be assumed that they have not been subject to “erosion or accretion” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125) on the material layer, they did not undergo any changes, neither regarding their formal structure nor regarding their content. When they haven’t been nostalgic before, for example reruns of nostalgic period dramas, as first-runs they probably did not work as triggers of nostalgia. The only thing that changed is the context: the programme context, the political context, the historical, or cultural context, and their reception, or as Bennett and Woollacott (1987) would say, the “reading formation”, “those specific determinations which bear in upon, mould and configure the relations between texts and readers in determinant conditions of reading” (Bennett and Woollacott, 1987, p. 64). Mikos (2008, p. 285 [o.t.]) suggests in this context that for example, the repetition of *Dallas* is perceived in different ways than the first-run, since it is decoded on the basis of different “*diskursiver Praktiken*” [discursive practices]. Due to the ‘displacement’, a whole range of references and ‘gaps’

⁸⁶ Starting from US cable channels such as *Nostalgia Network* (later *Nostalgia Good-TV*) launched in 1984 (Grainge, 2002, p. 48 f.), the Spanish *Canal Nostalgia* (1996-2005) respectively *TVE 50 Años* (2005-2007) featuring TVE’s (Televisión Española’s) archive programme, or the German pay-TV channel *Sky Nostalgie*, all are specialized on television reruns. Not to mention the high number of rerun-related content one finds by doing a simple search for “nostalgia and television” via google.

between past and present arise, some of which depend upon the knowledge of the first-run and the knowledge of the 'original' programme context (e.g. one that sets the first-run reception against the rerun-reception), others are also recognisable without the knowledge of the first-run (e.g. clashes with the new programme context). They will be explored in more detail. The main questions are: what are the potential objects of nostalgia and which aspects provoke that the new reading is nostalgic?

First and foremost, when reruns may be called nostalgia 'genre' as it is supported both by the academic and the public discourse, then we may assume that nostalgia is one mood audiences may expect when they watch a rerun. Later, the text and its context have to be further analysed. Regarding the macro level, more precisely, the layer of the rerun as a whole, a reference to Kompare's (2005) study is suitable. As Kompare argues, "[c]hanging perceptions, more than anything else, have had the most significant effects on the cultural status of television. The past itself cannot change, but its meanings and uses for the present can" (Kompare, 2005, p. 107). In the US context Kompare explains how different 'reading formations' contributed to a revaluation of reruns in the 1970s (Kompare, 2005, p. 103). The author concentrates on the localisation of the cultural creation of possible gaps between a 'now' and 'then' on a macro-level (Kompare, 2005, p. 107). Kompare refers here to a whole range of factors for changing connotation, highlighting "retrospective classifications of television museums and archives, journalistic commentary, academic inquiry, and nascent fan culture" (Kompare, 2005, p. 105). All together they contributed to a "growing legitimation of past television" (Kompare, 2005, p. 120) and to the construction of a "television heritage" in the US – serving parts of the necessary basis for the narration of the better (television) past (Kompare, 2005, p. 139).⁸⁷ Furthermore the recipient, so one can suppose, who does not

⁸⁷ For example the study shall refer to some aspects the author highlights. A key factor is the myth of the 'Golden Age of Television' in American TV (Kompare, 2005, p. 107). "While", says Kompare (2005, p. 111) "the Golden Age was most heavily promoted by television itself [...] [television] could only achieve long-term legitimation" by entering the museum and archives. Apart from that, Kompare highlights that scholars began to investigate television and its cultural value. "Through such designations [namely the concern with social and cultural relevance of television], the lines of academic television heritage were drawn" (Kompare, 2005, p. 123). Lastly, argues Kompare (2005, pp. 114 ff.), the broad perception of change regarding the living circumstances in the 1970s and before contributed to the valorization of the past. In this context the author refers explicitly to the work of Davis (1974) and his approach on nostalgia as dependent on "the way we *make* [...] [the past] contrast" with the present (Davis, 1974 cited in Kompare, 2005, p. 114) – an assessment which is often shared by whole generations and especially present among "adolescents and young adults" (Davis, 1974 cited in Kompare, 2005, p. 115). On this level, Kompare shows how journalistic articles, books and others create 'we-identities' around television programmes, such as the one for the so-called 'Baby Boomers' (Kompare, 2005, pp. 115 f.). In the context of this work we may suggest also that processes of remaking contribute to the valorization of the premake, for instance, it has previously been mentioned, by giving it the status of an 'original' (Oltmann,

know the first-run, can here acquire knowledge upon which the narration of a better past, respectively nostalgia, may be enabled. Kompare (2005) refers here only to a collective scope. From the theoretical part, above all from the study of Davis (1977) to which Kompare (2005, p. 114) refers, it can be deduced, that equal processes of “retrospective classification” arise on the individual level. Apart from that, on the level of the rerun as a whole, respectively the rerun as an artefact, it must be considered what O’Sullivan (1991, p. 163) points out regarding early television memories, and how they work as reference points that make us aware of changes between our past and present identity. Here is probably where another ‘gap’ may be located, which makes the rerun a potential trigger of nostalgia at least for those who remember the first-run. It can also be assumed that here “retrospective classifications” on an individual level are relevant.

As we can assume that the rerun as a whole may already work as a “mnemonic prompt”, the analysis will take possible reference points into account by considering aspects of genres, the rerun/first-run in its ‘original’ cultural context, and the rerun/first-run in its ‘original’ programme context both in Germany and Spain. Additionally, the journalistic discourse may be considered. However, the reception study will facilitate more concrete observations.

Further, before the background of chapter 4 on aesthetic emotions, it is suggested that the nostalgic reading may concern every single layer of the text. Also at this point the existence or creation of a gap in relation to present modes can be expected to be essential. Be it on the textual layer or regarding the reception, nostalgia depends upon the trisection in prelapsarian, lapse, and postlapsarian (Tannock, 1995), whereby the present is shown as worse in comparison to the past (Davis, 1979, p. 15), whether, as it has been noted with reference to Davis (1979, pp. 18 ff.), in the form of simple, reflexive, or interpreted nostalgia.

Assuming that ‘artefact nostalgia’ is important when it comes to television reruns, the first question must be how the audiences become aware of an artefact (see also Tan, 1996, p. 65). Tan (1996, pp. 34 f.) supposes that artefact emotions are more likely to arise in people who have a special affection for the medium. In the context of television reruns these are probably the viewers who know the first-run. For them, we can suppose, any artefact of the rerun may work as “mnemonic prompt”, depending on the “retrospective classification” as a potential trigger of nostalgia. With reference to

2008, p. 27).

Tan (1996, p. 65) it has also been shown that “[s]udden twists in the plot” or very intensive F emotions can affect that the viewers become aware of the artefact layer (Tan, 1996, p. 65; Visch et al., 2010, p. 1440). This may also apply to television reruns. However, one can argue here, there is one factor that mainly assures that a rerun or single artefact of that rerun catches the attention of both the audiences who know and those who don’t know the first-run, which is its “differential quality”. The term “differential quality” was coined by Christiansen (1909) and has later been used by the Russian Formalists (Striedter, 1989). It points to the novelty a device can contain by contrasting with others. Novelty in turn is again a major source of attention.⁸⁸ Christiansen explicitly refers to the fact that in the course of time, forms can go through a ‘growth’, “caused by estrangement new differences and emotive qualities/qualities of mood often associate refreshingly into the aesthetic objects” (Christiansen, 1909, p. 124 [o.t.])⁸⁹. A first question may then be in which way the television rerun or single aspect of it contrasts with the existent things. In this context, Lowenthal (1986) is worth mentioning. As the author notes, “[t]he awareness of things past derives from two distinct but often conjoined traits: antiquity and decay. Antiquity involves cognizance of historical change, decay of biological or material change” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125).

Since “erosion or accretion” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125) are not normally observable in the reruns that the study shall refer to here⁹⁰, antiquity is what is interesting in this context. According to Lowenthal (1986, p. 125) “marks” are “anachronistic styles or historical associations”. This is in line with Tashiro, who notes that, “[o]bjects selected for their transparent resonance become opaque; those included as neutral filler find unexpected prominence within the obsessions of a new setting” (Tashiro, 1998, p. 8). Consequently it is assumed that it is first and foremost a matter of comparison of the text and its *new* context. Whether the past is later constructed as better and worth longing for or not is a question of context and reception and “retrospective classification”. Apart from that, the single layers may contain characteristics that may favour a nostalgic reading or not. We may also assume that artefacts exposed by reruns may make the past desirable, just as Higson (2003)

⁸⁸ As Werber (1998) notes, in the early eighteenth century, Leibniz referred to the fact that only an object that offers the charm of novelty is strong enough to attract attention. Eder (2002, pp. 42f.) shows that Kant and Platner referred to novelty as a major trigger of attention.

⁸⁹ Original quotation: “*durch die Entfremdung entstehen ganz neue Differenzen, und ihre Stimmungsqualitäten fügen sich oft belebend in den ästhetischen Objekten ein*” (Christiansen, 1909, p. 124).

⁹⁰ This does not mean that video material is not under threat of disintegration (more on that see e.g. Ernst 2007, pp. 153 ff.).

describes it in the context of the heritage film. Here is surely relevant what Sprengler (2011) in the contexts of the 1950s calls the “self-mythologizing efforts” of an era and that makes the objects it produced good objects of nostalgia from a present position (Sprengler, 2011, p. 47).

Another relevant point will be the (new) referential character the artefacts may gain over the course of time, such as a general indexical relationship to (cultural) products of the era, which is not only recognisable for those who know the first-run but also for those who do not know it.⁹¹ On this layer artefacts may work as a “mnemonic prompt” and depending on the respective “retrospective classification” provoke nostalgia. As Sprengler (2011, p. 94) shows with reference to Lord, props may have a “cultural baggage” that may impede or, shall be assumed, supports nostalgia.

Regarding the layer of the fictional world, reruns, it has been mentioned previously, when they are not reruns of, for example, nostalgic period dramas or already as first-run enable ‘empathetic F nostalgia’, most probably do not expose nostalgia. However, it may be expected that examples can be found that favour a nostalgic reading. In this context Herrera-De La Muela’s (2009) work on the Spanish teen-series *Verano Azul* (1982) can be considered. With reference to the terminology of White and Schwoch (1997), the television scholar shows how the rerun of the 1980s series favours nostalgia since its first-run already worked as an “*agente historiador*” [agent of history] (2009, p. 158 [o.t.]) who naturalises the conflicts of the transition era (Herrera-De La Muela, 2009). Similarly, this is explained by Dika (2003) who notes the function of the television reruns in the “flow of television programming” (Dika, 2003, p. 203). The 1960s shows she refers to

“reflected little [...] historical upheavals; instead they presented viewers with linear narratives, stable time and space, and integrated characters and images. The return of these products in our contemporary era still carries the connotation of order within a context of historical disruption and hence serves as a form of denial”. (Dika, 2003, p. 203)

⁹¹ In the course of their investigation on “popular music and photography as technologies of memory” Keightley and Pickering (2006, p. 152) describe a shift towards the mere “historical representation”. “Where these [may have] had little, if any significance in the past they become considerably more salient as a result of the passage of time” (Keightley and Pickering, 2006, p. 152). The reruns, we can say, become icons of their time. Likewise in the context of photography, the same mechanism is described by Fischer (1981, p. 126).

These observations are in line with Bennett (1996) who, in the context of the reproduction of the “classic text of the European imperial archive” (Bennett, 1996 cited in Hutcheon, 2000, p. 201) refers to a similar mechanism. It is, says Bennett,

“‘always to risk its willing and wistfully nostalgic assent to (re)claim its own authority. Those texts are simply so heavily overcoded, value laden, that the production and reception of the ‘new’ text necessarily becomes bound to the tradition that encompasses and promotes the old ‘authentic’ version’”. (Bennett, 1996 cited in Hutcheon, 2000, p. 201)

Consequently, in this context it is inevitable to hold the picture of the time that is painted against ‘real history’. Apart from that, regarding the rerun, we must consider if the text enables ‘empathetic F nostalgia’, or if it exposes nostalgic music. If, as Böhn (2007, p. 150) suggested, quotations may lead into “nostalgic longing” towards the “restoration” of past emotions, we can at least assume that any F or A emotion that is remembered in the context of the first-run and that is lacking from a present position can be the object of nostalgia.

Accordingly, the analysis will contain the following research steps. A general description of the format will be followed by a brief contextualisation of the rerun against the socio-political and programme background of the time of its ‘original’ broadcast both in Germany and Spain. In a second step, “retrospective classifications” in both countries will be discussed. The following analysis will look at the micro-level. Here, it can already partly be considered to which ‘we-group’ the respective potential trigger for nostalgia is targeted at. References to the public discourse, in form of press articles, provide further evidence. In the centre of the analysis are two examples, *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982), respectively *Knight Rider* (RTLplus, 1985) and *El coche fantástico* (TVE, 1985) and *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961), respectively *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) and *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966). Both were broadcasted as first-runs on German and Spanish television and between 2009 and 2011 could be viewed as reruns.

6.1.1. Analysis of nostalgia in *Knight Rider*

Knight Rider is an American action series released in the US in 1982 by Universal Television (Moody, 2001, p. 69; Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 664). The series ran for four seasons. Apart from the remake *Knight Rider* (2008), which will be considered in a further section of this work, several spin-offs of the series were

produced such as *Team Knight Rider* (1997), and the TV movie *Knight Rider 2000* (1991). As Moody (2001, p. 69) argues, children have been “wooded partly by the range of toys and merchandise marketed in conjunction with the series”. Today the complete seasons of the series are available on DVD.

Knight Rider is centred on Michael Knight (David Hasselhoff), a Vietnam veteran and ex-policeman who changes his identity after nearly dying from a gunshot wound. As we learn, the rich and terminally ill businessman Wilton Knight chose him to fight against crime for his Foundation for Law and Government (FLAG). On his quest, Michael is supported by KITT (Knight Industries Two Thousand), a talking super-computer-car in the form of a black Pontiac Trans-Am. KITT is equipped with diverse features such as rockets, smoke bombs, a surveillance mode, a turbo boost, and beyond that, a know-it-all personality. Michael also relies on a support-team, consisting of Devon Miles (Edward Mulhare), the leader of the foundation after Wilton Knight’s death, and the mechanic Bonnie Barstow (Patricia McPherson) and their mobile home headquarters in the form of a truck.

Apart from certain science-fiction elements, the series could be assigned to the action adventure genre (Moody, 2001, p. 69) – later represented by series such as *The A-Team* (NBC, 1983) or *Airwolf* (CBS, 1984). As Miller states in 2001 and 2008 in the context of American television, the genre, despite “[c]heap or rerun action series [which] survived on cable networks and satellite services” (Miller, 2001, p. 17; 2008, p. 24) is “largely over as far as broadcast TV is concerned” (Miller, 2008, p. 24). Creeber (2008) however, shows that it relived a certain renaissance in the form of the high quality blockbuster series *24* (Fox, 2001), both broadcasted on German (RTL II, 2003) and on Spanish television (Antena 3, 2003). However, argues Creeber (2008, p. 27) “*24* was distinctly different in form and style to the action series of the past”. For example, the author (2008, p. 27) refers here to an increased realism, higher levels of suspense and stylistic novelties such as its specific use of the split-screen.⁹²

⁹² Correspondingly it is not further astonishing that *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* discusses *Knight Rider* as come back of the “*guten, alten und einfach gestrickten Action-Epen der achtziger Jahre*” [good, old, simply structured action-epics of the eighties] (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 1996 [o.t.]).

6.1.1.1. *El coche fantástico* in Spain

Knight Rider or, *El coche fantástico* as is its Spanish title, was first broadcasted in Spain in 1985 on the public-service broadcasting channel TVE (Capilla and Solé, 1999, p. 58). According to *El Mundo*, it was one of the most popular series of the 1980s (La Vanguardia, 1985; Cuartango, 2008). Antena 3 bought the series in 1990 (La Vanguardia, 1990) and broadcasted it from 1991 to 1998 (La Vanguardia, 2006). Further reruns of the series were broadcasted on Antena 3 between 2005 and 2008 (Aniorte, 2008), or from 2007 to 2009 on Cuatro (Manuls, 2007). In 2010, the digital channel Antena Neox showed various seasons in random order (Neox, 2011). In 2011, the series could be viewed on Telecinco (La Vanguardia, 2011a).

6.1.1.1.1. Some contextual notes – 1980s Spain

In order to give a brief idea of the socio-political context, and if we apply the term *Transición* [transition] – the change from the dictatorial regime of Franco to a democratic society (Palacio, 2011, p. 201) – in its broadest sense, mid-1980s Spain was at the end phase of this era. In its widest definition, stresses Palacio (2011, p. 201), the *Transición* has been described as encompassing the years of late Francoism until 1986, when Spain became a member of the European Union.

By that time, the strongest political party was the *Spanish Socialist Party* (PSOE) (Juliá, 1999, p. 111), and Spain, “[h]itherto separated from the welfare state that existed in Europe” (Juliá, 1999, pp. 115 f.), went through a time of economic growth (see also Palacio, 2008, p. 94). According to Juliá (Juliá, 1999, p. 116), a sensation of “tranquillity and security” started to accompany the spirit of optimism that had already marked the early years of *Transición* (Juliá, 1999, p. 116). In this respect it is not surprising that *El coche fantástico* is described in *El Mundo* as representative of ““this epoch of the first times during which not everything was possible, but, it seemed like”” (García Ruipérez, 2011 [o.t.])⁹³.

In the mid-1980s, Spanish television audiences lived through the last years before commercial television with “no fewer than twenty home-grown prime-time fiction serials, of which the great majority were period pieces” (Smith, 2006, p. 31). As Palacio (2008, p. 159) notes, Spanish series such as *Anillos de oro* (1983), *Segunda*

⁹³ Original quotation: “*Teatro Nuevo Alcalá se embarque en un viaje a los 80, ‘aquella época de las primeras veces en que no todo era posible pero, eso sí, lo parecía’*” (García Ruipérez, 2011).

enseñanza (1986), or *Tristeza de amor* (1986), very much reflected the social climate. International series from *Alf* (TVE 1988) [NBC 1986], *Las Chicas de Oro* (TVE 1986) [The Golden Girls, NBC 1985], *Dinastía* (TVE 1983) [Dynasty, ABC 1981], *MASH* (TVE 1983) [CBS 1972], *Corrupción en Miami* (TVE 1986) [Miami Vice, NBC 1984], or *El Equipo A* (TVE 1985) [The A-Team, NBC 1983], to *Heimat* (Autonomous channels, 1985) [ARD, 1982], or *MacGyver* (TVE, 1987) [ABC, 1985], or *Magnum* (Autonomous channels, 1985) were also shown.

6.1.1.1.2. Discourses on *El coche fantástico*

As Kompare (2005, p. 105) states, regarding the creation of a gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ “retrospective classifications” of institutions such as television museums and others are relevant. In the theoretical part of this study it already has been shown that the television museum in Spain has less importance than in the US, where Kompare’s study is situated. Among the two temporal exhibitions that have been named, only “TV World. Television Culture” (*Món TV. La cultura de la televisió*) could support the construction of a television heritage.⁹⁴ However, *Knight Rider* was not included among the quality fiction on which the exposition focused on. In general, the specific Spanish context is rather marginally discussed. The second, “Are you ready for TV?” (*¿Estáis listos para la televisión?*) did not consider popular television fiction.

Regarding the academic discourse with reference to Jordan and Morgan-Tamosunas (2000) it can be stated that those designations, which, according to Kompare (2005), are concerned with social and cultural relevance of television, and that draw “the lines of academic television heritage” (Kompare, 2005, p. 123) are “establishing itself” (Jordan and Morgan-Tamosunas, 2000, p. 1). However, it seems that *Knight Rider* has not been considered in a Spanish context up to now. ‘Golden age myths’ as they have been created around certain epochs of Spanish television (Smith, 2006, p. 12; Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2007; Palacio, 2008, p. 51), also do not include *El coche fantástico*.

Nevertheless, apart from that, other institutions had their part in creating an aura of television heritage around the series and providing the ground for possible nostalgic readings. Alongside television channels and single programmes – the period show *Peta Zeta* (Antena 3, 2008) for example presented *Knight Rider* as one of the period’s icons

⁹⁴ As Ramoneda, the director of CCCB puts it: “And whether we like it or not, television is a phenomenon which has played a central role in shaping the mind-set of our society” (Ramoneda 1999).

(Quilez, 2008), also Cuatro highlights the rerun as “classic” (Cuatro, 2006) – non-academic television compendiums in Spain include *El coche fantástico*. For example the compendiums *Telemanía. Las 500 mejores series de TV de nuestra vida* [Telemanía. The top 500 television series of our life] (Capilla and Solé, 1999) and *Televisión de Culto. 100 series míticas* [Cult television. 100 mythic series] (Blanco, 1996), which show a clear valorisation of the series they contain.

Furthermore, the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles in Spain’s leading daily newspapers promotes the series as part of television heritage. *El coche fantástico* is here named a “*título de culto*” [cult title] (Broc, 2009 [o.t.]), “*ícono de la televisión de los ochentas*” [icon of ’80s television] (La Vanguardia, 2009 [o.t.]), “*mito[] televisivo[]*” [television myth] (Cornejo, 2008 [o.t.]), “*verdadero mito de los adolescentes que hoy transitan la cuarentena*” [true myth of the adolescents, who are now (2009) in their 40s] (Carol, 2009 [o.t.]), or just “*emblemática[]*” [emblematic] series (Cuervo, 2004 [o.t.]).

Lastly, *El coche fantástico* has a Spanish speaking fan club (Club de Fans, 2011). Websites such as elcochefantastico.net (2011) give Spanish-speaking *aficionados* a discussion forum. Furthermore, the remake *Knight Rider* (2008) and the discourses that surround it holds a part in the transformation and valorisation of the premake. TVE for instance remembers the original in the context of the remake as “*la mítica serie*” [the mythic series] of the 1980s (RTVE, 2011). Further discourses that establish the premake as a potential trigger of nostalgia will be noted in 6.2.1.1.

6.1.1.2. *Knight Rider* in Germany

Apart from brief interruptions, the German synchronised version of *Knight Rider* has been broadcasted nearly continuously on German television until the present day. The first broadcast of the series can be dated back to 1985 (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 665) – at that time, states Moorstedt (2009), Michael Knight and KITT were clear heroes for German children. It was the first success of the private channel RTLplus (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 665). Later, *Knight Rider* could also be watched on Das Erste (1991), RTL (1993-1994; 1996; 2002-2003), RTL II (1996-1997) and various other private channels throughout the years. Since 2005, reruns of the series have been shown on the private channel *Das Vierte*⁹⁵ and, since 2009, on the pay-TV

⁹⁵ In 2006, *Knight Rider* reached a 1.4% market share in the 14-49 age group on *Das Vierte* (ots, 2006).

channel *AXN* (2009-2011) (Imfernsehen, 2011). Since 2011, the series has also been transmitted in HD on the pay-TV channel TNT.

6.1.1.2.1. Some contextual notes – 1980s Germany

When *Knight Rider* was first broadcasted, West Germany was undergoing major changes on the political level. After more than a decade, the government changed from the Social Democrat Party (SPD) and Free Democratic Party (FDP) coalition to a coalition of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). With this change the *Ära Kohl* [era Kohl] (Schildt, 2002) began, named after the then CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl. Germany in the 1980s was also shaped by a mobilisation of the peace and environmentalist movement, the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), and the German Reunification (1990), but it also faced major political scandals such as the so-called *Flick-Skandal* [Flick scandal] or the *Barschel Affäre* [Barschel affair] in 1987 (Schildt, 2002). As Heidemann (2002) notes, the national debt of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) increasingly affected the living circumstances of its citizens. Apart from that, the author (2001) names two factors, which finally led to the downfall of the state: firstly, the lack of democratic legitimacy, and secondly, Gorbachev's reform politics, which accentuated the inability to reform of the government. Increasing demonstrations for political changes and liberalisation and mass flights finally brought the end of the German Democratic Republic in 1989 (Heidemann, 2002; Pulzer, 1999, p. 40).

Regarding television, the mid-1980s reflected the beginning of the so-called dual system in West Germany. As Hickethier (1998, pp. 450 ff.) shows, programmes included mini-series focusing on German and European history or literary films. Apart from that, television series such as *Liebling Kreuzberg* [Darling Kreuzberg] (SFB and others, 1986), *Die Schwarzwaldklinik* [The Black Forest Hospital] (ZDF, 1985), or *Die Lindenstraße* (ARD, 1985) could be viewed (Hickethier, 1998, pp. 460 ff.). While according to Hickethier (1998, p. 462) both private and public service channels broadcasted American series and serials such as *Dallas* (CBS, 1978; ARD 1981), *Dynasty* (ABC, 1981; ZDF, 1983; German title [*Der Denver-Clan*]), *Magnum* (CBS, 1980; ARD, 1984), *Miami Vice* (ARD, 1986), *The A-Team* (Das Erste, 1987), or *Bonanza* (ARD 1962-1965; Sat.1 1987), programmes with more violent content such as *Airwolf* (Sat.1, 1986) were shown on private channels (Hickethier, 1998, p. 446 f.).

Surveys made in the 1980s showed that “‘nearly the whole GDR population’” watched the television of the “‘class enemy’” (Loser, cited in Linke, 1987, p. 48 [o.t.])⁹⁶.

6.1.1.2.2. Discourses on *Knight Rider* today

Also in the German case “retrospective classifications” of *Knight Rider* may be observed. Regarding television museums and archives, at least until 2006 *Knight Rider* was not included in the collection of the *Deutsche Kinemathek – Museum für Film und Fernsehen*. However, as stated by its curator in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagzeitung*, its integration indeed had been aspired (Niggemeier, 2006). Already this discussion, we can argue, exposes *Knight Rider* as part of the (German) television heritage. Apart from that, in general, the museum understands television as part of the everyday culture (Niggemeier, 2006) and also includes popular television in its valorisation process.

It is a similar case regarding the academic discourse. Apart from two studies that focus on *Knight Rider* from a media pedagogical perspective (Schmidbauer and Löhr, 1992; Anfang and Schorb 1998), in general the rising “concern with social and cultural ‘relevance’” (Kompare, 2005, p. 122) of television, which Kompare sees as fundamental for the drawing of the “lines of an academic television heritage” and for an eventual subsequent nostalgic reading, can also be observed in Germany. Referring to Goldbeck (2004, pp. 58 ff.), the reception of *Cultural Studies* approaches whose start may be located in the 1990s increased over the last decades. A growing scientific interest in popular culture from the side of media and communication studies was observed (Goldbeck, 2004, p. 16).

Aside from this, the series is contained in non-academic compendiums on television such as *Kultserien und ihre Stars – Das Pflichtprogramm* [cult series and their stars – the compulsory programme [o.t.]] (Keller, 1998) or *Kultserien im Fernsehen* [cult series on television] (Haderer and Bachschwöll, 1996 [o.t.]). Television channels promote *Knight Rider* as part of television’s heritage. According to Weichert (2002 [o.t.]) RTL calls it a “*Manifest der 80er*” [manifest of the 80s]. *Das Vierte* refers to *Knight Rider* as a “*Serienklassiker*” [classic series] (see *Das Vierte*, 2007 [o.t.]) and to KITT as “*legendär[...]*” [legendary] (ots, 2006 [o.t.]).

⁹⁶ “Eine Anfang der 80er Jahre in der DDR ausgewertete Erhebung habe, so Loser ‘selbst die schlimmsten Befürchtungen (übertröffen)’: ‘Praktisch die gesamte Bevölkerung der DDR’, berichtet er, orientieren sich, was diesen Bereich angeht, ‘nicht am DDR-Fernsehen, sondern am Fernsehen des ‘westdeutschen Klassenfeindes’” (Linke, 1987, p. 48).

The public discourse in the form of newspaper articles also holds its part in the “retrospective classification” of *Knight Rider*. Authors name the series “*ein Kulturerlebnis*” [a cultural experience] (Weichert, 2002), “*Achziger-Kultserie*” [eighties cult series] (Sauerbrey, 2009), “*Kultserie aus America*” [cult series from America] (Bäumer, 2003), “*eine Attraktion aus dem TV-Museum, die heute noch Programme füllt*” [an attraction from the TV-museum, which still fills the programme] (Feldmer, 2006), the “*unschlagbar kultige Serie*” [unbeatable cult series] (cepes, 2002), “*die legendäre TV-Serie Knight Rider*” [the legendary tv-series] (Zirnstein, 2011), or “*Kultserie der 80er*” [cult serie of the 80s] (Dinauer, 1999). Finally, *Knight Rider* is part of a fan culture reflected in fan websites (Schulte, 2011) or fan literature (Schulte, 2009). Furthermore, in Germany the discourse about the remake *Knight Rider* (2008) establishes the remake as a potential trigger of nostalgia (see 6.2.1.1.).

6.1.1.3. Nostalgia on the single layers of the text

6.1.1.3.1. Narration

With the exception of episode number 19, in which Michael meets Stephanie Mason, his fiancée of his former life⁹⁷, the narration of *Knight Rider* is not nostalgic in the sense that it is narrated from the perspective of a protagonist who longs for a better past, as Higson (2003) has described it in the context of the heritage film. Apart from the pilot, which contextualises the series and tells the history of Michael Long’s metamorphosis to Michael Knight, each episode follows a similar scheme. An exposition that usually introduces the new case follows the coming into action of Michael Knight and KITT. In their fight against injustice – often cases of corruption or sabotage – they usually compel the attention of their opponents, who then in turn do their best to obstruct to the mission. Action scenes, in the form of chases and fights in which KITT exposes its

⁹⁷ This episode with the title *White Bird* is the only one in which Michael Knight is directly confronted with his past identity Michael Long. The episode starts when a newspaper article on his former fiancée Stephanie Mason catches Michael’s attention. Stephanie has been arrested for collaborating in an illegal transmission of money which Michael is unwilling to take for granted. He thus starts investigating in the case in whose course, unnecessary to mention, it turns out that the woman is innocent. Through the investigation Michael starts falling prey to nostalgia. Most evidently this is articulated in a flashback (min. 00:06:00) in form of a montage sequence of sepia tinted photographs of his former fiancée, underlined with Stephanie’s declaration of love and romantic rock music (the song *White Bird Must Fly* by the band *It’s a beautiful day* (1969)). In the following Michael makes no secret of his feelings and his simple intentions to retrieve this part of his past back into a present that lacks of comparable relationships. Miles instead brings him back to reality and provides the interpretative layer hinting to the negative side of his former identity as a cop with enemies who are out to kill him: his conclusion “You can’t get back. You can’t even afford to look back” lets us make the right anticipation about the end of the episode.

skills, then follow. In the last minutes, the duo prevents the worst-case scenario from happening, so at the end of the episode 'order' is restored. A sub-plot usually integrates Michael's romantic interests with one of the central, innocent female characters. A certain humour arises from the conversations between Michael and KITT, normally when KITT's computer-brain is unable to understand human behaviour and Michael's explanations lead to an even greater lack of understanding.

However, in a dominant strand, the series seems to simplify Cold War politics to a simple good-bad dichotomy in favour of the West. It presents the 1980s as somehow less complex, as if it was easier to distinguish what is right or wrong. In this respect, the 'return' of the series may, just as Dika puts it in the context of reruns in general, hold "the connotation of order within a context of historical disruption and hence serves as a form of denial" (Dika, 2003, p. 203). In doing so, the series' rerun enables 'F nostalgia' or serves the pattern for an own nostalgia directed towards the 'original' temporal context. At the same time, according to Moody (2001, p. 71), regarding other aspects, *Knight Rider* presents a "much more complex and ambiguous vision". A dominant factor, argues the television scholar (2001, p. 74), is that the series frequently highlights small communities or private persons that are "threatened by high-level corruption and the machinations of big business", often on a state governmental level. The series often comes to ambiguous conclusions in relation to the state authorities itself.⁹⁸ From this perspective, so it can be argued, the nostalgic narration is rather undermined.

6.1.1.3.2. Aesthetic and design

The aesthetic and design of *Knight Rider* is instantly recognisable as being part of the 1980s. Already the credits relate to past television. The use of technicolour aesthetics makes the series look anachronistic to the viewers who are used to contemporary television.

Camera, montage and lighting

Camera, montage and lighting of *Knight Rider* are conventional and simple. Dominant camera views are long shots that establish new settings or expose the velocity and skilfulness of KITT, the major prop of the series. The human body is rather shown in

⁹⁸ See here for example the first episode on *Deadly Manoeuvres* on arms running in the American Army at ones end the "go army!" sticker on KITT can only be understood as ironic comment; or *Just My Bill* which portrays a corrupt political system.

longer shots such as medium close-ups while nearer close-ups are concentrated on the exposition of objects, above all aspects of KITT. Camera movements are mostly restricted to panoramas and optical zooms, travelling shots are exceptional (see e.g. season 1, episode 3). Regarding the lighting, the dominant style is normal-key. Editing follows the principals of continuity editing. All in all, and not without reason, Caldwell (1995, p. 57) compared the series with “proficient, but very neutral, B-film style from the lot”.

Knight Rider clearly differs from the “cinematic style” exposed by contemporary series. What above all may create historical associations and, depending on the “retrospective classification”, ‘artefact nostalgia’ in contemporary viewers is how electronic editing is used. For example, we can refer to the utilisation of the split-screen technique. From the third episode on, creators of the series introduced this feature whenever important plot points appear. The camera zooms in on a face or object and the frame freezes. The size of the freeze frame now reduces towards the right side of a black background on whose left side an oval still frame of KITT is situated (see Fig. 1-2).⁹⁹

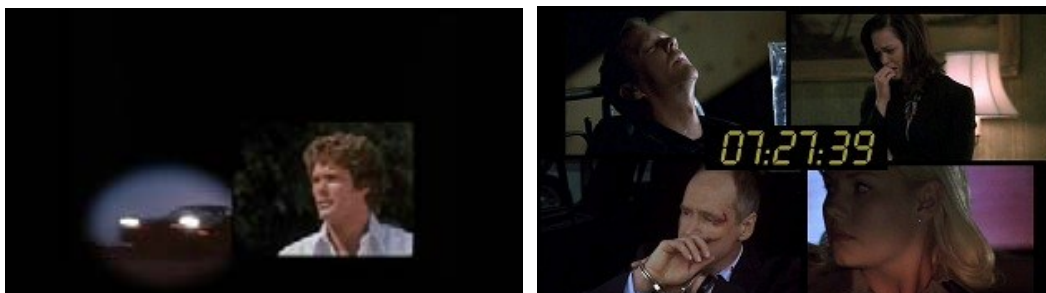


Fig. 1-2: Uses of split-screens in *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) and *24* (Fox, 2001).

The utilisation of split-screen is indeed not historical. Often neglected in the television past, lately its use in the action series *24* (Fox, 2001; RTL2, 2003; Antena 3, 2003) led to a certain ‘renaissance’ of the device (see e.g. Talen, 2002) (see fig. 1-2). However, apart from that, the 1980s series in its simplicity, relative slowness and stylistic reservation may not be compared to the “feature-style cinematography” (Caldwell, 1995 cited in Shimpach, 2010, p. 131) of *24*. While the latter employs the split-screen as a mode of transition or in order to express simultaneity (Shimpach, 2010, pp. 130 ff.), *Knight Rider* exposes it rather for its own sake, displays it, or, utilising Sontag’s word

⁹⁹ See here for instance season number 1, episode number 3 *Slammin' Sammy's Stunt Show Spectacular*, min. 00:43:30. See also similar freeze-screenshot-combinations in the 1980s such as in the video clip to Michael Jackson’s *Billy Jean* (1983).

on camp, emphasises “texture, sensuous surface, and style at the expense of content” (Sontag, 1964). It gains certain “campiness”, at least regarded with the temporal distance of today’s rerun viewers, which makes it differ from current uses.¹⁰⁰

The same applies to the use of zoom in *Knight Rider*. As Hickethier (2001, p. 70) states, zoom is today a broadly used stylistic device. However, while today’s television series are characterised by a moderate utilisation of the feature, the sometimes repetitive use of abrupt zooms in *Knight Rider* (see e.g. 1.19., min. 00:06:00) seems anachronistic from today’s perspective.¹⁰¹ Here is also where a further ‘gap’ may be located. Thus what may have been fascinating in a 1980s context, be it inside the fictional world of *Knight Rider* or be it as an artefact, is rather old-fashioned from today’s perspective.

Settings

Knight Rider is set in an everyday American location. Dominant features are small town backgrounds, American highways, and desert-like landscapes, as they could exist in a contemporary series and with little narrative relevance. In this respect the series does not seem anachronistic. It contains little of what Straubhaar (1991) called “cultural proximity” both to a Spanish and a German cultural context. Not to mention the fact that “sensuous experience” only step scarcely into the foreground. The arousal of ‘internal empathetic artefact nostalgia’ is not favoured here.

Props and costumes

Knight Rider uses a lot of props – international traded consumer goods such as MS DOS video games, bulky car phones, or drainpipe jeans – that may work as period markers beyond national borders and provoke ‘artefact nostalgia’ in both the viewers who know and those who don’t know the first-run.¹⁰² They may provoke ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in the case that they function as “mnemonic prompt” by reminding recipients of a moment of earlier reception.

¹⁰⁰ As Sontag (1964) shows, “[c]amp is art that proposes itself seriously, but cannot be taken altogether seriously because it is ‘too much’”. Apart from that, the temporal aspect is an important component in Sontag’s definition of camp. “Thus, things are campy, not when they become old – but when we become less involved in them, and can enjoy, instead of be frustrated by, the failure of the attempt” (Sontag 1964).

¹⁰¹ Spanish audiences who have been socialised with 1970s’ television may be reminded of the television programmes by Valerio Lazarov who not seldom has been called “*Rey del Zoom*” [King of Zoom] (I.G., 2009 [o.t.]) or “Mister Zoom” (EFE, 2009) in the public discourse.

¹⁰² See for example Weichert who states that “music, dresses, and even hairstyles make the TV series a, [...] [so RTL] ‘a manifest of the 1980s’” (Weichert, 2002 [o.t.]).

The main prop of the series is KITT, a black Pontiac Trans Am, equipped with a range of technical finesses and a computer brain that establishes it also as one of the leading ‘characters’. The car’s position as main prop already becomes obvious in the introductory sequence of the series where a clear majority of the shots is dedicated to the car. While longer shots show its speed and manoeuvrability, a range of close ups highlight technical features. According to Moody (2001, p. 72), “KITT was a computerised car – an everyday artefact in which the new ‘futuristic’ technologies had been successfully incorporated”.

Despite the fact that the prop is directly recognisable as belonging to the 1980s and, depending on the subject position, may thus provoke ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’, this is also where a further ‘gap’ between prelapsarian and postlapsarian world in the series rerun may be located, for those who know the first-run. What in the 1980s and/or inside the fictional world of the ‘original’ *Knight Rider* may have been ‘futuristic’, is less probable or even outdated from a present position. Fascination, joy, whatever A or F emotion may have been provoked from a past position is probably over from a present point of view. It must be seen in the reception study if this lack can be a potential trigger of ‘own nostalgia’ directed towards the former (A or F) emotion.

A corresponding assumption is at least supported by the public discourse. Apart from the fact that the car as main prop of the series was and kept on being one of the central topics of the Spanish public discourse on *Knight Rider* (see e.g. Jimenez, 1987; La Vanguardia, 1990; Carol, 2009), the discourse well reflects the ‘gap’ between the once-fascinating car and its lost impact from today’s perspective. While earlier discourse fragments mention the fantastic abilities of the vehicle (see e.g. La Vanguardia, 1990)¹⁰³, current articles rather compare present automobiles with “*el coche fantástico*” (see e.g. ABC, 2004; Cuartango, 2008; Sevillano, 2009). In some articles, the lost fascination is explicitly stated. According to Carol in *La Vanguardia*, “*Knight Rider* was [...] a celebration of technology as a weapon to dominate the earth, today it seems normal to us that a car talks, even though it is the GPS” (Carol, 2009 [o.t.]).¹⁰⁴ “That a

¹⁰³ Original quotation: “*ese coche tan especial, un vehículo indestructible y con un cerebro propio*” (La Vanguardia, 1990); “*this all so special car, an indestructible vehicle, and with an own brain*” (La Vanguardia, 1990 [o.t.]).

¹⁰⁴ Original quotation: “*El coche fantástico resultaba, además, un canto a la tecnología como arma para dominar la tierra, por más que hoy nos parece normal que nos hable el auto, aunque sea mediante el GPS*” (Carol, 2009).

car moves without conductor stopped being a topic reserved to science fiction films” (Prat, 2005 [o.t.])¹⁰⁵ writes Prat under the title “*el coche fantástico*” [the fantastic car].

The same applies to the German public discourse in the form of newspaper articles. In the context of the remake of *Knight Rider*, Moorstedt hints to the fact that “the utopia of someday has become obsolete. Long since cars are able to speak (‘turn left’) and contain powerful computer processors” (Moorstedt, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁰⁶. In *Süddeutsche Zeitung* Georgescu puts it as follow: “While in the 1980s at the most experts of the US-series *Knight Rider* knew that cars can talk and simultaneously deal with a difficult situation, technicians have now constructed an intelligent vehicle ready to go into production” (Georgescu, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁰⁷. Also, Dinauer highlights that today’s technical possibilities would turn the 1980s oldie green with envy (Dinauer, 1999 [o.t.])¹⁰⁸. Finally, Boie stresses: “*Knight Rider* seemed to come from the future“ (Boie, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁰⁹. The simple past he uses indicates that these times are long since over.

Apart from these aspects, the car’s “cultural baggage” wears in itself ‘gaps’ between different worlds, which today, depending on the subject position, make it considerable as a possible trigger of ‘A nostalgia’. Its, to put it with a term used by Tashiro (1998, p. 12), “implicit meaning” changed within the course of time. Firstly, *Pontiac* as one of the oldest brands of General Motors stands for the rise and fall of the American car industry (see e.g. Hodgson, 2006). Above all in the 1960s, a time when mineral resources seemed to last forever and emissions were no topic at all, the Pontiac Firebird gained mythic status as a sports car (Listri, 2009). Today it is more a relic of than a sign for these ‘golden’ times. Secondly, *Pontiac* has travelled through popular culture. A change of connotation can be observed here, which provides a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ and, depending on the subject position, may serve the necessary basis for ‘artefact nostalgia’. While the car’s representational construction in a film such as *Smokey and the Bandit* (Needham, 1977) supports a masculinity of the hero that is built upon physical strength and a patriarchal habit, twenty years later in

¹⁰⁵ Original quotation: “*Que un automóvil se desplace sin que haya un conductor al volante ha dejado ya de ser un asunto reservado a las películas de ciencia ficción*” (Prat, 2005).

¹⁰⁶ Original quotation: “[D]ie Utopie von einst ist überholt. Längst können Autos sprechen (‘vorne links abbiegen’) und besitzen kraftvolle Computerprozessoren” (Moorstedt, 2009).

¹⁰⁷ Original quotation: “Während in den 80er Jahren höchstens Kenner der US-Serie *Knight Rider* wussten, das Autos sprechen und dabei meist noch Gefahren meistern können, haben die Techniker nun das intelligente Fahrzeug fast bis zur Serienreife konstruiert” (Georgescu, 1998).

¹⁰⁸ Original quotation: “[D]ie[...] Spielereien auf der damaligen ‘Wissensbasis’ würden den Achziger-Oldie heutzutage recht peinlich wirken lassen” (Dinauer, 1999).

¹⁰⁹ Original quotation: “*Knight Rider* schien aus der Zukunft zu kommen” (Boie, 2009)

American Beauty (Mendes, 1999) it symbolised a decaying image of white masculinity mourned after by a mid-40s year old man in a midlife crisis.

The public discourse in both Germany and Spain above all reflects the loss of the ‘mythic’ status of the car. Under the title “*El final de una leyenda*” [The end of a legend] and with a clear nostalgic stance, the Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia*, discusses “[t]he definite retirement of Pontiac [as] the allegory for a not so far time in which racing along the motorway was a sign of power, the cars burned cheap gasoline and Detroit was the industrial capital of the country” (Carol, 2009 [o.t.])¹¹⁰. “*La última batalla de Pontiac*” [the last battle of Pontiac] titles *El País* writes that “*Knight Rider* exists. The mythic brand struggles with vending or closure because of the crisis” (Listri, 2009)¹¹¹. Additionally, the article hints to the cultural impact KITT had in 1980s Spain, where imitations of the ‘fantastic car’ appeared on motorways (Listri, 2009).

This similarly applies to the German discourse. Here, Dinauer of the German *Süddeutsche Zeitung* highlights KITT as representative of a time “when cars still used to guzzle a lot of gasoline and the Russians were still bad” (Dinauer, 1999 [o.t.])¹¹². With the Pontiac, says Boie, “dies a symbol of American pop-culture. Because between 1982 to 1986 the Pontiac Trans AM was the car of Michael Knight, the casual hero of the television series ‘*Knight Rider*’ interpreted by David Hasselhoff” (Boie, 2009a [o.t.])¹¹³.

Music

Each episode starts with a keyboard score – a driving melody that builds the *leitmotiv* linked to KITT and Michael throughout the series. The synthesised sounds are clearly recognisable as belonging to the 1980s and linked to the series. Since, as Sprengler (2011, p. 76) highlights, a “song can function as a mnemonic prompt”, it is likely that the *Knight Rider* opening credits may provoke (nostalgic) associations in those viewers who have a memory of it.

¹¹⁰ Original quotation: “*La jubilación definitiva del Pontiac es la alegoría de un tiempo no tan lejano en el que correr en la carretera era signo de poder, los coches quemaban gasolina barata y Detroit era la capital industrial del país. Los ochenta fueron la década de Ronald Reagan, cuando el mundo percibía lo americano como la iglesia verdadera y su fe alcanzaba al mundo comunista*” (Carol, 2009).

¹¹¹ Original quotation: “*El coche fantástico sí existe; La mítica marca se debate entre su venta o cierre por la crisis*” (Listri, 2009).

¹¹² Original quotation: “*als die Autos noch mächtig Benzin schluckten und die Russen immer noch böse waren*” (Dinauer, 1999).

¹¹³ Original quotation: “*Mit Pontiac stirbt ein amerikanisches Popkultur-Symbol. Denn der Pontiac Trans AM war von 1982 bis 1986 das Auto von Michael Knight, dem von David Hasselhoff gespielten, lässigen Helden der Fernsehserie ‘Knight Rider’*” (Boie, 2009a).

This does not apply to the further score where the music has less recognition value. *Knight Rider* exposes here almost no original songs but mainly new composed instrumental music. The music has a dramatic function, mainly to support suspense and action or to create a romantic atmosphere. The generation of a “nostalgic condition” as Flinn (1992, cited in Sprengler, 2011, p. 77) calls it, is no dominant function of the music.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the series has a clear reference-character to the 1980s from a present point of view.

6.1.1.3.3. Characters

Next to KITT, who we can argue, is painted as the second leading figure, Michael Knight is the main character of the series. This paragraph concentrates on him. Other characters are mainly relevant in case they interact with Michael or KITT or to legitimise the heroes' actions.

Michael Knight

Except from the previously mentioned episode number 19, which exposes the nostalgia of Knight towards his former identity and indeed may provoke an ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ in the spectator that feels with the protagonist, the character Michael Knight as such is no nostalgic. In general, the viewers get to know little about his past and when they do get information (from an ex-cop, or ex-Vietnam soldier) it is not presented as worth longing for, rather the contrary is the case. Independent of the question whether the protagonist himself feels nostalgia or not the action series with its general focuses “on action rather than character” (Miller, 2001, p. 17) does not favour empathy on the layer of the fictional world. ‘Empathetic F nostalgia’ is thus probably not a form of nostalgia that may be dominantly provoked by the rerun.

According to Caldwell (1995) as referred to by Moody (2001, p. 70), the character “appears to derive from a dated and simplistic formula of TV crime-fighting in which a hard-boiled detective fights for justice on behalf of the wider community”. He contrasts this with tendencies in contemporary television, where the pathological profiles of the protagonists are each time more important constituents and a trend

¹¹⁴ An exception is episode number 19 where Michael is confronted with his past identity. The episode exposes original songs. Thus in various sequences the 1960s romantic rock song *White Bird Must Fly* is central. It not only reflects the nostalgic condition of the protagonist and invites the audiences' empathy, it also creates time references to the 1960s, which may trigger the viewers' own associations.

towards deeper psychologisation may be observed (see e.g. Vilches et al., 2009, p. 119 on *House* (Fox, 2004)). Here is also a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’, which, depending on the subject position and at least favoured by the “retrospective classifications” of the series, may provoke ‘A nostalgia’.

Depending on the reading, a further potential trigger of nostalgia can be presumed with regard to the image of masculinity Michael Knight represents. The “lone crusader in a dangerous world” represents typical characteristics of the (American) masculine hero who used to “flee[...] from the home” while “the women are the stable forces” (Gabbard, 2008, pp. 61 f. [o.t.]¹¹⁵). He is exposed as containing character traits that are consistent with dominant ideas of masculinity of the 1980s (“self-assured, unafraid, in control and autonomous” (Hite, 1981 cited in Fiske, 1987, p. 200)). Inside the closed and linear narration, this masculinity is positively connoted since it helps the protagonist reach his goals. From a present point of view and depending on the position of the reading subject, the idealised narration of the past may enable ‘F nostalgia’.

At the same time, the characterisation of Michael Knight relates also to an ambivalent concept of white masculinity.¹¹⁶ As Moody shows, “Michael Knight has a distinctly unspectacularised – even ‘feminised’ – masculine persona, allowing him to respond sensitively to the human dilemmas that are the narrative focus for many of the crimes he encounters” (Moody, 2001, p. 78). It is often his emotional rather than physical competence that makes the protagonist succeed (see e.g. season 1, episode 18). Consequently, argues Moody (2001, p. 78), the character Michael Knight can also be described as a “manifestation of the 1980s New Man”, which “eschewed traditional, ‘armour-plated’ machismo in favour of a more emotionally literate masculine ideal” and rather refers to the present. Following this reading, nostalgia is less the issue.

David Hasselhoff – the rise and fall of a person(a)

Firstly, the actor David Hasselhoff contains intertextual references. Besides his television roles as Michael Knight in *Knight Rider* and Mitch Buchannon in *Baywatch* (NBC, 1989; Antena 3, 1991; Das Erste, 1990), both in Germany and Spain Hasselhoff’s past image is shaped by his singing career and other activities. In the Spain

¹¹⁵ Original quotation: “*En la cultura de Estados Unidos el héroe huye del hogar – las mujeres son las fuerzas estabilizadoras*” (Gabbard, 2008, p. 61 f.).

¹¹⁶ “The action hero on screen in the twentieth century [in general] has been an important site of interrogating, rearticulating, and reasserting masculinity as cultural conditions have transformed the meanings of its performance” (Shimpach, 2010, p. 38).

of the 1980s Hasselhoff presented his first album in *Sábado Noche* (TVE, 1987-1989) (Jimenez, 1987) – one of Spain’s most popular prime-time shows at that time – performed in one of Spain’s famous New Year’s Eve programmes (see Reyes, 2006), and was known for his charity activities (ABC, 1987).

It is a similar case with Germany, which, was probably the country where Hasselhoff became most successful. The culmination of Hasselhoff’s triumph in Germany was surely his performance during the ceremony of the German reunification in 1989 (Löbert, 2006). As Fromme (2010) states in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, “I’ve Been Looking for Freedom”, the song he interpreted, was the number one hit for eight months in the German charts. Already on this layer and always depending upon the respective “retrospective classification” of the reference, Hasselhoff may work as potential trigger of ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’ in both those viewers who know and those who don’t know *Knight Rider*.

Secondly, despite the character Michael Knight, the private person and the star persona¹¹⁷ of David Hasselhoff provide a clear gap between a ‘then’ and ‘now’ or a pre- and postlapsarian world that also makes him a possible trigger of ‘artefact nostalgia’. The star image clashes here with an actual image that is rather dominated by the private person Hasselhoff, by alcoholism and personal failure. This is also reflected by the public discourses both in Germany and Spain. When his past activities are in the centre of attention, David Hasselhoff is the – as Belinchón (2011 [o.t.]) put it in *El País* – “*mito*” [myth] or “*leyenda de las tardes de la televisión*” [legend of the TV night]. Other authors call him “*uno de los personajes televisivos más conocidos*” [one of the best known television personalities] (Cuna, 1999 [o.t.]), “[e]l mítico [...] conductor del coche fantástico” [the mythic [...] driver of the fantastic car] (El Mundo, 2010 [o.t.])¹¹⁸, or the “*Actionheld der 80er*” [action hero of the 80s] (Bäumer, 2003 [o.t.]). Articles that focus instead on his current career draw rather a sad picture. They centre on his alcoholism and other unpleasant details from his private life (ABC, 2004a; El País, 2007; Cuervo, 2004; Reyes, 2006; Löbert, 2006; ABC, 2009).

Some of them explicitly contrast the past and present image of the actor. “Formerly”, writes Selleras in *La Vanguardia*, “he was a statuesque life-guard, a proud driver of the fantastic car. Now he has become a sad and old imitation of the characters

¹¹⁷ Thumin (1986, p. 71) defines persona as “a public image which derives from the performance and the utterances of the person”.

¹¹⁸ A clear distinction between his television character and the private persons is not always made (see e.g. Jimenez, 1987; Belmonte, 2006; Bosch, 2011).

he once interpreted” (Salleras, 2010 [o.t.])¹¹⁹. This similarly applies to the German public discourse. In *Süddeutsche Zeitung*:

“David Hasselhoff has become famous for his roles in the TV series ‘Knight Rider’ and ‘Baywatch’, also as a singer he enjoyed success with hits like ‘Looking for Freedom’. In recent years, however, he only made headlines with his alcohol addiction”. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2009 [o.t.])¹²⁰

Pollmer describes him as someone “who flew so much higher than others, but who also fell so much deeper” (Pollmer, 2011 [o.t.])¹²¹. And in a swansong on the good old days of television, Schader (2006) moans the fall of David Hasselhoff next to the end of other television icons such as Rudi Carrell, a famous German television presenter.¹²²

6.1.2. Analysis of nostalgia in *The Avengers*

The Avengers is a British crime series originally produced and broadcasted on British television between 1961 and 1969 (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 807). The series contains a total of six seasons, from which the first four seasons were in black-and-white. Season five, on which this analysis will mainly focus, and six were colour episodes.

In the centre of these episodes is John Steed (Patrick Macnee), a special agent in the service of the British queen, who investigates difficult cases: mysterious deaths, the disappearance of dubious businessmen, attacks of hostile agents or cases of hypnosis. Dressed in a tailor-made suit and equipped with a steel-filled bowler hat and an umbrella, which, with its dagger inside, often serves in order to knock out his opponents, Steed is the British gentleman *par excellence*. At his work he is supported by Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) – called into action by Steed’s ritual “Mrs Peel – we’re needed”. Intelligent, good looking, always perfectly styled and, apart from that, with karate skills,

¹¹⁹ Original quotation: “Antaño fue un escultural vigilante de la playa y un orgulloso conductor de un coche fantástico. Ahora se ha convertido en una triste y anciana imitación de los personajes que protagonizó” (Salleras, 2010).

¹²⁰ Original quotation: “[B]erühmt geworden ist David Hasselhoff durch seine Rollen in den TV-Serien ‘Knight Rider’ und ‘Baywatch’, auch als Sänger feiert er mit Hits wie ‘Looking for Freedom’ Erfolge. In den letzten Jahren machte er indes nur noch mit Schlagzeilen über seine Alkoholsucht von sich Reden” (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2009).

¹²¹ Original quotation: Hasselhoff, “der so viel höher flog als andere, aber auch so viel tiefer fiel” (Pollmer, 2011).

¹²² A resumed part of this analysis has been presented at the 4th European Communication Conference Bilgi University Istanbul, 24-27 October 2012 (Armbruster, 2012b).

she is the ideal partner.¹²³ Following Miller (2008, p. 25) the series may be described as a hybrid of the spy genre, a subcategory of the action series, and the thriller genre (see also O'Day, 2001, p. 221). Apart from that, as highlighted by Niggemeier and Reufsteck (2005, p. 808), it contains parodic elements.

6.1.2.1. *Los Vengadores* in Spain

The Avengers, or better, *Los Vengadores*, as the Spanish title of the series, was first broadcasted in Spain in 1966 on TVE and from the third season on (Capilla and Solé, 1999, p. 231). The fourth and fifth seasons of the series could be watched in 1967 (ABC, 1967; ABC, 1967a)¹²⁴. Later, in 1970, the episodes with Linda Thorson were broadcasted (La Vanguardia Española, 1970). In 1990, *Los Nuevos Vengadores* could be watched on Canal 9, the same year that La2 showed several reruns of the series (Berciano, 1990; Herms, 1990). In 1991, the fifth season of *Los Vengadores* was broadcasted on La 1 (see e.g. La Vanguardia, 1991; La Vanguardia, 1991a). Further reruns of the series have been shown in 1994 on Canal Clásico (De la Calle, 1994), in 1997, on the satellite channel Canal Digital (La Vanguardia, 1997), in 1997, on Cultura TV (El País, 1997), or, in 1999, on Canal+ (La Vanguardia, 1999). Between 2009 and 2011, the episodes with Diana Rigg as Emma Peel, which also stand in the centre of this analysis, were re-broadcasted on Calle13.

6.1.2.1.1. Some contextual notes – 1960s Spain

In the 1960s, when *Los Vengadores* was first broadcasted in Spain, the country went through the so-called “Spanish miracle” – a rapid period of economic growth that “transformed Spain’s agrarian economy into an industrial one” (Boyd, 1999, p. 99). This significant change started with the increase in power of some technocrats with a close relationship to Opus Dei (Boyd, 1999, p. 99).

“Fearing that rising social conflict might destroy the dictatorship and the traditional Catholic culture it guaranteed, the Opus ministers advocated controlled economic modernization that would raise living standards without raising expectations for political change”. (Boyd, 1999, p. 99)

¹²³ In later episodes, Peel is substituted by Tara King (Linda Thorson). *The New Avengers* (1976-1977), which revived the series seven years after its last broadcast, followed Purdey (Joanna Lumley) and Mike Gambit (Gareth Hunt) as Steed’s assistants (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 808).

¹²⁴ According to the newspaper *ABC*, *Escape in Time* (5.3) was broadcasted on 8.10.1967 (ABC, 1967b), and *The Bird Who Knew Too Much* (5.5) on 15.10.1967.

For the first time, Spaniards had access to a broader range of consumer goods and a rising mass consumer culture (Palacio, 2008, p. 73; Boyd, 1999, p. 100). Additionally, the country increasingly opened up for international tourism (Alcojar et al., 2006, pp. 15 ff.). However, these factors could not distract from the absence of political self-determination and liberty under the Franco regime. Rather the contrary was the case. As Boyd (1999, p. 100) describes, the “rising material well-being subverted the Francoist ‘peace’ by exposing the political and cultural gulf that still separated Spain from her European neighbors”. Increasing opposition of the working class and “student unrest” followed (Boyd, 1999, p. 100). While, argues Boyd (1999, p. 101), new laws seemed to respond to this movement and to extend freedom slightly, by the end of the 1960s, with the “political ascendancy of Carrero” a “return to a hard-line policy on labor and student unrest, press censorship, and Basque terrorism” (Boyd, 1999, p. 101) is highlighted.

Almost parallel to the rapid economic growth, more precisely between 1964 and 1969, Spanish television went through the so-called Golden Age – a heyday of TVE’s live dramas such as *Estudio 1* or *Novela*, but also through a high point of political repression and censorship (Smith, 2006, p. 12; Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2007; Palacio, 2008, p. 51). While Spaniards in the late 1950s/early 1960s could already watch many international programmes such as *Te quiero, Lucy* (TVE, 1958) [I Love Lucy, CBS, 1951], *Cisco Kid* (TVE, 1959) [The Cisco Kid, Syndication, 1950], *Bonanza* (TVE, 1963) [Bonanza, NBC 1959], *Furia* (TVE, 1961) [Fury, NBC 1955], or *Doctor Kildare* (TVE, 1964) [Dr. Kildare, NBC 1961], now, highlights Deacon (1999, p. 313), “[p]rograms were purchased from abroad on a large scale, especially light entertainment series”. Apart from *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) [The Avengers, ITC 1961], here can also be listed *La Familia Munster* (TVE, 1965) [The Munsters, CBS 1964], *El Superagente 86* (TVE, 1968) [Get Smart, NBC 1965], *Misión Imposible* (TVE, 1968) [Mission Impossible, CBS 1966], *Sam Sade* (TVE, 1972) [CBS 1971], or *Colombo* (TVE, 1972) [NBC 1971].

According to Palacio (2008, p. 148), Spanish productions were also characterised by an international scope. Valerio Lazarov produced formally innovative fiction such as *El irreal Madrid* (TVE, 1969) [The unreal Madrid], *Osaka Show* (1970), or *360 grados alrededor de...* (Palacio, 2008, p. 150). The second channel TVE2, launched in 1966, had a more cultural orientation (Palacio, 2008, p. 73), and more innovative and experimental formats (Palacio, 2008, p. 128).

Nevertheless, the public discourse suggests that the hybrid mix of *Los Vengadores* clearly clashed with the existing programme. Still, more recent articles recall the fascination about the novelty of the series. “*Los Vengadores*”, said *La Vanguardia* in 1990, “offered an ironic alternative for the spy series and films that augmented in the decade of the sixties” (Herms, 1990 [o.t.])¹²⁵. It was, says another author of the same newspaper, “*en la línea de otras series de la época, aunque en tono paródico*” [in line with other series of the epoch, even though with a parodic tone] (*La Vanguardia*, 1990a). Pérez also highlights that the series implemented a new topic to the genre, namely “*el espionaje como juego*” [espionage as game] (Pérez, 2010). It has to be seen in the reception study, if nostalgia towards a former fascination (A emotion) may be observed among those who know the first-run.

6.1.2.1.2. Discourses on *Los Vengadores* today

Considering “retrospective classifications of television museums and archives, journalistic commentary, academic inquiry, and nascent fan culture” (Kompere, 2005, p. 105), *Los Vengadores* has been restructured as belonging to (Spain’s) television heritage. In contrast to *Knight Rider*, *Los Vengadores* is included inside the collection of “*TV World. Television Culture*” (Món TV. La cultura de la televisió). Asked for the “best fiction series”, two television experts, who express their views in the exhibition catalogue, highlight the series explicitly (Savall cited in Balló et al., 1999, p. 165; Trashorras in Balló et al., 1999, p. 165).

Apart from a general valorisation of popular culture in those parts of the academic discourse that are increasingly influenced by cultural studies (see e.g. Joran and Morgan-Taosunas, 2000), in Spain the series falls in the epoch, which, according to Palacio (2008, p. 48 [o.t.]), has also been call the ‘Golden Age’ by some authors – “the time of the star directors” (Palacio, 2008, p. 86 [o.t.])¹²⁶. That the valorisation of that epoch also concerns the imported format is above all shown by a publication of the film scientist Xavier Pérez (1998), exclusively dedicated to the series. In his book, with the emblematic title *El Universo de los Vengadores*, the author calls the series “[...] mythical [and] the most unpredictable [...] of all those that have been realised in the television studios all around the world during this prodigious decade of the 60s” (Pérez,

¹²⁵ Original quotation: “*Los Vengadores*’ ofrecía una alternativa irónica a las series y películas de agentes secretos que proliferaron en la década de los sesenta” (Herms, 1990)

¹²⁶Original quotation: “*el tiempo de los realizadores como estrellas*” (Palacio, 2008, p. 86).

1998, p. 12 [o.t.])¹²⁷. However, the work is less written with analytical purposes but rather as a collection of background information – very similar to the fan books on the series. An investigation of the series in the explicit Spanish context is not provided.

The non-academic discourse in form of television compendiums includes *Los Vengadores* among “*Televisión de Culto. 100 series míticas*” [Cult Television. 100 mythic series] (Blanco, 1996 [o.t.]), “*Los Mejores series de la historia de la televisión*” [the best series of television history] (González-Fierro Santos and Mena, 2008) or as “*serie de culto*” [cult series] (Capilla and Solé, 1999, p. 232) among “*Las 500 mejores series de TV de nuestra vida*” [The 500 best television series of our life] (Capilla and Solé, 1999).

A valorisation of the series as part of the Spanish television heritage can also be observed in the public discourse from newspaper articles. *La Vanguardia* highlights *Los Vengadores* as “*más popular de todos los tiempos*” [most popular of all times] (Ramos, 1995), or “*serie de culto*” [cult series] (Battle Caminal, 1995; Herms, 1990). In the same newspaper, Pérez calls *Los Vengadores* “*la serie más descreída y placentera de la década*” [the most incredible and enjoyable series of all decades] (Pérez, 2010) and part of “*la primera edad de oro de las series*” [first golden age of television series] (Pérez, 2010). In the context of the remake it is called “*legendaria*” [legendary] (Parrondo, 1998), “*mítica*” [mythic] (*La Vanguardia*, 1990a), “*un símbolo imprescindible de los ‘sixties’*” [an indispensable symbol of the sixties] (Parrondo, 1998^a [or]) or just one of the “*clásicos*” “*que han hecho historia*” [classics that made history] (*La Vanguardia*, 1999 [o.t.]). The case regarding *El País* is no different. Here, in the context of the remake, *Los Vengadores* is described as “*mítica serie televisiva*” [mythic television series] (Jose and Moreno, 2003 [o.t.]), “*la más popular serie británica de televisión de los años sesenta*” [the most popular British television series of the sixties] (Gómez, 1997 [o.t.]) or “*la pareja de espías [...] más famosa del mundo*” [the most famous spy couple of the world] (L.G., *El País*, 24.8.1997 [o.t.]).

While a similar valorisation from the side of the television channels could not be observed, *Los Vengadores* is indeed highlighted in fan circles and publications. In 1999, Blanco refers to “*club de fans, postales, juguetes, y todo tipo de merchandising*” [fan clubs, postcards, toys and all types of merchandising] (Blanco, 1999, p. 37 [o.t.]) around the cult title. A broad circle of fan-pages as can be found for example in the United

¹²⁷ Original quotation: “[...] *mítica [y] la más imprevisible [...] de cuantas se realizaron durante esa prodigiosa década de los 60 en los platós televisivos de todo el planeta*” (Pérez, 1998, p. 12).

Kingdom or the United States (theavengers.tv, 2008) however cannot be attested. A DVD collection with the Spanish synchronised version as it exists, for example on the German or American market, has also not been published. That the remake *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) and its discourses are part of the valorisation of the remake will be shown in 6.2.2.1.

6.1.2.2. *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* in Germany

The first-run of *The Avengers*, respectively *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* was broadcast between 1966 and 1970 on the public service channel ZDF (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 808). In the beginning, the 36 episodes with Diana Rigg could be viewed (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, pp. 808). Later, 10 further episodes with the actress Linda Thorson were broadcasted (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, pp. 808). Following an article in the German newspaper *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, alone with the first 13 episodes *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* reached an average market-share of 67 per cent (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 1967 cited in Baumgart, 2002, p. 89). Between 1985 and 1988 Sat.1 aired further first run episodes, which had not been shown before by the public service channels, due to violent or sexual ‘provocative’ contents (Niggemeier and Reufsteck, 2005, p. 808).

Later, in 1995, reruns of the series could be watched on RTL2 (Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 1995), in 2007 on kabel eins, or the pay-TV channel Premiere Nostalgie (2006-2007 and 2008). Between 2009 and 2011 the cultural channel Arte broadcasted episodes of all seasons, and some of them (seasons number 1-3) had never been broadcasted in Germany before (Imfernsehen, 2011a; Imfernsehen, 2011b). Here also the colour episodes with Diana Rigg in the role of Emma Peel, which are in the focus of this work, could be watched again.

6.1.2.2.1. Some contextual notes – 1960s Germany

In Germany, *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* was broadcast at a time that was marked by decisive societal changes and generational conflicts. Firstly, in 1961, the Berlin Wall was built which dramatically influenced the private and political life in both parts of Germany (Schiele, 1999, p. 9) and would later lead to significant changes of East/West policies (Schiele, 1999, p. 7). Secondly, dominantly influenced by the student

movement, the whole system of values – above all of West German society – underwent through significant changes.

As the so-called “68er”, a decisive group among the younger generation attempted to break the silence surrounding the crimes committed under the Nazi dictatorship (Golz, 2003, p. 2) and to break with the “*Muffigkeit und Spießbürgerlichkeit der Adenauer-Ära*” [mugginess and petit bourgeois narrow-mindedness of the Adenauer-era] (Hickethier, 1991, p. 192 [o.t.]). The movement found its expression for instance in the opposition against the Vietnam war, ‘sexual liberation’, the demand for better qualifications and equal rights in education and in the so-called Extraparliamentary Opposition (APO) (Hickethier, 1991, p. 192). As Semler shows, it felt “in step with the cultural avant-garde in the USA” (Semler, 2003, p. 4 [o.t.])¹²⁸. Britain, where youth culture could develop more easily, was one of the major examples (Siegfried, 2003, p. 25).

It was a different case in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). As Kirchenwitz shows, the 1960s was marked by a tougher ideological line than the time of relative liberalisation in the 1970s, especially the late 1960s (Kirchenwitz, 2003, p. 8).

Regarding television, the time was marked by relative programme extension in West Germany due to the launch of ZDF (since 1963), which, according to Hickethier (1998, pp. 236 f.), led to an increase of serialised forms often realised by programme buying from abroad. Next to *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* [The Avengers] (ITV, 1961; ZDF 1966), the author (Hickethier, 1998, pp. 236 f.) highlights here programmes such as *Bonanza* (NBC, 1959; ARD 1962), *Perry Mason* (CBS, 1957; ARD 1959), or *Kobra, übernehmen sie* (ARD, 1967) [Mission: Impossible (CBS, 1966)]. Due to the development of new aesthetic concepts and a quantitative increase, the 1960s have often been called the “*Blütezeit*” [heydays] of the television play (Hickethier, 1998, pp. 242 ff.). As Meyer (2010, p. 29) shows with reference to inquiries made by *Deutsche Fernsehfunk* in the mid-1960s, 85 per cent of GDR citizens had access to West German television.

Similar to Spain, following Hickethier (1998, p. 237) it can be stated that also in Germany the ironic tone of *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* contrasted with the yet existing programme. Apart from that, the series was among the first selected popular

¹²⁸ Original quotation: *Man fühlte sich “im Einklang mit der kulturellen Avantgarde in den USA”* (Semler, 2003, p. 4)

entertainment formats to be transmitted in colour (Der Spiegel, 1967 cited in Hickethier, 1998, p. 213). Thus, it can be expected to have left its traces on cultural memory.

This assumption also corresponds with the public discourse in form of newspaper articles, where the sense of humour of *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* is still shown today. Clearly aiming at the ironic stance of the series, Malt (1998) argues in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: “What distinguished *The Avengers* from other spy series at that time was this belief that nothing, absolutely nothing would be reason enough not to keep the good form” (Malt, 1998 [o.t.])¹²⁹. This similarly applies to Martenstein from *Der Tagesspiegel* who also highlights that the series favoured jokes over action when he states: “Sometimes it is better to spend the money on a successful punch line than on an exploding car” (Martenstein, 1998 [o.t.])¹³⁰.

6.1.2.2.2. Discourses on *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* today

As in Spain, the German version *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* is subject to broad “retrospective classifications”. Firstly, the series has been retrospectively valorised due to its integration into the museum. In 2002, *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* was launched by the exhibition “*Fernsehen macht glücklich*” [television makes happy] of the *Deutsche Kinemathek – Museum für Film und Fernsehen* (Raulff, 2002; Kilb, 2002). In 2004, the museum also launched the series inside the retrospective “*Die Kommissarinnen*” [the commissioners] (Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, 2005, p. 53).

Apart from a general valorisation of popular culture in those parts of the academic discourse that are increasingly influenced by cultural studies, in Germany, as in Spain, the first run of the series occurs in a time-span that television scholars (Hickethier, 1998, p. 242) describe not only as “*Blütezeit*” [heydays] of the television play, but also as a time of increasing experimentations (Hickethier, 1998, p. 135), which are also contrasted with later decades of German television such as the time before and during the privatisation (Hickethier, 1998, pp. 314 ff.). Furthermore, single academic works highlight the series explicitly. A monograph with the title “*Das Konzept Emma Peel. Der unerwartete Charme der Emanzipation: ‘The Avengers’ und das Publikum*” [The concept Emma Peel. The unexpected charm of emancipation: ‘The Avengers’ and

¹²⁹ Original quotation: “*Was die Avengers von anderen Agentenserien jener Zeit unterschied, war diese Überzeugung, daß nichts, aber wirklich gar nichts, Anlaß genug wäre, nicht die gute Form zu wahren*” (Malt, 1998).

¹³⁰ Original quotation: “*Gelegentlich ist es besser sein Geld für eine gelungene Pointe auszugeben als für ein explodierendes Auto*” (Martenstein, 1998).

the audiences] (Baumgart, 2002 [o.t.]) investigates and valorises the series regarding its still observable modernity and the positive impacts it had on the representation of women in television. In non-academic publications the series is valorised due to its inclusion in “*Kultserien im Fernsehen*” [cult series on television] (Haderer and Bachschwöll, 1996 [o.t.]) or CD compilations such as “*Die größten TV Hits aller Zeiten – die besten Kultserien*” [The greatest TV hits of all times – the best cult series] (2004, Universal [o.t.]).

Newspaper articles call *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* “*Kult*” [cult] (Malt, 1998 [o.t.]), “*Klassiker*” [classic] (Pavlovic, 2007 [o.t.]), or “*Kultserie*” [cult series] (Martenstein, 1998 [o.t.]). Emma Peel appears here as the “*Queen of Kult-TV*” [queen of cult-TV] (her, 2003 [o.t.]). Apart from that, the channels that broadcasted the reruns also hold their part in the retrospective construction. Arte highlights *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* as “*Kultserie aus den 60er Jahren*” [cult series from the 60s] (Arte, 2011 [o.t.]). Kabel eins broadcasted the series under the umbrella “*Die Originale!*” [The Originals!].

Finally, *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* is surrounded by a (German) fan-community represented by fan-pages on the internet (see e.g. Spillmann, 2011; Collector’s Homepage, 2011; D’Heil, 2011; Kucinski, 2012). Furthermore, merchandising articles, DVD compilations, or music CDs of the series are available (see e.g. Kucinski, 2012). The series has been included in retrospectives of local cinemas, for instance in Bavaria (Malt, 1998; her, 2003). Non-academic publications such as *Mrs. Peel, wir werden gebraucht!* [Mrs. Peel, we’re needed!] (Fischer, 2009) supply fans and non-fans with background information about the series. As it will be further outlined in chapter 6.2.2.1, also in Germany the remake *The Avenger* (Chechik, 1998) and the discourses that surround it, hold their part in the “retrospective classification” of the series.

6.1.2.3. Nostalgia on the single layers of the text

6.1.2.3.1. Narration

The Avengers represents the typical series with closed episodes but continuity regarding basic settings or leading characters. Each episode follows the same basic scheme: first, an exposition introduces a case, frequently starting with either the murder of a British agent (see e.g. *Escape in Time*, *The Bird Who Knew Too Much*, *A Funny Thing*

Happened on the Way or Something Nasty in the Nursery), or, the murder of a civilian, which later turns out to be related to a mad scientist or power-thirsty individuals (see e.g. *The Hidden Tiger*, *The Fear Merchants*, *The Living Dead or Never, Never Say Die*) (see also Baumgart, 2002, pp. 17 f.).

The now following scene, in most cases situated in Emma Peel's flat, presents Steed's ritual "Mrs. Peel – we're needed" in an always different variation. In the following, the couple starts to investigate the case and to fight for the restoration of 'order'. Also here, the same scheme is repeated with new differences and all in all "widely absurd plots" (Daily Telegraph, 1964 cited in Baumgart, 2002, p. 16) that position the series inside pop entertainment (Baumgart, 2002, p. 16) and make it clash with today's dominant series culture. After a first joint examination of the crime scene, Steed and Peel begin to investigate independently from each other, in order to come to the same solution. As a rule, in the course of their investigation more and more victims appear, Steed and Peel are always just too late to avoid it – which, also as a rule, never leads to any pity on their side. In a last show-down, they are finally able to overcome the perpetrators. The closing "tag scene" with a final punch line (Baumgart, 2002, p. 19) mostly takes place in the flat of Emma Peel (see e.g. *From Venus with Love*, *The Fear Merchants*, or *The Winged Avenger*) – at least in the colour episodes of the series. These scenes often lead into a final scene where the couple leaves the setting in peculiar antique vehicles (see e.g. *Escape in Time*, *The See-through Man*, or *The Bird Who Knew Too Much*), as it was also dominant in the black-and-white episodes of the series.

We can state that the narration of *The Avengers* is not nostalgic in the sense that it exposes the longing toward a better past, in contrast to a lacking present or that it is narrated from the perspective of a longing character. The series rather pleads for a rational combination of both tradition and progress – something, which is above all reflected by its leading characters Emma Peel and John Steed (see chapter 6.1.2.3.3). Those episodes that explicitly treat with history avoid the nostalgic viewpoint.¹³¹

¹³¹ See e.g. *Escape in Time* (5.3), where the attempt to hide back in the past becomes the undoing of several high decorated villains. In the course of the episode Peel and Steed make their own reflections about the (British) past that are far from approaching "the past as a stable source of value and meaning" (Tannock, 1995, p. 455). While Peel reviews women's lack of independence throughout history (see 2:12:48 ff.), Steed, who comments his following 'time travel' to 1790 with the words "I always had a hankering for the eighteenth century", directly undermines this statement with his characteristic humour by adding, "where will I be? Waterloo?" (see min. 2:03:08 ff.). Also in other episodes, the longing look towards the past becomes the fatal doom for its subject. In *The Fear Merchants* (5.2) past in form of returned traumas and phobias makes a couple of businessmen go mad. In *Something Nasty in the Nursery* (5.14) the evocation of the past makes some government officials to unknowing traitors of official secrets.

The same applies when we describe the rerun of the series from a present perspective. In terms of De La Muela (2009) who highlights the question of whether a rerun works as idealising “*agente historiador*” [historical agent] (De La Muela, 2009, p. 158) or not, *The Avengers* cannot be seen as favouring a nostalgic reception of its 1960s context. Apart from the fact that the series with its absurd plots and settings mostly avoids “the ‘yardstick of social reality’” (Buxton, 1990, p. 101), the series’ ambiguous sense of humour puts the constituents of the stability its protagonists restore – from ‘Britishness’ as such up to the political system – into question. Above all the patriarchal structure of the 1960s is both exposed and undermined. Miller (2004, p. 188) argues, that the series “materializes a transcendent new world, one after patriarchy (or at least on the way to ‘after patriarchy’ via an utopian alternative universe) and after empire”. Accordingly, it is less a glorification of the 1960s present but rather an optimistic gaze towards the future.

At the same time, the pop series exposes a range of intertextual references, which, depending on the subject position and respective “retrospective classifications”, may elicit ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’. As Baumgart (2002, pp. 120 f.) shows, several episode titles relate to films or novels¹³², single episodes contain explicit references to film history (see *Epic* (5.11)), or other popular culture products such as comics (see *Winged Avengers* (5.6)). In other episodes such as *The Correct Way to Kill* (5.9) or *The Superlative Seven* (5.12) the series remakes itself (Pérez, 1998, p. 38).

6.1.2.3.2. Aesthetic and design

The Avengers is characterised by a clear emphasise on style. While the narration is schematic, aesthetic and design step more into the foreground. Not without reason Buxton classifies *The Avengers* as a so-called “‘pop’ series” – a genre that “rejects ‘depth’” on the level of narration but promotes “the idea that the true meaning is hidden behind the surface appearance” (Buxton, 1990, p. 97). Already the colour spectrum of the series leads the viewers to the, as Le Sueur puts it in the context of “deliberate archaism” in general, “look and feel of the period in question” and to “the appearance of art from that distant time” (Le Sueur, 1977 according to Sprengler, 2011, p. 140).

¹³² See e.g. *Room Without a View* (4.15) which refers to the Forster novel and James Ivory’s film *A Room with a View*. *The Bird Who Knew Too Much* (5.5) refers to the Hitchcock film *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956).

Following the pop tradition, the colour episodes of the series fall back on a, as Pérez (1998, p. 45 [o.t.]) calls it, almost “psychedelic chromatology” and exposes extensive colour planes with maximum contrast and intensiveness.

Camera, montage, and lighting

In general, camera, montage, and lighting of *The Avengers* are conventional. As its narration relies on causal relations and avoids unusual temporal leaps, the editing assures narrative continuity. The lighting is dominantly in normal-key style without claiming significant narrative importance. Since most of the action takes place in the interior and is shot in the television studio, the camera mainly moves in a close-up range.

However, with this simplicity of the early television drama the series contrast obviously with the cinematic style of contemporary television. Furthermore, the series presents stylistic differences that stick out and that approximate it to the pop tradition. Often the decoupage of dialogue scenes in a conventional shot-reverse scheme is avoided. The camera is then allowed to move freely in the space covering a range of movements – from rapid zooms to longer travelling shots (see e.g. 5.3 min. 1:43:46-1:43:56). Added to this are small-scale formal experiments, such as distorted or reversed cameras (see e.g. *The House that Jack Build* (4.23)), which reflect for example the mental state of a protagonist (Baumgart, 2002, p. 41). As Baumgart (2002, p. 16) highlights with reference to Hickethier (1998), in so doing the series has very much in common with the aesthetic innovations of pop entertainment as was present in German television of the 1960s, in the form of music shows. Regarding Spain, here the television experiments of a Valerio Lazarov can be named, in whose comparison *The Avengers* is however a rather moderate form of unconventionality. A creation of historical associations and ‘artefact nostalgia’ in viewers from both countries is imaginable.

Setting

The Avengers is mainly set in interior spaces clearly identifiable as décor and very stylised. As Buxton (1990, p. 101) highlights, “[f]antastic plots are juxtaposed with banal, ordinary locations”. Its dominant setting is a 1960s fantasy London, a city, which in the series is mostly empty and where “[n]othing is what it seems. A luxury hotel contains a concentration camp... a marriage bureau hides an assassination agency” (Buxton, 1990, p. 101). The series differs here clearly from today’s television and

reminds of teleplays from the 1960s. Depending on the subject position and respective “retrospective classifications” this may indeed provoke ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in the viewers. Due to the low degree of “cultural proximity” and the fact that the series does not favour empathetic F emotions (see also 6.1.2.3.3.), the evocation of ‘internal empathetic artefact nostalgia’ is rather improbable.

If we exclude media memories or media-transmitted memories, it can also be assumed that there is little correspondence to audiences ‘scenic memories’ of the 1960s, which makes the evocation of respective reminiscences and nostalgia rather less probable.

Décor, props and costumes

It is décor, props and costumes that are most significant in *The Avengers*, which have the largest part in making it a “pop” example (Buxton, 1990, p. 96), and which mark the ‘antiquity’ of the series. From today’s perspective these elements seem “anachronistic” and certainly may provoke “historical associations”. The series has a referential character to other stylistic experiments as they have been made in 1960s pop television, both in Germany and in Spain (see fig. 3-5), which makes it a potential trigger of ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’ for those who draw this connection and retrospectively classify it correspondingly.



Fig. 3-5: Pop style in *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961), *Das Millionenspiel* (WDR, 1970), and *El irreal Madrid* (TVE, 1969).

The same applies to the single props and costumes. They are also decisive period markers, which already makes them potential triggers of ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’ for both who know and who do not know the first run, and in case that they work as “mnemonic prompts”.

Later, the “surfaces [...] are themselves rich in meaning” (Buxton, 1990, p. 97), especially what accounts to the characterisation of their protagonists. While Steed, beginning with his tailor-made suit and bowler hat, his vintage car, up to the Edwardian décor of his flat, is characterised by a rather conservative look – which already from a

1960s perspective was anachronistic – everything that surrounds Emma Peel was highly modern and stylish from a 1960s perspective. As Miller (1997) highlights, already Cathy Gale, Emma’s predecessor, “wore knee-high boots, tailored leather suits and trench coat at a time when such outfits were only seen in porn magazines and fetishist outlets” (Miller, 1997 cited in Baumgart, 2002, p. 56). This tradition has been continued in the Emma Peel character. In the black-and-white episode she was also equipped with leather suits with an S&M connotation (Baumgart, 2002, p. 55). In the colour episodes with Alan Hughes as designer in charge, she should mainly wear extravagant one-piece suits – later known as “Emmapeeler” (Baumgart, 2002, p. 56).

Even though the pop style had been introduced both in Germany and Spain, in the late-1960s, when trousers only started to become part of women’s wardrobe (Nuys-Henkemann, 1987, p. 46), this was a clear extension of boundaries and a provider of attention. Today’s public discourse still reflects this former fascination. As Llopart notes in *La Vanguardia*, the costumes “hicieron historia en la pequeña pantalla” [made history in the small screen] (Llopart, 2010) in Spain. In an ironic tone Jimenez writes in *El Mundo* “if we had not seen Diana Rigg dressed and combed as Emma Peel, we wouldn’t have known what a designer beret is until [...] the 90s” (Jimenez, 1996 [o.t.])¹³³. The same applies to Germany where up to more recent examples, the extravagant style of Emma Peel and the design objects that surrounded her are at the centre of newspaper articles (Bartetzko, 1998; Güntzel, 2000; malt, 2008; Schinhofen, 2009). According to Niggemeier and Reufsteck (2005, p. 808), Peel’s style influenced a lacquer a leather fashion in the 1960s.

From today’s perspective, the style is part of a succession in which the space-age style, Op Art or hippie fashion has long since supplanted each other (see e.g. Loschke, 2005, p. 81). Thus what may have been ‘futuristic’ in the 1960s and may have caused (F and A) emotions such as adoration, fascination or joy, is less so from a present perspective.¹³⁴ Here, we can speculate, is also where a further ‘gap’ between prelapsarian and postlapsarian world in the series rerun may be located, at least for those who know the first run. Nostalgia towards this lost fascination, be it in form of an A or F emotion, is thus probable and will be further scrutinised in Part III.

¹³³ Original quotation: “[S]i no hubieramos visto a Diana Rigg vestida y peinada de Emma Peel, no sabríamos lo que es una boina de diseño hasta [...] los 90” (Jimenez, 1996).

¹³⁴ As Hart puts it in the general context of nostalgia, “‘then’, e.g. in the present of the memory world, [the] [...] future was not yet determined” (Hart, 1973, p. 403). In contrast with today “from the standpoint of the remembering I the future given in memory appears determined up to the very moment to the present remembering” (Hart, 1973, p. 404).

Music

The Avengers uses almost no original songs but mainly originally composed instrumental music. Each (colour) episode starts with a jazz influenced big band score – a driving melody that is also taken up as credits music and as a *leitmotiv* related to Peel and Steed. In case that it works as “mnemonic prompt”, it is likely that the music may trigger memories and depending on the respective “retrospective classification” nostalgia in those viewers who know the first-run. Apart from that, the big band music is directly identifiable as belonging to the 1950s/1960s, which may also work as memory point for those who do not know the series. It can be supposed that other instrumental music has a rather low recall value. Its function is dramatic, mainly supporting the suspense. The generation of a “nostalgic condition” is not a function of the music.

6.1.2.3.3. Characters

Central to *The Avengers* episodes on which this analysis focuses are John Steed (Patrick Macnee) and Emma Peel (Diana Rigg). Following the pop tradition, they are rather types, or, as Buxton (1990, p. 100) puts it, “ideological machines rather than ‘real’ characters”. Neither a deeper psychologisation (Baumgart, 2002, p. 23) nor character development can be observed. Design objects that surround them also define their characterisation (Buxton, 1990, pp. 97 ff.). Already on this general basis we can state that Peel and Steed decisively contrast with characters dominant in today’s television and that show a much higher degree of psychologisation. Depending on the subject position, this makes the characters potential triggers of ‘A nostalgia’. At the same time, the distanciation exposed by the characters which rather impedes the development of empathy, also impedes ‘empathetic F nostalgia’.

John Steed

As Miller (2004, p. 187) highlights, John Steed embodies “both a foppish style harking back to the Regency and modish 1960s chic”. In so doing, he is directly readable as a character from the past from a present position. For 1960s audiences he already seemed anachronistic. With his preference for past chic within a narration that is situated in the 1960s the character could even be described as nostalgic. However, his dealing with the

past is far from simple longing. It rather contains a reflexive layer, often filled with irony.

Following the pop-series tradition, props, décor and costumes that surround him mainly show this reflexivity. Here ‘lacks’ of the past are compensated with ‘achievements’ of the present. Steed may indeed prefer Edwardian clothing however, his bowler hat is filled with steel. On the one hand, he drinks his afternoon tea from a nineteenth century porcelain pot, which, on the other hand, is electrically heated.

Apart from that, the character is exposed as being fully conscious of the shortcomings of his antique companions and exposes that in an ironic manner (see e.g. *The Bird Who Knew Too Much* (5.5); min. 1:07:00). Furthermore, the final punch line that shows Steed and Peel vanishing in an always different antique vehicle and with always different obstacles – once it runs backwards, once it does not run at all – highlights this ironic refraction of the glorification of the old.

The characterisation of Steed as reflexive nostalgic contrasts with other (secondary) characters exposed throughout the series, characters that are nearly obsessed with the past – unable to arrange with the present. Without exception these characters are negatively connoted. While the old railway station maniac in *A Funny Thing Happened On The Way To...* (5.13) or the combat nostalgic general in *From Venus with Love* (5.1) are simply drawn as cranky mavericks, in other episodes such as *Epic* (5.11) or *Death at Bargain Prices* (4.4) the longing towards the past even becomes a danger for others. In any case, the provocation of an ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ is less probable. As previously referred to, the “ideological machines” (Buxton, 1990, p. 100) do not favour empathy.

Additionally, regarding his further character traits, Steed can rather be described as combining both tradition and modernity. As Miller (2004, p. 188) highlights, he is “a playboy who destabilizes conventional masculinity [of the 1960s] and signifies both a disappearing genteel world and a new, brash one”. Steed thus extended images of masculinity as they were dominant in the 1960s both in Germany and Spain. As Baumgart shows, Steed is “beyond domineering phrases or imperious gestures” (Baumgart, 2002, p. 22 [o.t.])¹³⁵. Regarding these characteristics he rather fits into the present.

¹³⁵ Original quotation: “jenseits herrschsüchtiger Floskeln oder gebieterischer Gesten” (Baumgart, 2002, p. 22).

Emma Peel

Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) and her predecessor, “personified”, as Miller (2004, p. 187) states, “modernity *tout court*: hip, leggy, sexy, brilliant, physically competent women who took nonsense from no man and were Steed’s superiors intellectually and his equal in combat”. The series is full of “explicit hints to [Peel’s] intelligence and independence” (Baumgart, 2002, p. 20 [o.t.])¹³⁶. Patriarchal attitude is directly debilitated both in form of verbal (see also Baumgart, 2002), p. 54) or mimic commentary (see e.g. *Escape in Time* (5.3), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way* (5.13)). At the same time, the character contains, as Baumgart (2002, p. 27 [o.t.]) calls it, an accentuated “*feminine-erotische*” [feminine-erotic] component, which makes her approach to conventional conceptions of women in the 1960s (Baumgart, 2002, p. 55).

In any case, feminine lead characters like her contrasted with dominant images of femininity in the 1960s, both in Germany and in Spain. According to Baumgart (2002, pp. 88, 91), German television of the 1960s was dominated by a traditional image of femininity that denied women’s independence and mainly put them into secondary positions. The author (Baumgart, 2002, pp. 91 ff.) refers here also to international series such as *Hawaii Five-O* (CBS, 1968) [*Hawaii 5-0* (ARD, 1971)], *I Spy* (NBC, 1965) [*Tennisschläger und Kanonen* (ZDF, 1968 f.)], *Mission: Impossible* (CBS, 1966) [*Kobra, übernehmen sie* (ARD, 1967)], *Time Tunnel* (ABC, 1966) [ARD, 1971] or *Bonanza* (NBC, 1959) [ARD, 1962], which also were broadcast on Spanish television at that time (see *Hawai 5-0* (TVE, 1973 f.), *Yo soy Espía* (TVE, 1979 f.), *Misión Imposible* (TVE, 1968 f.), *El Túnel de tiempo* (TVE, 1966 f.), *Bonanza* (TVE, 1963)).

Regarding social reality, the case is not much different. West Germany indeed went through significant social and cultural changes in the course of the ’68 movement, however, as Helwig (1997; 1997a) shows, even feminine members of the movement saw themselves confronted with patriarchal structures. In East Germany, the case was only slightly different. On the one hand, says Helwig (1997b), the integration of women into the world of work was highly supported. On the other hand, there was a clear adherence to traditional role models. Under the Franco regime in Spain, where it was the Catholic church that determined values (Boyd, 1999, p. 93), women, argues Sotelo (2006, p. 4), “were robbed of their integration into society and their international networks, and restricted to their biological functions”.

¹³⁶ Original quotation: “*explizite Hinweise auf ihre Intelligenz und Selbständigkeit*” (Baumgart, 2002, p. 20).

Consequently, it can be stated, in both countries the series clashed with dominant social and political norms. The public discourse in the form of newspaper articles and commentary from the 1990s up to today reflects that the series still conjures up the memory of this extension of the boundaries. As a rule Emma Peel is in the centre of the discourse. In Spain, several authors of *La Vanguardia* highlight the amplification of feminine roles by the series. Llopart (2010) stresses here that Emma Peel opened a new way for feminine characters in the action and crime genre. So does Herms. For the author the series was an “*inversión de los roles, todavía infrecuente en los años sesenta*” [inversion of roles which still were infrequent in the sixties] (Herms, 1990). According to Ramos (1996 [o.t.]) *Los Vengadores* contained “*ideas y actitudes avanzadas para la época*” [for the epoch advanced ideas and attitudes]. “Thirty years ago”, notes the author, it “[...] was the bible of television feminism” (Ramos, 1995 [o.t.])¹³⁷. This is also in line with what Gómez writes in *El País*: “Unusual for the epoch”, says the author, “Peel did not depend on her companion John Steed, but both were partners with equal responsibilities” (Gómez, 1997 [o.t.])¹³⁸. The same applies to the journalistic discourse in Germany. Bartetzko of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* describes Peel as “everything which between emancipation and hippiedom, lady and dominatrix characterised the fantasies of femininity of the sixties” (Bartetzko, 1998 [o.t.])¹³⁹. Her appearance in television is described as the “*endgültige Demontage*” [final dismantling] (Bartetzko, 1998 [o.t.]) of the dominant femininity at that time. A similar view is held by Sterneborg (2008) of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. “[S]he has”, says the author, “influenced the image of femininity of a whole generation and beyond. At a time, when in the movies frightened horror queens were still popular, she took her fate and that of the world into her own hands” (Sterneborg, 2008 [o.t.])¹⁴⁰. Furthermore, Hermanski (1998) states, “[d]ie Agentin ist eine der stärksten Frauengestalten” [the agent is one of the strongest feminine characters] (Hermanski, 1998 [o.t.]). Martenstein (1998 [o.t.]) calls her “*eine Amazone und ein Geschöpf der Beatles-Ära*” [an Amazon and a creature from the Beatles era]. In *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* Rathgeb (1999) describes Peel as

¹³⁷ Original quotation: “‘Los Vengadores’ fue hace treinta años la biblia del feminismo televisivo” (Ramos, 1995).

¹³⁸ Original quotation: “Inusual para la época, Peel no depende de su compañero, John Steed, sino que ambos son socios con iguales responsabilidades” (Gómez, 1997)

¹³⁹ Original quotation: “alles, was zwischen Emanzipation und Hippietum, Dame und Domina die Weiblichkeitsphantasien der sechziger Jahre ausmachte” (Bartetzko, 1998).

¹⁴⁰ Original quotation: “[S]ie hat das Frauenbild einer ganzen Generation und weit darüber hinaus geprägt. Als im Kino noch die verschreckten Horror-Queens populär waren, nahm sie ihr Schicksal und das der Welt selbst in die Hand” (Sterneborg, 2008).

the German's essential preparation for the "*Geschlechterkampf*" [battle of the sexes]. The author with the abbreviation apl ponders: "How she, dressed in tight lacquer, already in the first episode of October 1965 competed a fencing duel for training purposes against Steed, was breathtaking for the time and is it still from today's perspective in the light of the winking fetishisation of Miss Peel" (apl, 2007)¹⁴¹. Before this background it can be stated that in both countries and among those who know the first-run a nostalgia directed towards this past fascination, be it located on the A or on the F layer of the text, is well presumable.

If this is indeed the case, does not only depend upon the position of the (nostalgic) subject, it also only applies in the case that a clear 'gap' can be described. Already some of the above quotations confirm that the fascination with Emma Peel still exists from a present position. Similarly we could deduce this with a view on today's television landscape. Thus on the one hand, it can be stated that within both German and Spanish television representations of women that do not conform to traditional gender stereotypes are, as Baumgart (2002, p. 7 [o.t.] put it, "no exception any more" (see also García de Castro, 2002, p. 239). It can be stated that that Emma Peel indeed found its continuation in today's television. Thus, as Engell and Kissel (1994) highlight in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Peel was also a source of inspiration for similar characters on early German television at that time. She was, says Sternborg (2008), a "*Wegbereiterin für die moderne Action-Amazonen*" [forerunner for modern action Amazons], and "*abrió el camino*" [opened up the way] notes Lloprat (2010). On the other hand, forms of stereotyped femininity and unequal gender representations are still observable on today's television.¹⁴² Baumgart (2002, p. 109 f.) highlights that while Peel implicated, almost in a Brechtian manner, the will to change, contemporary, emancipated characters rather support a consolidation of the actual conditions in representing emancipation as already realised and broadly attainable. Considered from this position, both F or A emotions such as fascination or admiration are thus more imaginable than nostalgia.

In contrast to *Knight Rider*, which also on the level of leading star David Hasselhoff offers a clear gap between pre- and postlapsarian world and a step from star

¹⁴¹ Original quotation: "*Wie sie schon in ihrer ersten Folge vom Oktober 1965 in engem Lack gegen Steed ein Fechtduell zu Trainingszwecken austrug, das war für die Zeit atemraubend und ist es in der augenzwinkernden Fetischisierung von Miss Peel immer noch*" (apl, 2007)

¹⁴² See e.g. Creeber, 2008, p. 28 on feminine stereotypes in *24*; García-Muñoz et al., 2012 on gender representation in television fiction.

persona to fallen person, a similar consideration of the persons and personas Patrick Macnee and Diana Rigg is less relevant. Even though, according to Black (2004, p. 106), Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) may also be described as a “*character*, a character that is particularly resistant to abstraction from a given actor”, a view to the public discourse suggests that the actress lost none of her high persona and star persona status after she left the series.¹⁴³ Both actors have references to other films, however, none of them surely as dominant as *The Avengers*.

6.1.3. A first conclusion on reruns as potential triggers of nostalgia

On the background of the theoretical part, it has been assumed, that television reruns have a mix of ‘F and A nostalgia’ on offer. This has been verified in the course of the television analysis. Thus, in both reruns diverse possible triggers of both ‘A’ and ‘F nostalgia’ could be detected. This first conclusion shall give an overview over of the results. Before this, we shall again hint to the assumption that both *The Avengers* and *Knight Rider* as part of the nostalgia ‘genre’ of the reruns create the expectation of nostalgia – a point that could not be considered in the course of the television analysis but which is still important with a view on the later reception study.

In a second step, the disposition in order to work as trigger of nostalgia has been investigated. The analysis thus locates possible ‘gaps’ between a ‘pre- and postlapsarian’ world. A consideration of the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles served first indicators as to whether a contrast between ‘then’ and ‘now’ is generated and whether the past is constructed as ‘golden’ or not.

The first ‘gap-localisation’ concentrates on the respective rerun as a whole. Of course, the study can here only consider broader socio-cultural contexts such as the genre context, cultural context, and the programme context in which the respective first-runs have been broadcasted. The description of the temporal background has been restricted to the time span of the first run. In the case of *Knight Rider*, this is the 1980s, in the case of *The Avengers* it is the 1960s. Alongside the differences between Germany and Spain it must be considered that different age groups can have different

¹⁴³ Articles that focus on the actress highlight Diana Rigg as an important person of the British society (*La Vanguardia*, 2000) or as still successful theatrical actress (Ramos, 1996; Ramos, 1998; Bartetzko, 1998). In 1999, the society section in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* hints to the fact that the 61-year-old actress had been voted the “*Fernsehstar mit dem größten Sexappeal aller Zeiten*” [television star with the greatest sex appeal of all time] (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1999). Also 2008, Diana Rigg is still the “Queen of Cool” due to her television past as Emma Peel (Sterneborg, 2008).

relationships to the respective temporal contexts. While both the 55-to-65-year-olds and the 25-to-35-year-olds have their own memories of the 1980s, the 25-to-35-year-olds at the most have ‘prosthetic memories’ of the 1960s. Apart from that, the first runs were broadcast in different life spans of the age groups, which again can be supposed to have left different marks on their memories¹⁴⁴ – this will be looked at in the last part of the study.

Furthermore, surely not all of these context factors are relevant in the reception of all recipients. Apart from national groups and different age groups, here above all the ‘we-group’ of those who have seen the first-run and those who have not seen the first-run must be distinguished. For instance, only those who have seen the first-run can be supposed to remember the rerun in its ‘original’ programme context. Due to the referential character of the rerun, the socio-political, cultural or genre context instead is likely also relevant for those who did not see the first-run, but have a general knowledge of the context.

Regarding the socio-political context, two very different frames in Germany and Spain have been described. In the 1960s, the time when *Los Vengadores* was broadcasted, Spain was still under the Franco dictatorship. At the same time the country was in the middle of the so-called “Spanish miracle” (Boyd, 1999, p. 99), a time when Spaniards for the first time had broader access to consumer goods. That the memory of *Los Vengadores* provokes nostalgia towards these contexts is not supported by the public discourse, which could up to now only be investigated in form of journalistic texts. Since nostalgia depends upon the subject position and how the single viewer “makes” the time contrast with the present, it is also not impossible and has to be further investigated in the reception study. Here, we shall also refer to the work of Tannock, who argues “[t]he ‘positively evaluated’ past is approached as a source for something now perceived to be missing; but it need not be thought of as a time of general happiness, peacefulness, stability, or freedom” (Tannock, 1995, p. 454). In Germany, the 1960s were a time of societal change and changes in values. Here a possible nostalgic reading also has to be further scrutinised in the reception study. It is surely favoured by the fact that Britain was one of the major examples of the youth movement at that time (Siegfried, 2003, p. 25).

¹⁴⁴ In particular, significant differences between childhood and adulthood memories may be expected.

Regarding the programme context of the first run, both in Germany and in Spain, the series falls into a timespan which often has been describe as ‘golden’ with respect to its rich production of television plays. Apart from that, in both countries the series hybrid mix contrasted with the present programme. The fascination about this past extension of creative boundaries still finds its reflection in the public discourse in form of newspaper articles and provides the basis for a possible later integration of the series, in a nostalgic line of argument by the audiences.

When *El coche fantástico* was broadcasted in Spain in 1980s, half decade after the fall of the Franco regime, Spain still experienced a spirit of optimism and economic growth (Julía, 1999). Here one discourse fragment describes *El coche fantástico* as a representative of “this epoch of the first times during which not everything was possible, but, it seemed like” (Garcia Ruipérez, 2011 [o.t.])¹⁴⁵ and thus installs it as possible trigger for nostalgia. In the German context – the context chapter refers to the beginnings of the so-called ‘Kohl-era’, political scandals, anti-nuclear movement, growing discontentment in the East but also the opening of the Berlin Wall – no such ‘valorising’ articles could be found. Since nostalgia may also be related to rather personal contexts, any further conclusions cannot be made here before the reception study in Part III.

Regarding the programme context in which the first run of *Knight Rider*, respectively *El coche fantástico*, was broadcasted, the analysis shows that in Germany the series falls in the first years of the dual television system, which was accompanied by controversial discussions about the fall in quality. It is a similar case in Spain. Although here private channels were not introduced before the 1990s, the series can be situated within the transition process towards the new period that was later characterised by hard competition between private and public broadcasters, and accusations of the “new private stations [...] lowering the quality of scheduling” (Smith, 2006, p. 3). It is unsurprising that Cuervo (2004) describes *El coche fantástico* as “emblematic series of commercial television of the 80s and 90s” (Cuervo, 2004 [o.t.]). In both countries the series cannot be supposed to have elicited a fascination of novelty. It was rather surrounded by very similar programmes such as *The A-Team* or other action-driven series from the Reagan era. A nostalgia that may be located on this general layer is thus rather improbable.

¹⁴⁵ Original quotation: “Teatro Nuevo Alcalá se embarque en un viaje a los 80, ‘aquella época de las primeras veces en que no todo era posible pero, eso sí, lo parecía” (Garcia Ruipérez, 2011).

With respect to the reception studies it has to be additionally taken into consideration that throughout the years, not only in the here relevant time span 2009-2011, both series have been shown as reruns. It is thus likely that memory anchors were set at points of time that are different from the time of the first broadcast – an aspect which has to be worked out closer in the reception study. Apart from that it is further probable that private experiences hold their part in the nostalgic memories of the respective epoch, which also can only be worked out in the reception study.

Despite minor differences between the countries, regarding the public discourse in form of newspaper articles equally explicit “retrospective classifications” could be highlighted in both national contexts. While, generally speaking, in the German case a more explicit legitimisation of past television can be observed, those contributions that probably have most influence on and/or reflect best the public opinion are equally distributed.

It is a similar case regarding *Knight Rider* respectively *El coche fantástico*. While the series in Spain was not integrated into the museum and explicit academic publications which focus on it do not exist, German archives at least highlight the necessity to integrate it into the museum which, we can argue, already supports the valorisation of the series as part of the (German) television heritage. Apart from that, several academic publications could be named that focus on the series. On other layers such as the valorisation from the side of the television channels, non-academic publications, journalistic articles and fan culture, a clear “retrospective classification” of the series which serves parts of the necessary basis for the narration of the better (television) past could be described both in Germany and in Spain. It has to be seen in the reception analysis if nostalgia on the basis of these ‘acquired’ “retrospective classifications” is possible.

Later, both series, *The Avengers* and *Knight Rider*, have been analysed regarding triggers for nostalgia on the level of narration, aesthetic and design (including camera, montage, lighting, location, props, décor, costume, and music), and characters (see Mikos 2008). In general, here it can be presumed that each layer of the rerun can work as a “mnemonic prompt” for those who have memories of the first run. Depending on the respective “retrospective classification” it may lead to nostalgia.

This also applies to the general referential character the reruns have from today’s perspective. Thus, with reference to what Keightley and Pickering (2006) describe in the context of music and photography – which also in case that they had “little

significance in the past” can become “historical representations” (Keightley and Pickering, 2006, p. 152) with the passage of time – it can be presumed that the reruns become ‘icons of their time’ for both those who know and those who do not know the first-run. Already with its simple story and the “zero-degree” style (Caldwell, 1995, pp. 55 ff.), *Knight Rider* refers to other 1980s series. Props, décor, and costumes that the series exposes, refer clearly to the era. The pop characteristics of *The Avengers* make the rerun representative for other pop examples from the 1960s. Also here, props, décor, and costume clearly refer to the time-span.

Regarding the narration of the reruns, it has been shown that with their localisation in a Cold-War context, both series, *The Avengers* which is set in the 1960s, and *Knight Rider*, set in the 1980s, obviously contrast to the actuality. On the level of its narration *The Avengers* is rather unlikely to provoke ‘F nostalgia’. Its narration is not nostalgic, empathy is not favoured, nor is it narrated from the perspective of a nostalgic character, rather the contrary is the case. Some episodes even explicitly connote the longing towards the past negatively. Regarding the series position towards its own temporal background, *The Avengers* can also not be described as trigger for nostalgia. The series does not work as mystifying “*agente historiador*” but is instead critical towards the dominant system.

However, also with reference to the literature on the series (see Baumgart 2002; Pérez 1998), it further has been shown that *The Avengers* exposes many intertextual references to film history but also to earlier episodes of the series. Before the background of the theoretical section, it can be presumed that on this layer the series possibly provokes ‘A nostalgia’ in those viewers who realise the references and retrospectively classify them or their context as worth longing for. Furthermore, the release of ‘own artefact nostalgia’ on the basis of the references is possible. However, the public discourse in form of newspaper articles does not provide indicators regarding this aspect. It has to be seen again in the reception study if this is the case.

Regarding *Knight Rider* it is slightly different. With respect to the temporal background of the series and depending on the reading, the series indeed can be seen as mystifying “*agente historiador*” in so far that it simplifies Cold-War politics on a simple good-bad dichotomy. From today’s perspective, the evocation of ‘F nostalgia’ can be seen as possible.

With respect to aesthetic and design, the analysis identified “marks” such as “anachronistic styles or historical associations” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125) mostly by

relating the original text to its *new* context. On this level, both series are instantly recognisable as belonging to another era. The artificial colours that the opening credits of *Knight Rider* expose, contrast with contemporary television aesthetics. The same applies to the colour spectrum of *The Avengers* with a, as Pérez (1998, p. 45) puts it, ‘psychedelic chromatology’.

With its simplicity of camera, montage, and lighting, *Knight Rider* refers to other ‘zero-degree style’ exemplars from the 1980s and collides with contemporary television. Differential quality is also provided by its anachronistic use of split-screen and zoom. ‘A nostalgia’ is possible, above all in the context of the “retrospective classifications” of the series not improbable. The same applies to *The Avengers*, which regarding the level of camera, montage and lighting, contrasts clearly with contemporary television. Small-scale experiments relate the series to aesthetic innovations as they could be observed in 1960s pop TV, both in Germany and in Spain.

In both series, the setting is probably not important as potential trigger for nostalgia. Both series have no “cultural proximity” to a German or Spanish context. Moreover, empathy is not favoured, neither by the first nor by the latter. In both cases the evocation of ‘empathetic artefact nostalgia’ is thus rather improbable.

The layer of décor, props and costumes is more important. As shown by Sprengler (2011), artefacts are central to the period recreations in film. Also with respect to the reruns, we may assume that they are the most important period markers. Thus, even though inside the ‘zero-degree style’ of *Knight Rider* the *mise-en-scène* has less relevance, here accounts what Tashiro (1998) states in the context of shifting “cultural environment[s]” in general: “[T]hose [objects once] included as neutral filler find unexpected prominence within the obsessions of a new setting” (Tashiro, 1998, p. 8). The analysis highlights that not only the car but also other props of the series are clearly anachronistic in today’s context and likely to evoke ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’ in both those viewers who know and those who do not know the first-run. The car is also where a major gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ could be located: while KITT in the 1980s evoked a fascination (be it on the layer of the artefact or on the layer of the fictional world) in its (infantile) audiences, such visions are today already realised or have become obsolete. ‘F’ or ‘A nostalgia’ which is directed towards this lost utopia is probable. The existence of the gap is also supported by the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles.

Further gaps could be found with respect to the “cultural baggage” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 99) of the main prop. Thus, the car is not only a symbol of the rise and fall of the American car industry, its “implicit meaning” (Tashiro, 1998, p. 12) has also changed from a symbol of masculinity, which is built on physical strength, towards symbolising an image of masculinity in decline.

With respect to *The Avengers*, the main gap can be found in the sole difference between décor, props and costumes ‘then’ and ‘now’. The décor stands in direct contrast to what we are used to from contemporary television, and reminds us of early television dramas. Apart from that, props and costumes are also decisive period markers in *The Avengers* – clearly identifiable as belonging to the 1960s and probable to provoke ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’ in the viewers. As reflected by the public discourse, mainly the props and costumes that characterise Emma Peel extended the then valid boundaries and attracted the attention of the audiences. However, and here is where another main gap has been found, what ‘then’ was futuristic and fascinating – be it in the context of the artefact layer or in the context of the fictional world – may, depending on the reading, be less so from today’s perspective. Referencing the public discourse provides here first indicators on the existence of the ‘gap’, however it has to be seen in the reception study if a here located ‘F’ or ‘A nostalgia’ may be observed.

Regarding the music it can be stated that both *Knight Rider* and *The Avengers* present music that is clearly anachronistic from today’s perspective and thus already on this layer provides the gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’, which is so decisive for nostalgia. Furthermore, in the context of the “retrospective classifications” an ‘A nostalgia’ triggered on this layer is thus not improbable. Since the music can work as “mnemonic prompt”, the repeating motives that are exposed by both series are likely to provoke own nostalgia in those viewers who know the first-run. In both cases, the generation of a “nostalgic condition” (Flinn, 1992 cited in Sprengler 2011, p. 77) is not a dominant function of the music.

Finally, the study takes a close look on possible trigger for nostalgia on the layer of the characters. Regarding *Knight Rider*, the analysis focuses on the lead character Michael Knight, played by David Hasselhoff. With one exception where the character longs for his past identity, in no other example an access to “the past as a stable source of value and meaning” (Tannock, 1995, p. 455) from the side of the character can be observed. Also independent of the question whether the series exposes a nostalgic

character or not, it does not favour empathy. ‘Empathetic F nostalgia’ is thus rather improbable.

Clear ‘gaps’ between ‘then’ and ‘now’ could rather be identified regarding other aspects of the character, which at least provide the disposition for nostalgia. Here it has been highlighted that his simplicity contrasts with today’s dominant trend towards psychologisation and, depending on “respective classifications”, makes him a possible trigger of ‘A nostalgia’. Also on the level of David Hasselhoff as a person(a), a clear gap could be found, which may be described as a history of rise and fall, both reflected in the German and Spanish public discourse in the form of newspaper articles. A here located ‘A nostalgia’ is thus also possible.

Moreover, the star persona of David Hasselhoff contains intertextual references not only to other 1980s’ series but also to public events of the 1980s. It has to be seen in the reception study if the viewers also generate these references and if, depending on respective “retrospective classifications”, they lead to nostalgia.

In contrast to that, none of the main actors of *The Avengers* – neither Diana Rigg nor Patrick Macnee – provide such a gap with respect to persona or person. Also their intertextual referential character is rather less important. Empathy is not favoured by the text. However, Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) and John Steed (Patrick Macnee), who are both pop characters without deeper psychologisation (Baumgart, 2002, p. 23), contrast with characters as they are dominant in today’s television and have referential character to similar examples from the era. Depending on respective “retrospective classifications” this can lead to nostalgia.

Later, a further ‘gap’ could be located with reference to Peel (Diana Rigg). The character contrasted both with the social reality and with feminine lead characters as they were dominant both in German and Spanish television in the 1960s. The analysis shows that depending on the perspective this is less so from today’s perspective. In case that the ‘utopia’ of once is seen as lost from today’s perspective, a nostalgia directed towards the lost fascination is probable for those who know the first-run. More probable, it has also been shown with reference to the public discourse, is a reading that is still dominated by the fascination of extended boundaries. In this case nostalgia can be excluded. It will be investigated if these nostalgia-dispositions are finally realised as a nostalgic reading in the final part of this study.

6.2. Remakes and nostalgia

Remakes are included within the broad category of nostalgia film and nostalgia television (Jameson, 1998; Dika, 2003; pp. 202 ff. on film remakes of television series; Cook, 2005). The same applies to the non-academic discourse where nostalgia and remakes are frequently mentioned together (Steinberg 2010, p. 8; Rehfeld, 2011). On a first and general layer, we may therefore call remakes nostalgia 'genres' and may assume that nostalgia is one mood audiences expect when they decide to watch a remake.

Without exception, remakes that relate to a temporally distant 'original' and not to a locally distant one are in the centre of the discussion. Exceptions include traded formats or canned programmes, which are imported from one country to another and which, depending on the constitution of the television memory of the import country, may rather be seen as novelty (see e.g. Armbruster and Mikos, 2009 on the German version of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*) than as potential trigger of nostalgia.

From this we may further expect that the main gap between past and present, which the remake exposes, is the intertextual reference to the premake. As Horton and McDougal (1998, p. 3) show, "[i]n terms of intertextuality [...] remakes – films that to one degree or another announce to us that they embrace one or more previous movies – are clearly something of a special case, or at least a more intense one". There is no reason why this should not also apply to television remakes. Therefore, against the background of the theoretical part on aesthetic emotions and nostalgia, it is assumed that on a first and dominant layer¹⁴⁶, the remake provokes 'artefact nostalgia'. Since, as Hutcheon has mentioned it in the context of nostalgia in general, there are probably "many ways to look backward" (Hutcheon, 2000, p. 196), whereby nostalgia is just one of it, as in the case of the reruns, the main question must here be what factors influence that the "look backward" is nostalgic?

It may be assumed that already the remake as a whole, thus, the remake as an artefact, is related to the premake. In case that the title has not been changed or still refers to the premake title, according to Leitch (1990, p. 142), already on this level memories can be expected to be evoked. Later, the public discourse, producers,

¹⁴⁶ As Leitch shows, the remake aims at different audiences, "the audience that has never heard of the original film it is based on, the audience that has heard of the film but not seen it, the audience that has seen it but liked it little enough to hope for an improvement, and the audience that has seen it and enjoyed it" (Leitch, 1990, p. 140). They "ideally [...] provide additional enjoyment to audiences who recognise their borrowings from their sources" (Leitch, 1990, p. 140).

advertisements, television channels and others may be supposed to create the relation. Apart from the remake's position toward its reference, which probably is less relevant on this general layer, here we can ask to what extent the premake and its contexts is presented as a potential object of nostalgia. We can assume that the "changing perceptions" (Kompere, 2005, p. 107) in the form of "retrospective classifications" (Kompere, 2005, p. 105) Kompere highlights in the context of the television reruns are also important in the context of remake and premake. Later, the discourse of the producers as it is often integrated in the DVD versions of the remake has to be taken into consideration – a factor, which in the context of the reruns had less or no relevance. Presumably, "retrospective classifications" may be also observable here.

In line with the view of Oltmann (2008, p. 42), who calls the premake an "unfinished business" and hints to the fact that only the remake gives the premake the status of the 'original' and continues its discourses (Oltmann, 2008, pp. 27 ff.), we may assume that already the remake as such and the discourses that surround it are a kind of "retrospective classifications". Since television memories may also function as very personal memory point (O'Sullivan, 1991, p. 163), a nostalgia related to the personal past of the viewers is also imaginable. Here, the rather private "retrospective classifications" of the viewers have to be taken into account, which will be investigated in Part III. It has to be kept in mind that the 'then' in this case does not have to be the time-span of the first broadcast of the premake. The previous chapter already showed that television series are often re-broadcasted, which widens the temporal background of potential memory points.

Later, on a micro layer, we may suppose that every single artefact of the remake that contains intertextual references to the premake may work as a "mnemonic prompt" for those who know the premake and, depending on the respective "retrospective classification" of the reference generate nostalgia. As in the context of the reruns, here we can assume that audiences not only become aware of the artefact via, for instance, "[s]udden twists in the plot" as they have been highlighted by Tan (1996, p. 65) in the general context of artefact emotions, but that it is rather the – depending on its usage – mere repetition or non-repetition which exposes the borrowing and let the 'knowing' spectator become aware of it.¹⁴⁷ Consequently, every layer of the text needs to be examined regarding intertextual references to the premake.

¹⁴⁷ In the context of remakes Horton and McDougal (1998, p. 6) refer to the Russian Formalist Sklovsky and his concept of defamiliarisation, highlighting that "one way of achieving this, he noted, was repetition

Depending on whether it is a modern translation or the past temporal context is maintained, the, as Lowenthal says, “awareness of things past” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125) may derive from different sources. While, we can assume, in the first case it is the comparison and the difference or non-difference with the ‘original’, a comparison which again can only be made by the ‘knowing’ spectator, in the second case it is the difference between the represented past and the own present of the remake viewers. As Dika highlights with reference to Jameson (1991), a remake that updates the temporal context of the remake, may also “create the ‘look and feel’ of pastness” by manipulating “the lighting, the choice of colors, and the grain of the film, as well as its composition and framing [in order] to refer [...] to past images” (Dika, 2003, p. 10).

Since, in contrast to the television reruns, it is not ‘just’ the “reading formation” which has changed, but the remake itself is a reconsideration of a past text, it may adopt different attitudes towards the remake. This must also be considered in the analysis. The remake may maintain the temporal context of the remake and, also depending on the characteristics of the remake, take a nostalgic or non-nostalgic position towards the respective temporal background (see Cook, 2005 on *Far from Heaven* (Haynes, 2002)). The remake can hold different positions towards the original or its temporal context, which again may be articulated on every single layer of the text. Here an important question is also if the viewers recognise the borrowings or not – either against a ‘real’ or a prosthetic memory. The same applies to the case that the remake transfers the temporal context of the remake into the contemporary – the, as Cook notes, “conventional” (Cook, 2005, p. 11) sort of remakes. So the initial questions are: Which position holds the remake towards its temporal background? Which position holds the remake towards the remake? Does the remake for instance reproduce an eventual mystifying perspective of the ‘original’ on its temporal context, does it thus create a gap between a positive ‘then’ and a ‘now’ and therefore favour ‘F nostalgia’, or does it rather continue open discourses of the remake in a way that such a reading is hampered?

The importance of an analysis of these different positions is above all highlighted by Dika (2003), Cook (2005), and Sprengler (2011). On the example of *Psycho* (Van Sant, 1998), a modern translation and “copy par excellence” (Dika, 2003, p. 212) of the Hitchcock remake, Dika (2003, pp. 212 ff.) shows how a remake may support the critical gaze on the new temporal background by creating moments of

friction, disruption and the revelation of the image surface. The relation between premake and remake and between the image of the past and the actual past is in the centre of Cook's analysis of Hayne's *Far From Heaven* – a remake, which maintains the temporal context of its 1950s source (Cook, 2005, pp. 10 ff.). Cook shows that the film on the one hand reproduces the 1950s “projected by those melodramas” it refers to. However,

“[w]here many remakes mimic the original, Far From Heaven mirrors its source material (appropriately enough, given Sirk's predilection for mirror shots). The mirror image, like the cinematic image, inevitably reflects a distorted view of its subject, and Haynes' retrospective lens produces a reverse likeness in which aspects of the original film – in particular, themes they were unable to address openly – are made explicit”.
(Cook, 2005, pp. 10 f.)

Both authors thus compare both premake/remake and image/“natural real” (Dika, 2003, p. 223) and ask for the continuation or critical review the premake once established, in order to locate different kinds of nostalgias or to show that nostalgia is not a topic at all. Here it is central that the interaction of all layers of text and their contribution to the narration are considered. Furthermore, Sprengler (2011) highlights in her study on populuxe props, that the remake may gain a reflexive layer by the props it exposes and the “own histories” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 4) that are imported. When, we assume with reference to Mikos (2008, p. 278) that intertextual references may also activate experiences and here related emotional contents, here is another source where the remake may contain possible gaps for those who know the premake. The same may be assumed with reference to Böhn (2007, p. 150), who suggests that quotations may lead into the “nostalgic longing” towards the “restoration” of emotions once felt in the context of the references.

Lastly and independent of the intertextual references to the premake, it must be considered if the remake adopts other nostalgic strategies. Independent of the premake, also a remake may present past from the perspective of a nostalgic protagonist, just as Higson (2003, p. 83) had described it in the context of the period pictures, or in general to favour empathy that may lead to ‘empathetic F nostalgia’. Also, a remake may expose nostalgic music or be the object of ‘empathetic artefact nostalgia’.

Accordingly, the following analysis asks how and against which background the two remakes of *Knight Rider* and *The Avengers* may work as trigger for nostalgia. The context and every layer of the text will be investigated, and the analysis will contain the

following research steps. Firstly, a general description of the remakes will be presented. Later, the temporal context and “retrospective classifications” of the respective remakes as they have already been worked out in the context of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) and *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) in both countries will be considered shortly. The following analysis of the micro-level will examine every layer of the audiovisual text according to the previously mentioned assumptions. In order to gain a general view, which can also be compared to the analysis of the reruns and period drama, the pure comparison of remake and remake shall be avoided. The study will also ask if the remake, independently of its source of inspiration, may be described as trigger for nostalgia. In order to cross-check the analysis and to identify first possible “cultural mappings” (Hepp, 2009), both German and Spanish newspaper articles shall be consulted.

6.2.1. Analysis of nostalgia in *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008)

Knight Rider (NBC, 2008), the television remake of the 1980s series *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982), is an American action series produced by Universal Media Studios and originally broadcast by NBC. The series contains one season. It is available on DVD both in German and in Spanish synchronisation. *Knight Rider* (2008) was broadcast both on German and Spanish television. In Germany, the pilot of the remake could be viewed in 2010 (Moorstedt, 2009) on the private channel RTL, which also broadcasted the following episodes. With the first episode the series reached here a market share of 22.8 per cent among the 14 to 49-year-olds, later episodes fell back on 20.7 per cent within the same target (Krei, 2009). In 2011, the series was also broadcasted on the private channel SuperRTL. In Spain the pilot of the remake could be viewed in 2008 on the public channel La 1, where it reached a share of 24 per cent (Formula TV, 2009). Further episodes have been broadcasted on the same channel in 2009. They reached an average market share of 17.6 per cent (Formula TV, 2011). In 2009 and 2010, repetitions of the first season could be watched on La1 and Calle 13.

The pilot episode narrates the background story of the series, introducing Mike Tracer (Justin Bruening), an ex-army soldier who will soon accept the name of his father Michael Knight (David Hasselhoff). Mike is called into action by his former girlfriend Sarah Graitman (Deanna Russo) whose father Charles (Bruce Davison), the creator of the original KITT and member of a secret Pentagon project team, has been

kidnapped by terrorists. Together with KITT (Knight Industries *Three Thousand*), now a Ford Mustang Shelby, and supported by the FBI agent Carrie (Sydney Tamiia Poitier) and *Knight Industries*, Sarah and Mike start to search for Charles. In the centre of the series is the ‘new’ Michael Knight, working for *Knight Industries* and the government and later for the independent and re-founded *Foundation for Law and Order* (FLAG). In his fight against the ‘bad in the dangerous world’ he is supported and directed by an expert team. The home base has changed to a modern hangar and KITT is often transported via airplane. As in the premake, the fabulous car is equipped with diverse features, now however assigned to the modern world.

Despite the fact that the pilot episode, as Leitch would say, is “teasing knowing audiences [...] [and] bring[s] new audiences up” (Leitch, 1990, p. 140) by creating continuance through the establishment of Michael Knight (David Hasselhoff) as Mike’s father, it also gives the remake spin-off elements. The rest of the series is a clear remake, or, as Cook puts it in the context of remakes in general, a “modern translation” (Cook, 2005, p. 11) – transferred into the new millennium. As the premake the remake may be assigned to the action adventure genre.

6.2.1.1. A short contextualisation

Knight Rider (2008) is clearly contextualised within the frame of the 1980s premake. Already the title of the remake evokes the predecessor and its 1980s context. Later, the television channels both in Germany and in Spain present the remake within the context of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) (RTL, 2011a; RTVE, 2011). The DVD version of the remake explicitly promotes DVD collections of the ‘original’ series. The same applies to the public discourse in both countries (see e.g. *El País*, 2009a; *La Vanguardia*, 2009; *La Vanguardia*, 2009a; Mateos and Campelo, 2009; Moorstedt, 2009; Bracero, 2011). One can state that it is almost appealing to the memory of the predecessor and, so it can be argued, that it even promotes the retrospective construction of this memory.

Consequently, on a first and general layer, the premake context is relevant for the analysis of potential nostalgias. This has been outlined in chapter 6.1 and shall not be repeated here. Since the series has been re-broadcast at various times both in Germany and in Spain, memory anchors may have been set throughout the series’ ‘biography’ – something which has to be kept in mind with a view on the reception analysis. Later, it

must be considered in which way the premake as an artefact as a whole is installed as potential object of nostalgia.

In the context of the television reruns of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) it has been stressed that “retrospective classifications” favour a nostalgic reading of the ‘original’ television series. Valorisations from the side of television channels, non-academic and academic publications, fans or newspaper articles have been described, which serve the necessary basis for the narration of the better (television) past (see 6.1.1.1.2. and 6.1.1.2.2.).

Furthermore, in both countries the discourse about the remake explicitly generates the link to the premake and the valorising discourses that surround it. It also holds its part in the valorisation of the latter. In Germany, RTL highlights *Knight Rider* (2008) together with the premake describing it as “*Kultserie aus den 80ern*” [cult series from the 80s] (RTL, 2011 [o.t.]). TVE calls it the “*remake de la mítica serie*” [remake of the mythic series] (RTVE, 2011 [o.t.]). The producer of the remake contextualises *Knight Rider* (2008) as “one of those iconic shows” (RTVE, 2011a; *El coche fantástico*, DVD Extras).

The public discourse in both countries explicitly valorises the premake in the context of the remake. The Spanish *El País* stresses that “*la popular serie de los años ochenta regresa*” [the popular series of the 80s comes back] (El País, 2009a [o.t.]). *La Vanguardia* highlights “*NBC [...] ha recuperado El coche fantástico; icono de la televisión de los ochenta*” [NBC has retrieved *El coche fantástico*; icon of the television of the eighties] (*La Vanguardia*, 2009), Broc (2009) talks about the “*relectura de un título de culto*” [reinterpretation of a cult title] (Broc, 2009) and another author calls the remake “*la nueva versión de [...] la mítica serie de los años ochenta*” [the new version of the mythic series of the eighties] (ABC, 2008). This similarly applies to the German discourse. *Der Tagesspiegel* notes that “*RTL setzt die Achtziger-Kultserie [...] fort*” [RTL continues the 80s cult-series] (Sauerbrey, 2009 [o.t.]). In other cases the valorisation of the premake goes together with a de-valorisation of the remake. According to Moorstedt, “RTL shows the new edition of ‘*Knight Rider*’ – but the old times are not reproducible” (Moorstedt, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁴⁸. Denk notes more critically: “The new edition is so unnecessary, that it was cancelled after one season – and we prefer to

¹⁴⁸ Original quotation: “*RTL zeigt die Neuauflage von ‘Knight Rider’ – doch die alten Zeiten sind nicht reproduzierbar*” (Moorstedt, 2009).

show again the 80s original” (Denk, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁴⁹. As a result it can be stated that *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) is not only inevitably related to the remake and gains here the status of the ‘original’, just as Oltmann (2008) describes it in the context of remakes in general, but the discourse also constructs a gap between the better ‘original’ and worse remake, which establishes the remake as potential object of nostalgia.

6.2.1.2. Nostalgia on the single layers of the text

6.2.1.2.1. Narration

Knight Rider (2008), set in the United States around the turn of the millennium, updates the time frame of the remake. The remake may not be described as accessing a past nostalgically, nor is it narrated from the perspective of a nostalgic character. Yet the present that is represented contains the ‘feel of pastness’. Where the remake exposes different visions on its 1980s present, one that simplifies Cold War politics to simple good-bad dichotomies, and one that paints an “ambiguous” picture of the time (Moody, 2001, p. 71), *Knight Rider* (2008) opts for the reactionary half. Above all in the first eleven episodes, where Michael Knight is strongly related to the state authorities, the ancient good-bad dichotomies are simply ‘modernised’ and find their continuation in equal poles – such as scrupulous, good (US) versus unscrupulous, bad (Chinese) capitalism (see e.g. season 1, episode 2), or good US versus bad Islamist or power-hungry terrorists. Moments of reflection, which seem to break these simplicities, are only supported by KITT, the artificial intelligence (see e.g. season 1, episode 1), which only further supports the dominant reading. It can be stated that the present of the series is infused with a past “connotation of order” of the remake, which indeed may be understood as the nostalgic wish to return to a past simplicity. Critical frictions between remake and remake cannot be observed.

This interpretation is in parts supported by the public discourse, where some authors explicitly highlight that the remake still wears the “*espíritu de los 80*” [spirit of the 80s] (*La Vanguardia*, 2009b [o.t.]) and “*mantiene el mismo sabor que en los 80 en su lucha contra el crimen organizado*” [maintains this same flavour in its fight against the organised crime] (*La Vanguardia*, 2009b [o.t.]). Moorstedt of the German

¹⁴⁹Original quotation: “Die Neuauflage ist so überflüssig, dass sie schon nach einer Staffel abgesetzt wurde – und wir lieber nochmal das 80er Original zeigen” (Denk, 2009).

Süddeutsche Zeitung notes that “von Drehbuchseite her [gibt es] keine Neuerung” [regarding the script there are no novelties] (Moorstedt, 2009 [o.t.]).

Regarding other aspects of the narration, *Knight Rider* (2008) indeed continues its predecessor into the present. Even though, the remake follows an always same, linear scheme, which is similar to the 1980s premake, the cases to solve afford now the scientific knowledge of the team which brings further suspense loaded narrative stands into the series (see e.g. season 1 episode 4). Shorter suspense curves are provided by smaller obstacles, which have to be solved in the course of the action and are always done so in the last minute (see e.g. season 1, episode 2.; min. 0:08:35 – 0:15:30). The remake contains here similarities to contemporary series such as *24* where time is also “always about urgency” (Shimpach, 2010, p. 131). Other plot lines narrate the romantic interests between Michael and Sarah or the revelation of Michael’s traumatic past. While the main narrative strands are closed within one episode, the latter two spread over several ones. In doing this, the series not only increases the suspense and multiplies the narrative strands in comparison to the premake, it also gains elements of the “continuous narrative” of the serial as they were less developed in the premake. It shifted, so can be stated, towards the trend of contemporary action/melodrama hybrids (Williams, 1994 referred to in Shimpach, 2010, p. 36) and contrasts with the simple narrative model its source of influence represented. In this sense, it cannot be discussed as a nostalgic handling of the source, rather the contrary is the case. Nevertheless, in doing so, and always in case that the reference to the premake is generated by the audiences, a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ is constructed which, depending on the subject position and respective “retrospective classifications”, supports nostalgia towards the ‘original’.

Furthermore, the remake narrative employs various intertextual references to the 1980s predecessor. It makes use of dramatic fragments, themes and situations of the premake and combines them new. Once implicit aspects, such as the romantic interests between the premake characters Michael and Bonny, are now highlighted as own narrative strands; a strategy that Black (2004, p. 102) also calls “in-filling”. Against the background of the theoretical section, we may assume, that, at least for the more detached audiences, the intertextual references may work as “mnemonic prompts” and, depending on the “retrospective classification” of the predecessor, lead into ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’.

6.2.1.2.2. Aesthetic and design

Regarding its aesthetic and design *Knight Rider* (2008) is a modernised version of the premake. At the same time borrowings from the ‘original’ give it the “awareness of things past”.

Camera, montage and lighting

Knight Rider (2008) employs a mobile camera with a wide range of shots from close-ups to long shots. While the premake seems anachronistic when not campy due to the sometime repetitive, abrupt utilisation of zooms, *Knight Rider* (2008) includes the device self-evidently and without exposing it. Lavish crane shots, panoramas, and travelling shots are constantly utilised. This gives the series a dynamic, cinematic look. The same applies to lighting and editing. Where the premake with its “zero-degree” style (Caldwell, 1995, pp. 55 ff.) utilises a constant normal key lighting, *Knight Rider* (2008) employs an illumination that is dependent upon location and dramaturgy. The editing is decisively accelerated. Additionally, the remake exposes computer-generated effects. Animated traveling shots move through the interior of the car. Further animated sequences appear throughout the series (see e.g. season 1, episode 11, 0:28:21).

The remake exposes here analogies to the “videographic look” that has been described by Shimpach (2010, p. 132) in the context of contemporary action series such as *24*. Consequently, it can be stated that camera, montage and lighting are less reminiscent of the premake, they rather correspond to contemporary televisuality. The remake becomes here a representative of the television ‘now’ that, depending on the subject position, may be set against the television ‘then’ represented by the premake. For those who generate the reference to the predecessor, a clear gap arises. That this may lead into ‘artefact nostalgia’ directed towards the ‘original’ on the part of the German and Spanish viewers is supported by the intensive “retrospective classification” of the premake, but has to be further scrutinised in the reception study. A critical stance or reflexivity due to frictions between past and present representation cannot be observed.

Setting

This similarly applies to the settings *Knight Rider* (2008) exposes. On the one hand, the remake refers here to the 1980s premake. As in the predecessor main spaces are the interior of the car and the home base of the foundation, which is clearly reminiscent of

the ‘original’ and makes the remake a possible “mnemonic prompt” for those who know the premake. On the other hand, *Knight Rider* (2008) continues its predecessor into the present. The remake refers here to trends in contemporary television. Already the hangar headquarter simulates “the control room of a live television production, [or] the control center of a video surveillance operation” (Shimpach, 2010, p. 132) just as Shimpach observes it in the context of *24* (Fox, 2001). Again the remake may here be described as representative of the television ‘now’ that, depending on the subject position, may be set against the television ‘then’ represented by the premake.

With its hangar home base, highways, desert-like landscapes, and ‘typical’ American cities, *Knight Rider* (2008) contains little “cultural proximity” to a German or Spanish background. Not to mention the fact that the action series gives little relevance to the sensuous exploration of its settings. The arousal of ‘internal empathetic artefact nostalgia’ is here not favoured.

Décor, props and costumes

In *Knight Rider* (2008), décor, props and costumes are no signifiers of pastness in the sense that they belong to another era. The remake has been modernised and transported to the present. The objects it exposes are contemporary and are unlikely to provoke ‘artefact nostalgia’. The “awareness of things past” arises here only from the intertextual references to the premake, which first and foremost may be located to the layer of the series’ main prop. As its predecessor, *Knight Rider* (2008) exposes a car named KITT, this time a Ford Mustang. With its red front laser and enigmatic sound it is clearly reminiscent of the ‘original’ and may work as potential “mnemonic prompt” for those audiences who know the premake.

In the context of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) it has been shown that from today’s perspective the rerun-car provides a gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ concerning the fascination it once released, and the loss of the latter from today’s perspective (see 6.1.1.3.2.). It has been assumed that this characteristic makes it a potential trigger of nostalgia for the ‘knowing audiences’. This similarly applies to the remake car, even though also other readings are favoured. On the one hand, the remake is conscious of discourses regarding the lack, takes them up explicitly¹⁵⁰ and tries to undermine them. Consequently, KITT is equipped with new features – the ‘new’ car transforms via 3D-

¹⁵⁰ See e.g. season 1, episode 1, min. 0:03:09, where one of the characters says: “My car talks to me... It’s called GPS”.

animation into a racing version, the once bulletproof lining now restores automatically – which obviously tries to let the car still seem futuristic and to provoke similar fascinations as its 1980s predecessor. If this strategy is successful, nostalgia can be excluded. On the other hand, if this is not the case, we may indeed assume that the arousal of a nostalgic longing for the “restoration” of the past emotion is possible, just as Böhn (2007, p. 150) had described it in the context of quotations in general. Again the remake is conscious of this possible reading and exposes this knowledge in various episodes that explicitly highlight the motive of childhood/boyhood fascination (see e.g. season 1, episode 3; 15). In this respect, the remake almost appeals to childhood-memories and to a possible nostalgia on this layer. Apart from that, intertextual references to the 1980s series *The Transformers* (Sky One, 1984) appeal to the childhood/boyhood memories of a broader audience.

The public discourse in the form of newspaper articles gives evidence of both readings. As reflected by Forn (2009) the remake may indeed maintain the fascination of its predecessor. The author notes in *La Vanguardia* “[e]l nuevo KITT es aún más fantástico” [the new KITT is even more fantastic] (Forn, 2009 [o.t.]). The fascination is shared by another author in *La Vanguardia* who is of the opinion that “the new technologies and special computer effects make sure that the pirouettes of the blabbermouth supercar are even more impossible, if procurable, than his predecessor” (*La Vanguardia*, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁵¹. This similarly applies to Broc (2009), who also highlights the *Transformers* references of the series. The author states that “the effects are of quality and the new car, a Ford Mustang, which seems like a demonic Transformer, make that the finesses of the legendary Pontiac Firebird resemble those of a *Supermirafiori* [a normal middle class car of the 1970s to 1980s]” (Broc, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁵². However, he clearly indicates that the remake is not “tan fantástico...” [as fantastic] (Broc, 2009 [o.t.]) as its predecessor. This is also in line with what is dominantly reflected by the German discourse. While Sauerbrey (2009) simply stresses the modernisation of the car, Moorstedt in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* dismantles the remake strategies and mocks the lost fascination. As the author highlights, “the utopia of once is long since obsolete [...] Therefore one adorns the new car with science-fiction

¹⁵¹ Original quotation: “sin embargo las nuevas tecnologías y los efectos especiales por ordenador sí aseguran que las piruetas del supercoche parlanchín vayan a ser todavía más imposibles, si cabe, que las de su antecesor” (*La Vanguardia*, 2009).

¹⁵² Original quotation: “[L]os efectos son de calidad y el nuevo coche, un Ford Mustang que parece un Transformer demoníaco, hace que las prestaciones del legendario Pontiac Firebird parezcan las de un Supermirafiori” (Broc, 2009).

accessories [...]. While the original KITT still looked like an artefact from a not too far future, it seems as if his successor comes from the MTV-workshop *Pimp My Ride*” (Moorstedt, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁵³. A similar stance is taken by Rehfeld in *Der Spiegel*. “*Knight Rider*”, he notes, “failed [...] because there was nothing to add to the high-tech charm of the original. Today we associate pesky navigation systems, seat belt and distance alerts with ‘intelligent’ cars” (Rehfeld, 2011 [o.t.])¹⁵⁴. Also here the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles gives first evidence of a possible reception. If the triggers for nostalgia are actually decoded by the audiences will have to be further scrutinised in the reception study.

Music

Knight Rider (2008) exposes both pre-existing and new composed contemporary music without the connotation of ‘pastness’. It has a dramatic function when it supports suspense, action, or romantic moments. The generation of a “nostalgic condition” is no function of the music. However, also on this layer the remake contains intertextual references. It takes over the original theme song and remixes it as a techno-rock version, also utilised as *leitmotiv* throughout the episodes. Independent of the modernisation, the music is clearly reminiscent of the past and probable to work as “mnemonic prompt” and, depending on the respective “retrospective classification”, to trigger ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in those viewers who have memories of the premake. A critical or self-reflexive stance of the music cannot be observed.

6.2.1.2.3. Characters

Although the remake maintains the basic constellation of ‘the man and his car’, it clearly continues its predecessor into the present. First and foremost, the narration is less focused on the duo. While Bonnie and Devon of the premake only in exceptional episodes move towards the centre of interest, the support team of the remake, consisting of a core constellation of three members – namely Sarah (Deanna Russo), nano-technology-expert and later boss of the Foundation, Billy (Paul Campbell), expert in

¹⁵³ Original quotation: “[D]ie Utopie von einst ist längst überholt [...]. Also schmückt man das neue Serienauto mit Science-Fiction-Accessoires [...]. Sah das Original KITT mit seinen aggressiv geschwungenen Linien noch aus wie ein Artefakt aus einer nicht allzu weit entfernten Zukunft, meint man, sein Nachfolger entstamme aus der MTV-Werkstatt Pimp my Ride” (Moorstedt, 2009).

¹⁵⁴ Original quotation: “*Knight Rider*’ scheiterte [...] weil der Hightech-Faszination des Originals nichts hinzuzufügen war. Heute assoziiert man mit ‘intelligenten’ Autos nervtötende Navigationssysteme, Gurt- und Entfernungswarner” (Rehfeld, 2011).

informatics, and Zoe (Cho Smith) expert in languages – and a further secondary row has more narrative importance. As it has been previously referred to (see 6.2.1.2.1.), it is the team that provides the last-minute rescue. Furthermore, shorter narrative strands focus on the characters. Here, in contrast to the premake, “the explication of the meaning of events for the characters enjoy primacy” (Tan, 1996, p. 176), just as Tan describes it in the context of empathy in general. In doing this, the remake refers to contemporary series such as CSI (see *C.S.I.– Crime Scene Investigation* (CBS, 2000) with its spin-offs *CSI: Miami* (CBS, 2002) or *CSI: New York* (CBS, 2004)) or also *24* (Fox, 2001), reflecting the contemporary trend towards ensemble casts (Mittell, 2006) and highlighting the gap between action series ‘today’ and ‘then’.

Also on the layer of the characters, *Knight Rider* (2008) exposes intertextual references to the premake. Next to a clear continuity regarding the main characters Michael Knight (Justin Bruening) and KITT, also basic characteristics of Bonny – the highly educated car mechanic – and Devon – the distinguished gentleman – continue in the remake-characters Sarah and Charles. With the appearance of David Hasselhoff (as Michael Knight senior) in the pilot episode, also a case of personnel continuity between remake and premake may be described. Since, as Sprengler highlights, actors may “echo” past roles (Sprengler, 2010, p. 81), his quality as former lead character of the premake can be assumed to pop up in the audiences, triggering memories of the premake character or (media) memories related to him. Apart from, that a clear ‘gap’ between the star persona’s past and present identity (see 6.1.1.3.3.) could be scrutinised, which again serves the basis for potential ‘artefact nostalgia’. Period casting, “[t]he practice of selecting actors based on their resemblance to film stars of times past” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 80) or, in this case, based on their resemblance to former *Knight Rider* actors, cannot be observed.

Michael Knight

As in the ‘original’ series, Michael Knight (Justin Bruening) is the lead character of *Knight Rider* (2008). The clothes he wears and his styling draw him as a modern character without anachronisms. However, also here the remake character contains explicit intertextual references to the premake that not only make it a potential “mnemonic prompt” and depending on the respective “retrospective classification” potential trigger of nostalgia, but also support nostalgia on the fiction layer.

With his name, the remake-character clearly evokes the premake and wears the taste of ‘pastness’ for those audiences who recognise the reference. Further, aspects of the character drawing – white, heterosexual, male, around 30, a former soldier with traumatic past – are reminiscent of the predecessor. A reflective layer is not provided. At the same time the remake picks up and continues discourses of the premake. In contrast to the predecessor, the ‘new’ Michael is no “lone crusader in a dangerous world”. He hands over a lot of responsibility to the further team members and the narration focuses less on him. However this fact is not presented as self-evident or as a necessary development. The troubled, traditional masculinity is rather staged as problematic for the new American hero. While the predecessor Michael with his character traits of the emotional mediator first develops strategies to meet the requirements of the modern world, the remake character rejects the continuation of this line but moans about his lost privileges. One can even argue that the remake is “‘shot through with nostalgia, with an obsession with images and definitions of masculinity and masculine codes of behaviour, and with images of male narcissism and the threats posed to it by women, society and the law’” (Neale, 1993 cited in Shimpach, 2010, p. 46), just as Neale once described it in the context of the late-era Western. This fact becomes not only apparent in situations where Michael’s displeasure of the cutting of his privileges is explicitly articulated, or in those scenes where he contrasts his traditional white masculinity to the female characters (see pilot episode, min. 0:37:09), it is also exposed by the remake, for instance, in conversations about the topic (see season 1, episode 2).¹⁵⁵ Independently of whether the viewers recognise the intertextual references to the premake or not, in doing so, *Knight Rider* (2008) becomes here not only a potential trigger of ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ – whether or not the protagonist himself is nostalgic – it also supports ‘non-empathetic F nostalgia’ for a moment before the disruption of once dominant images of masculinity.

The public discourse in the form of newspaper articles gives few but first evidences of respective observations of the anachronistic character similarities between the premake- and the remake-Michael. Here the Spanish *La Vanguardia* simply calls the

¹⁵⁵ Examples include a conversation between Michael and KITT (0:26:54 ff.). KITT: “I am researching the delineation of gender roles in the classic Western. Men appeared to be limited to fighting, playing, cards and consuming prodigious amounts of whiskey”. Mike: “Yeah, the good old days”. Mike now switches the conversation, underlining his responsibility for Sarah. His statement is undermined and exposed as overcome ‘macho’ behaviour by a western-film scene simultaneously screened on the video-display of the computer-car. Since this oppositional reading is however implemented by the artificial intelligence, it leaves, so can be argued, the reactionary, and anachronistic one as ‘natural’ version of the ‘truth’ and as dominant reading.

remake character the “*nuevo*” [new] Michael Knight (*La Vanguardia*, 2009 [o.t.]). In the German *Tagesspiegel*, Sauerbrey describes the similarities and changes more closely finding a conclusion that, so it can be argued, almost nostalgically moans the losses regarding the protagonist’s masculinity: “Alas, you think, when you see the new *Knight Rider*. How times have changed and with them the cars and men” (Sauerbrey, 2009 [o.t.])¹⁵⁶.

6.2.2. Analysis of nostalgia in *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998)

The Avengers (1998, Chechik) is a film remake of the previously analysed television series with the same title (ITV, 1961). In 1998, the film was released in German and Spanish cinemas. Since then it was broadcast on both German and Spanish television. Between 2009 and 2011, it could be watched among others on the private German television channels Sat.1 and kabel eins (see e.g. Weis, 2009). In Spain it was broadcast in 2009 on the private channel LaSexta. *The Avengers* also contains aspects of the temporally less distant rerun, which at least has to be kept in mind during the analysis. A synchronised DVD version of the film is available in both countries.

The film focuses on the British agent John Steed, played by Ralph Fiennes. The character is called into action when inexplicable climate changes begin to threaten the peace of the British capital London. His bosses – mother (Jim Broadbent) and father (Fiona Shaw) – put the climate expert Dr Emma Peel (Uma Thurman) at his side. She is meant to investigate the case but at the same time she is one of the major suspects, since it was her or her lookalike who initialised the sabotage against Prospero – the governmental weather project. Soon, however, the duo picks up the trail of a mad scientist, Sir August de Wynter (Sean Connery). The ex-member of the ministry not only abuses an investigation he once made on cloning – with Emma Peel as his very precise victim – but also uses an advanced version of the governmental weather programme for his own purposes, which is to blackmail worldwide governments with ice age scenarios. While de Wynter is about to prepare the last step of his diabolic plan, Emma and Steed enter his power station. In the last minute they stop the worst-case scenario from happening.

¹⁵⁶Original quotation: “*Hach, denkt man, wenn man den neuen Knight Rider sieht, wie haben sich die Zeiten geändert. Und mit ihnen die Autos und die Männer*” (Sauerbrey, 2009).

As the television series, *The Avengers* (1998, Chechik) is a hybrid of spy genre, action film, and thriller, however with an emphasis on the latter two. As the series, the film contains elements of parody.

6.2.2.1. A short contextualisation

The Avengers (Chechik, 1998) – *Mit Schirm, Charm und Melone* in German and *Los Vengadores* in Spanish – is clearly contextualised within the frame of the premake. Already with its title the film evokes its predecessor. Furthermore, the discourses that surround the remake regularly refer to the 1960s predecessor. When both German and Spanish newspaper articles discuss the *The Avengers* remake they do so always in the context of the ‘original’.¹⁵⁷ Both the production company Warner Brothers Productions and its producer Jerry Weintraub highlight that the film is based upon the series (Weintraub in Pérez, 1998, p. 169; Warner Brothers, 2011). Already on this general layer we may assume that the premake and its context are important memory points.

Consequently, as in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake, on a first and general layer, the premake context as it has been outlined in chapter 6.1 is relevant for the analysis of potential nostalgias. With a view on the later reception analysis, it should be kept in mind that the ‘original’ series has been re-broadcast in the past few decades. Second, it must be considered in which way the premake as an artefact as a whole is installed as potential object of nostalgia. Here, the context chapter on the rerun already shows that the ‘original’ television series of *The Avengers* was subject to broad “retrospective classifications” (Kompere, 2005, p. 105). Despite some minor country specific differences (see 6.1.3.)¹⁵⁸, this favours a nostalgic directed towards the ‘original’ television series both in Germany and Spain.

Apart from the fact that in the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) is always put in the context of the television series – which means that the valorising discourse about the ‘original’ are linked to the remake – the remake-discourse itself is also part of the valorisation of the premake. Several

¹⁵⁷ Regarding Spain see Ramos, 1995; L.G., 1997; Gómez, 1997; Gómez, 1997a; Cavestany, 1998; Llopart, 1998; Parrondo, 1998; Parrondo, 1998a; Jose and Moreno, 2003. Regarding Germany see Seidel, 1998; Hermanski, 1998; malt, 1998; Gärtner, 1998; Martenstein, 1998; Zylka, 1998.

¹⁵⁸ In Spain, in contrast to Germany, those valorisations from the side of museums and academic publications mostly go without the specific Spanish perspective. Also regarding the fan culture the cases diverge slightly, since in Germany a livelier fan community could be observed. In contrast to Spain the premake is here also available as DVD collection, which all the more highlights the greater appreciation and suggests that the series may have been kept better in memory.

discourse fragments in Spanish newspapers valorise the remake in the context of the remake (see e.g. Gómez, 1997; Gómez, 1997a; Cavestany, 1998; Parrondo, 1998a). Authors describe the ‘original’ here as a “*mítica serie británica*” [mythic British series] (Jose and Moreno, 2003 [o.t.]), “*legendaria serie briánica de aventuras*” [legendary British adventure series] (Parrondo, 1998 [o.t.]) or “*la serie más popular de todos los tiempos*” [the most popular series of all times] (Ramos, 1995 [o.t.]). Some articles explicitly devalue the remake in this context. Jose and Moreno in *El País* (2003 [o.t.]) say for example, that “*la altura del listón impuesto por su predecesora resulta insuperable*” [the height of the bar which has been set by his predecessor is unattainable]. Cavestany highlights in the same newspaper, that “*en el caso de Los vengadores como en muchos otros, las comparaciones suelen ser favorables al producto original*” [in the case of Los Vengadores as in many others, the comparisons are normally in favour of the original] (Cavestany, 1998 [o.t.]). The same applies to the German discourse. “*The Avengers*”, says Seidel in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, “now thirty years later in the movies are nothing but a monstrous misunderstanding” (Seidel, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁵⁹. According to the author Malt, the screen was “too big when *The Avengers* was launched in the movies recently” (Malt, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁶⁰. Hermanski describes how bland the remake is in comparison to the “*Markenzeichen der Originalserie*” [brand of the original series] (Hermanski, 1998 [o.t.]).

As in the context of the *Knight Rider* remake, it may be stated that the remake is not only contextualised with the remake, and gives the remake the status of the ‘original’, just as it has been observed by Oltmann (2008, pp. 14 ff.) in the context of remakes in general, it also becomes part of the narration of the better ‘then’ in comparison to the lacking ‘now’, making the remake a potential nostalgia object. In contrast to *Knight Rider* (2008), a less intensive retrospective valorisation from the side of the television channels can be observed. However, here the producer also valorises the series as a childhood icon and creates a ‘we-identity’ around the series, when he explains his motivation to produce the remake: “I was one of those millions of young people who were in love with Emma Peel” (Weintraub cited in Pérez, 1998, p. 169 [o.t.])¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁹ Original quotation: “*The Avengers’ nun dreißig Jahre später im Kino sind nichts als ein monströses Mißverständnis*” (Seidel, 1998).

¹⁶⁰ Original quotation: “*eine Nummer zu groß als die Avengers unlängst ins Kino kamen*” (Malt, 1998)

¹⁶¹ Original quotation: “*Yo era uno de aquellos millones de jóvenes que estaban enamorados de Emma Peel*” (Weintraub cited in Pérez, 1998, p. 169).

6.2.2.2. Nostalgia on the single layers of the text

6.2.2.2.1. Narration

The narration of *The Avengers* (1998) can be described as classical, according to Bordwell (1985, p. 157): It is linearly developed, causal- and stereotype-dominated. While a first plot line focuses on a clear-cut problem with the two main characters coming into action, entering into conflict with others, solving the problem, and finally restoring order, a second line involves the romantic interests between the agent couple. In general, the narration, set around the turn of the millennium, cannot be called nostalgic. Neither is it presented from the perspective of a nostalgic character. However, what makes the remake a potential trigger of nostalgia are the intertextual references it exposes. *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) retells dramatic elements from the original television series and combines them new. It inserts events “where the film presumes to tell us things that the show left implied or entirely mysterious” (Black, 2004, p. 102).

With its character selection of Emma Peel and John Steed, the remake employs basically the fourth and fifth season of the premake. Regarding the general theme, its main reference is *A Surfeit of H₂O* (season 4, episode 8)¹⁶² – an episode of the original series, where Steed and Peel investigate mysterious cases of death in the periphery of a factory that manipulates the weather in its surroundings. Other reference episodes are *The House That Jack Built* (season 4, episode 23), or *The Joker* (season 5, episode 15). Apart from that, the remake relates to *Doppelgänger* (see e.g. season 5, episode 10 and season 5, episode 16), amnesia-motifs (see e.g. season 6, episode 1), or “various invisible man episodes” (Black, 2004, p. 114, n10) (see e.g. season 5, episode 4). Other aspects of the remake, for instance the integration of the characters ‘mother’ and ‘father’ (see also 6.2.2.2.3.) or the kiss between Steed and Peel, depart from the Peel/Steed-episodes but employ references to other *The Avengers* seasons (see e.g. 3.16). Even though modernised, through these intertextual references, the remake may create an “awareness of things past” in those viewers who associate it with the premake, may work as “mnemonic prompt” and, depending on the respective “retrospective classification”, provoke nostalgia.

Later, the remake also links to the media memory of a broader audience of those who never saw the ‘original’ series. Already in the exposition of the remake – a training

¹⁶² While the episode was broadcast on Spanish Television (TVE1) in 1967 (ABC, 1967c), German television (TV Berlin) did not release it before 1998 (Imfernsehen, 2011a) – which should be considered with a view on the reception study.

session for John Steed (Ralph Fiennes), where the attached viewer who saw the ‘original’ series may find reminiscences to various *Avenger* episodes (see e.g. season 5, episode 3, or season 5, episode 14) – a situation is exposed that also reminds of typical James Bond-opening scenes. However, a critical layer, for instance released by frictions between the remake and the original, or between the remake and its further sources, or characteristics of self-reflexivity cannot be observed. By integrating the references into its closed narrative the remake does not tend to explicitly disclose its sources of influence.

6.2.2.2.2. Aesthetic and design

The aspiration to appeal to a broad audience can also be observed on other layers of the text. On the one hand, *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) is a modernised version of the ‘original’ series. On the other, the layer of aesthetic and design it has various elements, which are clearly reminiscent of the predecessor or of other past media forms. Apart from the title that refers to the 1960s-premake, already the title sequence evokes the predecessor series exposing *The Avengers’* icons (umbrella, bowler hat and Emma Peel’s silhouette). At the same time it reminds us of psychedelic record sleeves and posters of the 1960s (see fig. 6-7), a reference that is also recognisable for those audiences who do not know the television series.



Fig. 6-7: References to psychedelic records sleeves and icons of the ‘original’ in *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998).

Camera, montage, and lighting

Where the ‘original’ series has the character of an intimate play, the remake exposes lavish crane shots up to aerial shots and lighting depending on the dramatic situation. The action scenes are accompanied by a cinematic, accelerated editing. Where the ‘original’ disposes of limited resources, the remake falls back on large-scale 3D-animation and computer-generated effects. All in all, regarding camera, montage and

lighting the remake is not nostalgic. With its feature film cinematography it is neither reminiscent of the television series nor of other media ‘pasts’, but rather presents a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ for those who see it in the context of the remake.

Setting

On the layer of its settings, *The Avengers* (1998) clearly refers to the television series. Even though the remake exposes its big budget in opulent settings, which make it differ from the series, the intertextual references to its source of inspiration are always present. Also in the remake “nothing is what it seems” just as Buxton (1990, p. 101) had highlighted it in the context of the remake. An underground car park holds the control centre of the British secret service, a Baroque Palace contains a labyrinth and a telephone cell hides a lift¹⁶³. Furthermore, references relate to single episodes of the series. Already with the labyrinthine mansion the film refers to episodes of the predecessor (see e.g. season 4, episode 23; season 5, episode 15). In case that the references are recognised by the audiences and that they are respectively retrospectively classified, they may lead to ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’. A sensuous exploration of the setting, for instance from the perspective of a protagonist, is rather unimportant in the film. Similar to the ‘original’ series, the film exposes typified characters that do not favour empathy. It is therefore unlikely to trigger ‘internal aesthetic artefact nostalgia’.

Decór, props and costumes

It has been shown that décor, props and costumes are decisive period markers in the ‘original series’. They give *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) the look and feel of the 1960s. Furthermore, the series’ décor is directly identifiable as such, reminding of the early teleplays as they have been realised both in Germany and in Spain during the 1960s. This does not apply to the remake. The expensive sets and décor rather lie in the tradition of the big-budget contemporary blockbuster. Later, *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) exposes a variety of styles from throughout the centuries, which exacerbate a temporal categorisation. In doing so, the remake may perhaps have some punctual effects of “historical associations”, due to the excessive period mix a clear (nostalgic) strategy however cannot be observed.

¹⁶³ The remake refers here clearly to the credits of the 1960s television series *Get Smart* (NBC, 1965) which was broadcast both on German and Spanish television.

It is a different case regarding the intertextual references to the premake that the remake exposes on the layer of décor, props and costumes. Here, the “awareness of things past” may arise in those viewers who recognise the reference. Décor, props, and costume, clearly underline the film’s fidelity regarding its role model and refer to the pop style of the ‘original’ (see fig. 8).



Fig. 8: Reminiscences to the pop-style in *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998).

As in the ‘original’, décor, props, and costume are used in order to characterise the protagonists (see also 6.2.2.2.3). While Steed’s flat is furnished in an antique style, full of accessories from past times, Peel’s apartment contains a mix of pop art and contemporary design elements. Already here, the remake is reminiscent of *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) and probable to trigger respective memories and ‘artefact nostalgia’ in viewers who know the premake.

Steed’s (Ralph Fiennes) costumes have an Edwardian style. Like his predecessor, he is equipped with tailor-made suits, bowler hat, umbrella, and a vintage vehicle – objects, which were already anachronistic in the 1960s and which from today’s perspective gained the intertextual reference to the premake.

As in the series, ‘lacks’ of the past are compensated with ‘achievements’ of the – now modernised – present. Thus, also the ‘new’ Steed wears a bowler hat filled with steel, his two-piece hides a flak jacket and his pocket-watch holds a high-tech tracking mechanism. Yet the precondition for a reflexive nostalgia of the remake-Steed (Ralph Fiennes) fizzles out, since it stays far less exposed than in the predecessor format. The reflexivity, so it can be argued, is undermined by further elements such as dialogues and comportment of the character that draw him as rather reactionary (see 6.2.2.2.3.).

Similarly, this applies to Emma Peel (Uma Thurman). The props that surround her and costumes she wears are clearly reminiscent of the ‘original’. As in the case of the predecessor, her wardrobe ranges from black leather suits to ladies’ costumes and miniskirts through to the so-called ‘Emmapeeler’. In both cases it is likely that props

and costume trigger memories of the ‘original’ and, depending on respective “retrospective classifications”, ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in those audiences who know the series.

The public discourse provides evidence that the references are also made by the audiences. Gómez backs up the public discourse evidence by noting in *El País* that “the costumes are a fundamental element in the visual style of the film. [...] Anthony Powell [...] opted for the retention of three symbols of masculinity of the series: the three-piece suit [...] the bowler hat and the umbrella” (Gómez, 1997a)¹⁶⁴. Also Hermanski, an author in the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* emphasises that “[t]he look of the new *Avengers* adheres to the hallmarks of the original series” (Hermanski, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁶⁵.

However, what was fascinating and extended the boundaries both in Germany and Spain in the 1960s, is reminiscent from today’s perspective. Against the contemporary background Uma Peel¹⁶⁶ is no provocation any more – one could even argue that she is reactionary since the “*feminin-erotisch[e]*” [feminine-erotic] (Baumgart, 2002, p. 27) component that has been integrated via the costumes and which already made the predecessor Emma approach to conventional conceptions of femininity in the 1960s (Baumgart, 2002, p. 55), stays in the foreground. ‘Adjustments’ on the side of further character traits cannot be observed (see 6.2.2.2.3.). Regarding the lost fascination and lack of overstepping of boundaries, a clear gap between the *The Avengers* experience ‘then’ and ‘now’ may be located, which may also be a source of ‘A nostalgia’.

Music

The music in *The Avengers* (1998) has a dramatic function when it supports suspense, mystery, or action, or narrative function ironically commenting a situation (see e.g. min. 0:25:09). The remake employs mostly original non-diegetic instrumental music that is unlikely to provoke ‘artefact nostalgia’ or to support a nostalgic narration. The creation of a “nostalgic condition” is also not one of its functions. While the ‘original’ series

¹⁶⁴ Original quotation: “*El vestuario es un elemento fundamental en el estilo visual de la película. [...] Anthony Powell [...] ha obtenido por mantener tres símbolos masculinos de la serie original: el traje de tres piezas [...], el bombín y el paraguas*” (Gómez, 1997a).

¹⁶⁵ Original quotation: “*Der Look der neuen Avengers hält sich an die Markenzeichen der Originalserie*” (Hermanski, 1998).

¹⁶⁶ According to Black (2004, p. 99 f.), the discourse on the remake created the “witticism ‘Uma Peel,’ a name designed to refer exclusively to Uma-as-Emma and to protect both Emma Peel and Diana Rigg from sacrilege”.

employed a rather intimate Big Band score, the remake uses a huge orchestra – less reminiscent of the predecessor and reminding more of big feature film productions such as the contemporary *James Bond* series.

At the same time, also on the layer of the music, the remake refers to its source of inspiration, employing a modernised version of the original *Avengers* title theme. In case the audiences perceive the reference, the *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) soundtrack may indeed provoke an “awareness of things past”. In those viewers who recognise the reference it may function as a “mnemonic prompt” and, depending on the respective “retrospective classification”, work as a potential trigger for nostalgia.

6.2.2.2.3. Characters

Furthermore, on the layer of the characters, it is the intertextual reference to the premake that is most dominant. Apart from one case of personnel continuity between premake and remake – Patrick Macnee, the former Steed actor, acts here as the speaking part of the invisible Jones¹⁶⁷ – and the continuity regarding the main characters Steed and Peel, also diverse secondary characters refer to the ‘original’. “Mother” (Jim Broadbent) for example, is a character that was introduced in the last Peel episode (see season 6, episode 1). The remake uses here not only the so-called “period casting” – Broadbent has been obviously selected due to his resemblance to the series-character (see fig. 9-10) – also the character drawing is oriented on the premake.



Fig. 9-10: A case of "period casting": 'Mother' in *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) and in *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998).

As suggested by Pérez (1998, p. 174), De Wynter (Sean Connery) may be described as combination of different antagonists as they appeared throughout the ‘original’ series.

¹⁶⁷ The effect has neither been continued in the German synchronised version (see Zylka, 1998) nor in the Spanish one (El Doblaje, 2010; 2011).

Most obvious is the continuity between premake and remake regarding the main characters. Apart from the fact that *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998), as Dika notes in the context of remakes in general, “feature[s] big-name movie stars” (Dika, 2003, p. 203), who import own past roles and attract the attention of also those audiences who do not know the ‘original’ series¹⁶⁸, both are clearly reminiscent of the ‘original’. Starting with the name or his function within the narration but also regarding the objects that surround and characterise him, there are many parallels between the remake and the premake Steeds. With her name, costumes, objects that surround her, or other details that determine the character – presumed widow, highly educated with karate skills – the remake Peel (Uma Thurman) is also clearly reminiscent of the ‘original’ character. In case that they are recognised by the viewers, already these intertextual references may trigger memories of the television series and, depending on the respective “retrospective classification”, follow into ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’.

Later, further possible triggers for nostalgia may be found on the layer of the characters. While the ‘original’ Steed already in the 1960s extended the then dominant image of masculinity, the ‘new’ Steed reintroduces obsolete patriarchal manners. Always eager to gain the upper hand in his relationship to Peel he tries to impose his will – “Play according to the rules!”, “Do not eat macaroons!”, “Tea please!” – and finally succeeds. Where the premake character extended boundaries and was likely to provoke fascination, joy, or admiration in its audiences, the remake falls back on obsolete gender roles. In doing this, the remake establishes itself as potential trigger of nostalgia toward the lost positive emotion (be it on the F or A layer of the text) and for those audiences who see the remake in the context of their experiences with the premake. Apart from that and independent of the premake, the character contributes to a, as Dika calls it in the context of remakes of old television series, “reassertion of patriarchy” (Dika, 2003, p. 204), due to its narration of a present infused with positive painted traditional role models, which makes it a possible trigger of ‘F nostalgia’.

This similarly applies to Peel’s character. Even though discourses on the emancipated role model are explicitly picked up, the remake Emma is not able to extend established boundaries such as her predecessor did. Already the first meeting between the characters makes that clear, where Peel (Uma Thurman) forces her entrance to an

¹⁶⁸ With films such as *The English Patient* (Minghella, 1997), *Wuthering Heights* (Kosminsky, 1992) or *Oscar and Lucinda* (Armstrong, 1997), Ralph Fiennes clearly refers to the heritage genre (Higson, 2003, p. 32). Uma Thurman echoes past roles in films such as *Kill Bill: Vol.1* (Tarantino, 2003) or *Kill Bill: Vol.2* (Tarantino, 2004).

all-male association (see min. 0:06:49 ff.). Firstly, in line with Baumgart (2002, p. 138) here it can be stated that the staged crossing of boundaries is far from the naturalness with which the ‘original’ Emma acted, and with which she highlighted traditional gender distributions as obsolete. Secondly, while the ‘original’ Emma fought against obsolete patriarchal structures in her 1960s reality, the rules that are disrespected by Uma Peel were made in 1762, which seems almost like a parody. Thirdly, the friendship between Steed and Peel is far from ‘materialising a world after patriarchy’, as it was described by Miller (2004, p. 188) in the context of *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961). Rather the contrary is the case. Steed’s attempt to ‘domesticate’ Emma (“Play by the rules!”) finally succeeds. Leaving aside the fact that the remake states an obsolete opposition of traditional masculine and feminine traits, every fascination (be it in the form of an A or F emotion) that may have been provoked in the context of the ‘original’ is lost. The optimistic gaze towards the future has been substituted by a reactionary re-installation of traditional boundaries. Thus, a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ may be located, which may be the potential source of nostalgia directed towards the premake.

The public discourse provides evidence for various readings. Without exception the remake Peel is here related to her predecessor. While on the one hand the continuity regarding the premake is highlighted, on the other the gap between the two versions is underlined. The loss of the fascination with Peel’s ability to extend the boundaries is above all reflected by the German public discourse. While, according to Hermanski, the ‘original’ Peel was “one of the strongest female characters”, in the remake “Steed and the Amazon kiss each other and he dresses her with tailor-made black boots” (Hermanski, 1998)¹⁶⁹. Also, Seidel takes the stance that “Uma Thurman may be as slim and long-legged as Mrs. Peel, but the sophistication and sex appeal of the latter gave way to a coquetry with female charm, which only seems importunate” (Seidel, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁷⁰. Disappointedly, notes Martenstein, “Thurman seems more American and un-intellectual than ever” (Martenstein, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁷¹ and Zylka asks almost nostalgically: “This should be Emma Peel? [...] The Amazon, because of whom I have firmly attended two years of fencing and karate classes” (Zylka, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁷². It is a different case

¹⁶⁹ Original quotation: “*Hier küssen sich Steed und die Amazone, und er zieht ihr die maßgeschneiderten schwarzen Stiefel an*” (Hermanski, 1998).

¹⁷⁰ Original quotation: “*Uma Thurman mag so schlank und langbeinig sein wie Mrs. Peel das will, doch deren Raffinement und sex appeal sind einem Kokettieren mit weiblichen Reizen gewichen, das nur aufdringlich wirkt*” (Seidel, 1998).

¹⁷¹ Original quotation: “*Thurman wirkt amerikanischer und unintellektueller denn je*” (Martenstein, 1998).

¹⁷² Original quotation: “*Das soll Emma Peel sein? [...] Die Amazone, wegen der ich zwei entschlossene*

regarding the Spanish newspapers. They rather highlight the similarities between the remake and the remake character. However, the comparison between the remake character and its 'original' as it can be observed in some appraisals gives also here evidence of a certain de-valorisation of the remake. While Gomez stresses that “[e]l guión [...] intenta capturar el espíritu de los personajes originales” [the script intends to capture the spirit of the original characters] (Gómez, 1997), according to Parrondo “Uma Thurman recreates in ‘*Los Vengadores*’ the pop style which had been made popular by Mrs. Diana Rigg” (Parrondo, 1998a [o.t.])¹⁷³. As argued by Llopart, “[m]artial arts, the decision and the sinuous leather suits are put on by Uma Thurman, keeping in the film the spirit of the ‘sixties’ of the original” (Llopart, 1998 [o.t.])¹⁷⁴. Gomez (1997) also agrees with this view. The author states in *El País* “[A]s the original Emma Peel, the actress [...] dressed in black leather, with a jump suit that marks her silhouette, practices self-defense and professes absolute independence” (Gómez, 1997 [o.t.])¹⁷⁵. The author known as L.G. even describes the “*modelitos eróticos y provocadores*” [erotic and provocative models] as “*acordes con una imagen actualizada de la espía Peel*” [conform to an updated image of the spy Peel] (L.G., 1997 [o.t.]), unintentionally only once more highlighting the ‘loss’ from an emancipated, feminine perspective.

As the remake, *The Avengers* (1998) does not favour an empathetic understanding of its typified characters. Empathy as a potential form of nostalgia can rather be excluded. In general there can be no talk of “confounding the past and the present in a way that addresses our current historical period” (Dika, 2003, p. 211) such as Dika notes in the context of her analysis of *Psycho* (Van Sant, 1998). The remake lacks any critical perspective. Where the ‘original’ is anything else than an agent of the 1960s, the remake tries hard to ignore the critical potential of its source of inspiration.

Jahre lang Fecht- und Karatekurse belegt habe” (Zylka, 1998).

¹⁷³ Original quotation: “*Uma Thurman recrea en ‘Los Vengadores’ el estilo pop que popularizó Diana Rigg como la señora Emma Peel*” (Parrondo, 1998a).

¹⁷⁴ Original quotation: “[L]as artes marciales, la decisión y los sinuosos trajes de cuero los pone la norteamericana Uma Thurman, manteniendo en el filme el espíritu ‘sixties’ de la original señora Peel [...]” (Llopart, 1998).

¹⁷⁵ Original quotation: “*Como la original Emma Peel, la actriz [...] viste en cuero negro, con un buzo ajustado que marca su silueta, practica la autodefensa y profesa una independencia absoluta*” (Gómez, 1997).

6.2.4. First conclusion on remakes as potential triggers of nostalgia

The analysis focused on two examples of remakes which in the timespan 2009-2011 were broadcast both on German and Spanish television, namely *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). While the first is a representative of television series remakes of television series, the latter represents the species of film remake of a television series. Apart from the fact that the *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) adaptation also took place on a local level, both refer mainly to the temporal level since they are adaptations of a temporally distant premake. Both remakes update their predecessors. *Knight Rider* (2008), situated shortly after the turn of the millennium, refers to the 1980s television series *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982; TVE, 1985, RTLplus, 1985) which was set in a 1980s present, while *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998), situated in a not clear definable time around the turn of the millennium, is reminiscent of the 1960s series with the same title (ITV, 1961; TVE, 1966; ZDF, 1966), which was set in the 1960s.

With reference to the theoretical part, it has been assumed that ‘A nostalgia’ is the dominant form of nostalgia provoked by the remake. This has been verified in the course of the analysis even though it has to be hinted to the fact that also other forms of nostalgia could be highlighted as possible. The ‘modules’, as they were investigated in the theoretical section, proved to be an applicable and reasonable analysis scheme.

First and foremost, it has been shown with reference to both the academic and non-academic discourse that remakes can be subsume under the category of nostalgia ‘genres’. They can be expected to create the expectation of nostalgia. However, in the television analysis this point could not be investigated further. It will be highlighted here again since it is important with a view on the later reception analysis. In a second step, the disposition of the remake in order to work as potential trigger for nostalgia was investigated. According to Tannock’s (1995, p. 456 f.) definition of the nostalgia rhetoric, the main question focuses upon the location of potential ‘gaps’ between a pre- and postlapsarian world. The public discourse served first indicators of the reception of a gap, however, whether the triggers for nostalgia are finally perceived as such will be further scrutinised in Part III.

The major ‘gap’ in the case of the remakes was expected to be located around the intertextual reference to the premake. On a first and general layer, both remakes are contextualised with their respective premakes. In both cases, already the title clearly evokes the premake. The same could be shown regarding other discourses around the remakes such as the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles or the discourse

of the producers. As a result, the analysis studies the respective contexts. A review of “retrospective classifications” of the premakes provides evidence of whether or not they are likely to be the object of a nostalgia triggered on this general layer.

Regarding the evocation of the temporal context, profound differences between German and Spanish recipients and different age groups may be expected. Firstly, it has to be taken into consideration that both age groups may remember the 1980s, the age group of the 55- to 65-year-olds disposes of personal memories of 1960s, while the 25- to 35-year-olds at the utmost have ‘prosthetic’ memories. Secondly, it has been shown that regarding the socio-political context of the 1960s, but also the 1980s Germany and Spain, diverge tremendously. In this respect, different possible readings are more likely to match with territorial borders. What also has to be taken into consideration is the fact that both reference-series have been broadcasted as reruns (see 6.1.), which means that audiences may have contextualised the predecessors in different points of time, and which may be distinct from the date of the original broadcast.

It has been shown, that in both cases nostalgia for the premake is favoured by “retrospective classifications” of the ‘original’ in general and of the ‘original’ in the context of the remake. Regarding both *Knight Rider* (2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998), but most evident in the latter case, it is the German discourse that tends to devalue the remake on the back of a valorisation of the predecessor.

Further on in the study, every single layer of the remakes was analysed. Since both remakes “update the time frame” (Black, 2004, p. 101) of their predecessors the, as Lowenthal would put it, “awareness of things past” derives here not from a contrast to the present, but from the intertextual references to the temporally distant premake. It is above all the intertextual reference to the premakes that makes both remakes a potential trigger of nostalgia. Here, two main triggers for nostalgia may be distinguished: One that finds its source in the referential character to the premake and evoked memories, the other surges more directly from the gap between remake and premake.

It has been shown that *Knight Rider* (2008), apart from the title sequence which is clearly reminiscent, on nearly every layer of the text contains intertextual references to the premake: On the layer of (1) narration where it integrates dramatic fragments and situations from various ‘original’ episodes, (2) settings, (3) props, above all regarding the car, (4) music where the remake uses the ‘original’ *Knight Rider* theme, and, (5) characters. In the case of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998), apart from the title and title sequence, intertextual references to the ‘original’ series may above all be located on the

layers of (1) narration, where *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) retells parts of ‘original’ episodes, (2) setting, (3) décor, props, and costumes, (4) music, with its references to the ‘original’ title theme, and (5) characters.

On every layer that is reminiscent of the premake, the remake may evoke ‘artefact nostalgia’ directed towards the premake or ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in case that the triggered media memory “function[s] as a point of symbolic, biographical reference” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 163). It has been shown that in both cases nostalgia towards the premake is favoured by respective “retrospective classifications” on a general layer. Frictions between remake and premake, which may hamper the nostalgic look on the premake or lead into a critical dialogue with the present, could not be observed in both cases.

Roughly speaking, major differences in the reception may therefore be assumed between those who know the first run and those who do not know it. Only for those who know it or who have a ‘prosthetic memory’ of it, the difference or non-difference between premake and remake may attract attention. Only in the knowing audiences, memories may arise. Since it is about popular cultural products that were broadcast both on German and Spanish television, an area that according to Hepp (2009) is characterised by “deterritorial cultural thickenings”, minor differences between the countries but rather between different age groups may be expected. While both the 25- to 35-year-olds and the 55- to 65-year-olds may dispose of own experiences with *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982), in the case of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) the 25- to 35-year-olds have probably not seen the ‘original’ series.

Since in both cases the title already evokes the premake, it can be assumed that at least for the ‘knowing’ audiences the premake as subtext is always present. In case that every aspect of the remake is seen against the background of the predecessor, it cannot be excluded that layers that do not directly refer to the ‘original’ may also trigger memories. Differences may also draw attention – this however has to be crosschecked in the reception study of the work. In this respect the remakes gain further potential nostalgia triggers in relation with the premake – aspects that again can only be recognised by the ‘knowing’ audiences.

Apart from that, both remakes contain other potential nostalgia triggers that work only in the context of the premake. Next to the intertextual references *Knight Rider* (2008) generates a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ when its cinematic style is contrasted with the “zero-degree” predecessor. On the layer of the characters the

contemporary ensemble-cast ('now') contrasts with the one-man show of the 'original' ('then'). Apart from the "retrospective classifications", the text itself favours here a nostalgia directed towards the 'original' in highlighting the protagonists longing for the "good old days" of masculine privileges. Lastly, the *Knight Rider* remake serves and also refers explicitly to possible discourses of the lost fascination (be it in the form of an F or A emotion) with the main prop – a further potential gap between 'then' and 'now' and a potential trigger of 'A or F nostalgia'.

It is a similar case for *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). Here, next to the intertextual references, the remake creates a clear gap between 'then' and 'now' contrasting the low-budget style of its predecessor ('then') with its cinematic style and score ('now'). On the layer of décor, props and costumes a clear gap between the once 'boundary-breaking' qualities of Peel's wardrobe ('then') and the lost provocation ('now') from today's perspective could be described, which can also be seen as a potential trigger of nostalgia for the 'knowing' audiences. The same applies to the characters of Steed and Peel. Furthermore, a clear gap between the 'boundary-breaking' characteristics of the premake characters 'then' and the loss of these qualities 'now' has been highlighted. In most cases the public discourse gives evidence of respective readings. However, whether these potential triggers of nostalgia are indeed perceived as such has to be scrutinised in the reception study.

Independent of their relation to the premake, both remakes have been analysed regarding further potential triggers for nostalgia. It has been shown that on the layer of narration *Knight Rider* (2008) promotes (fiction) nostalgia when it opts for the simplifying components of the 'original', presenting a present that is infused with Cold War good-bad dichotomies. Later, the 'new' Knight character incarnates nostalgia towards an obsolete model of masculinity of the 'good old days' as it is also presented by the reactionary reading of the predecessor, enabling both 'F nostalgia' and 'empathetic F nostalgia'. This similarly applies to *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). The remake exposes potential triggers of 'F nostalgia' on the layers of narration and character favouring positively painted traditional gender roles from a present position. While the *Knight Rider* remake opted here for the reactionary half of the predecessor format, *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) ignores the progressive character of its premake. Emerging frictions between the premake and remake, that could bring an added value into the new version or reflect about its source, could not be observed. Rather the contrary is the case. The remake character is rather taken as excuse in order to transport

un-reflected, old-fashioned values into the present. Here, nostalgia shows itself from the reactionary side.

Apart from these potential triggers of 'F nostalgia', which may also work without the context of the premake, there are examples of intertextual references that work without the knowledge of the 'original' and where the remakes also aspire to appeal to the (childhood) memories of the not-knowing audiences. Both remakes contain references to other media texts, some of them from the time span of their reference-series. In so far, it is likely that the remake may also evoke (media) memories of the time-span of the respective premake in those audiences who do not know the predecessor series, but recognise other references. Since with its closed form the text does not favour the recognition of the reference and frictions between premake and remake are avoided, a dynamic relation between the past and present can also not be observed here.

6.3. Period dramas and nostalgia

Period dramas are frequently referred to when it comes to nostalgia and television. Nearly all the authors listed in section 6.3 focus on period dramas as one or as their main example (Davis, 1979; Jameson, 1991; Powrie, 1997; Cardwell, 2002; Higson, 2003; 2006; Dika, 2003; Cook, 2005; Sprengler, 2011; Holdsworth, 2011). In this context, Cardwell (2002) already draws the relation between the heritage genre and the nostalgic mood. Here we can assume that nostalgia is the mood audiences expect when they watch examples of the 'genre'. In chapter 4.4.1, other works from the discourse were combined with the theory on aesthetic emotions. They shall be used in the course of the following analysis and only briefly recapped in this section. Some aspects, which concern the heritage genre more specifically, shall be drawn out in greater detail.

As Cook states, "[t]he nostalgic memory film [such as the period melodrama *Far from Heaven*] conjures up a golden age, which is both celebrated and mourned, providing an opportunity to reflect upon and interrogate the present" (Cook, 2005, p. 10). They may do so on several layers of the text. On a rather general one Jameson (1991) highlights the nostalgic character of the period recreations with a view on their intertextuality, thus with a view on the mere 'nostalgic' preference of past elements over contemporary ones – be it on the level of interpretation, mise-en-scène, setting, plot, and others. In section 6.1 and with regard to Jameson's own (emotional) argument,

intertextuality has already been supposed as potential trigger of ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’. However, apart from the fact that not every period drama foregrounds the intertextual references, Jameson has been criticised for not considering the critical potential the intertextual character may import into the period piece (Dika, 2003; Sprengler, 2011).

But let’s take one step backwards and proceed layer by layer. Even without employing “‘deliberate archaism’” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 3), the period drama may expose a nostalgic narration. Wollen (1991) and Dika (2003) ask how and if the past is “represented as entirely better place[.]” (Wollen, 1991, p. 186) or how is the “relationship of the image to the natural real” (Dika, 2003, p. 223). In this case the ‘gap’ would be situated between the text and the outside of the text, which is the present living circumstances of the viewers or other (contemporary) texts that surround it in the flow of the television programme. In case that the “diegetic effect” (Tan, 1996, p. 52) makes the viewers “become immersed in the fictional world” (Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 190), which in this case is the positively painted past. The kind of nostalgia can be supposed to be ‘non-empathetic F nostalgia’.

Later, potential triggers of what here has been called ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ have been investigated in the context of the period drama by author such as Higson (2003), Cardwell (2002), Holdsworth (2011), or Feyerabend (2009). In this case, the ‘gap’ between the prelapsarian and the postlapsarian world, which is so essential for nostalgia (Tannock, 1995), may be located inside the text.¹⁷⁶ Apart from the fact that also on all other layers of the text intertextual references may be exposed and work as a “mnemonic prompt”, F nostalgia may be supported by every layer of the text. In the centre is the period prop, whose positive staging is facilitated by formal and aesthetic devices – or, as Higson (2006, p. 97) calls it in the context of the British heritage film, the special “iconography of the genre”. Higson calls that also “a lingering desire to celebrate that past in the loving recreation of the period piece” (Higson, 2003, p. 83). He argues, it is the characteristic “pictorial qualities”¹⁷⁷ of period dramas that make the image seductive and the past desirable (Higson, 2003, p. 80). Props may here also gain a dominant position. Thus, “[a]t the level of the image, narrative instability is frequently

¹⁷⁶ See also Higson: “We are thus presented with both a narrative of loss, charting an imaginary historical trajectory from stability to instability, and at the same time a narrative of recovery, projecting the subject back into a comfortably closed past” (Higson, 2003, p. 83).

¹⁷⁷ Higson names here “pictorialist camera style” (Higson, 2003, p. 39), or the frequent inclusion of “set-piece celebratory events” (Higson, 2003, p. 40).

overwhelmed by the alluring spectacle of iconographic stability, permanence, and grandeur, providing an impression of an unchanging, traditional, and always delightful and desirable England” (Higson, 2003, p. 78). With reference to the literature (Flinn, 1992 cited in Sprengler, 2011; Dyer, 2005; Sprengler, 2011) chapter 4.4.1 refers further to music or slow motion as supportive for ‘F nostalgia’.

In any case it has to be considered whether the recreation of the past bases upon past media forms or not. With reference to Le Sueur (1977) Sprengler (2011, p. 3) distinguishes here between “‘deliberate archaism’” – period pieces that “strive to recreate not only the look and feel of the period in question but also the appearance of art from that distant time” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 86) – and the so called “surface realism” which is “produced through the use of period markers” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 85). As proposed by Sprengler (2011) we may assume that in both cases props may import critical potential into the period drama, which provides a further reflexivity or even impedes nostalgia. Apart from that, “textuality, temporality and the relationship of the image to the natural real” (Dika, 2003, p. 223) must be considered in the analysis, which means that the respective temporal context of the period drama must forward the investigation of each example.

‘Artefact nostalgia’ is not explicitly discussed in the context of the period dramas. However, next to those examples that expose intertextual references to, for example, “art from that distant time” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 86), and that may provoke (nostalgic) associations in the audiences, we may suggest that also a concentration on single artefacts such as props, décor and costumes may lead into nostalgia in case that it is positively contrasted against the present.

According to Tan (1996; 2002), we may expect that twists, incongruences or intensive emotions on the F layer may draw the attention on the artefact layer. In the context of the heritage films, also Higson highlight that the “heritage spectacle” (Higson, 2003, p. 40) may cause that the “emotional engagement in the drama is displaced by the fascination with the heritage film’s loving recreations of the past” (Higson, 2003, p. 40) – thus, so it can be argued in the context of aesthetic emotions, with a concern on the single artefact from the side of the viewers. Furthermore, as in the case of the reruns and remakes, it is probably also the sole difference to the contemporary artefacts that may call attention on the layer. Furthermore, here we may assume that the period drama has again various options to expose its artefact, not all of them surely favour nostalgia. Later, artefacts other than music can be assumed to work as “mnemonic prompts” and,

depending on the “retrospective classification”, to lead into nostalgia from the side of the single viewer.

Central to the following analysis are the period dramas *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007)¹⁷⁸ and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011), which were broadcast both on German and Spanish television. The analysis will proceed as follows: In a first step, a sub-chapter on the temporal context will serve the necessary basis in order to reflect the recreations of the past against the background of the “natural real” (Dika, 2003, p. 223) and in the specific German and Spanish context in which the respective audiences can be supposed to integrate the series. Later, the analysis examines every single layer of the texts. The first part focuses on the narration. Leading questions are: In which way is the narration nostalgic? Are there any intertextual references that could lead to a possible ‘artefact nostalgia’? Later, the further layers of the series will be investigated. Thereby it shall be considered in which way they support an eventual nostalgia on the layer of the narration and in which way possible ‘artefact nostalgias’ may be conjured up. Before the background of the theoretical part on aesthetic emotions it may be supposed that on every layer personal associations and/or ‘own nostalgia’ of the viewers may split-up – a fact that cannot be considered before the last section of this work.

6.3.1. Analysis of nostalgia in *Mad Men*

Mad Men is an American period drama created by Matthew Weiner, which was launched in the 2007. As of 2012, the series has five seasons. Only “[i]n its first three seasons, *Mad Men* won four Golden Globes, thirteen Emmys, and a prestigious George Foster Peabody Award for excellence in broadcasting” (Edgerton, 2011, p. xxi).

The pay-TV channel FOX first broadcast the series in 2009 on German television. Since 2010, it could also be watched on ZDFneon. In Spain, the series was launched in 2008 on the pay-TV channel Canal+ (Formula TV, 2011a). Since 2009, *Mad Men* could also be watched on the private channel *Cuatro* and since 2011, on the private channel *Divinity*.¹⁷⁹

Set in New York of the 1960s, the drama centres on Don Draper (Jon Hamm), creative director of the fictitious advertising agency *Sterling Cooper*, and a group of ‘mad’ men and women who work with him in Madison Avenue. Successful, good

¹⁷⁸ This analysis focuses mainly on the first season of the series. Detailed observations mainly refer to season 1, episode 1.

¹⁷⁹ On *Cuatro* the first season reached an average audience share of 10.8 per cent (Formula TV, 2011b)

looking, married to a beautiful woman, with children, a house in the suburb, and colleagues who admire him – at first it seems that Don Draper reached everything the average 1960s’ male could ever dream of. However, in the series nothing is what it seems. It transpires that Draper hides a lot of secrets in his past starting with the false identity he adopted in order to leave the Korean War. Little by little his wife Betty (January Jones), a twenty-something – who is increasingly unsatisfied with her life as a housewife and mother – reveals his secrets, which also leads to the separation of the couple (season 3) and divorce (season 4). The relationship to his colleagues – among them Pete Campbell (Vincent Kartheiser), a young, ambitious son of wealthy family, Peggy Olson (Elisabeth Moss), a secretary who starts ‘climbing the ladder’, or Roger Sterling (John Slattery), first boss and later partner of Don – is marked by a mix of appreciation, contempt, envy and intrigue. Apart from that, each of them has their own secrets to hide (see also 6.3.1.2.3.).

6.3.1.1. Some contextual notes

The socio-cultural context evoked by *Mad Men* is the North America of the 1960s – a decade, which was marked by major societal upheavals and events that would shape the society, and not only in the United States. For example the presidency of John F. Kennedy since 1961 and his assassination in 1963, the approval of the Civil Rights Amendment in 1964 and the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, which would become a trauma for the whole American nation, the protest movement against the latter, which was further related to the development of the Hippie counter-culture, the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, the landing on the moon in 1969, or the Watergate scandal in the early 1970s (Hellmann, 2006, pp. 295 ff.).

Apart from the fact that both citizens of the 1960s Germany and the 1960s Spain got to know about American politics through the mass media, these incidents left their marks both on Spanish and German 1960s reality and thus cultural memory. Not only that the Vietnam War was one of other proxy wars during the Cold War, Schubert and Klein (2011) also highlight that the movement against it had major influences on the German peace and student movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s (see also 6.1.2.2.1). In Spain, the student movement left its mark on society under the Franco regime, however it rather led to more repression than to liberation (see also 6.1.2.1.1).

Further details on German and Spanish society in the 1960s were outlined in chapter 6.1.2, where it already became evident that both societies were far from developing parallel to each other or to the United States. They shall not be repeated here – just this: While the 1960s in (West) Germany was marked by economic prosperity (Siegfried, 2003, pp. 25 ff.) and important societal upheavals, Francoist Spain was politically and economically still a long way off from the rest of Europe (Boyd, 1999, p. 99).

6.3.1.2. Nostalgia on the single layers of the text

6.3.1.2.1. Narration

Mad Men is set in 1960s New York. It evolves around different plot lines, some of which are spread over various episodes or even seasons. Others are closed within one or two episodes. In doing so, the series provides a mix of “episodic series and the continuing serial” (Shimpach, 2010, p. 36) just as Shimpach, referring to Williams (1994) describes it in the context of the action/melodrama hybrid. The series main narrative strand centres on Don Draper, the slow revelation of his true identity, past, and character. It spreads over the entire first season. Other strands emphasise the “interpersonal conflict”, such as the relationship between Draper and his wife or his different lovers, the relationship between Pete and Peggy, or the relationship between Joan and Roger Sterling. Here is also where the melodramatic elements of the series become most evident (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007, p. 222 on melodrama). Apart from that, there are always certain suspense moments, in so far that the viewers come to share knowledge with diverse characters – for instance on the false identity of Don Draper – whose revelation in the course of the action can be expected to have a dramatic impact. Weiner himself assumes the soap opera elements of the series due to, as he puts it, its form of “how people change, how they manage the loss of a first love, the abandonment of a child, infidelity, how their eyes are opened slowly, and how they become more transparent” (Weiner, 2011 [o.t.])¹⁸⁰.

The narration is linear in many parts. However, the series also employs storytelling strategies that differ from the classical principles. In the first season it is above

¹⁸⁰ Original quotation: “*El aspecto soap opera en Mad Men se concentra, más bien, en la manera en que la gente cambia, cómo gestionan la pérdida de un primer amor, el abandono de un niño, la infidelidad, cómo poco a poco se le abren los ojos a un personaje y cómo se hace más lúcido*” (Weiner, 2011, p. 19).

all the slow revelation of Draper's past that is narrated in flashbacks (see also 6.3.1.2.3). Flash-forwards or dream sequences also break the linearity (see e.g. 1.13, min. 0:43:36). Generally speaking, *Mad Men* is not nostalgic in the sense that the past is presented as a better place, as Wollen (1991, p. 186) had once described it in the context of the heritage films. The series, creating reality effects by including political and societal issues of the 1960s up to found footage from the period (see e.g. season 1, episode 12), refers to discourses on the discrimination of women¹⁸¹, unwanted pregnancies, homophobia, or racism¹⁸² (see e.g. season 1, episode 1, min. 0:01:33) (see also Yacowar, 2011, p. 86 ff.). In doing so, it reveals the narrow mindedness of its time of reference on the one hand, and, on the other, highlights also the progressing change of hegemonic power relations. In line with White (2011, p. 153) it can be stated that the real course of history lies like a veil over the narration, with small, obvious frictions appealing to the viewers to bring in their knowledge. In other cases, argues White, *Mad Men* "permeates scenes that seem devised solely to index the difference between then and now" (White, 2011, p. 153). It does so, however, not in a nostalgic, idealising manner, but rather in the contrary way, namely to "serve as conspicuous signs of the era's alluring, disarming, irresponsible, and potentially lethal habits" (White, 2011, p. 154).

Already on this layer the series may work as "mnemonic prompt", also for the 1960s in Germany or Spain. While the series' reflexivity probably impedes the simple, nostalgic gaze, nostalgia that basis upon the synchronisation with own or prosthetic memories of the viewers cannot be excluded but can also be expected to appear in a reflexive form. Nostalgia, so it can be supposed, depends here on the subject position and personal background. Since, it has been shown previously, German recipients who lived through the period are more likely to share similar personal experiences, a 'synchronisation' with personal emotions is more imaginable here, disregarding nostalgias that refer to a possible 'prosthetic memory' of the viewers. This has to be seen in the reception study of this work.

Apart from that, *Mad Men*'s narration exposes "horizontal" intertextual references. In line with what Sprengler in the context of the period props describes as "deliberate archaism", many parts of the period *Mad Men* narrates and recreates derive

¹⁸¹ As Haralovich shows, the series' "combination of feminine empowerment and sexism engages a subtle critique of patriarchy" (Haralovich, 2011, p. 160) and also highlights sexism in today's society (Haralovich, 2011, p. 164).

¹⁸² "*Mad Men* challenges the nostalgic view of previous popular texts [...] that racism was the purview of bad individuals in the south, while the justness of the Civil Rights struggles was apparent to most thoughtful white citizens" (Perlman, 2011, p. 216). For further reading on the topic see Perlman (2011).

from different art forms from the late 1950s and early 1960s, such as literature, television shows, film or advertising. Most of these references are made explicit either by the series itself or by other discourses such as the discourse of the producers that surround it.

Here may be named the narrative references – also explicitly named by Weiner (see Weiner, 2011, p. 20) – to the Hitchcock film *North by Northwest* (Hitchcock, 1959). With the film, the series shares the setting of the narration in the world of advertising and a plot that focuses on an identity confusion. Later, Weiner refers to period novels by F Scott Fitzgerald (see e.g. *The Great Gatsby*), John Cheever (see e.g. *The Swimmer*) and JD Salinger (see e.g. *The Catcher in the Rye*) (Weiner, 2011, p. 19) – all of which expose issues such as identity crisis and processes of self-discovery that at least could have inspired the narrative strand around Draper. Other direct references, the first appearing as a book read by Betty Draper, the latter also explicitly named by the producer (Weiner, 2011, p. 19), are *The best of everything* (Jaffe, 1958 resp. Negulesco, 1959), and *Les Bonnes femmes* (Chabrol, 1960) – both works that are about a group of women who live through similar discrimination as the female characters of *Mad Men*. Episode titles such as *Marriage of Figaro* (see season 1, episode 3), referring to the Mozart opera with the same name, make the viewers correctly anticipate the course of events, which, as the example it employs, exposes the narration of a love triangle. In other cases dialogues refer explicitly to cultural artefacts such as to Wilder's *The Apartment* (1960) (see season 1, episode 10, 0:07:36 ff.), a film which offers an ironic look on the humiliating condition of the workers in an open plan office, to the television series *The Twilight Zone* (CBS, 1959), or to works of the novelist Ayn Rand (see e.g. season 1, episode 8) which also found their entrance into the narration. In any case, the series explicitly discloses its references, which on the one hand provides the viewers with cues on the course of events and favours 'artefact nostalgia' or 'own artefact nostalgia', but on the other opens the text once more and, in importing the societal-critical character of its sources, undermines every possible nostalgia directed towards a better 1960s' past.

6.3.1.2.2. Aesthetic and design

The exposition of intertextuality on the layer of the narration finds its continuation on the layer of aesthetic and design.

Camera, montage and lighting

Camera, montage, and lighting are clearly reminiscent of 1950s/1960s or even 1940s films. The first scene of the series reminds us of Hitchcock's *Notorious* (1946), when an 'unchained camera' slowly travels its way through a typical 1950s/1960s bar until it pauses on the back of the protagonist Don Draper (Jon Hamm), who up to then was unknown for the viewers. As Gibbs describes it in the context of the Hitchcock film, "[t]his man [due to the lighting mainly shown as 'darkened silhouette'] sits with his back to the camera, at the very edge of the light which falls on the others" (Gibbs, 2002, p. 6). As the Grant character in Hitchcock's *Notorious* (Gibbs, 2002, p. 6) Draper is here installed as an 'onlooker', as an observer of the scene, maybe even as an 'onlooker' on his life, drawing, as Gibbs puts it again in the context of *Notorious*, "attention to our own status as members of an audience" (Gibbs, 2002, p. 6).

The first presentation of the characters Peggy Olson, Ken Cosgrove, Harry Krane, and Paul Kinsey (see season 1, episode 1, min. 0:06:11 ff.) is a sequence that could have also been taken from the Hitchcock film *North by Northwest* (1959) or Wilder's *The Apartment* (1960).¹⁸³ On a high angle long shot of the front of a typical New York skyscraper follows the medium close up of an entrance hall. The camera now travels backwards, showing the panorama of an anonymous mass of workers, entering the office building (see also fig. 11-13).



Fig. 11-13: Intertextual references in *Mad Men*: Office entrance scene in *North by Northwest* (Hitchcock, 1959), *The Apartment* (Wilder, 1960) and *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007).

In the following, the protagonists slowly emerge out of this anonymous mass, just as García Monzó and Rubio (2000, p. 15) also describe it in the context of the Hitchcock film *North by Northwest* (1959).

In general, the camera is an autonomous, observing one, which, described in the context of the series' period examples, may be called 'unchained', and, in the context of today's television, reflects the "feature-style cinematography" (Caldwell, 1995 cited in Shimpach, 2010, p. 131). Depending on the respective narrative focus, it centres more

¹⁸³ Weiner himself asserts the films as reference points of the series (Weiner, 2011, p. 19; Butler, 2011).

on a character and on his or her perspective. Point of view shots may support the viewer's empathetic understanding of a character (see e.g. season 1, episode 1, min. 0:02:49 ff., season 1, episode 2, min. 0:14:14 ff.). Furthermore, and typical for the heritage genre, "frequent medium to long shots allows us to gaze at the furnishings as well as the characters" (Cardwell, 2002, p. 146), just as Cardwell (2002) describes in the context of the heritage film *Pride and Prejudice* (Huxley, 1995).

Regarding the vertical level, the camera is dominantly in a slight low-angle position, which induces a certain distortion of the image and highlights the constructedness of the text. *Mad Men* also refers here to films such as Hitchcock's *The Birds* (1963) or Chabrol's *Les bonnes femmes* (1960), which again was strongly influenced by Hitchcock (see e.g. Monaco, 2002, p. 334). Even regarding the lighting, which varies depending on the dramaturgy and the situation, the series is reminiscent of period examples. As Christoph Manley, one of the *Mad Men* cinematographers highlights, they tried to keep "the light clean and white [which] is more reminiscent of the movies of that era when [cinematographers] tried to balance everything all the time" (Manley cited in Butler, 2011, p. 64). It is a different case regarding the editing. With, according to Butler (2011, pp. 67 f.), "a medium ASL [average shot length] of 5.2 seconds – [it is] up to four times faster than the ASLs of 1960s films and television programmes" and appeals to contemporary audiences.

Setting

Mad Men is mainly set in the interior space: the open-plan office of Sterling Cooper, the Draper residence, public bars, hotel rooms, or the flats of the main protagonists. The landscape, as it is for instance dominantly exposed in the British heritage film, has little relevance.

The series exposes here a clear segregation between men and women¹⁸⁴, between black and white people, upper class and lower class, and between country and city. This is further highlighted by *Mad Men*'s habit to expose 'transgressive' movements such as walks through the corridor, train rides, or car rides which both connect and separate the different spaces. Conversations explicitly refer to train rides and other (see e.g. season 1, episode 1; min. 0:08:23). This spatial distribution stresses the racism and sexism of the 1960s society and supports the critical reflection about it.

¹⁸⁴ Akass and McCabe refer here also to season 1, episode 6 with the two-way mirror, showing the "split between active/male and passive/female" (Mulvey, 1989 cited in Akass and McCabe, 2011, p. 183).

Furthermore, the series shows a high degree of intertextuality above all to 1950s/1960s Hollywood films. Butler (2011) focuses here for instance on the interior of Sterling Cooper. Beginning with the symmetrical arrangement of the working desks up to the ceiling, an, as Butler names it, “oppressive grid of fluorescent lights” (Butler, 2011, p. 60), it is clearly reminiscent of Wilder’s *The Apartment* (1960) (see fig. 14-15).



Fig. 14-15: Intertextual references on the layer of décor and props in *Mad Men*: An office interior in Wilder's *The Apartment* (1960) and in *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007).

The typical American suburb residential area, where the Draper mansion is, clearly reminds us of similar settings as seen in period melodramas such as Douglas Sirk’s *All that heaven allows* (1955) (fig. 16-17) (see also Butler, 2011, p. 60).

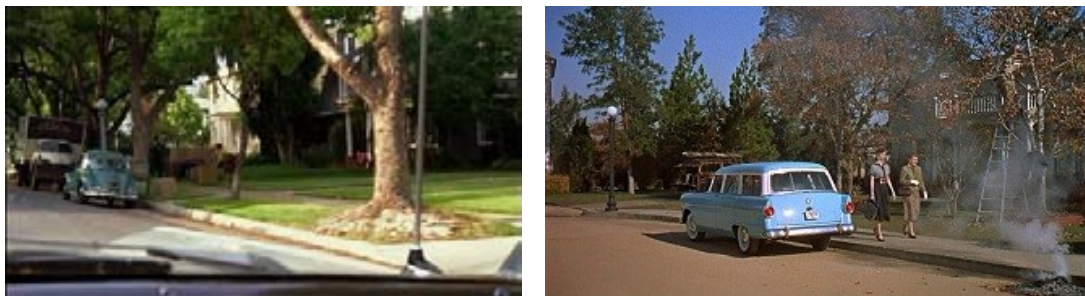


Fig. 16-17: The American suburb residential area in *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) and Sirk's *All that heaven allows* (1955).

Apart from the fact that these intertextual references may be described as potential triggers of ‘artefact nostalgia’ directed towards the respective reference, or ‘own artefact nostalgia’, with the societal critical character of its sources a further reflexive layer is imported into the series.

The fact that *Mad Men*’s locations are ‘typical American’ with probably less “cultural proximity” to a 1960s’ Germany or Spain, surely rather hinders ‘internal empathetic artefact nostalgia’. On a general layer, less correspondence to a Spanish or German audience’s scenic memory of the 1960s can be assumed, so that a nostalgia situated on this layer is rather unlikely. However, it should be considered that *Mad Men*, generally favouring empathy and the contemplative gaze, exposes the sensuous

exploration of its settings. An engagement of “the spectator in sensuous playfulness” (Bruun Vaage, 2007, p. 193) is imaginable here. It has to be seen in the reception study if this may lead into nostalgia on the side of the audiences.

Décor, props and costumes

Décor, props and costumes are clear signifiers of ‘pastness’ and directly identifiable as belonging to the late 1950s to early 1960s. With its corded telephones, IBM typewriters, cigarette dispensers, rectangular, minimalistic furniture, or period cocktail glasses and a dominant colour spectrum of dark red, yellow ochre, grey, and green, it is clearly reminiscent of the era. Later, *Mad Men* explicitly shows many 1960s brands and products such as *Coca Cola*, *Pan Am*, or the *Kodak Carousel*. Since it is about internationally traded commodities, it is probable that the period props work as “mnemonic prompts” for a broad group of audiences.

At first sight, props, décor and costumes support the narration of a better past. Even though *Mad Men* does not refrain from showing the ‘dirty’ side of its props such as full ashtrays and dirty dustbins, it expresses here a certain appreciation of the artefact – an “alluring spectacle of iconographic stability”, which makes the past somehow “delightful and desirable” (Higson, 2003, p. 78) just as Higson describes it regarding the British heritage film. However, simple nostalgia is clearly prevented. Like the perfect characters that inhabit this world, soon the perfect surface becomes scratched. Accordingly, also on the layer of props and décor the series reminds of the constructedness of the past it exposes and questions it systematically.

Firstly, due to its setting in an advertisement agency, *Mad Men* dismantles what Sprengler in the context of the so-called populuxe fifties had described as the “self-mythologizing efforts” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 47) of an era and circumvents any possible idealisation. Secondly, the fact that the office space contains no period mix regarding the objects it exposes makes it somehow “artificial and unsettling” as Sprengler also describes it in the context ‘surface realism’ in general (Sprengler, 2011, p. 85). Thirdly, a further critical layer is imported by the high degree of intertextuality, which also gives *Mad Men* characteristics of “deliberate archaism” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 3). In the context of the settings, the references to for instance Wilder’s *The Apartment* have already been explained (see fig. 12, 14). The reference is continued on the layer of décor and props. Furthermore, Weiner himself named Chabrol’s *Les bonnes femmes* (1960) – a story that has its main location in an appliance and furniture store – as one of the main

sources of inspiration for *Mad Men* (Weiner, 2011, p. 19). Seen from this perspective, the commodities sold in their store almost seem absorbed into the series. Apart from the fact that these intertextual references again import a critical component to the layer of décor and props – both films are critical examinations of the societies they reflect – the ‘artefact nostalgia’ that is made possible by them depends on the subject position and the audiences’ ability to recognise them.

This similarly applies to the costumes and accessories that are seen throughout the series. The disclosure of the constructedness of the text is more obvious here. As regarding props and décor *Mad Men* perfectly recreates the period fashion. Blouses and skirts around the knee line for the office woman, grey flannel and the obligatory tie for the businessman. Also here, the dominant colour spectrum is settled between dark red, grey green and green, reflecting the typical late 1950s/early 1960s and the “pronounced change in tonality [...] from paint-box palette to a misty, muted range” (see *Paperpast Yearbook*, 2012). The same applies to the change of hairstyles, from the “bouffant coiffure” to “short boyish haircut” (*Paperpast Yearbook*, 2012a). All in all, a credible recreation of the period which – due to its reliance on again internationally traded commodities – is likely to be recognised as such by both Spanish and German audiences, to elicit own associations and, depending on the subject position, to lead into nostalgia.

However, the costumes in *Mad Men* are not only used as period markers but also reflect the profound changes (American) society went through in the 1960s. As Perlman (2011) highlights, “[t]he costumes accentuate and underline the physical and social differences between men and women” (Perlman, 2011, p. 221), they mark the power relations of a white, masculine-dominated society and distinguish the characters and the changes they went through. Haralovich (2011, p. 166 ff.) refers here for example to Peggy’s change of dress and hairstyles throughout the series that reflect her self-finding process as a business woman, and the process of emancipation she goes through. As on other layers of the text, *Mad Men* favours the reading of costume and accessory as a critical instance by highlighting it explicitly. Various dialogues and events refer to the costumes and accessories and underpin their significance for power relations.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Only in the first episode of the series, various examples can be named that make the costumes and accessory somehow protagonists of the scene. We hear Joan advising Peggy to change her style (see season 1, episode 1, min. 0:08:56 ff.), hear Pete commenting on Peggy’s clothing (see season 1, episode 1, min. 0:16:39), or see Draper changing suits and Sterling commenting on a missing button (see season 1, episode 1, min. 0:10:03 ff.).

Also, the costumes are characterised by a high degree of intertextuality or “deliberate archaism”. The characters have their examples in films or novels from the 1950s/1960s according to which their clothes are chosen. Take, for example, Don (Jon Hamm) and Betty Draper (January Jones). While Don’s clothes and hairstyle make him resemble 1950s/1960s actors such as Cary Grant or Gary Cooper (see fig. 18-19).



Fig. 18-19: Don Draper (Jon Hamm) in *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) and Roger Thornhill (Cary Grant) in *North by Northwest* (Hitchcock, 1959).

Betty’s costume, accessories and hair style are reminiscent of actresses such as Grace Kelly or Eva Marie Saint (see fig. 20-22).

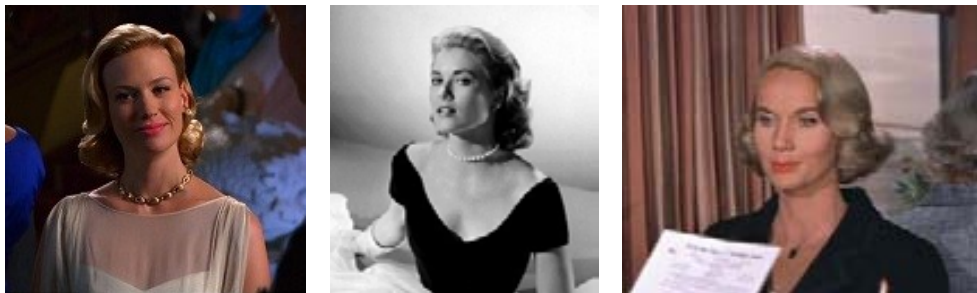


Fig. 20-22: Betty Draper (January Jones) in *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007), Grace Kelly and (Eva Marie Saint) in *North by Northwest* (Hitchcock, 1959).

As in other cases, these references are explicitly disclosed. In the case of the Betty/Grace Kelly relationship, various dialogues explicitly refer to her resemblance to the actress (see e.g. season 1, chapter 9). The importance of films such as *North by Northwest* (Hitchcock, 1959), with Cary Grant and Eva Marie Saint as lead actors, was made explicit by Weiner (2011, p. 19). Apart from that, *Mad Men* also refers to Ayn Rand, whose novel *The Fountainhead* was adapted to film (Vidor, 1949) with Gary Cooper as the lead actor.

Music

According to Anderson (2011) *Mad Men*’s music has two functions: it works as period marker and as “critical interlocutor[] that act[s] as a counterpoint to the on-screen

imagery” (Anderson, 2011, pp. 72 f.). The majority of the music, be it diegetic or non-diegetic, is pre-existing music from the late 1950s or early 1960s. It has the narrative function to characterise the temporal frame. Depending on the subject position it is probable to provoke ‘artefact nostalgia’. Since “[a] song can function as a mnemonic prompt” (Sprengler, 2011, p. 76), the music is probable to trigger own associations in the knowing viewers and personal or ‘we-group’ related nostalgia.

On the one hand, *Mad Men* uses singer songwriters such as Bob Dylan, which import the societal-critical character of their music into the series or are used in order to comment it (see also Anderson, 2011). On the other, ‘self-mythologization’ as it also exists in the employed songs is directly contradicted in confrontation with the other layers of the text. As Anderson (2011) shows, songs are “placed in opposition to the on-screen images to create the disaffection that permeated the period” (Anderson, 2011, p. 76).¹⁸⁶ It can also be stated that the music does not favour a nostalgic narration of a better past, rather the contrary is the case.

6.3.1.2.3. Characters

Mad Men involves an ensemble cast, in the general trend of contemporary television (see e.g. Mittell, 2006). Underpinned by the spatial distribution mentioned previously, a clear segregation between gender, race, and social class can be seen. Apart from that, each character is trapped in a specific social role, reflecting the conditions and grievances, false illusions and upcoming chances of the American society of the early 1960s.

Donald Draper (Jon Hamm), the main character of the series, has a somewhat ‘split’ personality. His incarnation of the American dream is built upon a lie. Behind his white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, happily married and successful image as Donald Draper he covers his ‘white trash’ origins as Dick Whitman, and the constant fear to lose everything. Already the opening of *Mad Men* makes the viewers anticipate a further course of events, the dramatic hero’s fall – a background against which each career leap and each success seems only to increase the extent. His wife Betty (January Jones), a highly educated woman, is on the verge of being destroyed by her monotonous life as a

¹⁸⁶ For example, Anderson refers here to the first scene of the series’ first episode, which uses Don Cherry’s song *Band of Gold*. “Associating the lyrics of ‘*Band of Gold*’ with ‘Old Gold’ and Draper’s concentration on cigarettes dislodges the dominant reading of the song from one of a desire for matrimony to a focus on increasing market share” (Anderson, 2011, p. 75).

housewife. Also, her counter-models, the women working at Sterling Cooper, have anything else but an easy living in their sexist working environment. While, as Akass and McCabe (2011) highlight, Joan (Christina Hendricks), the office manager, falls prey to the illusion that she could gain some sort of domination over her masculine colleagues but finally only reproduces “the sexist culture of *Mad Men*” (Akass and McCabe, 2011, p. 186), Peggy (Elisabeth Moss) climbs the ladder only at the cost of maltreatment (see also White (2011) on “mad women” in *Mad Men*). Generally speaking, *Mad Men*’s characters do not support the creation of a gap between a positively pictured past and a worse present.

As Tan describes it in the context of empathetic F emotions, inside the narrative “the explication of the meaning of events for the characters enjoy primacy” (Tan, 1996, p. 176). Even though generally speaking, *Mad Men*’s characters are no nostalgics – each of them has dark spots on his or her memory or ‘collects’ them throughout the series – the viewers are invited to empathetically share emotional moments such as first kisses, fights, or birthdays with the protagonists, which may support the splitting-off of own (nostalgic) sentiments.

Later, *Mad Men* uses flashbacks. Most of them represent memories of Don Draper are often triggered by photos (see e.g. season 1, episode 12, min. 0:15:25) or situations the character experiences in the series present and that remind him of analogue situations in the past (see e.g. season 1, episode 6, min. 0:1:26 ff.). In general, the device does not reflect the longing of the character. Settled in a distant time before the series present, the flashbacks represent traumatic experiences the protagonist had in his childhood (see e.g. season 1, episode 8), or those he went through as a soldier in the Korea War (see season 1, episode 12, min. 0:15:25). In any case, in an understanding of empathy that supposes that “a situation evoked in a character does not necessarily coincide with the empathetic emotion of the viewer” (Tan, 1996, p. 174) the various emotions may be adopted that do not have to be congruent with those of the protagonist, and may indeed lead into nostalgia directed towards a personal past.

Furthermore, the more we get to know about the character, the more we learn about his fear to lose everything – a phenomenon that creates a growing gap between the series present and its only recent past and which indeed also supports a possible ‘empathetic nostalgia’ that is somehow shared with the character. There are various moments in the series, two in its first season (see season 1, episode 3; season 1, episode 13), with narrative focus on Don Draper that expose the protagonists nostalgic gaze on

his own reality. For example, we can refer to the last scenes of the first season (*The Wheel*). Draper uses private photos in order to pitch his campaign for a new, circular slide projector. His presentation is embedded in a discourse on the subject of nostalgia. On the one hand, the viewers already have sufficient knowledge about the protagonist in order to make assumptions about his nostalgia for an only recent past, whose happy moments already seem irretrievable to him. On the other hand, they know that the ‘past’ he is longing for is not as golden as it is presented, something that gives the exposed nostalgia also a reflexive component. Apart from that, the whole situation with the slide projector and family photos is very likely to be recognised by the viewers as something that they also might have experienced themselves. This further helps the empathetic understanding and may lead to rather personal associations. Point-of-view shots showing the character’s gaze on the slides, close-ups from the character’s face and a slowed-down rhythm of the music support empathy with Draper.

Finally, also on the layer of the characters *Mad Men* exposes a high degree of intertextuality. Next to the clear “period casting”, the character drawing is influenced by 1950/1960s films. Donald Draper (Jon Hamm) has clear references to Hitchcock’s *North by Northwest* (1955) character Roger Thornhill (Cary Grant). Next to parallels that have already been observed on the layer of the costumes (see 6.3.1.2.2.), the actor Jon Hamm has a certain physical resemblance to Cary Grant. Furthermore, the character is obviously modelled on the Hitchcock example: both are ad men by profession with a cynical view on the deception of their job. Both find themselves locked up in a trap of identity confusion. Siska (2011, p. 198) further highlights resemblances to period actors such as John Wayne, Gary Cooper, or Clark Gable.

It is a similar case regarding other characters. According to Akass and McCabe (2011, p. 181) “Joan reawakens the 1950s Hollywood pin-up fantasy of a voluptuous female sexuality” and contains references to other ‘phallic women’ such as Marilyn Monroe (see also Akass and McCabe, 2011, p. 181). Further intertextual references are shown when *Mad Men* makes the characters explicitly contemplate on their role models. Thus Joan not only openly admires Marilyn Monroe (see season 2, episode 9), she also expresses her desire to step out of the role as a pawn of desire “between Doris Day in ‘*Pillow Talk*’ [(Gordon, 1959)] and ‘*Midnight Lace*’ [(Miller, 1960)]” (see 1.10, min. 0:22:25 ff.) towards the active role of a ‘femmes fatales’ such as “Kim Novak”. The character also compares herself to the *The Apartment* (Wilder, 1960) character Fran Kubelik (Shirley MacLaine) who also has influenced much of the character’s design.

This similarly applies to the physical resemblance of Betty (January Jones) to Grace Kelly, which is talked about in various occasions of the series (see e.g. season 1, episode 9). In other cases Paul Kinsey's (Michael Gladis) likeness to Orson Welles is explicitly underlined (see season 1, episode 12, min. 0:15:18), not to mention that also here decisive character traits are modelled on the basis of the famous actor, director and author and that costumes and accessories – the obligatory pipe – are clearly reminiscent.

In conclusion, it can be stated that also on the layer of the characters *Mad Men* builds the ground for a possible 'artefact nostalgia' directed towards the role model or 'own artefact nostalgia'. 'F nostalgia', however, which highlights the better past against the worse present, is impeded.

6.3.2. Analysis of nostalgia in *Borgia*

The period drama *Borgia* is a French-German-Austrian-Czech co-production launched in 2011. The series consists of one season divided into six chapters in the German and twelve in the Spanish case. In 2011, *Borgia* was broadcast on the German public channel ZDF. Here the first episode reached 6.21 million viewers (gol/dpa, 2011). Also in 2011, but under the title *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al vicio* the series could be watched on the Spanish pay-TV channel Cosmopolitan TV (Formula TV, 2011c). It reached here a total of 1.7 million viewers (Summers, 2011).

Based upon historical facts, the series focuses on the Borgia family, a Spanish aristocratic dynasty that produced various popes during the Middle Ages. It is set in Italy in 1492 – a time when Rodrigo Borgia (played by John Doman) is vice-chancellor under Pope Innocent VIII. Deeply shocked by the news about the death of his first-born, Rodrigo starts to gather his illegitimate children Lucrecia (Isolda Dychauk), Cesare (Mark Ryder), and Juan (Stanley Weber) around him. As soon as his bribery opens him the ascent to papacy under the name of Alexander VI, they will be pushed into lucrative marriages and posts. However, despite these strategic manoeuvres, peace is not granted for long. Soon, French troops supported by the renegade cardinal Della Rovere (Dejan Cukic) invade the holy city (episodes 4 and 5). Though an alliance with Spain finally makes Rodrigo Borgia achieve the victory over the invaders, his family falls apart when Cesare finally finds out that Juan was responsible for the murder of the half-brother.

6.3.2.1. Existing gaps – some contextual notes

The series *Borgia* is set during the Renaissance, a time that “stretches from the early fourteenth century to early seventeenth century and perhaps a bit beyond” (Ruggiero, 2007, p. 5). The period, with its geographical centre in Italy, “opened Europe to contact with other worlds” and brought tremendous changes to its societies, be it regarding political life, private life, religion, art, architecture, literature, music, or philosophy (Ruggiero, 2007, p. 5). As its label already suggests, the Renaissance drew its main inspiration from the ‘rebirth’ of something already existing, that is, from classical antiquity. Since, as Ruggiero puts it, “another world – the past – became a model for the present and its ideologies, culture, and values” (Ruggiero, 2007, p. 5) the period as such could already be described as nostalgic. “Over and over again they chose re-turn (to the good old ways and customs), re-form (to the proven and correct forms), and if necessary re-volt (the violent re-revolution at times necessary to overturn new corruptions and regain the golden past)” (Ruggiero, 2007, p. 4). At the same time, as Ruggiero (2007, pp. 1 ff.) highlights, for many thinkers the Renaissance was the dream of an ideal society – and, it could be argued, became itself the object of nostalgic longing. All this however does not distract from the, as Ruggiero (2007, p. 10) calls it, “nightmarish sides” of the Renaissance, such as the emergence of plagues and disease, the high degree of violence, or the increased exclusion of ‘others’ (Ruggiero, 2007, pp. 6; 18 ff.).

6.3.2.2. Nostalgia on the single layers of the text

6.3.2.2.1. Narration

Borgia has a multiple causal structure with various plot lines. The main narrative strand centres the fate and societal position of the Borgia family. It spreads over all six, respectively twelve, episodes and is interwoven with other narrative strands that mainly concentrate on a single character and the interpersonal conflicts between them. Some strands are closed by the end of one episode, others are continued giving *Borgia* both characteristics of the series and the serial. The narration of the series is dominantly linearly structured. Only in a few cases it uses flashbacks or flash-forwards (see e.g. season 1, episode 1; min. 0:10:17 ff.).

In general, it cannot be stated that *Borgia* is nostalgic in so far that the past is presented as a better place, as Wollen (1991, p. 186) observes in the context of the British heritage film, or that it is narrated from the perspective of a nostalgic character.

Instead of narratively foregrounding the achievements of the Renaissance, the development of humanism, growing interest in Greek literature, and art, or the emergence of innovative and technically most sophisticated artists – also strongly involved with the historical Borgias – or the Renaissance’s own nostalgia towards the ancient age, the series focuses on the dark side of the era: violence, wars, power politics, corruption and intrigue. “We see”, moans Festenberg (2011) in *Der Spiegel*, “a Renaissance without the charm of departure, without the spring air of a new time – what a disappointment” (Festenberg, 2011 [o.t.]).¹⁸⁷ In contrast to *Mad Men*, which rigorously highlights its constructedness and critically reflects its 1960s present, *Borgia* is characterised by a higher degree of narrative closure. Its narration is presented as a true representation of the historical fact. Even though the series stands in the context of other Borgia representations¹⁸⁸, pointing to the notes of the chronicler Johannes Burckhard (Fontana cited in Powelz, 2011), the producers of the series foreground the ‘true’ historical record as main source of influence. The series not only impedes a possible ‘artefact nostalgia’ directed towards the intertextual reference, it also undermines the critical reflection of its representation of the past. Only the connoisseur is here able to determine points of friction with history (see e.g. Müller, 2011; Winkler, 2011). Firstly, this is problematic since it was the Renaissance chroniclers, such as Burckhard, who were largely responsible for the creation of the “Leyenda Negra” of the Borgias (Villarroel González, 2005, p. 319).¹⁸⁹ Secondly, it somehow naturalises the exhibited Renaissance values – such as the hierarchical structure of the society, or the clear distribution between men and women – and paints a picture of stability that so did not exist¹⁹⁰. Within the contemporary television programme it can also be stated that *Borgia* “carries the connotation of order within a context of historical disruption and hence serves as a form of denial” (Dika, 2003, p. 203) just as Dika (2003) outlines in the context of reruns and nostalgia. If this indeed may provoke ‘fiction nostalgia’ directed towards the past, remains to be seen in the reception study of this work.

¹⁸⁷ Original quotation: “Wir sehen eine Renaissance ohne Aufbruchsanmut, ohne die Frühlingsluft einer neuen Zeit - was für eine Enttäuschung” (Festenberg, 2011).

¹⁸⁸ The Borgia family has been subject to various television series, films or novels. See e.g. films and television series such as *The Borgias* (Showtime/Bravo!, 2011; *Die Borgias – Sex. Macht. Mord. Amen* (Pro7, 2011); *Los Borgia* (Cuatro, 2011)), *The Borgia* (BBCtwo, 1981), *Los Borgia* (Hernández, 2011), *The Prince of Foxes* (King, 1949), or novels such as *The Family* by Mario Puzo (2001).

¹⁸⁹ Villarroel González shows this also on other Borgia representations in the form of novels. “[M]uchos de ellos las mostraron como representación de la realidad, como si desvelasen una historia que era más o menos oculta” [Many showed them as representation of reality. As if they discovered hidden history] (Villarroel González, 2005, pp. 317 [o.t.]).

¹⁹⁰ For example, refer to the gender representation of the series (see 6.3.2.2.3).

6.3.2.2.2. Aesthetic and design

On the one hand, aesthetic and design of the series correspond to contemporary standards. On the other, the layer creates intertextual references to the aesthetic of Renaissance art.¹⁹¹

Camera, montage and lighting

Concerning camera, montage and lighting, *Borgia* conforms to the cinematic style of contemporary “televisuality” as described by Caldwell in the 1990s (Caldwell, 1995, pp. 61 ff.). The expansive studio set enables an ‘unchained’ camera to freely move and explore the depth of field. Ranging between long shots and close-ups, it is a voyeuristic camera that moves very close to its subject. Point of view shots are exceptional (see e.g. season 1, episode 1, min. 0:28:35) but may indicate the respective narrative focus. Generally speaking, the camera and also the on continuity oriented editing are very conventional, ensuring the immersion of the viewers. In most cases it is the establishing shot that introduces a sequence (see e.g. season 1, episode 1). A decoupage follows where shot-reverse-shots and close-ups of the human face are dominant, rather unusual for the conventional period drama. The first layer is dominantly in sharp focus. This goes hand in hand with *Borgia*’s emphasis on the interpersonal conflict and its tendency towards dramatisation (see e.g. season 1, episode 1, 0:09:42 ff.) and departs the series from the “pictorial qualities” (Higson, 2003, p. 80), as they have been described as typical for the heritage film by Higson.

Also, the lighting in *Borgia* is very cinematic, appearing in different shades between low-key and normal-key, and always depending on the situation and dramaturgy. Above all, those scenes that are set in interior spaces most truly recreate the period ambience. *Borgia* uses here a dominantly low-key lighting whose direction is often lateral, seemingly from natural sources such as candles or the small windows of the Renaissance home. It draws sharp and dark shadows and creates chiaroscuro effects. In doing so, the series is most likely to evoke the art forms of the period it is presenting – reminding us of artists such as Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) or later artists such as Rembrandt (1606-1669), or Caravaggio (1573-1610), who utilised light as “sharp and

¹⁹¹ According to Gombrich (1996; 1985), the historical Borgia family was in close contact with artists of the time such as Pinturicchio (1454-1513) (Gombrich, 1985, p. 108) or Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) (Gombrich, 1996, p. 296).

almost glaringly contrasted against the shadows” (Gombrich, 1996, p. 393 [o.t.]¹⁹² (see fig. 23-24).



Fig. 23-24: Chiaroscuro in *Borgia* and Renaissance painting (Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus*, 1601).

The series does not expose these intertextual references. However, in case that they are recognised by the audiences and respectively classified retrospectively, we can presume that ‘artefact nostalgia’ is possible.

Settings

Borgia is mainly set in Renaissance Rome. Lavish reconstructions of interiors or whole historical buildings and places such as the Sistine Chapel or St Peter’s Square reflect the 15th/16th century state of these locations (Hirschbiegel, 2011). They play a large part in drawing the historical frame of the series. Visual correspondence to a Spanish or German audience’s scenic memory can be rather excluded. The same applies to a possible ‘internal aesthetic artefact nostalgia’. The series indeed favours the empathetic understanding of its characters however, since *Borgia* puts the focus on the intra- and interpersonal conflict, the settings do not step into the foreground. A sensuous exploration, for instance from the perspective of a protagonist, is also unimportant.

Décor, props and costumes

Décor, props and costumes are decisive period markers in *Borgia*. As the typical Renaissance clothing, the costumes reflect the social rank of its bearer. “[R]ich red robes and wide-brimmed flat hat” (Scott, 2011, p. 65) are reserved to the cardinals. The upper-class women wear “sleeved garment [...] that clung[s] tightly around the upper body and reveal[...][s] a great deal of the shoulders” (Scott, 2011, p. 35). Also décor (see

¹⁹² Original quotation: “*Sein Licht [...] war hart und fast grell gegen die dunklen Schatten gesetzt*” (Gombrich, 1996, p. 393).

e.g. Winkler, 2011 on the recreation of the Pinturicchio fresco in the Borgia apartment) and furniture (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2012) correspond to the period.

Indeed the series displays what Higson calls “set-piece celebratory events” (Higson, 2003, p. 40), such as huge banquets or guesthouse scene. However, the camera, focusing on the human face instead of on the period detail, does not underpin the creation of a “delightful and desirable” (Higson, 2003, p. 80) past as Higson describes it in the context of British heritage films. It rather supports the dramatic effects and relegates costume, props and décor to a secondary position. In contrast to *Mad Men* where the diegetic world refers explicitly to the layer of décor, props and costumes, it rather stays undisclosed in *Borgia*. A nostalgia directed on the artefact is possible – at least a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’ can be observed – but not favoured by the text. A reflexive layer is not imported.

Music

The layer of music and sounds that consists of multiple tracks is very cinematic. The dialogue scenes are normally accompanied by a second, non-diegetic track of instrumental music. This track has dramatic function supporting action, suspense or mysticism of a scene. Both the diegetic and the non-diegetic layer use musical genres of the Renaissance era, such as polyphonic vocal music and instrumental music with instruments like the Middle Age lute (see e.g. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2012a; 2012b). In doing this, the audio layer holds its narrative function in the creation of the period atmosphere and can be supposed to produce an “awareness of things past” (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125) in its viewers or listeners. The generation of a “nostalgic condition” is not a function of the music. The medieval music is surely rather improbable to function as a “mnemonic prompt” and may do so only on the basis of a respective ‘prosthetic memory’. In contrast to *Mad Men*, the music has no commentary function. It never steps into the foreground, but rather holds its part in supporting the immersion.

6.3.2.2.3. Characters

According to the trend of contemporary television (see e.g. Mittel, 2006), *Borgia* also has an ensemble cast. Central is the Borgia family, consisting of Rodrigo Borgia (John Doman), Cesare Borgia (Mark Ryder), Juan Borgia (Stanley Weber), Lucrecia Borgia (Isolda Dychauk), Vannozza Catanei (Assumpta Serna), the mother of the illegitimate

Borgia children, and Giulia Farnese (Marta Gastini), the mistress of Rodrigo Borgia. In showing actors from various European countries – some of them known in Germany (see Andrea Sawatzki or Isolda Dychauk), some in Spain (see Assumpta Serna, Elisa Mouliáa, Nicolás Belmonte, or Nacho Aldeguer), and again others (see e.g. John Doman) rather broadly known, the series appeals to different audiences.

As on the layer of narration, also regarding the characters the series foregrounds the historical record. However, this does not mean that the, as Dika would put it, “relationship of the image to the natural real” (Dika, 2003, p. 223) reflects historical evidence. Already regarding the narration it has been stated that *Borgia* rather reproduces the ‘(dark) legends’ around the family (see 6.3.2.2.1). This similarly applies to the characters. Female characters are restricted to be wives, mothers and mistresses. Aspects of Renaissance life, such as the fact that women, as Weaver (2007, p. 189) highlights, “were enclosed in homes and convents”, is either disguised – Lucrecia for instance is easily able to move between in- and outside – or not further expounded. The female character’s main goals are emotionally motivated. In doing so, the series reproduces the Renaissance’s misogynist image of women as dominantly passion-controlled, as described by Weaver (2007, p. 190). Other perspectives, separating from the period’s own, mostly male-produced (Weaver, 2007, p. 189) records, remain impossible to obtain for the viewers of *Borgia*. Regarding the layer of narration, here it can be argued that “the connotation of order” (Dika, 2003, p. 203) of the series, contrasted with present upheavals, can indeed be seen as “form of denial” (Dika, 2003, p. 203) or as a nostalgic longing towards a moment before the break, just as Dika (2003) outlines in the context of reruns and nostalgia. Instead of adopting the critical dialogue, *Borgia* works as “*agente historiador*” for the era. If this indeed may provoke ‘fiction nostalgia’ directed towards the past role models, remains to be seen in the reception study of this work. Since the series does not disclose its references, it somehow naturalises the version of the past it is presenting. The constructedness is not revealed.

The same applies to the design of the single characters. Here the sophistication of the historical examples stays marginal. The series rather puts the emphasis on emotion and conflict. For example, this is illustrated by Rodrigo and Lucrecia Borgia. According to Villarroel González (2005), Rodrigo Borgia was a true Renaissance character who spoke various languages and was very interested in art (Villarroel González, 2005, pp. 99 ff.). These characteristics however, stay neglected by the series, which emphasises the Renaissance man as a godfather-like patriarch, reproducing the

legends around the family (see e.g. Villarroel González, 2009, p. 317). Regarding Lucrecia Borgia (Isolda Dychauk), the case is not markedly different. As Gregorovius (2011) highlights, the historical character widely educated in various languages, music, and arts (Gregorovius, 2011, p. 39) and even assumed the government business at the Vatican in the absence of the pope (Villarroel González, 2005, pp. 317 ff.). The series however highlights Lucrecia as a defiant seductress, a preparer of poison, and not averse to incestuous relationships to her brother, which again corresponds to the legends about the family (Villarroel González, 2005, pp. 317 ff.). *Borgia* holds here its part in the mystification of the Renaissance clan. It does so however, not in order to present a nostalgically pictured past, but to stereotype and dramatise the narration.

Apart from that, also in the context of *Borgia* “period casting” can be observed. At least Isolda Dychauk (Lucrecia) and Marc Ryder (Cesare) were cast according to their physical resemblance to the historical counterparts, as they were portrayed by Renaissance artists such as Pinturicchio (1454-1513), Giorgione (1478?-1510) or Altobello Melone (1490-1491?) (see fig. 25-27).



Fig. 25-27: “Period casting” in *Borgia*: Lucrecia (Isolda Dychauk) and Cesare (Marc Ryder) in *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011) and two portraits of Lucrecia (Pinturicchio) and Cesare (Melone).

Later, costumes, hairstyle and make-up are also chosen according to the named examples. *Borgia* indeed exhibits intertextual characteristics which, depending on the respective “retrospective classification”, may lead into ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own nostalgia’ in case that respective ‘prosthetic memories’ exist. However, here it can neither be stated that this is favoured by the text, nor that the intertextual references import some sort of reflexive layer.

6.3.3. First conclusion on period dramas as potential triggers of nostalgia

The previous analyses focused on the period dramas *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011), two series that were broadcast both on German and Spanish

television. While the first is set in early 1960s America, the latter's period of play is the time of the Renaissance in Rome. On the background of the theoretical part, it has been assumed, that period dramas basically provoke what here has been called 'F nostalgia'. This must be relativised with a view to the in-depth analysis of the two examples. Even though potential triggers of 'F nostalgia' could be explained in both texts, a clear dominance could not be detected. Also, other forms of possible nostalgia were highlighted. The 'modules', which were explained in the theoretical section, proved helpful here. They also turned out to be an applicable and reasonable analysis scheme.

The introductory chapter to this section on period dramas and nostalgia already referred to Cardwell's (2002) work on heritage film. Based on the observation that the genre is "continually labelled nostalgic" she proposes to combine the investigation on nostalgia in period dramas with theories on moods. From this, it can be assumed that the period drama as a nostalgia 'genre' creates the expectation of nostalgia – a point that shall be further considered in the subsequent reception study. This conclusion gives an overview of the basic results of the television analysis.

In order to crosscheck the respective period representations with the "natural real", a first section outlined the broad socio-cultural and temporal context of the periods in question. In case the series are seen against the respective temporal background or evoke memories related to it, we may already expect profound differences between German and Spanish recipients and different age groups. In the case of *Mad Men*, set in the 1960s, the 55- to 65-year-old age group disposes of personal memories of the era, while the 25- to 35-year-olds at the utmost have 'prosthetic' memories. It was also shown that regarding political and socio-cultural aspects, Germany and Spain in the 1960s diverge tremendously. While Spain was still under the Franco regime, German society was marked by tremendous societal changes, with the student revolution – part of a general cultural and societal movement both in Europe and the US – at its centre.

In the case of *Borgia* fewer differences among the 'we-groups' can be expected. The Renaissance is clearly outside the lifespan of both age groups. The memory they have about the era is at the most a 'prosthetic' one, accessed by popular cultural commodities or history books. The example was chosen in order to crosscheck if nostalgia on this memory basis is at all possible.

Regarding the textual layer, the two examples *Mad Men* and *Borgia* differ notably in the way they represent history and in the way they may work as potential

triggers for nostalgia. While *Mad Men* is highly self-reflexive and discloses its constructedness, *Borgia*, with its closed form, presents itself as a representative of the historical fact. *Mad Men* favours ‘artefact nostalgia’ and ‘empathetic F nostalgia’. Regarding *Borgia*, potential triggers of ‘artefact nostalgia’ and ‘F nostalgia’ have been described. This may be demonstrated on all layers of the two examples. In both cases, all layers from narration, camera, montage, lighting, to setting, décor, props, and costumes, through to music and characters have been analysed.

Mad Men does not show the 1960s with a nostalgic gaze. Whether it’s racism, sexism or homophobia, the series does not flinch from showing the negative side of the era. Apart from that the series contains a high degree of disclosed intertextuality to mainly 1950s/1960s films. The disclosure of intertextual references favours ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in the case of respective “retrospective classifications” of the references. At the same time, it imports a further critical layer into the series and encourages reflection. Therefore, it can be stated that the series does not favour ‘non-empathetic fiction nostalgia’. In cases where a ‘synchronisation’ with personal experiences of the viewers leads into a personal kind of nostalgia towards the 1960s, the critical perspective of the series is assumed to hold its part in a respective colouring of the ‘own nostalgia’. Due to the “cultural thickenings” between Germany and the US regarding the student movement, such a ‘synchronisation’ may be supposed to rather arise in the German case. In general, it may be stated that these observations apply to all layers of the series. Simple nostalgia is hindered, intertextual references foregrounded, and a critical perspective favoured.

On the layers of camera, montage and lighting, but also on the layers of settings, décor, props, costumes, music and characters, *Mad Men* shows and discloses widely shared intertextual references to 1950s/1960s films. They can be expected to be recognised both by knowing German and Spanish viewers, and, depending on the subject position, may lead into ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’. In any case, the functioning of the text and the references are disclosed, highlighting the constructedness of the history it presents and further hindering nostalgia on the fiction-layer. Furthermore, décor, props, costumes and music in *Mad Men* are clear signifiers of ‘pastness’. The series shows internationally traded consumer products as they were traded also both in Germany and Spain. A concentration on the artefact – which is very likely since the series consciously puts them in the foreground – may lead into ‘artefact nostalgia’ and/or provoke own associations in the viewers. The “self-mythologizing

efforts” of the era are however consequently undercut by the text. This past is not presented as desirable.

Finally, *Mad Men* clearly favours the empathetic understanding of its protagonists. It has been shown that some scenes show Draper’s nostalgic gaze on the only recent past. Later, the audience is invited to empathetically share emotional moments. In an understanding of empathy, which supposes that the emotions of the protagonists do not have to be congruent to those of the viewers (Tan, 1996, p. 174), this may support the splitting-off of own (nostalgic) sentiments, even though nostalgia is not an issue. Also here the series supports at least a reflexive vision.

It is a very different case with *Borgia*. With its narrative closure, it tends to conceal its intertextual references and undermines critical reflection. Regarding the narration, *Borgia* focuses on the dark side of the Renaissance. The world it presents however seems strangely stable, which at least can be described as a potential trigger of ‘F nostalgia’ from today’s perspective. The generation of own associations in the viewers is only possible in cases when they have a ‘prosthetic memory’ of the era.

Camera, montage, and lighting support the dramatisation of history the series represents. While they may be seen in the trend of contemporary cinematic style, the latter is also reminiscent of Renaissance painting. However, here the intertextual reference stays hidden behind the closed form. Only in cases when it is recognised by the viewers and/or accordingly retrospectively classified it is likely to provoke ‘artefact nostalgia’. Décor, props and costumes contribute to the period recreation and expose a clear gap between ‘then’ and ‘now’. However, due to the low degree of, as Higson would call it, “pictorial qualities” (Higson, 2003, p. 80), ‘artefact nostalgia’, it can be argued, is less likely. This similarly applies to the music. It holds its part in creating the period atmosphere but does not favour nostalgia.

Apart from that, the characters do support an empathetic understanding. Here, the viewers are invited to empathetically share emotional moments. If we take as a basis what Tan argues about empathy, that “a situation evoked in a character does not necessarily coincide with the empathetic emotion of the viewer” (Tan, 1996, p. 174), we may assume that nostalgia is here enabled, even though not explicitly favoured by the text. Nostalgia that ‘feels-with’ a character is not supported. The period casting that makes the characters refer to their respective prototypes as they have been presented by the paintings of the period makes ‘artefact nostalgia’ possible. Apart from the fact that

the references are not explicitly disclosed, we can also assume here that they are not widely shared.

Generally, even though *Mad Men* can be described on many layers as a potential trigger of nostalgia, with its high degree of self-reflexivity, it impedes any simple nostalgia towards the 1960s. *Borgia* on the other hand rarely facilitates nostalgia, however any possible nostalgia – above all on the layer of narration – bares here any reflexivity. While *Mad Men* initiates a dialogue between various versions of past – the found-footage, the art forms of the period, the nostalgia of its protagonists and the reception of its viewers – *Borgia* pretends to present the right one.

6.4. Conclusion on the television analysis and transition to Part III

Nostalgia is an important component of contemporary television fiction. Nevertheless, the subject is only scarcely investigated with regards to the interrelation of textual characteristics and the emotive reaction of nostalgia from the side of (different) audiences. In 2002, Cardwell highlighted this with regards to the British heritage film. In combining textual analysis with theories on mood in the context of film, the scholar accomplished a first step to close this lack of research. However, detailed interrelations between text and reception are not yet scrutinised. Even though Cardwell (2002) refers to Tan (1996), his categories of aesthetic emotions are not integrated into the analyses. Reception studies are not made.

It is here where this study attaches. Tan's categories are used in order to build the bridge between text and reception. Accordingly, the study falls back on the yet existing nostalgia discourse and combines it with the categories proposed in the context of the study of aesthetic emotions. The combination of the approaches led to the assumption of different nostalgias, always depending on different objects, namely: 'non-empathetic F nostalgia', 'empathetic F nostalgia', 'artefact nostalgia', and 'internal empathetic artefact nostalgia'. With these categories we had first 'modules' of analysis. They have been re-combined with a view on the respective nostalgia 'genres'. A consideration of the memory discourse allowed first assumptions on possible 'shared' nostalgias.

The general basis of the precedent television analysis was a reception aesthetic understanding of television. During the analysis it was assumed that nostalgia may be prefigured by different textual aspects. Hereby the radical object-centrism of Tan's model could indicate the direction of the analysis. Following Tannock (1995), regarding the single potential objects of nostalgia, it was central for the analysis to locate possible

'gaps' between a prelapsarian and a postlapsarian world. According to the premises of television analysis (Mikos, 2008), the layers of narration, aesthetic and design and characters were considered. Different memory contexts in Germany and Spain were taken into account in so far that the respective socio-cultural contexts and programme contexts have been revised and the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles has been integrated into the analysis.

The television analysis focused on a total of six examples of different nostalgia 'genres' as they have been identified in chapter five of this work. More precisely, it was about the categories reruns, remakes, and period dramas that stood in the centre of the analysis. *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) and *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) were chosen as exemplary for the category of the reruns. Their respective remakes *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) have been analysed as exemplary for the category of the remakes. And *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011) were chosen as representatives for the period dramas. All six examples were broadcasted both in Germany and in Spain, which is why they were suitable in order to identify first possible similarities and differences between nostalgias in the two countries.

The television analysis had three main purposes: firstly, it was about to apply the framework of analysis as it has been proposed with reference to Tan (1996). Secondly, first hypotheses should be investigated. Here, it was basically assumed that the different 'genres' depend upon different aesthetic structures of media impact with each different relations to the memory of the recipients. While 'artefact nostalgia' was expected to be dominant in remakes, period dramas were thought to offer, above all, potential triggers of 'F nostalgia', and reruns were assumed to contain a mix of potential triggers of 'F and A nostalgia'. Thirdly, the television analysis of potential nostalgia triggers on the layer of the text will be the basis for the reception analysis in Part III. Here it will be investigated if these nostalgias are indeed provoked in audiences from different age groups from Germany and Spain.

In general, it can be stated that the 'modules' proved to be applicable. On their basis, it was possible to apply and amplify the yet existing nostalgia discourse systematically in the analysis of different 'genres'. In doing this, it was not only possible to give a differentiated look on the 'genre' examples. It also provided the analysis with a higher degree of comparability. This fact is also important with a view on the following reception study. Especially against the background of an increasing complexity of media

landscapes where transcultural approaches are more important than ever before, a best possible systematisation of the analysis guarantees also a better comparability of different receptions.

This chapter shall not repeat all the results. They have already been presented in the respective conclusive chapters of the analysis of the single examples. However, differences and similarities between the ‘genres’ shall be highlighted. Consequences and further hypotheses with a view on the reception part shall be explained.

On a general level, and with a basis in the academic and non-academic discourse, it was shown, that remakes, reruns and period dramas may be called nostalgia ‘genres’. Thus, it was first of all assumed that they create the expectation of nostalgia in the viewers, respectively that they may be chosen by the viewers in the course of a nostalgic ‘mood-management’ (see also Cardwell, 2002 on the British heritage film). This fact could only barely be investigated in the context of the television analysis, but it has to be kept in mind with a view on the reception study.

In any case, in all ‘genre’ examples, potential nostalgia triggers could be scrutinised. Regarding possible ‘shared’ nostalgias, first patterns could be identified. The assumption that a clear dominance of ‘artefact nostalgia’ can be detected in remakes, period dramas dominantly offer ‘F nostalgia’, and reruns a mix of both, cannot be approved in total. Regarding the reruns, the assumption has been verified in the course of the television analysis. Both reruns expose diverse possible triggers of both ‘A’ and ‘F nostalgia’. Regarding the remakes, the assumption has been verified, even though also other forms of possible nostalgia could be highlighted. Regarding the period dramas, the hypothesis must be relativised clearly. Even though potential triggers of ‘F nostalgia’ could be identified, a clear dominance could not be detected.

In general, all three ‘genres’ expose a mix of different potential nostalgia triggers. Both reruns and remakes can be supposed to enable ‘F nostalgia’ on the layer of the narration. Thus, seen in the flow of contemporary television, the mystifying good-bad vision that *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) presents of the 1980s and then dominant images of masculinity may indeed work as a trigger for ‘F nostalgia’. The contemporary present, which is exposed by its remake, is infused with positively painted 1980s ingredients of the premake and equally positively painted traditional role models, which – depending on the subject position – also may enable ‘F nostalgia’. This similarly applies to *The Avengers*. While the 1960s television series is critical toward its temporal context and as

a rerun rather impedes 'F nostalgia', its remake favours nostalgia with the positively painted traditional gender roles it exposes.

Furthermore, 'lost' emotions related to the respective first-runs or premakes were assumed as potential objects of nostalgia. While in the case of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) it is, for instance, the lost fascination with the main characters (F or A emotion) that may trigger 'own' nostalgia in those audiences who know and appreciated the premake. In *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) a similar loss of fascination (F or A emotion) is presumed to possibly enable nostalgia in the context of the series' main prop.

Regarding the period dramas, it may be stated that *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011) with its closed structure and low degree of self-reflexivity, paints a picture of stability that indeed may be called nostalgic and may be seen as a potential trigger of 'F nostalgia'. The highly reflexive *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007), in contrast, does not present a nostalgic vision of the 1960s it exposes. However, it enables 'empathetic F nostalgia'. Above all, especially in the case of *Mad Men* where empathy is favoured and the sensuous exploration of the settings often steps into the foreground, 'internal empathetic artefact nostalgia' is expected. If this is the case has to be seen in the reception study.

Already these few examples of potential 'F nostalgia' show that the differences between the 'genres' do not lie too much in the nostalgias they favour, but rather in the paths the different 'genres' take towards the past and the different scopes of knowledge against which they may work as potential triggers of nostalgia. In the case of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) the lost fascination with the car (F or A emotion) or, in case of *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961), the lost or reawakened fascination with Peel's character and costume can only trigger nostalgia towards the 'original' viewing experience in case that the audiences first, know the first-run, and, second, that they indeed enjoyed it. Since both original series were broadcasted in Germany and in Spain, major differences can therefore rather be expected between the different age groups than between the territorial groups. The same applies to the respective remakes *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). Also here for example the reception of the lost provocation with Emma Peel's and Steed's character traits may only trigger nostalgia towards the 'original' viewing experience, in case that the audiences first know the "premake", and, second, that they enjoyed it. Other potential triggers of 'F nostalgia' can be presumed to work both in the knowing and the 'not-knowing' audiences. We may here for instance refer to possible 'empathetic F nostalgia' in the context of *Mad Men*. Major differences can rather be expected here regarding the

possible 'own' nostalgias, when the empathetic emotion flows, for instance, into self-reflection. Also here, the reception study will reveal further aspects.

The difference is more obvious in the case of the possible 'artefact nostalgias'. If we compare the layers on which reruns, remakes and period dramas enable 'A nostalgia', the distribution of possible nostalgias is not too different. However, in each case different knowledge is affordable and different paths towards the past are taken.

The period dramas for instance have the 'connotation of pastness' for every viewer. The 'gaps' between past and present are recognisable for those who do not have personal memories of the 'concrete' props or other elements of the text. However, it can be supposed here that major differences between those groups who have personal memories of the time span and those who at the utmost have 'prosthetic' ones can be observed.

The same applies to the reruns. The 'connotation of pastness' is recognizable here also for those audiences who do not know the first-run. This is very similar to what Keightley and Pickering (2006) highlighted in the context of their investigation on popular music and photography – it can be expected that also a shift towards the mere "historical representation" (Keightley and Pickering, 2006, p. 152) can be described. The reruns become 'icons of their time'. The gap between 'then' and 'now', which is so essential for nostalgia, can also be recognised by the 'not knowing' audiences.

It is a different case when we assume that triggered media memory, which, as O'Sullivan (1991, p. 163) observed, works as a reference point in order to remember, for instance, past and present identity, functions as potential triggers for 'A nostalgia' trigger. In this case the rerun can be thought to prefigure nostalgia only for the 'knowing audiences'. This applies also to the television remakes *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008-2009) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). A possible rhetoric that contrasts a better 'then' against a 'worse' now is here in most cases dependent upon the knowledge of the remake and its respective valorisation. With regard to the reception analysis, here can be assumed that in this context minor differences between the territorial groups but rather between age groups will be observable. In any case, it should be highlighted that both remakes that were analysed, update their time frame. It would be a different case with remakes that maintained the original temporal context.

Next to possible 'gaps', an analysis of nostalgia must consequently consider different memory backgrounds of different 'we groups'. Apart from that, possible "retrospective classifications" must be considered. The fact that the first-runs,

respectively “premakes”, of the chosen reruns and remakes fall into the so-called “reminiscence bump” (Eysenck and Keane, 2005, p. 266) and “formative” years of each one age group, led us assume first differences in the reception. This must be further investigated in the course of the reception study.

Furthermore, due to the assumption that “retrospective classifications” of the respective first-runs and “premakes” are, above all, relevant regarding possible nostalgias in the context of the reruns and remakes, the public discourse has been considered. It didn’t allow the study to identify the actual reception, but it gave further indicators of possible readings, or of possible ‘gaps’. Positive retrospective valorisations of both *Knight Rider* and *The Avengers* first-runs and premakes in Germany and Spain support the assumption that a respective ‘A nostalgia’ directed towards the past television series is possible. Apart from that, the existence of other presumed ‘gaps’ was supported. Both the German and Spanish public discourse on *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) gave for example evidence that the lost fascination with the once futuristic car may be a source of potential longing. Also the ‘gap’ on the layer of Hasselhoff as a star person(a) was supported by the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles. With reference to the discourse, only in a few cases territorial differences can be assumed. In Spain, *El coche fantástico* is for instance described as a representative of those, dependent on its definition, late years or first years following the *Transición* in “which not everything was possible, but, it seemed like” (Garcia Ruipérez, 2011 [o.t.])¹⁹³ and is thus installed as possible trigger for nostalgia in the Spanish case. In the German case no such discourse fragments could be found. However, only in few other cases such differences could be highlighted. Also here, the reception study will provide further insides.

We may state, in the course of the analysis, already some first patterns of possible receptions among the different territorial groups and age groups could be highlighted. The public discourse in the form of newspaper articles could give first indicators. However, here the television analysis could only realise first steps. Only the reception study will be able to identify actual readings and to put potential triggers of nostalgia on the layer of the text and its concrete reception into relation.

Lastly, also the degree of self-reflexivity differs among the examples. Both remakes expose a very uncritical, in parts even reactionary undertone. This similarly applies to *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011). In contrast to that, *The*

¹⁹³ Original quotation: “Teatro Nuevo Alcalá se embarque en un viaje a los 80, ‘aquella época de las primeras veces en que no todo era posible pero, eso sí, lo parecía’” (Garcia Ruipérez, 2011).

Avengers (ITV, 1961) and *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) hold a more reflexive position towards their temporal frame, which in many areas impedes any simple nostalgia.¹⁹⁴ Against this background, we must also ask if this critical disposition one series exposes more clearly than another has also effects on possible nostalgic readings of other layers of the text, respectively the structure of ‘own nostalgia’ of the audiences.

Similar to what Mikos (2008, pp. 142 ff.) describes in the context of suspense and humour, it can be assumed that the text may contain a disposition of nostalgia, however this disposition has to be ‘accomplished’ by the viewers. In order to analyse this matter of fact, this work leads over to the third part, which is the qualitative analysis of the reception. The following research questions will lead the analysis:

- Do the potential triggers of nostalgia that are offered by the text provoke nostalgia in its audiences?
- Are there any ‘necessary’ time spans for a potential object of nostalgia?
- Does a reflexive pre-focus of the text have any influence on the characterisation of ‘own nostalgias’ of the viewers?
- Is nostalgia against the background of ‘prosthetic memory’ or ‘transmitted’ nostalgia observable?
- Are there any territorial differences regarding the reception of nostalgia?
- Does the reception of nostalgia of the 25-35-year-olds differ from the reception of the 55-65-year-olds?
- Or in general: How are the examples received from within the frames of different ‘we-groups’?

¹⁹⁴ Self-evidently this shall not mean, that not all of the texts can have “a multiplicity of meanings” (see e.g. Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007, p. 64 on “closed text”).

Part III – Reception

7. The reception of nostalgia

In order to investigate nostalgia in television comprehensively, the study is divided into three sections. The theoretical section in Part I highlights existing theories on nostalgia. This theory is complemented by further studies on memory and aesthetic emotions, which allows the work to generate ‘modules’ for the television analysis of three dominant nostalgia ‘genres’ as it has been conducted in Part II of this study. Based upon a ‘reception aesthetic’ understanding of television, Part III shall now combine the results from the television analysis with reception studies. The section studies the “systematic interrelations” (see Bartsch et al., 2007a, p. 10 [o.t.]) between the nostalgias that the texts offer and nostalgia provoked in its audiences.

Following the premises of triangulation, different methods will also be applied here. The main part of the reception study consists of four focus group discussions. They were supplemented by a standardised questionnaire. Before the method and its suitability for this study shall be further outlined, the section takes a short look on previous works in the context.

7.1. Excursus – empirical research on nostalgia in television

Part I and Part II already mentioned single empirical studies on nostalgia. They shall here be taken up and scrutinised. The aim is not to summarise this research, but to highlight those points that will be relevant in the course of the reception study.

As an earlier investigation with empirical purposes, here we can refer to Spigel’s (1995) research on the construction of public histories of the role of women through reruns (Spigel, 1995, p. 16), respectively the use of “television reruns and nostalgia programmes as a source for popular memory” (Spigel, 1995, p. 30). Even though nostalgia is not in the centre of the study, by means of oral discussion sessions and written essays conducted in the course of her university seminars, Spigel is able to show that “by imposing a contemporary logic on historical events, nostalgia sitcoms help to do the work of familiarization for their audiences, allowing viewers to remember only those details of the past that seem useful for the present” (Spigel, 1995, p. 25). While regarding the role of women in society, students dominantly rather opposed a positive present against a worse past (Spigel, 1995, p. 27), the study also suggests that the

‘whitewashed’ rerun realities may provoke “nostalgic longing for the ‘good old days’ when girls were girls and boys made money” (Spigel, 1995, p. 28). It has to be seen, if similar observations can be made in our study.

Further research on television reruns has been done by Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992). The authors conducted a survey among 1,120 households on the uses and gratifications of the repetitions. Also here, nostalgia is not in the centre of the study but emerges as one mayor aspect. As the authors highlight in the discussion of their results, “[t]hree nostalgia items and four recall items were significantly higher for rerun viewing. [...] Nostalgia items involving watching a rerun because it reminds one of watching this program when younger, were significantly higher for rerun viewing. [...] The quality item of watching the program because it is of better quality than other programs was significantly higher for rerun viewing than for first-run viewing” (Furno-Lamude and Anderson, 1992, p. 369). Against the background of the theoretical part, it must surely be seen as critical that nostalgia is equated with remembrance. It can also be stated that deeper motives of the recipients cannot be brought to light with the questionnaires, just as Tan (1996, p. 17) had argued in the context of aesthetic emotions in general. Not to mention that the study does not make a textual analysis. However, the authors give useful insights into the reception of reruns that can be attached to in the following study.

Apart from that, we can also refer to the work of Corbalán (2009). As previously mentioned in chapter 2.2.6.2, Corbalán is one of the few authors who realises what scholars who investigate nostalgia within the spectrum of cultural studies demanded. In the centre of her investigation is the long-running Spanish period drama *Cuéntame cómo pasó* (TVE, 2001); a series that according to the author exposes a high degree of ‘reflexive’ nostalgia. On the one hand, it is analysed how the series constructs and reconfigures history (Corbalán, 2009, p. 345) and where nostalgia may arise. On the other hand, enquiries among one hundred 25-75-year-olds have been made in the form of qualitative questionnaires. Also here, cases where recipients mention nostalgia, arise or reflect, as Corbalán (2009) calls it, a “*respuesta emotiva*” [an emotive response]. Corbalán’s study supports that period dramas may provoke the emotion of nostalgia, however, it has to be stated that text and reception are not consequently put into mutual relation. Similar to the study of Furno-Lamude and Anderson, it seems that deeper motives cannot be brought to light with the questionnaires (see again Tan, 1996, p. 17). Here surely, further research is needed, respectively: here is where the present study may attach.

Lastly, Davis (1979) also undertook empirical research. His work is in parts about nostalgia provoked by television. Both however are not set into mutual interrelation. The, as it seems, rather informal surveys on associations related to the word nostalgia (Davis, 1979, p. 4) and interviews were made in order to qualitatively grasp the meaning or characteristics of the nostalgia mood (see e.g. Davis, 1979, p. 12; 14; 16 ff.) as a basis of what has already been highlighted in the theoretical section of this work. Nevertheless, Davis (1979) describes general tendencies of nostalgia, such as its “sociological significance” (Davis, 1979, p. 12 f.) when relating to life phases, late teens as its frequent object (Davis, 1979, p. 60), or a quantitative dominance of what he had called “simple nostalgia” (Davis, 1979, p. 27), as they are also relevant in the context of nostalgia in television and in the context of the present investigation.

Next to these studies, nostalgia is often a ‘by-product’ of investigations in the spectrum of (media) memory. Here we can hint to the research of Dhoest (2007, p. 31). Methodically influenced by oral history studies, the author researches the historical reception of thirteen years of Flemish television fiction among 60-year-olds and older with semi-structured interviews. In the centre are “general memories to detailed questions on specific programs” (Dhoest, 2007, p. 35). Even though textual characteristics of the programmes are not considered in detail and characteristics of the ‘genres’ of nostalgia are not considered, the text is set into relation to the colouring of the memories. Next to, as Dhoest (2007, p. 39) states, the “nostalgic” argumentation that “television was better back then”, Dhoest (2007, p. 45) observes here that “[t]o the creation of a cliché image by television corresponds a cliché memory by the viewers”. We may at least assume that, also in the context of the present study, the nostalgic programme may induce a nostalgic look on the context.

Further aspects of nostalgia appear for example in the context of the *The Global Media Project* (Volkmer, 2006). Kumar et al. (2006) come to discuss an accumulation of nostalgia among 70-75-year-old participants in the course of qualitative focus group discussions made in the Indian context. They suggest that: “The more distant and remote in time, and the more pleasurable the event in the imagination, the greater is the nostalgia with which it is recalled” (Kumar et al., 2006, p. 219). This point must at least be considered in the following study. It can only be assumed that in the course of this investigation nostalgia will also be dominantly observable among the 55-65-year-olds.

We may state that there is still a lack of empirical research that aspires to study the “interrelation” between the nostalgic text and the nostalgic reception, just as authors

from the spectrum of cultural studies also bemoaned it. Against this background, the following investigation has in parts an “explorative” character. At the same time, regarding single aspects, there is empirical research on which this study will refer to in the following reception analysis.

7.2. The process of the investigation

In the following, the present approach shall be outlined more detailed. The paragraph will first of all draw on the method of focus group discussions and its suitability for this study. Further sub-chapters go into the subject of informants and sampling, the concrete proceeding and the applied questioning route.

7.2.1. Focus groups

There are various points that make the qualitative methodology of focus group discussions suitable for this study. Firstly, this work has in parts “explorative” character. Up to now only a few studies investigated the interrelation between nostalgia on the layer of the text and nostalgia on the layer of reception systematically. Group discussions, says Lamnek (2005, p. 71), are above all suitable in cases when only limited empirical studies on the subject can be found and when a mere revision of the literature does not grasp a phenomenon sufficiently. Secondly, its “in-depth insights as well as [...] [the] variety of nuances” are, as Volkmer (2006b, p. 13) states, “relevant for internationally comparative research” as it is also done here. Thirdly, the method focuses on the ‘why’ questions “‘instead of ‘how many’” and “‘on feelings and attitudes rather than on measurement”” (Levine and Zimmermann, 1997 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 80) both on an individual and on a rather ‘shared’ level. Thus, with Lamnek (2005, p. 84 [o.t.]), we may presume that small-sized groups allow an explanation of emotional backgrounds. “The confrontation with the opinion of others in the process of the discussion opens up the chance to additionally identify individual contexts of justification” (Paus-Haase et al., 1999, p. 43 [o.t.]).¹⁹⁵ At the same time, collective views will become apparent (Lamnek, 2005, p. 84 [o.t.]). This will allow this study to explain the individual reception of the potential triggers of nostalgia and the transitions between personal nostalgias and those that are shared among larger ‘we-

¹⁹⁵ Original quotation: “*Die Konfrontation mit anderen Meinungen im Diskussionsprozess eröffnet die Chance, auch individuelle Begründungszusammenhänge herauszuarbeiten*” (Paus-Haase et al., 1999, p. 43).

groups'. All in all, an in-depth articulation and analysis of the different receptions, its motivations, memories and backgrounds will be possible.

Probably, as experienced by Keval et al. (2006) in the context of *The Global Media Project*, it will not always be easy to “distinguish personal verbalization of memories from personal comments on other’s elaborations and from elaborations of elaborations, etc.” (Keval et al., 2006, p. 214). However, as it was shown in the theoretical section on memory and as it is also explicitly highlighted by Keval et al. (2006, p. 214) this is one basic characteristic of memory in general where boundaries are difficult to draw. The focus group is able to take account of these characteristics. Apart from that, says Lamnek (2005, p. 87), uneven distributions of verbal contributions may appear. In the course of the discussion this fact was taken into account. Those who remained silent were specifically requested to articulate their opinion. Interrupted or broken off speech was taken off again, also in order to get a deeper insight into the respective affective reactions. Despite these difficulties, it will be shown in the presentation of the results that different patterns of reception could be explained. At the same time transitions between personal and rather ‘collective’ elaborations could be shown. Nonetheless, the limits of the methods shall be kept in mind during the complete analysis.

7.2.1.1. Informants and sampling

In order to be able to explain the reception of potential triggers of nostalgia among different ‘we-groups’, a total of four group discussions, two in Germany and two in Spain, with two different age groups each were conducted. In total 29 interviewees (n = 29) participated in the study.

As Lamnek (2005, p. 115 [o.t.]) states, “[s]ince the qualitative methodology in general and necessarily prefers conscious selection techniques (theoretical sampling), a statistically random composition of discussion groups is neither necessary nor helpful”¹⁹⁶. Therefore, the participants were chosen according to their suitability to solve the research questions (see also Keuneke, 2005, p. 263 on theoretical sampling). Most importance was given to age and place of residence. Regarding the age in both countries, two groups were recruited: namely one group of 25-35-year-olds and one of 55-65-year-olds each. In doing this, each one of the analysed reruns and remakes fell in

¹⁹⁶ Original quotation: “*Da die qualitative Methodologie im Allgemeinen und notwendigerweise bewusste Auswahltechniken (theoretical sampling) bevorzugt, ist eine statistisch-zufällige Zusammensetzung der Diskussionsgruppen weder notwendig noch hilfreich*” (Lamnek, 2005, p. 115).

the “formative years”, respectively into the so-called “reminiscence bump”, of one age-group. In both countries the interviewees were recruited in major cities, Berlin (Germany) and Barcelona (Spain). In all groups, gender-equilibrium was an aim. In order to gain a higher degree of comparability, a relative consistency of participant numbers among the groups was aspired to, just as Lamnek (2005, p. 112) describes it as necessary with reference to Spöhring (1998). Small numbers of participants were chosen. They are, says Lamnek (2005, pp. 110 ff.), especially appropriate when the interviewees are emotionally involved and when an in-depth questioning is necessary. An uneven number was aimed for, to minimise the risk of stalemate in the discussion (see also Lamnek, 2005, p. 110).

The sample was organised in the so-called ‘snowball method’. Here, starting from a first contact with one or more informants further contacts are generated (Lamnek, 2005, p. 114).¹⁹⁷ Parents or close relatives of the interviewee were excluded, which according to Hackl (2001, p. 125) could entail a high degree of bias or prevent to address certain topics. Apart from an age and relative gender equilibrium in doing this, also a relative homogeneity regarding profession and social class came about, which can be further specified with reference to the questionnaire (see 7.2.2).

All interviewees have academic or higher education occupations and may be associated to a middle-class to upper middle-class spectrum (see appendix 13.1.).¹⁹⁸ This is however, not a problem in the context of this study where a comparison is aspired. Rather the contrary is the case. As Knodel (1993) states:

“Holding separate sessions with homogenous but contrasting groups is believed to produce information in greater depth than would be the case with heterogeneous groups, because it will be easier for participants sharing similar key characteristics to identify with each other’s experiences’.” (Knodel, 1993 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 116)

As described by Volkmer (2006b, p. 15) a certain trust among the interviewees from similar peer-groups leads to “very subjective and honest responses” and to a freer flow of the discussion, and enables rapidly to enter the main part of the discussion. In the context of this study it can be assumed that in doing so a kind of ‘nostalgic atmosphere’

¹⁹⁷ In the case of the 55-65-year-old Spaniards, the study had to additionally use members of a local reading circle.

¹⁹⁸ All participants of the German groups have been socialized in (political) West Germany. One participant omitted information on the questionnaire.

is supported. In order to avoid so-called in-group/out-group effects (see e.g. Lamnek, 2005, p. 105), the two age groups and territorial groups were interviewed separately.

7.2.1.2. Proceeding

All four interviews were conducted by the author herself and in German and Spanish. The fact that interviewees can discuss in their own language, encourages, as Volkmer states, “more elaborate communications than an interview in a second language would allow” (Volkmer, 2006b, p. 15).¹⁹⁹ In order to cope with the media socialisation and cultural background also of the Spanish/Catalan participants, the German interviewee, who at that moment already had lived three years in the country, acquired a broad knowledge of country specific media contents and contexts. Apart from that, in the Spanish case a native language assistant was present during the group discussion, who noted the order and rough contents of the contributions.

The focus group participants were informed that the discussion was part of a country comparative doctoral project on television series and memory in Germany and Spain, that the duration would last around an hour and a half, and that it would be recorded on tape. The four groups were interviewed in four evenings in December 2011. Two of them took place in the private flats of two participants. Two others happened in specially leased public rooms, which did not hinder the course of the discussion. Finally and together with recordings of eventual commentary before, during, and after the reception of example media clips and eventual comments before, during, and after the infilling of the questionnaires, they had an approximate duration of 120 minutes in Spain and 150 minutes in Germany.

In most cases the discussion developed rapidly and was fluent. A dominantly high disposition to participate and provide also personal memories was observed. Minor differences were noticed regarding the group of the 55-65-year-olds where in parts members of a local reading circle participated in the focus group. Here, the discussion started slower and was a bit more cumbersome, since in the beginning the participants

¹⁹⁹ It should be taken into account that next to Spanish, Catalan has official status in Catalonia (see e.g. Vilarós, 1999). Some interviewees from the Spanish groups explicitly highlight their Catalan origin on the questionnaire. Especially in the group of the 55-65-year-olds, interviewees sometimes changed into Catalan. Notwithstanding, the fact that the interviews were conducted in Spanish language did not hinder the discussion. The Spanish language competence of both the 25-35-year-old and the 55-65-year-olds is without doubt on the level of an own native language.

seemed to be rather disposed to judge the (artistic) value of the examples. These first difficulties could be quickly overcome by means of focused questions.

The transcription was finished in February 2012. The complete discussions were transcribed into German and Spanish. The interviewer herself made both the German and one of the Spanish transcripts. In case of uncertainties in the latter case, the respective native speaker's notes were consulted. A native Spanish speaker transcribed the second group discussion. In all cases, GAT, a transcription system implemented by German conversation analysts, was used as a basis. A detailed transcription of, for instance, the exact length of pauses has however been left out, as it is not relevant for the research question. Other details such as accents on single words or laughter were considered.²⁰⁰ The analysis was made on the basis of the original quotations. In the English translation as they are included in the following presentation of results, the rules of transcription were not maintained.

As it is common in reception studies (see e.g. Prommer and Mikos, 2005, p. 195) in each discussion the respective German and Spanish synchronised version of the same media clips were used as a stimulus. On the one hand they were meant to work as memory cues for those who already knew the examples, on the other, they should enable those, who have not seen the examples before, to participate in the discussion. According to the design of the research, thereby 2-3 minute clips of those reruns, remakes, and period dramas were used, which were also subject to the television analysis.²⁰¹ Those examples were chosen, which best reflect the presumed potential triggers for nostalgia. The following excerpts were shown in this order:

²⁰⁰ Primary and main accents are here marked with capital letters, para- and extra linguistic actions and events such as laughter are highlighted with double brackets (e.g. ((laughter))), inaudible passages are marked in empty brackets, and assumed text is presented within brackets (teachsam 2010).

²⁰¹ Remakes: *Knight Rider* (RTL, 2009) and *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (Checkik, 1998) in the German group. *El coche fantástico* (La1, 2008) and *Los Vengadores* (Checkik, 1998) in the Spanish group. Reruns: *Knight Rider* (RTLplus 1985) and *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) in the German group. *El coche fantástico* (TVE, 1985) and *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) in the Spanish group. Period Dramas: *Mad Men* (ZDFneon, 2010) and *Borgia* (ZDF, 2011) in the German group. *Mad Men* (Cuatro, 2009) and *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al Vicio* (Cosmopolitan TV, 2011) in the Spanish group.

<p>Remakes</p>	<p><i>Knight Rider</i> (RTL, 2009) resp. <i>El coche fantástico</i> (La1, 2008); episode 9; “Knight Fever”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening scene: Michael (Justin Bruening) and KITT chase a truck. At the same time they are attacked by a group of bikers. The car transforms into the ‘combat mode’ in order to stop the truck. Apparently something strange happens inside the vehicle that KITT is able to detect with its ‘infrared sensors’. The team in the hangar home base, which is continuously conversing with Mike, tells him not to enter the truck. However, Mike resists the demands in order to investigate the terrain. What he detects is a glittering electro tension that he’s not able to explain. • Intro of the series. <p><i>Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone</i> resp. <i>Los Vengadores</i> (Chechik, 1998)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening scene: Steed (Ralph Fiennes) walks through a ‘training parlour’ where he meets with the typical <i>Avengers</i> antagonists. A non-diegetic music that is the ‘original’ <i>The Avengers</i> intro accompanies the scene • First meeting between Steed and Peel (Uma Thurman) where Peel makes her way through a ‘bastion of men’s privileges’ – a men-only sauna-club. • Fencing scene between Steed and Peel. Peel easily conquers Steed.
<p>Reruns</p>	<p><i>Knight Rider</i> (RTLplus 1985) resp. <i>El coche fantástico</i> (TVE, 1985); season 1, episode 5; “Slammin’ Sammy’s Stunt Show Spectacular”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intro of the series. • Michael (David Hasselhoff) witnesses an accident of stuntman Sammy during a public stunt session. For the viewer it is already assumed that the accident did not happen by coincidence. • Michael then applies for the job of the show stunt man in order to investigate the case. However, before this he has to convince KITT not to show all his skills. <p><i>Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone</i> (ZDF, 1966) resp. <i>Los Vengadores</i> (TVE, 1966); intro season 4; season 5, episode 5; “The Bird Who Knew Too Much”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intro of the fourth season (black and white) • Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) trains her fencing skills in her flat. Steed (Patrick Macnee) appears with the ritual “Mrs. Peel – we’re needed”. • Shortly before he dies, Peel and Steed enter the flat of a friendly agent. With his last words the dying man informs

	<p>the agent couple of a secret that is brought out of the country. The murderers escape unrecognised.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the murderers fires at Emma Peel from the diving platform of a swimming pool. Peel however is able to overpower the man.
Period Dramas	<p><i>Borgia</i> (ZDF, 2011) resp. <i>Borgia – Una familia consagrada al Vicio</i> (Cosmopolitan TV, 2011); season 1, episode 3 (German version) 6 (Spanish version); “The Bonds of Matrimony/Legitimacy”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the circle of his cardinals Rodrigo Borgia (John Doman), Pope Alexander VI, receives the notice that Christoph Columbus discovered ‘the new world’. The news first of all generates mockery from the present cardinals. • By means of a trick Giovanni (Manuel Rubey) can convince Adriana (Andrea Sawatzki) to leave the room in order to be alone with Lucrecia (Isolda Dychauk). Both start dancing, however the intimate togetherness does not last too long. The couple are soon driven apart by the governess. <p><i>Mad Men</i> (ZDFneon, 2010) resp. <i>Mad Men</i> (Cuatro, 2009); season 1, episode 8 (“The Hobo Code”) and 13 (“The Wheel”)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ‘mad’ men and women of Sterling Cooper hilariously dance the twist in a bar. Peggy (Elisabeth Moss) approaches Pete (Vincent Kartheiser) to ask him for a dance. He however rejects her brusquely. In the next morning when the secretary sits again at her desk, he ignores her. • In a pitch for a new slide projector campaign Don Draper uses his own family slides in order to develop a discourse on nostalgia and the strong bonds that emotion can generate.

In the course of a pre-test that had been made in February 2011 with a group of 25-35-year-old Germans – different from the group that is referred to in the analysis – it was proved as necessary not to show all examples in one block, but to distribute the clips over the course of the discussion according to the three thematic sections remakes, reruns, and period dramas. In doing so, a more evenly distributed amount of contributions to the examples could be gained. The risk of confusion from the side of the focus group members could be reduced. In order to avoid the creation of an ‘artificial memory’ in the course of the group discussions, the reruns were shown after the respective remakes.

7.2.1.3. Questioning route

In all four interviews the same questioning route was used. In so doing, a certain degree of standardization could be gained as it is necessary in the context of comparative studies (see e.g. Bohnsack, 1997 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 67). The questioning route contained pre-formulated questions with a defined order. Flexibility was used in order to accommodate the different situations of the discussions. In general the questioning route contained three main paragraphs (see appendix 13.3.), each dedicated to one of the nostalgia ‘genres’. Thereby nostalgia was not addressed explicitly until a last phase of the discussion. Regarding the composition and succession of questions, the study mainly followed Lamnek’s proposal (2005, pp. 98 ff.) in the general context of group discussions.

An opening question, which focused on television series the participants currently liked watching, was used to ‘break the ice’. It was followed by an introductory question where the participants were asked whether they currently watch television series they used to watch earlier in their life. The question should prompt first memories and lead over to the main part of the group discussion. Structured according to the three blocks of examples mentioned above, each paragraph contained here similar questions. Initially it should be spotted if the participants have seen the examples before. In the case of a positive answer they were requested to recall the first experience and to describe it. Later, the participants, whether they knew the example before or not, were asked to recall what crossed their mind during the reception. In case that it was not already answered in the course of the respective opening question, deeper questions followed. Participants were now explicitly asked for details that called their attention. Here especially those aspects, which had been worked out as potential nostalgia-triggers in the television analysis were important. Later, at least in the case of remakes and reruns, the participants were asked to make comparisons, be it between premake and remake or be it between contemporary and past television series. Memories of personal living circumstances in the context of the time frame of the respective examples were investigated. Furthermore, it went into eventual empathetic sentiments.

In case that the participants did not already generate the transition to the topic of nostalgia with the *Mad Men* example that explicitly hinted to the subject, a summary question introduced the issue explicitly. The participants were then asked to recall which aspects of the previous discussion had anything to do with nostalgia for them. Following Lamnek (2005), the ending questions consisted of a “final insurance question”

where basic aspects of the discussion were repeated by the interviewee in order to avoid any misunderstanding. An “all-things-considered question” gave the participants the possibility to make their own conclusions, or to mention things that have were not brought up in the course of the discussion, but that seemed worth mentioning to them. During the whole discussion, the subjects were always changed in case a ‘saturation point’ (see also Morgan, 1997 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 118) was reached.

7.2.2. Questionnaire

In the aftermath of the discussion, the participants were asked to fill in a standardised questionnaire with both close and open-ended questions (see appendix 13.2.). The questionnaire was basically composed of two parts. A first part contained four open-ended questions on the first television experience of the participants, their description of the nostalgic sentiment, their definition of a ‘nostalgic person’, and their reflection of nostalgia and causes of possible nostalgia felt in the course of the group discussion. A second part asked for socio-demographical data and information about the current and adolescent television consumption of the participants. While the latter allows a further classification of the composition of the group, the first is meant to further support the in-depth analysis of the group discussions (see 7.2.3). With Tan (1996, p. 17) it can be presumed that the questionnaire does not permit statements on “deeper motives” of the participants. However it allows a deeper analysis of possible different connotations and values of nostalgia between and among the age-groups, and the further distinction between latent and manifest nostalgias that may further support the qualitative analysis of the focus group discussions (see also 7.2.2.3).

7.2.3. Analysis of the group discussions

“There is no generally preferred or even normative-methodologically prescribed analysis method for group discussions” (Lamnek, 2005, p. 177 [o.t.]).²⁰² In fact, as argued by Lamnek (2005, p. 177), it depends upon the focus of each investigation and its objectives which method is most suitable. In this study qualitative content analysis as proposed by Mayring (see e.g. Mayring and Hurst, 2005; Mayring, 2010) shall be applied. Not only that it is presented as one possible method in order to analyse group

²⁰² Original quotation: “[E]s gibt kein allgemein bevorzugtes oder gar normative-methodologisch vorgegebenes Auswertungsverfahren von Gruppendiskussionen” (Lamnek, 2005, p. 177).

discussions in general (see e.g. Lamnek, 2005, p. 195 ff.), next to its explorative character, the verification of hypotheses and theories is also highlighted as one of its functions (see e.g. Mayring, 2010, p. 25). It can be seen as particularly suitable for this study. The analysis firstly serves here as a counter-check for the yet existing hypotheses and the scrutinisation of the question in how far the explained elements of nostalgia are perceived. Secondly, a more detailed survey of the subject matter of nostalgia and television shall be given. Further hypotheses on the reception of nostalgic media texts shall be made. In order to do so, the analysis must aim to make “statements on the emotional and cognitive background of the communicator’s actions”²⁰³, just as Mayring (2003 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 196) highlighted it as one function of the qualitative content analysis in general.

7.2.2.1. Qualitative content analysis

The method of qualitative content analysis of Mayring (2010) guarantees on the one hand the systematisation and verifiability that is also aspired by quantitative analysis, and on the other, it makes allowances for the complexity and richness of, in this case, around seven hours of discussion (see Mayring, 2010, p. 10; see also Lamnek, 2005, p. 195). The three techniques are aggregation, explication, and structuring (Mayring, 2010, p. 65):

“Aggregation: The aim is to reduce the material in so far that the main contents remain maintained, to create a manageable corpus by abstraction, which still reflects the original material.

Explication: The aim of the analysis is to contribute additional material to single issues of text (words, phrases, ...) that are under question, which enhances the understanding, explains the passage, and interprets it.

Structuring: The aim of the analysis is to filter out certain aspects of the material, to make a cross-section through the material with criteria that have been established before, or to assess the material based upon certain criteria” (Mayring, 2010, p. 65 [o.t.]).²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Original quotation: “Innerhalb der qualitativen Sozialforschung soll es ermöglicht werden, ‘Aussagen über den emotionalen, kognitiven und Handlungshintergrund der Kommunikatoren zu mache’ (Mayring 2003, S. 53)” (Lamnek, 2005, p. 196).

²⁰⁴ Original quotation: “Zusammenfassung: Ziel ist es, das Material so zu reduzieren, dass die wesentlichen Inhalte erhalten bleiben, durch Abstraktion einen überschaubaren Corpus zu schaffen, der immer noch Abbild des Grundmaterials ist. Explication: Ziel der Analyse ist es, zu einzelnen fraglichen Textteilen (Begriffen, Sätzen, ...) zusätzliches Material heranzutragen, das das Verständnis erweitert, das die Textstelle erläutert, erklärt, ausdeutet. Strukturierung: Ziel der Analyse ist es, bestimmte Aspekte aus dem Material herauszufiltern, unter vorher festgelegten Ordnungskriterien einen Querschnitt durch das

As suggested by Mayring (2010, p. 60), the techniques may be combined or exclusively used depending on their suitability for the analysis.

Since, according to Lamnek (2005, p. 235), from three group discussions with a duration of two hours onwards, manual analysis techniques such as the cut-and-paste-technique become unprofitable, the analysis will be supplemented in using the qualitative analysis programme MAXQDA – software that was developed for qualitative text analysis (see Lamnek, 2005, p. 247; Kuckartz, 2010). With this, as Kuckartz (2010, p. 20) argues, the verifiability of the analysis may be sustainably improved.

7.2.2.2. Coding of the focus groups

In a first step, following Mayring (2010, p. 95), the complete transcribed material of the four focus group discussions is formally structured in thematic blocks. The main orientation point here is the respective structure of the questioning route with its five sections programme preferences, remakes, reruns, period drama, and the concrete reflection on nostalgia in the context of the group discussion. In a second step the sections on the nostalgia ‘genres’ are again divided according to the statements about the single examples. MAXQDA provides here the possibility to organise the passages of discussion into document groups. Each document group is then built by the respective excerpts of the four group discussion. Already on this broad layer a comparison according to country and age group is thus possible. Later, the interviewees are also coded, which enables a juxtaposition of single participants or groups of participants.

In the next step, Mayring’s (2010) method of aggregation is applied. In order to generate the first inductively gained category system, the respective interview sections of each one of the three nostalgia ‘genres’ (the rerun *Knight Rider*, the remake *Knight Rider*, and the period drama *Mad Men*) were paraphrased in table form. As proposed by Mayring (2010, p. 113), hereby the memo-function of MAXQDA was used. In the programme, the categories or codes and sub-categories were then assigned to the text. In doing this, main categories could be deduced. Regarding the television remakes, these are the following:

Material zu legen oder das Material aufgrund bestimmter Kriterien einzuschätzen” (Mayring, 2010, p. 65).

- Reasons for the reception:
Here it was coded if the viewers talked on reasons for an eventual earlier reception of the remake.
- Associations with the remake:
The code ranges from references to other television series up to the contexts of reception. It has later been subdivided into the patterns *(Nostalgic) Context Memories* and *Intertextual References – Roundabout Nostalgia?*.
- Remake versus premake:
The recipients compare here the two versions of the series.
- Past versus present experience:
How do the recipients describe their experiences with the premake? How do they describe their experiences with the remake? Are these experiences contrasted against each other and when they are, how?

In all three cases huge parts of the categories were concordant also in the discussion-sections to the second ‘genre’ examples, the television rerun *The Avengers*, the film remake *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998), and the period drama *Borgia*, which is why in the second case the step of making tables of reduction could be relinquished. Encoding units of the content analysis (see Mayring, 2010, p. 59) were single words, for example when interviewees named single objects that attracted their attention (see e.g. DFG25-35: “The Car” (GD25-35_Rerun_Avenger_Deutschland, 119 [o.t.]), up to complete units of meaning or whole text passages when, for example, past and present are contrasted in a nostalgic stance (see e.g. FMS55-65: “When we watch *Los Vengadores* I remember the past with nostalgia, of course. Because I was twenty years old. (I am seventy soon). Today I wear glasses and dentures, yes” (GS55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Spanien, 11-19 [o.t.]²⁰⁵).

7.2.2.3. In-depth analysis

The in-depth analysis focuses on the question of whether or not the nostalgias that were explained in the television analysis are indeed decoded by the interviewees. Hereby the presumed triggers of nostalgia, as they are offered by the text, are put into relation to the patterns of reception. Cases of nostalgia are explained. The analysis proceeds here both

²⁰⁵ Original quotation: “*Cuando vemos los Vengadores yo recuerdo tiempos pasados, con nostalgia, claro. Porque tenía 20 años. (Me he vuelto a los 70 pronto). Hoy llevo gafas y dientes postizos, sí*” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Spanien, 11-19).

deductively and inductively. The nostalgic reception is scrutinised with reference to the theoretical section and the television analysis. Influencing parameters for the respective patterns are analysed. The in-depth analysis can also be described as contextual/explicative. The following points will be considered in detail:

- *Inter-group differences regarding the different patterns*

On a first and general layer, with its segment matrix MAXQDA allows the detailed comparison of main and sub-codes. Above all, differences between the territorial groups and age groups can then be explained. The next point is central to this, namely the concrete cases of nostalgia.

- *Concrete cases of nostalgia*

On the one hand, the analysis searches for the “rhetoric” of nostalgia as described by Tannock (1995).²⁰⁶ The gradations, as explained by Davis (1979) are also taken into consideration. Following the combination of the approaches, objects of nostalgia are explained in order to cross-check the reception analysis with the presumed triggers of nostalgia on the layer of the text. On the other hand, concrete declarations of an emotion as “nostalgia” by the interviewees are coded. Hereby the analysis of the single examples also includes the interview section where it was explicitly asked for nostalgia. Additionally, the respective question on the questionnaire is analysed and contextualised with the (presumed) cases of nostalgia.²⁰⁷ Eventual contradictions are described and explained by further contextualisation.

- *Are there any context factors that these concrete cases of nostalgia have in common?*

In a next step, further hypothesis on the necessary conditions of nostalgia are made; something which is only possible in the course of the reception study. The in-depth analysis contrasts here the respective cases of nostalgia with those who do not feel nostalgia. Do the interviewees know first-runs or premakes and how

²⁰⁶ That affects may be analysed with reference to spoken language, as it has also been shown by content analysis by Gottschalk and Gleser (Schöfer, 1980).

²⁰⁷ See here also Gottschalk and Gleser’s work in and as referred to by Schöfer (1980). In their linguistic approach to emotions, the authors explain both “conscious and unconscious affects” (Schöfer, 1980a, p. 12) by analysing manifest and latent explications of emotions (Gottschalk and Gleser, 1980, p. 15).

are the texts classified retrospectively? How is the object of appraisal described? Are there intra- and inter-group differences between the connotation of nostalgia, and in which relation does the connotation stand in the development or non-development of the nostalgic longing? Next to the statements that were made in the course of the discussion, here again it will refer back to the description of nostalgia on the questionnaire.²⁰⁸ Regarding the inter-group comparison the segment matrix function of MAXQDA facilitates the analysis. In order to describe intra-group differences or in general interpersonal differences, the single participants were coded separately.

- *Shared memories*

To see in how far the different memories are ‘shared’, graduations from personal up to ‘we-group’ references are coded in the context of the interviewees’ narrations of the past. Hereby, as Liebes and Katz (1990, p. 106) note, “personal and primary references”, namely “I” references, can be explained. Later, and whenever it is possible, different ‘wes’ such as the group, age group, gender, family, friends, or national group are differentiated (see also Liebes and Katz, 1990, p. 107).

- *Are there any irregularities?*

In this category fall for example contradictions between statements of single interviewees. Before having seen the rerun examples, two interviewees from the group of the 55-65-year-old Spaniards declare that they neither know the first-run or premake, nor the remake of *Knight Rider*, however they make extensive comparisons between the already seen ‘new version’ and the ‘original’. In such cases memos were written that further support the analysis.

The in-depth analysis contains some quantitative elements when it comes to the intra- and inter-group comparisons, or when the frequency of single categories is commented upon. The Code-Matrix-Browser of MAXQDA allows here an exact comparison of the frequency of single codes in the four different groups. However, it shall here be noted

²⁰⁸ A short excursus preceding the analysis will outline the different connotations in the four age groups.

again; representativeness of the results is neither given nor aspired to. The study author makes the analysis.

Similar to what Smith (2008, p. 26) highlights regarding empathy – namely that there is a difference between empathy that arises in the course of watching a film and empathy that arises in the course of thinking about a film – the material gives evidence that there is a nostalgia the recipients felt in the course of the reception and one they developed in the context of the group discussion, or in the process of appropriation. The analysis aspires here, when possible, to distinguish between the nostalgias by focusing on the contextualisations (“during the reception”, “when we just saw...”) made by the interviewees. However, this distinction will not be possible in every case.

8. Presentation of results

In order to maintain clarity, the presentation of results follows the basic structure of the television analysis where, for reasons of necessary references of the remake analysis on the rerun or premake background, reruns were followed by remakes and period dramas. This structure does not correspond to the order of the group discussions. When discussing *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008), the participants had not yet seen the premake, at least not in the course of the focus group.

In each analytical section general tendencies shall be explained in the form of patterns. They shall be exemplified by significant text passages. In each sub-chapter, references to the television analysis of the respective examples are made. The conclusions to the subchapters combine the results of the reception analysis with the television analysis. In order to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewees, acronyms such as “JMS25-35” were chosen. The first letter refers to the first name of the respective interviewee (in case of in-group repetitions another letter was randomly chosen), the second letter signifies the sex of the participant (“F” for female and “M” for male), the third letter refers to the country (“S” for Spain and “G” for Germany) and the numbers refer to the respective age group (25-35-year-olds or 55-65-year-olds). The acronym “M” stands for moderator, which in this case is the investigator herself. In order to maintain the verifiability, each quotation uses the reference of the group of documents (for example *Diskussion Rerun*), the respective discussion group (for example *GS55-65* for Group Spain 55-65), reference series (for example *Rerun Knight Rider*), and the line number it holds in MAXQDA.

Preceding the presentation of results, we shall briefly refer to the different connotations of nostalgia that can be scrutinised with reference to the questionnaires and which will be an important reference point in the course of the analysis. Above all with a view on the question of how to define a ‘nostalgic person’, clear tendencies can be described. If one structures the answers according to an ordinal scale (see also Mayring, 2010, p.101) from negative to neutral through to positive connotation, a clear difference between the groups can be seen (ignoring the intra-group differences). Among the 55-65-year-olds dominantly negative connoted descriptions can be found. The ‘nostalgic person’ is here characterised as “*rückwärtsgewandt*” [reactionary] (GFG55-65; HFG55-65, DMG55-65) or “*altmodisch*” [old fashioned] (HFG55-65). More extensive statements describe the ‘nostalgic person’ as:

AMS55-65: A person living in the past and with little desire to live in the present
(Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 10 [o.t.]).²⁰⁹

PMS55-65: Who lives too conscious of past times
(Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 12 [o.t.]).²¹⁰

CFPS55-65: A weak person who enjoys past times
(Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 15 [o.t.]).²¹¹

EFG55-65: Someone who has the above feelings [sweet and painfully emotional], but hopefully does not always take them seriously
(Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 17 [o.t.]).²¹²

It is a different case among the 25-35-year-olds. Here dominantly positive and rather neutral descriptions can be found. The ‘nostalgic person’ is characterised as “[j]emand der in der Vergangenheit schwelgt” [someone who reminiscences about the past] (FG25-35; Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 14 [o.t.]),

²⁰⁹ Original quotation: “*Una persona que vive en el pasado y con pocas ganas de vivir en el presente*” (Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 10).

²¹⁰ Original quotation: “*Que vive demasiado pendiente de tiempos pasados*” (Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 12).

²¹¹ Original quotation: “*Una persona apagada y que se recrea en tiempos pasados*” (CFPS55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 15).

²¹² Original quotation: “*Jemand, der oben genannte Gefühle [süßlich-schmerzlich-emotional] hat, sie aber hoffentlich nicht immer ernst nimmt*” (Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 17).

“*Una persona que recuerda épocas pasadas con agrado y simpatía*” [A person who remembers the past with pleasure and sympathy] (JMS25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Spaniards, 14 [o.t.]), “*una persona que vive de su pasado porque su presente no es bueno*” [a person who lives from his/her past because his/her present is not good] (VMS25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Spaniards, 16 [o.t.]), a person that “*lebt in der Vergangenheit, Erinnerung*” [lives in the past, memories] (DMG25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 13 [o.t.]), or “[*a*]quella que siempre esta recordando el pasado” [the one who always remembers the past] (AFS25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Spaniards, 12 [o.t.]).

The negative adjectives, as they dominated the characterisations of the 55-65-year-olds, can here not be observed. Just one 25-35-year-old German participant describes the ‘nostalgic person’ as “*verträumt und realitätsfern*” [dreamy and escapist] (EMG25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 16 [o.t.]). However, even here a positive undertone resonates. The (German) lexical meaning of “*verträumt*” [dreamy] is also “*in seinen Träumen, Fantasien lebend*” [to live in one’s dreams, fantasies] (Duden, 2012). A synonym “*auf Wolke sieben schweben*” [to be on cloud nine] (Duden, 2012) could be named. These differences let us draw first assumptions about the different inhibitions regarding the nostalgic emotion or regarding its disclosure. They will be included as one context factor in the following in-depth analysis.

8.1. Reception of the reruns

8.1.1. The reception of the *Knight Rider* rerun

As assumed in Part II, the results of the analysis can be described in two major blocks. A first part reflects the focus on the *Knight Rider* rerun as an artefact as a whole. It consists of the main pattern (*Nostalgic*) contextual memories, which is further divided into further sub-categories. The second block reflects the viewer’s concentration on the single layers of the text. It encompasses two main patterns (1) (*Intertextual*) references – roundabout nostalgia, and, (2) *Past versus present experiences*. They shall now be commented on more closely. Since, as Dhoest (2007, p. 36) highlights, “the process of

repeated viewing could lead to the revision of former memories and evaluations”, an eventual earlier reception of the rerun is considered in the analysis.

8.1.1.1. Reception of the rerun as an artefact as a whole

First of all, as it has been stated previously, on a first level the rerun as a whole, or the rerun as an artefact is in the centre of the viewer’s attention. Each first-run has once been integrated in a certain temporal context, programme context, genre context or, socio-political context which, so it was assumed, is remembered in the course of its reception or appropriation. Apart from that, the analytical part refers to O’Sullivan’s work on early television memories, against the background of which, we may assume that the respective memories also work as reference points that make us remember “aspects of the difference perceived between identity or circumstance ‘then’ and ‘now’” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 163).

In the conducted focus group discussions, contextual memories turned out to be one of the major patterns of memory, and, apart from that, also one of the major nostalgic objects from the side of the participants. They again may be divided into different sub-patterns: (1) *(Nostalgic) childhood memories*, (2) *(Nostalgic) adulthood memories*, (3) *No contextual memories*, and (4) *Memories of other television series*. As assumed, on this general layer a clear divide between the two age groups can be observed. Further clear differences appear among those who know the first-run and appraise it positively and those who do not know or who appraise it negatively.

(Nostalgic) childhood memories

What is paradigmatic for a decisive group among the ‘knowing’ 25-35-year-olds is the case of DFG25-35. Asked what went through her mind when she watched the *Knight Rider* rerun, she answered:

DFG25-35: I immediately think of my little brother. And of Sunday afternoons. And we were actually allowed to watch only a little television. And on Sundays we were allowed to watch just after lunchtime or so. By that time my parents had their afternoon nap. And I remember that my brother and I replayed that and that we also called out: “Buddy, fetch me out of here” and I don’t know. So somehow I remember this stupid quote. So I haven’t watched it for quite a long time. Around 15 years I assume. But I could, I knew the intro, so I couldn’t have repeated it. But I knew exactly what comes next. And my brother somehow had this remote-controlled car.

*So I was totally influenced by that. I really liked watching it (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 66 [o.t.]).*²¹³

Not only does the recalled memory consist of aspects of the reception situation related to the series, to a concrete daytime, and to concrete actions in the context of the viewing of *Knight Rider*, the interviewee also undertakes an evaluation of her reception experience and a valorisation of the relevance. The series is characterised here as something special. Later she continues:

*DFG25-35: But with Knight Rider I associate, yes, well childhood and then we always took the sugar bowl and then we ate... sugar and Nutella with a spoon and so. Well my parents. Well that was rather around the afternoon. Two hours during which we were all alone (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 87 [o.t.]).*²¹⁴

Knight Rider gained referential character to childhood, for a situation of harmony, a moment of liberty offside of the parental control but also for family life. In a clear nostalgic stance this harmony is declared as lost from today's perspective.

*DFG25-35: Well, if I may speak personally. Regarding Knight Rider, I'm partially, I miss this, well my parents are divorced today, my brother lives far away and a lot of things happened over the last twenty-five years. And I somehow associate it with something very personal. Well, a real nostalgia (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 31, 32 [o.t.]).*²¹⁵

Not only did the participant explicitly refer to nostalgia, the quotation also closes the circle of what has been described as the rhetoric of nostalgia by Tannock (1995). The interviewee describes (1) her childhood as a source of nostalgia and as free from

²¹³ Original quotation: "Also ich muss da sofort an meinen kleinen Bruder denken. Und an Sonntagnachmittag. Und wir durften eigentlich nur eher wenig Fernseh gucken. Und sonntags da durften wir dann halt mal nach dem Essen oder so. Da ham' sich meine Eltern irgendwie hingelegt. Und ich erinner mich halt dran, dass mein Bruder und ich das dann nachgespielt ham' und auch immer so reingesprochen ham'. 'Kumpel hol mich hier raus' und keine Ahnung. Also irgendwie dieser blöde Spruch. Also ich hab' das jetzt schon ganz lang nicht mehr geguckt. Auch bestimmt 15 Jahre nimmer. Aber ich konnte das Intro, ich wusste nochmal, also ich hätt jetzt nit sofort alles nachsagen können. Aber ich wusste genau wann was kommt. Und mein Bruder hatte irgendwie dieses ferngesteuerte Auto davon. Also mich hat das total beeinflusst irgendwie. Also ich hab' das total gerne geguckt" (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 66).

²¹⁴ Original quotation: "Aber mit Knight Rider verbind ich ja so KINDheit. Und dann ham' wir uns immer die Zuckerdose noch geholt und dann noch Zucker ge.. und Nutella mit dem Löffel und so. Also meine Eltern. Also das war dann so eher nachmittags so zwei Stunden in denen wir so alleine war'n" (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 87).

²¹⁵ Original quotation: "Also wenn ich jetzt mal ganz persönlich werden darf. Also bei Knight Rider bin ich teilweise, vermiss ich diese ehm, also meine Eltern sind mittlerweile geschieden, mein Bruder wohnt weit weg und es sind ganz viele Sachen passiert in den letzten fünfundzwanzig zwanzig Jahren. Und ich verbinde damit irgendwie so was ganz Persönliches. So ne wirkliche Nostalgie" (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 31; 32).

negative aspects, (2) the ‘lapse’, be it the divorce of the parents or the brother who moved far away, and, (3) the “postlapsarian world”, which lacks all the harmony described above.

DFG25-35 is well aware of the personal “retrospective classification” and that it is this high valorisation of the series’ original context, which gives *Knight Rider* the importance it has for her.

*DFG25-35: Well you cannot really consider that by today's standards. [...] For me it has a high value, so to speak. But if I saw it for the first time today [it would not have] such a high value (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 219 [o.t.]).*²¹⁶

This however does not mean that the nostalgia in which the memory flows into also has something of this reflexivity. The nostalgic childhood memory conforms rather to what Davis (1979, p. 18) describes as “simple nostalgia”, namely the “largely unexamined belief that things were better [...] then than now”.

Not every interviewee undertakes such an extensive review however, the memory pattern (*Nostalgic*) *childhood memories* occurs also throughout the contributions of other interviewees in the age group 25-35, both in Germany and in Spain. Also in other cases it leads into nostalgia. Above all the group of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards relate positive childhood memories to the series. Already in the commentaries during the reception, RMS25-35 notes: “I think that it is the memory of when we were children” (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 9 [o.t.])²¹⁷. Other participants agree. VMS25-35: “Yes, it is the memory of childhood” (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 10 [o.t.])²¹⁸, AFS25-35: “*La infancia*” [childhood] (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 11 [o.t.]).

Only the 25-35-year-old JMS25-35 recalls here concrete aspects of the circumstances of reception and the situation where and with whom he watched the series (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 14; 262). In other cases, memories are broader. The participants relate the summer months to the series. Accordingly, the childhood memories that relate to the format are wide. The participants

²¹⁶ Original quotation: “*Also man kann das gar nit mit heutigen Maßstäben so richtig messen. [...] Für mich hat das halt ‘n hohen Wert sozusagen. Aber wenn ich ‘s jetzt heute zum ersten Mal sehen würde keinen so ‘n großen Wert*” (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 219).

²¹⁷ Original quotation: “*Yo creo que es el recuerdo de cuando éramos niños*” (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 9).

²¹⁸ Original quotation: “*Sí, es el recuerdo de niño*” (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 10).

remember summer visits to grandfather's pool, childhood games, and stays in the countryside. In most of the cases, the childhood memory fades into a nostalgic narration that contrasts the better 'then' against the worse 'now'.

*AFS25-35: Three months of vacation, no worries, in the village, with the cousins, without worrying about absolutely nothing. To laugh, to play (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 210 [o.t.]).*²¹⁹

*VMS25-35: To be ten years old is priceless (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 227-228 [o.t.]).*²²⁰

The childhood is remembered as a time-span of harmony without "worries". Not surprisingly, when asked if the examples they saw have something to do with nostalgia, the interviewees explicitly refer to *Knight Rider*:

VMS25-35: Yes. Surely El coche fantástico.

AFS25-35: Yes. Yes.

JMS25-35: Nostalgia of a certain age, isn't it? [...].

RMS25-35: El coche fantástico, because I watched it when I was little [...].

AFS25-35: No, me too. El coche fantástico. Reminding of the time when you were small. [...].

CMS25-35: Yes, well, I agree with them. Above all El coche fantástico because it reminds me of my childhood. When I was little and all that... nostalgia in this sense only... [...].

*OFS25-35: El coche fantástico. Nostalgia. And [regarding] all the others nothing. There was no link to the past (GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 13 ff. [o.t.]).*²²¹

Except for VMS25-35, who refers to the *Knight Rider* music as a "mnemonic prompt" when explaining his nostalgia, these statements are also congruent with the information on the questionnaire. As in the case of the 25-35-German DFG25-35, the positive childhood memory is inevitably related to the television series. It is like a second temporal layer that accompanies it and that makes nostalgia possible. With reference to DFG25-35, we can also describe a transnationally shared nostalgia here. Apart from that,

²¹⁹Original quotation: "Tres meses de vacaciones, sin preocupaciones, en el pueblo, con los primos... sin tener que preocuparte absolutamente de nada. De reír, de jugar..." (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 210).

²²⁰Original quotation: "Pero tener diez años tío, eso no tiene precio" (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 227-228).

²²¹Original quotation: VMS25-35: "Sí. El coche fantástico seguro". AFS25-35: "Sí. Sí". JMS25-35: "Nostalgia de una edad, no?" [...]. RMS25-35: "El coche fantástico, porque cuando yo lo veía era pequeño y...[...]. AFS25-35: "No, yo igual eh? El coche fantástico. De recordarte la época de cuándo eras pequeño. [...]. CMS25-35: "Sí, bueno, yo coincidí con ellos. Más que nada el coche fantástico porque me recuerda a mi infancia. Cuando yo eraa pequeño y demás.(...)nostalgia en ese sentido sólo. [...]. OFS25-35: "El coche fantástico. Nostalgia y las demás. Nada. No han conectado con los tiempos pasados" (GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 13 ff.).

the nostalgia is widely shared among the participants of the Spanish group where “we” references relate more obvious to the age group. Among the 25-35-year-old Germans, the “we” rather oscillates between family, friends, and the group.

Similar to the case of DFG25-35, these nostalgias also take the form of what was described as “simple” by Davis (1979). Only JMS25-35 adopts a more reflexive stance. In the end-discussion of the focus group he states:

JMS25-35: [...] [T]he older you get the better becomes the memory (GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 124 [o.t.]).²²²

Also in earlier moments of the discussion he was the one who more obviously reflected the simple juxtaposition of the better past against the worse present.

JMS25-35: Everything has good and bad sides because now you can drink wine and then you couldn't. [...] Neither is it very dramatic as we are today (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 221-222, 224 [o.t.]).²²³

The participant's appraisal may be subsumed under what has been called “second order” or “reflexive nostalgia” by Davis (1979). Later, the interviewee even goes so far as to name the danger of nostalgic romanticising.

JMS25-35: [...] what may happen is that it could fool our opinion, if we don't filter it as we do it now (GS25-35_Rerun_KnightRider_Spanien, 445 [o.t.]).²²⁴

His considerations take the form of Davis' (1979) “third order” or “interpreted nostalgia”, a kind of nostalgia that “renders problematic the very reaction itself” (Davis, 1979, p. 24). Among the interviewees JMS25-35 was the only one who had seen the rerun on the morning of the discussion. At least it could be speculated that the positive childhood memory, which has been built on the top of the memory of the series, has already been accompanied by a second plane that refers to the more recent reception situation. In contrast to the memories of the other group members, here a “memory anchor” was set at a point of time, which is different from the time of the first broadcast, closer to the present and not convenient as an object of nostalgia.

²²² Original quotation: “*Y cuantos más años tengas la recordarás mejor*” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 124).

²²³ Original quotation: “*Todo tiene sus malos y buenos momentos, porque ahora puedes beber vino y entonces nó [...] [T]ampoco es tan dramático estar como estamos ahora*” (JMS25-35GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 221-222, 224).

²²⁴ Original quotation: “*[...] que puede dañar, (puede engañar a) nuestra opinión, sino laaa, sino la matizamos como ahora*” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_KnightRider_Spanien, 445).

In other cases, nostalgia on the layer of the artefact as a whole can be excluded, even though positive childhood memories may be observed. Indeed, EMG25-35 and FFG25-35 from the German group of the 25-35-year-olds also relate *Knight Rider* to their childhood.

*EMG25-35: It actually just comes to my mind that I was a kid and loved to play and liked watching television. When I was allowed to watch it. I do not have other associations (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31 [o.t.]).*²²⁵

FMG25-35: Well, I've got lots of memories as well. I know exactly how I was sitting there with my brother and watching it. [...] (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 114 [o.t.]).²²⁶

Both later state that they felt nostalgia in the course of the reception. However, in both cases it is rather the positive emotion related to single aspects of the series than the series as a whole, respectively a here evoked context memory that is given most relevance and that becomes the object of the longing. It will be commented in a following section.

(Nostalgic) adulthood memories

Also in the age group of the 55-65-year-olds, contextual memories were related to *Knight Rider*. However, since the first-run fell in different life spans of the interviewees, the memories are distinctly coloured. Similarities to the previously explained childhood nostalgia could only be found in the case of MFS55-65. Apart from the fact that the participant classifies *Knight Rider* positively, she recalls a time of personal freedom with the series.

*MFS55-65: I used to watch it, I didn't have children, I was single and I liked watching Knight Rider. Knight Rider was a trendsetter (GS55-65_Rerun Rider_Spanien Knight, 60; 62 [o.t.]).*²²⁷

Later the participant is more explicit.

²²⁵ Original quotation: "Fällt mir eigentlich nur ein, dass ich ein Kind war und gerne gespielt hab und gern Fernseh geguckt habe. Wenn ich das gucken durfte. Andere Assoziationen kommen da irgendwie nicht" (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31).

²²⁶ Original quotation: "Also ich hab' auch ganz viele Erinnerungen da. Also ich weiß ganz genau wie ich mit meinem Bruder da saß und das angeguckt habe. [...]" (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 114).

²²⁷ Original quotation: "Lo veía. No tenía familia, no tenía hijos, era soltera y me gustaba el Coche Fantástico. Rompía moldes el Coche Fantástico" (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 60; 62).

*MFS55-65: ... then, when I was single, when I didn't have problems, it was a very different time than today. These things are very (...) how these times were (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 90 [o.t.]).*²²⁸

In a nostalgic argument, MFS55-65 contrasts the 'prelapsarian' world, her life as a single woman, and a time-span she remembers as free from problems, against the 'postlapsarian' today. Her statement has a clear stance of 'irretrievability' and correlates to what Davis (1979) describes as "simple" nostalgia. In contrast to the 25-35-year-olds where *Knight Rider* and the here attached childhood memories exist independent of the socio-political context of the 1980s in general, she refers explicitly to "aquella época" [these times]. Here, it can only be speculated that it is the atmosphere of departure that still surrounded the late years of transition in Spain, which is meant here and that plays a certain role in the longing. The implicit nostalgia that appears during the focus group is however, not explicitly manifested by the participant, neither during the discussion, nor on the questionnaire. On the latter, MFS55-65 indeed describes the experience of nostalgia, but refers to *Mad Men*, which was shown at a later point in the group discussion. Compared to the first one, the latter experience is obviously given a higher relevance.

In general, the participant's "retrospective classification" clearly differs from that of others from the same age group. Rather dominant among the 55-65-year-olds is a memory pattern that relates *Knight Rider* to viewing experiences in the family circle. A total of four interviewees in the age group of the 55-65-year-olds, mainly mothers than fathers, recall *Knight Rider* in the context of a common reception with their children.

*PCFS55-65: The memory was when I watched it with my children. We said I don't know what I don't know when. But now you see it and you say: Oh my God! What did we watch! (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 50 [o.t.]).*²²⁹

*BFG55-65: Somehow I must have seen Knight Rider with our older son. And I think I watched in order to see what he watches. I always found it a little bit silly. I was also not so interested in it (GS55-65_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 31-37 [o.t.]).*²³⁰

²²⁸ Original quotation: "... en la que estaba soltera, en la que no tenía problemas, era una fase muy diferente a la de ahora. Esto son cosas muy (... de decir) como estaba aquella época" (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 90).

²²⁹ Original quotation: "La memoria era cuando la veía con mis hijos decíamos no sé que no sé cuando. Pero ahora lo ves y dices: ¡Madre mía! ¡Que veíamos!" (PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 50).

²³⁰ Original quotation: "Knight Rider, das muss ich irgendwie mit unserem älteren Sohn gesehen haben. Und da hab ich glaub ich eher geguckt, um zu gucken, was der sich da ansieht. ... Ich fand das damals

*HFG55-65: Knight Rider and all that nonsense, any series that existed was watched, almost every night, for hours. And of course there are always such communication interfaces, where one watches something like that, where one watches with the child as a parent (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 165 [o.t.]).*²³¹

*IMD55-65: I always only have my rules in mind. Since I always said “only one thing per day”, and then the quarrels happened (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 221 [o.t.]).*²³²

In all cases neither a manifest, outspoken nostalgia nor an implicit, nostalgic rhetoric can be observed. Rather the contrary is the case. If the series is not already recalled in a negative context, at least the “retrospective classification” is accordingly. This may be less obvious in the case of the 55-65-year-old PCFS55-65 who remembers a situation commenting on *Knight Rider*. However, she also gives the series a low value from today’s perspective. Later, the participant says:

*PCFS55-65: Well, I don't know. We watched it together because they [the children] had come home from school, we were there and we watched it, normal. Just like I watch a series now with my grandchildren (GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 58 [o.t.]).*²³³

Both ‘then’ and from today’s perspective, watching the series was something “normal”, something that she does not give any special relevance.

It is a similar case regarding BFG55-65. She also recalls a general irrelevance of the series and furthermore a negative past valorisation (“I always found it a little bit silly”). The memories that the 55-65-year-old HFG55-65 and the 55-65-year-old IMG55-65 relate to *Knight Rider* are almost all negative. While IMG55-65 foregrounds the memory of the fights with his daughter that resulted from his imposed TV viewing restrictions, HFG55-65 recalls that she was really upset about her daughter watching such a ‘low-quality’ television series. At another moment she says:

immer ‘n bisschen blöd. Hat mich auch nicht so interessiert” (BFD55-65, GS55-65_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 31-37).

²³¹ Original quotation: “*Knight Rider und eh allen Quatsch, jede Serie, die es überhaupt gab, die wurde geguckt. Beinahe, jeden Abend, Stunden lang. Und eh natürlich gibt’s dann immer so ‘ne Kommunikationsschnittstellen, wo man dann so was guckt mitguckt als Elternteil” (HFD55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 165).*

²³² Original quotation: “*Ich hab da immer nur mein Reglement im Kopf. Weil ich dann immer sagte, nur eine Sache am Tag gucken, und dann der Streit dann” (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 221).*

²³³ Original quotation: “*Bueno. Pues no sé. Lo veíamos juntos, porque habían salido del colegio, estábamos ahí y lo veíamos, normal. Como ahora veo una serie con mis nietas” (PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 58).*

*HFG55-65: ... What comes to my mind today is that I always thought: What shit is she watching? Why doesn't she watch Monitor [a political magazine programme] or something? (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 226 [o.t.]).*²³⁴

Above all in this last statement, HFG55-65's argument also adopts reference points to what was subsumed under the label "ideology of mass culture" by Ang (1985, p. 94). "In this ideology some cultural forms [...] are *tout court* labelled 'bad mass culture'. 'Mass culture' is a denigrating term, which arouses definitely negative associations" (Ang, 1985, p. 94). In any case, it is the negative connotation, which lies upon the series and impedes every nostalgic stance.

No contextual memories

A decisive group among the interviewees did not relate such contextual memories to the series. On the one hand, unsurprisingly, these are the participants who have never watched *Knight Rider*. Among the 25-35-year-olds this is the CFG25-35 who neither knows the first-run nor the rerun, and a larger group, four out of nine in the German group (DFG55-65, FFG55-65, GFG55-65, and CMG55-65) and one out of seven in the Spanish group (FCF55-65) of the 55-65-year-olds. On the other hand, a decisive group of interviewees said they had watched the series but did not relate contextual memories to it. BMG25-35 explains this lack as follows.

*BMG25-35: Well. [I have] no real memories. Didn't follow that so much back then. [...] Knight Rider is not my thing (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 147; 149 [o.t.]).*²³⁵

This similarly applies to GMG25-35 and AMG25-35.

GMG25-35: Yes, actually I also don't remember much. [...] Well, I think I also watched it relatively late. I suppose in 95 or so. But then only once in a while. (.) And never really (.) [...]
*(GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 103 [o.t.]).*²³⁶

²³⁴ Original quotation: "... Was mir heute so in den Kopf kommt, dass ich immer so dachte, was guckt sie sich denn da für einen Dreck an. Warum guckt sie denn nicht irgendwie Monitor oder so was?" (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 226).

²³⁵ Original quotation: "Uh.(.) Gar keine richtigen Erinnerungen. Hab' das damals nicht so verfolgt. [...] Also Knight Rider ist auch nicht so meine Sache" (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 147; 149 [o.t.]).

²³⁶ Original quotation: "Ja ich kann mich eigentlich auch nicht an viel erinnern. Ja ich glaub, ich hab das auch relativ spät erst geguckt. Ich schätz mal so 95 oder so. Aber dann auch nur hin und wieder mal. Und nie wirklich. Ich fand's damals schon wo ich so sechzehn siebzehn war schon 'n biss(h)chen al(h)bern ((lacht))" (GMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 103).

*AMG25-35: Both then and now, this is something I've watched, and then it was over; and then I haven't thought one second about it (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 56 [o.t.]).*²³⁷

*AMG25-35: ... one was just bored and then you watched the series. And that's why I do not have strong emotions (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 83 [o.t.]).*²³⁸

AMG25-35 refers even explicitly to the lack of 'strong' emotions in the context of the series. Also ZFS25-35 from the Spanish group who earlier said they did not remember anything in the context of *Knight Rider* (see ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 253-254) highlights the irrelevance that the series had for her.

*ZFS25-35: For me Knight Rider was a series that well ... was at lunchtime and it was what you watched because it was on television, but it wasn't anything that you couldn't miss. That's true in my case (GS25-35_Rerun_KnightRider_Spanien, 306 [o.t.]).*²³⁹

She also says that her childhood was not a time she declares as worth longing for.

*ZFS25-35: Childhood was hard for me. Isn't it? In contrast I remember school as if it was a ... lost paradise? (GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 106 [o.t.]).*²⁴⁰

In other cases, the series seems to have left too few impressions that its context could be remembered from a present position. For example the case of PMS55-65. He emphasises:

*PMS55-65: I have tried to remember a chapter. I didn't remember it. I tried to put myself into the situation when I used to watch it because I remember the topic of the chapter and I tried to put myself into that moment. Now, in whatever context I watched it, well, nothing (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 93 [o.t.]).*²⁴¹

²³⁷ Original quotation: "[D]amals, wie auch heute, ist das für mich was, was ich angeguckt hab, und dann war 's vorbei, und dann hab' ich nicht mehr eine Sekunde daran gedacht" (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 56).

²³⁸ Original quotation: "... man [hat] da halt grad Langeweile gehabt und deswegen hat man dann halt die Serie geschaut. Und deswegen hab' ich keine starken Emotionen da" (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 83).

²³⁹ Original quotation: "Para mí el coche fantástico era una serie que eso... que estaba al medio día y que era la que veías porque era la que estaba, pero tampoco era algo que no te podías perder. La verdad. En mi caso" (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_KnightRider_Spanien, 306).

²⁴⁰ Original quotation: "La infancia Aa, más dura para mí ¿no? Y en cambio luego recuerdo la Escuela como si fuese aquello... El paraíso perdido noo?" (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 106).

²⁴¹ Original quotation: "He intentado recordar un capítulo. [...] Yo no lo recordaba. Yo intentaba ponerme en la situación de cuando lo veía porque recuerdo el tema de este capítulo y he intentado ponerme en aquel momento. [...] Ahora en que contexto lo veía, pues, tampoco" (PMS55-65, GS55-65-240)

Reviewing these responses, also in comparison to the previously described cases where the sense of longing emerges, we may highlight that nostalgia on the layer of the artefact as a whole is excluded for audiences who do not know the respective television programme. Furthermore, there is an interrelation of high relevance and context memory and high relevance and ‘own A nostalgia’.

Television ‘then’ and ‘now’

Apart from memories that refer to the lifeworld of the participants, *Knight Rider* as an artefact is embedded in the context of other specific television series or memories of television ‘then’ and ‘now’ in general. In both cases a clear gap between the two age-groups can be observed, however with few territorial differences.

For the 25-35-year-old Spaniards *Knight Rider* is integrated in the memory along with other series such as *The A-Team*, *MacGyver* or *V*. With prompting they start a debate:

CMS25-35: Well, I don't know ...

VMS25-35: More than Knight Rider, yes. The A-Team. [...]

JMS25-35: One big competitor at the time ... surely ... er ... MacGyver. [...]

OFS25-35: And V.

AFS25-35: I liked MacGyver a lot. [...]

ZFS25-35: [...] I preferred MacGyver, for example.

(GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 276-315).²⁴²

Apart from the fact that the time-span of the first-run is here decisive, there is another noticeable point: Only VMS25-35 and ZFS25-35, the first of which dislikes single aspects of the series, as it will be commented in a later section of this analysis, and the second, who gave *Knight Rider* a general position of irrelevance, explicitly measure the series against others, which is given more importance.

This similarly applies to other group discussions. In the group of the 25-35-year-old Germans, DFG25-35 (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 84; 94) remembers *Knight Rider* spontaneously together with other 1980s programmes such as *Li-La-Launebär* (RTLplus et al., 1988-1994) or likewise *Das A-Team* (Das Erste, 1987). Both series are not evaluated as better or more relevant by the interviewee, who had

65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 93).

²⁴²Original quotation: CMS25-35: “Buena, no lo sé”. VMS25-35: “Más que el coche fantástico sí. El Equipo A. [...]”. JMS25-35: “UNA gran competencia en la época... seguramente...eh.. MacGyver. [...]”. OFS25-35: “Y V”. AFS25-35: “MacGyver gustaba mucho. [...]”. ZFS25-35: “Pero MacGyver me gustaba más, por ejemploOO” (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 276-315).

given *Knight Rider* an important role in her childhood. BMG25-35 instead contrasts *Knight Rider* against Bud Spencer films.

*BMG25-35: [Regarding Bud Spencer] I have much more vivid memories. Erm. All these films. They impressed me more (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 348 [o.t.]).*²⁴³

Also the 55-65-year-old FMS55-65 from the Spanish group says:

*FMS55-65: The A-Team was more fun. The A-Team was very funny. This one wasn't funny. I didn't like it so much. The car that speaks (GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 75 [o.t.]).*²⁴⁴

Here the latter two interviewees did not feel nostalgia in the broad context of *Knight Rider* as an artefact. Accordingly, they name other artefacts, which they give more relevance to, and we can assume, which are established as alternative potential nostalgia triggers. In general, an attempt to arrange the media memories in a kind of hierarchy was observed. Only those series, which could be given a high value or, as Kompare (2009) says, which underwent a positive “retrospective classification” from the side of the audiences, may work as nostalgia triggers at least on the layer of the artefact as a whole. The pattern does not appear among other 55-65-year-olds. Obviously, these interviewees see the series less integrated in a programme context and slot. The only interviewee among the 55-65-year-olds who remembered the programme context is the 55-65-year-old CPFS55-65, who had seen the series together with her children.

It is a different case regarding broader memories, which contrast past and present television. However, here a gap between the age groups can also be observed. While among the 25-35-year-olds statements on television ‘then’ and ‘now’ rather support the positive valorisation of the past that already had been made in the context of (*nostalgic childhood memories*), in the group of the 55-65-year-olds an entirely non-nostalgic standpoint can be observed.

Among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards, the interviewees came to discuss the few television channels in the 1980s (“... *no había otra cosa, claro*” [there was no other thing, sure] (OFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 365 [o.t.]), or the low amount of seasons a television series once had (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight

²⁴³ Original quotation: “[*Ich hab' bei Bud Spencer*] viel lebhaftere Erinnerungen. Ehm. Die ganzen Filme. Die ham' mich schon mehr beeindruckt” (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 348).

²⁴⁴ Original quotation: “*El Equipo A era más divertido. El Equipo A era una serie muy divertida. Esta no era divertida. No me gustaba tanto. El coche que habla*” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 75).

Rider_Spanien, 360-361). Also, the general “bad” quality of a television that is remembered as being black-and-white²⁴⁵ is part of the discussion.

AFS25-35: Of course, it was a bad TV and it was black and white and that and yes I was there remembering when That it was summer and yes, it's true, it's true... (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 206 [o.t.]).²⁴⁶

However, even with reference to implicit criteria of quality this comparison could result in a negative evaluation of past television, together with an invariably positive undertone, it is part a general fascination and flows into the narration of the better childhood.

It is a similar case among the 25-35-year-old Germans. It has been mentioned previously that in the case of DFG25-35, parental television restriction holds its part in the high valorisation of *Knight Rider*. As further support for the special status of the series she says that the family, as she states, “had only four or five channels or so. In general, there were fewer channels. And then in any case something has another value” (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 219 [o.t.]).²⁴⁷ Also EMG25-35 elevates the series to a scarce commodity (“When I was allowed to watch it” (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31 [o.t.])²⁴⁸ and in doing this, underpins its particular status.²⁴⁹

A different argument can be observed among the 55-65-year-olds. They also compare between past and present television in the context of *Knight Rider*, however with different outcomes.

PCFS55-65: Well, [the series] are much better made. Yes, usually yes.

FMS55-65: There are more media.

PMS55-65: There are more media. Better.

FMS55-65: Superior technical means ...

FCFS55-65: The instruments are more sensitive, more perfect.

²⁴⁵ Bear in mind, that colour transmission in Spain was already introduced in 1969 (Deacon, 1999, p. 312). However, as Palacio (2012, p. 9) indicates, still in 1977, among the television sets owned by the Spaniards, only 10 out of 100 were colour television sets.

²⁴⁶ Original quotation: “Claro, era una tele mala y era en blanco y negro. Y eso y sí. Que estaba ahí recordando cuando... que era en Verano y sí, es cierto, es cierto...” (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 206).

²⁴⁷ Original quotation: “wir [die Familie] hatten da irgendwie nur vier oder fünf Sender oder so. Also generell gab's ja viel weniger Programme. (---) Und dann hatte das ja eh schon so 'n andern Wert” (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 219).

²⁴⁸ Original quotation: “Wenn ich das gucken durfte” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31).

²⁴⁹ Already this elaboration can be assumed to be a ‘romantisation’ of the past. According to information he gave on the questionnaire, with an intermediate television-consumption around three to four hours in his youth, Stefan clearly belonged to the frequent viewers.

MFS55-65: Movies have advanced, [also] the series and everything.
PCFS55-65: And furthermore there are good directors who make the series.
AMS55-65: Martin Scorsese.
PMS55-65: In Numb3rs, you can like it or not, but they are very well done.
Or for example the other one... the one by Ridley Scott
(GS55-65_Rerun KnightRider_Spanien, 152-161 [o.t.]).²⁵⁰

Regardless of whether the quantity of existing media, the technical possibilities, or the quality of television series is concerned, the present clearly compares favourably with the past. Also with respect to the quantity of the programme offer, the interviewees are far away from a positive valorisation of the past.

PCFS55-65: Excuse me, another thing is, as Albert says, we had two channels. Then we had two channels and now there are ...
AMS55-65: The offer was very limited. [...]
FCFS55-65: It was either that or nothing (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 65-71 [o.t.]).²⁵¹

Less pronounced is the pattern among the 55-65-year-old German group. However, the reduced past programme offer is also discussed here.

GFG55-65: And very early when we started to watch television.
DMG55-65: [(yes there was only)]
FFG55-65: Yes, there was only ARD (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 137-140 [o.t.]).²⁵²

It flows into a reflection about the introduction of private television at the time of *Knight Rider*²⁵³ whose implicit negative valorisation serves the necessary explanation for those among the interviewees who never saw the series (see GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 133).

²⁵⁰ Original quotation: PCFS55-65: “*Es que [las series] están mucho mejor hechas. Si normalmente sí*”. FMS55-65: “*Hay más medios*”. PMS55-65: “*Hay más medios. Mejor*”. FMS55-65: “*Medios técnicos muy superiores*”. FCFS55-65: “*Las máquinas son más sensibles, más perfectas*”. MFS55-65: “*Ha evolucionado el cine, las series y todo*”. PCFS55-65: “*No además hay directores buenos, que hacen series*”. AMS55-65: “*Martin Scorsese*”. PMS55-65: “*En numb3rs te puede gustar o no, pero está super trabajada. O por ejemplo aquellos ... la de Ridley Scott*” (GS55-65_Rerun KnightRider_Spanien, 152-161).

²⁵¹ Original quotation: PCFS55-65: “*Perdon, otra cosa es también, como dice AMS55-65, que teníamos dos canales. En aquellos tiempos teníamos dos canales, y ahora hay..*”. AMS55-65: “*La oferta era muy limitada. [...]*”. FCFS55-65: “*Era o esto o nada*” (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 65-71).

²⁵² Original quotation: GFG55-65: “*Und ganz früher als wir anfangen zu fernsehn ..*”. DMG55-65: “*[(ja da gab's ja nur)]..*”. FFG55-65: “*Ja, da gab's ja nur ARD*” (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 137-140).

²⁵³ GMG55-65: “*Yes, well in the 80s private television started*” (GMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 140 [o.t.]). Original quotation: “*Jaja also in den 80ern ging's los, was privates Fernseh anging*” (GMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 140).

8.1.1.2. Reception of nostalgia on the single layers of the text

Against the background of the theoretical part and in the course of the television analysis, it has been assumed that nostalgia may be provoked on every single layer of the text. This was confirmed in the course of the group discussions. With regard to the single layers of the text, different patterns of reception may be explained, some of which contain concrete examples of nostalgia.

In a first step, however, the single layers have to call the attention of the audiences. It has been proposed that the dislocation of a first-run into a new context as rerun may create frictions that generate attention on single artefacts of the series. As shown in the analytical part, from narration to camera, montage, lighting and props through to the characters, this is also the case regarding *Knight Rider*.

The reception study confirms this hypothesis. First and foremost, all of these layers call the attention of the interviewees, independent of age group, gender, or country. Participants refer to the simple good-bad dichotomies the series exposes, or highlight the “*plumpe Handlung*” [crude storyline]. Also the formal layer is subject of the discussion. “*Allein schon die Schrift!*” [Just the font!] emphasises AMG25-35. As CPFS55-65 he also refers to the 1980s’ colour range.

*AMG25-35: That’s such a colour scheme, probably also due to the film material from back then. One sees immediately that this is one of those series of the past (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 75 [o.t.]).*²⁵⁴

Later fashion, props and style are an issue.

AMG25-35: [When I saw this now, [I thought] about the fashion] Yes, about the fashion. About these pants, the tight tank-tops under there, about the shirts with the collar, well this retro fashion. Otherwise, I was not interested. The hairstyle ... (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 182 [o.t.]).

*FCFS55-65: You see it in the hairstyle, the fashion and in that you already see. That it is from this era (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 108 [o.t.]).*²⁵⁵

Also camera and sound attract the attention of the interviewees.

²⁵⁴ Original quotation: “*Das ist ja so ‘ne Art von Farbgebung wahrscheinlich auch durch das Filmmaterial von damals. Man sieht sofort, dass das von einer dieser Serien von früher ist*” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 75).

²⁵⁵ Original quotation: “*Se ve, se ve por los peinados, por la moda y por eso ya lo ves. Que es de aquella época*” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 108).

AMS55-65: *Static camera [...] (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 32 [o.t.]).*²⁵⁶

DMG55-65: *Normal camera position. Just as every series was back then (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 111 [o.t.]).*²⁵⁷

DMG55-65: *Also regarding the sounds. That's all the same. Is just a little bit different. Basically series were handled like that back then (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 65 [o.t.]).*²⁵⁸

Whether, as it was assumed in the theoretical part, the past is later shown as worth longing for or not depends upon the text itself but also upon factors of context and reception, as it will be shown in the following section. Already in the here quoted statements it becomes evident that the objects of attention are mostly already integrated in a context of references and that they are the subjects of different valorisations.

8.1.1.2.1. (Intertextual) references – roundabout (nostalgic) memories

As assumed in the television analysis, the rerun has the ‘connotation of pastness’, also for those audiences who do not know the first-run. In the group discussions it is shown that *Knight Rider*, on the one hand, stands for the 1980s – be it regarding the props or regarding the aesthetic it exposes – on the other hand, it refers to other, mainly 1980s cultural products.

Independent of whether the interviewees knew the first-run or not, each layer leads to respective associations. In parts, this has already been shown in the pattern *The new differential quality of the rerun*. Here, the ‘don’t know’ FCFS55-65 highlights for example that hairstyles and fashion refer to the 1980s (see FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 108). The ‘don’t know’ EFG55-65 from the 55-65-year-old Germans starts thinking about how her own hairstyle might have looked in the 1980s (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 143), again others focus on the typical 1980s’ clothes (see e.g. PCFS55-65: “*Hombre, los (abrigos) que lleva ves que son de (-) hace años*” [Well, the coats he wears, you directly see that they are from years ago] (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 107 [o.t.])).

²⁵⁶ Original quotation: “*Cámara fija [...]*” (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 32).

²⁵⁷ Original quotation: “*Ganz normale Kamerahaltung. Wie eben auch alle Serie damals waren*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 111).

²⁵⁸ Original quotation: “*Auch von den Geräuschen her. Das ist ja alles dasselbe. Is nur ‘n bisschen anders. Im Grunde wurden Serien damals so gehandhabt*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 65).

In the television analysis of *Knight Rider* it was assumed that the new gained referential character to its temporal background makes the rerun a potential trigger of ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’, always in case that the “retrospective classification” is accordingly. This is also supported by the group discussion. At least in one case these associations lead to nostalgia from the side of the viewers – a kind of ‘roundabout’ nostalgia, as it shall be called. The respective participant, the 25-35-year-old CFG25-35, never saw *Knight Rider*, however, she says:

... one is also somehow transported back into the time in which one had a similar hairstyle. Wore similar clothes. A time, in which all these things were up to date, in which one saw it. If you look back then, you are almost a little bit nostalgic ... just regarding the '80s, what ugly clothes you wore. But otherwise ... I relate nothing more to the series. Because I haven't seen it.

M: But why nostalgic when they [the clothes] were so ugly?

CFG25-35: Well, because you were still a child. You were still innocent back then and did not have to work yet (GD25-35_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 252 - 254 [o.t.]).²⁵⁹

CFG25-35 starts thinking about the 1980s and makes a “referential framing”²⁶⁰ that sets the props of the series in relation to her own lifeworld. Despite the lack of memories related to *Knight Rider*, the hairstyle and clothes the series shows became representatives for an era. The narration of CFG25-35 takes here the form of nostalgia. For the participant the objects are related to a time of childhood harmony that she retrospectively classifies as positive and that she declares as irretrievable from today’s perspective. The rhetoric of nostalgia is not concentrated on the artefact as such, that it could be categorised as ‘artefact nostalgia’, but on the (personal) context the artefact refers to. As a result, we may talk of ‘own artefact nostalgia’. A reflexive stance cannot be observed.

²⁵⁹ Original quotation: CFG25-35: “... *Man ist natürlich auch irgendwie zurückversetzt in die Zeit, in der man auch 'ne ähnliche Frisur hatte, ähnliche Klamotten anhatte. Und in der das dann damals auch alles zeitgemäß war, in der man das gesehen hat. Wenn man da jetzt zurück blickt dann ist man ja fast so 'n bisschen nostalgisch eben so für die 80er, was man da für hässliche Klamotten anhatte. Aber ich verbinde eben sonst mit der Serie nichts. Weil ich die ja nicht geguckt habe.*” M: “*Aber wieso denn nostalgisch, wenn die so hässlich waren?*” C: “*Najaaa. Weil man da halt noch 'n Kind war. Da war man noch unschuldig und musste noch nicht arbeiten*” (GD25-35_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 252-254).

²⁶⁰ The term goes back to Liebes und Katz (1990). “These authors distinguish referential from critical framing. If an audience member uses a referential framing in talking about *Dallas*, it means that she relates the events of the programme to her own life. Critical framings, on the other hand, are used when audiences comment on the acting, sets and locations, narrative structures or themes of the programme” (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007, p. 142).

On the questionnaire, however, this nostalgia is not confirmed. The participant indeed refers here to nostalgia, but talks about “*Kindheit*” [childhood] and the “*Rahmen, in dem Fernsehen konsumiert wurde*” [the frame in which television was consumed back then] (CMG25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 19 [o.t.]). The reason for this change of mind can be found in the further course of the discussion. In the end-phase of the focus group, the participant narrates extensively about the special status early television consumption had in her childhood.²⁶¹ As in in the context of previously mentioned childhood memories, early television consumption is here described as a scarce commodity with high importance. Retrospectively, this context memory is given more relevance. The earlier description, also explicitly categorised as making her only a “little bit nostalgic”, is obviously rivalled by the later prompted memories that became the object of the manifested nostalgia.

Similar observations can be made in the case of CMG55-65. His ‘stream of consciousness’ is however inspired by the reference of *Knight Rider* to other film and television programmes. The participant’s memory is jogged by an intertextual film reference on the layer of the intro:

CMG55-65: Well, during the opening credits I immediately had memories of Easy Rider. A modern version. This ride through the desert. It came to my mind. And I found it quite pleasant for a moment, because I found that the Easy Rider time was a good time. That was not so much this scene. [...] Well, it was '68, I think. Yes, I was sixteen then. [...] Long ago and it was just great, to sit in the movies, yes. Steppenwolf, Born to be Wild, etc. [...] Yes, I grew up in cramped conditions. And probably found that great back then. The vastness of the landscape, and then, on the motorbike, which I did not have, and then, yeah to be able to drive under a wide sky (GD55-65_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 31-55 [o.t.]).²⁶²

²⁶¹ CMG25-35 states here: “But I was actually allowed to watch only a little television and due to that I found that always great. I remember that I always looked on the clock and I knew, when the watch hand is there, it begins. And then I can watch it. For this reason it was always a highlight. And I actually did not watch series or films out of boredom, but it was always planned, already days before” (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 95). Original quotation: “*Aber ich durfte auch damals wenig Fernseh gucken und fand das dann immer ganz toll. Ich weiß noch, dass ich dann auf die Uhr geguckt hab und wusste, wenn der große Zeiger da ist, dann fängt das jetzt an. Und dann kann ich das jetzt gucken. Also so war das immer ‘n Highlight. Und ich hab’ auch eigentlich nich aus Langeweile Serien oder Filme geguckt, sondern das war immer geplant, dann eh, schon Tage vorher*” (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 95).

²⁶² Original quotation: “*Also bei diesem Vorspann hatte ich eh sofort die Erinnerung Easy Rider. Moderne Auffrischung. Diese Fahrt durch die Wüste. Das fiel mir ein dabei. Und das fand ich ‘n Moment lang ganz angenehm, weil ich halt diese Easy Rider Zeit gut fand. Das war gar nicht so sehr diese Szene. [...] So sixty eight war das so. Glaub ich. JA, da war ich sechzehn, damals. [...] Lange her halt und es*

More concretely, it is an intertextual reference to the mise-en-scène of the 1960s film *Easy Rider* (Hopper, 1969) that works as ‘mnemonic prompt’ for the 1960s film reception and its circumstances. This is very similar to what DFG25-35 had described. It is the positive appraisal of the “*Easy Rider*-time” but also memories of positive emotions in the context of the reception of the film that lead to a positive valorisation of the past experience, and which makes this part of the past a potential object of nostalgia.

Further statements of the interviewee suggest an interpretation as nostalgia. The interviewee underlines here: “[T]he stuff from the ’60s totally touched me. When I was a teenager” (GD55-65_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 233 [o.t.])²⁶³. Later he says that “We are confronted with ourselves” (GD55-65_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 233 [o.t.])²⁶⁴. It is these two points, the memory of the 1960s time-span and the self-confrontation, which make CMG55-65 describe *The Avengers* as an object of nostalgia on the questionnaire. We can only assume that the interviewee also feels nostalgia in the context of *Knight Rider*. However, in this specific example neither a nostalgic rhetoric that explicitly opposes the positively remembered past and the worse present, nor an explicit classification of the experience under the label of nostalgia from the side of the interviewee may be observed. Obviously, also CMG55-65 gives another nostalgic experience more relevance, which shall become manifest in his statement on the questionnaire.

In general and apart from this case, it can be stated that the series’ single layers are also integrated in a net of references by the interviewees. Not only, but mainly 1980s television series are named. Again, a generational gap can be observed where the original target of the respective series plays a major role. Thus, among the 25-35-year old again *The A-Team* is of relevance.

*RMS25-35: These are the same producers as The A-Team, it’s the same, man. The type of ... it could easily be A-Team! (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 51 [o.t.]).*²⁶⁵

war klasse, da im Kino zu sitzen, ja. Steppenwolf, Born to be Wild, et cetera. [...] Ja, ich bin in beengten Verhältnissen aufgewachsen. Und fand das wahrscheinlich toll damals. Diese Weite der Landschaft und dann halt auf ’m Motorrad, was ich nicht hatte, und dann halt, jaaa so irgendwie unter einem weiten Himmel entlangfahren zu können” (CMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 31-55).

²⁶³ Original quotation: “[D]ie Sachen aus den 60s, also da fühl ich mich total berührt. Als ich jugendlich war” (CMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 233).

²⁶⁴ Original quotation: “Wir werden mit uns selbst konfrontiert” (CMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_KnightRider_Deutschland, 233).

²⁶⁵ Original quotation: “Son los mismos productores que el Equipo A, porque es idéntico tío. El tipo de... Podría ser el Equipo A tranquilamente!” (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 51).

AMG25-35: Also A-Team or something like that. They also run to some place with a gun do something and go again. Here it is the same. He drives to some place with his car. Does something and goes away again (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 64 [o.t.]).²⁶⁶

It is aesthetic and narration that remind the 25-35-year-old interviewees of the series. Among both the 55-65-year-old Germans and Spaniards, the single layers of *Knight Rider* are rather compared to the spy series *Magnum*, which was broadcasted in both countries in the mid-1980s. Other series named are *Columbo* (ARD, 1969; TVE, 1973), or *Perry Mason* (ARD, 1959; TVE, 1960). In contrast to the group of the 25-35-year-olds these associations are not strictly about television series that were broadcasted in the programme context of *Knight Rider – Perry Mason* for example was broadcasted in Spain from the 1960s on – but rather series that seem to have prototype-character for the interviewees.

Only one series overlapping between the age groups appears, in the case of *Baywatch* (Das Erste, 1990). The series is associated with *Knight Rider*'s mise-en-scène but above all with David Hasselhoff, who was the lead actor in both series. *Baywatch* obviously managed to mediate between the memories of different age groups. In this case, it is between the memories of the female members of the German groups. Apart from that, as assumed in the analytical part, Hasselhoff is further related to the fall of the Berlin Wall. CFG25-35 states here:

CFG25-35: Especially with Knight Rider David Hasselhoff matters a lot. Then I think about Looking for Freedom and erm, there is a whole stream of things related to it. [...] Well, then I see him somehow, I don't know, dancing at the fall of the Wall, with his glittering costume and then I think of Baywatch (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 262 ff.).²⁶⁷

Nostalgia cannot be observed. In both cases the recalled series are internationally traded programmes. A difference between the territorial groups cannot be observed.

In summary, we can state that as assumed in the television analysis, the rerun gained a broad referential character, not only to 'the 1980s' but also to other 1980s cultural products, that is recognisable for both those who know and those who do not

²⁶⁶ Original quotation: "Auch A-Team oder sowas. Die laufen immer irgendwohin mit ner Knarre machen irgendwas und geh 'n wieder weg. Das ist hier auch. Der fährt mit seinem Auto irgendwohin. Macht was und fährt wieder weg" (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 64).

²⁶⁷ Original quotation: "Spezielle bei Knight Rider macht natürlich auch David Hasselhoff viel aus. Da denk ich an Looking for Freedom und eh da hängt nochmal 'n Rattenschwanz für mich jetzt dran. [...] Ja dann seh ich ihn irgendwie, weiß ich nich, beim Fall der Mauer da tanzen mit seinem Glitzerkostüm und dann denk ich auch an eh, an eh, Baywatch" (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 262 ff.).

know the first-run. In case of according positive “retrospective classification”, nostalgia is possible for both groups. Hereby the associations related to the single layers of the text gain dominance among those who did not know *Knight Rider* or who did not give it a special relevance. These interviewees, as it seems, aspire to integrate the series into a new interpretative context. In other cases, when the first-run is known, interviewees rather refer to context memories related to the first-run or, as it will be shown in the following section, to memories related to the single layers of the programme. They are of greater relevance. For example, we may refer to the case of the 25-35-year-old EMG25-35:

EMG25-35: For me these are two different things. I do have to say honestly. First Knight Rider, which I think is cool or I thought, and then Looking for Freedom and all that what came afterwards. Well that's what, what I don't want to know. What I do not want to associate with it because I somehow, well, when I imagine myself watching Knight Rider and think about I'll be Looking for Freedom [original title: I've been Looking for Freedom] playing in the background, then the whole thing is over for me (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 300 ff. [o.t.]).²⁶⁸

This quotation shall be the transition to the consideration of (the rather direct) nostalgia in the context of the single layers of the text.

8.1.1.2.2. Past and present experiences

The statement of EMG25-35 “*Knight Rider*, which I think is cool or I thought so” already hints to one decisive element in the pattern, which is the high relevance and interrelation of past and present reception experiences. The determinants of the present valorisation and finally also the explanation of whether a recipient develops nostalgia regarding a single element of the text or not, can here mainly be found in how and if the interviewees remember past experiences and in which line of argument they integrate their reflection. The following categories have here been identified: (1) *Creating the link to ‘common sense’ “retrospective classifications”*, (2) *Positive past versus present experiences*, and (3) *A lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia*.

²⁶⁸ Original quotation: “Bei mir sind ‘s zwei Dinger. Muss ich ehrlich sagen. Also einmal so Knight Rider, was ich cool finde oder fand, und dann also so Looking for Freedom und das alles was danach kam. Also das ist was, was ich gar nicht wissen will. Was ich gar nicht damit assoziieren will, weil ich irgendwie, also wenn ich mir jetzt vorstelle, ich guck jetzt Knight Rider und denke äh an I'll be Looking for Freedom [original title: I've been Looking for Freedom], was im Hintergrund läuft, dann wär für mich diese ganze Serie hinüber” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 300 ff.).

Creating the link to ‘common sense’ “retrospective classifications”

That “retrospective classifications” on the macro layer favour nostalgia is suggested by Kompare (2005, p. 139) but is probably not always the case. Already Kompare (2005, p. 139) himself makes nostalgia dependent of various factors when he states “the television nostalgia wave of the 1980s was partially a result of the establishment of the television heritage in the 1970s, and partially a pointed appeal to an ageing Baby Boomer audience”. Similarly, it can be observed in the context of the here conducted group discussions regarding the single layers of the text. Also here ‘common sense’ retrospective classifications may be highlighted, however, it seems, that they are not a sufficient condition for the development of the nostalgia.

In the first example, a clear creation of the ‘gap’ can be observed where the narration of the (bad) remake becomes part of the valorisation of the rerun. Except from the 55-65-year-old Germans, in all other groups and among both the ‘knowing’ and the ‘not knowing’ participants, comparisons between the *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) remake and the rerun are made. In any case, a negative valorisation of the remake can be observed, which becomes part of the positive valorization of the rerun. Apart from general statements such as “*Esta parece mejor*” [this one seems better] (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 7 [o.t.]), or “*Fantástico. Mucho mejor que la otra!*” [Fantastic. Much better than the other one!] (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 59 [o.t.]) as they already appear during the reception of the example, these appraisals mainly refer to the single layers of the text. According to the opinion of the participants, the *Knight Rider* rerun is of better quality than the remake. Its protagonists seem “better characterised” to them (see FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 29-31; FMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 12), dialogues are seen as better tuned:

*FFG25-35: [And you can feel the relationship between the car and KITT ((laughs)) er, between] the car and Michael. [...] And in the case of the other I didn't feel that. Because it was so ... sterile. Sterile is really the perfect word (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 181-184 [o.t.]).*²⁶⁹

Also the rerun music compares positively to the new version.

²⁶⁹ Original quotation: “[Und man spürt diese Beziehung zwischen dem Auto und KITT ((lacht)) äh, zwischen] dem Auto und Michael. [...] Ne. Und bei dem andern hab' ich das nicht gespürt. Da war das alles so ?STERil. Steril ist wirklich das perfekte Wort dazu” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 181-184).

*FCFS55-65: Yes, I liked the music more than in the introduction of the other one. Maybe it reminded me of something, or I once had the TV set switched on and they broadcast a series on which I focus (in the mind), this music is also of the era (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 133 [o.t.]).*²⁷⁰

Regarding the making, the ‘original’ one seems less exaggerated to them.

*FFG25-35: That’s what makes it so appealing. The bumpiness. And in this remake everything is so smooth. And all like ... (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 168 [o.t.]).*²⁷¹

*AMG25-35: Yes, also the opening credits. In the older version, there was no change of images. Or so. One actually only sees the car and then again the dashboard (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 169 [o.t.]).*²⁷²

*AMG25-35: This whole blinking and here something flies in and then he has another display in his car, which is cut in hologram-like and I don’t know for what (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 188 [o.t.]).*²⁷³

Similar to the “retrospective classifications” described by Kompare, in doing so, a gap between a positive ‘then’ and a negative ‘now’ is constructed. The comparison with the remake leads into a positive “retrospective classification” of the rerun, also from the side of recipients who never saw the rerun or the first-run. Nostalgia, however, cannot be observed. For the participants, who have no positive past memories related to the series, the ‘common sense’ classification is not sufficient in order to provide the basis for the nostalgic longing. Other factors are relevant, as they shall be commented in the following section.

This similarly applies to other cases, where the participants link to the valorising discourses as they were described in the analytical part on *Knight Rider*. Both the 25-35-year-old BMG25-35 and the 25-35-year-old GMG25-35 had seen the first-run but, as previously mentioned, highlighted the general irrelevance that the series had for them

²⁷⁰ Original quotation: “*Sí, me gustaba más la música (de ésta) que en la introducción de la otra. A lo mejor me han recordado algo, o alguna vez tenía la tele puesta ahí y hacían unas series en que yo me fijé (en la mente), la música aquella es de la época también*” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 133).

²⁷¹ Original quotation: “*Das macht es doch so sympathisch. Dieses Holprige. Und da bei diesem Remake ist alles so glatt und smooth. Und alles soo...*” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 168).

²⁷² Original quotation: “*Ja auch bei dem Vorspann. Bei dem Alten, da gab’s einen Bildwechsel. Oder so. Man sieht eigentlich nur das Auto und dann nochmal die Armaturen*” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 169).

²⁷³ Original quotation: “*Dieses ganze Geblinke und hier fliegt noch irgendwas rein und dann hat er in seinem Auto noch irgendwie ne Anzeige, die so Hologramm-mäßig reingezeichnet wird und weiß ich nich wofür*” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 188).

during their childhood. Also regarding the single layers of the series, they only recall dislike:

*BMG25-35: I watched it, but not really regularly. I did not find it too good. Cars and stuff did not impress me much at that time (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 153 [o.t.]).*²⁷⁴

*GMG25-35: Well, already back then when I was sixteen or seventeen I thought it was a little bit silly (laughs) (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 103 [o.t.]).*²⁷⁵

Notwithstanding, the evaluation from today's perspective takes a different tone.

*BMG25-35: Knight Rider is now also a cult series. Well, along with David Hasselhoff, who said that he has brought us the fall of the Wall and stuff (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 228 [o.t.]).*²⁷⁶

*GMG25-35: I think it's kind of stylish to watch it. The whole thing, especially the hairstyle, the clothes, and especially the foolish dialogue (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 107).*²⁷⁷

*GMG25-35: But I do not know. Since you asked, the comparison to today is difficult to make on the quality of the series. Because, well I think for example, Bud Spencer and Terrence Hill or something, that's also such a phenomenon. Actually, it is total trash. Only Bang. Bang. Bang. But nevertheless, it has become an absolute cult. [...] I believe with Knight Rider it is similar. [...] With regards to content it has never really beaten the rest. But it's kind of stylish (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 335-345 [o.t.]).*²⁷⁸

From today's perspective the series is described as "cult" and as "stylish", which when interpreted in accordance with the German lexical connotation of the term, signifies chic or modern (see Duden 2012a). On the one hand, the rerun seemingly gained a kind of

²⁷⁴ Original quotation: "Ich hab'sie geschaut, aber (.) eh (.) also (.) da nich wirklich regelmäßig. Ich fand' das nicht so gut. Also Autos und so was fand ich damals nicht so beeindruckend" (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 153).

²⁷⁵ Original quotation: "Naja. Ich fand's damals schon wo ich so sechzehn siebzehn war schon 'n bisschen albern ((lacht))" (GMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 103).

²⁷⁶ Original quotation: "Und Knight Rider ist ja jetzt auch 'ne Kult-Serie. Also alleine mit David Hasselhoff, der irgendwie selber meinte mal, dass er uns den Mauerfall gebracht hat und so" (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 228).

²⁷⁷ Original quotation: "Ich find's auch irgendwie stylisch sich das anzuschau(h)un. Das ganze vor allem die Frisur, die Klamotten, und vor allem die albernen Sprüche" (GMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 107).

²⁷⁸ Original quotation: "Aber ich weiß nicht. Weil du gefragt hattest. Der Vergleich zu heute. Ich glaube auch, dass das schwierig ist, das so an der Qualität der Serie festzumachen. Weil, also ich glaube zum Beispiel bei Bud Spencer und Terrence Hill oder so, das ist auch so 'n Phänomen. Ist eigentlich absoluter Trash. Immer nur Bang. Bang. Bang. Aber trotzdem ist es absoluter Kult geworden. [...] Ich glaub' bei Knight Rider ist das ähnlich. [...] Das ist irgendwie inhaltlich nie wirklich der Hammer gewesen. Aber das ist irgendwie (--) stylisch" (GMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 335-345).

‘campiness’ for the interviewees. While both interviewees valorised *Knight Rider* rather negatively in the past, from a present position, they “can enjoy [them], instead of be[ing] frustrated by the failure of the attempt” just as Sontag (1964) describes it in the context of camp in general. On the other hand, so it can be argued, both interviewees link to discourses of “retrospective classifications” of the rerun as cult as they were described in the context of the television analysis of the example. In this context, it is surely no coincidence that BMG25-35 refers to *Star Trek*, the example cult series (see e.g. Wilcox 2010), in his re-valorisation of the *Knight Rider* intro.²⁷⁹ Explicitly articulated nostalgia or a rhetoric that opposed past and present, can also not be observed in the course of the discussion. However, both participants acknowledge nostalgia on the questionnaire. Due to the only vague statements the object of the nostalgias can only hardly be specified.²⁸⁰ It can only be speculated that the ‘common sense’ “retrospective classification” of the rerun does not provide the object of the nostalgic longing, but, however, that it works as an indicator for a kind of socially desired nostalgia that makes the participants reflect upon the classification of their emotions once again.

Positive past experience versus present experience

Apart from the group of the Spanish 55-65-year-olds, among which also those who gave *Knight Rider* little relevance recall concrete details of the series, it is dominantly the group of the 25-35-year-olds, and here those who stated both to know and to like *Knight Rider* where the memory of action, characters, and other details is most relevant. The interviewees recall fragments and courses of action.

*EMG25-35: Yes, well as I said, twisting backwards out of the truck on a highway. Or speaking into the watch (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 29 [o.t.]).*²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Original quotation: “Also *Knight Rider* ist auch nicht so meine Sache. (.) Aber ich fand ‘s, das Intro, fand ich schon hübsch gemacht. Also auch mit der Stimme aus dem Off, das ist ja schon sehr an *Star Trek* angelehnt. Also diese (.) kurze (.) Passage (2.0) Musst ich nur grade dran denken, weil ich da was gelesen hatte über diese Entwicklung, eh, des *Star Trek* Intros” (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 149).

²⁸⁰ DMG25-35 states here to have felt nostalgia “maybe in parts during *Knight Rider* (only intro)” (DMG25-35, G25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 21 [o.t.]). Original quotation: “vielleicht teilweise bei *Knight Rider* (nur Intro)” (DMG25-35, G25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 21), while BMG25-35 leaves it at a simple “during the *Knight Rider* discussion” (BMG25-35, G25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 25 [o.t.]). Original quotation: “Bei der *Knight Rider* Diskussion” (BMG25-35, G25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 25).

²⁸¹ Original quotation: “Ja. Also wie gesagt mit dem Laster und rückwärts herausdrehn. Oder so in die Uhr reinsprechen” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 29).

*FFG25-35: I can still remember that this truck was always on a highway and he [Michael Knight] suddenly came out of nowhere and drove into it. Well, always in the end (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 120 [o.t.]).*²⁸²

They remember story lines and episodes:

*FFG25-35: It was always another job to do and always another woman, who has something with him. Or there was something, or so. [...] She is one of them [pointing at the screen]. But then again she has disappeared in the next episode. Then came another one. And I think it is always about father/daughter (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 114 ff. [o.t.]).*²⁸³

VMS25-35: There is one in which he fights against his brother.

*JMS25-35: Yes, the episode of KITT the killer (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 91, 98-99 [o.t.]).*²⁸⁴

Or they refer to single characters and technical details:

RMS25-35: But the girls kept on changing, didn't they? Every once a while. She has been changed, but without a reason.

OFS25-35: No, there are two, there were two or three.

*JMS25-35: Then there was a smaller girl with a rather childish face (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 34 ff. [o.t.]).*²⁸⁵

*DFG25-35: Well, I can still remember the woman in any case and this older man who was always as solid as a rock. And I was always glad that someone like him existed (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 101 [o.t.]).*²⁸⁶

The participants, some more, some less, appear here as 'experts' recalling their knowledge of the series. At the same time their review gives space to the memories of old fascinations and preferences. Again observable is here the comparison between past

²⁸² Original quotation: "Ich kann mich noch erinnern dass dieser Lastwagen immer auf irgend nem Highway war und er [Michael Knight] dann, wie aus dem Nichts plötzlich kam und dann da reingefahren ist. Also am Ende immer" (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 120).

²⁸³ Original quotation: "Das war jedes Mal ein anderer Auftrag und jedes Mal eine andere Frau aber auch, die mit ihm irgendwas am Start hatte. Oder da lief was, oder so. [...] Sie ist eine davon [zeigt auf den Bildschirm]. Die ist aber dann auch wieder verschwunden bei der nächsten Folge. Dann kam wieder eine. Und immer ist es auch ich glaub' auch Vater/Tochter" (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 114 ff.).

²⁸⁴ Original quotation: VMS25-35: "Hay una que se pelea contra su hermano". JMS25-35: "Sí, en el capítulo de Kitt Asesino" (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 91, 98-99).

²⁸⁵ Original quotation: RMS25-35: "Pero a las chica las iban cambiando eh? De vez en cuando. Se la cambiaban, pero sin ton ni son". OFS25-35: "No, hay dos, hubo dos o tres ahí." JMS25-35: "Luego hubo una más bajita con cara más de niña" (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 34 ff.).

²⁸⁶ Original quotation: "Also ich kann mich noch an die Frau erinnern auf jeden Fall und an diesen älteren Mann, der immer so der Fels in der Brandung war. Und ich immer froh war, dass es den irgendwie gab" (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 101).

and present experiences. Among the Spanish 25-35-year-olds, a dominant strand of argumentation shows an accordance of positive past and positive present valorisation.

RMS25-35: But it's strange because I see the car and I keep on linking to it.

AFS25-35: It's so cool.

VMS25-35: Mmm, it is still handsome (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 107 ff. [o.t.]).²⁸⁷

RMS25-35: I liked the music. It's great. The music is still great! (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 13 [o.t.]).²⁸⁸

VMS25-35: Umm... I don't know. The music. When I heard the music I said awesome! It's great (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 157-158 [o.t.]).²⁸⁹

VMS25-35: The music was brilliant. Yes, great (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 327-328 [o.t.]).²⁹⁰

CMS25-35: I saw it just as I remembered it (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 149 [o.t.]).²⁹¹

In contrast to the contextual childhood memories that contain the rhetoric of the 'gap' and led to nostalgia from the side of the interviewees, regarding the single layers of the series a similar lack that could be the basis for nostalgia towards the past emotion cannot be observed. Presumably the positive valorisation of the single layers is one factor that flows into the positive memory of the childhood.²⁹² However, nostalgia for example, towards the lost fascination with the car, can here be excluded, since the fascination obviously outlasted the years.

Nevertheless, this cannot always be observed. Thus, also in other cases the recapitulation of narrative fragments and aspects of the series is accompanied by a

²⁸⁷ Original quotation: RMS25-35: "Pero es curioso porque yo el coche lo sigo viendo y a mí me sigue molando". AFS25-35: "Es tan chulo". VMS25-35: "Mmm, es que sigue siendo guapo" (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 107 ff.).

²⁸⁸ Original quotation: "A mí me gustaba. LA MÚSICA! Es buenisima. La música sigue siendo buenisima!" (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 13).

²⁸⁹ Original quotation: "umm...No sé. La música. Cuando escuchaba la música dije Ostia! Es guay" (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 157-158).

²⁹⁰ Original quotation: "La música era genial. Sí. Buenisima" (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 327-328).

²⁹¹ Original quotation: "Lo he visto igual que lo recordaba" (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 149).

²⁹² Seemingly in the case of VMS25-35 it is the music that works as a "memory prompt". Thus on the questionnaire he describes his nostalgia in the context of the series as follows: "Solo con la música del coche fantástico. Pues me ha recordado a mi infancia, al verano, a la piscina" [Only with the music of *El coche fantástico*. Well, it reminded me of my childhood, of summer, of the pool] (Questionnaire_Nostalgie/GS25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Spaniards, 24 [o.t.]). In the discussion however, this aspect remains unclear.

recapitulation of the past emotions. Here however, a clear gap between past and present experience may be observed, which is the source of nostalgia in the context of single layers of the text. For example we can refer to two cases from the German group. Apart from the memories related to the context of the ‘original’ reception, which seem to adopt a secondary position, it is FFG25-35’s reception experience related to the romantic sub-plot of *Knight Rider* that dominates the memories of the 25-35-year-old. Besides the above quoted section where FFG25-35 recalls the recurring of romantic relationships of the main character, also in the context of later enquiries about the memories related to the series, she repeatedly comes back to this fact:

M: And what memories exactly do you have? Well, just those games you played with your brother?

FFG25-35: Yes. Yes, yes. But ((laughter)) as I said. I was eight or nine. So I was not so old. Well I know that erm that for me as a child, well it is also much about making passes between the two sexes. Because he was always the hero in the series, but also a womaniser. And I still remember that very well that this was dominantly on my mind (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 123-126).²⁹³

FFG25-35: So this has fascinated me the most. I believe my brother was rather fascinated with the cars. And then I was always fascinated with the story, if that occurs (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 134 [o.t.]).²⁹⁴

The interviewee remembers “fascination” as the basic (F) emotion she had in the context of the *Knight Rider* narration. However, in contrast to other cases as they were commented previously, the constant past perfect she uses leaves no doubt that this emotion is not felt from a present perspective. This lack obviously holds a major part in the nostalgia the interviewee later explicitly describes:

FFG25-35: I really want my children to watch these films, which I watched when I was a child. Because I (-) had so many positive emotions at that time. Or now in hindsight. Or this nostalgic feeling (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 95 [o.t.]).²⁹⁵

²⁹³ Original quotation: M: “Und was für Erinnerungen genau kommen da hervor? Also genau diese Spiele eben, die du mit deinem Bruder gemacht hast?” FFG25-35: “Ja. Jaja. Aber auch (.) ((lacht)) doch und wie gesagt. Ich war da acht oder neun. Also ich war da noch nicht so alt. Also ich weiß auch, dass ehm (.) das für mich als KINd, also da geht es ja auch um dieses Annähern von den zwei Geschlechtern. Weil er war ja schon ‘n Held in der Serie. Frauenheld aber auch. Und daran kann ich mich noch ganz genau erinnern, dass mich das schon beschäftigt hat” (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 123-126).

²⁹⁴ Original quotation: “Also das hat mich am meisten fasziniert. Ich glaub’ meinen Bruder hat ?ham auch eher die Autos fasziniert. Und mich hat dann immer die Geschichte fasziniert. Wenn das sich so abspielt” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 134).

²⁹⁵ FFG25-35: Ich möchte unbedingt, dass meine Kinder diese Filme auch sehn, die ich als Kind gesehn

Not only what *Knight Rider* concerns but also regarding other 1980s children's films that she also presents as potential nostalgia objects, she describes how the original positive emotion related to their reception appears as nostalgia from today's perspective. Since, at least in the case of *Knight Rider*, the nostalgia has its object in an F emotion, namely a former fascination on the layer of the narration, 'own F nostalgia' would probably be the right expression for this sort of nostalgia.

It is a similar case with the 25-35-year-old EMG25-35. A clear gap between the past and the present reception experience is also constructed here.

M: And what was it like watching Knight Rider back then?

EMG25-35: Yes cool. I looked forward to it, and was certainly curious about what would happen next. And would certainly have been totally excited about the stunt scene we just saw. Because I don't know if he gets the job or not. And today this is of course different (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 36-37 [o.t.]).²⁹⁶

M: Hmm. And would you say that it was a better experience back then?

EMG25-35: Yes. Definitely. Definitely, yes. So at that time it was. How can I say? Now I just watch it simply for retro reasons. Maybe mainly because of the music. So I found the intro was the best (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 45-46 [o.t.]).²⁹⁷

While back then "curiosity", "excitement", and "suspense" accompanied the reception, this is different from today's perspective where "retro reasons", as the interviewee says, are dominant. In a later sequence of the discussion it becomes evident that nostalgia in the context of positive past emotions is actually meant here:

EMG25-35: I also just wanted to say that with Knight Rider, in my case, the nostalgia was most intensive during the intro. Well, I think it also would have worked without the film only with the music. It triggers almost the feeling of euphoria or "dumdudum", because it somehow comes like this. [...] Well, it's like that. These are more those signal moments. And then, also a lightweight series is sufficient. Because I identified myself so much with

habe. Weil ich eben (--) so positive Emotionen da hatte zu der Zeit. Oder jetzt im Nachhinein. Oder dieses nostalgische Empfinden (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 95).

²⁹⁶ Original quotation: M: "Und wie war das damals. Knight Rider anzugucken?" EMG25-35: "Ja cool. Also ich hab mich halt drauf gefreut und war sicher auch gespannt, was gleich passieren würde. Und hätte sicher auch so 'ne Stunt-Szene, so wie wir sie gerade gesehen hatten, total spannend gefunden. Weil ich nich weiß, ob er den Job kriegt oder nicht. Und das ist jetzt heute natürlich anders" (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 36-37).

²⁹⁷ Original quotation: M: "Mhm. Und würd'st du sagen, es war damals irgendwie ein besseres Erlebnis." EMG25-35: "Ja. Definitiv. Definitiv Ja. Also damals war 's. Wie soll ich sagen? Jetzt guck ich 's halt einfach so aus so Retro-Gründen heraus. Vielleicht einfach also hauptsächlich wegen der Musik. Also das Intro fand ich noch mit am besten" (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 45-46).

*that as a child, because I replayed it... (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 136 ff. [o.t.]).*²⁹⁸

Even though context memories play a role in the narration of the participants, it seems that it is less this memory that is the object of the nostalgia, but rather a cocktail of emotions – from joy to fascination – that was related to the ‘original’ reception.²⁹⁹ This becomes more explicit on the questionnaire. Here the interviewee describes the nostalgia as follows: “As a child I found the series really exciting and this feeling is what I remember” (EMG25-35, G25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 24 [o.t.])³⁰⁰. It seems that the music has a dominant position, seemingly working as a ‘mnemonic prompt’ that helps remember the lost emotions. We may thus talk of ‘own F nostalgia’.

Lastly, a similar rhetoric of the gap that also had been assumed in the context of the television analysis appears among the 55-65-year-old Germans, that is regarding the lost fascination concerning the main prop. Here it is the 55-65-year-old IMG55-65 who states:

*IMG55-65: Er, I’ve always thought of the car. Was thinking that back then the car was something special, something great. And today you drive such cars on your own (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 196 [o.t.]).*³⁰¹

However, it cannot be talked of (F or A) nostalgia in this context. It is more about a distanced comparison. Strong emotions such as the fascination (F or A emotion) that

²⁹⁸ Original quotation: “Wollt ich auch grad bei Knight Rider sagen. Also bei mir kam die Nostalgie viel stärker beim Intro, also ich glaube, es hätt auch ohne Film nur mit Musik funktioniert und da kommt bei mir fast so ‘n Gefühl der Euphorie oder soo weil ich es dummdudum das irgendwie so kommt. Also wenn du jetzt zum Beispiel das Intro nicht gezeigt hättest und nur diese Szene mit dem Stunt oder so, (.) dann hätt’s mich wahrscheinlich auch relativ kalt gelassen. Also das ist schon so, das sind eher so diese SiGNALmomente. Aber dann reicht mir auch ‘ne flache Serie. Weil ich mich als Kind soo mit dem identifiziert habe, weil ich den ja nachgespielt habe dass ich eh...” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 136 ff.).

²⁹⁹ Also in the context of the nostalgia discourse in *Mad Men* the interviewee (EMG25-35) comes to discuss again on his nostalgia in relation to *Knight Rider*: “Well, I found he provided an explanation why *Knight Rider* had such a positive echo here. With nostalgia blah blah blah I directly had to think of *Knight Rider*, where we just said, well, that’s cool, and we found it super” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 170 [o.t.]). Original quotation: “Also] ich fand der hat ne Erklärung geliefert, warum *Knight Rider* hier so ‘n positives Echo hatte. Mit Nostalgie blablabla musst ich sofort an das Beispiel mit *Knight Rider* denken, wo wir grade gesacht ham joah, das ist doch cool, und das fanden wir super” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 170).

³⁰⁰ Original quotation: “Ich fand die Serie als Kind total spannend und an dieses Gefühl erinnere ich mich” (EMG25-35, G25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Germans, 24).

³⁰¹ Original quotation: “Eh ich hab immer an das Auto gedacht. Hab gedacht früher, das Auto, das war was Besonderes, was Tolles. Und heut fährt man selbst so Autos” (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 196).

was recalled by the 25-35-year-old EMG25-35 and which are declared as lost from today's perspective are here not observable.

A lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia

Those who neither adopted the valorising discourses that surround *Knight Rider* nor revalorise the series positively on an individual level perceive the rerun negatively. From today's perspective *Knight Rider* indeed contains differential quality for these participants, therefore props, aesthetics or character traits call their attention, but they do not have positive differential quality for example in the form of nostalgia.

“No se vé una modernidad en el coche. Se ve muy anticuada” [You don't see any modernity in this car. It looks very antiquated] (GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 32 [o.t.]) states AMS55-65, who knows the first-run but does not recall any appreciation of its layers. Besides the main prop also other layers seem anachronistic to him:

*AMS55-65: And I do not even talk about the way of shooting. Fixed camera, (a different camera). It looks a bit old. Today, people do not allow that. (GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 32 [o.t.]).*³⁰²

This similarly applies to other participants from the German group of the 55-65-year-olds, both who did not know the first-run:

DMG55-65: Well, the trailer [the interviewee refers here to the opening credits of the series] was much closer to modern times, as what came afterwards.

*GFG55-65: Yes, then it seems more old-fashioned. (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 80 ff. [o.t.]).*³⁰³

Another 'don't know' from the German group of the 25-35-year-olds perceives the series as disagreeable slow:

*CFG25-35: [...] If I compare that now with any American series, I don't know, CSI Miami, there is always something inserted. And from above comes another screen. When I watch a slower series like Knight Rider then I realise that I deviate faster if there is not a constantly new stimulus (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 242 ff. [o.t.]).*³⁰⁴

³⁰² Original quotation: *“Ya no hablo digamos de la manera de filmar. Cámara fija, (otra cámara). Se ve un poco antiguo. Esto actualmente la gente no lo permite. [...]”* (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 32).

³⁰³ Original quotation: DMG55-65: *“Also den Trailer [the interviewee refers here to the opening credits of the series] fand ich viel näher an der heutigen Zeit, als das, was danach kam”*. GFG55-65: *“Ja danach wirkt es altmodischer”* (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 80 ff.).

³⁰⁴ Original quotation: *“Ja. Also ich hab'ja jetzt Knight Rider selber nicht gesehen. Aber ich finde bei mir*

In other cases the rather negative “retrospective classification” of the first-run finds its continuation in an equally negative appraisal of the rerun, which also impedes the development of nostalgia regarding single layers of the text. The 55-65-year-old HFG55-65 for example, confronts past and present experience in a statement that refers to the protagonist:

*HFG55-65: How awful I found that my daughter watches something like that. David Hasselhoff who I rejected and reject as an absolute prole (GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 169 [o.t.]).*³⁰⁵

The negative appraisal in the context of a negative past reception is also observable among the 25-35-year-olds. AMG25-35 who had earlier hinted to the general lower degree of fascination the television series had for him since he first watched it during his adolescence³⁰⁶, says the following:

*AMG25-35: Well, no feelings at all. Nothing. Now except maybe that one just realises how ridiculous some of it was. (.) Well, with the stunts. It wasn't actually a great stunt (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 66 [o.t.]).*³⁰⁷

This similarly applies to VMS25-35 and ZFS25-35:

VMS25-35: The character is nasty, isn't he?

ZFS25-35: The character is nasty, in any case!

VMS25-35: He is nasty if ever there was one. I found him dislikable since I was small and the rest too.

selber merk ich, dass ich mhm lieber (--) ja schnelle, also ich bin irgendwie gewöhnt, dass sich, weiß ich nich, die Einstellung alle fünf Sekunden ändert, und ähm, weiß ich nich, vier verschiedene Ausschnitte auf dem Bildschirm zu sehen sind. [...] Wenn ich das jetzt mit irgendwelchen amerikanischen, weiß ich nich, CSI Miami vergleiche. Da wird ja permanent was reingespielt. Und hier kommt von oben noch 'n Bildschirm. Wenn ich jetzt ne langsamere Serie gucke, die irgendwie, ja wie Knight Rider, dann, (.) ja dann merk ich, dass ich da auch schneller abdrifte, wenn da nicht permanent wieder neuer Reiz kommt” (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 242 ff.).

³⁰⁵ Original quotation: “Wie schrecklich ich es fand, dass meine Tochter so was guckt. David Hasselhoff den ich für mich als absoluten Proleten abgetan habe und abtue. Das die das guckt. Während heute, wo ich so aus der Distanz heraus denke, och, das war doch gar nicht so schlimm. Es gab bestimmt, oder es gibt bestimmt noch viele schlimmere Dinge inzwischen oder so. Also es war noch recht harmlos. Aber ich fand das ebenso wie soll ich sagen, intellektuell so schwach belichtet” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 169).

³⁰⁶ AMG25-35: “Well I think for me it was a little bit later. Because I, I don't know, until I was fourteen or fifteen I actually did not watch television. That means for me it was more at fifteen or sixteen and for this reason it was never so action-loaded for me” (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 64 [o.t.]). Original quotation: “Also ich glaub bei mir war das 'n bisschen später. Weil ich weiß ich nich bis ich vierzehn fünfzehn war hab ich eigentlich gar kein Fernseh geguckt. Das heißt bei mir war das eher so mit fünfzehn sechzehn und daaa hab' ich das deswegen war das für mich auch nie so 'n jetzt super action-reich” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 64).

³⁰⁷ Original quotation: “Also da keinerlei Gefühle bei. Keine. Gar nichts. Jetzt außer vielleicht mal dass das jetzt halt, das man merkt wie lächerlich doch manches war:(.). Also mit den Stunts. Dass das nicht grade 'n toller Stunt war” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 66).

ZFS25-35: *Me too (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 402 ff.)*.³⁰⁸

Also here the interviewees confront past and present experiences. The negative past reception of the main character is continued in a present depreciation. While the 25-35-year-old ZFS25-35 had already highlighted that negative childhood memories impede the development of nostalgia directed towards the context of the ‘original’ reception, the example of the 25-35-year-old VMS25-35 shows that nostalgia may indeed work selectively. Triggered by the music, the interviewee develops nostalgia towards the positively valorised childhood context of the first-run, while the negative appraisal however impedes the development of the longing emotion towards other, single layers of the text.

8.1.1.3. Conclusion on the reception of *Knight Rider*

In the precedent television analysis of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) it was assumed that the rerun may provoke nostalgia on various layers. On a first layer nostalgia may be the emotion audiences expect when they choose to watch the rerun. Later, the artefact as a whole was assumed to be a potential trigger of ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’, be it as representative of 1980s television, the 1980s programme context, ‘the 1980s’ or a rather personal context. Also the single layers of the series were analysed. In general, here it was assumed that each layer of the text may work as a ‘mnemonic prompt’ for those who knew the first-run. Apart from that, the rerun gained new referential character, be it to 1980s television or to ‘the 1980s’, which, depending on the respective “retrospective classification” was assumed to be a potential object of nostalgia. On the layer of narration and character potential triggers of what ‘non-empathetic F nostalgia’ were worked out. Also other layers are likely to provoke this kind of nostalgia, for example the lost fascination (F or A emotion) regarding the main prop of the series as a potential object of nostalgia. Furthermore, ‘A nostalgia’ was assumed in the context of the anachronistic style the series contains from today’s perspective. The “cultural baggage” of single props exposes gaps, which were assumed to work as potential nostalgic offers. Also the layer of characters contains various potential triggers of nostalgia. Apart from the character’s contrast to dominant trends, and its reference to other 1980s series and events, the positively connoted traditional masculinity is offered

³⁰⁸ Original quotation: VMS25-35: “*El personaje es odioso eh?*” ZFS25-35: “*El personaje es odioso o sea, como sea!*” VMS25-35: “*Es odioso dónde los haya tío. A mí ya me caía mal de pequeño y todo también*”. ZFS25-35: “*A mí tambiénhehe*” (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 402 ff.).

to be the object of a potential nostalgia, thus to enable 'F nostalgia'. Hasselhoff as a person provides a clear gap between a positive past and worse present, which also, so it can be assumed, may facilitate nostalgia.

Not all of the presumed triggers of nostalgia that the text offers led to nostalgia in the context of the conducted group discussions. However, various cases of nostalgia could be observed. In the analysis two major blocks appeared. A first part was dedicated to the *Reception of the Knight Rider rerun as an artefact as a whole*, where contextual memories were most relevant. The second part, with the main patterns (1) *The new differential quality of the rerun*, (2) *(Intertextual) references – roundabout nostalgia*, and (3) *Past versus present experiences*, concentrated on the reception of potential triggers of nostalgia on the single layers of the text. That nostalgia is the gratification the viewers expect when they watch the rerun could not be deduced from the group discussions. Among the 29 participants, only two 25-35-year-olds, namely AMG25-35 and JMS25-35, state to have watched the rerun. For them the "light entertainment" character of the series was most important.³⁰⁹ Here, surely a deeper investigation would be needed, as it could not be done in the course of this explorative study.

As assumed in the television analysis, nostalgia may be developed on the layer of the artefact as a whole. A necessary condition is here first and foremost that the audiences have memories of the series. As the analysis shows, this is the case among recipients from both territorial groups and age groups. However, the memories are differently coloured. Accordingly, the emerging patterns regarding the rerun as an artefact differ clearly. A clear gap between the two age groups, however less between the different countries, could be observed. In all cases it was the 'original' viewing context that was remembered, even though *Knight Rider* had been re-broadcasted at various times over the years.

In both groups of the 25-35-year-olds and solely among those who know the first-run and retrospectively classified its context positively, cases of childhood

³⁰⁹ AMG25-35 says here "Yes. As I said. It's super light entertainment. You must not think about it. It's just there. (.) Entertains a bit. And is gone again within one second" (GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 56 [o.t]). Original quotation: "*Ja. Wie gesagt. Das ist super leicht Unterhaltung. Man muss nicht drüber nachdenken. Das ist einfach da (.) Unterhält einen 'n bisschen. Und is' in ner Sekunde wieder weg*" (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 56). This similarly applies to JMS25-35 who states "No, but I like it ... because it takes one hour and, well see, you just got up ... you are half stupid, you do not have to think hard and you spend one hour entertained and that's it". Original quotation: "*No, pero me gusta porque... dura una hora y, pues mira, te acabas de levantar... estas medio tonto y no tienes ni qué pensar mucho y pasas una hora entretenida y ya está*" (GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 136).

nostalgia could be identified. Predictably here the socio-political context of the 1980s is not highlighted. Members of the age group were too young at that time that they could have perceived socio-political issues consciously. The nostalgia is rather directed toward a general feeling of childhood insouciance, which is declared as lost from today's perspective. Members of the same age group describe similar nostalgias.

This contrasts with the group of the 55-65-year-olds. Here, only one participant's description contains a clear rhetoric of nostalgia. Also here it is a positively valorised context, which is declared as lost from today's perspective that is the object of nostalgia. The case suggests, but not sufficiently supports, that the spirit of optimism that dominated Spain during and around the years of transition holds its part in the nostalgic emotion directed towards "*aquella época*". Other *Knight Rider*-related memories from within the age group were however clearly distinctly coloured. The general negative appraisal of the series or the context of reception does not lead into nostalgia here. In other cases, no memories of a general lifeworld context could be observed.

These patterns are strongly interrelated with pattern number four, *Television 'then' and 'now'*, where the analysis describes memories that focus on television series or past television in general, as it is recalled in the context of *Knight Rider*. Among those (mostly) 25-35-year-olds who developed nostalgia towards the context, the pattern becomes part of the "positive classification" of the rerun. The contrary is the case among the 55-65-year-olds. In general, interviewees tend to make hierarchies of memories where the importance of one memory sometimes is highlighted over another. Other television memories that are of greater importance and that, so it can be argued, are installed as alternative objects of nostalgia, are named.

Regarding the reception of potential triggers of nostalgia on the single layers of the text, the analysis shows, that the rerun indeed gained differential quality for a broad audience of 'knowing' and 'not-knowing' audiences. This however, is surely only a precondition for nostalgia as it is shown in the further patterns. As assumed in the theoretical part, the rerun has the 'connotation of pastness' also for those audiences who do not know the first-run. It was assumed that nostalgia on the basis of an according "retrospective classification" of the reference is here possible. Indeed *Knight Rider* provokes associations of 1980s' fashion, hairstyles and others which were subsumed under a pattern called (*Intertextual*) *references – roundabout (nostalgic) memories*. This was very apparent in the case of a 25-35-year-old who had neither seen the first-run nor the rerun. In contrast to the artefact as a whole, where only those interviewees who

developed nostalgia who related their own experiences to the rerun, it is the general ‘connotation of pastness’ that reminds the interviewee of her childhood in the 1980s. In a clear rhetoric of the gap very similar to other cases of childhood memories in the context of the rerun as an artefact, she explains her lost childhood innocence. The nostalgia however, is not manifested on the questionnaire. Furthermore, the rerun refers to other 1980s’ cultural products. Accordingly, in another case of a ‘don’t know’, it is an intertextual reference on the layer of the intro that activates a similar stream of consciousness in a 55-65-year-old. Nostalgia could here not be further specified.

Further cases of nostalgia were explained that were developed in the context of positive past emotions related to the single layers of the series thus, as assumed in the television analysis, exclusively in interviewees who know the rerun. In one case the music works as a “mnemonic prompt” for positively classified childhood memories. In two other cases, past emotions, both positively valorised and declared as lost from today’s perspective, became the object of nostalgic longing. With regards to the analysis, the link alone to ‘common sense’ “retrospective classifications” can be presumed to be not sufficient in order to provide the basis for nostalgia. However, as suggested by the reception study, it may indicate a kind of social desirability, which may lead the recipients to a (retrospective) classification of an emotion as nostalgia. No evidence was found for other forms of nostalgia, as they were assumed in the context of the television analysis.

In summary, it was shown that the text plays an important role in the ‘prefiguration’ of nostalgia. The development of the nostalgia however, always depends upon, as Davis says, “how we make” the past “contrast” (Davis 1977, p. 417). Nostalgia is not the mere narration of a better past – such as a nostalgia that yearns for a specific, as better classified element from back then – it rather showed itself as the yearning for a world of own, positive, past emotions and living contexts, be it on the layer of the rerun as an artefact as such, or on the single layers of the text. The rerun text is inevitably overlaid with further layers be it memories of the context and reception of the first-run text, memories of context and reception of other texts that are intertextually interrelated to it, or memories of the temporal background. They may be provoked by the rerun, and depending on their “retrospective classification”, become the object of nostalgia. As the case of the 25-35-year-old JMS25-35 shows, it is very likely that a new reception somehow ‘overwrites’ the past reception and reception context or at least attaches itself to it, which may hinder the “simple” nostalgia. A reception analysis is inevitable in the

uncovering of these nuances. A nostalgia that was developed without positive personal memories and that solely developed on the basis of the nostalgic text, could not be observed.

8.1.2. The reception of the *The Avengers* rerun

As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun the results of the reception study of *The Avengers* will form two major blocks, a first, which concentrates on the layer of the *The Avengers* rerun as an artefact as a whole, and a second which focuses upon its single layers. In both blocks the same main patterns as in the *Knight Rider* discussion emerged. Regarding further sub-patterns only few differences can be observed.

8.1.2.1. Reception of the rerun as an artefact as a whole

Regarding *The Avengers rerun as an artefact as a whole* the main pattern consists also here of *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*. It can be divided into further sub-categories, which are: (1) *No contextual memories*, (2) *(Nostalgic) adolescence/childhood memories*, and (3) *Television 'then' and 'now'*.

8.1.2.1.1. (Nostalgic) contextual memories

In the first conclusion on reruns as potential triggers of nostalgia, it has already been hinted to the fact that the 'original' broadcast of the 1960s series *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) is situated outside the life span of the 25-35-year-olds. Members of the age group, firstly, at best could have 'prosthetic memories' of the 1960s or, secondly, since the series has been shown as rerun, could remember it in the context of a later broadcast. As shown by the group discussions, neither the first nor the latter is the case. The sub-pattern of *No contextual memories* is dominant among the young ones. It also could be observed among some 55-65-year-olds. However, in this respect a clear gap between the age groups could be observed.

No contextual memories

Most of the interviewees from the age group of the 25-35-year-olds do not know the series at all. When they did they only vaguely remembered fragments of *The Avengers*, but neither when, nor where they saw it last.

CFG25-35: *Well, I knew the series. I knew somehow what is going on there, but I do not have consciously on my mind that I've seen it (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 93 [o.t.]).*³¹⁰

Accordingly, contextual memories of the series that might be the object of nostalgia cannot be observed. This similarly applies to half of the 55-65-year-olds of the Spanish group who never saw *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966).

(Nostalgic) adolescence/childhood memories

Apart from these few cases, *The Avengers* is clearly part of the media memory of the older age group. Among the 55-65-year-olds all participants of the German group and half of the Spanish group had watched *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966), respectively *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966), in their youth. Exclusively in this age group the series is remembered in its 'original' viewing context. It also works as point of reference for memories of individual living circumstances of the recipients, just as it could already be observed among the 25-35-year-olds in the *Knight Rider* context.

In contrast the latter, these memories are however clearly coloured by early television, very similar to what also O'Sullivan (1991, p. 167) observed in the context of his study on early television memories. First and foremost, the participants foreground the (domestic) situation in which the series was seen. They recall with whom, when and where they saw the series. The position of the television set, the kind of chairs and their position, lamps that were switched on, but also rituals related to the series are important memory points:

GFG55-65: *Yes, that was really in the evening, well, I do not know whether we already had dinner or whether that was afterwards, that I have watched television with my mother. Well, both of us had our chair. She also loved this series. And at the same time, I learned vocabulary. Either Latin or English or whatever. This could be done at the same time while watching, that was an evening ritual for us [...]*
(GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 196).³¹¹

³¹⁰ Original quotation: "Also ich kannte auch die Serie. Ich wusste irgendwie worum es geht, aber ich hab das nicht so bewusst im Hinterkopf, dass ich das geguckt hab" (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 93).

³¹¹ Original quotation: "Ja das war wirklich abends, also ich weiß gar nicht, ob es da schon Abendessen gab, oder ob 's das danach gab, also dass ich zusammen mit meiner Mutter fern gesehen habe. Also jeder hatte seinen Sessel. Die liebte diese Serien auch ((lacht)) und ich hab dabei Vokabeln gelernt. Entweder Latein oder Englisch oder was weiß ich, das kommt man so nebenbei so machen und trotzdem mitgucken, das war so 'n so 'n Abendritual bei uns [...]"
(GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 196).

GFG55-65: *Yes I still know that today. The chair still exists and also the lamp under which I've been sitting (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 234 [o.t.]).*³¹²

PCFS55-65: *I remember that I watched it at home ... I remember that we watched it because, sure, back then the light was switched off after dinner. ... The small light was switched on. And the four, the whole family watched television. ... But, well. We liked it because apart from that we had no other option. Because there was nothing else (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 119-124 [o.t.]).*³¹³

The memories clearly show that the series is set in a time that O'Sullivan (1991) described as the transition from the 'pre-television era' to the 'television era'. This is also very explicit in the description of the two other participants BFG55-65 and FMS55-65 who memorise *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) or *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) in the context of public viewing experiences or in the narration of DMG55-65 who relates *The Avengers* to concrete memories of the television set at his parental home:

DMG55-65: *Yes, I think back then, I think, we did not have a television set yet. Well, that was always something special. (And of course you saw it different then) (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 144 [o.t.]).*³¹⁴

DMG55-65: *[...] When we got a television set I memorised where the TV set stood, and then also with the garden behind it and stuff. Well that did pop up immediately. I directly knew. Emma Peel. I knew it immediately (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 235 [o.t.]).*³¹⁵

DMG55-65: *.... In principle you are automatically at home in front of the TV set and watch (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 265 [o.t.]).*³¹⁶

³¹² Original quotation: "Ja ich weiß immer noch also den Sessel gibt's ja heute immer noch und die Lampe unter der ich gegessen habe" (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 234).

³¹³ Original quotation: "Yo recuerdo que la veía en casa Recuerdo que yo la veía la veíamos porque claro entonces en casa se cerraba la luz después de cenar. ... Se ponía la luz pequeña. Y los cuatro, toda la familia se ponía a la tele. ... Pero bueno. Nos gustaba porque además no teníamos opción. Porque no había otra cosa" (PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 119-124).

³¹⁴ Original quotation: "Ja wir hatten ja damals glaub ich noch kein Fernseh. Das war dann immer was Besonderes. (Und da hat man das natürlich anders gesehen)" (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 144).

³¹⁵ Original quotation: "[...] Als wir 'n Fernseher bekamen, das hab ich mir auch gemerkt, wo der Fernseher stand, und mit dem Garten dann auch dahinter und so. Also das war sofort wieder da. Wusst ich gleich. Emma Peel. Wusst ich sofort" (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 235 - 235).

³¹⁶ Original quotation: ".... Du bist automatisch im Prinzip ... wieder vorm Fernseher zu Hause und guckst" (DMG55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 265).

As in the descriptions of O'Sullivan (1991) the whole dispositif is part of the context memories. Notwithstanding, the nostalgias that can be observed do not differ from the cases of childhood nostalgia as they were explained in the context of *Knight Rider*.

Also, here the object of nostalgia is again a phase of life, very comparable to the latter. Again the development of the emotion depends upon how the context and the potential trigger are appraised from the present position. Not all of the memories take the form of nostalgia towards the past contexts of reception. Again the development of the emotion depends upon how the context is appraised from the present position.

Already in these first quoted sections different appraisals become apparent, which suggest a potential nostalgia of the participants. In the statement of PCFS55-65 for instance, it already resonates that she does not give the series too much relevance. In her memory she watched it because there was "no other option". She does not speak explicitly about her general living circumstances but makes clear that nostalgia is not what she felt, clearly differentiating between the mere remembrance and the nostalgic longing.

*PCFS55-65: Let's see, I remember, but not with nostalgia
(DGS55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Spanien, 10 [o.t.]).³¹⁷*

Also on the questionnaire, she states not to have had the experience of nostalgia in the course of the group discussion.

DMG55-65 instead, similar to what has been described regarding the 25-35-year-olds in the case of *Knight Rider*, gives the series a special value in rising it to a scarce commodity ("we had no television at that time"). He later grants the general possibility that he could develop "a kind of nostalgic feeling". Here, however the object is the broader 1960s context of the series that he retrospectively classified as better in comparison to the now:

DMG55-65: [Well, in my case it is, let's say] a kind of nostalgic feelings. Thus if I watched it now for example, this first episode with Emma Peel, from the old series, unlike today that was an incredibly simple time. Back then there was no climate catastrophe, [...] all that did not exist yet. I'd probably slide into a nostalgic feeling. Well, as I said, everything was still relatively easy (DGD55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Deutschland, 38 [o.t.]).³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Original quotation: "A ver, yo recuerdo, pero no con nostalgia"
(PCFS55-65, DGS55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Spanien, 10).

³¹⁸ Original quotation: "[Also bei mir ist das so sagen wir mal] so 'ne Art nostalgische Gefühle. Also wenn ich mir das jetzt angucken würde da zum Beispiel diese erste Folge mit Emma Peel, da von der alten Serie ne, also das war doch 'ne unglaublich einfache Zeit im Gegensatz zu heute. Da gab 's noch

In the end it seems that the “kind of” nostalgia he claims is indeed only a potential one. At least on the questionnaire the interviewee states to have felt nostalgia, but not in the context of *The Avengers*. It seems that another nostalgia has here more relevance.

Again, it is a different case with GFG55-65, who later specifies the context of the ‘original’ reception of *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) as “harmonic” times (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 198). As she describes it on the questionnaire, she develops nostalgia towards this past world of harmony, towards “evenings in front of the television set with [...] [her] mother (*Schirm, Charme und Melone*) up to the spatial situation and the living room” (GFG55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 24 [o.t.])³¹⁹.

Apart from these three cases, also other participants come to discuss context memories and nostalgia. BFG55-65 at first highlights the general potential of television series to trigger memories of past reception situation.

*BFG55-65: In my case indeed exist these television series or also films where I suddenly see myself again sitting in front of it, yes. Where I watched it for example (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 273 [o.t.]).*³²⁰

Asked if this was the case regarding *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) she at first denies:

*BFG55-65: No, not really. As I said, I know that I have watched it, but somehow it didn't appeal to me that much (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 275 [o.t.]).*³²¹

However, in the last section of the discussion she explicitly refers to nostalgia in the context of the rerun:

BFG55-65: Yes, nostalgia, well good erm, in the context of some things I really had a reminiscence of how it was at that time. [...] For example. Yes. Indeed this reminiscence about situations or places where I, where I've

keine Klima-Katastrophe [...] gab's alles noch gar nicht, ja. Würd ich da wahrscheinlich schon in so n' nostalgisches Gefühl so reingleiten. Ach so. Ne, weil wie gesagt, es war damals noch relativ einfach” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Deutschland, 38).

³¹⁹ Original quotation: “*Sich erinnern an gemeinsame Fernsehhabende mit meiner Mutter (Schirm, Charme und Melone) bis hin zu der räumlichen Situation und Wohnzimmer”* (GFG55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 24).

³²⁰ Original quotation: “*[B]ei mir gibt's manchmal schon so Fernsehserien oder auch Filme, wo ich dann plötzlich mich wieder sehe, wie ich davor sitze, ja, wo ich das gesehen habe, zum Beispiel”* (BFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 273).

³²¹ Original quotation: “*Ne, eigentlich nicht. Wie gesagt, ich weiß, dass ich 's gesehn habe, aber das hat irgendwie damals nicht so 'n GROßEN Eindruck gemacht”* (BFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 275).

watched it. That this returned. [A]lso, that it suddenly conjures up, that I er, that was the time when I had started my apprenticeship, and at that time I lived in a boarding school and I know, I suddenly remembered that we sat together with several other and watched something. I suddenly saw that, well, as we sit there. And one can call that also nostalgia. But that was not the case regarding all the things we have seen tonight.

M: Well, especially in the case of The Avengers?

BFG55-65: Yes, in this case

(GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 23-29 [o.t.]).³²²

Also here the nostalgia finds its object in a past living condition. However, it is quite clear, that it is here not about a nostalgia that surged up in the course of the reception, but rather one that emerged in the course of the remembrance process during the group discussion. The interviewee contradicts herself again on the questionnaire, stating not to have felt nostalgia in the course of the discussion. Here we can speculate that also the negative connotation of nostalgia works here as a kind of filter, which hinders the manifestation of the nostalgic emotion. In any case the interviewee describes a process, namely the emergence of contextual memories related to *The Avengers*, just as it already could be observed among others of her age group.

The reception experience of FMS55-65 is instead clearly definable as nostalgic. Already in the warm-up phase of the discussion he highlights *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) as one of his favourite programmes. Beyond doubt he gives the series a high relevance. The memories he describes as emerging in the course of the reception take clear nostalgic forms:

FMS55-65: ... I watched it the last time five, six years ago that I saw something of the series. I, of course I watch this series, I remember many things. For example there is a funny thing when the series starts in colour it worsens. [...] It was a series to watch it in black and white. [...] We always watched it with three friends, each of us studied at a different site. It was a Tuesday from four to five when they broadcasted it the first year. And we met all Tuesdays to watch the series of Los Vengadores. [...] Sure, I remember when we watched Los Vengadores. It reminded me of these three friends one of whom we buried last year; (Pau), but we were always together. And for me Los Vengadores brings back many memories. Because it was an era, it

³²² Original quotation: BFG55-65: "Ja Nostalgie, ja gut eh, bei manchen Dingen hatt' ich schon (--)(ne) Erinnerung, wie das zu der Zeit war. [...] Zum Beispiel. Ja. () Schon so dieses Zurückerinnern an Situationen oder an Orte, wo ich dann, wo ich das gesehn hab. Dass das wieder zurückkam. [A]lso, dass ich plötzlich vor mir gesehen habe, dass ich eh. Das war so die Zeit, als ich mit meiner Ausbildung angefangen hatte, und da hab ich in einem Internat gewohnt und ich weiß, fiel mir plötzlich ein, dass wir da zusammen zu mehreren zusammengesessen haben und ham was geguckt. Das hab ich dann plötzlich gesehn, also, wie wir da sitzen. Und das kann man auch Nostalgie nennen. Aber das ist nicht bei allen Sachen, die wir heute Abend gesehen haben". M: "Also vor allem bei Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone?" BFG55-65: "Ja, da" (GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 23-29).

*was a nice era. I was 18 or 19 years old. The (better) era. [...] Of not doing anything but running after the girls. We had a good time (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 30-33 [o.t.]).*³²³

As other interviewees from the age group FMS55-65, he remembers when, where, and with whom he used to watch the ‘original’ series. Even though *Los Vengadores* has been re-broadcasted various times, and even though the participant had seen reruns of the series, the ‘original’ 1960s reception experience and its context is foregrounded. In a clear nostalgic stance, the better ‘then’ is contrasted against the worse ‘now’, just as Tannock (1995) describes it as typical for the rhetoric of nostalgia in general. The notion of the irretrievable and the loss – be it the loss of a friend, the loss of youth, or the loss of a general light-heartedness of a time where flirting is remembered to have been his principal preoccupation – is clearly present. Unsurprisingly, the participant later states that he felt nostalgia in the course of the reception, both on the questionnaire and in the course of the discussion:

*FMS55-65: When we watch Los Vengadores I remember the past with nostalgia, of course. Because I was 20 years old. I am 70 soon. Today I wear glasses and dentures, yes (GS55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Spanien, 11-19 [o.t.]).*³²⁴

Again, the better past is contrasted against the worse present. Interestingly, on the questionnaire he restricts the trigger of his nostalgia once again on the black and white excerpt (GFG55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 21), which he already had given a higher value in the course of the discussion. The socio-political context, “*la época en que estábamos levantando el brazo*” [the time when we were lifting our arm] (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 54 [o.t.]) as he states in a self-distancing, ironic stance, is brought into the discussion due to the contributions of other interviewees, but excluded from this private, and personally

³²³ Original quotation: “... *Yo la vi la última vez hace cinco, seis años que vi alguna cosa de la serie. Yo lo, claro que veo esta serie, me acuerdo de muchas cosas. Por ejemplo hay una cosa curiosa cuando empieza la serie en color baja. [...] Era una serie para verla en blanco y negro. [...] La íbamos a ver siempre con tres amigos que cada uno estudiaba en un sitio diferente. Era un martes de cuatro a cinco que la daban el primer año. Y nos juntamos todo los martes para ver la serie de Los Vengadores. Era una serie completamente de culto. Porque esto es completamente diferente. Yo me recordaba claro cuando (hemos visto) Los Vengadores. Me he recordado a estos tres amigos que curiosamente uno lo enteramos el año pasado, (Pau), pero siempre estábamos junto. Y a mi me trae MUCHOs recuerdos los Vengadores. Porque era una época, era una época bonita. Tenía 18, 19 años. La época (MEJoR). [...] De no hacer (nada que) correr detrás de la chicas. Lo pasábamos bien*” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 30-33).

³²⁴ Original quotation: “*Cuando vemos los Vengadores yo recuerdo tiempos pasados, con nostalgia, claro. Porque tenía 20 años. (Me he vuelto a los 70 pronto). Hoy llevo gafas y dientes postizos, sí*” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Spanien, 11-19).

centred (nostalgic) memory.³²⁵ Also in the other cases, the nostalgia object may rather be located in the private sphere. Socio-political contexts are excluded. An exception was the case of DMG55-65. His (potential) nostalgia indeed concentrates on the “simple time” in general, however does not manifest itself on the questionnaire.

According to Davis, the nostalgia FMS55-65 exposes can be categorised as simple, dominated by the “largely unexamined belief that things were better [...] then than now” (Davis, 1979, p. 18), just as the other nostalgias and potential nostalgias described in this section. It seems that the general reflexive character of *The Avengers* has, at least on the layer of the artefact as whole, no effect on the colouring of the nostalgias developed in its context.

In other cases context memories are indeed described but they are clearly highlighted as not worth longing for. For AMS55-65 from the Spanish group *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) is for instance inevitably related to the socio-political background of the Franco-era that is described as “dark” and “sad”.

*AMS55-65: Los Vengadores (...) what it brings back is the era we lived, a very dark era, very sad, (that) watches the world through the keyhole. England more or less is like this. [...] (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 72 [o.t.]).*³²⁶

In contrast to the case of FMS55-65, it also seems that “the era” is far less separable from the private sphere for him. On the questionnaire he describes his past in general as not worth longing for. He states here:

*I am not very nostalgic. Well, I thing frequently remembering the past leads to nowhere. Above all in my case, since I didn't have many opportunities to be happy (AMS55-65, Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 17 [o.t.]).*³²⁷

³²⁵ This is surely similar to what Assmann (2011) explains in the context of *ostalgia*: “We have here to do with a discrepancy between social and political memory. While East Germany [or in this case the Francoist regime] is today officially condemned as having been a criminal state, it continues to live in people’s memory as an important phase of their biographies and identities. The abrupt and blanket depreciation of a half or the whole of a life leads to the resistance in remembrance that we call *ostalgie* [or nostalgia in this case]”.

³²⁶ Original quotation: “*Los Vengadores (...) lo que (me trae) es la época que vivíamos, una época muy oscura, muy triste, (que) ve un poco el mundo por el agujero. Inglaterra más o menos es así. [...]*” (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 72).

³²⁷ Original quotation: “*Yo no soy muy nostálgico pues creo que no conduce a nada el recordar con frecuencia el pasado. Sobre todo, como es mi caso, que no he tenido muchas oportunidades de ser feliz*” (AMS55-65, Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 17).

Comparable to the case of the 25-35-year-old ZFS25-35, this negative memory impedes every nostalgic stance. Apart from that a general negative connotation of nostalgia can be observed, as it had been highlighted as dominant among the age group in general. The same applies to the 55-65-year-old FFG55-65 who also highlights her negative context memories:

*BFG55-65: Well I found the time not nice at all, frankly, the late sixties. At that time I had my problems with myself, with the world, with everything, but have noticed that I did not think about The Avengers for forty years (GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 40-42 [o.t.]).*³²⁸

In the case of MFS55-56 the context memories encompass the parental television restriction due to which she wasn't allowed her to watch the series.³²⁹ These memories are not the object of nostalgia.

Television 'then' and 'now'

Only for the 55-65-year-olds and only for those who indeed saw the programme, *The Avengers* is embedded in memories of the 1960s television programme. Both the 55-65-year-old Spaniards and the 55-65-year-old Germans dispose of concrete memories of the 'original' programme slot of the series. While the programme context is less an issue among the Germans, at the utmost HMG55-65 relates the series here to other 1960s British cultural products such as *Edgar Wallace* (ZDF, 1969) or hit television programmes such as the *Durbridge* crime films, the Spanish group discusses the programme context intensively.³³⁰

Already in the warm-up phase of the discussion FMS55-65 recalls *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) together with other 1960s series such as *Los Intocables* (TVE, 1964) [The Untouchables, ABC, 1959], *El Fugitivo* (TVE, 1965) [The Fugitive, ABC, 1963], *Bonanza* (TVE, 1963) [NBC, 1959], or *El Santo* (TVE, 1969) [The Saint, ITV,

³²⁸ Original quotation: "Also ich fand die Zeit überhaupt nicht schön, ehrlich gesagt, Ende der Sechziger. Ich hatte da mit mir meine Probleme, mit der Welt meine Probleme, mit allem Möglichen meine Probleme gehabt, hab aber gemerkt, ich hab schon seit vierzig Jahren nicht mehr über Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone nachgedacht" (FFG55-65, GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 40-42).

³²⁹ In total it seems that the series must have caused a veritable conflict with the parental generation in Spain at that time. Apart from MFS55-65 who refers to the general prohibition to watch the series, also the 55-65-year-old CPFS55-65 states that "en casa decían que esto no. Era una paparruchada que no les gustaba" [at home they [the parents] said: Not that one! It was a hoax they didn't like] (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 119-124 [o.t.]).

³³⁰ Here we should hint to the fact that the past television consumption of the two groups differs decisively. While the German interviewees watched on average ≤ 1 h television per day in their youth, the Spanish group had an average television consumption of > 1 h < 3 h per day.

1967]. Later, other series that are remembered in the programme context of *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) are named. Apart from again American productions such as *Mr. ED* ([Syndication/CBS, 1961] TVE 1962³³¹), decisive memory points are here also the Spanish productions of that time. The memory is broader than in the *Knight Rider* context and encompasses not only fictional programme but also shows, presenters and other personalities of the era. The interviewees refer here to shows such as *Un millón para el mejor* (TVE, 1968), or to the musical programmes *La Gran Parada* (TVE, 1950-1964) or *Los Amigos del Martes* (TVE, 1961-1964). Different to the television memories of the 25-35-year-old, these memories, so can be stated, are rather locally shaped – a fact that also concurs with observations as they have been made in the context of *The Global Media Project* (Volkmer, 2006). Only 1960s programmes, thus shows from the ‘original’ time span of broadcast are named. However, in contrast to the contributions made in the context of the *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) rerun where interviewees indeed name alternative nostalgia triggers and tended towards creating hierarchies among the series they remember against the rerun, this is not the case in the context of *The Avengers*, which is in no case negatively valorised by those from the age group who know the first-run.

Next to these more specific memories of single television programmes in the context of *The Avengers*, broader memories and reflections of past television are also related here to the rerun. It has been shown that both *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) and *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) stuck out of the programme context of their time. A general rhetoric which poses the better past television against the worse now can thus not be observed among the 55-56-year-olds rather the contrary is the case. However, for those among the 55-65-year-olds who had seen the series and liked it, which was without exception everybody, the accentuation of the bad quality of huge parts of the 1960s programme works in order to highlight the single status of *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) and *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966).

*IMG55-65: Now, one also has to state that in the '60s there was also a lot of junk. [...]. An original British series, which was good too, well, that was something special in the '60s (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 246-251 [o.t.]).*³³²

³³¹ At least this is the date of the first entry I could find about the series in *La Vanguardia* (see *La Vanguardia*, 4.10.1962; p. 32).

³³² Original quotation: “Jetzt muss man auch sagen, in den Sechzigern gab’s auch viel Schrott. [...]. Jetzt da ne original englische Serie, die auch noch gut war. Also das war schon was Besonderes so in den 60ern” (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 246-251).

*FMS55-65: It was an absolute cult series. Because this is totally different (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 30 [o.t.]).*³³³

In both the German and the Spanish group the series is presented as exceptional against the programme context. This contributes to its “retrospective classification” as “something special” or “cult”. Above all, the interviewees from the Spanish group highlight their disappointment with the programme of the 1960s. *The Avengers* was an exception.

Apart from that, it has already been stated that the television memories of the 55-65-year-olds can be located in the transition phase from ‘pre-television era’ to ‘television era’. While DMG55-65 indeed highlights here that *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) was “something special” due to the mere fact that the family did not have a television set in the beginning (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 144), the 55-65-year-old PCFS55-65 from the Spanish group emphasises that she liked the series but that there also was “no other option” (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 119-124).

It is this argument that leads to a devaluation of the series from the side of the younger age group. VMS25-35 highlights here:

There was no variety during this time. I think that these series were successful because there was nothing else. [...] And today with all the offers, man! Why should I watch something like this!
(GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 204-206 [o.t.]).³³⁴

Already in this quotation it becomes apparent that *Los Vengadores* is negatively contrasted against the current programme. In a general, comparison of the rerun with today’s television the judgement is clear:

JMS25-35: *Well (...), incomparable, for sure [...]*
VMS25-35: *I would never watch it!*
HMS25-35: *Worse*
AFS25-35: *Worse*
VMS25-35: *Worse [...]* (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 199-206 [o.t.]).³³⁵

³³³ Original quotation: “Era una serie completamente culto. Porque esto es completamente diferente” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 30).

³³⁴ Original quotation: “Es que en esa época no había variedad. (...) yo creo que triunfaban esas series porque no había otra cosa que ver. [...] Y ahora con todas las que hay tío! Anda que vería yo una cosa así!” (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 204-206).

³³⁵ Original quotation: JMS25-35: “Ah (...), nada que ver, claro [...]” VMS25-35: “Nunca lo vería!” HMS25-35: “Peor”. AFS25-35: “Peor”. VMS25-35: “Peor” [...] (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 199-206).

Nostalgia is here not supported.

8.1.2.2. Reception of nostalgia on the single layers of the text

Later, as in the case of *Knight Rider*, the interviewees focus on the single layers of the rerun. Also here different patterns of reception may be highlighted, with (1) *(Intertextual) References – Roundabout Nostalgia*, and, (2) *Past versus Present Experiences* as the main ones. Again also the sub-patterns coincide on a wide range with those that have been explained in the context of the *Knight Rider* rerun.

No matter whether a single aspect of the rerun provokes nostalgia or not, first of all it has to attract the attention of the recipients. Regarding the reruns it has been assumed that the attention surges here from the new “differential quality” the format gains in its new context. It has been shown in the television analysis that the 1960s series *The Avengers* clashes with its context on every imaginable layer. Narration, props and costumes but also camera, montage, lighting, music and characters contrast with today’s television.

This is unsurprising, since the pop genre in general highlights the “surface” (Buxton, 1990, p. 97), the layer of narration is less commented by the interviewees³³⁶. Apart from that, all layers attract their attention. In general the whole *mise-en-scène* is discussed.

*AFG55-65: I was mostly interested in the fashion for example (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 53-55 [o.t.]).*³³⁷

DFG25-35: The car (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 119 [o.t.]).

EMG25-35: Above all, the outfit of the woman. Well, what is so very much present today, due to the retro trend.

DFG25-35: The hairstyle.

EMG25-35: This attracted my attention. There are surely details that are

³³⁶ Only DMG55-65 comes to discuss the absurd content of one of the scenes of the examples that have been shown: “I found, just this scene, where Emma Peel is making exercises with this hanging heart there at the door. Today, no one would dare to do such a thing. Are you off your chump” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 68-71 [o.t.]). Original quotation: “*Ich fand allein diese Szene, wo diese Emma Peel an diesem aufgehängten Herz da an der Tür (übt). Das würde doch heute niemand mehr wagen so was zu machen. Hast du ‘ne Meise irgendwie*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 68-71).

³³⁷ Original quotation: “*Da hat mich zum Beispiel auch die Mode sehr interessiert*” (AFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 53-55).

(typical) sixties. This was what I found most striking (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 116-119 [o.t.]).³³⁸

Action and performance are at issue at various points of the discussions (see also e.g. CFG25-35, FCFS55-65).

AMG25-35: Well, just regarding the facial expressions and gestures and so on. Not at all excited. Not so pretentious (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 72-74 [o.t.]).³³⁹

GFG55-65: [...] She has such an inner distance, or even an outer distance (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 114 [o.t.]).³⁴⁰

Apart from that, camera style, music, sounds, and montage attract the attentions of the interviewees.

As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun, the pattern appears independently of age group, gender or country. However it should be noted that it is wider spread among the 25-35-year-olds. Among the 55-65-year-olds, contextual aspects and others, as they will be commented in the following, encompass larger parts of the discussion and gain more relevance. Most of the statements go hand in hand with an integration of the highlighted item into a context of references where it is for instance, categorised as “typical for the 60s” or already has a negative or positive connotation. Attention, so it was presumed in the television analysis, is a condition on the basis of which nostalgia may arise. How these aspects, contextualisation and valorisation, are influenced by the factors of how or if the series has been perceived earlier, and if and how nostalgia surges, shall be commented in the following.

8.1.2.2.2. Intertextual references – roundabout (nostalgic) memories

As assumed in the television analysis, both for those who know the first-run and for those who do not, the *The Avengers* rerun has the ‘connotation of pastness’ from today’s perspective. On the one hand it refers to ‘the 1960s’ in general, and on the other it exposes an indexical relationship to other cultural products from or set in the era.

³³⁸ Original quotation: EMG25-35: “Vor allem das Outfit der Frau hat. Also was durch den Retro-Trend jetzt wieder so präsent ist”. DFG25-35: “Die Frisur”. EMG25-35: “Das ist mir eigentlich hauptsächlich aufgefallen. Da gibt’s sicher () Details () die stimmig sind (typisch) Sechziger. Das fand ich dann auch am auffälligsten” (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 116-119).

³³⁹ Original quotation: “Also alleine durch die Mimik und Gestik und so weiter. Überhaupt nicht aufgeregt. Überhaupt nicht so aufgesetzt” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 72-74).

³⁴⁰ Original quotation: “Du versinkst nicht in der Rolle, die hat so ne innerliche Distanz, oder auch ne äußere Distanz da ...” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 114).

In the course of the group discussion, the series is commented on as representative of the 1960s. The pattern is dominantly observable among the 25-35-year-olds. Here different aspects such as props and décor are seen as significant for the 1960s. Also “how the films are made” is understood as typical for the time span. In contrast to the *Knight Rider* discussion, where the general referential character at least in one case prompted personal, nostalgic memories of the 1980s, for the 25-35-year-olds it refers at the utmost to a mediated knowledge of the era.

*AMG25-35: [I think] I have little idea of the '60s. Well, actually, not. Well, I'd rather say, I think of a lamp shop in Prenzlauer Berg [an urban district in Berlin], where they have retro lamps. I'd think of that (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 121 [o.t.]).*³⁴¹

*ZFS25-35: No, I neither [draw this relation] to here. If at all, I relate it to the television they [the parents] could have watched (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 132 [o.t.]).*³⁴²

*EMG25-35: Well, I rather associate it with such things, with '60s London with what one knows from images. This is a very strong association. [...] Well it helps me to classify it. If I see that self-evidently I search for references in order to be able to say what it IS. Yes, and then this comes to my mind (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 123-129 [o.t.]).*³⁴³

The last statement makes it very explicit that by this framing the interviewees are able to make sense of the series. As a kind of ‘prosthetic memory’, the presentation of this memory as somehow own memory of the interviewees, which may be the basis for nostalgia, cannot be observed. The distance from their lives is always obvious. Neither does the rerun inspire a ‘whitewashing’ narration of the 1960s.

In general, the pattern is less observable among the 55-65-year-olds and when, it is distinctly different. Here it is rather related to the own living reality of the interviewees, whether it is put in reference to it or set in contrast. The first is above all observable on

³⁴¹ Original quotation: “[Ich glaub ich] hab von den 60ern wenig Vorstellungen. Also. Eigentlich nicht. Also ich würd' eher sagen, Prenzlauer Berg und halt irgend 'n Lampenladen. Wo halt die, die Retro-Lampen drinhängen. Würd ich daran denken” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 121).

³⁴² Original quotation: “Noo, yo tampoco [lo relaciono] de aquí noo. Si acaso a la televisión que pudieron haber visto Ellos [los padres]” (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 132).

³⁴³ Original quotation: “Also ich assoziiere das dann eher mit so Sachen, mit so London 60s mit dem, was man da von BILDern kennt. Das das ist quasi als Assoziation dann sehr stark bei mir: [...] Also so hilft es mir, das einzuordnen. Wenn ich das sehe, dann such ich halt natürlich nach irgendwelchen Referenzen, dass ich dann sagen kann, was IS denn das eigentlich. Ja und dann kommt mir halt das soo (.) in den Kopf” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 123-129).

the case of the 55-65-year-old EFG55-65. Her associations demonstrate a “referential framing” relating the props of the series to her own life in the 1960s:

EFG55-65: Well, during the second one I just thought: Is that an Adidas tracksuit? [...] Yes, at that time, these were such things that were high. Well I thought, was that one or not. That was a totally exciting time. Absolutely eh err phew, was good (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 203, 212).³⁴⁴

Despite the positive evaluation of the past (“phew, was good”) she later says:

EFG55-65: Well, I do not develop feelings of nostalgia. I like to think back because it is part of my history but I’m not nostalgic. Well, you were on the go and that was a pleasant feeling. In your late fifties you’re not really on the go. And that’s the difference, I think (GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 51 [o.t.]).³⁴⁵

Even though her assessment has the rhetoric of the gap, EFG55-65 claims not to feel nostalgia. One factor that has to be recognised here is also the negative connotation of nostalgia of huge parts of the age group. Precisely EFG55-65 is one of those interviewees whose description of a ‘nostalgic person’ is clearly negative. Regarding the letter case, the description of a contrast between the series and the own living reality, here shall be referred to an excerpt of the discussion of the 55-65-year-old Spaniards. Asked for whether they relate the series to the 1960s in Spain, only PCFS55-65 with her intensive private contextual memories says yes. The rest of the interviewees are of the opinion that the contrary is the case:

M: And does this have anything to do with Spain of the era?

PCFS55-65: Yes, yes, sure.

FMS55-65: The contrary. This was what we didn’t have.

PMS55-65: The contrary.

MFS55-65: That’s right.

FMS55-65: Because, what were the ’60s in Europe compared with what was here, when there was a slight opening, and when the tourists started to come? (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 125-130 [o.t.]).³⁴⁶

³⁴⁴ Original quotation: “Also bei dem zweiten hab ich jetzt gedacht, ist das ‘n Adidas Trainingsanzug. [...] Ja damals, damals waren das so Dinger, ja die war ‘n hoch. Da hab ich gedacht, Mensch war das jetzt einer oder nicht. Das war ‘ne absolut spannende Zeit. Absolut eh puhh eh, war gut” (EFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 203; 212).

³⁴⁵ Original quotation: “Also nostalgische Gefühle entwickle ich nicht. Ich denke durchaus gern dran zurück, weil ‘s auch ja zu meiner Geschichte [gehört] aber ich bin da nicht nostalgisch. Also man war auf dem Sprung und das war ‘n angenehmes Gefühl und das ist man mit (-) Ende fünfzig, ist man nicht mehr so richtig auf dem Sprung. (---) Und das eh ist der Unterschied, denk ich mal” (EFG55-65, GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 51).

³⁴⁶ Original quotation: M: “Y tiene algo que ver con la España de esa época?” PCFS55-65: “Si, si, claro”. FMS55-65: “El contrario. Era lo que aquí no había”. PMS55-65: “[El contrario]”. MFS55-65: “Eso sí”. FMS55-65: “Porque esto [es], lo que fueron los 60 en Europa comparado con lo que (fuera)

It cannot be said nostalgia comes from associations related to single layers of the series.

At the same time, and comparable to the *Knight Rider* rerun, the *The Avengers* rerun is also integrated in a net of references to cultural products. As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun, the pattern may be observed among those who did not know the first-run, here mostly among the 25-35-year-olds. They frame the programme and its single layers from protagonists to the mise-en-scène with a wide range of references. First and foremost cultural texts such as films and television series are named. This fact is also explicitly noted by the 25-35-year-old interviewees.

*CFG25-35: It mostly reminds me of other films or series from the period (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 93 [o.t.]).*³⁴⁷

*VMS25-35: I associated it with [...] movies, series of these old ones... because I don't like them (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 157 [o.t.]).*³⁴⁸

*EMG25-35: I associated it with other, old films, where it is just I find it totally illogical then regarding the, regarding how it is made (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 40 [o.t.]).*³⁴⁹

JMS25-35: I [relate it] to films from the same era. [...]
*(GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 75; 84 [o.t.]).*³⁵⁰

*ZFS25-35: With a television aesthetic, isn't it? Not from here. From what was watched (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 85 [o.t.]).*³⁵¹

AFS25-35: [...] other series. The series as such
*(GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 129 [o.t.]).*³⁵²

In detail, BMG25-35 associates Steed with *Pan Tau* (ARD, 1970). Two Spanish 25-35-year-olds compare Emma Peel to “Sara Montiel”, a Spanish actress who became famous both in Spain and in the United States between the 1950s and the 1970s, or to

aquí, cuando hubo un poco la apertura de (fraga), que empezaron a venir turistas”

(GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 125-130).

³⁴⁷ Original quotation: “*Mich hat das jetzt eher an andere Filme oder Serien aus der Zeit erinnert*”
(CFG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 93).

³⁴⁸ Original quotation: “*No. No lo he asociado con nada. O sea, con películas, bueno, con series d'estas antiguas ... porque no me gustan ...*”
(VMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 157).

³⁴⁹ Original quotation: “*Ich hab das jetzt assoziiert mit anderen, so alten Filmen, wo 's einfach ich find's dann waahnsinnig unlogisch von der von der fü, also wie 's halt gemacht ist*”
(EMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 40).

³⁵⁰ Original quotation: “*Yo [lo relaciono] con las películas de la misma época. [...]*”
(JMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 75; 84).

³⁵¹ Original quotation: “*Con una estética de televisión noo? No de aquí. De lo que se ha visto*”
(ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 85).

³⁵² Original quotation: “*Pensaba en otras series. La serie en si*”
(AFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 129).

Mary Poppins (Stevenson, 1965). The performance of Diana Rigg reminds CFG25-35 from the German group of Edgar Wallace (ZDF, 1969) actresses:

Apart from that, the 25-35-year-old interviewees concentrate on décor and props and the mise-en-scène in general. Participants draw here references to *James Bond* films, which undeniable were influenced by *The Avengers*, *Batman* (see Martinson, 1966), another pop example, or the television series *Mad Men* (Canal+, 2008), which, it was shown previously, is mainly influenced by 1960s films and television series. Aesthetic and style remind some Spanish interviewees of the 1960s-1970s situation comedy *La Tribu de los Brady* ([The Brady Bunch] ABC, 1969; TVE 1972), the 1960s sitcom *Embrujada* ([Bewitched] ABC, 1964; TVE, 1966) or the 1960s science fiction film *Planet of the Apes* (Schaffner, 1968).

Most of these references are indeed 1960s cultural products or are situated in the time-span. In contrast to *Knight Rider* where all groups already located the series in a time-span and in parts programme context that seemed familiar to them and had, some more some less, also a relation to the text, it seems that these interviewees who did not have any direct relation to *The Avengers* nor to the temporal background are only in doing so able to integrate the series into their lifeworld.³⁵³ Nostalgia could here not be observed. This may be due to the fact that also in no case a “referential framing” or the narration of a gap related to the reference can be highlighted. A second point is that in contrast to the *Knight Rider* context the references proved to be less positively connoted.

In general it may be stated that also in the case of *The Avengers* rerun the associations related to the single layers of the text gain dominance above all among those who did not know the series. These interviewees aspire to integrate the series into a new interpretative context. They frame it, be it in focusing on other cultural products or on the knowledge of the 1960s that they acquired via cultural texts. In contrast to the *Knight Rider* rerun however, none of these framings has a relation to own or prosthetic memories. Thus even though *The Avengers* works as an icon of the 1960s and even though the interviewees integrate it in a huge net of references, it is not relatable to their own lifeworlds, which is likely to be the basic factor why nostalgia is not an issue.

³⁵³ The “integration of texts into the horizons of knowledge of a culture” [original quotation: “*Einbindung von Texten in den Wissenshorizont einer Kultur*”] (Mikos, 2008, p. 274 [o.t.]) is named as one basic function of intertextuality by Mikos.

8.1.1.2.3. Past and present experiences

Also regarding *The Avengers*, a strong interrelation between past and present experiences may be observed that is articulated in the following sub-patterns (1) *Creating the link to 'common sense' "retrospective classifications"*, (2) *Positive past experience versus present experiences*, and (3) *A lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia*.

Creating the link so 'common sense' "retrospective classifications"

As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun also here the knowledge of the *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) remake that has been shown and discussed at an earlier point in the focus group holds one part in the description and evaluation of the rerun and, as Horton and McDougal (1998) put it, "transforms" (Horton and McDougal, 1998, p. 3) the text. In all groups and among both those who know the first-run or rerun and those who do not know it, comparisons between the *The Avengers* remake and the rerun are made. Among those who don't know the first-run thus a kind of 'artificially created' comparison between a (better) past and (worse) present is made possible.

Above all, among the 55-65-year-old Germans a clear gap between remake and premake is constructed. The negative valorisation of the remake becomes part of the positive valorisation of the rerun. A central point here is the "self-irony" the interviewees see lacking in the new version of the series:

*GFG55-65: Yes, it hasn't got the depth, this self-irony of the actors. They are performing according to different principles. Well, those who perform today, embody the role and those are at the same time out of it (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 119 [o.t.]).*³⁵⁴

*DMG55-65: Yes, first this self-irony. That [...] is indeed no longer there, I found that quite good (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 152 [o.t.]).*³⁵⁵

Among the 25-35-year-olds it is above all AMG25-35 who valorises the rerun in the context of the remake. Also he comes to discuss the differences between the characters:

³⁵⁴ Original quotation: "Ja es hat diese Tiefe nicht, diese Selbstironie von den Darstellern. Die spielen nach nem andern Prinzip, ne. Also die die heute spielen, die verkörpern die Rolle und die sind aus ihrer Rolle gleichzeitig nochmal RAUS" (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 119).

³⁵⁵ Original quotation: "Ja erst mal diese Selbstironie. Das [...] ist ja heute nicht mehr drin, das fand ich ganz gut" (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 152).

AMG25-35: ... even in those few seconds that we just watched, these characters had something ... somehow they had much more character. Also ... the guy himself. And these in the remake ... it bothers me extremely that the actors or the parts they play have no character any more. ... (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 43-47 [o.t.]).³⁵⁶

The interviewee is of the opinion that the remake couple are not ‘characters’ anymore, which interpreted in accordance with the lexical connotation of the term³⁵⁷ may be understood as a lack of significant qualities. Indeed a rhetoric of the gap could be observed, however we cannot speak of a confrontation of a positive lost past versus a negative present, but rather the comparison of two cultural products that are available at the same time, the rerun, thus not the first-run, and the remake. Also here the “retrospective classification” is not sufficient in order to provide a basis for the nostalgic longing.

In other cases the comparison leads into a further devaluation of the rerun:

CMS25-35: Dude, after having seen the remake and that ... I'd almost vote for the remake. The newer version. I don't know, I think it's too antiquated for me, but it neither attracted my attention much (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 170 [o.t.]).³⁵⁸

FCFS55-65: If I had to watch it today, I'd decide for the modern one. I think there is more quality what regards the entertainment. Regarding the acting (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 37 [o.t.]).³⁵⁹

PCF55-65: With respect to the direction or the result I'd watch the modern one (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 39 [o.t.]).³⁶⁰

Again, this kind of reasoning may be observed among those who did not know the first-run (CMS25-35 and FCFS55-65) or those (PCFS55-65) who at least gave it no special relevance. In any case, surely questions of cultural capital and habitus are relevant here,

³⁵⁶ Original quotation: “... selbst in diesen paar Sekunden, die wir grad uns angeguckt haben, hatten diese Charaktere die HATTen irgendwie was.... irgendwie hatte die viel mehr Charakter. ... Genauso der Typ selber. Und die jetzt bei dem Remake ... mich stört das extrem, dass einfach die Schauspieler oder die ROLLen, die die spielen, gar keinen Charakter haben. ...” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 43-47).

³⁵⁷ Character is “the mental and moral qualities distinctive to an individual” (see *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2012a).

³⁵⁸ Original quotation: “Hombre, después de ver el remake y eso... casi me quedo con el remake. La versión más nueva. No sé, creo que es demasiado antiguo para mi gusto, pero tampoco me ha llamado mucho la atención” (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 170).

³⁵⁹ Original quotation: “[...] Y ahora si la tuviera que ver me iría a la moderna. Dentro del entretenimiento, creo que hay más cualidad. De interpretación” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 37).

³⁶⁰ Original quotation: “La dirección o el resultado final, yo veía la moderna” (PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 39).

as introduced by Bourdieu (see e.g. 1984) but as they cannot be fully recognised in this study. Nostalgia is not observable here.

The link to the valorising discourses as they were described in the analytical part on *Los Vengadores* or *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* is here less relevant. Among the interviewees indeed FMS55-65 comes to discuss the cult status of the series (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 30), in his further valorisation this however has a secondary position. More important, regarding the nostalgia he develops, is the positive classification of the context of reception. In other contributions the cult status or other “retrospective classifications” as they have been described in the context of the series have no relevance at all.

Among the 25-35-year-olds interviewees refer to valorising processes as they are provided by the culture in the course of ‘retro-trends’ in general. This applies to props and costumes as they are exposed in the series. AMG25-35 says for example:

*AMG25-35: Yes, yes, today this is quite expensive in some retro-shops (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 98 [o.t.]).*³⁶¹

Nostalgia however may here not be observed. As in the case of *Knight Rider* the ‘common sense’ “retrospective classification” is obviously no sufficient basis of nostalgia.

Positive past experience versus present experience

While in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun it was the group of the 25-35-year-olds where the memory of narrative fragments, characters, and actions was most present and the 55-65-year-olds had only few memories, regarding *The Avengers* it is reverse. Those among the 55-65-year-old interviewees who know the first-run and appreciated it have detailed memories of the series. They recall courses of action:

*IMG55-65: When he walked in he threw his hat on the hat stand (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 146 [o.t.]).*³⁶²

*HFG55-65: And she “pschhhhiuuu”. Exactly (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 148 [o.t.]).*³⁶³

³⁶¹ Original quotation: “Jaja, das ist jetzt in so ‘m Retro-Shop oder so. Also richtig teuer” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 98).

³⁶² Original quotation: “Wenn der reinkam war(f) der (den Hut auf den Hutständer)” (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 146).

³⁶³ Original quotation: “Und sie pschhhhiuuu. Genau” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 148).

*GFG55-65: Every time there was some evil to defeat
(GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 161 [o.t.]).*³⁶⁴

*AFG55-65: There were always dead people
(GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 163 [o.t.]).*³⁶⁵

*AMS55-65: ... there is one scene, which was in the new one with Fiennes
and Uma Thurman. She enters a private men's club and goes to the sauna
where he is naked. This also happened in the other one
(GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 111 [o.t.]).*³⁶⁶

And refer to often recurring themes that did not appear as such in the stimulus material:

AFG55-65: East/West. The bad guys were always from the East. Yes.

DMG55-65: The bad guys were mostly from the East ... well Russia ...

*GFG55-65: And, yes. And always spoke with a specific accent
(GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 252-256 [o.t.]).*³⁶⁷

Differences between those who had recently seen the rerun (BFG55-65, AFG55-65, EFG55-65 among the 55-65-year-old Germans and FMS55-65 among the 55-65-year-old Spaniards) and those who had not, could not be observed. As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun the review is accompanied by a recalling of how they perceived and evaluated the series both in the past and in the present. Above all among the German group of the 55-65-year-olds the discussion shows again a continuity of positive past and positive present receptions. Correspondingly, while others among the Spaniards such as PMS55-65, FCFS55-65, or MFS55-65, who do not know the series, gave it less relevance in the past (CPFS55-65), or, rather relate negative memories (AMS55-65) to it, are more critical, it is above all FMS55-65 who evaluates the series positively from a present position. The participants described the performance as having a “wonderful ironical distance” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 114). The rerun is perceived as “technically well done”, “natural” or less “invasive” as it would have been done today.

³⁶⁴ Original quotation: “*Jedes Mal galt es irgendwelche Bösen zu besiegen*” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 161).

³⁶⁵ Original quotation: “*Aber Tote gab das auch immer*” (AFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 163).

³⁶⁶ Original quotation: “*... hay una escena que estaba en esta actual del Fiennes y la Uma Thurman. Entra ella en un club privado de hombres, y iba a la sauna dónde está él desnudo. Esto pasaba también (en la otra creo) ...*” (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 111).

³⁶⁷ Original quotation: AFG55-65 “*Ost West. Die Bösen waren immer die aus dem Osten, ne. Ja*”. DMG55-65: “*Die Bösen waren meistens aus dem Osten ... also Russland ...*” GFG55-65: “*Und, ja. Und sprachen immer mit nem bestimmten Akzent*” (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 252-256).

However, comparable to the 25-35-year-old Spaniards in the context of *Knight Rider*, here no ‘gap’ between past and present reception can be detected. Rather the contrary is the case. The past reception is continued from a present point of view. In some cases this is explicitly highlighted. On a general level, one interviewee describes here that she used to like the first-run back then and still likes it today:

*HFG55-65: ... I've just seen this clip, and I thought yes. I always liked that, I would like it today. I guess there are patterns in life. What you like and what you do not like. And that also changes little (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 188-191 [o.t.]).*³⁶⁸

Another interviewee focuses on the humour the series exposes and due to which she did appreciate the first-run:

*GFG55-65: It was so great because it is an incredible sense of humour (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 6 [o.t.]).*³⁶⁹

The simple present to which she finally switches, already shows that she still perceives the series like that. Also later she shall describe her present reception experience as follows:

*GFG55-65: ... this ... self-irony of the actors ... and this is of course is the very special and charming thing about it. The reason why you can amuse yourself with them, yes (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 121 [o.t.]).*³⁷⁰

With reference to the “corporeality” of Emma Peel again another interviewee states:

*FFG55-65: Apart from that, I find the movement absolutely beautiful. Well, this is, I remembered, that I already liked it as a teenager. How she moves and the corporeality she has [...] I liked that back then and now, I did like it again (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 123, 128 [o.t.]).*³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Original quotation: “... Ich hab grade diesen Ausschnitt gesehen, wo ich so dachte, jaa. Das hat mir immer gut gefallen, das würde mir heute gefallen. Ich denke mal, es gibt so Muster im Leben, was dir gefällt und was dir nicht gefällt. Und das verändert sich auch wenig. ...” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 188-191).

³⁶⁹ Original quotation: “Das war so klasse, weil das ein unglaublicher Humor ist” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 6).

³⁷⁰ Original quotation: “... diese Selbstironie ... von den Darstellern... Und das ist natürlich das ganz Besondere und Reizvolle daran. Deswegen kannst du dich mit denen auch amüsieren, ja” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 121).

³⁷¹ Original quotation: “Außerdem finde ich ‘ne absolut schöne Bewegung. Also das hat mir, ich hab mich erinnert, schon als Jugendliche gefallen. Wie die sich bewegt und was die so für ‘ne Körperlichkeit hat.[...] Das hat mir damals gut gefallen und hat mir jetzt auch wieder gut gefallen” (FFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 123; 128).

In general, the interviewees tend to describe a continuity of reception impressions in the context of the first-run and rerun.

This applies also to those nostalgia triggers as they have been explained in the course of the television analysis and that were presumed to depend upon a somehow lost fascination such as ‘F nostalgia’ directed towards a past fascination with the ‘boundary-breaking’ qualities of Emma Peel (Diana Rigg). As shown by a contribution of HFG55-65 Peel or also the relationship between Peel and Steed obviously clashed with the dominant gender ratio both in Germany and Spain of the 1960s:

*HFG55-65: For me, Emma Peel was the first emancipated woman I'd ever seen on television. That's what I want to say again. That was the first that powerfully prevailed in a men's world. For me as a teenager it was completely new, that a woman just does her thing. And that really impressed me as a teenager (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 77-81 [o.t.]).*³⁷²

Also AMS55-65 refers to the clash with dominant images of gender relations in Spain:

*AMS55-65: [...] [A]bove all the relation between the two protagonists ... was unimaginable here (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 72 [o.t.]).*³⁷³

While in this latter case the past fascination with the relation of Peel and Steed is linked to the reception of the, as Boyd puts it, “cultural gulf that still separated Spain from her European neighbors” (Boyd, 1999, p. 100) and memories of a “dark epoch” that is everything else but the object of nostalgia for the interviewee, in the first case no ‘gap’ between past and present reception may be observed. The interviewee makes that also clear in a concluding commentary:

*HFG55-65: I realise, it does not trigger any nostalgic feelings in me and I somehow found the time great and it is nice and the series is great, but somehow it's finished, it's just finished. Well, I still find it good and I found it good back then. When I see this extract, I think yes funny, nice, great, but it's somehow ... (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 257-261 [o.t.]).*³⁷⁴

³⁷² Original quotation: “Also für mich war Emma Peel die erste emanzipierte Frau, die ich im Fernseh überhaupt jemals gesehn hab. Das möchte ich nochmal sagen. Das war die ERSTE die sich in einer MÄNNERWELT schlagkräftig durchgesetzt hat. Für mich war das zum Beispiel als Jugendliche vollkommen neu, dass eine Frau einfach ihr Ding macht. Und das hat mich sehr beeindruckt als Jugendliche” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 77-81).

³⁷³ Original quotation: “[...] [S]obre todo la relación que había entre los dos personajes ... era aquí impensable” (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 72).

³⁷⁴ Original quotation: “Ich stelle fest, also es weckt keine nostalgischen Gefühle in mir und irgendwie ich fand die Zeit toll und es ist schön und die Serie ist klasse aber irgendwie ist es auch gelaufen, das ist einfach vorbei. Also ich find das auch nach wie vor gut und es hat mir damals gut gefallen, es gefällt mir heute gut. Wenn ich so diesen Ausschnitt sehe, wo ich so denke jaa lustig, nett, toll, aber is irgendwie...” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 257-261).

Comparable to the group of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun, in most of the cases no ‘gap’ between past and present experience may be observed. Presumably for this reason nostalgia is less an issue regarding the single layers of the series. At the same time surely the different connotations of nostalgia in the age group is also relevant, and shall be considered in the conclusion to this chapter.

Only in one case, the case of CMG55-65, nostalgia located on the single layers of *The Avengers* may be observed. The participant first of all describes a strong, but at this moment not concretely labelled emotional experience:

... It's just the atmosphere that touches me very much. So I can totally also with music from the sixties, yes, totally, that's probably the same for all of us, all. Totally, the atmosphere, as if I lived back then. For the moment. That's a strange phenomenon. And I enjoy it. [...] As if I lived back then now. [...] As if I was the old one in some ways. Well emotionally (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 219-224 [o.t.]).³⁷⁵

Already here it becomes clear, that the excerpt somehow transports the recipient back to the past. The emotions he experiences are declared as equal to those he remembers. This situation corresponds to what Bennett (2003, p. 27) described with reference to James, namely that emotions are “revivable” when we recall “a situation that produces those sensations”. A located gap can thus be excluded here. On enquiry the recipient later describes the experience more detailed:

CMG55-65: Since I mean the atmosphere, well not so much rational things, I cannot answer your question so well. That's just the atmosphere of that time, also the atmosphere that surrounded me. But I cannot tell for sure, what that means specifically. Certainly it was black and white, this whole grisaille-story when you want to say it like that. Of course, the manner in which the film is made. That was something special, but it differs from so many current series or serials. Typical of the time and so I am somehow in the time. And yes. Yes, for me it is maybe also related to the fact that in '68 I was in England and found it absolutely great there. Was in London, also in the Midlands. And the series is from that time, therefore it moves me very much (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 243-246 [o.t.]).³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ Original quotation: “... Es ist einfach die Atmosphäre, die mich total eh, die mich sehr berührt. Also ich kann voll auch durch Musik aus den Sixties, ja vollkommen, das geht den meisten von uns allen sicherlich so, allen. Total, die Atmosphäre, also ob ich, ja damals lebte. (---) für den Moment. Das ist auch 'n eigenartiges Phänomen. Und ich genieß das. [...] Als ob ich jetzt damals lebte. Als ob ich der Alte wäre irgendwie. Also rein emotional gemeint” (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 219; 222; 224).

³⁷⁶ Original quotation: “Da ich die Atmosphäre meine, also gar nicht so stark rationale Dinge, kann ich deine Frage gar nicht so genau beantworten. Das ist einfach die Atmosphäre von damals also die Atmosphäre, die mich umgab, auch. Aber was das so im Einzelnen auch ausmacht, kann ich gar nicht so genau sagen. Sicherlich war's schwarz-weiß, diese ganze Grisaille-Geschichte, wenn man das mal so

On the questionnaire he explicitly describes the sensation of nostalgia in the course of the *The Avengers* discussion. He states here that he felt nostalgia due to an " [e]ncounter" with himself "in a then pleasant atmosphere (the negative things excluded)" (CMG55-65, Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 31 [o.t.]).³⁷⁷

As it seems it is here the immersion into the series makes the F layer work as a "mnemonic prompt". It allows the interviewee to kind of re-enact a "comfortable" moment of his past. The re-enactment obviously reminds him of a moment of joy experienced from the perspective of a past 'I' that he declares as worth longing for and irretrievable from a present perspective. It is thus rather a kind of 'own F nostalgia'.

A lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia

Those who neither link to the valorising discourses around the rerun nor could retrospectively valorise the series on the basis of positive memories related to it, perceive *The Avengers* negatively. Accordingly, above all the 25-35-year-old Germans and Spaniards, both groups that did not know the series at all or have only diffuse memories of it, reject the rerun. Thereby a clear gap between the perception of those who appreciated the first-run and those who did not can be observed.

The participants perceive the rerun as "antiquarian" (see CFG25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 170; RMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 103; JMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 134). While *The Avengers* had been described as "technically well done", "natural" or less "invasive" by those who appreciated it in the past, they are alienated by many aspects of the series and describe single layer such as montage or camera as "annoying", "strange", "bad", "illogical", or "static".

The performance, that the German group of the 55-65-year-olds described as 'wonderfully ironically distanced', is negatively perceived by these interviewees:

VMS25-35: Fatal no? (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 46).

sagen will. Natürlich die Art, wie der Film gemacht ist. (Das war 'ne Besonderheit aber es unterscheidet sich ja von ganz vielen Serien oder Reihen des heutigen) ganz stark. Typisch für damals und so bin ich dann irgendwie in der Zeit. Und ja. Ja es hängt vielleicht auch für mich damit zusammen, dass ich grade 68 in England war und fand das total klasse dort. War in London, in den Midlands auch. Und aus der Zeit stammt ja auch diese Serie, also deswegen ist mir das sehr nah"
(CMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 243-246).

³⁷⁷ Original quotation: "*Begegnung mit mir selbst in mir damals angenehmer Atmosphäre (das Negative ausgeblendet)*" (CMG55-65, Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 31).

RMS25-35: ... *It looks very false ...* (GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 103 [o.t.]).³⁷⁸

CFG25-35: ... *a bit more bold. [...] A simpler type of performance. Well you always knew exactly what she is just thinking, or, one has only seen a short excerpt, but also he performs very minimalistic, you know ...* (GD25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 93-95 [o.t.]).³⁷⁹

Equally negative perceptions of the rerun may be observed among a group of 55-65-year-old Spaniards. They claim:

FCFS55-65: *This would be impossible today* (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 44 [o.t.]).³⁸⁰

AMS55-65: [...] *very mediocre* (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 40 [o.t.]).³⁸¹

MFS55-65: *I would automatically have changed the channel* (GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 43 [o.t.]).³⁸²

FCFS55-65: ... *I cannot avoid seeing them [refers here to both El Coche Fantástico and Los Vengadores] as old fashioned* (GS55-65_Nostalgie_Allgemein_Spanien, 25 [o.t.]).³⁸³

Here, apart from the 55-65-year AMS55-65 who described rather negative memories in the context of *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966), it is the 55-65-year-old FCFS55-65 and the 55-65-year-old MFS55-65, two interviewees thus who did not know the first-run, who undertake this negative classification. No one among the 55-65-year-old Germans who without exception know the first-run and declare to have appreciated it in the past perceives or evaluates the rerun negatively from a present position. The discussion on the *The Avengers* rerun can be described as a mirror image to the discussion of the *Knight Rider* rerun. Again it is mostly those who neither adopted the valorising discourses that surround the series nor re-valorised it on an individual level that evaluate

³⁷⁸ Original quotation: "... *Se ve muy falso ...*" (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 103).

³⁷⁹ Original quotation: "... *kommt mir so vor 'n bisschen plakativer. ... so 'n bisschen so 'ne einfachere (--)
Art der Darstellung. ... Also man wusste immer genau, was die jetzt grade denkt, oder; man hat ja nur 'n
kleinen Ausschnitt gesehn, aber; auch er, spielt ja sehr minimalistisch, ne, also ...*" (CFG25-35, GD25-
35_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 93-95).

³⁸⁰ Original quotation: "*Esto hoy no se puede hacer*" (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 44).

³⁸¹ Original quotation: "[...] *bastante mediocre*" (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 40).

³⁸² Original quotation: "*Yo hubiera cambiado automáticamente el canal*" (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 43).

³⁸³ Original quotation: "... *no puedo evitar verlas anticuadas...*" (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Nostalgie_Allgemein_Spanien, 25).

the rerun negatively. Again the rerun holds “differential quality” for these audiences but no positive “differential quality” for example in the form of nostalgia (see also Armbruster, 2012a).

8.1.2.3. Conclusion on the reception of *The Avengers*

In the preceding television analysis of *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) or of *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) it has been assumed that the rerun may provoke nostalgia on various layers. First and in general, nostalgia may be the emotive gratification audiences expect when they choose to watch the rerun. Further the artefact as a whole has been assumed to be a potential trigger of ‘artefact nostalgia’ or of an ‘own artefact nostalgia’. On the layers of narration no potential triggers of (F) nostalgia could be detected in so far that the series idealises its temporal background. Also ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ has been excluded. Not only that looking backward is rather negatively connoted in the series, empathy in general is not favoured by the typified characters, which support the emotional distance of the audiences. However, *The Avengers* exposes many intertextual references to film history or earlier episodes of the series which may release ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’. Further gaps may be located in the context of the first-run reception, which also may facilitate nostalgia such as nostalgia towards a former fascination (F or A emotion) with the ‘boundary-breaking’ characteristics of Emma Peel that may be lost from a present position. Further ‘A nostalgia’ or own nostalgia has been assumed in the context of the anachronistic style the series exposes from today’s perspective. All layers of the rerun have been assumed to be potential ‘mnemonic prompts’ for those audiences who know the first-run.

The patterns of reception are in huge parts concordant with those that were found in the analysis of the reception of the *Knight Rider* rerun. A first block named *Nostalgia on the layer of The Avengers as an artefact* encompasses those patterns of reception that focus on the layer of the rerun as a whole. It consists of the main pattern (*Nostalgic*) *contextual memories* which is further subdivided into the patterns (1) *No contextual memories*, (2) (*Nostalgic*) *adolescence/childhood memories*, and, (3) *Television ‘then’ and ‘now’*. The second block encompasses the *Reception of nostalgia on the single layers of the text* with the main patterns (1) (*Intertextual*) *references – roundabout nostalgia*, and, (2) *Past and present experiences*. As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun not all of the presumed triggers of nostalgia led to nostalgia in the

context of the here conducted group discussions. However, cases of nostalgia could be observed inside both blocks. Further explanations for the absence of the nostalgic longing could be deduced.

That nostalgia is the gratification the viewers expect when they decide to watch the rerun is not supported by the focus groups. Only one interviewee among the 55-65-year-old Spaniards and two among the 55-65-year-old Germans tell about a rerun reception. Their motivation is not further specified. At this place surely a deeper survey on the motivations would have been necessary, as it could not be done in the course of the focus group discussion. However, also here there is evidence that nostalgia played a major part in the reception. Thus, both FMS55-65 (see GS55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Spanien, 30) and GFG55-65 (see GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 192) report memories that popped up in the course of the earlier rerun reception. The same memories are later contextualised as nostalgia in the group discussion. For AFG55-65 interest seems to have been the dominant emotion also during an earlier rerun reception (see GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 55).

As assumed in the analytical part, the emerging patterns regarding the rerun as an artefact differ clearly amongst the two age groups however less among the different countries. Thus the sub-pattern of *No contextual memories* is dominant among the age group of the 25-35-year-old. They either do not know the rerun or only have rough memories of it. Nostalgia towards the context can here not be observed. In contrast to that, for most of the 55-65-year-olds *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) or *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) is part of their media biography. Here intensive contextual memories could be observed. Without exception they refer to the ‘original’ time-span of broadcast, namely to the 1960s, even though some of the interviewees had seen reruns of the series. Cases of nostalgia could be highlighted both in the German and in the Spanish focus groups. Most decisive is here how the past context is appraised from the present position and above all which context exactly is of importance. The most accordance could here be found among those Spanish and German interviewees who highlight private memories in the context of the ‘original’ reception. The interviewees recall here with whom and where they watched the series. Their memories are clearly influenced by the transition from ‘pre-television era’ to ‘television era’, which has also been highlighted with reference to O’Sullivan’s (1991) study on early television memories. In some cases in a clear nostalgic stance the better ‘then’ – a time of

harmony and carelessness – is here contrasted against the worse ‘now’ just as Tannock (1995) describes it as typical for the rhetoric of nostalgia in general. Only in one example, the case of AMS55-65 the socio-political context is foregrounded. Here, the memories are clearly negatively coloured by the Franco era, which impedes any nostalgia.

Later, only for the 55-65-year-olds and only for those who saw the programme, *The Avengers* as an artefact is embedded in memories of the 1960s television programme. Both 55-65-year-old Spaniards and 55-65-year-old Germans dispose of memories of the ‘original’ programme context of the series. However in contrast to what has been assumed in the analytical part, a general confrontation of the ‘golden’ 1960s television against the current television landscape cannot be observed. In both cases, the pattern rather contrasts *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) or *Los Vengadores* positively against the rest of the 1960s programme and in doing so supports its status as something special and relevant. A general confrontation of the better television past against the worse television present could not be observed. Also the low amount of television channels is in parts described as supportive for the special status. In no case alternative nostalgia triggers are named. As in the case of the *Knight Rider* rerun it is the positive “retrospective classification” of the reception situation on a private level that determines the nostalgia. Furthermore, a transnationally shared nostalgia could be observed.

This similarly applies to the single layers of the text. Also here it is the “retrospective classification” on a private layer, which is decisive for the development of nostalgia. As assumed in the analytical part the rerun gained new differential quality due to its contrast to today’s dominant aesthetic and styles. Not surprisingly, the pattern appears independent of age group, gender or country even though it is wider spread among the 25-35-year-olds. It could be shown that the rerun indeed wears the ‘connotation of pastness’ also for those audiences who do not know the first-run. It triggers associations of 1960s fashion, hairstyles and others. References to mainly 1960s film and television programmes and those that may be located in the era may be observed. The pattern is dominant among those who did not know the series, thus here mostly among the 25-35-year-olds. Only by this framing these interviewees seem to be able to relate the series to their lifeworld. However, nostalgia is not developed by these participants. The memory is in any case described as mediated and has no relation to

their personal memories. Apart from that, no explicit positive “retrospective classification” of the objects could be observed.

It is a different case regarding the 55-65-year-olds. Here rather “referential framing” may be observed. However, nostalgia is also not the case since the present is not perceived as negatively contrasting with the positively evaluated past. The intertextual references named by the interviewees do not coincide with those that have been scrutinised in the television analysis. Here it should be considered what chapter 4.4.1 highlights with reference to Mikos (2008), namely that intertextuality may never be analysed concluding since it is determined by all texts with which viewers approach a current text (Mikos, 2008, p. 273).

Subsumed under the label *A lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia* it can be stated that regarding the single layers counts what has been said regarding the context. The positive valorisation of the memory points is central. One interviewee brings this phenomenon to a common denominator:

DMG55-65: ... it does not work without the link to back then. It wouldn't even exist any longer. You would say, what a strange film that is. When there didn't exist the link, with all this, in principle you're automatically ... you are directly in front of the television set at home and watch (GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 263-266 [o.t.]).³⁸⁴

Those who did not know or disliked the first-run, make a negative classification. Also the link to ‘common sense’ “retrospective classifications” turns out to be not sufficient for the development of nostalgia. Decisive is also here the pattern that takes a look on *Past experience versus present experience*. Comparable to the 25-35-year-old Spaniards in the context of *Knight Rider*, the discussion among the 55-65-year-olds reflects continuity between positive past and positive present reception. Here no ‘gap’ between past and present reception can be detected. Rather the contrary is the case. The past reception is continued from a present point of view. Consequently ‘F or A nostalgia’ directed towards ‘F or A emotion’ that are lost from today’s perspective and as it has been assumed in the analytical part, could not be observed. Yet nostalgia is also here an issue in so far that the single layers of the text may work as “mnemonic prompts”. In the case of one participant, ‘own F nostalgia’ in the context of an immersion into the rerun

³⁸⁴ Original quotation: “... es geht gar nicht ohne die Verknüpfung nach damals. Da würd so was gar nicht bestehn. Da würdste sagen, was ist das denn für 'n komischer Film. Wenn 's die Verknüpfung nicht gäbe, mit diesem ganzen, du bist automatisch im Prinzip ... sofort biste wieder vorm Fernseher zu Hause und guckst” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Rerun_Avengers_Deutschland, 263-266).

could be highlighted. It allows him to kind of re-enact a past reception experience, reminding him of a moment of joy and positive aspects of his past identity that are worth longing for from today's perspective.

Potential triggers of nostalgia that do not rely on reference points outside the text and that may lead into 'empathetic F nostalgia' or 'F nostalgia' have been excluded in the course of the analysis. A respective nostalgia could not be observed. Even though *The Avengers* exposes a high degree of reflexivity, nostalgias that were developed in its context without exception take the form of what Davis (1979) describes as "simple" nostalgia.

In summary, it may be stated that for those who know the first-run the text is inevitably overlaid with the past experiences. As O'Sullivan (1991) describes it in the context of early television memories in general, the confrontation with the rerun becomes here a confrontation of past and present also of past and present identity. Depending on the relevance, the "retrospective classification" and whether the memory point is declared as lost or not from today's perspective nostalgia is possible.

8.1.3. Conclusion on reruns as potential triggers of nostalgia

In the centre of this part of the reception study stood the television reruns of the 1980s television series *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982; TVE, 1985, RTLplus, 1985) and the 1960s television series *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961; TVE, 1966; ZDF, 1966). The series were broadcast both as first-run and as rerun in Germany and Spain.

Since both in the academic and in the non-academic discourse, reruns and nostalgia are named in one course, on a first and general layer the television analysis assumed that the rerun as a nostalgia 'genre' also creates the expectation of nostalgia. Experimental studies made by Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992) already showed that nostalgia is one of other gratifications audiences relate to rerun viewing. Later, the 'modules' as they have been highlighted in the theoretical part have been applied in a television analysis in order scrutinise possible nostalgias on the textual layers. Both triggers of 'A and F nostalgia' have been highlighted. This section shall now take a comparative look on the actual reception of both reruns. The reflection of similarities and differences will allow making conclusions and further hypothesis regarding the reception of reruns as nostalgia contents.

Huge parts of the patterns of reception of *The Avengers* can be described as mirror image of the reception of *Knight Rider* and *vice versa*. While in the latter nostalgia was dominantly observable among the 25-35-year-olds, those namely that grew up with the series, in the case of *The Avengers* it is among the group of the 55-65-year-olds where nostalgia can be observed. As assumed in the analytical part the emerging patterns regarding the rerun as an artefact differ clearly between the two age groups, however less among the different countries. A transnationally shared media memory can be observed inside, which dominantly the “formative” series becomes the starting point for an age group specific nostalgia.

First of all, the major patterns of reception are concordant regarding both examples. In both cases the results build two major blocks, one that reflects the concentration of the audiences on the reruns as an artefact as a whole and one that shows a focus on the reception of nostalgia elements on the single layers of the text. Block I refers to (nostalgic) context memories of the audiences with the sub-patterns (1) *(Nostalgic) childhood memories*, (2) *(Nostalgic) adolescence/childhood memories*, (3) *No contextual memories*, and (4) *Television ‘then’ and ‘now’*. Block II contains the patterns (1) *(Intertextual) references – roundabout (nostalgic) memories*, and (2) *Past and present experiences* with the sub-patterns (2.1.) *A lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia*, (2.2.) *Creating the link – ‘common sense’ “retrospective classifications”*, and (2.3.) *Positive past versus present experiences*. In both analyses concrete cases of nostalgia could be detected (see table 1). In some cases contradictions between discussion and questionnaires appeared regarding some cases – here marked with a question mark. Also this fact shall be shortly reflected in this section.

	Cases of nostalgia
<i>Knight Rider</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefact as a whole (DFG25-35; AFS25-35, JMS25-35, RMS25-35, CMS25-35, OFS25-35, MFS55-65 (?), DMG25-35 (?)) • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the music (VMS25-35, AMG25-35 (?)) • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the props (CFG25-35) (?) • ‘own F nostalgia’ towards past F emotions (FFG25-35, EMG 25-35)
<i>The Avengers</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefact as a whole (GFG55-65, BFG55-65 (?), FMS55-65) • ‘own F nostalgia’ coming from an immersion into the fictional world (CMG55-65)

Table 1: Cases of nostalgia in the course of the rerun reception.

For the ‘knowing’ audiences, those who have seen the first-run, the rerun is inevitably accompanied by memories of the earlier reception. As O’Sullivan (1991) describes, “comparison between senses of the past and the present state of television and of the past and present situations and qualities of life of the interviewee, were inevitable and important” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 170). Major differences between the sub-patterns of (*Nostalgic*) *contextual memories* surge here above all from the fact that the two series fall in different life-spans of the age groups or that the first-run of *The Avengers* (*Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966); *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966)) lies outside the personal memory of the today 25-35-year-olds.

Correspondingly, the pattern of *No contextual memories* is more dominant regarding *The Avengers* reception and contains above all statements of the group of the 25-35-year-olds. In the case of *Knight Rider* the pattern could also be observed among those who know the first-run but gave the series little relevance. This group does not exist in the *The Avengers* discussion, a fact that may surely also be ascribed to the changing television landscapes. While both in Germany and Spain of the 1960s one saw a programme or not, and *The Avengers* definitely was one of the ‘must-sees’ in the era, before the background of the increasing multiplications of channels, single programmes were no longer able to grasp such large audiences.

In both examples the pattern (*Nostalgic*) *adolescence/childhood memories* is most dominant. The reruns serve here as markers to remember the context of reception (when, where, with whom). Just as Furno-Lamude and Anderson observed in the context of their study on rerun viewing, “[f]or the rerun viewer who has extensive history with a program, the viewing experience may extend beyond the program itself to the era it represents or aspects of own life experiences” (Furno-Lamude and Anderson 1992, p. 365). In both groups it is without exception the time-span of the ‘original’ broadcast that is remembered. In contrast to the memories of the 25-35-year-olds in the context of *Knight Rider*, the context memories of *The Avengers* of the 55-65-year-olds are clearly coloured by ‘early TV experiences’. The analytical chapter draws here relations to O’Sullivan’s (1991) research on early television memories. Observations made are congruent to what O’Sullivan observed: “Early viewing in these instances appears to be remembered as a more deliberate, self-conscious activity, often requiring a move into a separate room from those who were allowed to watch” (O’Sullivan, 1991, p. 167). However, as it seems, it is not the ‘dispositif’ that is the object of nostalgia. Regarding both reruns, it is the context of the adolescence or childhood memories

where concrete examples of ‘own A nostalgia’ may be observed, thus in the case of *Knight Rider* among the 25-35-year-olds and in the case of *The Avengers* among the 55-65-year-olds. Each age group, we can state, has its own set of potential nostalgia triggers.

Nostalgia based upon prosthetic memory was not the case. The positive “retrospective classification” of the memory point, its declaration as lost from today’s perspective, and a high relevance of the respective trigger, in this case the artefact as a whole, is here inevitable for the development of nostalgia. This is also shown by those cases where nostalgia may be excluded. Two similar cases from the discussion on *Knight Rider* and *The Avengers* show here that negative childhood memories (see the case of ZFS25-35 on *Knight Rider*) or negative memories regarding the era a series was broadcast in (see the case of AMS55-65 on *The Avengers*) impede nostalgia. The latter case, the case of AMS55-65, is also one of the few cases where the socio-political context is broached at all. Here it is *The Avengers* that triggers a memory of the “dark” Franco era that impedes nostalgia. Another interviewee, the 55-65-year-old FMS55-65, indeed comes to talk on this context, however in a distanced, ironical manner. His own, nostalgic memory is focused upon the positive reception experiences in the circle of his friends. The analysis draws here a relation to what Assmann (2011) in the context of *ostalgia* had called “resistance in remembrance”. In other cases, the socio-political context is not broached at all by the interviewees. The memories and nostalgias are exclusively focused on the private sphere.

In general regarding both discussions it can be stated that when nostalgia appears, it is mostly in the form of what Davis (1979) calls “simple nostalgia”. Only in one case, that of the 25-35-year-old JMS25-35, a “reflexive” shape of the nostalgic longing or even what Davis (1979) calls “interpreted nostalgia” can be observed. The interviewee was the only one who had seen the rerun in the same morning of the discussion. Thus, we can argue, on the one hand, the contrast to present times that according to Davis (1977, 1979) and Lowenthal (1986, 1989) is so necessary for nostalgia, exists. If not, the recipient would not have developed nostalgia. On the other hand, it has at least been relativised by the only recent reception of the rerun or, thus so assumes the reception analysis, the memory of the early reception experience has here already been accompanied by a recent memory that is less appropriate as object of nostalgia. It seems that it is the awareness or pure existence of a, so to say, second memory anchor that leads to an awareness of the different possible views of the past

that enable the recipients to question nostalgia or, as Davis (1979, p. 21) puts it in the context of “reflexive nostalgia”, to pose “certain empirically oriented questions”.

Despite a quantitative difference of cases of nostalgia in the context of the *Knight Rider* discussion and the context of the *The Avengers* discussion, above all among the 55-65-year-old Germans a more difficult handling of nostalgia could be observed. Indeed also here the rhetoric of the pre- and postlapsarian could be highlighted however, the interviewees in parts contradict themselves in their statements on nostalgia. Nostalgia (see e.g. BFG55-65), which is expressed in the course of the discussion, is not manifested with the statement on the questionnaire. Here we can only suppose that the negative connotation of nostalgia in the age group works here as a barrier. In others cases, participants obviously balance between different nostalgias that have been felt in the context of different examples throughout the group discussion, whereby only that experience which is given most relevance, finds its manifestation on the questionnaire. In again other cases, mostly observable among the 25-35-year-olds vague statements in the discussion are retrospectively classified as nostalgia on the questionnaire. Nostalgia seems here to be more ‘aspired’ to. This is also concordant with the rather positive connotation of nostalgia in the age group.

Later, regarding both reruns, the reception pattern *Television ‘then’ and ‘now’* may be observed. In both groups for those who saw the first-run, the rerun is integrated in memories of the ‘original’ programme context. While those among the 25-35-year-olds that disliked *Knight Rider* measure the series against other programmes they give more relevance, a similar ‘hierarchisation’ of memories may not be observed among the 55-65-year-olds. Also we can refer here to the different television landscapes in the 1960s and 1980s. In the 1960s, one saw a programme or not. Accordingly, the participants of the older age group also create fewer hierarchies among different possible nostalgia triggers. Also regarding broader television memories, the discussion on *The Avengers* can in parts be described as mirror image of the discussion on *Knight Rider*. Thus while the pattern among the 55-65-year-olds is part of the positive evaluation of the first-run, among the 25-35-year-olds the contrary is the case and vice versa. Hereby a clear nostalgic re-classification of the past may be observed. While the narration of television as scarce commodity serves the 25-35-year-olds to increase the value of *Knight Rider*, the same argument, used in the context of *The Avengers*, becomes the explanation for the fact that the ‘bad’ series had audiences at all.

Congruent to what Rusch and Volkmer (2006, p. 92) describe in the context of their investigation, namely “had a distinctive media memory”, also here regarding this media memory related kind of nostalgia, a clear generational gap can be observed. Thus *The Avengers* mediate between the countries but not between the age groups. This is less extreme in the case of *Knight Rider*. But also here a clear generational gap can be observed.

This, namely that huge parts are concordant or the mirror image of each other, similarly applies to block II, the reception of potential triggers of nostalgia on the single layers of the text. In both the discussion on *The Avengers* and the discussion on *Knight Rider* the pattern *The new differential quality of the rerun* reflects here how, as assumed in the television analysis, the first-run in a new context causes frictions that draw the attention of both the ‘knowing’ and ‘not knowing’ audiences on the single layers of the text. Attention was assumed to be the first step towards any possible nostalgia. If nostalgia indeed developed, this was analysed in the further patterns.

Here the pattern (*Intertextual*) *references – roundabout (nostalgic) memories* is dedicated to the reception of the referential character of the reruns. Both examples gained referential character to their respective temporal context. *Knight Rider* thus stands for the 1980s and *The Avengers* stands for the 1960s. A rhetoric of nostalgia could here only be observed in the case of a “referential framing” of a 25-35-year-old in the context of *Knight Rider* – the description is however later relativised on the questionnaire. In the context of the 1960s series *The Avengers* no such framing is possible for the 25-35-year-olds, the memories they have of the era are always declared as transmitted. “Referential framings” are not made. The existence of a prosthetic memory cannot be observed. Nostalgia is here not the case.

Furthermore, both examples expose intertextual references to other cultural products and are integrated in such a net by the audiences. The television analysis had assumed that also on this layer nostalgia is possible. While regarding *Knight Rider* the pattern arises among both those who knew the first-run and those who did not, in the case of *The Avengers* it may be above all observed among those who did not know the first-run, thus dominantly among the 25-35-year-olds. In so doing the audiences are able to understand the example and to “integrate” it into their repertory of knowledge, just as it is given as one function of intertextuality in the literature (see Mikos, 2008, p. 274). Nostalgia however may not be observed. Against the background of the other cases of nostalgia, it may be assumed that this is due to the fact that a “referential framing” is not

made in these cases and due to a general negative appraisal of the 'source' series. For the 55-65-year-olds who a majority of knew the first-run, other aspects are given more relevance.

A major pattern contrasts past and present experiences and reflects the high interrelation of both. The memory of a past positive emotion in the context of the first-run influences the reception of the rerun decisively. To that effect, as it has been shown in a pattern with the same title, *a lack of memories of positive past emotions impedes nostalgia*. 'Common sense' "retrospective classifications" as they may be observed on few examples both in the context of *Knight Rider* and *The Avengers* indeed lead into a positive valorisation of the rerun, nostalgia, however, is not enabled on this basis. It can be presumed that the retrospective valorisations on the macro layer as they were described in the television analyses indeed reflect a 'climate' that indicates whether a series is available as potential trigger of nostalgia or not. As two cases from the *Knight Rider* discussion show, it further seems that they favour the categorisation of vague emotions as nostalgia. Nevertheless, the link to the valorising discourses alone is surely no sufficient basis for nostalgia. It is a similar case regarding the contrast of rerun and remake. As Horton and McDougal (1998) state: "In the strictest use of the term remake, a new text (the hypertext) transforms a hypotext" (Horton and McDougal, 1998, p. 3). Already against this background it was thus assumable that the remake will influence the rerun and how it is perceived by the audiences. This was also the case in the group discussions. It could even be argued that due to the fact that the remake was part of the stimulus material that had been shown before the rerun, a kind of 'artificial' narration of the gap was enabled in the course of the discussion. However it was shown that the 'common sense' valorisation is not sufficient for the development of nostalgia.

Most decisive is instead the pattern *Positive past versus present experiences*. Also here concrete cases of nostalgia could be found. Again the *The Avengers* discussion turns out to be the mirror image of the *Knight Rider* discussion. In all cases a continuity of positive past and positive present appraisal can be observed. Two concrete cases in the context of *Knight Rider* show that nostalgia on the single layers of the rerun may arise in case that a specific positive past emotion is declared as irretrievable lost from today's perspective. We may here talk of 'own F nostalgia'. In one case in the *The Avengers* context, 'own F nostalgia' could be observed that has been developed in the course of a kind of re-enactment of past F emotions. In one case it was the music that

worked as a “mnemonic prompt”. Apart from that, no narrations of the gap could be observed. Nostalgia was here not the case.

In summary, it may be stated that reruns work as nostalgia contents. Due to their general referential character, this does not only apply for those audiences who know the first-run but also for those who do not know the first-run. In any case, the “referential framing” is an inevitable basis for the development of nostalgia both regarding the reruns as an artefact as a whole and regarding the single layers of the reruns. The viewers have to give the object of nostalgic longing a high relevance, an observation that is also congruent to descriptions made by Tan (1996) in the context of aesthetic emotions in general³⁸⁵, “retrospectively classify” it positively, and declare it as irretrievably lost from today’s perspective. The nostalgias that arose in the course of the group discussion on the reruns was above all ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the rerun as an artefact as a whole. Hereby only private memories, not a narration of a better era or better past television, were the object of nostalgia. The nostalgias are in parts in so far shared not solely because a ‘we-group’, in this case the age group, shares the memory of a series, but because memories of similar phases of life have attached themselves to this memory. We may also talk here of a transnationally shared nostalgia. Apart from that, the 25-35-year-old Spaniards expose a somehow stronger “we” of the age group. A more private “we” of family and siblings may be observed among the 25-35-year-old Germans in this context. Regarding the single layers as assumed in the television analysis ‘own A nostalgia’ in the context of the new gained referential character of the 1980s series *Knight Rider* could be observed. Later ‘own F nostalgia’ towards past emotions in the context of *Knight Rider* was highlighted. Before this background it can be assumed that all emotions in the context of a first-run can be the object of nostalgia in a later rerun reception as long as they are retrospectively classified positively and declared as irretrievable lost from a present position. Hereby nostalgia proves to be selective. None of the interviewees develops nostalgia on various layers of the text. There is evidence that it is the object that is given the highest relevance in whose context nostalgia may develop. Also here we can discuss a kind of hierarchy of the memories.

With regards to the mere quantity of nostalgia directed towards the context and directed towards the single layers, the concern for the context seems to be more

³⁸⁵ The author states that “the emotional system is geared toward establishing the relevance of certain situations for the concerns” (Tan, 1996, p. 44).

important than the concern for details of the text. This is also in accordance with Marc (1984) as referred to by Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992, p. 371) who observed that “cultural concerns override the concern for plot and character development in rerun viewing”.

8.2. Reception of the remakes

8.2.1. Reception of the *Knight Rider* remake

The television analysis of *Knight Rider* (2008) shows, that the remake is clearly contextualised within the frame of the premake. Starting from the title, which evokes the predecessor, to the discourses of producers, television channels, or newspaper articles that surround it, one can clearly state that both in Germany and in Spain it is appealed to the memory of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982). Indeed, some aspects that could potentially provoke nostalgia also for those viewers who do not see the relation to the premake have been highlighted, however it is in this context where the remake has been dominantly assumed to be a nostalgic offer.

Except from those viewers who do not know the premake (CFG25-35, FFG55-65, DMG55-65, GFG55-65, CMG55-65, FCS55-65), dominantly members of the age group of the 55-65-year-olds, also for the participants of the focus groups the remake stands clearly in the context of the premake. Most of the patterns of reception are inevitably related to the premake. Hereby the following could be highlighted: (1) *Reasons for the reception – a reencounter with the past*, (2) *Creating the gap – remake versus premake*, (3) *Present experience versus past experience*, and, (4) *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*. Only one pattern with the title (5) *Intertextual references – roundabout nostalgia?* reflects a different focus of the recipients that is distant from the premake. The patterns shall now be looked at more closely.

8.2.1.1. Reasons for the reception – a reencounter with the past

Following Cardwell’s (2002) study on period dramas, it has been assumed that also remakes as nostalgia ‘genres’ go hand in hand with the expectation of nostalgia from the side of the audiences. In the focus group discussion, mainly the 25-35-year-olds, both Germans and Spaniards, discuss the reasons for their remake reception. Among the 55-65-year-olds, only PMS55-65 had seen the remake and briefly discusses this experience.

In no case the interviewees say they have expected nostalgia, however, in some

cases, and always on the condition that they knew the premake, the expectations with which the participants approximated the *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) remake stand in the context of earlier experiences with the ‘original’ series. While PMS55-65 simply states:

*PMS55-65: I intended to watch it because I liked the other one. But I saw some chapters and it seemed to me very badly made (GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 37 [o.t.]).*³⁸⁶

AFS25-35 says that her motivation was a curiosity in the context of the premake:

*AFS25-35: Once I watched a single episode, one of those they broadcasted again, because I was curious how it was. But, sure, I am already very old and I stick to the old one! I liked it more (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 308).*³⁸⁷

Other interviewees are more explicit. For AMG25-35 the step back into the past was decisive for his reception decision:

*AMG25-35: I thought I would watch it because it somehow transfers you into the past. But it is really bad. I didn't watch it to the end either (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 25 [o.t.]).*³⁸⁸

EMG25-35 states:

EMG25-35: Well, I think, when you watch Knight Rider, then you do it as well because of this retro feeling. Maybe one remembers how it was when aged fourteen or fifteen, when you watched it, I don't know, with excitement. And this would eventually come again, if ... [...]
*(GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 159 [o.t.])*³⁸⁹

In the context of the *Knight Rider* rerun it has already been shown that retro feelings and nostalgia are used as equivalent by the interviewee. In any case, it becomes clear that the remake did not meet the expectations of the viewers. Already here a certain deception can be noticed that will also pervade the majority of other patterns of reception.

³⁸⁶ Original quotation: “Yo intenté seguirla porque la otra me gustó. Pero vi un par de capítulos y me pareció muy mal trabajado” (PMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 37).

³⁸⁷ Original quotation: “Alguna vez he visto un episodio así suelto que:ee la volvían a poner y aquello por la curiosidad de saber CÓMO ERA. Pero clAro, yo es que soy muy antigua y ME QUEDO CON LA ANTIGUA! ME GUSTABA MÁS” (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 308).

³⁸⁸ Original quotation: “[I]ch dachte ich guck mir den mal an, weil es halt so ‘n bisschen in die Vergangenheit zurück versetzt. Aber der is ja. Is ja superschlecht. Also ich hab den auch nicht zu Ende geguckt” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 25).

³⁸⁹ Original quotation: “Also ich glaub, wenn man Knight Rider guckt, dann macht man ‘s ja auch wegen diesem Retro-Gefühl. Vielleicht dass man sich eben dran erinnert, wie man dann da mit 14/15 was weiß ich, da so mitgefiebert hat. Und was man da gespürt hat. Und das würde jetzt eventuell wieder kommen, wenn er eben in seine Uhr sprechen würde. [...]” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 159).

Thus, independent of age group or territorial group, according to the opinion of most of the recipient, the remake is of a bad quality. Already the spontaneous comments during the viewing are here unambiguous. One hears here statements such as:

PMS55-65: Oh, lousy
(*GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 5 [o.t.]*).³⁹⁰

RMS25-35: A total flop!
(*GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 5 [o.t.]*).³⁹¹

BMG25-35: Wow, that is really bad
(*GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 4 [o.t.]*).³⁹²

The same applies to the later discussion. Among others, the remake is perceived as “*demasiado exagerada*” [too exaggerated], “*muy mal trabajado*” [very badly done], “*laut*” [loud], “*langweilig*” [boring], or “*einfach nur Stress*” [just stress]. Rather reserved are here those interviewees who in comparison to the premake shall later highlight positive aspects in the remake (see VMS25-35, ZFS25-35, AMS55-65, MFS55-65). Despite the cases where the interviewees do not know the premake, independent of age group and territorial group, these contributions are interrelated with the comparison of premake and remake and a valorisation of both in this context. As assumed in the television analysis, the remake is clearly contextualised within the frame of the premake.

8.2.1.2. Creating the gap – remake versus premake

First of all and even though the premake had been shown after the remake in the group-discussion, on a general layer the participants – dominantly the 25-35-year-olds – simply compare the two versions. As assumed in the television analysis, the remake contains here differential quality for the ‘knowing audiences’ both where it exposes similarities and where it exposes differences to the premake. The participants recapitulate patterns of action of the premake *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) and search for them inside the remake. They compare aesthetic and characters, up to the remake-music and main prop.

³⁹⁰ Original quotation: “*Uh. Malísimo*” (PMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 5).

³⁹¹ Original quotation: “*Fracaso total!*” (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 5).

³⁹² Original quotation: “*Boah. Das ist aber richtig schlecht*” (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 4)

That this comparison is essential in their reception of the remake is also explicitly commented by the participants:

*CMS25-35: I couldn't help comparing it: The car, the characters, the protagonist ... I don't know, it was unavoidable (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 100 [o.t.]).*³⁹³

*VMS25-35: Well. Nothing. I was looking to see the same characters, to see how they were. It's ridiculous. When you see it and you compare it, you say, damn, what a shame man, just because it's not the same (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 160 [o.t.]).*³⁹⁴

*GMG25-35: Yes. Well, I did. Well, at first I listened to the soundtrack of course. And then you start comparing at once of course (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 126 [o.t.]).*³⁹⁵

*MFS55-65: We are comparing (GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 47 [o.t.]).*³⁹⁶

As assumed in the television analysis, the mere comparison becomes part of the creation of a gap between premake and remake. Here two main sub-patterns can be observed: One in which the (bad) premake is set against the (good) remake and one in which it is *vice versa*. Decisive, so much can be stated, is in both cases the respective experience with the premake and its “retrospective classification” by the viewers.

(Bad) premake versus (good) remake

Only a relatively small group of interviewees are of the opinion that the remake or aspects of it are better than the premake. The 25-35-year-old VMS25-35 states for instance regarding the remake's aesthetic:

*VMS25-35: At least aesthetically it seems much better. But I don't think that I'd watch it. [...] I also wouldn't watch El coche fantástico today. Because it's too shabby. There are other series that are not, which are old but you still see them pretty, but this one ... no (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 120 [o.t.]).*³⁹⁷

³⁹³ Original quotation: “[N]o pude evitarlo, compararlo: el coche, el personaje, el prota... no sé, no pude evitarlo” (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 100).

³⁹⁴ Original quotation: “Pues nada. Buscaba a ver los mismos personajes, a ver cómo eran. Es igual... Es ridículo, cuando los ves y buscas la comparación dices, joder, qué pena tío, porque igual no e:,e ¿cómo se llamaba el abuelo?” (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 160).

³⁹⁵ Original quotation: “Ja. Ich hab schon. Also erst mal natürlich den Soundtrack gehört. Und dann vergleicht man natürlich sofort” (GMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 126).

³⁹⁶ Original quotation: “[...] estamos comparando [...]” (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 47).

³⁹⁷ Original quotation: “[A]l menos estéticamente me parece mucho mejor (pero [...] no creo que la vea ((risas)). [...] tampoco vería ahora el coche fantástico. [...] porque es demasiado cutre. Hay otras series

The remake car seems “*más guapo*” [more handsome] (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 69 [o.t.]) to him. Also the 25-35-year-old ZFS25-35 prefers the remake’s protagonist to the premake’s Michael. “*Es más guapo este!*” [This one is more handsome] (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 40) she states. This similarly applies to AMS55-65 and MFS55-65 from the Spanish group of the 55-65-year-olds. Both refer to the technical quality of the remake:

*AMS55-65: Regarding technical aspect of the product, this is a clearly modernised thing. Because if not, although there are nostalgics that like the other one more, I think the contemporary things have to be done as it is done today. [...] It has to be an advanced car because otherwise it would be an anachronism (GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 50-52 [o.t.]).*³⁹⁸

*MFS55-65: There are things that look enhanced. Let’s see, the car was very ordinary (GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 57 [o.t.]).*³⁹⁹

In these cases a totally un-nostalgic stance can be observed. Not surprisingly, except from MFS55-65 who had described the premake as innovative and highlighted her appreciation (see GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 86), these statements stand in the context of a negative “retrospective classification” of premake respectively aspects of it by the respective viewer. In the case of VMS25-35 this already becomes apparent in the above quoted section. Here he describes the premake respectively rerun as “*demasiado cutre*” [too shabby] (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 120 [o.t.]). Instead he gives other reruns such as *The A-Team* a higher value. ZFS25-35 highlights her dislike of the premake character who she rejects as “*machista*” [chauvinistic] (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 392 [o.t.]) in the context of the further remake discussion. And in the case of AMS55-65 in the context of the rerun-discussion it becomes clear that he classifies the rerun/premake car as “*mera copia de Hal de 2001*” [a mere copy of Hal from [Kubrick’s] *2001*] (see GS55-65_Rerun Knight Rider_Spanien, 80). Presumably, it is the negative “retrospective classification” of the premake that undermines the narration of the better past, at least on these layers.

que no, que son antiguas y las sigues viendo guapas, pero esta... no” (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 120).

³⁹⁸ Original quotation: “[...] *el aspecto técnico DEL producto evidentemente aquí hay una cosa modernizada, porque si no, aunque hay nostálgicos que les gusta mucho más el otro, me parece que si hay una cosa actualmente se debe hacer como se hace ahora. [...] Tiene que ser un coche adelantado porque si no sería un anacronismo*” (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 50-52).

³⁹⁹ Original quotation: “*Hay cosas que se ve mejorado. A ver, el coche era muy básica también. [...]*” (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 57).

Nostalgia is here not favoured. It is a different case among those viewers where the bad remake is more clearly contrasted against the good premake, as it shall be explained in the following section.

(Bad) remake versus (good) premake

Already the analysis of the rerun reception highlights that the remake becomes part of the valorisation process of the premake. With reference to the public discourse, discourse of producers, and discourse of the channels also in the television analysis of the remake, this fact has been highlighted. Above all in the context of the public discourse in the form of newspaper articles, the premake is clearly installed as potential object of nostalgia. The same applies to the focus group discussion and here above all to those among the 25-35-year-olds who know the premake.

Also here a clear gap between the (good) premake and (bad) remake is constructed. On a first layer, this applies to the premake and remake as a whole. Just as it has been described by Oltmann (2008) in the context of remakes and premakes in general, the discourse about the remake declares the premake to the “original”.⁴⁰⁰ Already in doing this, the premake gains a higher status than its predecessor. Later, single aspect of the remake and premake are compared, which also leads into a clear positive “retrospective classification” of the premake.

While the remake is perceived as “*demasiado exagerada*” [too exaggerated], “*zu glatt*” [too clean], or “*zu perfekt*” [too perfect], the premake is remembered as “*más humilde*” [more moderate], “[*m*]ás *inocentona*” [more innocent] or “*máAs SENCILLO*” [simpler]. This applies to almost every layer. Patterns of action are highlighted against the simpler premake version (AMG25-35, GD25-35_ Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 103; 333). Décor and characters are contrasted against the more moderate premake.

AMG25-35: Well, they didn't have those hundreds of people that were standing around. And a thousand screens and I don't know what else... (GD25-35_ Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 61 [o.t.]).⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ This applies not only to the knowing audiences (see e.g. HFG55-65, IMG55-65, AFG55-65, GMG25-35, RMS25-35, OFS25-35) also those who stated to never have seen the premake self-evidently make this classification (see e.g. FFG55-65, FFG55-65, GFG55-65, CMG25-35). The remake term seems here to automatically imply the lack of originality for these participants.

⁴⁰¹ Original quotation: “[*Also die waren nicht mit] diesen HUNdert Leuten, die da noch rumstanden. Und tausend SCREEns und weiß ich nicht noch...*” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_ Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 61).

RMS25-35: *The team he has behind him didn't exist in the original. There were only two or three, I think. And here there are some chicks. It's too exaggerated (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 366 [o.t.]).*⁴⁰²

JMS25-35: *He [Michael] was very solitary. He worked alone and that is his image and his facade of the hard guy (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 399 [o.t.]).*⁴⁰³

Above all the latter, the characters are clearly held against the positively classified past predecessor. They are, so AMG25-35, “*keine Charaktere mehr*” [no characters any more], which can be interpreted as a lack of peculiar qualities of the ‘original’ characters. The ‘new’ Michael resembles to him as being cut out of a fashion catalogue (see AMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 35). He is contrasted with the premake Michael who is declared as “*nicht so clean*” [not so clean] (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 45). Here also the actor Hasselhoff comes into play, when the character status of the premake Michael is supported by the person(a):

AMG25-35: *Only the hairstyle itself and that. The chest hair and all that is unbelievable. He really is a character. In some way, yes. And also because... that he just fucked it up so many times (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 41-43 [o.t.]).*⁴⁰⁴

Two other participants from the Spanish group remind the premake character as “*mucho más espabilado*” [more clever] or “*más chulo*” [more cute]. In the case of the 25-35-year-old DFG25-35 it is a certain stylisation of the premake character that disturbs her:

DFG25-35: *Well, there are his mannerisms or the characteristics, which you know from the past, but here they are stylised (GD2535_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 115 [o.t.]).*⁴⁰⁵

Obviously Hasselhoff as Michael Knight is a “*charactor*, a character that is particularly resistant to abstraction from a given actor” (Black 2004: 106) just as Black had

⁴⁰² Original quotation: “*El equipo que tiene (detrás) en la original no estaba, eran sólo dos ó tres, me parece. Y aquí unas tías ahíii. Demasiado exagerado*” (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 366).

⁴⁰³ Original quotation: “*Era muy solitario. Trabajaba sólo y es su imagen y su fachada dura de tío*” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 399).

⁴⁰⁴ Original quotation: “*Allein schon die Matte und so. Die Brustbehaarung und das Ganze ist doch schon unglaublich. Das ist halt 'n Charakter. Also in irgendeiner Form schon. Und auch dadurch... dass er einfach so viel Scheiße gebaut hat [...]*” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 41-43).

⁴⁰⁵ Original quotation: “*Also es ist schon seine Eigenheiten oder die Charakteristika, die man von damals kennt die sind hier halt stilisiert [...]*” (DFG, 25-35, GD2535_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 115).

described it in the context of Diana Rigg and Emma Peel. At least for both German and Spanish audiences (see EMG25-35, VMS25-35) Hasselhoff is inevitably related to *Knight Rider*. The fact that the main actor has been substituted is perceived as negative. Later the participants continue with the remake car, which for EMG25-35 “*schwer zu akzeptieren*” [hard to accept], and for RMS25-35 “*demasiado exagerada*” [too exaggerated]. In the case of EMG25-35 it is above all the voice of the remake car that is disturbing. The interviewee contrasts here the “*dieses Knistern, was KITT früher hatte*” [crackling sound KITT had back then] with “*dieses Navigationssystem-Sprech*” [GPS sound] of the remake car (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 50). The narration is also perceived as too exaggerated in contrast to the remake:

JMS25-35: It is based upon a similar script like, but it's too fanciful (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 93 [o.t.]).⁴⁰⁶

CMS25-35: Too much fantasy, very exaggerated, everything. Well, the other one was also fanciful, but it could be true, it could become true. In this one you see that this is not the case. It's all science fiction (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 107 [o.t.]).⁴⁰⁷

As assumed in the television analysis, a clear gap between the positively painted ‘then’ and the negative ‘now’ is created. Here it is not about two versions that are available at the same time but most of the statements related to the remake clearly refer to the past. However, we cannot speak of a general confrontation of better past and worse present television as it has been assumed in the television analysis. The assessments quoted above indeed implicitly highlight the ‘zero-degree style’ of the remake against the modern remake. Also the contrast of the ensemble cast against the ‘lone crusader’ protagonist somehow points to a trend in today’s television. However, they are always very ‘near’ on the remake. Generalisations are rather not observable. Back then *Knight Rider* was better, simple, more impressive.

Normally, the positive “retrospective classification” is concordant with statements as they made in the rerun-context. In a few cases, negative statements that were made in the rerun context contrast clearly with positive appraisals made in the

⁴⁰⁶ Original quotation: “*Se basaba en un guión parecido, pero demasiado fantasiosa*” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 93).

⁴⁰⁷ Original quotation: “*Demasiadooo... fantasía, muy exagerado, todo. Bueno... el otro también era fantasíaaaa, pero dentro de lo malo podía ser verdad, podía llegar a ser verdad. Esto ya se ve que no... es todo... ciencia ficción*” (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 107).

remake context. The relative distance to the premake in the remake context seems to stimulate here the creation of a contrast and leaves enough space for nostalgic romanticisation of the past.⁴⁰⁸ In any event, *Knight Rider* (RTLplus, 1985) or *El coche fantástico* (TVE, 1985), is installed as an ideal object for nostalgic longing. The statements made in the context wear a clear nostalgic stance.

However, against the assumptions made in the television analysis ‘A nostalgia’ doesn’t seem to be the case. Not one of the participants explicitly refers to nostalgic longing developed towards the past product as such, neither in the group discussions nor on the questionnaire. An explanation, above all in the case of the 25-35-year-olds, is here maybe that the interviewees did not find the fulfilment of their expectations, be it the “retro-feeling” or the mere step back into the past, as it has been mentioned previously. They thus aspire to explain the absence of the expected emotions in focusing on lacks on the artefact layer of the text. In the context of the negative appraisal of the potential nostalgic trigger no positive emotion such as nostalgia seems to be possible. Apart from that, the object that is longed for is also accessible in the present, namely in form of the rerun. This similarly seems to apply to another strand of argument that contrasts past versus present experiences, and that will be commented in the next section.

Since all assessments regard the artefact layer of the text in a kind of “critical framing”, an immersion, which for instance leads into an ‘empathetic F nostalgia’, as it has presumed as possible in the television analysis, cannot be observed.

Also the 55-65-year-olds make the comparison, however here the contrast is dominantly less stark. Above all the 55-65-year-old Germans remember the formal layer of the premake as simply less “*eklig*” [nasty] (BFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 73) by the 55-65-year-olds, less loud, less fast (AFG55-65, GD55-

⁴⁰⁸ While GMG25-35 (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 122) remembers in the remake context to have found the “original” “*SEhr COOl*” [very cool], in the context of the rerun the past is suddenly far less golden. The participant (GD25-35_Reruns_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 103) states here that already back then he found the premake “*ein bisschen albern*” [a little bit silly]. This similarly applies to AMG25-35. Apart from his clearly positive “retrospective classification” of single layers of the premake against the remake, he also idealizes the premake in the remake context as something special. “Back then”, so AMG25-35 “television was still something which wasn’t there so often. Well, I wasn’t allowed to watch that much. And to that effect it [Knight Rider] was something completely different” (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31 [o.t.]). [Original quotation: “*Damals war Fernsehen noch ne Sache, die nicht so oft da war. Also ich hab’ nicht sehr viel gucken dürfen und können. Und, eh, dementsprechend war das natürlich was ganz anderes*” (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31)]. In the context of the rerun the case is reverse. AMG25-35 stated here that he didn’t watch television until the age of fourteen or fifteen, which is why *Knight Rider* was never “*sowas super Spezielles*” [something so very special] for him (GD25-35_Reruns_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 64 [o.t.]).

65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 68; DMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 71). “Back then”, states HFG55-65, “it still had something. Well, I always found it a little bit absurd with the car and such. However, back then it had something normal, while now it is absolutely artificial” (GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 157 [o.t.]).⁴⁰⁹ Also here a gap between the better ‘then’ and worse ‘now’ is constructed, the past however is far less golden than in the description of the younger age group. The remake is the lesser of two evils. Nostalgic longing can be excluded.

8.2.1.3. Past versus present experience

Next to past and present product, the participants also oppose past and present experiences. Aspects of the remake that previously were described as lacking in comparison with the remake are in parts related to past emotions that are described as lost from today’s perspective. The pattern may be observed among both territorial and age groups. However, similar to the pattern (bad) remake versus (good) remake, it dominantly appears among the 25-35-year-olds. While among the 55-65-year-olds rather factual comparisons or the confrontation of bad against worse experiences may be observed⁴¹⁰, it is among the younger age group, and here among those who describe positive experiences in the context of the remake, that a clear gap between a positive past and a worse present can be outlined.

In a general manner, this is also explicitly highlighted by some interviewees from the age group of the 25-35-year-olds. FFG25-35 states here for instance:

FFG25-35: I think that we are comparing things all the time and the emotions that we had in those days. Well, I can still remember how I watched it back then. [...] And there was also this sexual tension. That's what I remember. That there was always a kidnapped woman... (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 148; 152 [o.t.]).⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Original quotation: “[F]rüher hatte das noch sowas, also ich fand das schon immer vollkommen absurd mit diesem Auto oder so. Aber da hatte es noch sowas normales, während inzwischen ist das so vollkommen künstlich geworden” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 157).

⁴¹⁰ The 55-65-year-old HFG55-65 states for instance that she feels “*nich so gestört*” [less disturbed] (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 161 [o.t.]). FMS55-65 (GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 53-55) another participant from the Spanish group of the 55-65 highlights the loss of a sensation of novelty not from a personal but rather distanced position.

⁴¹¹ Original quotation: “[W]ir vergleichen ja ständig, und die Emotionen, die wir damals hatten. Also ich, also kann mich noch dran erinnern als ich das angeguckt hab. [...] Und da gab's doch auch immer so sexuelle Spannungen. Kann ich mich erinnern, dass da immer 'ne Frau entführt worden ist. [...] Ja, für mich war das spannend als Kind” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 148; 152).

As the interviewee stresses it is not only premake and remake that the ‘we-group’, in this case her age group, compares, but also the emotions related to it. At another point of the discussion she states that it is “*nicht mehr so spannend*” [not as exciting] (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 106 [o.t.]) and that it does not inspire imagination any more:

*FFG25-35: [W]hen I see this flickering something, I cannot imagine... anything... that didn't exist twenty thirty years ago. They didn't have flickering viruses (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 108 [o.t.]).*⁴¹²

The 25-35-year-old DFG25-35, who had criticised the remake protagonist as too stylised in comparison to the premake, situates the loss of excitement on this layer:

*DFG25-35: [...]...what it makes less exciting is that in the past you were somehow discovering the character of Michael Knight. And here many things are very stylised, and they do show as well that he does things on his own account. And that is just a little bit too explicit (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 113 [o.t.]).*⁴¹³

Among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards it is a reality, effect respectively sensation of reality, that is described as lost from today’s perspective:

*CMS25-35: I liked it more. Because it could be ..., it was more likely, I don't know, to become real. This one is too exaggerated (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 109 [o.t.]).*⁴¹⁴

JMS25-35: Yes. It was more recognisable. They were driving in a truck and... When you were on the highway, and you saw a truck, it could be ...
*AFS25-35: Yes, sure. You said: I don't believe it, they are really here! (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 370 [o.t.]).*⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² Original quotation: “[W]enn ich so ‘n flimmerndes Irgendwas sehe, da kann ich mir überhaupt nichts damit vor das ist ... das gab ‘s vor zwanzig dreißig Jahren nicht. Da gab ‘s kein flimmerndes Virus wo man da irgendwie gezeigt hat oder so” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 108).

⁴¹³ Original quotation: “[...] was das auch so ‘n bisschen unspannend macht, ist, dass man damals so den Charakter von Michael Knight so ‘n bisschen entdeckt hat. Und hier sind die Sachen teilweise schon so stilisiert DARgestellt, und es wird schon gezeigt, dass er auch auf eigene Faust die Sachen trotzdem macht. Und es ist eben ein bisschen zu deutlich. [...]” (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 113).

⁴¹⁴ Original quotation: “A mí me gustaba más. Por eso porque podía ser... era más factible, no sé, podía llegar a ser real... estaaaa... ees, demasiado exagerada” (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 109).

⁴¹⁵ Original quotation: JMS25-35: “Sí (...) conocías más a todo el mundo. Iban en un camión... y... Ibas por la autopista, veías un camión y podías pasar que...”. AFS25-35: “Claro, sí, decías, no puede ser que estén ahí!” (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 369-370).

Thus back then in the 1980s, excitement, surprise, imagination and the reality effect were part of the viewing experiences they describe. These elements are lacking from today's perspective.

Before the background of the pattern (good) remake versus (bad) remake and already in parts in the previously quoted sections it becomes clear, that it is mostly the text that is made responsible for this lack. This is very obvious in a statement by EMG25-35:

EMG25-35: Maybe I could be satisfied with a remake as long as it is in the '80s, where he speaks into his watch and the car looks the same and the whole set of problems is dealt with again. Not so futuristic. With glittering viruses (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 156 [o.t.]).⁴¹⁶

“Satisfied” means again in this case the attainment of “retro-feeling” as he explains shortly after (see GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 159).

EMG25-35: [The retro-feeling] it would maybe come back now if he spoke into his watch and didn't have that plug in his ear. Because it takes all those elements away, that fascinated me and that I, well, re-enacted as a child (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 159 [o.t.]).⁴¹⁷

Also among the 25-35-year-olds lacks of the text are clearly related to the lost emotion:

JMS25-35: I guess what we liked back then ... when we like a way of doing things, usually ... when it is too exaggerated we see it as unreal or false. I liked it more as it was the first time (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 73 [o.t.]).⁴¹⁸

AFS25-35: Well, back then I really believed that maybe the car could talk, that there was a car that opened the door by itself. But of course, this one is already so fanciful that I know that it won't happen, will it? And in the innocence of back then, yes, indeed you believed that, you believed in the

⁴¹⁶ Original quotation: “[E]ventuell wär ich mit nem Remake zufrieden, das eben in den 80ern is, wo er so in seine Uhr reinspricht und dann das Auto noch wenigstens so aussieht und die ganze Problematik dann auch nochmal aufgerollt wird. Und nicht so futuristisch. Mit glitzernden Viren. (...)” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 156).

⁴¹⁷ Original quotation: “[D]as [Retro-Gefühl] würde jetzt eventuell wieder kommen, wenn er eben in seine Uhr sprechen würde. Und nicht jetzt 'n Stöpsel im Ohr hat. Weil das nimmt ja alle Elemente raus, die mich dann damals fasziniert haben und die ich als Kind, ja ich sag mal, nachgespielt hab [...]” (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 159).

⁴¹⁸ Original quotation: “Supongo que lo que nos ha gustado... cuando nos gusta una manera de hacer las cosas, normalmente... cuando es demasiado exagerada, pues lo vemos como irreal o falso, yo qué se. A mí me gustaba más como era la primera vez” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 73).

existence of Baywatch, you believed that Chanquete⁴¹⁹ really died... (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 310 [o.t.]).⁴²⁰

Apart from the in comparison to the 25-35-year-old Germans somehow more reflexive stance, here is a certain childhood nostalgia implicit which is also observable in further context memories as they shall be commented in a subsequent sub-chapter. “When at that time we were eight years old” states JMS25-35 from the same group, “nothing seemed unreal and now at thirty, well, damn!” (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 82 [o.t.]).⁴²¹ Certain nostalgia towards the lost childhood surely resonates.

In general it can be stated that also most of the contributions in this pattern have a clear nostalgic rhetoric that opposes a pre- against a postlapsarian world. The re-enactment to which the remake obviously inspires the interviewees makes this gap even bigger. The interviewees long for the “restoration” (Böhn, 2007, p. 150) of emotions once felt in the context of the remake, similar to how Böhn (2007) had supposed it in the context of quotations. However, it seems that ‘F or A nostalgia’ directed towards these emotions is actually not at stake. None of the interviewees explicitly refers to nostalgia in the context of the single layers of the remake, neither in the course of the discussion nor on the questionnaire. The contrary is the case. EMG25-35 hints to the absence of the “retro-feeling”. Indeed, the narration of the gap may be observed. Also a high relevance of the potential object of nostalgia is given. However, so can be assumed, there is no irretrievability neither of aspects of the rerun nor of emotions felt in its context since the participants locate the lack in an insufficiently realised remake.

8.2.1.4. (Nostalgic) context memories

Lastly, the *Knight Rider* (2008) remake triggers context memories. As assumed in the television analysis, it is the reference to the premake that functions as ‘mnemonic prompt’ for those interviewees who know the premake. The premake hereby always

⁴¹⁹ Chanquete is one of the main characters of *Verano Azul* (TVE, 1981), the, as Palacio (2012, p. 410) puts it, “*referente mítico de la españolidad televisiva*” [the mythical referent of television Spanishness] (for further reading see Palacio, 2012, p. 401 ff.).

⁴²⁰ Original quotation: “*Pue:es que en aquella época SÍ que me creía que quizás El coche pudiera hablaAR, que hubiera un coche que ABRIERA LA PUERTA SÓLO (.) Pero claro, esto ya es TAAN FANTÁSTICO que:e ya sé quee no:o pasaría ¿no? (.) y en la inocencia de aquella etapa sí que te creías esto, te creías el vigilante de la playa, te creías que Chanquete REALMENTE HABÍA MUERTO*” (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 310).

⁴²¹ Original quotation: “*Cuando en esa época teníamos ocho años nada parecía irreal y ahora con treinta, pues ¡coño!...*” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 82).

takes an intermediate position for any further reminiscences. Without exception these memories concern the time span of the ‘original’ broadcast. However, they stay a passing remark in comparison to the rerun-reception where context memories encompassed one major part.

This applies above all to the 55-65-year-olds. Their reference to context experiences with the premake such as the watching with children serves as an explanation for their knowledge of the premake (see IMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 21; AFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 31; PCFG55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 35) but does not lead into nostalgia. More importance do the context memories have among the 25-35-year-olds. In the German group FFG25-35 and EFG25-35 discuss childhood memories in the context of the premake:

FFG25-35: I mean I watched it with my brother, and we were twelve or ten or something (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 148 [o.t.]).⁴²²

FFG25-35: I can remember the Matchbox cars very well. And my brother had them. But I can't remember if I also played with them. Or if I was just watching (GD25-35_Remakes_KnightRider_Deutschland, 171-173).⁴²³

EMG25-35: Well, we built sandcastles and streets and then we drove along them and with the cars we gradually ... the sandcastles in order to feel like in a movie scene. Well, the bad guys were living there and we just drove around. [...] We identified with it. That's what I wanted to say (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 163-164 [o.t.]).⁴²⁴

The reference above all serves to support the narration of the fascination with the premake. Interestingly, FFG25-35 refers here to a kind of ‘prosthetic memory’. At least it is difficult for her to decide whether the memories she describes derive from her own experiences or from the observation of her brother. In no case however, a gap between

⁴²² Original quotation: “[...] Ich meine ich hab das mit meinem Bruder gesehn. Und da war'n wir zwölf zeh'n oder so” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 148).

⁴²³ Original quotation: “Aber ich [...] kann mich an die Matchbox Autos auch noch ganz genau erinnern. [...] Und mein Bruder hatte das, aber ich weiß nicht, ich kann mich nicht mehr dran erinnern, ob ich mitgespielt hab oder ob ich das nur beobachtet hab” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_KnightRider_Deutschland, 171-173).

⁴²⁴ Original quotation: “Naja. Also wir ham halt Sandburgen gebaut und dann Straßen und sind da lang gefahren und ham dann sukzessive mit den Autos die Sandburgen [zerstört], um dann also so 'ne Filmhandlung nachzuempfinden. Also da ham dann die Bösen gewohnt und wir sind da so rumgefahren [...]. Aber wir haben uns da halt mit identifiziert. Das wollt ich damit sagen” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 163-164).

the lost, golden now and a darker then is constructed. Nostalgia cannot be observed in this context.

This is slightly different among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards. Here it is VMS25-35 who brings the childhood context of the ‘original’ reception into the discussion. The premake memory that is triggered by the remake leads him directly to childhood experiences more precisely he remembers summery visits to the grandfather’s pool:

*VMS25-35: I remember the pool. Because it was like they broadcasted El coche fantástico and I went swimming
(GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 269 [o.t.]).⁴²⁵*

His contribution inspires other interviewees to reminiscence about the better childhood:

*OFS25-35: When we were ten years old this was on television and you came home and watched it. There was nothing else. And everybody watched it
M: And how was it? How was this time?
OFS25-35: Great.
AFS25-35: Carefree. Much better than today!
OFS25-35: We had nothing else to do but to come home from school, to watch television for a while and to play with friends
(GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 276-282 [o.t.]).⁴²⁶*

These statements are surrounded by a clear nostalgic stance. Contrasting the golden then against the worse now. Here indeed the ‘golden’ past is irretrievably lost. Before the background of the recipients declaration that they felt nostalgia in the context of *Knight Rider* it can only be assumed that this is also the case in this discussion. However, again, no interviewee refers explicitly to nostalgia.

In contrast to the rerun, where already the spontaneous comments during the viewing reflect the inspiration of context memories, these assessments clearly arise in the course of the discussion and not in the context of the reception.

⁴²⁵ Original quotation: “Yo es que me acuerdo por lo de la piscina (.) porque era de:e: PONÍAN EL COCHE FANTAÁSTICO Y ME IBA A LA PISCINA”
(VMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 269).

⁴²⁶ Original quotation: OFS25-35: “Cuando teníamos diez años y:y es lo que había por la tele y:y llegabas a casa y:y y lo veías (-) NO HABÍA OTRA COSA (.) y:y lo seguía todo el mundoO”. M: “¿Y cómo era? Este tiempo”. OFS25-35: “GENÍAL”. AFS25-35: “SIN PREOCUPACIONES. MEJOR QUE AHORA!” OFS25-35: “No tenías otra cosa qué hacer: llegar del cole(.) ver un rato la tele(.) jugar con los amigo:os” (GS25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Spanien, 276-282).

8.2.1.5. Intertextual reference – roundabout nostalgia?

This last pattern is dominantly observable among those audiences who do not know the premake (CFG25-35, FFG55-65, DMG55-65, GFG55-65, CMG55-65, FCS55-65). For them *Knight Rider* (2008) exists independently from the premake. In some statements this is also explicitly highlighted. Thus, argues CFG25-35, “[d]as ist für mich eigentlich so ne unabhängige Sache” [[f]or me it is more such an independent thing] (GD25-35_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 94 [o.t.]). Also GFG55-65 states: “Yes, I don’t know neither the original nor the remake. I can only...” (GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 173 [o.t.]).⁴²⁷ And FFG55-65 highlights: “I neither know the original nor the remake and found it simply like a car advertisement” (GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 171 [o.t.]).⁴²⁸

Accordingly, these interviewees frame the remake with references to film and television. Apart from FFG55-65’s advertisement reference, aesthetic and characters remind CFG25-35 of the television series *Smallville* (The WB, 2001). DMG55-65 and GFG55-65 compare the plot of the excerpt with the Spielberg TV-movie *Duel* (1971). The pattern is comparable to the rerun reception where above all those who did not know the first-run approached the text via other intertextual references. However, in contrast to the latter, here no (‘roundabout’) ‘A nostalgia’ may be observed. None of the references is explicitly positively classified or related to positive context memories as it was for instance the case in the rerun discussion. This is probably due to the fact that a negative appraisal is dominant.

Other intertextual references such as to the 1980s animation series *The Transformers* (Sky one, 1984) as they were highlighted in the course of the television analysis are indeed mentioned by two GMG25-35 and VMS25-35 who also know the premake, however, they also neither lead into ‘A nostalgia’ nor to further associations in general.

8.2.1.6. Conclusion on the reception of the *Knight Rider* remake

The television analysis assumed *Knight Rider* (2008), a remake, which updates the time frame of its 1980s predecessor, to work on various layers as potential trigger of

⁴²⁷ Original quotation: “Ja ich kenn auch weder Original noch Remake. Kann ‘s also sozusagen nuur...” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 173).

⁴²⁸ Original quotation: “Ich kenne weder das Original noch das Remake und ich fand’s einfach wie AUTOWERBUNG. (----) Ja wie zwischen zwei Sachen auf RTL” (GD55-65_Remakes_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 171).

nostalgia. The remake as a nostalgia 'genre' has been supposed to make the viewers expect nostalgia respectively to choose it in a nostalgic mood. Later, the single layers of the remake were investigated. On a first and general layer the intertextual relation to the premake *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) was supposed to be the main trigger of nostalgia. Already title and discourses that surround the remake clearly refer to the reference and in parts also install it as potential object of an eventual longing. Later the layer of narration integrates narrative fragments of the premake. The, as Lowenthal (Lowenthal, 1986, p. 125) put it in the context of "the look of age" in general, "awareness of things past", so it has been supposed, comes here from the comparison with the premake, be it that differences or similarities may be highlighted that can only be recognised by the 'knowing' audiences. Next to the position the remake adopts towards the premake, it is the "retrospective classifications" of the 'original' that make the remake a potential trigger for nostalgia both in the German and Spanish case. It has been supposed that in those who recognise the reference, the remake may elicit television memories, which with O'Sullivan (1991, p. 163) again may work as reference point and thus lead to a personal kind of nostalgia. Above all music, the settings, the car as the main prop and Michael Knight as leading character refer to the premake. A critical stance or dialogue with the premake could not be observed. Further, few potential nostalgia triggers such as 'F nostalgia' or 'empathetic F nostalgia' in the context of narration and characters or 'A nostalgia' in the context of intertextual references on the layer of the narration have been highlighted that can be supposed to work without the knowledge of the premake.

That the assumed triggers for nostalgia indeed provoked nostalgia is only hardly supported by the reception study. The supposed gaps were also generated by the audiences, however, clear cases of nostalgia are difficult to be highlighted. In general, the following five patterns of reception could be observed: (1) *Reencounter with the Past* (2) *Creating the gap – remake versus premake*, (3) *Past versus present experience*, (4) *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*, and (5) *Intertextual references – roundabout nostalgia?*.

That nostalgia is the gratification audiences expect when they choose to watch the remake is in parts supported by the discussion. At least the majority of statements that refer to the viewing motivation suggest an intended *Reencounter with the past* among those audiences who know the premake. One recipient, EMG25-35 refers here explicitly to a "retro-feeling" that he expected. In the course of the rerun discussion it

was shown that he refers here to nostalgia. That the remake meets the expectations of the viewers is not supported by the discourse, rather the contrary is the case.

As assumed in the television analysis, the main gap the remake exposes and that makes it a potential trigger for nostalgia is its reference to the premake. Without exception and independent of the age group or the territorial group, all interviewees who know the premake create this relation. As assumed in the television analysis, both differences and similarities to the premake call the attention of the ‘knowing’ audiences. In most cases the mere comparison inevitably leads into the valorisation of one or another. It is mainly those audiences who valorise the premake or aspect of it negatively, where the comparison is favourable for the remake. In the majority of cases a clear valorisation of the premake on the expense of a devalorisation of the remake can be observe. Above all among the younger age group, a clear gap between a golden ‘then’ and worse ‘now’ is created. Here it can be argued that this provides the basis for or supports nostalgic longing in the context of the premake, however this is probably not already nostalgia. It is rather assumed that the recipients above all concentrate on the artefact layer of the text because they do not find the fulfilment of their expected gratification, be it the “retro-feeling” respectively nostalgia or the mere step back into the past.

It is, so to say, in the lack of the remake where a further gap comes into play that is subsumed under the label *Past versus present experience*. Those among the interviewees who know and enjoyed the premake contrast here their positive experiences with the premake against the negative and lacking ones with the remake. Again at least among the 25-35-year-old a clear gap between the positive past and lacking present could be highlighted. Also here, however, nostalgia may not be observed. The cause of the loss is located in the bad remake that makes, so assumes the analysis, the lost emotion potentially retrievable in a better version or in the rerun.

Later, as in the context of the rerun, also in the context of the *Knight Rider* remake contextual memories are named. They are however less important than in the rerun context and encompass a smaller range. Each context memory takes here the detour of the premake. Only in the case of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards these memories take a clear nostalgic stance where the better childhood is contrasted against the worse present. At least with reference to the final discussion, where the Spanish interviewees explicitly refer to nostalgic childhood memories in the context of *Knight Rider*, it can be supposed that this also accounts for the remake.

Lastly, the remake is framed by intertextual references that are distinct from the premake. This applies above all to those recipients who do not know the premake. The references, however, neither lead into own associations from the side of the viewers, nor into own nostalgia, neither a “referential framing” or positive “retrospective classification” of the reference could be observed as it was for instance in the case regarding the ‘roundabout’ nostalgia in the rerun context.

Concluding, it may be stated that for those who know the premake, the majority of the interviewees, the remake text is inevitably accompanied by the premake and experiences that have been made with it. This is different however to the reruns where the confrontation with the text becomes a confrontation of past and present and also of past and present identity, the contributions of the interviewees are far more related to the text. Clear gaps are constructed, but it seems that the mere narration of the lack is not sufficient for the appearance of nostalgia in the course of the remake reception. In contrast to the reruns, where the past pleasure, fascination etcetera is thought to be irretrievably lost, the irretrievability is here probably not given, since the lost emotion is thought to be reencountered in the premake. It seems that only in case that the appropriation of the remake in the course of the discussion leads into a kind of re-enactment of the past reception, the remake is opened-up for the emotion of nostalgia. In any case and as assumed, the territorial differences have less relevance here. Instead a clear gap between the age groups could be observed.

8.2.2. Reception of *The Avengers* remake

As already assumed in Part II and similar to the reception of the *Knight Rider* remake, also in the context of the group discussion on *The Avenger* (Chechik, 1998), the main patterns of reception turn out to be related to the premake. A total of four main patterns could be highlighted. These are: (1) *Creating the gap – remake versus premake*, (2) *Present experience versus past experience*, (3) *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*, and (4) *Intertextual references – roundabout nostalgia?*. A pattern such as *Reasons for the reception – a reencounter with the past*, as it has been explained in the context of the reception of the *Knight Rider* remake could not be observed. None of the interviewees discuss explicitly expected gratifications regarding *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) neither in the context of the group discussions nor of earlier reception experiences. While no interviewee among the 25-35-year-old and the 55-65-year-old Germans had

seen the remake before the group discussion, among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards OFS25-35 and AFS25-35 declare to have watched the remake by accident on television. They do not know the premake. VMS25-35 saw the remake in the movies. He restricts his comments on the highlighting of his deception. From the fact that he does not know the premake it can be deduced that nostalgia was probably not what he expected. This differently applies to FMS55-65, a declared fan of the premake. He does not discuss his motivation to watch the movie. It can only be speculated that it was an aspired re-encounter with the past. He left the cinema after half an hour (see FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 8). The sole difference to the premake led to his deception (GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 12).

It can be stated that already on a general layer an altogether different course of discussion may be observed among the 25-35-year-olds and the 55-65-year-olds. Among the first group where only BMG25-35 knows the premake and two highlight to remember the title vaguely a ponderous and less enthusiastic discussion arose with an altogether smaller amount of contributions. It is a different case among the 55-65-year-olds, above all among the 55-65-year-old Germans where without exception everybody knows the premake.

As in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake, a dominantly negative appraisal of the remake may be observed. This again applies above all to the 55-65-year-old Germans where everybody knows the premake. The remake is here described as “*total platt*” [totally banal], “*langweilig*” [boring], “*aufdringlich*” [obtrusive], “*Konglomerat artig*” [conglomerate like], “[*a*]rtifizuell[es]” [artificial] or simply “*schlecht*” [bad]. Some aspects are indeed positively valorised – thus GFG55-65 highlights for instance the technical and dramaturgical quality positively (see GD55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Deutschland, 101; 103; 154) – however it will be shown that these contributions are relativised in comparison with the premake.

This similarly applies to the 55-65-year-old Spaniards. Here it is above all FMS55-65, the declared premake fan, who highlights that the remake “*no es original, no es fresco, no es nada*” [is not original, is not fresh, is nothing] (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 14 [o.t.]). In general, he describes the remake as “[*u*]n insulto a los fans” [an insult to the fans] (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 5 [o.t.]). The rest of the group is rather reluctant with the general appraisal. PCFS55-65 is indeed positive about the actors (see PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 81), however also she shall later relativise the

positive assessments.

Among the 25-35-year-olds it is above all the ‘don’t know’ VMS25-35 who had seen the remake who makes a similar negative appraisal. He describes the remake as “*ridicula*” [ridiculous] (GS25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 74). It is a different case among the rest of his age group. In the group of the 25-35-year-old Germans no such appraisals can be observed. On the contrary, the ‘don’t know’ EMG25-35 declares here explicitly to have liked the example (see GD25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 6). Also JMS25-35 of the Spanish group states that “[*le*] *ha hecho gracia*” [it amused him] (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 33 [o.t.]). As in the case of *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008) these contributions are normally interrelated with the comparison of premake and remake and a valorisation of both in this context. As assumed in the television analysis, the remake is thus contextualised within the frame of the premake. At the same time both among those who do not know and those who know the premake a different framing may be observed where other intertextual references of the remake gain more relevance.

8.2.2.1. Creating the gap – remake versus premake

For the ‘knowing’ audiences, the remake is inevitably related to the premake. Again, on a general layer and even though the premake was shown after the remake in the course of the discussion, the interviewees, this time dominantly the 55-65-year-olds, simply compare the two versions. Intertextual references on the layer of the narration are highlighted. Later, the music – as shown in the television analysis it is clearly reminiscent of the premake – has recognition value for the ‘knowing’ audiences. Both continuities and discontinuity on the layer of the characters are highlighted. This similarly applies to the reminiscences regarding the props of the ‘original’ series. Above all the continuities regarding bowler hat and umbrella have recognition value here:

*GFG55-65: Yes, of course. That you look for the bowler hat, what he is doing with his stick, there are different symbols of recognition (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 106 [o.t.]).*⁴²⁹

Against the assumptions made in the television analysis, none of the highlighted aspects works directly as a “mnemonic prompt” that leads into ‘own nostalgia’ from the side of

⁴²⁹ Original quotation: “*Ja natürlich, dass man guckt, wo ist die Melone, wie geht er mit seinem Stock um, es gibt ja so verschiedene (-) Erkennungszeichen*” (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 106).

the viewers. First and foremost the interviewees are reminded of the premake. In every case, the premake takes an intermediate position for any further reminiscences. As in the context of the *Knight Rider* remake the premake becomes part of the creation of a gap when these statements flow into a valorising comparison of remake and premake. Again two main sub-patterns can be observed: One in which the bad premake is set against the good remake and one in which it is *vice versa*.

(Bad) premake versus (good) remake

In contrast to the *Knight Rider* remake where some interviewees, dominantly those who appraised the premake or aspects of it negatively, undertake a comparison that is favourable for the remake, in the context of *The Avengers* remake only a few positive appraisals of the remake in the context of the premake can be observed. Presumably also since most of the 25-35-year-olds do not know the premake, in general, the pattern may be dominantly observed among the 55-65-year-olds. AMS55-65 highlights here for instance that:

*AMS55-65: There is a lot of spectacle. But the same opera, the same songs. Visually it is completely different. Here was the evolution (GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 70 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁰

Also IMG55-65 (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 165) and GMG55-65 (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 103) from the German group describe the remake as technically better realised. HFG55-65 states:

*HFG55-65: Yes. It is well made, it is better made than the original, but, something is missing (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 196 [o.t.]).*⁴³¹

In the end however, the positive appraisal is only about single aspects of the remake. The final assessment is always in favour of the premake. One explanation for the difference to the reception of the *Knight Rider* remake is here, surely that without exception everyone of the interviewees who knows the premake appraises it positively. “*Irgendwas*” [something], as it is stated by HFG55-65, is missing.

⁴³⁰ Original quotation: “(...) hay mucho espectáculo. (misma opera, mismas canciones) Visualmente es completamente diferente. Ahí a habido una evolución” (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 70).

⁴³¹ Original quotation: “Jaa, das ist gut gemacht, das ist viel besser gemacht, als das Original, aber, irgendwas fehlt mir” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 196).

Bad premake versus good remake

Already in the context of the television analysis on *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) it has been shown that the discourses that surround the remake become part of the “retrospective classification” of *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961). The same applies to the group discussions on the remake. Also here it is first of all the opposition ‘original’ versus copy that leads into the devalorisation of the remake. Among the 25-35-year-olds this line of argument may only be observed among the contributions of BMG25-35 (see GD25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 73), the only interviewee in the age group who stated to have concrete memories of the premake. Apart from that, it is above all observable among the 55-65-year-olds (see HFG55-65, CMG55-65, GFG55-65, IMG55-65, FFG55-65, BFG55-65, FMS55-65, PCFS55-65, MFS55-65, PMS55-65⁴³²). In most cases, the comparison is accompanied by further devaluating arguments regarding the remake. HFG55-65 states here for instance:

*HFG55-65: That’s when I thought, oh my god! How awful, how awfully made is that! Well, that’s one of those remakes that totally went wrong. I’d rather prefer watching the original ten times instead of once a series like this (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 56 [o.t.]).*⁴³³

FMS55-65 can be quoted with the words:

*FMS55-65: Gee! I think the original is a great series, Los Vengadores. [...] It was an entirely innovative series in its time, which was completely different from anything what was made. For me, a new version doesn’t make any sense (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 16 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁴

The devaluating comparisons regard the remake in general up to single aspects it. Above all the characters are described as copy of the ‘original’. PCFS55-65 describes the

⁴³² Hereby the statements of MFS55-65 and PMS55-65 have to be handled with caution. Both participate in the comparison and contrast ‘original’ against remake, however do actually not know the premake. In the case of MFS55-65 this is explainable with the fact that she uses rather general formulations and contextualizes her statements by those that have been made by other group members. The statements made by PMS55-65 however could easily mislead when they are not framed respectively. Probably it is the negative connotation that adheres to the remake term, which leads the interviewee to the premature assessment. Apart from that, it has to be considered that the interviewee is at the same time member of a local reading circle and has been recruited in this context. Before this background it could at least be speculated that he is somehow ‘trained’ to ‘pretend to know’.

⁴³³ Original quotation: “*Da hab ich gedacht: Gott, wie schlecht! Wie schlecht ist es denn gemacht! Also das ist so ‘n Remake was vollkommen in die Hose gegangen ist. Also da würd ich mir zehn Mal das Original angucken bevor ich mir ein einziges Mal so ‘ne Serie von denen angucke*” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 56).

⁴³⁴ Original quotation: “*Hombre, yo creo que el original es una gran serie Los Vengadores. [...] [E]s una serie completamente innovadora en su tiempo que era completamente diferente a todo lo que se hacia. [...] Una nueva versión no tiene, para mi no tienen ningún sentido. [...]*” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 16).

acting of Thurman as “*copia de como actuaba ella [Diana Rigg]*” [copy of how Diana Rigg performed] (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 86 [o.t.]). According to FMS55-65, Fiennes “*imitaba al otro, puramente*” [purely imitates the other one] (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 58 [o.t.]).

The comparison of ‘original’ versus ‘copy’ or remake versus premake in general is accompanied by more detailed assessments that focus upon the single layers of the remake. The new version is described as “*platter*” [more banal], “*langweiliger*” [more boring], or “*schlechter*” [worse]. Above all premake and remake characters are contrasted against each other:

*HFG55-65: I found them kind of cool, [...] while now, I found it rather sterile and I kind of disliked it. It was rather like one of these cartoon series (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 36 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁵

*BMG25-35: Yes, I mean, the protagonist looks like the old one. With the bowler hat, the umbrella and all that. Whereupon the old one did have a little bit more gravitas (GD25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 37 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁶

*FMS55-65: It's not the same character than Emma Peel. She doesn't have this [...] chutzpa (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 90-92 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁷

Concordant with what Black (2004, p. 106) describes, namely that Emma Peel is a “*character*, a character that is particularly resistant to abstraction from a given actor”, for the two participants FMS55-65 (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 12) and HFG55-65 (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 14) Diana Rigg is inevitably related to the series and perceived as missing from today’s perspective.

Next to the characters, also the *mise-en-scène* is compared. In general one can state that the interviewees bemoan here the loss of “charm” in comparison to the premake:

⁴³⁵ Original quotation: “[D]ie fand ich irgendwie ganz cool, die war ‘n trotzdem noch normal. Das waren Menschen. Die ham sich Emma Peel hat sich dann diesen schwarzen Anzug angezogen, dann hat sie gekämpft gegen das Unrecht der Welt, während jetzt, fand ich das sooo irgendwie (-) steril, also mir hat das nicht gefallen. (---) Das war wie so ‘ne Zeichentrickserie ...” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 36).

⁴³⁶ Original quotation: “Ja ich meine die, der der Protagonist sieht ja schon so aus wie der Alte. Also mit der Melone, mit dem Schirm und so. Wobei der Alte irgendwo so ‘n bisschen mehr (.) GRAvitas hatte. [...]” (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 37).

⁴³⁷ Original quotation: “[N]o es el mismo personaje que la Emma Peel. No tiene aquella, [...] chispa” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 90-92).

*GFG55-65: It doesn't really have this charm today (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 77 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁸

*HFG55-65: It lacks the elegance (the naturalness) (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 159 [o.t.]).*⁴³⁹

*CMG55-65: Well. It is quite some time ago since I've seen the original. It was much smoother (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 58 [o.t.]).*⁴⁴⁰

*PMS55-65: From series to series, there is, what he said about special effects, a tendency to add many special effects at the expense of script, and less subtlety, so to speak (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 27 [o.t.]).*⁴⁴¹

Participants bemoan the loss of a certain imperfectness of the premake. As mentioned previously, the interviewees are indeed aware of the fact that the remake is technically superior and also reflect about that, however always something is lacking.

*IMG55-65: [...] Well, I think that it is technically perfect and really fast, (but) you somehow long for the old stuff. That something is built up slowly and little movements are sufficient. I mean, it was really well made. A different world (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 165 [o.t.]).*⁴⁴²

*GMG55-65: Yeah, this is really suspenseful. It's just very well made regarding the editing and the dramaturgy. But this one isn't, it's much more clean (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 103 [o.t.]).*⁴⁴³

In summary, it can be stated that also here the comparison holds its part in the “retrospective classification” of the premake. A general confrontation of past and present television cannot be observed. Instead, as in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake, a clear gap between pre- and postlapsarian world is constructed that makes the premake

⁴³⁸ Original quotation: “*Es hat nicht mehr ganz den Charme heute*” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 77).

⁴³⁹ Original quotation: “[*Es fehlt so die Eleganz (das Selbstverständliche)*]” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 159).

⁴⁴⁰ Original quotation: “*Najaa. Also es ist lange her als ich das Original gesehn hab. Das war viel geschmeidiger [...]*” (CMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 58).

⁴⁴¹ Original quotation: “*De serie a serie, lo que ha dicho (sobre) los efectos especiales es una tendencia de añadir mucho efecto especial a costa de menos guión, y menos sutileza por decirlo de alguna manera*” (PMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 27).

⁴⁴² Original quotation: “*Also ich fand's technisch perfekt gemacht und ganz schnell und so (aber) man sehnt sich nach dem Alten irgendwie. [...]*” (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 165).

⁴⁴³ Original quotation: “*Ja das hat schon ne totale Spannung. Das ist einfach schnitttechnisch und dramaturgisch total gut gemacht. Aber es ist eben nicht (-) es ist viel glatter*” (GMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 103).

a potential trigger of nostalgia. IMG55-65 refers here even explicitly to a certain longing for the ‘original’, however again in the context of the negatively appraised remake nostalgia does not seem to be possible. Also here we may assume that the object the participants long for is available in the present which is why nostalgia is not developed. A participant highlights the retrievability of the remake explicitly:

FMS55-65: Well, this is something where they play the fool, but from my perspective it makes no sense to watch this today. It is much more interesting to watch old episodes of the series (GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 12 [o.t.]).⁴⁴⁴

8.2.2.2. Past versus present experience

As in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake, the comparison of remake and remake, or the comparison of (good) remake versus (bad) remake, flows into a similar comparison of past versus present experiences. Again the remake text is described as lacking in this context. The contributions however encompass a more reduced scale than in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake. This can probably be explained with the quantitative less cases of participants who state to know the remake and with the dominantly larger temporal distance to the last reception.

Even though the interviewees do not explicitly point to this fact, already the contributions, which oppose the (good) remake versus the (bad) remake, suggest that the remake was related to other emotions. Above all the assessments of HFG55-65 reflect that:

HFG55-65: [...] They were humans. Like... Emma Peel put on this black suit and fought against the evil in this world, while now, I found it rather sterile [...] (GD55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Deutschland, 36 [o.t.]).⁴⁴⁵

It seems that while the ‘original’ character inspired her imagination on a real existing emancipation, the remake Emma does not provide the visionary character of the predecessor for the interviewee. It is rather clearly perceived as fictitious. In other cases

⁴⁴⁴ Original quotation: “Para mí, eh Los Vengadores, Steed es Patrick Macnee y la señora Peel es la Diana Rigg. No puede otra Señora Peel. () Y punto. Entonces esto es una () dónde hacen el indio pero no tiene, para mí no tiene ningún interés ver HOY esto, es mucho más interesante ver viejos episodios de la serie” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 12).

⁴⁴⁵ Original quotation: “[D]ie fand ich irgendwie ganz cool, die war ‘n trotzdem noch normal. Das waren Menschen. Die ham sich Emma Peel hat sich dann diesen schwarzen Anzug angezogen, dann hat sie gekämpft gegen das Unrecht der Welt, während jetzt, fand ich das sooo irgendwie (-) steril, also mir hat das nicht gefallen. (---) Das war wie so ‘ne Zeichentrickserie ...” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Deutschland, 36).

such as the case of FMS55-65 the interviewees refer more explicit to a loss from today's perspective:

FMS55-65: There is also a very important thing. Diana Rigg was one of the first who wore a mini skirt. Back then all of us were watching her legs. Now we see legs since forty years – today, it's very different (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 64-65).⁴⁴⁶

In this case it is the lost fascination with the 'boundary-breaking' characteristics of the premake character, as it also has been supposed to be a potential trigger of nostalgia in the context of the television analysis, which is in the centre of attention. Other recipients such as the 55-65-year-old PCFS55-65 make more simple assessments:

PCFG55-65: I liked the first one much more. Although, I don't insult it as much as FMS55-65 (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 79 [o.t.]).⁴⁴⁷

Indeed, in all these cases a clear narration of the gap may be observed that opposes the positive past against a rather negative present experience, however, nostalgia cannot be manifested. Also here it can only be supposed that this is due to the general negative appraisal of the potential source of nostalgia in the context of which a positive emotion such as nostalgia does not arise. Furthermore, the gap can be found in a 'bad' version whose lacks can be made responsible for the absence of pleasure on the text.

Apart from that, a decisive degree of reflexivity may be observed among the 55-65-year-old Germans when they discuss that the 'original' has this high status due to their earlier experiences with it. HFG55-65 states here for instance:

HFG55-65: Well, generally I always prefer the original over the remake. Well, it's like this somehow. No matter how good the remake is made, the original is the original. This is what you know. What you appreciate or what you like and what you are used to, well, what accompanied you, however. There is something what is near by yourself. Something normal (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 189 [o.t.]).⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Original quotation: "Además hay una cosa muy importante. Diana Rigg era una de las primeras que corrían en minifalda. Entonces todos miramos las piernas. Y es que hace cuarenta años que vemos piernas, yaa, es muy diferente" (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 64-65).

⁴⁴⁷ Original quotation: "Me gustó, sí, me gustaba mucho más la primera que está. [...] Aunque no la denuesto tanto como Francois ((laughs)) Pero. Me gustaba más la primera" (PCFG55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 79).

⁴⁴⁸ Original quotation: "Also ich hab grundsätzlich dieses Ding, dass ich das Original lieber mag als das Remake. Also des is so irgendwie. Egal wie gut das Remake ist, das Original ist einfach das Original. Des ist das, was man kennt. Was man schätzen, geschätzt hat, oder was man MAAg oder womit man vertraut ist, also was einen so begleitet hat, also wie auch immer. Da ist so irgendwas, was bei dir ist. Was so normal ist" (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 189).

HFG55-65: Well, there is always the story in your head and that what you actually see (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 201 [o.t.]).⁴⁴⁹

HFG55-65: And that's why I think all of this has another importance today. For us, nowadays, everything has a little bit this connotation of history. We would never approach a series like that totally unbiased (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 240-242 [o.t.]).⁴⁵⁰

This similarly applies to EFG55-65 who states:

EFG55-65: I believe this has a lot to do with age and different viewing habits of old people and adolescents. And I'm not sure if I had found the original, which I find nicer right now, simply because I know it from the past, more appealing, I'm more used to it, if I had found that better than this colourful thing. I'm not sure about that (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 210-212 [o.t.]).⁴⁵¹

The interviewees surely put a large part of the functioning of the pattern into a nutshell here. That is, the negative appraisal of the remake does not result solely from an 'objective' comparison but is rather influenced by the memory of positive past emotions. At the same time, the positive appraisal of the remake is here relativised, which makes nostalgia in the remake context once more difficult.

8.2.2.3. (Nostalgic) context memories

Also in the discussion on the *The Avengers* remake, (nostalgic) context memories are one pattern of reception. Again the remake takes an intermediate position. Thus the arousal of these memories is restricted to those who had seen the remake, dominantly among the age group of the 55-65-year-olds. As in the context of *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) contextual reminiscences concentrate on early adulthood memories in relation to the 'original' series. Also here, even though the remake was broadcasted in various reruns, they concentrate on the 'original' broadcast of the 1960s.

The context memories that may be observed in two cases, that of the 55-65-year-old FMS55-65 and the 55-65-year-old GFG55-65, are concordant with those that are

⁴⁴⁹ Original quotation: "*Also das ist immer die Kopfgeschichte und das was du siehst*" (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 201).

⁴⁵⁰ Original quotation: "[...] *Und deswegen finde ich hat das heute alles 'n anderen Stellenwert. Und für uns ist heute alles so 'n bisschen vergangenheitsbesetzt. So gar nicht unvoreingenommen würden wir [...] an so 'ne Serie rangehen [...]*" (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 240-242).

⁴⁵¹ Original quotation: "[...] *Ich glaube das hat ziemlich viel mit (-) Alter und anderen Sehgewohnheiten zwischen Alten und Jugendlichen zu tun. Und ich bin mir nicht sicher, ob ich dann damals das Original, was ich jetzt heute schöner finde, einfach weil ich's von früher kenne =angenehmer finde =is mir vertrauter, (-) ob ich das dann damals besser gefunden hätte, als dieses bunte Teil. Da wär ich mir nicht sicher*" (EFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 210-212).

also discussed in the rerun context. It is above all the reception situation that is in the focus. GFG55-65 highlights how watching *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) belonged to the evening ritual at her childhood home:

*GFG55-65: Well, I watched it at home, when I still lived at home, I still went to school back then (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 95-97 [o.t.]).*⁴⁵²

*GFG55-65: And of course, it was kind of a ritual back then. I know that very well, all these series. Bezaubernde Jeannie [I Dream of Jeannie], and then there was a Wild West series and they were broadcasted around 18:30 or so and I learned vocabularies in the meantime. Yes. But actually still watched the series, both was possible somehow, but that was rather daily routine. It was part of that. Like supper, or I don't know (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 226-230 [o.t.]).*⁴⁵³

*GFG55-65: But watching television was also different back then. I remember that we always went to the neighbour. Well, I was about eight years old and we didn't have a TV set and always went to our neighbour or to granny and grandpa, and of course having a TV set in your own place was something very special (GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 234; 237-239).*⁴⁵⁴

Also in the context of the remake, FMS55-65 remembers the common watching with his university friends:

*FMS55-65: I know that we met with a lot of people in the bars, because it was a time when not everyone had a television set at home. [...] It was the time when I was at the university. We left class and went to a bar to watch Los Vengadores (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 16 [o.t.]).*⁴⁵⁵

In both cases and as in the context of the rerun, the reception experience is stylised to

⁴⁵² Original quotation: “Also ich hab das zu Hause noch gesehn, da hab ich noch zu Hause gewohnt, da hab ich eh, da bin ich noch zur Schule gegangen [...]” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 95-97).

⁴⁵³ Original quotation: “Und es hatte natürlich auch so ‘n Ritual damals. Ich kenne des ganz stark auch diese ganzen Serie, [...] [Be]zaubernde Jeannie, dann gab's irgend so ‘ne Wild West Serie und und und die liefen irgendwie 18:30 Uhr oder irgendwie so und ich hab dabei Vokabeln gelernt, ja, aber trotzdem Serie geguckt, das war irgendwie beides möglich, aber das war irgendwie Tagesablauf. Das gehörte irgendwie dazu. So wie's Abendbrot Essen, oder ich weiß nicht” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 226-230).

⁴⁵⁴ Original quotation: “Aber Fernseh'n war ja auch früher was anderes. Ich erinnere mich, dass wir immer zum Nachbarn gegangen sind. [...] Also ich war acht, oder so, und wir hatten keinen Fernseher und wir gingen immer noch zum Nachbarn oder zu Oma und Opa und da war dann natürlich der Fernseher, der dann im eigenen Haus war, was ganz Besonderes” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 234; 237-239).

⁴⁵⁵ Original quotation: “[...] Yo sé que nos reuníamos un montón de gente en los bares, porque era una época donde no todo el mundo tenía televisión en casa. Salíamos de clase y entonces... Era la época cuando iba a la universidad. Salíamos de clase y nos íbamos a un bar a ver los vengadores. [...]” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 16).

something special by declaring television to a scarce commodity. Memories are coloured by the early television era. The context memories however stay a passing remark in comparison to the rerun reception. A clear rhetoric of the gap that contrasts the better past against a worse or lacking present or cases of nostalgic longing as they appeared clearly in the rerun context cannot be observed.

8.2.2.4. Intertextual references – roundabout nostalgia?

In contrast to the *Knight Rider* remake where a decisive group among the interviewees knew the premake, regarding *The Avengers* the contrary is the case. Not only among the 25-35-year-olds (see FFG25-35, DFG25-35, EMG25-35, CFG25-35, AMG25-35, GMG25-35 among the 25-35-year-old Germans and JMS25-35, OFS25-35, AFS25-35, VMS25-35, RMS25-35, ZFS25-35 among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards)⁴⁵⁶ also among the 55-65-year-old Spaniards some interviewees have no knowledge of the earlier version. Dominantly these audiences frame the remake differently. For the ‘knowing’ audiences, the comparison serves the purpose to highlight the negatively valorised differences to the premake once again.

In both age groups it is above all *The Avengers*’ (Chechik, 1998) reference to James Bond films, which has already been explained in the course of the television analysis that is highlighted by the interviewees.

*MFS55-65: Los Vengadores is a James Bond-mix (GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 21 [o.t.]).*⁴⁵⁷

*AFS25-35: It’s like, it was like action, wasn’t it? Like 007 or something like that (GS25-35_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 34 [o.t.]).*⁴⁵⁸

*FCFS55-65: Like 007 or Mission Impossible, or... (GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 50 [o.t.]).*⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Among the 25-35-year-olds only BMG25-35 has concrete memories of the premake. For CFG25-35, CMS25-35 and RMS25-35 the series seems somehow familiar, however they do not have any concrete memories of the series nor do they relate the remake to the premake in the course of the discussion.

⁴⁵⁷ Original quotation: “*Los Vengadores es una mezcla de James Bond*” (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 21).

⁴⁵⁸ Original quotation: “*Es como de...Era como de acción y no?? Algo como el 007, algo así...*” (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 34).

⁴⁵⁹ Original quotation: “*Tipo 007, o Misión Imposible, o...*” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_ The Avengers_Spanien, 50).

The remake Steed is compared to James Bond (see FMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 81; FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 14). Uma Thurman is related to *Kill Bill* (Tarantino, 2003 and 2004).

*MFS55-65: And the girl, Uma Thurman, reminded me of Kill Bill. Well, it made me mixing up some movies (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 87 [o.t.]).*⁴⁶⁰

*FMS55-65: Here, Uma Thurman acts a bit like in Kill Bill (GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 90 [o.t.]).*⁴⁶¹

RMS25-35: When Uma Thurman appeared, I was thinking of Kill Bill.

*AFS25-35: Me too! (GS25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 75-76).*⁴⁶²

In contrast to the rerun context where intertextual references indeed led to further positive associations and a case of (roundabout) nostalgia could be supposed, the contributions of the interviewees in the context of the *The Avengers* remake stay concentrated on the mere explication of the reference. Neither their positive classification nor further context memories, as it was for instance observable in the discussion on the *Knight Rider* rerun, could be highlighted. Examples of nostalgia could not be found in any of these cases.

8.2.2.5. Conclusion on the reception of *The Avengers* remake

With a view on the television analysis, various aspects of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) were presumed to work as potential triggers of nostalgia. First and in general, it has been assumed that the remake as nostalgia ‘genre’ creates the expectation of nostalgia respectively makes it likely that audiences choose to watch the remake when they are in a nostalgic mood. Later, as in the case of *Knight Rider* (2008), the television analysis of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) shows, that the remake is clearly contextualised within the frame of the 1960s premake. Also here, already the title evokes the predecessor. The discourses of producers, television channels, or newspaper articles that surrounds the remake clearly appeals to the memory of *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) and installs it in parts as nostalgic offer. Later, the single layers of the remake have been analysed. The

⁴⁶⁰ Original quotation: “La chica, la Uma Thurman, me ha recordado a Kill Bill. Bueno () me ha mezclado películas” (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 87).

⁴⁶¹ Original quotation: “Aquí la Uma Thurman hace un poco como en Kill Bill” (FMS55-65, GS55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 90).

⁴⁶² Original quotation: RMS25-35: “Yo estaba... Cuando ha salido la Uma Thurman estaba pensando en Kill Bill. [...]”. AFS25-35: “Yo también” (GS25-35_Remakes_The Avengers_Spanien, 75-76).

remake actualises its time frame. The ‘connotation of pastness’ comes here with the knowledge of the premake. On nearly every layer of the text the remake exposes intertextual references to the premake which, favoured by the position the remake adopts towards its predecessor and depending on the respective “retrospective classification” are assumed to work as potential triggers of ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’. Furthermore, ‘A and F nostalgia’ has been supposed that stands in the context of the premake such as a presumed ‘A or F nostalgia’ towards a lost fascination with the ‘boundary-breaking’ characteristics of the premake Emma Peel. Later, other potential nostalgic offers have been presumed to work without the knowledge of the premake. With various other intertextual references, the remake appeals for instance to the memory of the ‘not knowing’ audiences and, depending on the respective “retrospective classification” of the reference, may lead into ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’ on this way. On the layer of the characters, the remake has been assumed to work as potential trigger of ‘F nostalgia’ due to the positively pictured past role models it exposes.

That the assumed nostalgic offers indeed lead to nostalgia on the side of the audiences is only hardly supported by the group discussions. As in the case of *Knight Rider*, supposed ‘gaps’ have been created, however didn’t lead into nostalgia. The reception analysis allows first explanations why this is the case. All in all, four different patterns of reception could be highlighted: (1) *Creating the gap – remake versus premake*, (2) *Present experience versus past experience*, (3) *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*, and (4) *Intertextual references – roundabout nostalgia?*. A pattern that reflects the expectation of ‘past’ emotions as it was observable in the context of the reception of the *Knight Rider* remake could not be highlighted. Most of the patterns of reception stand in the context of the premake and could dominantly be observed among those who know the premake. In this case, these were mostly members of the age group of the 55-65-year-olds. Again, so can be stated, a clear generational gap could be observed while differences between the territorial groups are of minor importance.

As assumed in the television analysis, the main gap the remake exposes is its reference to the premake. Dominantly, those who do not know the premake frame the remake with references different from the premake. Nostalgia, however, is not observable here. Participants restrict their contributions on the mere naming of the references. Further associations, which depending on a respective “retrospective classification” may have led to nostalgia, may not be observed. This may be explained

with the general negative classification of the remake. In the context of the negative appraisal, no positive emotions such as nostalgia seem to be possible.

More dominant, as mentioned previously, are those patterns that put the remake in relation to the 1960s predecessor. As assumed in the television analysis, here is also where the main gap may be located. As in the case of *Knight Rider*, first of all participants simply compare between the two products. Mainly the 55-65-year-olds and mainly those among them who know the remake highlight here intertextual references to the remake. They refer to continuities on the layer of narration, music, characters or props as they also were highlighted in the television analysis on *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). In most cases the comparison is accompanied by a clear valorization of the remake against the remake or *vice versa*. Effectively, in only few cases the (good) remake is held against the (bad) remake. In contrast to the *Knight Rider* remake where it was the group of those interviewees who know the remake and valorised it negatively, the 55-65-year-old interviewees only appraise aspects of the remake as technically better realised. The cinematographic ‘now’ is here clearly positively contrasted against the ‘then’. However, no one appraises the remake in general negatively. This may be due to the fact that no one states to have disliked the remake.

The pattern rather arises *vice versa*, that is, as *(Bad) remake versus (good) remake*. The interviewees clearly valorise here the remake against the background of the remake in integrating it in the opposition of ‘original’ versus ‘copy’ or ‘second version’. Later single layers of the remake and remake are compared always in favour of the remake. Undeniably, these comparisons hold their part in the “retrospective classification” of the remake and valorise it as potential trigger for nostalgia. A clear narration of the gap can be observed. However, concrete cases of nostalgia could not be highlighted.

This similarly applies to the pattern *Past versus present experience*. As in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake, it is, so to say, in the lack of the remake where a further gap comes into play that refers to the loss of zestfulness, fascination or other positive emotions as they once have been experiences in the context of the remake. Again the pattern is solely observable among the 55-65-year-olds and only among those who knew and liked the remake. However, even though a clear rhetoric of the gap is observable also in this pattern nostalgia is not the case.

Lastly, also regarding *The Avengers* one pattern of reception reflects the existence of *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*. At least two cases are here observable. As

in the case of the *Knight Rider* remake, the remake takes here an intermediate position. The context memories are here about early adulthood memories in the context of the ‘original’ broadcast. They remain however a passing remark. Nostalgia may not be observed in this context.

All in all it can be stated that against the assumptions made in the television analysis *The Avengers* remake does not provoke nostalgia. Among the presumed nostalgic offers that have been assumed to work without the relation to the remake no one has been perceived as such. The analysis can only assume that this is due to the general negative appraisal of the remake, in whose context positive emotions such as nostalgia can rather be excluded. However, also the presumed triggers for nostalgia that work in the context of a gap between remake and remake and the positive valorisation of the latter also could not be approved in the reception study. Clear narrations of the gap could be observed, however nostalgia does not arise. As in the case of *Knight Rider* it seems, that instead of being irretrievable, the loss is thought to be possibly compensated in a better remake version or in a renewed reception of the ‘original’ series.

8.2.3. Conclusion on remakes as potential triggers of nostalgia

Before the background that remakes are included within the broad category of nostalgia film and nostalgia television from the side of the academic discourse and that also in the non-academic discourse nostalgia and remakes are frequently mentioned together, it has been assumed that remakes are able to provoke the emotion of nostalgia in its audiences. In order to investigate this on the textual layer, the ‘modules’ as they have been explained in the theoretical part of the work have been applied in a television analysis. First, it has been assumed that remakes as nostalgia ‘genre’ make the audiences expect nostalgia. Later, on the layer of the text, a possible ‘nostalgic’ relation of the remake to the remake has been assumed to be the main focus of nostalgia from the side of the audiences.

With *Knight Rider* (2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) two remakes that “update the time frame” (Black, 2004, p. 101) of their remakes have been chosen. While the first bases upon the 1980s television series *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982; TVE, 1985, RTLplus, 1985), the second refers to the 1960s television series *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961; TVE, 1966; ZDF, 1966). Both were broadcasted as remake and as remake in Germany and Spain. While the first remake falls in the “reminiscence bump”

respectively “formative years” of the today 55-65-year-olds and is outside the lifespan of the 25-35-year-olds, the second falls in the “reminiscence bump” or “formative years” of the 25-35-year-olds but may also be remembered by the older age group. Regarding possible nostalgias, the television analysis assumes here dominant differences between the age groups. Territorial differences are thought to have less relevance in this case.

That the two remakes indeed provoke nostalgia in its audiences is only hardly supported by the group discussions (see table 2). If at all, cases of ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefacts as a whole could be presumed, which however could not be fully confirmed with reference to the discussion. Notwithstanding, this does not mean that the reception study was purposeless. Only in doing so, important knowledge about the functioning of nostalgia and nostalgia and remakes could be highlighted. The formulation of further hypotheses is possible.

	Cases of nostalgia in the remake context
<i>Knight Rider</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefacts as a whole (?) (VMS25-35, AFS25-35, OFS25-35)
<i>The Avengers</i>	–

Table 2: Cases of nostalgia in the course of the remake reception.

That nostalgia is the gratification viewers expect when they chose to watch a remake is in parts supported by the group discussions. Above all, in the case of *Knight Rider* (2008) it becomes very clear that the motivation to watch the series was an intended reencounter with the past. One interviewee refers her explicitly to an expected “retro-feeling” that in the context of the discussion turns out to be equivalent to nostalgia regarding past emotions. This assumption is less supported by the discussion on *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998). Here a deeper questioning would have been necessary. The interviewees do not discuss explicitly on the expected gratifications in the context of the series. In one case among the 55-65-year-olds, it becomes clear that it is the not fulfilled re-encounter with a premake-equivalent that led to deception of the interviewee. In the context of both discussions it becomes clear, that expectations are not fulfilled by the respective remake.

Perhaps due to this reason, the interviewees in both cases dominantly focus on the artefact layer of the remakes. In both groups and among those who know the premake and remember to have liked it a dominant negative appraisal of the remake may be observed that focuses upon the lacks in comparison with the premake. Those

who know the premake clearly also contextualise the remakes within this frame. Hereby the patterns of reception that could be observed are concordant regarding both examples: (1) *Creating the gap – remake versus premake with*, (2) *Past versus present experiences*, (3) *(Nostalgic) contextual memories*, and (4) *Intertextual references – roundabout nostalgia?*. This conclusion shall now focus on differences and similarities between the discussions on the two remakes, and explanations for the non-existence of nostalgia shall be deduced.

First of all, the assessments of the ‘knowing’ audiences inevitably contain a comparison of premake and remake. The main reference to the past is the reference to the premake. In both discussions the participants simply compare the two versions. The main difference can be found between the age groups here. Thus while in the context of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) it is the group of the 55-65-year-olds which dominantly makes this comparison, in the context of *Knight Rider* (2008) it may be dominantly observed among the 25-35-year-olds. Against the assumptions in the television analysis, none of the aspects that refer to the premake directly work as a “mnemonic prompt”. In each case it is the premake that is reminded at first place. Normally, the premake and the experiences related to it are the end point of the associations of the viewers.

In both cases, the comparison inevitably flows into the valorisation of the premake against the back of the remake or *vice versa*. A comparison that highlights the *(bad) premake versus the (good) remake* is infrequent. In the case of *Knight Rider* (2008) it is observable among a few audiences and here dominantly among those whose “retrospective classification” of the premake or aspects of it is negative. In the case of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) the contrast is less stark and only aspects of the remake are valorised as better, while the general appraisal is always in favour of the premake. This may be explained by the fact that none of the ‘knowing audiences’ retrospectively classifies the premake negatively.

Regarding both *Knight Rider* (2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) the comparison in favour of the premake is dominant. As Horton and McDougal (1998, p. 3) state in the context of remaking in general, the remake “transforms” the “hypotext”. The remake becomes here part of the valorisation of the premake. As assumed, a clear gap between the higher valued premake and the lower valued remake is constructed. In both cases on a broader layer the remake serves in order to give the premake the status of the ‘original’, just as Oltmann (2008, p. 27) describes it in the context of her investigation on remakes in general. Later, regarding both examples, single layers of the remake are

devaluated against the background of the premake. The starkest contrast is always observable among those who retrospectively classified the premake positively which again are the 55-65-year-olds in the case of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) and the 25-35-year-olds in the case of *Knight Rider* (2008). Both *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) and *Knight Rider* (2008) are here perceived as too “clean”, characters are described as insufficient since they lack decisive aspects of the premake characters. In both cases the term “sterile” falls. One can only assume that also a lack of emotional attachment is part of its connotation. In the context of *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) two interviewees from the age group of the 55-65-year-olds state here explicitly: “*irgendwas fehlt*” [something is missing] (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_TheAvengers_Deutschland, 196 [o.t.]). “[*M*]an *sehnt sich nach dem Alten*” [you long for the old] (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Remakes_The Avengers_Deutschland, 165 [o.t.]) states IMG55-65.

The pattern that contrast the (bad) remake against the (good) premake finds its continuation in a comparison of past versus present experiences. Both in the case of *The Avengers* and in the case of *Knight Rider* textual aspects, which have been described as lacking, correlate with a respective lack of positive emotions as they are reminded in the context of the premake. Again, the differences regard less the territorial groups, but the age groups and here again a divide between those who retrospectively classify the premake positively and those who retrospectively classify it negatively may be described. Audiences from the group of the 55-65-year-olds in parts reflect explicitly about the influence of past experiences on their present appraisal. Against the background of observations that have been made by Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992) we may also assume that certain nostalgia comes here into play. “Nostalgia for a program” so the authors, “could explain why viewers perceive their favorite rerun as having better quality than newer programs” (Furno-Lamude and Anderson, 1992, p. 371). However, no participant classifies his/her emotion as nostalgia.

In both cases, a clear narration of the gap can be observed that contrasts a pre- and postlapsarian world. The interviewees are inspired to reminisce about the better past programme or better past emotions. The remake text as such however provokes dominantly negative emotions such as deception. Despite the existence of a ‘gap’ and the even clear mention of “*sehnsucht*” [yearning], the experience is not classified as nostalgic by the audiences. We may not talk of ‘artefact nostalgia’ directed towards the premake nor of ‘A or F nostalgia’ directed toward the past emotions. In order to explain that, it surely makes sense to return to the definition of nostalgia as it has been quoted in

the very beginning of this work. Following Cook (2005, p. 3) nostalgia is a “state of longing for something that is known to be irretrievable”. Before this background we may thus highlight that despite the clear narration of the gap it is the irretrievability that cannot be observed in the explications of the audiences. “*Irgendwas*” [something], as HFG55-65 states, is indeed described as missing. However, this ‘something’ is not classified as irretrievable from the perspective of the audiences, but is thought to be available in the premake or in a ‘better’ remake version. Since the remake is negatively appraised, it is the text that is made responsible for the lack.

It is a slightly different case regarding the (*Nostalgic*) *contextual memories*. As in the case of the reruns, also the remake discussions reflect the existence of a context memory. Again, in both cases the respective premakes are triggers of the memories and have an intermediate position. The memories exclusively refer to the time-span of the ‘original’ broadcast of the series, even though both premakes were broadcast as reruns within the course of time. Presumably the first broadcast left the strongest impression on the audiences, which is why this moment is remembered preferably. This would also be concordant with observations that have been made by Hoffmann and Kutscha (2010) in the context of memories of motion pictures. The pattern again clearly supports the narration of the better premake. In general and in comparison with the reruns however, the context memories rather stay a passing remark. A clear nostalgic rhetoric – both simple and reflexive – can only be observed in the context of the *Knight Rider* (2008) discussion and here only among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards. They clearly contrast the better childhood past against the present. The interviewees do not explicitly refer to nostalgia in this context. Only before the background of their later statements that they developed childhood nostalgia in the context of *Knight Rider*, it can at least be assumed that they refer here also to the discussion about the remake. In any case it seems that this ‘own artefact nostalgia’ did not arise in the course of the reception but is an emotion that developed in the context of ‘re-enactment’ in the course of the discussion.

Finally, both *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) and *Knight Rider* (2008) are approached with intertextual references different from the premake. In both cases mainly those audiences who do not know the premake undertake this framing. Again, in contrast to the reruns, no cases of (roundabout) nostalgia may be observed. The reception analysis assumes here that this is due to the general negative appraisal of the remake that does not give way to positive emotions in the context of the text.

In summary, it can be stated that for those who know the premake, both remakes are inevitably related to reception experiences and emotions from the context of the premake. The remakes appeal here to the memory of a “we” that is in this case neither a gendered “we” nor a national “we” but a “we” of the age group. In both cases it seems that the remake reception supports a possible nostalgia in the context of premake respectively rerun, but it does not provoke nostalgic longing by itself. This conclusive chapter could highlight probable explanations for this specific fact of the case. However, this does not apply for remakes and nostalgia in general. Surely not every remake is appraised negatively. The “critical framing” does not dominate every remake reception.

8.3. Reception of the period dramas

The period drama was the last nostalgia ‘genre’ that was discussed in the focus groups. While, as shall be stated preceding the analysis, in the context of *Mad Men* and in general, more lively discussions could be observed, *Borgia* did not raise as many contributions from the participants.

8.3.1. The reception of the period drama *Mad Men*

The television analysis of *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007; ZDFneon, 2010; Cuatro, 2009) showed that the self-reflexive period drama exposes a mix of different potential triggers of ‘A nostalgia’, ‘F nostalgia’ and ‘empathetic F nostalgia’. This is also reflected in the reception study. Hereby, the discussion is somehow divided into two sections. In the first part a clearer gap between different ‘we-groups’ could be observed. The second part, more focused on the nostalgia scene of the stimulus material, rather mediates between the two age groups and gives more space to the development of empathetic emotions. In order to maintain the clearness, the reception of this second section shall be commented separately in this presentation of results. Apart from this focus on an empathetic understanding in the second section, the reception of *Mad Men* can be grasped in two major patterns: (1) *Reception of the references to the ‘natural real’*, which mainly focuses on the layer of narration, and, (2) *(Inter-) textual references – (roundabout) nostalgia* that refers to the reception of potential triggers of nostalgia on other layers of the text. They shall be commented on as follows.

A pattern of reception that reflects an expectation of nostalgia from the side of the participants could not be identified. In the group of the 25-35-year old Spaniards and

the group of the 55-65-year-old Germans, no one had seen the series before and could have reported about corresponding expectations. In the group of the 25-35-year old Germans, indeed FFG25-35 had seen the first three seasons of the series and BMG25-35 some few episodes. Also in the Spanish group FCFS55-65 knows the series and also AMS55-65 had seen “a part”. However, in this general context no participant mentions nostalgia. Earlier experiences are only roughly reported. Only FCFG55-65 and FFG25-35 highlight their general appreciation of the series.

8.3.1.1. Reception of the references to the ‘natural real’

Starting on the layer of the narration, the television analysis shows that the drama series *Mad Men* does not favour ‘F nostalgia’ directed towards an idealised 1960s time of reference but rather reflects the era critically. It has been assumed that this perspective will also shape the reception of the participants or hold its part on a possible transfer to a German or Spanish 1960s reality. Above all, and with a view on the 55-65-year-old Spaniards and the 25-35-year-old Germans where in each case one of the participants has a more extensive knowledge of the episodes, this has been verified by the group discussions. Already a re-telling of the main-plot from the side of FFG25-35 clearly reflects the non-nostalgic perspective on the era that is induced by the series:

FFG25-35: Well, it’s an agency in the ’60s. An advertising agency. [...] It’s all about Don Draper. This is the main part. He somehow slipped into the agency and well, has a dubious past. You do not know it very well. You learn about his past bit by bit. He is married to a young beautiful woman. [...] And he has a lot of affairs. They are constantly smoking and drinking, drinking whiskey in the agency and you get an impression of the ’60s (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 9 [o.t.]).⁴⁶³

AFG25-35: Well, the men are back in the executive office and in the front the women have the secretary jobs.

FFG25-35: Yes. The women are secretaries. There were none. Peggy is the only one who, the one with the ponytail, who looks a little bit unspectacular. Who [throws] herself at the other, well and she is, she becomes pregnant by

⁴⁶³ Original quotation: “Also das ist ne Agentur in den 60er Jahren. Ne Werbeagentur. [...] Es geht um Don Draper. Das ist die Hauptrolle. Der ist da irgendwie reingerutscht in die Agentur und joa hat ne zwielichtige Vergangenheit. Man weiß nich so. Man erfährt erst so stückchenweise von seiner Vergangenheit. Und er ist mit ner jungen, schönen Frau verheiratet. [...] Und er hat ganz viele Affären. Die äh sind da ständig am Rauchen und am Trinken, Whisky trinken in der Agentur und man is, man kriegt so ‘n Eindruck von den 60er Jahren” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 9).

the [...]. And has an abortion, and it's all under the, well no one really gets it (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 82-87 [o.t.]).⁴⁶⁴

The “impression of the ’60s” reflects a time span of moral bigotry, unwanted pregnancies and gender inequality. Also in the following discussion the participants highlight gender relations as they are exposed and ‘imposed’ on the agenda by the series. In both groups this leads into a critical reflection of gender roles during the 1960s. Above all the 55-65-year-old Spanish women relate the observations to their own 1960s’ lifeworld.

FCFS55-65: Here's also a mentality. He [Don Draper] doesn't let his wife work ... Because he is a boss, earns a lot ... Well, at the same time, he is with everyone he wants to be apart from his wife. This was also (---) at the time you also saw that. Here (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 54-56 [o.t.]).⁴⁶⁵

PCFS55-65: ... there were sites of responsibility, especially in small towns, where for example the director of the bank (...) could not, his wife could not work. It was badly viewed because since he represented the bank, he had to be, he was perfectly able to sustain the family. No, not once they thought that his wife wanted to work, because it fulfilled them, they liked it, because she was a doctor, because she was I don't know what. ... It was only about economic aspects (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 57-61 [o.t.]).⁴⁶⁶

FCFS55-65: Those of us who started to work at that time, well, we had no facilities, childcare facility, of any kind, nothing (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 63 [o.t.]).⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁴ Original quotation: AFG25-35: “Also die Männer sind hinten in dem dem Chef-Zimmer und die Frauen machen vorne den Sekretärinnen-Job.” FFG25-35: “[Ja. Die Frauen sind Sekretärinnen] Es gab keine. Die, die, die Peggy ist die die, also die eine mit dem Zopf, die 'n bisschen unspeh unspektakulärer aussieht, die sich an diesen, an diesen andern, na und SIE ist ja, und sie wird auch schwanger von dem. [...] Und sie treibt aber das Kind ab, und es ist alles halt schön unter, also es kriegt eigentlich fast niemand mit” (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 82-87).

⁴⁶⁵ Original quotation: “Aquí también hay una mentalidad. Él [Don Draper] no deja trabajar a su mujer.. Porque él es jefe, gana mucho ... Ara después el va con quien quiere aparte de su mujer. Eso también era (---) en la época también se veía. Aquí” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 54-56).

⁴⁶⁶ Original quotation: “... habían sitios de responsabilidad, sobre todo en pueblos pequeños, que por ejemplo el director de la caja (...) no podía, su mujer no podría trabajar. Estaba mal visto porque ya como representaba la caixa, pues tenía que ser, podía mantener perfectamente a la familia. No, no pensaban ni en un momento, que su mujer quería trabajar, porque les realizABA, les gustABA, porque era médico, porque era yo qué sé. ... Era solo el (aspecto) económico” (PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 57-61).

⁴⁶⁷ Original quotation: “Las que empezábamos a trabajar en aquella época, pues, de facilidades ninguna, (...) de guarderías, de ningún tipo de facilidad, nada” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 63).

In general, the comments reflect the moral standards and the marginal position of females under the strictly catholic Franco regime. The “referential framing” does not serve the object of nostalgia but, favoured by the television series, is rather part of a negative “retrospective classification” of the 1960s.

This similarly applies to the 25-35-year-old Germans. Above all with a view on gender issues, the participants explicitly highlight the era as not worth longing.

*CFG25-35: Well, I would not have liked to live there. Let's say it this way (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 130 [o.t.]).*⁴⁶⁸

*FFG25-35: Well, I find the costumes great. And I like the women and I like female bodies, but ... but I would not want to swap my role in present times (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 142 [o.t.]).*⁴⁶⁹

*GMG25-35: Well, at that time, like it is reflected here, I would not have wanted to live, Answered not from a male, but from a female perspective (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 144; 154 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷⁰

*EMG25-35: ... well, this is, for me it is very clearly from this conservative time. And because of that I would deny it clear that I would like to live there (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 134 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷¹

Also here the participants make a “referential framing”. Their point of reference is their present living reality that is positively contrasted against the 1960s past as reflected by *Mad Men*. Furthermore, nostalgia is clearly hindered here.⁴⁷² Apart from that, a positive ‘prosthetic memory’ of the era on the basis of which nostalgia would have been possible can be excluded. In various points of the discussion, the 25-35-year-old participants highlight the mediated nature of their 1960s knowledge by explicitly referring to history books, photos, press reports and others.

⁴⁶⁸ Original quotation: “*Also ich hätte da nicht gern gelebt. Sagen wir's mal so*” (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 130).

⁴⁶⁹ Original quotation: “*Also, ich find halt die Kostüme großartig. Und mir gefallen die Frauen und ich mag weibliche Körper, aber ... so meine Rolle jetzt in der heutigen Zeit will ich nicht tauschen*” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 142).

⁴⁷⁰ Original quotation: “*Na zu der Zeit, wie das da rüber kommt, hätte ich nicht leben woll'n,... Nicht aus männlicher; sondern aus weiblicher Sicht beantwortet...*” (GMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 144; 154).

⁴⁷¹ Original quotation: “*... das ist ja, find ich jetzt für mich ziemlich deutlich, aus dieser biedereren Zeit. Und aufgrund dessen würd ich das deutlich verneinen, dass ich da gern gelebt hätte*” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 134).

⁴⁷² At this point shall at least be hinted to the fact that in this last quotation of EMG25-35 also becomes apparent that the 60s as such are not excluded as potential object of nostalgic longing by the participant. *Mad Men* seems to depict that part of the 60s which seems less worth longing for the participant. Here can only be assumed that EMG25-35 points here to common clichés of the swinging sixties as counter example.

In other cases, the, as White (2011, p. 153) says, “scenes that seem devised solely to index the difference between then and now” are highlighted both among the 25-35-year-old Germans and Spaniards. FFG25-35 and JMS25-35 state here:

*FFG25-35: ... later she is pregnant, and then she is constantly smoking and drinking alcohol. And if you look at that you think, alas, oh God, but they did not know it back then. Well, this is just one example (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 12 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷³

*JMS25-35: I saw a man smoking next to a child on a swing I think, err, well, that would be impossible nowadays (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 202 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷⁴

As White (2011) presumed on a theoretical layer, these scenes “serve as conspicuous signs of the era’s alluring, disarming, irresponsible, and potentially lethal habits” (White, 2011, p. 154) and also impede nostalgia.

Apart from this comment of JMS25-35, in those groups, namely the group of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards and the 55-65-year-old Germans, where none of the participants had ever seen a complete episode of the series and no *aficionado* describes complete plot-lines and influences the ‘agenda setting’ within the discussion, the plot of the series is not further discussed. In these groups other layers of the text become more important as it will be commented in the following.

8.3.1.2. Nostalgia on other layers of the text

With a view on the television analysis we may state that *Mad Men* exposes a high degree of disclosed intertextuality to other cultural products. The “deliberate archaism” imports a further critical layer into the series and highlights the constructedness of the text. Depending on a respective “retrospective classifications” of the references it may also lead into nostalgia. At the same time *Mad Men* refers clearly to ‘the 1960s’. Consumer products it exposes may, so it can be assumed, work as “mnemonic prompts” for those who have own or ‘prosthetic memories’ of the era.

⁴⁷³ Original quotation: “... sie is ja dann schwanger und sie ist ständig am Rauchen und am Alkohol trinken. Und wenn du dir das dann anguckst denkst du hach, oh Gott, aber das wussten die ja damals alles noch nicht. Also das ist jetzt nur ein Beispiel. ...” (FFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 12).

⁴⁷⁴ Original quotation: “Yo ahí he visto un señor fumando al lado de un niño en un columpio... me ha parecido, ahmm... que ahora mismo sería imposible, vamos” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 202).

As the reception analysis shows, these references are indeed perceived as such. Hereby, however the foci of attention differ clearly among the groups – as it seems, always depending on where ‘proximity’ to the own lifeworld is most likely to be generated. Accordingly, differently distributed are the nostalgias that may be observed. Roughly we may here distinguish two sub-patterns: (1) *Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia* and (2) *Reference to the 1960s*.

Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia

In a major pattern, above all observable among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards, the interviewees make sense of the series by integrating it in a net of intertextual references. They dominantly name other period pictures that are set in an era around the 1950s and 1960s. Above all, aesthetic and music of *Mad Men* remind the 25-35-year-olds of other films:

*JMS25-35: I saw it in [the context of] other American series, dancing twist. (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 64 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷⁵

*VMS25-35: Yeah, the aesthetics I saw in the other scene reminded me of this movie or this series of the prom, these ones where they are all coming in order to dance twist, where they are all worried because they will stop seeing each other (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 102 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷⁶

*CMS25-35: Yes, I totally agree with him. It reminds me of the aesthetic of this, of the old movies and apart from that ... (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 108 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷⁷

As a concrete example, *Dirty Dancing* (Ardolino, 1987), a period drama that is set in the early 1960s, is named by the two female participants AFS25-35 and OFS25-35. Other examples that regard both female and male members as memory community are the science-fiction trilogy *Back to the Future* (Zemeckis, 1985, 1989, 1990), that among others ‘returns’ to the late 1950s, or *Grease* (Kleiser, 1978), a period musical set in the late 1950s (see e.g. VMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 142; ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 65).

⁴⁷⁵ Original quotation: “Yo la he visto, en [el contexto de] otras series americanas, bailando twist” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 64).

⁴⁷⁶ Original quotation: “Sí, la estética que he visto en la otra escena me ha recordado a esta película o a estas series de baile de graduación ese que van todos ahí bailando twist ahí, de, que se apenan porque van a dejar de verse” (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 102).

⁴⁷⁷ Original quotation: “Sí. YO coincido perfectamente con él. Me recuerda la estética de esto, de películas antiguas y demás [...]” (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 108).

It is the latter reference, *Grease*, which in the case of ZFS25-35 leads into ‘artefact nostalgia’ respectively ‘own artefact nostalgia’:

*ZFS25-35: I must say that, that with the dances and the entire series of Mad Men and the one, I don't know the title ... For me, this refers to Grease and all that, this kind of dance, these films, which bring me a lot of nostalgia or, be it, they touch me, for example; [A nostalgia] of having watched them in a time when I did not have sorrows. I don't know (GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 32 [o.t.]).*⁴⁷⁸

In line with this elaboration, later on the questionnaire the participant describes nostalgia in the moment of “*recordar las series antiguos, al volver a un pasado sin preocupaciones*” [when reminding old series, going back to a past without sorrows] (ZFS25-35, S25-35_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Spaniards, 19 [o.t.]). Similar to the case of CFG25-35 in the context of the *Knight Rider* rerun, it is not the series *Mad Men* as such that provokes nostalgia, but, a kind of ‘roundabout’ nostalgia that is provoked by an intertextual reference of the text. Furthermore, the respective positive “retrospective classification” of the object of nostalgia that she calls “*un pasado sin preocupaciones*” [a past without sorrows] is essential. It can only be assumed that ZFS25-35 refers here to a period in life, more precisely to her schooldays, that she also describes as “*el paraíso perdido*” [the lost paradise] (GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 106 [o.t.]) at another point of the discussion.

In correspondence to the intertextual references, the series is perceived as ‘typical American’ by these 25-35-year-olds:

*VMS25-35: It has nothing to do with Spain, because things like that haven't been done. But nothing (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 191 [o.t.])*⁴⁷⁹

*CMS25-35: I think it's rather American (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 115 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁸ Original quotation: “Y yo debo decir que eso, que lo de los bailes y toda la serie esta de Mad Men y esaa... que no sé como se llama. Eso que me remite a Grease y todo eso, ese tipo de baile, esas películas también me dan mucha nostalgia o sea que, me tocan la sensibilidad, por ejemplo. [Una nostalgia] [d]e haberlo visto yo, en una época en la que yo no tenía preocupaciones. No sé. Mmm” (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Spanien, 16; 18; 32).

⁴⁷⁹ Original quotation: “[...] Nada que ver con España porque nunca se ha hecho nada así. Pero nada” (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 191).

⁴⁸⁰ Original quotation: “[...] Creo que es más americano” (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 115).

JMS25-35: Here, the sixties were perhaps rather paso doble [a Spanish dance] than any other thing (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 117 [o.t.]).⁴⁸¹

A relation to the Spanish context of the 1960s is clearly denied. In their further explication of the differences the participants refer explicitly to the Franco regime.

VMS25-35: No. Here we are in another world. In this time in Spain. We were 50 years behind.

JMS25-35: The dictatorial involution.

VMS25-35: Yes. Or be it Franco ... here we were...

HMS25-35: Paquito.

VMS25-35: Paquito.

JMS25-35: Don Paquito.

VMS25-35: Or be it, we didn't advance parallel the Americans and us. We were stagnating, totally.

M: But the fashion, for example?

VMS25-35: The fashion, well, a bit, but...

RMS25-35: Later. Here it arrived later.

VMS25-35: Later and, apart from that, not so uninhibited. Because, sure, Don Franco, didn't allow too much either

(GS25-35_Period Pictures_MadMen_Spanien, 119-134 [o.t.]).⁴⁸²

The mention of the Franco regime makes a new “we” appear, namely a national “we” contrasted against the “they”, the former Franco leadership. Nostalgia in this context cannot be observed. Not to mention the clear non-existence of positive prosthetic memories from the era. The elaborations of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards differ here distinctly from the ones of their older compatriots, as it will be outlined in the following section.

Later, also in the group of the 55-65-year-olds the “deliberate archaism” of *Mad Men* is of high relevance. More than in the group of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards “they comment on how [the text] is constructed and performed” just as Chandler and Munday (2011, p. 161) describe Liebes and Katz’s (1990) term of the “critical framing”. Except from the case of EFG55-65 who draws the relation from the *Mad Men* protagonists to

⁴⁸¹ Original quotation: “Los sesenta de aquí, quizás son más pasodoble que otra cosa” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 117).

⁴⁸² Original quotation: VMS25-35: “No, aquí estamos en otro mundo. En esa época. En España. Estábamos, cincuenta años atrás [...]”. JMS25-35: “La involución dictatorial.” VMS25-35: “Siii. O sea FrancoOo y... aquí estábamos que ibaan.” HMS25-35: “Paquito.” VMS25-35: “Paquito.” JMS25-35: “Don Paquito.” VMS25-35: “O sea, que no habíamos avanzado eeen paralelo los americanos y nosotros, estábamos estancados, totalmente”. M: “Pero la moda por ejemploO?” VMS25-35: “La moda ye-ye, un poco, peero..” RMS25-35: “Más tarde, aquí llegó más tarde.” VMS25-35: “Máas tarde y además no tan desatada, porque estaba Don Franco, claro, que tampoco permitiiian demasiadoooo... jmmm” (GS25-35_Period Pictures_MadMen_Spanien, 119-134).

Rock Hudson and Doris Day (EFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 52), the elaborations concern the accentuation of the series' formal layer in general. *Mad Men's* clear emphasis of the constructedness of the text is respectively perceived:

*DMG55-65: But I also found it was like a decal. The room was never illuminated like that, and also the things that they were wearing. That never existed like that, yes. [...] it's not real (GD55-65_Period pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 81-85 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸³

*DMG55-65: I immediately thought that someone is trying to represent the '60s. The carousel for example existed only in the '60s. Today, it doesn't exist (GD55-65_Period pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 169 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁴

*GFG55-65: It is clichéd. [...] You recognise some things but it's still like a, like DMG55-65 said, a decal. That I distance myself from it at the same time (GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 147 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁵

*BFG55-65: [...] I had to smile in between because I found it so artificial (GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 163 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁶

These interviewees indeed recognise past objects such as clothes, the carousel, “so ‘n paar Sachen” [such a few things] that they also know from the 1960s Germany, the contrast to their own living reality however is always highlighted. The “critical framing” creates an emotional distance that puts the interviewees in an observer position. One participant highlights this experience explicitly:

*DMG55-65: I stepped out of it. Didn't want to stay. Rather like to stay outside (GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 89-91 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Original quotation: “Aber das fand ich wie so'n Abziehbild. Der Raum war nie so ausgeleuchtet, und auch die Sachen, die die an hatten. Das hat 's so nie gegeben, ja. [...] gar nicht echt” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 81- 85).

⁴⁸⁴ Original quotation: “[A]lso ich dachte sofort, da versucht jemand, die Sechziger darzustellen. Das Karussell gab 's auch nur in den 60er Jahren. Das gibt's heut nicht mehr” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 169).

⁴⁸⁵ Original quotation: GFG55-65: “[...] das so klischee-haft war, [...] man erkennt so 'n paar Sachen irgendwie wieder aber es ist trotzdem wie 'n, wie DMG55-65 sagte, so 'n Abziehbild, das ich gleichzeitig auch gleich wieder in so 'ne Distanz gehe” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 147).

⁴⁸⁶ Original quotation: “Also ich weiß, dass ich zwischendurch mal schmunzeln musste, weil mir das alles so aufgesetzt vorkam, so” (BFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 163).

⁴⁸⁷ Original quotation: “Ich hab mich rausgezogen. (Wollte da [...] nicht) Bleib ich doch lieber draußen” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_ Mad Men_Deutschland, 89-91).

Nostalgia is not developed. On the F layer it is impeded by the emotional distance and on the A layer an eventual positive “retrospective classification” of the reference how it could be observed among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards is not the case.

Reference to the 1960s

Among the Spanish 55-65-year-olds and a smaller group of 55-65-year-olds from the German group, the focus of attention lies clearly on the layer of décor, props, costumes and music, and the referential character of the latter to ‘the 1960s’. Among these participants clear “referential framings” can be observed that draw the relation to their 1960s lifeworld. The interviewees, above all the 55-65-year-old Spaniards, recognise a whole list of objects from the electric typewriters via clothing thought to hair style and music and relate them to their 1960s reality (see e.g. FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 16; IFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 7; PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 42; FMS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 98; PCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 44; FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 45). The objects and sounds are part of their memories of the era and work as ‘mnemonic prompts’ in order to reminiscence about it:

PCFS55-65: For example, at the very beginning, where the girl comes with this circle skirt that was sewed up to more or less some fifteen centimetres before the knee. Back then these skirts existed. You danced twist with these ones.

*FCFS55-65: Sure, we all wore them, all of us (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 82-87 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁸

*FCF55-65: You went to work like this, with the collar of the shirt up to here. Afterwards, you did what you could or what they could. But there were some manners, there was a... Well, I don't know, I liked it because of that (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 93 [o.t.]).*⁴⁸⁹

MFS55-65: I remember that my cousin for example dressed her hair like this. With the hair boosted like that. She made her own clothes and such. And in

⁴⁸⁸ Original quotation: PCFS55-65 “Por ejemplo al principio dónde viene la chica con esta falda a taulas estaba cocida hasta mas o menos hasta un poco unos quince centímetros antes de la rodilla. [...] Entonces las taulas si había. Esto (se bailaba twist) con esto.” FCFS55-65: “Claro, y todas lo llevábamos, todas” (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 82-87).

⁴⁸⁹ Original quotation: “... ibas a trabajar con (cuello camisero que daba) hasta aquí. ¿No? Después hacías lo que podías o lo que podían. Pero habían unas formas había un. Bueno yo no sé esta me gusta por esto” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 93).

*the moment she went out I had to accompany her (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 109 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹⁰

The exposed skirts are related to evening's dancing in the 1960s. The high-necked blouses and the off-shoulders remind of their own working experiences. Hair and dresses are related to familiars and neighbours in the era. This similarly applies to 'twist' music, which is also related to their own 1960s living reality by the participants. MFS55-65 continues her elaboration as follows:

*MFS55-65: And then, of course, the music reminds me of dancing the twist. Dancing? Well, sure, I was smaller back then. I imagine myself in the backyard of our house. We lived in houses all around. And where one was making up the face of the other one, they tailored clothes at home, they tailored me clothes (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 109 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹¹

As already shown, other exposed objects as well as the music reminds the participant of her childhood in 1960s' Barcelona. Also in the case of AMS55-65 the music works as a "mnemonic prompt". His statement, while up to this point rather factual and impersonal, adopts here a more emotional tone:

*AMS55-65: In this time, music was the liberation. It was the moment of getting rid of everything and of showing how you really were. Dance was the possibility to socialise with girls, or with friends. It was a different formal layer. Music acted like a change of chip (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 110 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹²

In the cases of AFG55-65 and IMG55-65 the twist music encourages reminiscences of their youth in 1960s' Germany:

*AFG55-65: I thought of IMG55-65. He was once the king of the twist (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 72-74 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ Original quotation: "Yo recuerdo que por ejemplo mi prima se peinaban así con este pelo levantado, se hacía la ropa y tal. (Y en el momento de salir) tuve que acompañarla" (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 109).

⁴⁹¹ Original quotation: "(Y luego bueno claro toda la música me suena a bailar el twist. Bailar venga claro que era más pequeño) estoy imaginándome en el patio de casa, vivíamos todos (en los alrededores en casas y donde la una pintaba a la otra no sé que (...) el vestido lo hacía en casa, a mí me lo hacían)" (MFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 109).

⁴⁹² Original quotation: "En aquella época, la altra [otra] música era la liberación. (Era el momento de deshacerse) de todo y mostrarte como eras. A través del baile te daba opción a relacionarte con chicas. O o o los amigos. Era un plano totalmente diferente del plano formal. La música actuaba como un cambio de chip" (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 110).

⁴⁹³ Original quotation: "Da hab ich an Clemens gedacht. Der war mal Twist-König" (AFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 72-74).

*AFG55-65: Yes, I thought. Exactly. Yes, that means something to me or it opens up my heart. I like dancing (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 80).*⁴⁹⁴

*IMG55-65: That was completely spacey. [...] Yes, for me it was similar than for AFG55-65 (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 104 154 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹⁵

That the objects clearly work as ‘mnemonic prompts’ for reminiscences about the time span is not only evident in the above mentioned quotations, but is also explicitly highlighted by the interviewees:

FCFS55-65: Yes. The whole era comes to my mind.

PCFS55-65: Yes, sure.

PMS55-65: It’s because it’s more ‘costumbrista’, so.

FCFS55-65: Everything comes to your memory, suddenly. Because it transports you back into the moment.

*PMS55-65: This one is more the ordinary life. You associate it more with what you have seen (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 68-76 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹⁶

FCFS55-65 addresses this function of the text at diverse other points in the discussion:

*FCFS55-65: This is, for me, this is very well done, with much attention to the detail. All that is decoration, furniture, costumes, truly represents the era. I transport myself, into the era (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 27 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹⁷

*FCFS55-65: It’s not that they wear this because it’s the era, but in this one it’s a time travel. You go straight. You’re there in the office. I see it and live it perfectly (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 81 [o.t.]).*⁴⁹⁸

In contrast to those among the 55-65-year-old Germans, which, due to their focus on the formal layer, frame the exposed objects as “artificial”, these interviewees perceive them

⁴⁹⁴ Original quotation: “Doch, da hab ich. Genau. Ja da kann ich was mit anfangen, oder da ehm geht mein Herz gleich hoch, ich tanz gerne” (AFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 80).

⁴⁹⁵ Original quotation: “Das war ganz ausgeflippt. [...] Ja mir ging’s ähnlich wie AFG55-65” (IMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 104; 154).

⁴⁹⁶ Original quotation: FCFS55-65: “Sí. Pues me viene toda la época a la memoria, sí.” PCFS55-65: “[Sí, sí, sí, sí, claro].” PMS55-65: “Es que es más costumbrista, entonces.” FCFS55-65: “Todo te viene a la memoria de golpe porque te transporta en aquel momento.” PMS55-65: “Estas son más de la vida cotidiana. Lo asocias más a lo que has visto” (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 68-76).

⁴⁹⁷ Original quotation: “Una, es una para mí esta MUY bien hecha. Mmmm. Muy cuidado en detalles. Todo lo que es decoración, mobiliario, vestuario, (porque ha contado todo) reproduce muy fiel a la época. Yo me transporto. En la época” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 27).

⁴⁹⁸ Original quotation: “No es que van vestidos porque era la época pero es que en esta es un viaje en el tiempo. Te metes directamente, estás ahí en la oficina. Yo lo veo y lo vivo perfectamente” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 81).

as indeed realistic. While the first group explicitly describes the distance to the series, among the latter references to experiences of immersion can be observed and participants are indeed emotionally involved.

Hereby, even though in the elaborations in the course of the main discussion no rhetoric of the gap could be outlined, nostalgia is commented among the 55-65-year-old Spaniards. In the final discussion FCFS55-65, AMS55-65 and FCFS55-65 refer to nostalgia in the context of *Mad Men*:

FCFS55: Well, the adolescence, the excerpt with the dance, in this case yes.

AMS55-65: In this case maybe yes.

MFS55-65: Ah yes. There is much nostalgia.

FCFS55-65: In this case yes

(GS55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Spanien, 4-7 [o.t.]).⁴⁹⁹

With a view on their further statements the objects of nostalgia can be further outlined. Above all FCFS55-65 expresses this nostalgia more comprehensively:

FCFS55-65: What gives me most nostalgia is the modern one, this Mad Men. When I started working, how were the offices, the manners, the music and the dance. How was it? What did the boys wear? What did the girls wear? Yes (GS55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Spanien, 25; 29 [o.t.]).⁵⁰⁰

On the questionnaire the emotion is specified. The participant states here that she felt nostalgia in the context of *Mad Men* because it was a series which “inevitably transports” her into the times of her youth (FCFS55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation_of_nostalgia_55-65-year-old_Spaniards, 20 [o.t.]).⁵⁰¹ The description is concordant with her other elaborations cited previously. Coming from here, it can be assumed that it is the “visual correspondence” of her memories of the 1960s with the described aspects of the series that allow her to kind of re-enact a moment of her youth. The apparently high degree of ‘correspondence’ allows a ‘synchronisation’ with own memories. The interviewee is, so to say, inside the text in her own past world. Instead of ‘artefact nostalgia’ it is rather a kind of ‘own F nostalgia’. The rhetoric of nostalgia can here not

⁴⁹⁹ Original quotation: FCFS55-65: “*Bueno, la juventud, el trozo esto con el baile, eso sí.*” AMS55-65: “*[Esto sí, esto quizás sí].*” MFS55-65: “*[Ah sí, hay mucha nostalgia].*” FCFS55-65: “*Eso sí*” (GS55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Spanien, 4-7).

⁵⁰⁰ Original quotation: “*[A mi que me inspira] más nostalgia es la moderna esta de Mad Men. Cuando empecé a trabajar como eran la oficinas, la relación esta, los (cassettes) con la música y el baile, como eran, como iban los chicos, como iban las chicas, sí*” (FCFS55-65, GS55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Spanien, 25; 29).

⁵⁰¹ Original quotation: “*[d]urante el pase de los fragmentos de ‘Mad Men’ porque es una serie que me transporta inevitablemente a los tiempos de mi juventud*” (FCFS55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation_of_nostalgia_55-65-year-old_Spaniards, 20).

be observed. Here, we can only assume that it is the passage of adolescence and positive memories related to it that can be shortly re-enacted but is gone from today's perspective, which causes this nostalgia. In contrast to her elaborations in the context of the narration of the series, her nostalgia does not seem to contain a reflexive layer and can rather be classified to what Davis called "simple nostalgia".

While AMS55-65 later denies to have felt nostalgia – as he states "It's reflecting about the situation. But not necessarily nostalgia" (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 160 [o.t.])⁵⁰² – also MFS55-65's elaborations allow a further description of the case. On the questionnaire the participants confirm the previously mentioned nostalgia and comments on the object of her longing as follows:

*MFS55-65: [...] I remember family circumstances similar to the teenage life and the whole family was more united than now. I think these times were ignorant and happy (MFS55-65, Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 18 [o.t.]).*⁵⁰³

Her contribution contains a clear rhetoric of nostalgia. She describes a phase of felicity and familiar harmony in her distant past that is lost from today's perspective. Before the background of her further statements – where it is the description of twist music and typical hairstyles and less the immersion into the text that seem to lead into the narration of the domestic family situation – it can be assumed that the elements worked as "mnemonic prompts" and lead to 'own A nostalgia'. A final explanation can here not be made. Also, the nostalgia appears in its non-reflexive, "simple" form here.

Apart from these three participants, also PMS55-65 states that he felt nostalgia "[e]n las series más costumbristas" [in the series that are more 'costumbrista'] (PMS55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 19 [o.t.]). However, it can only be presumed that he refers here to *Mad Men*. Due to the fact that his elaborations in the course of the discussion are only of agreeing character, a further specification of the object of his nostalgia is also not possible.

Other interviewees exclude nostalgia in the context of *Mad Man*. PCF55-65 for example highlights that it is about "recordar" [remembering] – here can be assumed that a kind of synchronisation with her memories is the case – but not nostalgia (see

⁵⁰² Original quotation: "Es reflejar la situación. Pero no necesariamente nostalgia" (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 160 [o.t.]).

⁵⁰³ Original quotation: "[...] [M]e recuerdo una situación familiar muy parecida a la vida de adolescente i toda la familia estaba más unida que ahora. Creo que en aquella época era ignorante i feliz" (MFS55-65, Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Spaniards, 18).

PCF55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 161). This similarly applies to AFG25-35 from the German group. “The feeling”, she states, “was not so deep” (GD55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Deutschland, 17 [o.t.])⁵⁰⁴.

8.3.1.3. Nostalgia across generations – the slide projector scene

In contrast to this clear distribution of different foci of attention in the first section of the discussion, in the second part, it has been mentioned previously, the discussion takes a different form.

Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia

While the majority of props, décor, costumes and music basically inspires the memories of the 55-65-year-olds, above all it is the technical apparatus slide projector appeals to the memory of a broader group of participants. It kind of mediates between the different age groups and territorial groups. Depending on the “retrospective classifications” of the memorised context also here nostalgia arises.

Among the 55-65-year-olds this applies to DMG55-65. While his focus of attention in the remaining discussion lies upon the constructedness of the text, which also leads into an emotional distance, triggered by the slide projector scene the recipient recalls situations from his private life. He adopts here the term “*Zeitmaschine*” [time machine] that is use by the series’ protagonist in order to describe the effect:

DMG55-65: Basically, it's like that. Only in my mind of course. For me it's like a time machine in my head. In my head I can switch back and forth. But I'm still here
(GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 35 [o.t.]).⁵⁰⁵

Later he elaborates the association in more detail:

DMG55-65: To watch slide shows. This is a very special experience. And I still think that today. But unfortunately they're not available anymore.
(GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 59 [o.t.]).⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁴ Original quotation: “*So tief war das Gefühl jetzt nicht*”
(AFG55-65, GD55-65_NostalgieAllgemein_Deutschland, 17).

⁵⁰⁵ Original quotation: “*[Es ist im Grunde so. Das ist natürlich nur im Kopf.] Das ist für mich ne Zeitmaschine im Kopf. Ich kann im Kopf hin- und herspringen. Bin ja immer noch hier*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 35).

⁵⁰⁶ Original quotation: “*Ja aber des sofort, dieses Dias gucken von früher () Das ist ja ne ganz speziellen Erfahrung Dias zu gucken. Das find ich ja heute noch. Nur LEIDER gibt es die nicht mehr*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 59).

DMG55-65: An incredible beautiful experience. Although I can still remember it, since I have such a big family, six brothers and sisters and then during these family gatherings up to five, six, seven or eight years ago we were still watching slides from back then. Or from some journeys someone made. And that was actually always really nice (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 63 [o.t.]).⁵⁰⁷

In both contributions a clear rhetoric of the ‘gap’ can be observed. While the first focuses on the technical dispositive slide projector, which “unfortunately” does not exist anymore, the second refers to slide shows in the family circle as they have been made in the past but not in the present. On the questionnaire, the participant describes his reaction as nostalgia, stating that he felt it, “[m]emorizing family slide-shows during the film clips about the time machine” (DMG55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 29 [o.t.]).⁵⁰⁸ Before the background that DMG55-65 also before had regularly explained that he did not ‘enter’ the diegetic world and also in the context of the slide projector scene, highlights that he ‘stayed outside’ the story (GD55-65_PeriodPictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 193), we may assume that it is rather ‘own artefact nostalgia’, which is described here. The slide projector scene works as a “mnemonic prompt” for positive own experiences of the recipient that become the object of “simple” nostalgic longing.

The elaborations made by DMG55-65 are similarly echoed in other groups. Also in other participants the apparatus inspires memories of comparable situations. CFG25-35 says, for example:

CFG25-35: Well, my father always used to set up slide shows in the evening (GD25-35_PeriodPictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 180).⁵⁰⁹

CFG25-35: That was nice. Hmm, it is not so long ago when my father still watched slide shows from the '80s, when, well, I don't know, my brother and I were infants. And I always liked that. Also the medium, the projector (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 202 [o.t.]).⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Original quotation: “*Ne unheimlich schöne Erfahrung. Wobei ich kann mich auch erinnern, weil ich hab ja so ne große Familie, also sechs Geschwister und dann auf diesen Familientreffen wurde bis vor fünf sechs sieben acht Jahren so, da ham wir immer Dias von früher angeguckt, oder so. Oder von irgendwelchen Reisen (die einer gemacht hat) und das war eigentlich immer unheimlich schön*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 63).

⁵⁰⁸ Original quotation: “*Beim Filmausschnitt über die Zeitmaschine eigene Erinnerungen an Familiendiashows*” (DMG55-65, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_55-65-year-old Germans, 29).

⁵⁰⁹ Original quotation: “*Ja, also mein Vater hat ständig Dia-Abende gemacht*” (CFG25-35, GD25-35_PeriodPictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 180).

⁵¹⁰ Original quotation: “*War schön. Mhm mein Vater hat da auch jetzt noch vor verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit dann äh so Dia-Filme angeguckt aus den 80ern, als weiß ich nicht, mein Bruder und ich irgendwie Kleinkinder warn. Und ich fand das immer schön. Also auch so dieses Medium äh DIA-Projektor*”

Similar to DMG55-65, the interviewee describes a positive experience in the family context, however, in contrast to the first case here no rhetoric of nostalgia can be observed. Unlike the case of DMG55-65, the experience is not clearly part of the past but, as CFG25-35 explicitly states, also part of her only recent reality. Nostalgia does not arise here.

In other cases it is a neutral or negative “retrospective classification” that obviously impedes nostalgia. Also FCFS55-65 (GS55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 122) for example, recalls her own experiences in the family circle, her comments are however far less emotional than those made in the context of the other period props. A positive valorisation of the experience cannot be observed. It can only be assumed that the memory is given less relevance than the previously mentioned ones that inspired her nostalgia. Almost all the memories of DFG25-35 (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 181 ff.) and AMG25-35 (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 183 ff.) are negative. The slide projector scene prompts memories of school and university experiences, which are clearly negatively classified. DFG25-35 also explicitly explains the lack of emotional involvement into the scene with these negative associations:

DFG25-35: Well, normally I let myself be captured very fast and also have to cry in talk shows, but this one I did not find so, because, like I said, slide projector and all that you [refers here to CFG25-35]... I did not have such an experience, means, I don't relate something positive or something nostalgic to it. I just had, it didn't touch me so much (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 249 [o.t.]).⁵¹¹

Nostalgia is not the case. The interviewees rather dislike this part of their past. Also in other cases, neutral up to negative associations impede a possible nostalgia felt in the context of the slide projector scene (see EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 255-257; FFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 207; JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 257; GMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 215).

(CFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 202).

⁵¹¹ Original quotation: “Also normalerweise lass ich mich total schnell einlullen und muss auch schon bei Talk Shows heulen oder so, aber da fand ich 's jetzt nit soo, weil, wie gesacht, Dia-Projektor oder so also was du [refers here to CFG25-35] jetzt sone Erfahrung hatte ich jetzt, also damit verbind ich jetzt NIX SO Positives oder so oder sowas Nostalgisches. Also hab grad, fand des jetzt nit so berührend irgendwie” (DFG25-65, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 249).

Apart from that, a few members of the group of the 25-35-year-olds frame the programme with intertextual references to films.⁵¹² Nostalgia can here also not be observed.

Empathetic understanding

In the television analysis, it was presumed that also empathy may lead into nostalgia. The reception of the slide projector scene with its relative closure reflects this, even though unambiguous cases of nostalgia could here not be identified. Apart from those who due to reflections on personal experiences with the slide projector leave the fictional world and others whose focus of attention lies upon the intertextual references the series exposes⁵¹³, two basic types of relation to the Draper character can be identified. On the one hand those who valorise Draper's comportment negatively and distance themselves from the scene. On the other hand are those who make a positive valorisation and develop a high degree of understanding for the character.

The negative valorisation of Draper's presentation by the interviewees is mainly owed to an appraisal as 'pure advertisement'. Participants highlight here that he "*intenta como vender un producto*" [tries to sell a product] (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 224 [o.t.]), "*ist berechnend*" [is calculating] (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 238 [o.t.]) or that it's just about "*marketing, de un ejecutivo*" [managers' marketing] (OFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 296 [o.t.]).⁵¹⁴ Above all members of the group of the 55-65-year-olds in parts explicitly describe how, they 'step out' of the fictional world due to this appraisal:

⁵¹² "I was thinking of one of these typical scenes of the business man who risks everything and who sells a product like that. A film like these, right now I can't remember anyone, but yes, I remember scenes likes this" (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 210 [o.t.]). Original quotation: "*Yo pensaba en la típica escena del típico hombre de negocios arriesgado que vende un producto así. Una película d'estas de, no tengo ninguna en mente ahora mismo, pero sí que tengo escenas como esas en varios sitios ubicadas aquí*" (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 210). "It also reminded me of this series, Aquellos maravillosos años [The Wonder years]" (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 238 [o.t.]). Original quotation: "*(Pero) a mí también me ha recordado a la serie esa de (Aquellos maravillosos años)*" (VMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 238).

⁵¹³ A third groups of interviewees was rather confused by the excerpt which likewise undermined any emotional involvement (see FFG55-65, GD55-65_Nostalgie Allgemein_Deutschland, 61; 63; AFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 67; 70; IMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 154; BFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 163).

⁵¹⁴ Original quotation: "*Yo creo que eso es marketing, de un ejecutivo*" (OFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 296).

GFG55-65: I stepped out at the moment I understood that it is an advertising show. When he said, shortly before he used the term carousel on his own. I thought that basically everything is about that, all what he is telling (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 126).⁵¹⁵

DMG55-65: Yes, that was obvious from the very beginning. I didn't immerse into the story that far. Since I didn't believe him that this is his own wife or his own children. He does that for advertising purposes (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 127; 193 [o.t.]).⁵¹⁶

CMG55-65: I was outside there (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 195 [o.t.]).⁵¹⁷

Nostalgia is here not the case. Apparently the negative valorisation creates similar effects of emotional distance than the focus on the constructedness of the text – an interpretation that is also congruent with works on immersion or empathy. In the context of computer games, Mikos (2008, p. 184) supposes for example that immersion depends upon both empathy and sympathy. As we already learned from the theoretical section, sympathy can again foster empathy (Brinckmann, 2005, p. 339; Eder, 2005, pp. 236 f.). According to Smith, it is among others dependent upon the moral evaluation of a protagonist (Smith, 1995 cited in Mikos, 2008, p. 179).

On the other side, “immersed viewers sense closer to events as a witness in the fictional world and experience stronger emotions towards these events than less immersed viewers” (Visch et al., 2010, p. 1443). Correspondingly the contributions of those interviewees who do not make the negative valorisation and take a less distant position towards the text are marked by a higher degree of emotionality. This is very obvious in the case of HFG55-65. In contrast to other interviewees who take a distant position due to their valorisation of the scene as ‘pure advertisement’ HFG55-65 describes the sentiments of the protagonist as follows:

HFG55-65: I thought he was terribly sad. He really suffered for that what he lost. What he hasn't got anymore. What he started at some point and what he lost on the way. For whatever reason

⁵¹⁵ Original quotation: “*Ich bin ausgestiegen in dem Moment, wo ich erkannt hab, das ist jetzt die, das ist jetzt ne Werbeveranstaltung. Also in dem er sagte, kurz bevor er den Begriff Karussell selber verwendet hatte, hab ich gedacht, es ging eigentlich nur darum, das alles, was er jetzt erzählt*” (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 126).

⁵¹⁶ Original quotation: “*Ja das war von Anfang an schon klar. [Soweit bin ich in die] Geschichte gar nicht eingestiegen. Weil ich hab dem ja gar nicht abgenommen, dass das seine eigene, seine eigene Frau oder Kinder sind. Das macht der aus Werbungsgründen*” (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 127; 193).

⁵¹⁷ Original quotation: “*[Ich war auch mehr draußen]*” (CMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 195).

(GD55-65_PeriodPictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 186 [o.t.]).⁵¹⁸

Obviously the participant is deeper involved into the scene and is clearly integrated into the perspective of the protagonist. When later questioned on whether the scene brought forward similar sentiments in her, she clearly affirms (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 187-188). Notwithstanding this, it is probably not about nostalgia. What the interviewee describes here and what she obviously feels herself is more likely to be one of those spin-offs of nostalgia in whose context Frijda (1986, p. 76) argued that “if impotence with respect to desire is added, it turns into belated painful suffering”. We can only assume that HFG55-65 synchronises own sentiments with the scene.

Furthermore, in other cases the interviewees are clearly immersed into the fictional world (see e.g. EMG, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 251) and also report an empathetic understanding of the protagonist (see EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 276; FFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 223), the rhetoric of nostalgia or concrete mentions of nostalgia can not be observed here.

This differently applies to ZFS25-35 from the Spanish group of the 25-35-year-olds. The participant makes a clearer “referential framing”. The feelings she describes are more likely to be nostalgia. In this case it is not the slide projector but the exposed style of the slides that remind the participant of her childhood:

ZFS25-35: The type of photos reminded me of childh... Maybe of my brother, pictures of childhood, these types of photos? Yes they were, they weren't distanced, they weren't American, I'd say (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 263 [o.t.]).⁵¹⁹

ZFS25-35 affirms explicitly that she somehow shares similar emotions than nostalgia with the protagonist (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 302). Even though in her ‘common sense’ understanding of empathy she stresses that:

ZFS25-35: No. I didn't feel empathy with him, rather for the type of photos (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 309 [o.t.]).⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ Original quotation: “Ich finde er war furchtbar traurig. Er hat echt gelitten, um das, was er verloren hat. Das was er nicht mehr hat. Was er eben mal begonnen hat, und was er verloren hat unterwegs. Wie auch immer, aus welchen Gründen” (HFG55-65, GD55-65_PeriodPictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 186).

⁵¹⁹ Original quotation: “El tipo de fotos si que a mí me recordaba la infanc.. a lo mejor fotos de mis herman... de mi hermaano, fotos de infancia, ese tipo de fotos siiii, por ejemplo ¿no?... Sí que eraaan... no eran distantes, no eran americanas, diría” (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 263).

⁵²⁰ Original quotation: “Noo. Yo no, por ejemplo, yo no he sentido empatía con el tipoo, sino poor, por el

We may here probably talk of ‘own empathetic F nostalgia’. In contrast to those among the interviewees who due to their own associations with the slide projector left the diegesis, before this background it is rather likely that the interviewee synchronises her own emotions with those of the protagonist. Her own nostalgia seems to emerge from a splitting-off of her own emotions. On the questionnaire ZFS25-35 indeed describes a feeling of nostalgia that she had in the course of the group discussion, refers here however to another experience. Compared to the first one, the latter experience is obviously given a higher relevance.

8.3.1.3. Conclusion on the reception of *Mad Men*

In the television analysis it has been assumed that *Mad Men* may provoke nostalgia on various layers. Since the series is part of the ‘nostalgia genre’ of the period dramas following Cardwell (2002) it has been assumed that nostalgia may be the gratification audiences expect when they choose to watch the series respectively the mood in which they choose it. Later, on the single layers of the text, potential triggers of nostalgia have been identified. On the F layer *Mad Men* does not favour nostalgia towards the 1960s it exposes. Rather the contrary is the case. However, already here a high degree of disclosed intertextual references could be observed, which, on the one hand, import a further critical layer into the text and, on the other hand, depending on respective “retrospective classifications”, may be potential triggers of ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own A nostalgia’. This similarly applies to nearly all other layers of the text. The constructedness of the exposed past is always present. Additionally, the series employs many 1960s consumer products and typical music that may work as a “mnemonic prompt” for those audiences who have their own or prosthetic memories of it. Empathy, also ‘empathetic nostalgia’ is favoured by the text.

Some of these potential triggers on the layer of the text have indeed been decoded as such by the audiences. The reception analysis can name various examples of nostalgia. Further factors for the absence of nostalgic longing could be deduced. Depending on the respective focus of the interviewee’s contributions, the following patterns of reception have been identified. On a first layer the (1) *References to the ‘natural real’ on the layer of narration* are highlighted by the audiences. Further patterns focus on other single layers of the text. Here above all the referential character

tipo de fotoOs, no?” (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Spanien, 309).

of the series is of relevance. It is subsumed under the sub-patterns *Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia* and *References to the 1960s*. Since in contrast to others, the discussion of *Mad Men* is somehow split into two parts whereby the latter, the slide projector scene, more clearly mediates between the different age groups, also the presentation of results was made in two sections. Next to a pattern that again reflects the focus on the *Intertextual references* a second pattern encompasses those elaborations that are marked by a certain degree of *empathy*. That nostalgia is the gratification viewers expect when they decide to watch *Mad Men* is not further supported by the group discussion.

In general, it can be stated that there is not one way of reception that is dominant. Even though clear intra- and inter-group congruencies can be described, the foci of attention are diverse, different ‘hierarchy of relevance’ can be identified that again influence the observed nostalgias.

As assumed in the television analysis, the critical perspective of *Mad Men* impedes a nostalgic lecture of the temporal context but rather inspires the critical perspective. The pattern is dominantly observable among those groups where at least one of the recipients could retell complete plot lines of the series. The existence of a prosthetic memory cannot be observed here. Nostalgia can be excluded.

In the television analysis it has been shown that each layer of *Mad Men* contains a high degree of intertextuality. As already in the context of the reruns these references are dominantly in the focus of attention of those who are not able to generate ‘proximity’ to the own lifeworld on other layers of the text.⁵²¹ It seems that above all the 25-35-year-old Spaniards, those who have no own memory of the 1960s, are only by integrating the text in a net of intertextual references able to make sense of the series. As assumed, the case of ZFS25-35 shows that intertextual references indeed may trigger ‘artefact nostalgia’ or ‘own artefact nostalgia’ always depending on a respective positive “retrospective classification” of the memory point and its declaration as lost from today’s perspective. Also among a group of 55-65-Germans the focus of attention lies upon the referential character of *Mad Men* to other cultural products. Here however it is

⁵²¹ In general the intertextual references that are named by the recipients differ from those that have been identified in the television analysis. This is not unsurprising, nor does it undermine the analysis. Already in chapter 4.4.1 with reference to Mikos (2008, pp. 272 ff.) it has been hinted to the fact that such an analysis may never be done conclusively since the intertextuality of a text is defined by all texts in which viewers integrate a current text.

rather about the artificiality the text itself exposes. The “critical framing” impedes nostalgia.

While these recipients deny the series every reality effect, the contrary is the case among those participants where the referential character to the 1960s is central in the reception. This pattern appears exclusively among the 55-65-year-olds and here mostly among the Spanish recipients. A respective nostalgia based upon ‘prosthetic memories’ could thus not be observed. First of all, here a gross contrast to the 25-35-year-old Spaniards can be highlighted. While the latter completely deny any relation of the series to 1960s’ Spain, the latter highlight the reality effect of the series also against the specific Spanish background. The realism they describe stands in contrast to the ‘Americanness’ that is highlighted by the younger Spanish participants. The correspondence with their own memories of the era seemingly allows a ‘synchronisation’ of the series with their own experiences, which in one clear case also leads into an ‘own F nostalgia’. In another example, the case of MFS55-65, the 1960s artefacts work as a “mnemonic prompt” and triggers ‘own A nostalgia’ towards a positively classified past that is declared as lost from today’s perspective.

It cannot be conclusively clarified on which knowledge the 25-35-year-olds base their elaborations of 1960s’ Spain upon – be it a taught knowledge transmitted by the media or a knowledge acquired in the family circle. Clearly, however, while in the case of the 25-25-year-old Spaniards the intertextual references dominate the reception, in the case of the 55-65-year-olds few parallels are enough in order to generate the synchronisation with own memories from the era. The still huge distance between Spain and the other European countries, which Boyd (1999, p. 100) described with a view on the 1960s, fades here into the background.

Apart from that, the different elaborations seem to reflect different concepts of realism. While those among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards, but also 55-65-year-old Germans with their focus on the constructedness of the text focus on what Ang (1985) calls ““empiristic realism””, namely “[t]he definition of realism, in which a comparison of the realities ‘in’ and ‘outside’ a text is central”, for the second group it is rather realistic since they highlight the emotional correspondence of the exposed past and the past they remember. In Ang’s (1985, p. 45) words, we can speak of an ““emotional realism””. In any case the observations are concordant with Assmann (2006). According

to the author (2006, p. 27) each generation has its own “approach to history”, which may be independent of the “perspective” of “precedent generations”.⁵²²

Again it is shown that nostalgia works selectively. For example, the case of the 55-65-year-old FCS55-65. While she, inspired by the narrative of the series, reflects her position as a working woman in Francoist Spain of the 1960s critically, the synchronisation with her own experiences in the course of the immersion into the diegetic world obviously guides her to positive memories that she classifies as worth longing for. This corresponds with what Tannock states regarding the nostalgic emotion, namely that “[t]he ‘positively evaluated’ past [...] need not be thought of as a time of general happiness, peacefulness, stability, or freedom” (Tannock, 1995, p. 454). The fact that a reflexive layer of her nostalgia can here not be observed conflicts with our assumption that the reflexive stance of the series’ will influence the colouring of possible nostalgia developed in its context.

In contrast to this clearer distribution of different foci of attention in the first section of the *Mad Men* discussion, the second section, which was dedicated to the reception of the slide projector scene, shows rather overarching patterns with regards to the age groups and territorial groups. On the one hand, it is here the apparatus slide projector respectively the whole ‘dispositif’ that works as a ‘mnemonic prompt’ throughout the groups. On the other hand, empathy as possible trigger of nostalgia mediates between them. In both patterns again cases of nostalgia appear. Thus in the first case the slide projector works as a “mnemonic prompt” and leads into ‘own artefact nostalgia’. Also here it becomes apparent that the positive “retrospective classification” of the object of memory and its declaration as irretrievable lost from today’s perspective is essential for the development of nostalgic longing. In a second case, it is presumably the splitting-off of own experiences in the context of an empathetic understanding that leads into ‘own empathetic F nostalgia’.

In summary, we may state that diverse aspects of the series that were presumed as potential triggers of nostalgia also led to one or more cases of nostalgia. Hereby, it is not the case that one participant or group of participants decode all potential triggers of nostalgia, but also here a kind of ‘hierarchy of memories’ can be observed. The participants seem to search for relevance, or as Tan suggests in the context of aesthetic

⁵²² Original quotation: “Jede Generation entwickelt ihren eigenen Zugang zur Vergangenheit und lässt sich ihre Perspektive nicht durch vorangehende Generationen vorgeben” (Assmann, 2006, p. 27).

emotions in general, the “emotional system is geared toward establishing the relevance of certain situations for the concerns of the individual” (Tan, 1996, p. 44). Similar to the nostalgia discourse, the reception is dominated by different foci on different aspects of the text. Correspondingly, the sensation of nostalgia or not differs throughout the reception and among the groups. While the 55-65-year-old Spaniards for example generate ‘proximity’ via the text as such, the 25-35-year-olds, who have no own memories of the 1960s, take the ‘detour’ via the intertextual references.

As it seems, the foci of attention may also change in the course of the reception. In one moment a “critical framing” may lead into emotional distance and impede ‘F nostalgia’, in another moment, ‘own A nostalgia’ can be observed in case that an emotional relevant object appears. Apart from that, participants seem to make hierarchies of relevance between different nostalgias. Only the one that is given most relevance manifests itself on the questionnaire.

Even though in general the different patterns are here, so to say, ‘nearer’ on the text than in the case of the reruns, at least nostalgia in the context of the period drama is not dependent upon a previous reception, also here nostalgia is in no case the mere narration of a better past, such as nostalgia towards a better past product or nostalgia ‘shared’ with a protagonist. The observed nostalgia is rather always imbued with personal experiences of the recipients and finds its object on this layer.

As shown, the reflexive character of *Mad Men* indeed influenced a similar reflexive perspective on the 1960s from the participants. The observed nostalgias however, appeared in its “simple” form, reflecting the, as Davis (1979, p. 18) puts it in the context of nostalgia in general, “unexamined belief that things were better [...] then than now”. Nostalgia, which is based upon ‘prosthetic memories’, could not be identified.

8.3.2. Reception of the period drama *Borgia*

The period drama *Borgia*, set in the time of the Renaissance, is most clearly outside the life-span of the interviewees and also outside of the family memory. It has above all been used as ‘counter-check’ to discover if nostalgia on a purely media-transmitted, ‘prosthetic’ memory is possible. As in the case of *Mad Men* on a first and more general layer a pattern of reception that concentrates on the (1) *References to the ‘natural real’ on the layer of narration* could be identified. A second main pattern named (2)

Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia rather focuses on potential triggers of nostalgia on other layers of the text. A pattern of reception that reflects the expectation of nostalgia from the side of the audiences could not be observed. Only AFG55-65, GFG55-65, CFG25-35 and EMG25-35 from the German groups have seen whole episodes or parts of the series. None of them came to discuss expected gratification in the course of this earlier reception. The same applies to the excerpt that has been shown in the course of the group discussions.

8.3.2.1. References to the ‘natural real’

Only the two interviewees AFG55-65 and EMG25-35 had seen a whole episode of the series. To that effect, only few re-narrations can be highlighted. Here however, the perspective as it is induced by the period drama already becomes apparent. EMG25-35 explains:

*EMG25-35: Well, it starts as follows. The guy who is the Pope isn't the Pope from the very beginning. And he's just trying to take over somehow, that's just, well, you see the corruption in Rome (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 28 [o.t.]).*⁵²³

The short statement with its emphasis on the corruption in the ancient Rome already reflects a rather ‘pessimistic’ view on the era. A similar perspective on the Renaissance becomes apparent among those interviewees who based their elaborations only on the excerpt shown in the discussion. They discuss the “*harte Zeit*” [hard time] (FFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 61 [o.t.]) where the church “*lo manejaban TODO*” [controlled everything] (CMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 153 [o.t.]), a time, which was “*buena para los de arriba*” [good, for the upper ones] (VMS55-65, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 143 [o.t.]), but “*para los de abajo, no (...)*” [not for those from lower classes] (ZFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 145 [o.t.]). Others criticise the dramatisation, which makes the series depart from the ‘real’ historical fact:

DMG55-65: That's this pattern, it doesn't actually deal much with the history but instead with topics such as forbidden love, for example. Such things are briefly brought up with that. Because that's always exciting.

⁵²³ Original quotation: “*Also eigentlich fängt das Ganze so an, der Typ der dann Papst ist, der ist am Anfang noch gar nicht Papst. Und der versucht halt irgendwie an die Macht zu kommen, das ist halt, man sieht halt so dieses korrupte Rom, da*” (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 28).

*Whether that's actually historical or not, well, that's rather uninteresting (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 37; 39 [o.t.]).*⁵²⁴

*HFG55-65: Borgias. Well, they were all just shagging around and I don't know what and I think, for myself, who is interested in something like that, I shall watch it. But actually it is about something else. Perhaps there is something else, you want to know and not just this silly stuff (GD55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 75 [o.t.]).*⁵²⁵

*EMG25-35: What I found was also an apparent sexual component. Actually around about every ten minutes you see how they suddenly went to the bedroom together. Well, I don't think that the perception of women was like that in the Middle Ages. Well, every female is exceptionally attractive there (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 81-82 [o.t.]).*⁵²⁶

In any case, this past is not installed as potential object of nostalgia. A positive 'prosthetic memory' of the era on the basis of which nostalgia would be imaginable, can be excluded. Participants associate the series with historical persons or events such as Christopher Columbus (RMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 123; CFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 42), or the Discovery of America in general (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 64) up to the catholic monarchs of Spain (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 20) or refer to respective reports in the media (GFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 22). Hereby, it is always clear that the knowledge they base these elaborations upon is mediated through history books or other media.

Indeed, in one case a "referential framing" can be observed. JMS25-35 states here that *Borgia* reminded him of own history lessons at school (see JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 30). In the final discussion the participant even explicitly classifies the experience as nostalgia. At other points, the experience is however ironically appraised as "*una época mala de mi vida*" [a bad time of my life]

⁵²⁴ Original quotation: "...ist so dieses Muster, also das hat mit der Historie eigentlich gar nichts zu tun sondern nur damit, mit so Themen, also verbotene Liebe zum Beispiel. Also solche Sachen werden damit kurz [...] hochgeholt. Weil das ja immer spannend ist. Ob das nun historisch, also das ist ja eigentlich uninteressant" (DMG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 37; 39).

⁵²⁵ Original quotation: "[Borgias. So alle ham durcheinander] gevögelt und was weiß ich und wo ich so denke, also wen so was interessiert, der möchte sich so was bestimmt gerne angucken. Aber es geht ja um was anderes. Vielleicht ist es doch was Anderes, was man gerne wissen würde und nicht nur so platte Sachen" (HFG55-65, GD55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 75)

⁵²⁶ Original quotation: "Was ich an der Serie. Ich fand' da gibt's auch 'ne AUGenscheinliche sexuelle Komponente. Man sieht eigentlich alle zehn Minuten, wie die dann plötzlich im Bett miteinander landen. (.) Da also. Ich kann mir nicht vorstellen, dass im Mittelalter dieses Frauenbild (.) war. Also die Frauen sind da alle ausnehmend attraktiv" (EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 81-82).

(JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 27). On the questionnaire the association is not mentioned by the participant. Against the background of these ambiguous elaborations the case cannot be clarified conclusively. Nostalgia is probably not the case here.

8.3.2.2. Nostalgia on other layers of the texts?

It has been assumed in the television analysis that the ‘gap’ between then and now *Borgia* exposes on the layer of props, décor and costumes has the ‘connotation of pastness’ and may first of all call attention to the artefact. This was verified by the group discussion. Independent of age group, gender, or country, participants all focused above all on costumes, scenery, paintings, or lighting. Some of them only mention this. In other cases the objects of attention are integrated in a broader frame of references, as it will be shown in the following sections.

(Intertextual) references – (roundabout) nostalgia?

Independent of age group or territorial group *Borgia* is framed with other cultural products. Here, the audience names mostly period dramas located in similar or related eras. Interviewees refer to *Los Tudors* (BBCtwo et al., 2007) (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 9; AFS 25-35; AFS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 173), or are reminded of the BBC period drama productions (AMS55-65, GS55-65_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 7). Further period films such as *Braveheart* (Gibson, 1995), set in the thirteenth century (see VMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 68), or the German period ‘telenovela’ *Sophie - Braut wider Willen* (ARD, 2005-2006), set in the nineteenth century, are named. Also intertextual references to Renaissance paintings are highlighted. DFG25-35- states:

DFG25-35: I was able to locate it quite well somehow. Well, that you thought, you know it already from like, Renaissance paintings with this gaudy velvet or so (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 64 [o.t.]).⁵²⁷

⁵²⁷ Original quotation: “Also ich konnt ‘s jetzt irgendwie ganz gut verorten oder so. Also dass man so dachte das kennt man von so äh naja fast Renaissance Gemälden also mit diesen äh prunkhaften Samt eh Sachen oder so” (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 64).

Neither the mentioning of emotions nor a “referential framing” can be observed. The references, as DFG25-35 explicitly states, rather serve in order to locate *Borgia* historically and have a rather analytical character. Cases of nostalgia cannot be observed.

Reference to the Renaissance

Regarding props and décor, some interviewees are of the opinion that the series truly reflects history:

*JMS25-35: Yes, it seems to be true for the time. Sure! (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 109 [o.t.]).*⁵²⁸

*(?)MS25-35: Yes, I think the ambience is very well achieved. The costumes and all that (GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 126 [o.t.]).*⁵²⁹

Other participants focus on the question if the casting correctly reflects their image of the era (see FFG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 94; EMG25-35, GD25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Deutschland, 86). In the television analysis of *Borgia* it has already been shown that the period drama does not expose its props as desirable, which makes nostalgia on this layer rather improbable. Only on the basis of a ‘prosthetic memory’, so it has been assumed, they could work as ‘mnemonic prompts’. As shown in the group discussion, neither the first nor the latter is the case. A positive classification of the era may not be observed. The relation to a personal experience is not generated. Nostalgia, neither ‘A nostalgia’ nor ‘own A nostalgia’, may not be identified.

8.3.2.3. Conclusion on the reception of *Borgia*

The period drama *Borgia*, set in the time of the Renaissance, is most clearly set outside the life-span of the interviewees. It has above all been used as ‘counter-check’ to see if nostalgia on a purely media-transmitted, ‘prosthetic’ memory is possible. In general, the television analysis assumes only few layers of *Borgia* as potential triggers of nostalgia. First of all, with reference to Cardwell (2002), as an example of the nostalgia ‘genre’ of the period drama, *Borgia* was assumed to provoke expectations of nostalgia among the audiences. Later, single layers of the text have been investigated in the television

⁵²⁸ Original quotation: “*Sí, que parezca real para ser de la época que es. Claro!*” (JMS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 109).

⁵²⁹ Original quotation: “*Siii, la ambientación yo creo que está muy bien lograda. El vestuario y todo esooo*” ((?)MS25-35, GS25-35_Period Pictures_Borgia_Spanien, 126).

analysis. Nostalgia is not inherent to the structure of the series, the era is also not represented as golden vanishing point, however, the representation of the era carries the “connotation of order” and stability that indeed could make it the subject of nostalgic longing. A here located ‘own nostalgia’ would only be possible on the basis of a respective ‘prosthetic memory’. On the layer of aesthetic and design, *Borgia* exposes intertextual references to Renaissance paintings, which depending on a respective “retrospective classifications” could lead into ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘own nostalgia’ in case that respective ‘prosthetic memories’ exist. This similarly applies to the music, which clearly has the ‘connotation of pastness’. However, only in case that respective ‘prosthetic memories’ existed it can be supposed to work as a ‘mnemonic prompt’. Lastly, on the layer of the characters, *Borgia* also explores a “connotation of order” regarding its gender relations which, depending on the subject position, makes the past somehow desirable. Also here intertextual references to Renaissance paintings may lead into ‘artefact nostalgia’ or to ‘own artefact nostalgia’ in case that a respective positive “retrospective classification” of a ‘prosthetic memory’ exists.

Depending on the focus of the interviewee’s statements the following patterns have been identified: (1) *Reception of references to the ‘natural real’ on the layer of narration*, later nostalgia on other layers of the text has been investigated, here the patterns (2) *Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia?* and (3) *Reference to the Renaissance* have been outlined. None of the examples led to nostalgia from the interviewees nor could it be shown that the audiences expected nostalgia when they chose to watch the series. As assumed in the television analysis the interviewees’ statements reflect a critical, pessimistic gaze on the era, which already impedes nostalgia. The ‘connotation of stability’ that has been assumed to be a potential trigger of nostalgia on the F layer is not mentioned respectively perceived as such. The question whether the series reflects historical facts or not divides the participants. However, in all cases it is clear that the knowledge they base their statements upon is media transmitted. The existence of a ‘prosthetic memory’ of the era could not be observed.

Later, it has been shown that the ‘connotation of pastness’ *Borgia* exposes on the layers of props, décor and costumes indeed draws the attention of the participants, however nostalgia is also not the case here. On the one hand, the series is here framed with film and television series. These references are dominantly positively appraised but also do not lead into nostalgia. On the other hand, décor props and costumes indeed

stand for the Renaissance era for the interviewees, but this does not lead into nostalgia. The existence of a ‘prosthetic memory’ on whose basis the objects could have worked as a “mnemonic prompt” could not be observed.

In principle, the section supports that nostalgia without “referential framing” can be excluded. In the end phase of the discussion, one participant also discusses this fact when he justifies the non-arising of nostalgia in the context of *Borgia* as follows:

*AMG25-35: Well. I didn't live back then. I haven't been involved with the Pope ... (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 116 [o.t.]).*⁵³⁰

8.3.3. Conclusion on period dramas as potential triggers of nostalgia

Period dramas are named most often when it comes to nostalgia in the academic discourse. From this, and with reference to Cardwell (2002), it has been assumed that the period drama as a nostalgia ‘genre’ creates the expectation of nostalgia or is chosen by the audiences in the course of a ‘nostalgia mood management’. Later, on the background of the theoretical part, the single layers of the period dramas were expected to provoke nostalgia.

The subject has been investigated in a television analysis. Two examples have been chosen, one of which, the period drama *Borgia* (F/D/A/CZ, 2011) (*Borgia* (ZDF, 2011); *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al vicio* (Cosmopolitan TV, 2011)), is most clearly outside the life-span of the interviewees. The second, the period drama *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) (ZDFneon, 2010; Cuatro, 2009), is set in the 1960s and thus outside the life-span of the 25-35-year-olds and inside the so-called “reminiscence bump” or “formative years” of the 55-65-year-olds. Both series were broadcasted on Spanish and German television between 2009 and 2011. Potential triggers of nostalgia were analysed.

The reception study served to see if these potential triggers of nostalgia are indeed perceived as such by the audiences. Further characteristics of nostalgia in the context of period dramas should be explained. That the period dramas create the expectation of nostalgia was not supported by the reception study. Here a further, deeper interrogation would have been necessary, but it could not be done in the course of the focus group discussion. Apart from that, the patterns of reception that were identified are in many parts concordant regarding the two examples. On a first layer a focus on the *Reception of the references to the ‘natural real’ on the layer of narration* has been

⁵³⁰ Original quotation: “Naja. Ich hab da ja nicht gelebt. Ich hab auch mit dem Papst nichts gehabt also das ist alles so...” (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 116).

described. Further patterns focus on other single layers of the text. Here above all, the referential character of the series was relevant. It is subsumed under the sub-patterns *Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia* and *References to the 1960s* respectively, in the case of *Borgia*, *Reference to Renaissance*. A kind of bisection of the discussion could be observed regarding the reception of the slide projector scene of the *Mad Men* stimulus, which is why the results have been presented separately. Here an additional pattern that reflects the *empathetic understanding* from the side of the recipients was identified in the analysis. As expected in the context of *Mad Men* various cases of nostalgia could be detected. In the context of *Borgia* no case of nostalgia has been identified (see table 3).

	Cases of nostalgia in the context of the period dramas
<i>Mad Men</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the intertextual references (ZFS25-35) • ‘own F nostalgia’ coming from an immersion into the fictional world (FCFS55-65); (PMS55-65 (?)) • ‘own F nostalgia’ on the layer of the music (?) (MFS55-65) • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the props (DMG55-65) • ‘own empathetic F nostalgia’ (?) (ZFG25-35)
<i>Borgia</i>	–

Table 3: Cases of nostalgia in the course of the period drama reception.

In general, it can be stated that while in the case of *Mad Men* different foci of attention can be observed that also influence that nostalgia is provoked on different layers of the text, regarding *Borgia* patterns are group overarching. That is maybe least evident regarding the pattern *Reception of the references to the ‘natural real’*. Even though already here clear “referential framings” in the case of *Mad Men* can be observed while regarding *Borgia* there is always a clear gap to the lifeworld of the recipients, in both cases a rather critical perspective on the respective era can be highlighted that impedes nostalgia.

The difference becomes more evident regarding other patterns of reception. As assumed in the television analysis, in both series costumes, décor, and props draw the attention of the audiences due to their sole contrast to the contemporary artefact. It is not before a second step, namely in the sub-patterns *Intertextual references – (roundabout) nostalgia (?)* and *References to the 1960s* respectively *Reference to Renaissance* that cases of nostalgia could be observed. Here, indeed in both examples, the referential character of the period drama to its respective era, be it ‘the Renaissance’, be it ‘the 1960s’, is perceived as such by the audiences. Also both series are framed with a net of

intertextual references, mostly other period dramas set in the same era as the period example. However, while in the case of *Borgia* both the 25-35-year-olds and the 55-65-year-olds approach the series equally with references to other cultural products or to their historical knowledge of the era in order to make sense of the text that is distant from their own lifeworld, in the case of *Mad Men* clear differences between the age groups can be observed. Depending on the age group different ‘hierarchies’ of relevance could be identified. That *Mad Men* is approached via a net of intertextual references may dominantly be observed among the 25-35-year-old Spaniards who have no own memories of the 1960s. Here one case of (roundabout) nostalgia appears. In contrast to the *Borgia* context where the references have a rather factual character in order to grasp the series, the here named references are remembered with a higher degree of emotional involvement and are subject to a positive “retrospective classification”. Also here the nostalgia does not concern the reference as such but the retrospective positively classified context of its reception.

This similarly applies to the references to ‘the 1960s’ *Mad Men* exposes on the layer of props and others. They are only relevant among the 55-65-year-olds. An exception, it has been shown in the analysis, is the slide projector scene. The apparatus somehow mediates between the memories of different ‘we-groups’. In both cases nostalgia could be observed. Later, a case of ‘own empathetic F nostalgia’ in the case of *Mad Men* could be highlighted. In all cases it is a “referential framing” on the basis of which nostalgia develops and which was not possible for the audiences in the context of *Borgia*.

In summary it may be stated that period dramas work as triggers of nostalgia. Contrary to assumptions made in the television analysis, the provoked nostalgias are not directed toward the “connotation of order” in the representation of a past era or towards the period prop that is exposed as desirable. Observed nostalgias are always related to own experiences of the participants. Empathetic nostalgia could be highlighted. Also here it bases upon a ‘synchronisation’ with their own lifeworld. We may thus state, that a “referential framing” turned out to be an inevitable basis for the development of nostalgia, just as the positive “retrospective classification” of the object. Apart from that, participants seem to deliberate about the importance of an object. Only the most relevant one becomes part of the nostalgia that is manifested on the questionnaire.

Above all in the context of *Mad Men* it could be shown that patterns of reception differ clearly among the age groups. Only for the 55-65-year-olds from both territorial

groups the reference to ‘the 1960s’ turned out to be a potential trigger of nostalgia. Due to the few cases of nostalgia, it can only scarcely be talked of ‘shared’ nostalgias. *Borgia* at the same time is somehow too ‘distant’ from the lifeworld of the participants in order to provoke nostalgia. However, it should not be assumed that this is due to the fact that the series is set in the Renaissance, a time-span which is most clearly outside the personal or family memory of the participants. Via intertextual references that are again part of the personal experience of a recipient, ‘proximity’ could possibly be generated, which was however not the case regarding *Borgia*. At this point there is surely further need of research.

9. Discussion of the results of the reception study

The preceding analysis focused on the reception of six examples from different nostalgia ‘genres’, more precisely on the reception of the reruns *Knight Rider* (NBC 1982) and *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) and their respective remakes, and the reception of the period dramas *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007) and *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011). In a first step, all six examples were subjected to an in-depth television analysis, where it was identified in which way the examples “prefigure” possible nostalgic readings. The reception analysis scrutinised in which way the presumed offers of nostalgia on the layer of the text are decoded as such by 25-35-year-olds and 55-65-year-olds from Germany and Spain. A further characterisation of the phenomenon of nostalgia and its reception was possible.

The conclusive chapters to the reception of the single nostalgia ‘genres’ gave a detailed overview on the interrelations between potential triggers of nostalgia on the layer of the text and cases of nostalgia as they could be observed in the focus group discussions. This discussion of results shall identify general tendencies. It shall reflect the results against the working hypotheses and draw on remaining open questions. Preceding this, it can be stated that the broad conception of the study makes detailed observations possible. Findings in parts arise precisely from the comparison of the different nostalgia ‘genres’ and their nostalgic or explicitly non-nostalgic reception. At the same time limitations arise. They shall be reflected upon in the last paragraph of this section, which also highlights the further need for research. Due to the small sample, the results cannot be generalised to the reception of nostalgia as a whole, however further hypothesis on the functioning of nostalgia can be drawn and an in-depth articulation and analysis of the reception of nostalgia in particular examples can be made.

9.1. The cases of nostalgia

With a view on the conclusions to the sub-chapters, we may state that diverse cases of nostalgia could be identified in the course of the reception study. This chapter will take a concrete view on these cases and first of all examine their commonalities, which let us draw further conclusions on the characteristics of nostalgia in the course of the television reception. In the beginning, inter- and intra-group differences will be set aside. They shall be commented on at a later point in this discussion of the results.

9.1.1. General characteristics of the objects of nostalgia

In general, around 25 cases of nostalgia could be observed in the course of the reception study. As presumed, these nostalgias are provoked on different layers of the texts, but, as Carroll (1999, p. 27) states in the context of aesthetic emotions in general, “in order to be an appropriate object of the emotion in question, the relevant object must meet certain necessary conditions”. On the basis of these cases, we may state that the respective object of nostalgia was appraised according to the following essential components:

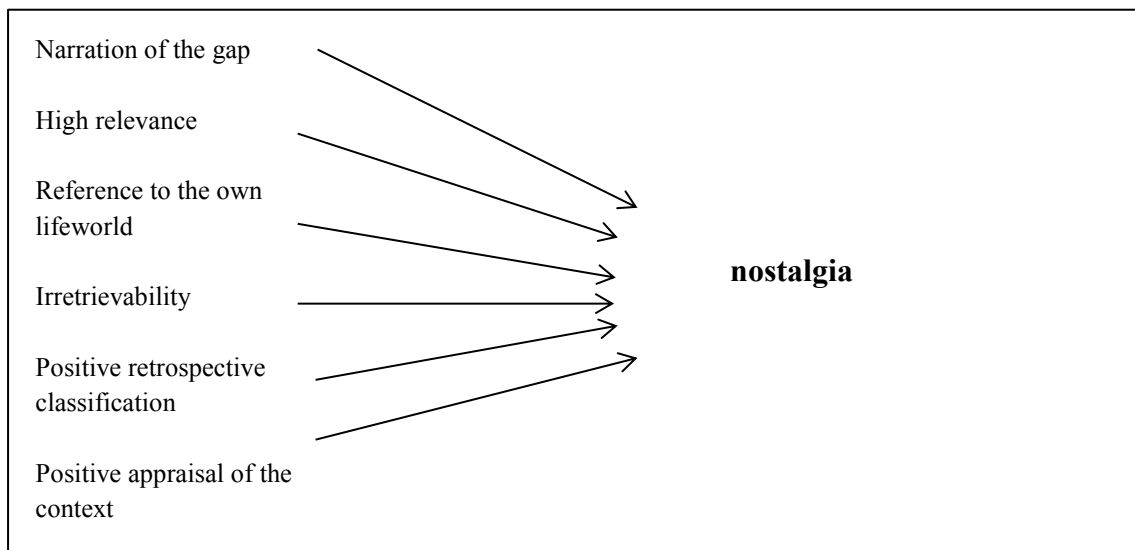


Table 4: Components of nostalgia

- (1) It is the representative of a better, positive past inside the ‘narration of the gap’.
- (2) It is of high relevance for the audiences.
- (3) It contains a reference to their lifeworld.
- (4) It is irretrievable.

- (5) It is retrospectively positively classified.
- (6) It arises in a context that is also positively appraised.

Not in this combination and not with an exclusive view on the appraisal process in the context of the reception of nostalgia in television, however most of these components were mentioned earlier in the literature on nostalgia or on aesthetic emotions. The narration of the gap is part of the rhetoric of nostalgia that has been described by Tannock (1995, pp. 456 f.). The same applies to the positive “retrospective classification”. On a macro level, this subject has been investigated by Kompare (2005). With a view on Davis (1977; 1979), it may also be applied on the micro level. Both aspects were part of the pre-assumptions of the analysis that could here be confirmed and further specified. Other components such as the high relevance, reference to the own lifeworld, and the importance of irretrievability, turned out inductively. Furthermore, they are however, concordant with the literature on nostalgia, aesthetic emotions or memory. Thus Cook’s (2005, p. 3) general definition highlights “irretrievability” as major element of nostalgia. That the nostalgia object needs to have some relation to the lifeworld of the recipients is also concordant with what has been written on nostalgia’s dependence on (personal) memory or ‘prosthetic memory’. Further it may be explained by nostalgia’s strong interrelation with memory in general. As Teer-Tomaselli (2006, p. 235) highlights in the context of *The Global Media Project*, an “important influence on what is remembered is that of cultural proximity”. The relation to personal “lifeworlds” is explained as another important factor (Teer-Tomaselli, 2006, p. 240 ff.). Finally, in the context of aesthetic emotions in general, appraisal theory (see e.g. Tan, 1999, p. 44; Mangold et al., 2001, p. 171) names “relevance” as a major aspect in the development of certain emotions.⁵³¹

The reception analysis gives evidence that it is precisely an appraisal of an object as containing all these components, which leads into nostalgia. Firstly, apart from in parts only rough elaborations from the participants in the context of which an identification of the single components could not be done, in more elaborated statements the components could be identified. Secondly, this is also evident when we compare the different examples and cases of nostalgia and non-nostalgia.

⁵³¹ As Winter (2010, p. 144) highlights on the example of Fiske’s (1988) research, the factor “*Relevanz*” [relevance] has more importance in the analysis of media communication than the factor “*Präferenz*” [preference].

Apart for a few exceptions such as PMS55-65 who simply states to have felt nostalgia but neither why nor in which context, in nearly all cases a clear gap could be located, be it in a rhetoric of nostalgia or in the fact that the object of nostalgia may be ascribed to a life-phase of the recipient, which is clearly separable from the present one, the importance of “relevance” can above all be deduced from the comparison of the cases of nostalgia with those cases where nostalgia does not appear. Without exception, the object of nostalgia or the object in whose context nostalgia appears is given a high relevance. We may here for instance remind of the context of the *Knight Rider* rerun. Those audiences who appraise, for example, the *Knight Rider* first-run as having had little relevance in their past, have less memories and also do not develop nostalgia in its context and *vice versa*. Shades of relevance, as this case shows, may be observed on the macro-layers, thus regarding the reruns, remakes, period dramas as an artefact as a whole, but also inside the single formats, when formal elements is given more relevance than contextual ones or *vice versa* and only in this context nostalgia may be detected. It seems also that between different mentions of nostalgia in the course of the discussion, only the emotion that finally is given most relevance becomes manifest on the questionnaire.

Relevance is then again strongly interrelated in how far a format has something to do with the lifeworld of the recipients. Is it interrelated with important moments in life? Did it once cause intensive emotions that are still remembered today? Accordingly, and without exception, all cases of nostalgia contain a “referential framing”. Even in the case of ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ where it could at least have been assumed that a nostalgia that is only ‘shared’ with a protagonist is possible, nostalgia arises only on the basis of a relation to the lifeworld of the nostalgic subject. In the course of the end discussion, one participant explicitly highlights the necessity of a relation to “*persönlichen Erfahrungen und Lebenssituationen*” [personal experiences and life situations] (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 9 [o.t.]) in the development of nostalgia.

Apart from the fact that no participant developed nostalgia towards a retrievable object, the comparison between rerun and remake reception, especially in the case of the rerun and remake of *Knight Rider*, could show that when the component of “irretrievability” is lacking, nostalgia is not developed. In both contexts the rhetoric of nostalgia could be detected, however, since the remake is negatively appraised, the ‘lacking’ element is thought to be available in the premake or in a ‘better’ remake

version. Nostalgia is not developed. The same becomes apparent when we compare statements that have been made in the context of the period drama *Mad Men*. Here a clear rhetoric of nostalgia in the context of the slide projector scene could be observed in two cases, however, only in one case the respective memory point – viewing sessions in the family circle – was appraised as irretrievable by the participant and nostalgia was indeed developed. Furthermore, one participant highlights this component of the nostalgic appraisal explicitly in the final discussion. As BMG25-35 states:

BMG25-35: “You need just to have both, you have to find it nice but you also have to be aware that it is bygone and that it never comes back” (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 49 [o.t.]).⁵³²

In no case nostalgia was developed towards an object that has been retrospectively classified as negative nor was it triggered on the basis of negatively appraised contents. Clear cases of nostalgia that were solely based upon the ‘common sense’ “retrospective classifications” could not be observed. Even though it has to be highlighted that the “retrospective classifications” indicate a kind of ‘social desirability’ in whose context nostalgia can be presumed to be favoured.

9.1.2. The ‘genres’ of nostalgia

In both the academic and in the non-academic discourse, reruns and nostalgia, remakes and nostalgia, and period dramas and nostalgia are frequently named in one course. The television analysis assumed here that all three categories may be described as nostalgia ‘genres’ that also create the expectation of nostalgia on the side of the recipients respectively that are chosen in a kind of nostalgia mood-management. Not in all cases this can be seen as supported by the reception study. However, it can be stated that further evidence is indeed given.

In general, only a few participants of the focus groups had seen the reruns, remakes and period pictures at an earlier moment before the discussion and could have actually reported about eventual expectations and experiences in the course of this reception. At the utmost in the discussion on the *Knight Rider* remake, elaborations of single participants support the assumption that nostalgia is the gratification audiences expected when they choose to watch the remake. At least the majority of statements that

⁵³² Original quotation: “Du musst halt beides drin haben, du musst es schön finden aber du musst dir auch dessen bewusst sein, dass es vergangen ist. Und dass es nie wieder zurück kommt” (BMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 49).

refer to the viewing motivation suggest an intended *Reencounter with the past* among those participants who know the remake. One recipient refers here explicitly to a “retro-feeling” that he expected. Regarding other examples, no such elaborations could be highlighted. Here, a deeper survey on the motivations would have been necessary, as it could not be done in the course of the focus group discussions.

Notwithstanding this, we may indeed talk of a certain nostalgia mood that was prevalent in the focus groups. Firstly, in all ‘genres’ cases of nostalgia could be observed, which gives us a reason to believe that the participants were ‘disposed’ for nostalgia. Later, participants also tended to have hierarchies of memories. Often alternative nostalgia triggers from within the same ‘genre’ are named, which is given more relevance, are better remembered and which have somehow more “proximity” to the lifeworld of the recipients. If nostalgia was not the case regarding one example, in parts alternative nostalgia triggers are named that make clear, that other, more relevant ‘genre’ examples indeed may trigger the feeling of nostalgia, or are at least approached with such an expectation.

This may be observed in the context of the reruns where the quantitative largest amount of nostalgia cases could be identified. Above all, regarding *Knight Rider* recipients who have no nostalgic feelings in the context of the artefact as such or in the context of single aspects of the artefact, they also name more relevant television series or film reruns that would ‘work’ as nostalgia contents in their case. Among the 25-35-year-old Germans this can also be observed in the final discussion of the focus group. Especially the two participants AMG25-35 and GMG25-35 who in the course of the main discussion displayed a cumbersome dealing with *Knight Rider* as nostalgia content referred here to other rerun films, which they clearly ascribe the potential to provoke nostalgia in their case (AMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 103; 106; 112; GMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 109). The higher relevance is again justified here with the greater degree of ‘proximity’ to the own lifeworld (see AMG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 114).

This similarly applies to the remake context. Apart from the fact that in the context of the ‘failed’ *Knight Rider* remake some recipients explicitly discuss an at least expected reencounter with the past and expectations of nostalgia, also here alternative nostalgia triggers from the same ‘genre’ are named that are thought to ‘work’ better (AMG25-35; GMG25-35, GD25-35_Remake_Knight Rider_Deutschland, 227-229) or

that also were approached with expectations of nostalgia (see e.g. AFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 371).⁵³³

In the context of the period pictures, a comparable mentioning of alternative nostalgia triggers from the same ‘genre’ could not be observed. Here however, again at least cases of nostalgia in the *Mad Men*-context are indicative for a certain prevalence of the nostalgic mood. In any case, there is a need for further research here.

9.1.3. Triggers of nostalgia

The question was in which way potential triggers of nostalgia, as they were explored on the layer of the text, were decoded as such by the participants. The respective conclusive chapters on the reception of the single ‘genres’ already described these interrelations. First of all, we may state that the assumed forms ‘F nostalgia’, ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ and ‘A nostalgia’ and the here central object-centrism served as applicable categories in the course of the analysis. Apart from ‘internal empathetic artefact nostalgia’ both cases of ‘F nostalgia’ and ‘A nostalgia’ could be detected. Also the assumption that intertextual references may lead into ‘A nostalgia’ could be verified.

However, in all cases we are dealing with the ‘personal’ shape of these aesthetic emotions. ‘F nostalgia’ appears for example as ‘own F nostalgia’ when F emotions as they are remembered in the context of a first-run become the object of nostalgia. ‘Empathetic F nostalgia’ appears as ‘own empathetic F nostalgia’ when the sensation of empathy leads into a splitting-off of own experiences that are the object of the nostalgic longing. ‘A nostalgia’ takes the form of ‘own A nostalgia’ in the context of memories that are attached to a rerun as an artefact as a whole or A emotions as they are remembered in the context of an earlier reception. In the end discussion, one participant reflects on this phenomenon. She distinguishes here between a “*persönlichen Nostalgie*” [personal nostalgia] and the “*Nostalgie der Gesellschaft*” [nostalgia of society] (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgie_Allgemein_Deutschland, 5 [o.t.]). Whereby the ‘personal nostalgia’ is again strongly related to “*persönlichen Erfahrungen und*

⁵³³ Before this background we may assume that even when in the case of the two remake examples only barely cases of nostalgia appeared, this does not mean that nostalgia in the context of remakes is not possible in general. Both examples, *Knight Rider* (2008) and *The Avengers* (Chechik, 1998) are dominantly appraised negatively by the recipients. They almost invite the audiences to consider their ‘lacks’ as an explanation for the absence of positive emotions such as nostalgia. Therefore both examples are surely only one of other possible and presumable cases. All assessments of remakes and nostalgia this work makes have to be seen in this context. It is on further studies to investigate the possible development of nostalgia in the context of positive appraised remakes.

Lebenssituationen” [personal experiences and life situations] (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 9 [o.t.]).

If we now take one step back and consider general tendencies in comparison of the examples, dominances within the ‘genres’ are observable, as they already had been assumed in the context of the television analysis, but as they turned out to be less clear on the layer of the text. These dominances are again related to the previously described hierarchies of relevance or, as it could also be said, to a certain aspiration of ‘proximity’ from the side of the audiences.⁵³⁴

In the context of the television reruns, nostalgia is dominantly related to the first-run experience. The rerun as an artefact as such, or single aspects of it, work here as “mnemonic prompts” in order to recall events that ‘attached themselves’ to the media memory and lead into ‘own A nostalgia’. ‘Own F nostalgia’ is developed in the context of strong, positive past emotions as they are remembered in the context of the first-run. Intertextual references or the general referential character of the rerun may lead into ‘own A nostalgia’.

In addition, we may state that the nostalgias are clearly arranged in a kind of hierarchy. In accordance with Marce (1984) as referred to by Furno-Lamude and Anderson (1992), “cultural concerns override the concern for plot and character development in rerun viewing” (Furno-Lamude and Anderson, 1992, p. 371), respectively, as here shall be added, in the context of rerun nostalgia. Only in case that the personal link may not be installed ‘on the text’, viewers focus on intertextual references or the general referential character of the rerun.

Regarding the remake viewing, the ‘gap’ between remake and premake is most important. The artefact layer of the text is here central and overrides any other concern. One interviewee described this fact explicitly.

*AFS25-35: Well, when I watch the remake, sure, when you watch the remake, you remember the old one. And now, when I saw this one [the rerun]. Well, I intended to remember the summers. [...] (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 202 [o.t.]).*⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ At this place we may again create the link to what Teer-Tomaselli (2006) highlights in the context of the *The Global Media Project*. The “triggers” that functioned here in order to recall (media) events are likewise explained by “the concept of relevance and proximity” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2006, p. 242).

⁵³⁵ Original quotation: “*Ah, pues yo cuando veo el remake, claro, cuando ves el remake, te acuerdas de la antigua. Y ahora que he visto estaA [the rerun]. Pues sí que estaba intentando ahí recordar los veraAanos. [...] (AFS25-35, GS25-35_Rerun_Knight Rider_Spanien, 202).*”

Still, and against the assumptions made in the television analysis, no cases of nostalgia surging from this gap could be observed. The F layer of the text has no importance at all in the course of the reception. ‘A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefact as a whole may indeed be observed. The nostalgia, which in this case could only hardly be further specified, did not develop in the course of the reception but in the context of reminiscences about a lost childhood harmony in the course of the discussion. As mentioned previously, we must here consider that both remakes are negatively appraised which influences this concentration on the artefact and has further effects on the factor “irretrievability” and a here possible nostalgia. Both examples are special cases whose reception surely differs from other potential nostalgia remakes. Within the constellation of the here chosen examples, the gap between past and present identity becomes rather apparent in the context of the reruns. Here, the text may not be made responsible for the loss since it did not undergo any changes.

Regarding the period dramas, above all regarding *Mad Men*, the nostalgias are broader distributed. As assumed, for those who grew up in the era period artefacts may work as “mnemonic prompts”. The slide projector as a technical apparatus, which has been applied throughout the decades, mediates here between the age groups. On the F layer “visual correspondence” to own experiences of the audiences may lead into ‘own F nostalgia’. Furthermore, a case of ‘own empathetic nostalgia’ and ‘own A nostalgia’ triggered on the layer of the intertextual reference of the series can be observed. Again different hierarchies of relevance can be identified. Only what reached the highest relevance and apart from that was appraised according to the above mentioned criteria, led to nostalgia. Intertextual references are only relevant when no other “referential framing” is possible. Thus, in the case of *Mad Men* it can mainly be observed among the 25-35-year-olds. In the case of *Borgia* a respective framing is generally impossible for both 25-35-year-olds and 55-65-year-olds. Only in one case, where the Renaissance-series triggers autobiographical memories of school lessons, nostalgia is indicated but cannot be further substantiated due to an ironic framing from the participant.

Recipients develop nostalgia on the basis of single aspects of the texts and related to single objects that are appraised according to the previously mentioned categories. Respective focuses may change in the course of the reception. Thus, while in one moment emerging emotions are classified as nostalgia, regarding other aspects, nostalgia may not be observed. Also, nostalgia in the context of television reception can

be described as episodic, just as authors highlight it regarding emotions and aesthetic emotions (see e.g. Zillmann, 2004; Eder, 2005; Bruun Vaage, 2007; 2008) in general.

9.1.4. Reception and appropriation

In a general context, media and communication studies (see e.g. Mikos, 2001a; Hepp, 2005) distinguish between reception and appropriation. While the first refers to the “*Dauer der konkreten Interaktion mit einem Text in der Rezeptionssituation*” [duration of the concrete interaction with the text in the reception situation] (Mikos, 2001a, p. 62 [o.t.]), the latter describes, among others, the “*Folgekommunikation*” [follow-up communication] (Mikos, 2001a, 67 [o.t.]) after the reception. In the context of aesthetic emotions, Smith (2008, p. 26 [o.t.]) refers to empathy, which arises in the course of the film reception, and empathy that arises afterwards “*wenn wir über das Erlebnis [...] nachdenken*” [when we think about the experience]. This distinction can also be made regarding nostalgia.

Independent of the nostalgia ‘genre’, here we may also distinguish nostalgia that arises in the course of the reception and nostalgia that arises in the course of the appropriation of the television series in the group discussions. Both cannot always be distinguished clearly. As Mikos (2001a) states in a general context, reception and appropriation can hardly be separated, “*weil Aneignung bereits während der Rezeption stattfindet*” [since appropriation already takes place during the reception] (Mikos, 2001a, 63 [o.t.]). The same applies to this study. However, some cases at least suggest the interpretation that nostalgia did not arise before the discussion of the respective stimulus material.

The reception analysis referred to, for example, the ‘own A nostalgia’ that parts of the 25-35-year-old Spaniards developed in the context of the *El coche fantástico* (2008) discussion. It is a similar case with *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966). Statements of participants indicate here, that nostalgia was not experienced in the course of the reception, but rather in the course of the remembrance process during the group discussion. The analysis of the questionnaire allows some further concretisation. While most of the participants relate to the concrete stimulus except in their description of nostalgia, one participant indicates explicitly to have felt nostalgia during the *Knight Rider* discussion (BMG25-35, Questionnaire_Connotation of nostalgia_25-35-year-old Spaniards, 25).

The topic of appropriation and nostalgia cannot and will not be explored in depth at this place, however, with a view on these cases, at least two points can be highlighted that should also be considered in further studies on nostalgia and television. Firstly, against the background that already in the group discussions memories were triggered that became the basis of nostalgia, we may assume that above all regarding television, a medium that in contrast to film encourages television talk (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007, p. 344), appropriation is especially relevant in the development of nostalgia. Secondly, this is further supported when we consider that audiences use television talk in order to “relate television to their own lives and thus help them to make sense of both” (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007, p. 344). A “referential framing”, it has been shown previously, is again one important component of appraisal in the reception of nostalgia. We may thus assume that it may also be ‘added’ in the course of the appropriation and lead on this way into nostalgia.

9.1.5. Necessary time spans of nostalgia

The reception analysis only allows a few statements on the necessary time spans of nostalgia. In order to investigate this issue more closely, it would have been necessary to use a broader range of examples that are also graduated over various decades, which would have exceeded the scope of this study. However, some points emerge that allow us to characterise the ‘longing’ emotion more closely.

First of all, the study supports that there is no general, minimum time span of nostalgia. The previously mentioned components of nostalgia make clear that the importance of a creation of the ‘gap’ respectively a contrast to present times as it has already been highlighted in the literature on nostalgia in general (Davis, 1977; 1979; Lowenthal, 1986; 1989; Tannock, 1996) has been approved. These observations are supported by explicit reflections of participants in the course of the end discussion of the study. DFG25-35 highlights here for example that she developed nostalgia only in the past years of her life:

DFG25-35: [...] When does it actually begin? Well, I think it's also interesting that you suddenly developed it just a few years ago. Because first

*something must indeed go by (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 159 [o.t.]).*⁵³⁶

A comparable reflection is made by CFG25-35 who says her first media memory is an example of nostalgia:

*CFG25-35: With the Dschungelbuch [The Jungle Book] I was already very early nostalgic. [...] Yes, I watched it for the first time when I was eight, I was already nostalgic when I was fifteen, when the film was repeated. [...] was just my first feature film (GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 165, 167, 170 [o.t.]).*⁵³⁷

The indications of the age make clear, that the experience, which is the subject of nostalgia, falls in another lifespan, namely in the lifespan of childhood, that clearly contrasts against adolescence from the perspective of which she describes to have developed the nostalgic feeling. When these conditions are given, already within few years, nostalgia may be developed.

With a view on the reception study regarding the maximum time-span of nostalgia, it can be stated that no participant developed nostalgia in the context of an object that did lie outside his/her own experienced time. Nostalgia based upon ‘prosthetic memories’ can also not be observed. The same applies to presumed ‘adopted nostalgia’. We may however not exclude that such nostalgia is possible. Even though it was not a basis of nostalgia, indeed one case of ‘prosthetic memory’ could be identified in the course of the group discussions. Apart from that, also without ‘prosthetic memories’, this does not mean that a period picture or rerun that lies clearly outside the lifespan of a recipient may not become the object of nostalgia. The question is here not from which era, for example a period picture, comes or is set in, but where memory may enter the text. Indeed regarding *Borgia*, the example that was most clearly outside the lifespan of the participants, nostalgia could not be observed. However, the case of JMS25-35 suggests here that also a television series that lies clearly outside the lifespan may lead into nostalgia when a “referential framing” generates the relation to the own lifeworld. This could similarly be shown in the *Mad Men* context. Participants who have no own

⁵³⁶ Original quotation: “[...] Ab wann beginnt das eigentlich? Weil ich find’s auch interessant, dass man das plötzlich so entwickelt seit ‘n paar Jahren erst. Weil es muss ja auch erst Mal was vergehn” (DFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 159).

⁵³⁷ Original quotation: “[Ich war zum Beispiel für Dschungelbuch] ganz früh nostalgisch, schon. [...] Ja, das hab ich zum ersten Mal gesehn, da war ich acht, da war ich schon nostalgisch als ich fünfzehn war wenn [...] der Film wiederholt wurde. [...] war halt mein erster Kinofilm” (CFG25-35, GD25-35_Nostalgia_Allgemein_Deutschland, 165; 167; 170).

memories of the 1960s are able to generate “proximity” through the detour of the intertextual references. Always in case that proximity is generated, the development of nostalgia is also possible regarding texts whose time of reference is clearly outside the lifespan of the recipients.

9.1.6. Relevance of the reflexive pre-focus of the text

From the six examples that have been examined in the television analysis some can be described as especially encouraging the reflexive view on their time of reference. Among the period dramas it is *Mad Men* that dismantles the ‘self-mythologising’ efforts of the 1960s. In the group of the reruns *The Avengers* (ITV, 1961) may be described as reflexive regarding its temporal context. *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982) presents at least an ambiguous gaze on its 1980s present, even though from today’s perspective it can also be described as idealising “*agente historiador*”. Before this background it has been assumed that the different foci of the examples will have influence on the quality of nostalgias developed in their context. This hypothesis could not be verified by the reception study.

The observed nostalgias can dominantly be classified as “simple” according to Davis’ (1979, p. 18) definition. In so far, the reception study is also congruent with Davis’ research in the context of which the author had likewise observed that “Simple nostalgia is experienced more frequently than Reflexive, and Reflexive, in turn, more than Interpreted” (Davis, 1979, p. 27). Thus also in the here conducted research, most of the participants do not question the correctness of their nostalgia. Instead they, as Davis (1979, p. 18) puts it in the context of nostalgia in general, “harbour[] the largely unexamined belief that things were better [...] then than now”. The reception study indeed shows that for example the narration of *Mad Men* encourages the critical gaze on the 1960s. This perspective of the text however does not prevent the participants from developing “simple” nostalgia regarding other layers of the text. The same applies to the other examples. When it comes to nostalgia, it is always in its “simple” form.

Only in one case clear “reflexive”, even “interpreted nostalgia” may be observed. However, the analysis gives here evidence that the different colouring was not provoked by the reflexive character of the nostalgia trigger – in this case *El coche fantástico* (TVE, 1985). It is rather a memory of an only recent rerun reception that enters in conflict with the earlier *Knight Rider* experience.

The case hints to a point, which in the context of this study can only be touched upon and that has been described by Assmann (2006) in the context of memory in general. As Assmann highlights, “*Relevanzstrukturen*” [structures of relevance] and “*Bewertungsmuster*” [patterns of appraisal] change in the course of life in a way “that once important things gradually become unimportant and once unimportant things become important in retrospect” (Assmann, 2006, p. 25 [o.t.])⁵³⁸. Dhost (2007, p. 36), it has been mentioned previously, has highlighted that “repeated viewing” may have impact on “former memories and evaluations”. Both again, so it can be assumed, also decisively influence the development of nostalgia. In the previously mentioned case it is a reflexive layer that is added to the nostalgic view. Against the background of the components of the nostalgia appraisal where “relevance” is one major factor, we may assume, that what at one moment in time triggers nostalgia can be supposed to trigger very different emotions at another and *vice versa*.

In the context of this study this subject could not be investigated conclusively. The statements made are still hypothetical. In order to further investigate this issue, a study would be necessary that observes the development of nostalgia in the context of television series over various decades or at least years – something that would have exceeded the limits of this project. Once more, however, the observations underline the ephemeral character of nostalgia and its dependence of multiple factors. Nostalgia is a fleeting emotion.

9.1.7. Inter-group differences

Before the background of the nostalgia discourse and theories on memory, it has been assumed that nostalgias differ with view on different groups of recipients. The conclusion to the reception analysis poses here one main question, that is: How are the examples received from within the frames of different “we” groups? This study mainly referred to a territorial “we” of German or Spanish audiences and a “we” of different age groups, here the group of the 25-35-year-olds and the group of the 55-65-year-olds. The reception study was organised correspondingly. Altogether four different focus group discussions were conducted with each one age group from both countries.

⁵³⁸ Original quotation: “*Insbesondere verändern sich die Relevanzstrukturen und Bewertungsmuster im Laufe des Lebens, so dass ehemals Wichtiges nach und nach unwichtig und ehemals Unwichtiges in der Rückschau wichtig werden kann*” (Assmann, 2006, p. 25).

Differences were not only assumed due to the different memories of the groups. Against the background of Krotz, according to whom “feeling depends [...] on cultural, social and personality-related determinants” (Krotz, 1993, p. 98, [o.t.]⁵³⁹, also with view on the emotive aspects of nostalgia, differences between Spain and Germany have been expected. Findings on this subject shall be summarised in this conclusive sub-chapter.

Altogether, among all groups, the groups of the 25-35-year-old Germans and Spaniards and the groups of the 55-65-year-old Germans and Spaniards, cases of nostalgia could be observed (see table 5).

	Cases of nostalgia
Reruns	
<i>Knight Rider</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefact as a whole (DFG25-35; AFS25-35, JMS25-35, RMS25-35, CMS25-35, OFS25-35, MFS55-65 (?), DMG25-35 (?)) • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the music (VMS25-35, AMG25-35 (? questionnaire)) • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the props (?) (CFG25-35) • ‘own F nostalgia’ towards past F emotions (FFG25-35, EMG 25-35)
<i>The Avengers</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefact as a whole (GFG55-65, (BFG55-65), FMS55-65 • ‘own F nostalgia’ coming from an immersion into the fictional world (CMG55-65)
Remakes	
<i>Knight Rider</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the artefacts as a whole (?) (VMS25-35, AFS25-35, OFS25-35)
<i>The Avengers</i>	–
Period dramas	
<i>Mad Men</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the intertextual references (ZFS25-35) • ‘own F nostalgia’ coming from an immersion into the fictional world (FCFS55-65) (PMS55-65 (?)) • ‘own F nostalgia’ on the layer of the music (?) (MFS55-65) • ‘own A nostalgia’ on the layer of the props (DMG55-65) • ‘own empathetic F nostalgia’ (?) (ZFG25-35)
<i>Borgia</i>	–

Table 5: Cases of nostalgia in the course of the reception study.

⁵³⁹ Original quotation: “Fühlen ist [...] von kulturellen, sozialen und persönlichkeitsbezogenen Determinanten abhängig” (Krotz, 1993, p. 98).

As only a rough view on the table shows, decodings are dominantly relatable to the age groups and less to the territorial groups. As a general tendency it can be observed that the *The Avengers* is not able to provoke nostalgia among the 25-35-year-olds while *Knight Rider* rather prohibits the development of the ‘longing’ emotion in the 55-65-year-olds. More convergence between the age groups can be observed in the case of *Mad Men*.

What regards the single types of nostalgia a comparison is not always possible. Indeed, around 25 cases could be identified, however already the table shows that there are only few ‘accumulations’. Nostalgia, it has been mentioned previously, is a fleeting, not easy to grasp emotion. However, tendencies can be described. Further hypothesis can be outlined.

9.1.7.1. Country comparison

With a view on the reception analysis, we may state that in general nationality does not correlate with specific nostalgias. The national “we”, even though it appears in some few occasions throughout the discussions, is unimportant regarding the detected nostalgias. Both *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ZDF, 1966) respectively *Los Vengadores* (TVE, 1966) and *Knight Rider* (RTLplus, 1985) respectively *El coche fantástico* (TVE, 1985) are part of a transnational German/Spanish media memory against the background of which also the remakes are decodeable for both groups. As Hepp (2009) suggested, the “deterritorial cultural thickening” appears here on the basis of internationally traded cultural products.

A certain degree of transnationally ‘shared’ nostalgia could above all be observed regarding the reruns as artefacts as a whole. The general socio-political contexts were here dominantly excluded in the nostalgia narration of the recipients. Instead, influenced by developmental stages such as childhood or early adulthood and seemingly equal divisions of life phases, across the countries very similar experiences attached themselves to the media memories, which again became the objects of nostalgia. In this point, the investigation is also congruent with what has been observed by Davis (1979). The author highlights that “nostalgia acquires considerable sociological significance – is often of a highly conventional cast, e.g., marriage, children, job success, a home of one’s own. These are institutional staples which we are socialized to contemplate from an early age and which, indeed, we are required to anticipate if there is to be cultural

continuity between generations” (Davis, 1979, p. 12 f.). The presumed difference between Germany and Spain, in case that the general socio-political context of the 1980s is of relevance, is only suggested by one case of adulthood nostalgia in the context of the *Knight Rider* rerun in the Spanish group of the 55-65-year-olds. The analysis could here however only make first assumptions. In consideration of the broadness of the interviewee’s comments and, due to the few cases, an impossibility of comparisons, further evidence in support of the assumption could not be given.

While the period drama *Borgia* neither provoked nostalgia among Germans nor Spaniards, in the case of *Mad Men* similar statements in both territorial groups could be highlighted. Furthermore, cases of nostalgia could be observed both among the German and Spanish participants. While further comparisons could not be made due to the broad distribution of the single cases, it can also be stated that internationally traded consumer goods or cultural products such as ‘twist’ music mediate between the territories. Again very similar memories of life phases or developmental stages – in this case early adulthood memories – attached themselves, which makes overlaps between German and Spanish memories observable.

The reception study suggests that nostalgia is not only equally defined both in Germany and in Spain, but that this equality also corresponds to the cognitive and emotive aspects of nostalgia. In both territorial groups cases of ‘F nostalgia’ and ‘A nostalgia’ could be observed. The components of the nostalgic appraisal are congruent throughout the countries.

9.1.7.2. Age groups

It is a different case when we look at the two age groups. Regarding the reruns and remakes, we can observe a clear gap between the 25-35-year-old Germans and Spaniards on the one hand, and the 55-65-year-old Germans and Spaniards on the other. Regarding *Mad Men* nostalgia can be exemplified among both however, also here, differences between the age groups appear.

The clear gap regarding the reruns and remakes can be related to the fact that media memories are in the centre of the provoked nostalgias. Each age group has different media memories – the study is here congruent with observations that have been made by Rusch and Volkmer (2006, p. 92) – respectively gives different media memories different relevance on the basis of which nostalgia then again may arise. This is

especially the case with the series that fall in the respective “formative years” of the age group. Corresponding to the “set of important events” as it is also described by Rusch and Volkmer (2006, p. 92), it is here where each age group finds its own set of potential triggers of nostalgia. Here can also not be distinguished between ‘experts’ and ‘non-experts’, but, as assumed in 4.4, everybody who was a child of his/her time can be *connaisseur*.⁵⁴⁰

On the one hand, both the 25-35-year-olds and the 55-65-year-olds have memories of *Knight Rider*, but these memories are differently coloured. Dominantly, the 25-35-year-olds give *Knight Rider* a high value in the context of which nostalgia may develop. The rerun works as a “mnemonic prompt” for example for the lost lightheartedness of childhood in general, what makes it again starting point for an in parts transnational, age group specific, ‘shared’ nostalgia. On the other hand, while the 25-35-year-olds dominantly have no memories of the *The Avengers* first-run that is set outside their lifespans, the 55-65-year-olds memorise it intensively. In parts nostalgia is developed in the context of the series.

The different colouring of the media memories of the 25-35-year-olds and 55-65-year-olds is also reflected in other areas in the context of which nostalgia not necessarily appears. The analysis shows for example that the memories of the 55-65-year-olds are clearly marked by early television similar to how it had been described by O’Sullivan (1991) in a more general of television memories. Apart from that, while the 25-35-year-olds in the context of *Knight Rider* tend to name alternative nostalgia triggers in case that the first-run had less relevance for them, among the 55-65-year-olds no such ‘hierarchisations’ can be observed. In the 1960s, one saw a programme or one didn’t. Other differences that appeared in the course of the group discussions shall not be investigated in this conclusive chapter, which focuses exclusively on the findings in the context of nostalgia.

Overlaps between the different age groups can be observed regarding the period drama *Mad Men*. However, while the 55-65-year-olds are here able to generate ‘proximity’ due to a ‘correspondence’ to their own memories of the 1960s, such an ‘easy’ “referential framing” cannot be observed among the 25-35-year-olds. Here nostalgia has to take the ‘detour’ of for example intertextual references. Different applies only to the

⁵⁴⁰ At this place can be hinted to the work of Ian Chamber (1986) as referred to in Winter (2010, p. 94) who in the 1980s had highlighted the dissolution of the concept of ‘expert’ and ‘layperson’ in the context of metropolitan popular culture.

prop slide projector, which mediates between the age groups and territorial groups. Other forms such as ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ are not age group specific. Indeed also here only in one case of a 25-35-year-old Spaniard nostalgia could be presumed. Empathetic emotions, however, also appear independent of age group or territorial group.

Finally, differences between the age groups regard the handlings of nostalgia. In chapter 7.1 it has been hinted to the fact that during their focus group discussions in the context of *The Global Media Project*, Kumar et al. (2006, p. 219) observed an accumulation of nostalgia among older Indian participants. The authors explain that with the relative larger temporal distance of the remembered events (Kumar et al., 2006, p. 219). Against this background, it could have been assumed that also in the course of this investigation nostalgia could have been dominantly observed among the 55-65-year-olds. However, the contrary is the case. Apart from a quantitative accumulation of cases of nostalgia among the 25-35-year-olds, different connotations of nostalgia among the two age groups can also be observed, which again influence the participants’ ‘disposition’ for the emotion. Already the analysis of the descriptions of “a nostalgic person” on the questionnaires reflects a negative connotation of nostalgia among the 55-65-year-olds, while among the 25-35-year-olds rather neutral or positive descriptions can be found. Among the 55-65-year-olds cases of nostalgia are suggested in the course of the discussion, but are not manifested as nostalgia on the questionnaire. Among the 25-35-year-olds the contrary is the case. There are various occasions where notions of nostalgia don’t appear in the course of the group discussion, on the questionnaire the respective recipient however states to have felt nostalgia. For the 25-35-year-olds nostalgia seems to be a socially desirable emotion. For the 55-65-year-olds instead it is rather problematic. While the young age group strives for nostalgia. Among the 55-65-year-olds its negative connotation inserts itself successfully between the nostalgic offer and its recipient.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴¹ Here it can only be speculated that the history of fascism had certain influence on the connotation of nostalgia among the 55-65-year-olds. In the course of the discussion, other ‘filters’ such as what Ang (1985, p. 94) describes as “‘ideology of mass culture’” have been suggested, which could not be further investigated in the course of the study.

9.1.8. Intra-group differences

Next to aspects such as the connotation of nostalgia, which work on an inter-subjective layer, here we shall at least refer to other factors, as they can be presumed to be important with regards to a rather intra-subjective layer. The theory on aesthetic emotions highlights, that different individuals may have different ‘dispositions’ for certain emotions or emotions in general. Mangold et al. (2001, p. 165 [o.t.]) discuss “[i]nterindividuell unterschiedliche affektive Reagibilität” [different intra-individual affective responsiveness]. The authors refer here both to isolated “Persönlichkeitszustände[...]” [individual conditions] during the respective reception and general “Perönlichkeitsdisposition” [character dispositions] (Mangold et al., 2001, p. 165 [o.t.]).

In addition, in the course of the reception study aspects came to the surface, which surely also have to be seen in this context. For example, we can refer to the case of DFG25-35 who describes herself as a very empathetic person (GD25-35_Period Pictures_Mad Men_Deutschland, 249). Other interviewees have preferences for fashion (see e.g. FFG25-35, AFG55-65) or aversion against historical media contents (see e.g. AMG25-35), which also influences their elaborations.

These aspects should be acknowledged, but, as Morley says, also in the context of this study they surely “do not erase the patterns of consistency and similarity of perspectives within groups” (Morley, 1980, p. 138). Following Mikos:

“[...] [D]espite all the uniqueness of the experiences, there exists no purely individual film or video reception, because since all spectators go through similar developmental psychological stages – and this normally in the frame of a specific society and a specific cultural context – and, apart from that pass institutions of socialisation such as parental home, school etc., all reception experiences which are singular for the individual are socially mediated”. (Mikos, 2001, p. 255)⁵⁴²

Apart from that – here we may draw again the line to chapter 3 on memory, “[p]rivate memory cannot [...] be unscrambled from the effects of dominant historical discourses” (Popular Memory Group, 1982, p. 211).

⁵⁴²Original quotation: “Doch trotz aller Einzigartigkeit der Erlebnisse gibt es keine rein individuelle Film- oder Videorezeption, da alle Zuschauer ähnliche entwicklungspsychologische Stadien durchmachen – und das in der Regel im Rahmen einer bestimmten Gesellschaft und eines spezifischen kulturellen Kontextes – und außerdem Sozialisationsinstanzen wie Elternhaus, Schule etc. durchlaufen, sind alle für das Individuum einzigartigen Rezeptionserlebnisse und -erfahrungen sozial vermittelt” (Mikos, 2001, p. 255).

9.2. Outlook

It could be shown that the reception of nostalgia is a complex phenomenon that depends upon diverse factors. It depends upon textual and contextual factors, is memory related, depends upon a complex process of appraisal, and diverse ‘filters’ that may enter the space between text and audiences. The use of different methods of data collection, just as it has been argued for in the context of the *Babelsberg Approach* or also other approaches of triangulation, has been proved to be productive in the investigation of the phenomenon. Due to possible comparisons of cases of nostalgia and non-nostalgia and the in-depth articulation of the recipients, aspects of reception could be identified that would not have been grasped by the application of a questionnaire alone. At the same time, the questionnaire enriched the qualitative analysis of the focus group discussion.

The categories of analysis deduced from a combination of approaches on aesthetic emotions, memory, and nostalgia have been proved to be applicable in the process of the reception study. In large parts the reception study supports the viability of the categories, in so far that it confirms its “*Vorhersagegültigkeit*” [predictive validity] (Krippendorf, 1980 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 222). Regarding the concrete appraisal process as it has been explained as decisive for the development of nostalgia, the components, even though not in this combination, contain “*korrelative Gültigkeit*” [correlative validity] (Krippendorf, 1980 cited in Lamnek, 2005, p. 222) to categories as they are highlighted in the theory of aesthetic emotions, nostalgia or memory. Few relations to previous investigations could be made. However, always when overlaps existed, correlations could also be observed here, and differences could be explained.

The study could exemplify major factors of the interrelation of nostalgic texts and nostalgic reception. However, this is surely only a beginning. With reference to Kuckartz (2010, p. 172), we may state that the inductively gained categories can only claim hypothetical character. They have to be verified in further studies. Later, the investigation had in parts “explorative” character. Its conceptualisation was accordingly wide regarding the different ‘genres’ and types of nostalgia. At the same time, the group discussions were limited with regards to the number of sessions and participants. In this conclusive chapter already some open questions have been outlined. Major limitations shall be highlighted in this outlook on the reception study.

With the stimulus excerpts and examples, inevitably a selection had to be made, and an order had to be installed, which may have influenced the reception. Confusions could be prevented due to the separated distribution of the stimulus examples in the course of

the discussion. However, since different ‘genres’ have been discussed within one focus group, it cannot be excluded that nostalgias, which were developed in the context of single examples and ‘genres’, did not ‘compete’ or retreat against each other. At this point further research is needed that exposes a more selective design, focusing upon the single ‘genres’. Later, given the small sample, only a relatively few cases of nostalgia appeared, which in parts hindered extensive comparisons of the same sub-type of nostalgia in different groups. With the sample of interviewees a selection with regard to age group and social group had to be made which limits the generalizability of the observations. Here, further research is needed.

This study is conscious of its limitations. It therefore aspired to disclose any possible sources of error, not only in this outlook but also in the course of the work. Apart from that, it has striven for the highest possible traceability. Here, the study was led by general criteria of quality of qualitative study (see e.g. Lamnek, 2006). Lamnek (2006) states in this context:

“Regarding its acceptance, the focus group as an explicit qualitative method will live – and this is not meant ironically – less of elaborated approaches of reliability and validity, but rather of plausibility and the persuasiveness of the results. The main condition should always be the disclosure of data collection and analysis and the chance of traceability” (Lamnek, 2006, p. 223 [o.t.]).⁵⁴³

Following this advice, any reader of this study is given the possibility to trace the single steps of analysis and possible shortcomings, which, above all in the course of an “explorative” study, cannot be excluded.

⁵⁴³ Original quotation: “Die Gruppendiskussion als explizit qualitative Methode wird – und das ist keineswegs ironisch gemeint – hinsichtlich ihrer Akzeptanz weniger von elaborierten Verfahren der Zuverlässigkeit- oder Gültigkeitsprüfung leben, als vielmehr von der Plausibilität und der für sich selbst sprechenden Überzeugungskraft der Befunde. Wesentliche Voraussetzung hierfür dürften immer die Offenlegung der Methoden der Datenerhebung und -analyse und damit die Chance ihres Nachvollzugs sein” (Lamnek, 2006, p. 223).

10. Afterword

“What is nostalgia in television?” and “How can the phenomenon be grasped theoretically?” were the main questions of this study. Further sub-questions were: “What are the ‘genres’ of nostalgia?” “What textual characteristics does it have?” “How far do potential triggers for nostalgia provoke nostalgic emotions?” And finally: “How are the nostalgic texts received from within the frames of different ‘we-groups’ and against the background of different lifeworlds?”. In order to approach these questions, the investigation combined studies from the spectrum of the nostalgia discourse, memory studies, and theories on aesthetic emotions in a first step. In a second step, textual analysis and reception studies were made with each of two examples from the nostalgia ‘genres’ reruns, remake and period drama. Thus, a country comparison has been chosen. Only by doing this, characteristics of contemporary nostalgia can be grasped broadly.

It has been stated that if we want to analyse nostalgia adequately we must analyse the textual characteristics, must ask if these characteristics indeed provoke nostalgia, and must ask if there are any differences between different audiences with different (memory) contexts. As shown in Part I, with a view on the discourse, characteristics of nostalgia could be explained. However, an approach that could be used in order to analyse the interrelation of nostalgia offered by the text and nostalgia provoked in the audiences is not provided. Due to this reason, the present work made use of theories on aesthetic emotions and memory as they exist within film, television and media studies. Suspecting that there must be certain similar mechanisms as in the case of suspense for example, a central point of combination, the model of Tan (1996) has been chosen. A combination of the discourse of nostalgia with the theory on aesthetic emotions and memory provided a first step in the investigation of the “systematic interrelation” of text and reception in nostalgia and television. The application of Tan’s model was successful in so far that it allowed an ‘ordering’, combination and amplification of the yet existing theoretical works. Studies that mainly centre on textual aspects of nostalgia could be made fertile for the investigation of the interrelation of text and reception. In the textual analysis it provided the study with analysis categories in the context of which the yet existing could be better applied and amplified. First suggestions on possible nostalgic readings were enabled, which, due to their systematic mapping in Tan’s model, could be brought together easier with observations made in the reception study. Above all in the context of trans-national

comparative studies, the systematisation focused and facilitated the analysis. This afterword shall not further comment on the results of the analysis. They have already been summarised in the earlier discussions of results. Here shall rather be reflected across the limits of this study and further possibilities of research.

Due to its in parts “explorative” character this study could only give a first view on the subject. The limited ability to generalise the results was hinted at in the conclusion to the reception study. Open questions such as “Is nostalgia in the context of a positively appraised remake rather possible?”, “How far does the reception of nostalgia formats change relevance structures?” and “Can the nostalgia reception be repeated?” were highlighted. With a view on the whole work, we may state that further studies are now needed, which treat more deeply with the single forms of nostalgia such as ‘non empathetic F nostalgia’, ‘A nostalgia’ or ‘empathetic F nostalgia’ and their reception. Apart from that, broader comparisons among countries should be considered. The study is surely only a beginning. The definition of nostalgia does not differ among Germany and Spain. Due to similar lifeworld memories and connotations of nostalgia, rather differences among the two age groups than among the countries could be observed. The observed nostalgias extended the territorial borders. It has to be seen if this is different, when we apply broader country comparisons. In this context, what would also be interesting is what subsequent to Kompare’s (2005, p. 208) “acquisitive repetition” could be called ‘acquisitive nostalgia’ – those potential triggers of nostalgia namely, which in the form of internet and DVD compilations are always and easily accessible, also across national borders. Apart from that, the focus of this study was set on international series broadcasted both in Germany and in Spain. Audiences, as it could be shown, generate here a variety of links to their own lifeworlds and memories against the background of which nostalgia arises. Further studies should include domestic reruns, remake, and period dramas, in order to see if further nuances of nostalgia and its reception are observable. Lastly, this study only barely considered relations of power as they are underlying the observed nostalgias. Similarly to memory studies in general (Bommes and Wright, p. 258), could be asked, which nostalgias are for instance “excluded, suppressed and socially devalued”. Also there is further need of research.

In summary, we may state that with the present study a first framework for the investigation of the “systematic interrelation” of text and reception in nostalgia and television could be developed. First empirical studies could be made. Now further steps have to follow in the future.

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12. Source of figures

Fig. 1: Screenshot from *Knight Rider* (DVD Universal Pictures, 2007).

Fig. 2: Screenshot from *24* (DVD, Twenty Century Fox, 2007).

Fig. 3, 9: Screenshots from *The Avengers* (DVD Kinowelt, 2009).

Fig. 4: Screenshot from *Das Millionenspiel* (WDR, n.d.) [video online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OHBcXUT0WHQ> [Accessed 10 December 2012].

Fig. 5: Screenshot *El irreal Madrid* (TVE 50, n.d.) [video online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uqvJ1kS5is4> [Accessed 10 December 2010].

Fig. 6-8, 10: Screenshots *The Avengers* (Chechick, 1998) (DVD Warner Home Video, 1999).

Fig. 11, 19, 22: Screenshot *North by Northwest* (DVD Warner Home Video, 2000).

Fig. 12, 14: Screenshots *The Apartment* (DVD Prisa Innova, 2008).

Fig. 13, 15, 16, 18, 20: Screenshots *Mad Men* (DVD MMIX Lions Gate Television, 2010).

Fig. 17: Screenshot *All that heaven allows* (DVD Suevia Films, 2007).

Fig. 21: Grace Kelly [electronic print]. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2203606/Grace-Kelly-30-years-princess-death-actress-turned-royalty-remains-icon.html> [Accessed 12 December 2012].

Fig. 23, 25: Screenshots *Borgia* (ZDF-broadcast, 18 October 2011).

Fig. 24: Supper at Emmaus (Caravaggio) [electronic print]. Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Caravaggio.emmaus.750pix.jpg> [Accessed 12 December 2012].

Fig. 26: Portray Lucrecia Borgia (Pinturicchio) [electronic print]. Available at: <http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Lucrezia-Borgia.jpg&filetimestamp=20100329131547> [Accessed 10 December 2012].

Fig. 27: Portray Cesare Borgia (Altobello) [electronic print]. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cesare_Borgia [Accessed 10 February 2012].

13. Appendix

13.1. The composition of the samples

Age group/Country	Women (15n)	Men (14n)
55-65-year-old Germans (9n)	Doctor (2n), Language secretary Administrative assistant Teacher/journalist Physiotherapist	Artist/University professor Teacher (retired) Advocate
55-65-year-old Spaniards (6n)	Clerk (2n) Director's secretary	Economist (retired) Chemist Corporate leader (retired)
25-35-year-old Spaniards (7n)	Doctoral student (Philosophy and Classical Philology) Nurse Treasury officer	Engineer Engineer/Information technician Higher technician Clerk
25-35-year-old Germans (7n)	Fashion assistant Art historian Doctor	Student Research assistant (engineer) Architect Teacher

13.2. Questionnaires

13.2.1. Questionnaire Germany

BEFRAGUNG – zum Thema Nostalgie

A) Fragekomplex: Nostalgie

1. Erinnern Sie sich an Ihr erstes Fernseh-Erlebnis? Wenn ja, bitte beschreiben Sie es? Welche Rolle spielt dieses Erlebnis heute für Sie?
2. Wie würden Sie das Gefühl der Nostalgie ganz allgemein beschreiben?
3. Wie würden Sie eine „nostalgische Person“ beschreiben?
4. Wenn Sie einmal zurückdenken, wann haben Sie während der Gruppendiskussion Nostalgie empfunden? Wie würden Sie das erklären?

B) Fragekomplex: Soziodemographische Daten

5. Geschlecht:

weiblich	
männlich	

6. Alter:

25 bis 29 Jahre	
30 bis 35 Jahre	
55 bis 59 Jahre	
60 bis 65 Jahre	

7. Nationalität (Mehrfachnennungen erforderlich!):

deutsch	
in Ostdeutshl. geboren und aufgewachsen	
in Westdeutshl. geboren und aufgewachsen	
im Ausland geboren und aufgewachsen	
sonstige Nationalität (bitte nennen)	

8. Beruf/Ausbildung (bitte nennen):

9. Schulabschluss (bitte nennen):

10. Täglicher Fernsehkonsum an einem gewöhnlichen Werktag (aktuell):

≤ 1 Stunde/Tag	
> 1 Stunde bis < 3 Stunden/Tag	
≥ 3 Stunden bis < 4 Stunden/Tag	
≥ 4 Stunden/Tag	

11. Täglicher Fernsehkonsum an einem gewöhnlichen Werktag in ihrer Jugend:

≤ 1 Stunde/Tag	
> 1 Stunde bis < 3 Stunden/Tag	
≥ 3 Stunden bis < 4 Stunden/Tag	
≥ 4 Stunden/Tag	

Raum für Anmerkungen und Kommentar Nutzen Sie diesen Raum, um anzumerken, falls Ihnen etwas in der Diskussion oder an diesem Fragebogen gefehlt hat oder falls Sie etwas gestört oder verärgert hat.

Nochmals herzlichen Dank für Ihre Kooperation!

* Regarding the final request for commentary see Kirchhoff et al., 2010, p. 130.

13.2.2. Questionnaire Spain

ENCUESTA - sobre el tema de la nostalgia

A) Parte I: La nostalgia

1. ¿Recuerda usted su primera experiencia televisiva? En caso que sí, por favor describala. ¿Qué rol tiene esta experiencia para usted hoy en día?

2. ¿Cómo describiría usted el sentimiento de la nostalgia?

3. ¿Cómo define usted una "persona nostálgica"?

4. Si recapacitan, ¿en qué situación de la discusión ha sentido nostalgia? ¿Cómo lo explicaría?

B) Parte II: Datos sociodemográficos

5. Sexo:

Hombre	
Mujer	

6. Edad:

25 – 29 años	
30 – 35 años	
55 – 59 años	
60 – 65 años	

7. Nacionalidad (por favor indíquela):

.....

8. Ha nacido y crecido en

9. Profesión/Formación (por favor indíquela):

.....

10. Nivel de Educación (por favor indíquelo):

.....

11. Consumo de televisión en un día laboral normal (hoy en día):

≤ 1 hora/día	
> 1 hora < 3 horas/día	
≥ 3 horas < 4 horas/día	
≥ 4 horas/día	

12. Consumo de televisión en un día laboral normal en su juventud:

≤ 1 hora/día	
> 1 hora < 3 horas/día	
≥ 3 horas < 4 horas/día	
≥ 4 horas/día	

Espacio para notas y comentarios - Utilice este espacio para nombrar, si le ha faltado algo en el debate o en el cuestionario o si le ha molestado algo.

¡Muchas gracias por su cooperación!

13.3. Questioning route

13.3.1. Questioning route Germany (25-35-year-olds)

Opening Question

1. **Bitte sagt uns euren Namen und die Fernsehserien, die ihr euch gerne im Fernsehen anschaut!**

Introduction

2. **Guckt ihr euch Serien an, die ihr auch schon früher, zum Beispiel in der Kindheit oder Jugend, gesehen habt? Was gefällt euch daran?**

Transition

3. **Fangen wir mit *Knight Rider* an. Hat einer von euch die neue Version der Serie bereits vorher gesehen?**

* JA: Welchen Eindruck hattet ihr da von der Serie? NEIN: weiter

Bsp. 1 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008)

Key

Remakes

4. **Was ist Euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir das *Knight Rider* Remake gesehen haben?**

* Welche Aspekte sind euch besonders aufgefallen?

* Gibt es Aspekte des Remakes, die euch an das 'Original' erinnern? Welche Erinnerungen werden da wach?

* Vergleicht bitte die beiden Sendungen (die Neue und die Alte), was fällt euch auf?

Bsp. 2 – *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (Chechik, 1998)

5. **Hat einer von euch das Remake von *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* bereits vorher gesehen?**

* JA: Welchen Eindruck hattet ihr damals von dem Film? NEIN: weiter

* Was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als ihr das Remake von *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* gesehen habt?

* Welche Aspekte sind euch besonders aufgefallen?

* Gibt es Aspekte des Remakes, die euch an das 'Original' erinnern?

* Welche Erinnerungen werden da wach? (Lebenssituation)

* Vergleicht bitte die beiden Sendungen (die neue und die alte), was fällt euch auf?

Reruns

Was ich euch jetzt zeige sind die beiden Serien *Knight Rider* und *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone*. *Knight Rider* wurde in Deutschland erstmals 1985 ausgestrahlt. 2009 wurde die Serie beispielsweise bei Das Vierte gesendet.

Bsp. 3 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982)

Bei *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* handelt es sich um eine Serie, die zwischen 1966 und 1970 erstmals im Deutschen Fernsehen ausgestrahlt wurde. Zwischen 2009 und 2011 wurde die Serie erneut von dem Kultursender ARTE gezeigt.

Bsp. 4 - *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ITV, 1961)

6. **Fangen wir mit *Knight Rider* an, könnt ihr euch erinnern, wann ihr diese Serie, abgesehen von heute, das letzte Mal gesehen habt?**

- * Wenn ihr euch mal zurückerinnert, was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Knight Rider* gesehen haben?
- * Wenn wir mal mehr ins Detail gehen, ist euch etwas Spezielles aufgefallen?
- * *Knight Rider* ist eine Serie aus den Mitte/Ende-80ern. Ihr wart damals im Alter von 5 bis 15. Musstet ihr an das Deutschland der 80er Jahre denken?
- * Was geht euch durch den Kopf, wenn wir *Knight Rider* mit dem vergleichen, was man heute hauptsächlich im TV sehen kann?

7. Und wie sieht es mit *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* aus, könnt ihr euch erinnern, wann ihr diese Serie, abgesehen von heute, das letzte Mal gesehen habt?

- * Wenn ihr euch mal zurückerinnert, was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* gesehen haben?
- * Ist euch etwas Besonderes aufgefallen?
- * *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* ist eine Serie aus den 60ern. Eine Zeit, die vor eurer Geburt liegt. Entspricht diese Serie euren Vorstellungen des Deutschlands der 60er Jahre?
- * Was war das für eine Zeit?
- * Was geht euch durch den Kopf wenn wir *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* mit dem vergleichen, was heute hauptsächlich im TV läuft?

Period Picture

Die letzten Beispiele, die ich euch zeige sind *Mad Men* und *Borgia*. Beide Serien werden zurzeit im Fernsehen ausgestrahlt. *Mad Men* auf ZDFneon und *Borgia* bei ZDF.

Bsp. 5 – *Mad Men*

Bsp. 6 – *Borgia*

8. Auch hier zunächst die Frage: Habt ihr *Mad Men* bereits vorher im Fernsehen gesehen?

- * Wenn ja, welchen Eindruck hattet ihr von der Serie?
- * Wenn ihr euch mal zurückerinnert. Was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Mad Men* gesehen haben?
- * Welche Aspekte der Serie sind euch besonders aufgefallen?
- * Die Serie spielt in den USA der 60er Jahre. Eine Zeit, die vor eurer Geburt liegt. Entspricht diese Serie euren Vorstellungen der 60er Jahre?
- * Was für eine Zeit war das, zu der die Serie spielt?
- * Wenn ihr mal zurückdenkt, was ging euch bei der Dia-Szene durch den Kopf?
- * Was genau hat euch diesen Eindruck vermittelt?
- * Wie würdet ihr die Gefühle des Protagonisten beschreiben?
- * Könnt ihr diese Gefühle nachvollziehen?

9. Wenn ihr euch zurückerinnert. Was ist ihnen durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Borgia* gesehen haben?

- * Welche Aspekte der Serie sind euch besonders aufgefallen?
- * Würdet ihr sagen, dass *Borgia* ein historisch richtiges Bild zeigt?

Summary

10. Hat all das eurer Meinung nach etwas mit Nostalgie zu tun?

11. Also verstehe ich es richtig, dass

All-things-Considered/Final Question

12. Was, würdet ihr sagen, ist zusätzlich wichtig? Musstet ihr im Laufe dieses Gesprächs an etwas denken, wovon ihr meint, dass es noch erwähnt werden sollte?

Vielen Dank!

13.3.2. Questioning route Germany (55-65-year-olds)

Opening Question

1. **Bitte sagt uns euren Namen und die Fernsehserien, die ihr euch gerne im Fernsehen anschaut.**

Introduction

2. **Guckt ihr euch Serien an, die ihr auch schon früher, zum Beispiel in der Kindheit oder Jugend, gesehen habt? Was gefällt euch daran?**

Transition

Ich zeige euch jetzt zwei Beispiel-Episoden. Bei der ersten handelt es sich um ein Remake der 80er Jahre Serie *Knight Rider*, die 2010 bei RTL ausgestrahlt wurde.

Bsp. 1 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008)

Das zweite, was ich euch zeige ist der Film *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (1998, Chechik), ein Remake der 60er Jahre Fernsehserie *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone*, das bereits mehrmals auch im Fernsehen ausgestrahlt wurde und wird. Das nächste Mal Ende Dezember bei kabel eins.

Bsp. 2 – *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (Chechik, 1998)

3. **Fangen wir mit *Knight Rider* an. Hat einer von euch die neue Version der Serie bereits vorher gesehen?**

* JA: Welchen Eindruck hattet ihr da von der Serie? NEIN: weiter

Key

Remake

4. **Was ist Euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir das *Knight Rider* Remake gesehen haben?**

* Welche Aspekte sind euch besonders aufgefallen?

* Gibt es Aspekte des Remakes, die euch an das 'Original' erinnern? Welche Erinnerungen werden da wach?

* Vergleicht bitte die beiden Sendungen (die neue und die alte), was fällt euch auf?

5. **Hat einer von euch das Remake von *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* bereits vorher gesehen?**

* JA: Welchen Eindruck hattet ihr damals von dem Film? NEIN: weiter

* Was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als ihr das Remake von *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* gesehen habt?

* Welche Aspekte sind euch besonders aufgefallen?

* Gibt es Aspekte des Remakes, die euch an das 'Original' erinnern?

* Welche Erinnerungen werden da wach?

* Vergleicht bitte die beiden Sendungen (die neue und die alte), was fällt euch auf?

Reruns

Was ich euch jetzt zeige sind die beiden Serien *Knight Rider* und *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone*. *Knight Rider* wurde in Deutschland erstmals 1985 ausgestrahlt. In 2009 wurde die Serie beispielsweise bei Das Vierte gesendet.

Bsp. 3 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982)

Bei *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* handelt es sich um eine Serie, die zwischen 1966 und 1970 erstmals im Deutschen Fernsehen ausgestrahlt wurde. Zwischen 2009 und 2011 wurde die Serie erneut von dem Kultursender ARTE gezeigt.

Bsp. 4 - *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (ITV, 1961)

6. Fangen wir mit *Knight Rider* an. Könnt ihr euch erinnern, wann ihr diese Serie, abgesehen von heute, das letzte Mal gesehen habt?

- * Wenn ihr euch mal zurückerinnert: Was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Knight Rider* gesehen haben?
- * Wenn wir mal mehr ins Detail gehen, ist euch etwas Spezielles aufgefallen?
- * *Knight Rider* ist eine Serie aus den Mitte/Ende-80ern. Ihr wart damals im Alter von 30 bis 40. Musstet ihr an das Deutschland der 80er Jahre denken?
- * Was geht euch durch den Kopf wenn wir *Knight Rider* mit dem vergleichen, was man heute hauptsächlich im TV sehen kann?

7. Und wie ist es bei *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone*? Könnt ihr euch erinnern, wann ihr diese Serie, abgesehen von heute, das letzte Mal gesehen habt?

- * Wenn ihr euch mal zurückerinnert, was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* gesehen haben?
- * Ist euch etwas Besonderes aufgefallen?
- * *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* ist eine Serie aus den 60ern. Ihr wart damals im Alter von 10 bis 20. Musstet ihr an das Deutschland der 60er Jahre denken?
- * Was war das für eine Zeit?
- * Was geht euch durch den Kopf wenn wir *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* mit dem vergleichen, was heute hauptsächlich im TV läuft?

Period Picture

Die letzten Beispiele, die ich euch zeige sind *Mad Men* und *Borgia*. Beide Serien werden zurzeit im Fernsehen ausgestrahlt. *Mad Men* (USA, 2007) auf ZDFneon und *Borgia* (F/D/A/CZ 2011) bei ZDF.

Bsp. 5 – *Mad Men*

Bsp. 6 – *Borgia*

8. Auch hier zunächst die Frage: Habt ihr *Mad Men* bereits vorher im Fernsehen gesehen?

- * Wenn ja, welchen Eindruck hattet ihr von der Serie?
- * Wenn ihr euch mal zurückerinnert. Was ist euch durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Mad Men* gesehen haben?
- * Welche Aspekte der Serie sind euch besonders aufgefallen?
- * Die Serie spielt in den USA der 60er Jahre. Eine Zeit, die vor eurer Geburt liegt. Ihr wart damals zwischen 10 und 20 Jahre alt. Musstet ihr an das Deutschlands der 60er Jahre denken?
- * Was für eine Zeit war das, zu der die Serie spielt?
- * Wenn ihr mal zurückdenkt, was ging euch bei der Dia-Szene durch den Kopf?
- * Was genau hat euch diesen Eindruck vermittelt?
- * Wie würdet ihr die Gefühle des Protagonisten beschreiben?
- * Könnt ihr diese Gefühle nachvollziehen?

9. Wenn ihr euch zurückerinnert. Was ist ihnen durch den Kopf gegangen, als wir *Borgia* gesehen haben?

- * Welche Aspekte der Serie sind euch besonders aufgefallen?
- * Würdet ihr sagen, dass *Borgia* ein historisch richtiges Bild zeigt?

Summary

- 10. Hat all das eurer Meinung nach etwas mit Nostalgie zu tun?**
- 11. Also verstehe ich es richtig, dass**

All-things-Considered/Final Question

- 12. Was, würdet ihr sagen, ist zusätzlich wichtig? Musstet ihr im Laufe dieses Gesprächs an etwas denken, wovon ihr meint, dass es noch erwähnt werden sollte?**

Vielen Dank!

13.3.3. Questioning route Spain (25-35-year-olds)

Opening Question

- 1. Por favor, díganos sus nombres y cuáles son los programas que le gustan ver en la televisión.**

Introduction

- 2. ¿Ven ustedes series que habían visto en su infancia?**

Transition

Les voy a mostrar dos extractos de remakes de series televisivas. El primer extracto es del remake de *El Coche Fantástico* que se emitió en 2009 en TVE.

Bsp. 1 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008)

El segundo extracto es el remake de *Los Vengadores*, una película de Jeremiah Chechik de 1998, que también se emitió más recientemente en la televisión.

Bsp. 2 – *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (Chechik, 1998)

- 3. Empezamos con *El Coche fantástico*. ¿Habían visto esta emisión antes?**

* Sí: ¿Cómo les pareció? No: Next question.

Key

Remake

- 4. ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos el remake de *El Coche Fantástico*?**

- * ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?
- * ¿Hay aspectos en la nueva versión que les recuerdan al ‘original’?
- * Si comparamos las dos versiones (la nueva y la antigua), ¿que les gusta, que les parece mal?

- 5. Seguimos con *Los Vengadores*. ¿Habían visto esta emisión antes?**

- * Sí: ¿Cómo les pareció? No: Next question.
- * ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos el remake de *Los Vengadores*?
- * ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?
- * ¿Hay aspectos en la nueva versión, que les recuerdan al ‘original’?
- * ¿Qué memorias surgen en usted?
- * ¿Si comparamos las dos versiones (la nueva y la antigua), qué les gusta, qué les gusta menos?

Rerun

Ahora les voy a mostrar algunos extractos de las series *El Coche Fantástico* y *Los Vengadores*. *El Coche Fantástico* se emitió por primera vez en 1985 en TVE. Recientemente, la han mostrado en el canal Cuatro (hasta 2009) y en el canal Antena Neox (2010). Bsp. 3 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982). *Los Vengadores* es una serie se emitió a partir de 1966 y recientemente en Calle 13. Bsp. 4 – *Los Vengadores* (ITV, 1961).

6. Empezamos con *El Coche Fantástico*. ¿Recuerdan cuando vimos esta emisión la última vez?

- * Si recapacitan, ¿qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos la serie?
- * ¿Hay alguna cosa especial que ha llamado su atención?
- * *El Coche Fantástico* es una serie de los años 80 cuando ustedes tenían entre 5 a 15 años. ¿Los extractos les ha hecho pensar en la España de los años 80?
- * Si comparamos *El Coche Fantástico* con lo que vemos mayormente en la televisión de hoy en día, ¿Qué destaca?

7. ¿Y *Los Vengadores*? ¿Recuerdan cuando vimos esta emisión la última vez?

- * Si recapacitan, ¿qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos la serie?
- * ¿Hay alguna cosa especial que ha llamado su atención?
- * *Los Vengadores* es una serie de los años 60, un tiempo en el que ustedes todavía no habían nacido. ¿Corresponde esta serie con su imaginación de la España de los años 60?
- * Si comparamos *Los Vengadores* con lo que vemos mayormente en la televisión de hoy en día, ¿Qué destaca?

Period Picture

Los dos últimos ejemplos que os voy a mostrar son *Mad Men* (USA 2007), una serie ambientada en los años 60, emitida por ejemplo en canal Cuatro, y luego *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al vicio*, ambientada en el Renacimiento y que está en emisión en el canal Cosmopolitan.

Bsp. 5 – *Mad Men*

Bsp. 6 – *Borgia*

8. Empezamos con *Mad Men*. También aquí la misma pregunta: ¿Habían visto esta serie antes de hoy?

- * Sí: ¿cómo les pareció la serie? No: Next question.
- * Si recapacitan, ¿qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos *Mad Men*?
- * ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?
- * La serie está ambientada en los EE.UU. de los años 60, un tiempo antes de su nacimiento. ¿Corresponde esta serie con su imaginario de esa época?
- * ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos la escena con los dispositivos?
- * ¿Qué les ha hecho pensar así?
- * ¿Como describirían los sentimientos del protagonista en esta escena?
- * ¿Pueden entender estos sentimientos?

9. Si se acuerdan. ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos *Borgia*?

- * ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?
- * ¿Dirían ustedes que la serie muestra una imagen históricamente correcta?

Summary/Ending questions

10. ¿Tiene todo esto algo que ver con nostalgia para ustedes?

11. ¿Si entiendo bien ...?

All-things-Considered/Final Question

12. ¿Hay alguna cosa más que les parece importante; Los extractos les han hecho pensar en alguna otra cosa?

* ¡Muchas gracias!

13.3.4. Questioning route Spain (55-65-year-olds)

Opening Question

1. Por favor, díganos sus nombres y cuáles son los programas que les gusta ver en la televisión.

Introduction

2. ¿Ven ustedes series que habían visto en su infancia?

Transition

Les voy a mostrar dos extractos de remakes de series televisivas. El primer extracto es del remake de *El Coche Fantástico* que se emitió en 2009 en TVE.

Bsp. 1 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 2008)

El segundo extracto es el remake de *Los Vengadores*, una película de Jeremiah Chechik de 1998, que también se emitió más recientemente en la televisión.

Bsp. 2 – *Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone* (Chechik, 1998)

3. Empezamos con *El Coche fantástico*. ¿Habían visto esta emisión antes?

* Sí: ¿Cómo les pareció? No: Next question.

Key

Remakes

4. ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos el remake de *El Coche Fantástico*?

* ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?

* ¿Hay aspectos de la nueva versión que les recuerdan al ‘original’?

* Si comparamos las dos versiones (la nueva y la antigua), ¿qué les gusta, qué les parece mal?

5. Seguimos con *Los Vengadores*. ¿Han visto esta emisión antes?

* Sí: ¿Cómo les pareció? No: Next question.

* ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos el remake de *Los Vengadores*?

* ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?

* ¿Hay aspectos de la nueva versión, que les recuerdan al ‘original’?

* ¿Qué memorias surgen en ustedes?

* ¿Si comparamos las dos versiones (la nueva y la antigua), qué les gusta, qué les gusta menos?

Reruns

Ahora les voy a mostrar algunos extractos de las series *El Coche Fantástico* y *Los Vengadores*. *El Coche Fantástico* se emitió por primera vez en 1985 en TVE. Recientemente, la han mostrado el canal Cuatro (hasta 2009) y en el canal Antena Neox (2010). Bsp. 3 – *Knight Rider* (NBC, 1982). *Los Vengadores* es una serie que se emitió a partir de 1966 y recientemente en Calle 13. Bsp. 4 – *Los Vengadores* (ITV, 1961).

6. Empezamos con *El Coche Fantástico*. ¿Recuerda cuando vieron esta emisión la última vez?

* Si recapacitan, ¿qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos la serie?

* ¿Hay alguna cosa especial que ha llamado su atención?

- * *El Coche Fantástico* es una serie de los años 80. Cuando ustedes tenían entre 25 a 35 años. ¿Dirían ustedes que la serie tiene algo que ver con la España de los años 80?
- * Si comparamos *El Coche Fantástico* con lo que vemos mayormente en la televisión de hoy en día. ¿Qué destaca?

7. ¿Y Los Vengadores? ¿Recuerdan cuando vieron esta emisión la última vez?

- * Si recapacitan, ¿qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos la serie?
- * ¿Hay algo especial que ha llamado su atención?
- * *Los Vengadores* es una serie de los años 60. Cuando tenían ustedes entre 10 a 20 años. ¿Dirían ustedes que la serie tiene algo que ver con la España de los años 60?
- * Si comparamos *Los Vengadores* con lo que vemos mayormente en la televisión de hoy en día, ¿Qué destaca?

Los dos últimos ejemplos que voy a mostrar son *Mad Men*, una serie ambientada en los 60s emitida por ejemplo en canal Cuatro, y luego *Borgia – Una familia consagrada al vicio*, ambientada en el Renacimiento y que está en emisión en el canal Cosmopolitan.

Bsp. 5 – *Mad Men*

Bsp. 6 – *Borgia*.

8. Empezamos con *Mad Men*. También aquí la pregunta: ¿Habían visto esta serie antes de hoy?

- * Sí: ¿Cómo les pareció la serie? No: Next question.
- * Si recapacitan, ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos *Mad Men*?
- * ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?
- * La serie está ambientada en los EE.UU. de los años 60. Ustedes tenían entre 10 a 20 años. ¿Dirían ustedes que la serie tiene algo que ver con sus recuerdos de esa época?
- * ¿Qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos la escena con los dispositivos?
- * ¿Qué les hizo pensar así?
- * ¿Cómo describirían los sentimientos del protagonista en esta escena?
- * ¿Pueden entender estos sentimientos?

9. Si se acuerdan. ¿qué les pasó por la cabeza cuando vimos *Borgia*?

- * ¿Hay alguna cosa que ha llamado su atención?
- * ¿Dirían ustedes que la serie muestra una imagen históricamente correcta?

Summary/Ending questions

10. ¿Tiene todo esto algo que ver con nostalgia para ustedes?

11. ¿Si entiendo bien ...?

All-things-Considered/Final Question

12. ¿ Hay alguna cosa más que les parece importante? Los extractos les han hecho pensar en alguna otra cosa?

¡Muchas gracias!