PERFECT PAST

An Investigation of Commodified Nostalgia in Contemporary Consumer Culture

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Perfect Past

An Investigation of Commodified Nostalgia in
Contemporary Consumer Culture

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1. Introduction

In Tokyo's Ichome Shotengai people re-live the past. The retro-themed shopping centre offers numerous souvenirs, snacks in a restaurant modelled after the dining car in the first bullet trains, or just the feel of the good old days. The mall is extremely successful, attracting the nostalgic elderly as well as curious younger shoppers looking for retro-chic (French, 2003).

Yet one does not have to go as far as Japan in order to notice the proliferation of nostalgia and its commodification in contemporary consumer culture. In fact, retro-products and nostalgia seem to have effectively invaded the commodityscape that surrounds us: The (re-)launch of the Volkswagen New Beetle in 1998 inaugurated a new revival-wave of seemingly vanished artefacts from a not too-distant past. The conspicuous resurrection[1] of everyday items such as *Marmite*, *Spam* or *Brylcream* attests to today's resurgence of nostalgia as does the recycling of past popular culture in cinema through movies such as *Starsky & Hutch*[2] or *The Magic Roundabout*[3].

It is not to be missed that nostalgia is strongly in fashion. What is more, regardless whether nostalgia was experienced in the 19th century (Chateaubriand, 1961), the late 1970s (Davis, 1979) or today (Grainge, 2000; Lowe 2002; Arnend, 2004), it is consistently felt to have arrived at its most intense (or worst, for some) stage at this particular time. Tellingly, previous incarnations of nostalgia in the past are usually left unexplored: "no one *then* looked back in yearning" (Lowenthal, 1989: 29; original emphasis).

My analysis will complicate common sense understandings of "[t]his burgeoning interest in yesteryear (…) [as] easy to understand" and seeks to elaborate on accounts that content themselves with stating that "[i]n these unsettled times, nostalgia has become a soothing and much needed salve for people's worried minds" (Smith and Wood, 2003). Rather, the following investigation of the "current nostalgia craze" (Ibid., 2003) strives to give some insight into the history of conceptualising nostalgia and to reflect the intricate and various manifestations of this complex cultural sentiment and phenomenon. Crucially, contemporary nostalgia is almost exclusively tied to its commodification and consumption. In this sense, the connection between nostalgia and identity is given special prominence by also considering how in Western capitalist societies people engage in (excessive) symbolic

[1] Although some of these consumer items never really disappeared, they receive new media attention. In late 2004, for instance, Hormel Foods (the company behind *Spam*, the luncheon meat) launched the first-ever television advertising campaign for its product in Britain, evoking a sense of tradition and 'Britishness'.
[2] Todd Phillips, USA, 2004.
[3] Dave Borthwick and Jean Duval, UK/France, 2005.

consumerism in order to define not only themselves, but also their relations to others and a general sense of social reality through objects (Dittmar, 1992: 14).

After a portrayal of modernist conceptions of nostalgia as a mood implicated in manifest loss and longing, postmodern theories that understand nostalgia in terms of a specific aestheticised mode disconnected from social reality will be investigated. Already a prime issue of the postmodern accounts, the commodification of nostalgia in the shape of retro-products will be further analysed through the discussion of an actual re-launched commodity. An examination of the psychological undercurrents of object-consumptions in general and nostalgic consumption in particular will form the last section, before a mini case-study of collective nostalgia serves to illustrate and advance some of the points made.

2. The Nostalgia Mood

2.1. History and Meaning of an Amorphous Concept

Originally, the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer coined the term 'nostalgia' in 1688 as a designation for the pathological condition of extreme homesickness among Swiss soldiers serving abroad.[4] The freshly invented[5] disease was to explain the Swiss' various displayed symptoms like extreme despondency, melancholy, anorexia and apathy that not infrequently resulted in death[6] (Davis, 1979: 118, 1, 4-5).

The sense of homesickness remained intact in 'nostalgia' for a long time until the meaning gradually shifted to today's conventional understanding of the word as the yearning for one's idealised past that relates to "a grounding concept of longing or loss" (Grainge, 2000: 28). This yearning is distinguished by its 'bittersweet' quality; a sort of positive melancholy "of joy clouded with sadness" (Davis, 1979: 13, 29). The semantic shift of 'nostalgia' also reflects the difficulty and problems one encounters in the attempt to define what 'home' is in postmodern and multicultural society. Having long ceased to designate a single clear-cut place for most people, the concept of 'home' today has more assumed the meaning of an idealised yet elusive state and again appears to answer nostalgia's indistinct longing (Wilson, 1999: 302). It is in this regard that Shaw and Chase (1989) posit that "[t]he home we miss is no longer a geographically defined place but rather a state of mind" (1).

A pervasive yet heavily fringed concept, nostalgia is far from being easily and unambiguously defined. Although the term was already coined in 1688, nostalgia developed towards today's common understanding in the late 18th century. Fritzsche (2001) meticulously traces the history of nostalgia to assert that, as a concept of longing and loss, it is a fundamentally modern phenomenon for its dependence on the notion of historical process as the continual production of the new. Until the 18th century, Western ideas of history did not analyse temporal difference. With the French Revolution, authoritative notions of continuity were confounded and the eruption of a 'new time' upset persistent attempts to find an overall coherence to historical change: "[T]he growing illegitimacy of tradition and the incongruity of experience after the French Revolution opened up new ways to approach and consume the past" for the "millions of people who, happily or not, came to participate in its drama" (1591,

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[4] Hofer combined the two Greek words *nostos* (to return home) and *algia* (a painful condition) in order to refer to the Swiss mercenaries' "painful yearning to return home" (Davis, 1979: 1).

[5] Hofer's 'invention' of nostalgia as a pathological condition illustrates the creative and material powers of (medical) discourse Michel Foucault discusses in *Madness and Civilization* (1967).

[6] Interestingly, Lowenthal (1990) remarked that the Swiss soldiers were much more likely to have died of meningitis, gastroenteritis or tuberculosis, yet everybody blamed nostalgia (10).

1598). In addition to a new historical sensibility, the massive, rapid displacing operations of industrialisation and urbanisation in the middle of the 19th century further standardised nostalgia's meaning as a vague longing for past times and as a symptom of erratic cultural stress (1589-1592).[7]

In sum, Fritzsche (2001) perceives nostalgia and the consequent recognition of difference to have been constitutive of distinct national identities and a solitary sense of self in the late 18th and 19th century. In order to thrive, nostalgia requires both a discursive field in which discontinuity is given a particular historical form (made possible through the emerging Western view of a history that is linear and secular) and material evidence of that disruption. To this, Shaw and Chase (1989) add the requirements of certain objects, buildings and images from the past that should be available for nostalgia to draw on (4). They also observe that nostalgia hence operates on both an individual and private, and on a collective and public level (15).

2.2. Individual / Collective Nostalgia and Identity

Davis (1979), too, distinguishes between two forms of nostalgia. Private or individual nostalgia refers to the more idiosyncratic ways in which symbolic images and allusions are connected to a particular person's biography, whereas collective nostalgia's symbolic objects are of a highly public and widely shared character (122-123). Importantly, he maintains that 'true' nostalgia must be based on a personally experienced past, its present causes and impulses notwithstanding (8-13). Lowenthal (1990), however, disputes the necessity of authentic memories for nostalgia and maintains that it may well thrive on surrogate and second-hand experiences (7-8, 40).

Davis (1979) emphasises nostalgia's role in constructing, maintaining and reconstructing identities as a means of sustaining the continuity of one's self in times of discontinuity. Nostalgic musing helps to cultivate appreciative stances toward former selves by rediscovering and rehabilitating their sometimes marginal or eccentric facets. In the process of nostalgic remembering, everything profoundly unpleasant moreover tends to be

[7] Moreover, the growing public historical consciousness helped people recognize a general cause behind particular (personal) events and also helped to pull together a sentimental community that made criticism of their conditions more salient (Fritzsche, 2001: 1614). This communal aspect is further discussed through the mini case-study of collective nostalgic consumption toward the end of this work.

suppressed (31-44).[8] Nostalgia thus transmutes the past into a means for engaging one's present. Crucially, Davis (1979) asserts that nostalgia is most prevalent in phases of transitions and crises, when identity is under pressure from demands for change and adaptation. On an individual level, the time of adolescence assumes a privileged status in one's memory as a source for comforting thoughts and recollections (48, 59). Yet, drawing on the past for the reassurance and construction of identity is also common on a collective and national scale, especially in times of sudden and unexpected change. Davis hints at the possibility of employing nostalgia for political, patriotic and nationalistic purposes, for instance when collective musing about the past can serve as a safety valve for frustration about loss or as distraction from present crises (98-99).

The significance of "generation-generating memories" (Davis, 1979: 112) for national identity is also discussed by Benedict Anderson (1991). For Anderson, the nation is rather a culturally constructed "imagined community"[9] than a natural given (6). Hence, national identity needs constant affirmation in and through "the constellations of a huge cultural matrix of images, ideas, spaces, things, discourses and practices" (Edensor, 2002: 38-39). Shaw and Chase (1989) cite 'traditional' renditions of landscape and community in literature and music as examples for "English cultural nationalism" (12). The thriving British heritage industry confirms the national and commercial use of nostalgia, as well, while Short (1991) is careful to point out its problematic political selectiveness[10]. Despite being ideologically influenced, then, the awareness of history enhances communal and national identity, legitimating a people in their own eyes (Lowenthal, 1990: 44).

2.3. Nostalgic Mood and its Discontents

Still, in all the accounts given so far, longing and loss remain to be the distinguishing features of the nostalgic mood. Shaw and Chase (1989) in this sense point out that the dialogue with the past is always necessarily one-sided and that the sense of connections with

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[8] In this regard, Lowenthal (1990) points out that memory is by no means mechanical and unerring. Although self-continuity depends wholly on it, memory often defies total fixing and may also change through the very act of remembering itself (193-210).

[9] 'The Nation' takes the form of an "imagined political community" in the minds of its fellow-members who are united by a "deep, horizontal comradeship" – merely because they share the same mental image of their communion, irrespective of the fact that most of them will never actually meet (Anderson, 1991: 6-7). It is a construction that is being continually contested either from within, for instance by autonomy-seeking regions, or from the outside, for example by supra-national federations or, generally, by globalisation (Edensor, 2002: 17).

[10] With the selective preservation of secluded parklands and country houses, elitist artefacts that were markers of the privileged lifestyle of just the aristocratic English upper class come to represent the nation as a whole, while its implications of cultural and social domination are glossed over and the misery of lower social classes become forgotten (Short, 1991: 55, 75, 81).

it is merely based on a unilateral projection of present anxieties and fears. They suggest that the pervasiveness of nostalgia may hence be indicative of people's lost faith in changing public life and of their retreat "into the private enclaves of family, and the consumption of certain 'retro' styles" (3-4).

In this context, many critics[11] are apprehensive of nostalgia now that it "oozes out of our popular culture" (Wilson, 1999: 296) and charge the phenomenon for commercialising and corrupting the past, alienating people from their present-day reality (Lowenthal, 1989: 21-25). Shaw and Chase also identify the troubling aspects of the past converted into a media nostalgia that is preoccupied with formal and aesthetic features. Citing Susan Sontag who argued that the proliferation of (photographic) images[12] has turned "the world into a department store or museum-without-walls" (Sontag, 1979: 110), they warn that "[t]here is the obvious danger [with media nostalgia] that we become indifferent to the significance of the past and hypersensitive to its look" (10). The effect of this 'nostalgia without melancholy' is the loss of historical self-awareness in easygoing consumption, whereas

> "[a]t the very moment that the calamities that befall individuals are no longer comprehended in terms of a shared, knowable historical process, nostalgia threatens to simply shrivel into bad luck and fails to generate wider social meanings. [This brings up the] nightmare of an eternal present, a place that is undisturbed of the past because it cannot fashion the narratives to assimilate the signs of yesterday's lives." (Fritzsche, 2001: 1618)

The view that nostalgia as a "distinctive aesthetic modality in its own right" (Davis, 1979: 73) effectively overrides nostalgia as a mood connected to loss and historical self-awareness is going to be pursued with the theories of Guy Debord, Fredric Jameson and Jean Baudrillard in the next section. Their postmodern conception of nostalgia shall prove especially apt to pinpoint that 'nightmare of an eternal present' in contemporary consumer capitalism. Yet before, a historical-political account of nostalgia's relation to globalisation shall be given.

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[11] Davis (1979) carefully begins to discuss the commodification of nostalgia in the media culture in terms of a self-sufficient second-hand reality that produces its objects at an ever increasing pace out of itself: "Nostalgia exists of the media, by the media and for the media" (121-122). Yet he does not let himself be drawn into any more radical statements about contemporary media nostalgia and ultimately considers it "far-fetched to envision their [the mass media's] being able to dictate and altogether manage (…) our nostalgias" (135).

[12] In this context, Fritzsche (2001) interestingly quotes Martin Heidegger who, speaking about the becoming of modernity, argued that "the world picture does not change from an earlier medieval one into a modern one, but rather the fact that the world becomes a picture at all is what distinguishes the essence of the modern age" (1602).

3. The Nostalgia Mode

3.1. Nostalgia in Sociology and Political Ideology

Robertson (1992) advances a sociologised theory of nostalgia in order to make clear its connection to the globalisation movement. He traces the development from existential over political to consumerist nostalgia while disclosing classic sociology's own nostalgic propensities (146, 159-161). Indeed, Shaw and Chase (1989) agree that nostalgia has always been implicit in sociology as advanced by Weber, Töennies and Durkheim. These classic thinkers supported a simplistic dialectic of *Gemeinschaft* (community) versus *Gesellschaft* (society), stylised into an opposition between feudalism and modernity, whereas the latter has always been diagnosed to be deficient and lacking in relation to the romanticised account of the former (6-8).

Robertson (1992) draws on Tom Nairn's (1988) notion of "modern, wilful nostalgia" whose political deployment[13] reflected concerns surrounding national identity and national integration across the world in that last period of Western imperialism before World War I. The project of the political and symbolic incorporation of 'primal' (mainly African) societies was accompanied by early anthropology which attributed to those pre-modern communities a certain cohesive functionality that was nostalgically infused with the Western conception of *Gemeinschaft*. This added to the kind of state nostalgia and "search for the past which had become a patriotic effort in nearly every West and Central European nation" by the middle of the 19th century (Robertson, 1992: 147-149).

Robertson (1992) points out a close dynamics and reciprocal influence between the wilful nostalgia of national elites and the work of sociologists which dispersed the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft*-predicament as the leading motifs of Western social theory across the globe.[14] The effect was the ideological separation of the modern from the non-modern world. Nostalgia furthermore thrived in the face of the homogenising requirements of the modern nation state in face of ethnic and cultural diversity (150-153).

Per analogy, Robertson (1992) then goes on to asserts that the *Gemeinschaft* was to modernity what the *Gesellschaft* is to postmodernity: Whereas personal memory provided the

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[13] Davis (1979) discusses the "politics of nostalgia" in regard to the possibility of ideologically exploiting such a powerful emotion that appears to diffuse so easily among the masses. While picturing nostalgia's use for "crass commercial reasons or Machiavellian purposes of state", he concludes that both nostalgia and politics are too complex fields to allow the establishment of a simple causal relationship and "unilateral extrapolations from trends in one area of social life into politics' own much more comprehensive sphere" (141-142).

[14] Robertson (1992) locates not only the 'invention' of tradition within the complex sets of relations between penetrating and penetrated societies: "The period during which modern *wilful* nostalgia developed in earnest was also the period when so-called classical sociology was formulated (…) along 'grand narrative' lines" (147-149, original emphasis).

basis for personal identity in societal modernity, it is the idea of society that in our contemporary culture has become a vehicle of memory in relation to globality (152-153). In this sense, "globalisation has been a primary root of the rise of wilful nostalgia" (155). The early period of (post-)modern globalisation was accompanied by the demand for traditions on the part of national elites. Wilful nostalgia as a form of cultural politics has been an expression of this underlying need for national integration and a reaction against the threat of relativisation of national identity in the international arena (155).

Contemporary society, for Robertson (1992), witnesses a new phase of accelerated globalisation that produces "a somewhat different and diffuse kind of wilful, synthetic nostalgia amounting to something like the global institutionalization of the nostalgic attitude" (158). In postmodern society, politically driven nostalgia has become fully embedded in a consumerist type of nostalgia that answers the imperatives of both capitalism and nationalism (158-162).[15]

3.2. The Logic of Alienation in Contemporary Capitalism

Just like Robertson (1991), Fredric Jameson (1991) perceives the postmodern movement, a new and unprecedented stage of multinational capitalism and the emergence of nostalgia as closely interrelated. He seeks to trace the outlines of postmodernism as a new systematic cultural dominant and its reproduction which constitute "the most effective forms of any radical cultural politics today" (6). Nostalgia is implicated in its ideology in so far as it pertains to the logic of postmodernism in consumer culture, whose analysis is for Jameson inextricable from a critique of the capitalist mode of production (1-3).

Jameson (1991) identifies postmodernity to be distinguished by a preoccupation with the merely formal, when culture has become a product in its own right and has vanquished nature for good. Self-reflexivity in the form of a constant "theorizing [of] its own condition of possibility, which consist primarily in the sheer enumeration of changes and modifications" (ix), then, is a predominant trait of the consciousness of an era marked only by fissures, ruptures and breaks with what went before. As a consequence, any 'true' sense of history disappears in our contemporary culture which remains trapped in its perpetual present[16] (Jameson, 1991: 286; 1998: 20).

[15] This point has been illustrated earlier through the discussion of the British heritage industry.
[16] Jameson hence recommends "to grasp the concept of the postmodern as an attempt to think the present historically in an age that has forgotten how to think historically in the first place" (Jameson, 1991: xi).

Importantly, in regard to an analysis of nostalgia in contemporary culture, Jameson (1991) observes "a new depthlessness" (6) as "perhaps the supreme formal feature of all the postmodernisms" (9). He analyses how in the spheres of both cultural artefacts and contemporary theoretical discourse depth has been replaced by flatness and surfaceness. Especially the commodity, nowadays little more than mere surface that has been "debased and contaminated in advance by their assimilation to glossy advertising images", has turned into a fetish on the level of its content (8-9). Here, Jameson explicitly draws on Marx's concept of 'commodity fetishism'[17] that describes capitalism's ideological concealment of the reality of commodity production.

Marx describes how the subjective and social character of labour is suppressed, hidden and lost for the worker in the reduction of his performance at the workplace through rigidly measurable categories. This is made possible through the privileged consideration of a product's exchange value: "[W]e equate as values our different products, [and] by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds of labour expended upon them" (Marx and Engels, 2001: 778). By quantifying the qualitative in terms of abstract terms such as time and money, human labour is thus rendered equally abstract and comparable: "[T]he social character of men's [and women's] labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour" (Marx and Engels, 2001: 776-777). Hence, individual labour produces capital only so as to become itself objectified and subtracted from its producer and in order to be at someone else's free disposal (Wayne, 2003: 191). The worker's "own social action takes the form of the action of objects, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by them" (Marx and Engels, 2001: 779). The commodity has thus become a fetish in that it first seized the productive powers from the subjective only to return them to him/her as autonomous, reified and valued attributes of the object: "[W]hat is really a structural effect, an effect of the network of relations between elements, appears as an immediate property of one of the elements, as if this property also belongs to it outside its relations with other elements" (Zizek, 1991: 24). The power of the fetish stems from the "human ability to project value onto a material object, repress the fact that the projection has taken place, and then interpret the object as the autonomous source of that value" (Mulvey, 1996; cited in Wayne, 2003: 189).

[17] For classical Marxism, the profit-seeking capitalist mode of production is characterised by the disintegration of genuine social relations and satisfaction in the workplace (Best, 1994: 43). Since workers are suspended from the ownership of the means of production, they have to sell their labour power at characteristically less than what it is worth in order to make possible its subsequent conversion into surplus value, which is then used as money capital for further investment (Wayne, 2003: 191). The individual's labour is effectively alienated from him/her in the process.

Marx grounds the concept of alienation in the social and economic relations of capitalism, whereas Lukács emphasises that "the structure of reification progressively sinks more deeply, more fatefully and more definitely into the consciousness of man" (Lukács, 1971: 93; cited in Wayne, 2003: 188). This view on the totalising spread of alienation and reification into people's every day lives accords with Guy Debord's (1967) radically critical stance towards the media-dominated 'society of the spectacle' in capitalism. For Debord, the spectacle marks a "social relation among people, mediated by images" (#4) and thus attests to Jameson's claim of postmodern depthlessness as well as to Marx's conclusion about the objectification of relations between individuals. Hence,

> "commodity fetishism, the domination of society by 'intangible as well as tangible things', (…) reaches its absolute fulfilment in the spectacle, where the tangible world is replaced by a selection of images which exist above it, and which simultaneously impose themselves as the tangible *par excellence*" (#36).

It is at this stage where "the commodity has attained the *total occupation* of social life" (#42) and "all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation" (#1, original emphasis).

3.3. Retro-Commodity Fetishism

Supported by Marx's, Lukács' and Debord's various accounts concerning the subject's alienation, Jameson's statement about a characteristic depthlessness in postmodern consumer society may serve to investigate the special significance of retro-products. Importantly, Jameson's understanding of the commodity fetish also considers the Freudian implications of the term. Very roughly[18], for Freud the fetish is an object that comes to assuage and cover over the shock and pain of a lost object for the subject. In this sense, retro-commodities may assume a double role as fetishes: They are both a powerful object that magically effaces the condition of its own existence and a nostalgic substitute for something from the past which one now feels to have lost.

In this context, the question of the possible authenticity of the nostalgic feeling as attached to the retro-commodity arises. Both cases of fetishisation discussed above hinge on the subject's misrecognition of the fact that the basis for the object's power is not founded on

[18] The Freudian concept of fetishism is going to be expounded and applied in relation to consumer identity in the second part of this work.

any inherent qualities but rather on their susceptibility for self-alienation through the repression of the real relations of production (Wayne, 2003: 189-190). However, Jameson (1991) perceives that the subject's alienation is displaced by his/her fragmentation in the postmodern era (14). This decentring or 'death of the subject'[19] signals the end of both individualism in general and a unique and personal style in particular. Jameson thus diagnoses a consequent crisis of expressivity and the "waning of affect" when feelings are not tied to an individual anymore but instead "free-floating and impersonal" (15-16). In this sense, authentic personal memories become just as unlikely, displaced, and ultimately an ideological construct as individual identity in postmodernity. Since individual memory and style are virtually absent in the postmodern, Jameson reasons that in cultural production pastiche takes over as the mere "imitation of a peculiar or unique, idiosyncratic style" in today's "field of stylistic and discursive heterogeneity without a norm" (17).

3.4. Mode and Simulation

Jameson's (1991) notion of pastiche introduces one of his main concepts about the postmodern society that is locked in synchronity when "the producers of culture have nowhere to turn to but to the past: the imitation of dead styles, (…) [their] random cannibalization, the play of random stylistic allusion" (17-18). In allegiance to Debord, Jameson hence posits that the past "has meanwhile itself become a vast collection of images", commodified to "little more than a set of dusty spectacles" (18). Nostalgia in contemporary consumer society has consequently become a mere aesthetic mode that lays siege on people's conception of their present, immediate and more distant past through the dissemination of glossy and stereotypical representation of it. Crucially, any approach to the past beyond its mere stylistic connotation is forestalled in the process, indicating "the waning of our historicity, of our lived possibility of experiencing history in some active way" (21). Nostalgia may hence be considered both cause and effect of this blockage of historicity and the incapability of achieving our own aesthetic representations of our past. According to Jameson, the postmodern poses "a new and original historical situation in which we are condemned to seek History [sic] by way of our own pop images and simulacra of that history, which itself remains forever out of reach" (25).

[19] Jameson (1991) offers two alternative explanations for 'the death of the subject': One position proclaims that the idea of a stable personal identity is a relict from the classic age of competitive capitalism, "the heyday of the nuclear family and the emergence of the bourgeoisie as the hegemonic social class". From another perspective, this account would in itself be considered nostalgic as the autonomous subject as such is a mere myth (Jameson, 1998: 6-7).

This “insensible colonization of the present by the nostalgia mode” (Jameson, 1991: 20) in turn indicates once more the impossibility of ‘authentic’ personal memories of the past, especially if they are attached to retro-commodities. Jean Baudrillard elucidates how the past as image has displaced the ‘real’ past. For him, postmodernity is characterised by simulation, which proceeds with

> “a liquidation of all referentials – worse: (…) their artificial resurrection in systems of signs, (…) substituting signs of the real for the real itself. (…) When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity. There is an escalation of the true, of the lived experience; a resurrection of the figurative where the object and substance have disappeared.” (Baudrillard, 2001: 1733, 1736)

The past has thus turned hyper-real in postmodernity; it looks to be meaningful whereas it is not and relies for its power on the absence of its referent (Fuery and Fuery, 2003: 120-122). With regard to retro-commodities, the implications are manifold. According to post-structuralist theory as advanced by Jameson and Baudrillard, Davis’ (1979) conception of true or personal nostalgia as triggered by consumer goods is not possible. Rather, postmodern capitalism fosters collective nostalgia about symbolic objects of a highly public, widely shared and familiar character (35-71). With Baudrillard (2003), one can take this idea even further and establish the simulational character of retro-commodities. Not only are they ideologically deceptive in that they conceal the real relations of their production. As a sign object, the retro-commodity paradoxically exhibits the total opacity of social relations of production and assumes its meaning only in its difference from other signs (255-257). It is hence exclusively negatively defined in a closed circuit of commodity-referentiality (and only exists therein) yet purports to possess a positive worth for its consumer through its nostalgic properties. Doubly fetishised, the retro-commodity thus manages to seize the subject’s positive affect triggered by a memory and returns it to him/her in reified form. Importantly, the memory that relates the consumer to the retro-product is a simulation itself, only “conveying ‘pastness’ by the glossy qualities of the image” (Jameson, 1991: 19) or other stylistic connotations, incapable of breaking out of the free-floating and self-referential signifying chain that is the postmodern. Paradoxically, the lack of (emotional, historical) depth is covered over by just another (simulated) surface.

4. Marketing Nostalgia

Jameson's (1991) concept of the nostalgia mode, supported by other Marxist and post-structuralist theory, has proven apt to describe nostalgia and the trend towards retro-commodities as a symptom "of a society of the image or the simulacrum and (…) [its] transformation of the 'real' into so many pseudoevents" (48) and of a general breakdown of historicity. Yet Jameson, Debord and especially Baudrillard often lack differentiation in their argumentation. Departing from a holistic conception of culture, they neglect the specificities of the more traditional domains of the social world such as the economic and the political.[20] Still, not even contemporary culture is entirely constituted by the formal, visual and the aesthetic per se, although it forms a predominant part of it nowadays (Darley, 2000: 73-74). In this sense, the following is going to investigate the business strategies and the marketing behind the wave of retro-commodities that appear to be the major aspects of commodified nostalgia in contemporary consumer capitalism.

4.1. Marketing Retro-Commodities

Despite its sheer amorphousness, the phenomenon of nostalgia is rigidly determined by contemporary marketers through one aspect, namely, "that it is very big business" (Davis, 1979: 118). As a distinct business strategy, retro-marketing refers to "the revival or re-launch of a product or service brand from a prior historical period" (Brown, Kozinets and Sherry Jr., 2003: 20). Retro in this context means "a stylistic currency that borrows and quotes from the past" (Grainge, 2000: 29). Retro-marketing understands and builds on nostalgia in terms of the consumer's

> "preference (general liking, positive attitude, or favourable affect) toward objects (people, places, or things) that were more common (popular, fashionable, or widely circulated) when one was younger (in early adulthood, in adolescence, in childhood, or *even before birth*)." (Holbrook and Schindler, 1991: 330, my emphasis)

[20]Jameson's capitulation before the 'sublime' aspects of global capitalism is telling in this respect: He identifies "a whole new type of emotional ground tone" emerging in 'late' capitalism: The 'sublime' is a border experience that overstretches the human capacity of understanding and giving representation of something that has ultimately evolved beyond him. Jameson relates this experience to the infinitely intricate and lastly unfathomable network of power and control that has developed in decentred global capitalism and makes the representation of its totality impossible. Hence, "[i]t is in terms of that enormous and threatening, yet only dimly perceivable, other reality of economic and social institutions that (…) the postmodern sublime can alone be adequately theorized" (6, 34-38).

Similar to Jameson and Baudrillard, Holbrook and Schindler allow commodified nostalgia[21] to be distinct from autobiographical memory[22] and to be directed at a historical time beyond the individual's direct experience. Grainge (2000) identifies a connotative drift that occurs when nostalgia is employed commercially: It does not depend on specific ideas and motives about loss anymore but instead may designate any sense of pastness that has been culturally coded as valuable (30). The following example of a specific re-launched commodity shall elucidate some of the aspects of commodified nostalgia.

In 2003, a German entrepreneur bought the trademark rights for *Creme 21* from the multinational company Henkel that stopped production of the cosmetics range (including cream, body lotion and body milk) for the German market in 1986.[23] The revival of old but not completely forgotten brands constitutes a convenient and rather inexpensive opportunity to build upon an existing brand image and positive nostalgic brand associations. Still, this strategy is not merely copying old products: The resurrected classic brands are carefully updated to modern standards and/or expanded in terms of product range, as it has been the case with the implementation of *Creme 21's* new recipe, scent, presentation and the introduction of a *Creme 21* perfume (Brown, Kozinets and Sherry Jr., 2003: 20).

As a retro-commodity, *Creme 21* nevertheless stays close to the look and feel of the original. When it launched in 1970, the product was marketed with a progressive and lively image targeted at the whole family: The bright orange plastic container was considered extremely modern in the 1970s, whereas the 21 (the legal age at that time) in the brand name possessed symbolic appeal for both young and old. A range of internationally acclaimed and sometimes provocative advertisements that showed much bare skin furthered the brand's association with modernity and a relaxed attitude.

The revived product emphasises its heritage primarily on the *Creme 21* website that connects via an extensive brand history to the spirit of the 1970s as an era of freedom and light-heartedness. The new slogan "It feels like 21 again!"[24] underlines this link to the past

[21] Many more or less different typologies of the nostalgic experience have been suggested (Stern, 1992; Baker and Kennedy, 1994), with that of Holak and Havlena (1998) ranging among the more elaborate: They propose a four-fold distinction of nostalgic feeling according to whether they are direct and personal ("personal nostalgia"), indirect and personal ("interpersonal nostalgia"), direct and collective ("cultural nostalgia"), or indirect and collective ("virtual nostalgia") (224).

[22] As it was mentioned above, Davis' (1979) view that an individual can only feel truly nostalgic for "a personally experienced past" (8) has been superseded. The relevance of the past for the nostalgic individual has been conceptually broadened to also encompass events and memories outside the subject's lived experience (Grainge, 2000, Muehling and Sprott, 2004: 26; Goulding, 2002: 545).

[23] It appears to be common practice in the field of retro-marketing that the original manufacturer of the product is frequently not responsible for its re-launch as retro-commodity and cedes its marketing rights to individual entrepreneurs or other (small) companies (Lau, 1998).

[24] The German slogan "Endlich wieder 21!" is turned into "It feels like 21 again!" by the English version of the company website (http://www.creme21.de/site/en_flash.php?start_bereich=home).

and furthermore explicitly relates to the consumers' personal nostalgia about the 1970s or 1980s as the time of perhaps their first encounter with the product. Still, the re-launched *Creme 21* is not exclusively positioned as a retro-commodity, as the new advertisements indicate. The campaign stays true to the brand's core attributes of uncomplicatedness, vitality and youth. The print and TV ads' straightforward aesthetics are reduced to featuring naked people against a white background who toy around with the cream while demonstrating their good time (source: http://www.creme21.de).

4.2. Impulses for Commodifying Nostalgia

The re-launch of *Creme 21* clearly appeals to consumers that still have fond memories of the brand from when it was around for the first time and who might thus harbour a nostalgic longing for feeling "like 21 again". Yet the product is equally targeted at younger consumers who might not even be aware of its history, as the advertising campaign focuses on the clear communication of *Creme 21*'s uncomplicatedness and youthfulness and avoids overly explicit nostalgia.

The rise of contemporary nostalgia and its commodification through retro-marketing has often been related to the "greying of the baby boom generation [which] has prompted a psychic return to the comforts, certainties and conflict-free times of childhood and early adolescence"[25] (Brown, 2001: 8). However, one-sided explanations as these[26] neglect the taste regimes that make retro-artefacts popular and that have established nostalgia as a broad commodified genre (Grainge, 2000: 28). Rather, retro-marketing may also work to sell particular re-launched products without any nostalgic affect on the part of the consumer involved. In this context, accusations of inertia and lack of creativity frequently levelled against retro-marketers appear only partially justified, given the economic imperatives and the modifications of retro-products outlined above.[27]

Grainge (2000) also appeals to resist monolithic characterisations and explanations of the commodification and aestheticisation of nostalgia. He argues for analysing nostalgia as a

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[25] The 'baby boomers' are the generation born between 1946 and 1964 that is used to challenging assumptions and fighting for what it wants. They embraced hippie culture in the 1960s and materialism in the 1980s and work hard for their personal goals, having a relatively high dispensable income at their disposal. They defy aging and instead reach a "youthful maturity" while cherishing a simplified quality of life (Gobé, 2001: 8-10).

[26] Other explanations for the proliferation of nostalgic moods and retro products alike draw into account long-term migration patterns and the resulting loss of rural stability and connectedness, or they comprehend nostalgia as a reaction to broader socio-cultural crises. Critics like Davis (1979) demonstrated how nostalgia has often been conceptualised as a characteristic feature of societies or individuals in crisis, turmoil and transition (141), as an expression of ecological concerns for preservation and a reaction against the sheer pace of contemporary technological change favouring the less stressful times of bygone days (Brown, 2001: 10).

[27] See for example Allison Graham (1984) or Jameson's (1991) argument about the waning of personal style.

distinct media style while avoiding prescriptive metanarratives that unilaterally link the phenomenon to either socio-political disorientation and creative enervation or cultural amnesia and the blockage of historicity. In this sense, he identifies two dominant tendencies in modern nostalgia critique along two mutually non-exclusive poles of a theoretical continuum that conceptualise nostalgia favourably either as ‘mood’ or ‘mode’ (27-28).

The nostalgic mood, as discussed by critics like Davis (1979) and Fritzsche (2001), is conceived of as a yearning in times of crisis for the continuity and stability of some idealised ‘golden age’ that has been lost somehow. Grainge (2000) criticises this discourse’s tendency to conflate any nostalgia in cultural life with “a grounding concept of [manifest] longing or loss” (28). As an indication of the nostalgic mood, the proliferation of retro-commodities such as *Creme 21* would express profound cultural discontent and uncertainty. Consumers would thus be thought of as longing to return to an idealised past that becomes deflected on the commodity which promises at least the spirit of the 1970’s as a feeling of youthfulness, stability and comfort. However, the possibility of clever and inexpensive niche-marketing as an explanation for the product’s re-launch is blindly dismissed. For Grainge, the ultimately reductive and mono-causal theory of the nostalgia mood “underestimate[s] the way that, as a cultural style, nostalgia has become divorced form a necessary concept of loss” (28).

In contrast, the conceptualising of nostalgia as ‘mode’, particularly advanced by Jameson (1991, 1998) and Baudrillard (2001), does “allow for images and objects from the past to be understood or consumed in ways other than through a tendentious relationship with yearning” (Grainge, 2000: 28). A discussion of *Creme 21* in terms of the nostalgia mode would concentrate on the product’s marketing through inauthentic pop-images of the 1970s as a revolutionary era with cult appeal. These media-created stereotypes about historical periods which all coexist alongside its fetishes confound any ‘true’ sense of and access to memory or historicity. The sole concern with the nostalgia mode in terms of the eternal present of the society of the spectacle however, is equally problematic when concepts like memory, history, time and identity are being almost entirely jettisoned in the process (Grainge, 2000: 29).

Grainge (2000) refers to Kaja Silverman to point out that retro-styles as such do not signify memory crisis or creative bankruptcy but contrariwise may suggest “an increasing semiotic awareness of the past” and an active engagement with it in the present (29). From this perspective, nostalgia undertakes negotiations of memory and meaning that foreground the problems of access to and representation of the past. Silverman (1986) discusses this in the context of fashion whose retro-styles she perceives to go beyond “naïve referentiality” by inserting the wearer “into a complex network of cultural and historical references” (150). This

argument can be extended to other areas of cultural production as cinema, for instance: The critical viewing of a film like *Schindler's List*[28] would in this sense not be reserved to Jameson et al. but could also engage the non-specialist in a discussion of questions of representation and historical accuracy in order to acknowledge "that the past is available to us only in a textual form, and through the mediation of the present" (Silverman, 1986: 150).[29]

4.3. For a Diverse Critique of Nostalgia

A veritable critique of nostalgia thus needs to mediate between the poles of loss and amnesia, taking into account each of the arguments advanced in this field while resisting the temptation to construct them into a dominating master-narrative that would ultimately do injustice to the multitudinous facets of the phenomenon (Grainge, 2000: 29).

Additionally, Grainge (2000) puts forth two often ignored influences that helped nostalgia to thrive in contemporary consumer culture, namely specific technological transformations and strategies of niche marketing.[30] In this sense, commodified and programmed nostalgia is not concerned so much with the past as foremost with taste and value differentials of particular demographic segments: "The content and 'meaning' of nostalgia is, in many respects, secondary to strategies of production and the imperatives of niche consumption" (30-31).

What is more, the impact of new technological innovations on ways of restoring and reconfiguring the past in the media and cultural landscape must not be neglected in an analysis of nostalgia. Admittedly, this relates more to media content than actual retro-commodities like *Creme 21*: Through media syndication, huge archives of cultural artefacts were created that could be digitalised and re-entered into popular culture as an inexpensive

[28] Steven Spielberg, USA, 1993.

[29] Leventhal (1995) in this context remarks in his critique of Schindler's List: "While we must acknowledge the educational function *Schindler's List* serves for a society that is only remotely aware of the Nazi Genocide in its bureaucratic perniciousness and technological bestiality, we have an obligation to articulate where the film falls into accepted conventions of narrative and representation, where it colludes with the logic of reduction, condensation, compression, concentration and "levelling" that are the trademarks of Fascism itself. It is only by critically rephrasing these conventions and their apparent "necessity" as the underlying rule-governing system of representations of the Nazi Genocide that we can begin to engage in the difficult and painful task of working through our own complicity in the Churban". For Silverman, then, the 'normal' consumer of the film would be seen fit to develop a similar stance to the film as Leventhal did in his essay. Given the typical discursive relations the movie is embedded in as a Hollywood blockbuster, this assumption appears to be rather enthusiastic, though.

[30] Grainge (2000) refers to the development of U.S. television as an example. Facilitated by new satellite technology that could reach large geographical areas, the massive expansion of cable television during the 1980s made extended niche programming lucrative; 'narrowcasting' was developed as a strategic pursuit of narrow but profitable consumer segments. The so-called baby boomers constituted one of the fastest growing market segments which was catered for by special lifestyle nostalgia-programmes, yet these were not implicated in a "generalized cultural longing but can be explained through commercial imperatives such as market segmentation and media syndication" (30-31).

strategy to target both older nostalgic and younger first-time consumers. Instances of this can be found throughout the mediascape in the form of re-issues of past films and foremost series that have been rescued from obscurity to be put on DVD, such as *Saber Rider and the Star Sheriffs*[31] or *Dungeons & Dragons*[32]. The video and digital revolutions consequently helped the marketing of the past to become a "lucrative by-product of the new relationship being forged in the age of video between institutions, texts and viewers" (Grainge, 2000: 32).

In this sense, Grainge (2000) pleads for a multifaceted approach of cultural critique that takes into account that

> "[a]s a cultural style, nostalgia has developed in accordance with a series of cultural, demographic, technological, and commercial factors that have made 'pastness' an expedient and marketable mode. The aestheticisation of nostalgia has emerged in a cultural moment able to access, circulate, and reconfigure the textual traces of the past in new and dynamic ways, that has taken up nostalgia in particular representational and taste regimes, and that has generally disjoined nostalgia from any specific meaning located in the past." (33)

Grainge (2000) consequently transcends conventional understandings of nostalgia as mood without condemning its development into several cultural modes and media styles which, for him, do not indicate postmodern society in crisis but rather offer numerous and new opportunities to engage the past via its multi-textual mediation in the present (33).

In respect to the retro-product *Creme 21*, all of the above mentioned approaches to commodified nostalgia have to be considered. The re-launch was subjected to economic imperatives of the market and the need for segmentation as well as to considerations of a broader socio-cultural trend of nostalgia that became reinforced in the process. The creation of sign value through the evocation of nostalgic memories that simulated special commodity worth also played a significant yet not predominant role.[33] Moreover, it is important to note that retro-marketing does not constitute an omnipotent strategy to fully control the individual's consuming behaviour. As Schindler and Holbrook (2003) observe:

> "Intense and positive emotional feelings towards a product, person or song are necessary for the development of nostalgic feelings towards them later in life. It is not sufficient for the product, person or song simply to have been popular with the masses." (275-302)

Brown et al. (2003) point out that brands are rather complex narratives and social entities that are experienced, shaped and changed in communities (31). In this sense, the

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[31] Franklin Coford, USA/Japan, 1986-1989.
[32] John Gibbs, USA, 1983.
[33] The way in which utilised images of past eras either confound or challenge the individual's sense of history still remains to be investigated.

remainder of this work will examine collective and individual responses and motivations for engaging in the consumption of commodified nostalgia.

5. The Psychoanalysis of Nostalgia Consumption

While being well aware of Grainge's (2000) admonition not "to reduce any form or *style* of nostalgia in cultural life to a question of manifest longing" (28; original emphasis), the following will take the theories of the psychoanalytic thinker Jacques Lacan to elucidate contemporary (nostalgic) consumption in terms of an underlying *latent* desire. Grainge is right to criticise overarching master narratives about nostalgia as reductive while promoting to treat it as a cultural style. Yet in his focus on the economic and technological shaping forces of nostalgia, Grainge neglects to take into account the actual consumers of nostalgia, be it mood, mode or cultural style, and their inherent motivation for engaging in nostalgic consumption. Crucially, nostalgia "speaks to a psychic need. So it must be taken seriously as a *psychic* reality and may reveal a deeper meaning" (Jacoby, 1985: 5; original emphasis). In this respect, Lacanian theory may serve to investigate how nostalgia can be understood in psychoanalytical terms as an expression of a deeper struggle that affects the very core of individual identity, which does not necessarily mean to neglect that the commodified form of nostalgia is largely subjected to economic and technological imperatives.[34]

5.1. Identity and Consumption

Just like Marx in his account of commodity fetishism, Lacan perceives the split between the subject and the object or, more specifically, the subject's ability and readiness to relate to itself as an object, as the distinguishing moment of human subjectivity in contemporary society (Wayne, 2003: 189). Yet in contrast to classical Marxism, the Lacanian subject has never known its 'true' self independently from such 'false' object-relations since it has always already been alienated (Frosh, 1991: 115). In fact, individuation is predicated upon "the assumption of the armour of an *alienating identity*, which will mark in its rigid structure the subject's entire mental development" (Lacan, 1977: 4; my emphasis).

Lacan also refers to this in terms of 'méconnaissance' (misrecognition) in his famous narration of the 'mirror stage'[35] as a metaphor for the becoming of the subject (also see

[34] Naturally, this is not to reduce every instance of nostalgia to a pathological disturbance. For a discussion of nostalgia as a clinical symptom that has its origin in an impairment of trust in the early mother/infant dyadic experience (a suffering because of the failure of the '(m)other'), see for example Peters (1985).

[35] The infant enters the stage of 'imaginary' or primary identification in which it misidentifies with an idealised image of unrealistically perfect unity. This 'other' image (imago) becomes the subject's 'Ideal I' or ideal ego, already an expression of a false feeling of omnipotence and "a *nostalgic* phantasy of wholeness and completion" (Grosz, 1990: 45; original emphasis). Importantly, Lacan perceives this dual imaginary relation initially necessary, yet ultimately harmful and stifling for later individual development. In order for the infant to gain a

Appendix 8.1.). For Lacan, individual identity is an illusory construct that is based on the fantasy of seeing oneself in the other. Crucially, this illusion remains imperfect and flawed throughout the subject's life through the recurrent impression of something missing. There is a remainder in our adult lives which is sought to be repressed, as it functions as a reminder of something that has been lost in the process of becoming an individual. As a result, the human subject remains split and alienated from itself, which "denotes the impossibility of the ideal of a fully present self-consciousness" (Evans, 2003: 192). Lacan hence defines 'lack' as fundamental to human subjectivity, perceived as an indistinct feeling of forsaken wholeness (the unity with the mother) that is only retrospectively superimposed on the subject's experience of the pre-imaginary Lacanian Real[36] but which is nevertheless longed for (Grosz, 1991: 34-39).

The view of the ego as narcissistic informs Lacan's theories of subjectivity and identification. For Lacan, the dependence on the other for self-definition is not restricted to the primary narcissism of the imaginary order in infancy where the child transformed the outlines of its "amoeba-like ego" (Grosz, 1990: 29) in order to incorporate and accommodate external objects as parts of its own self (or the other way round). Rather, the imaginary (and with that the narcissistic) mode of identification is never completely obliterated by the symbolic but resurfaces in adult life where the self strives to see itself in the other (Grosz, 1990: 47).

Drawing on Lacanian thought, Baudrillard dismisses simplifying critiques of contemporary consumerism as generating false needs[37] and asserts that it is instead fuelled by a blind and rootless desire (Desmond, 2003: 159). This desire is the force that results from and feeds on the gulf in the split subjects that is torn between feelings of lack and separation and their simultaneous disavowal. It emerges in the mirror stage when the immediate biological and satisfiable needs that governed the Real become linguistically translated into

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sense of self-identity independent from the (m)other, the imaginary relation needs to be regulated and mediated by secondary identification with a symbolic code as a third term (Grosz, 1990: 32, 46-47). Through entering the symbolic order, the infant is capable of representing and referring itself to the Other(s) via language and is finally made an acculturated subject (Lacan, 1977: 306-308; Desmond, 1996: 80-82).

[36] Lacan's concept of the Real may be understood to incorporate the stage of infancy that precedes the formation of the ego or any organisation of the drives and which is characterised by ultimate dependency on the mother (Lacan, 1977: 3-4). Only in retrospect can this stage come to the subject's consciousness as "pure plenitude or fullness" (Grosz, 1990: 34).

[37] This is Williamson's (1978) line of argumentation when she posits that the human capacity to place one's self in an image or object is recklessly exploited in capitalism that is based on mass consumption. The advertising industry, for example, "alienate[s] our identity in constituting us as one of the objects in an exchange that we must ourselves make, thereby appropriating *from us*, an image which gives us back our own 'value'" (64; original emphasis). From the viewpoint of Lacanian theory, however, Williamson's critique is fundamentally flawed in that she naively presupposes the existence of an essential self that becomes alienated only through the consumerist discourse and not, as Lacan would have it, is predicated on the experience of alienation in the first place.

demands which are directed towards the (M)Other and may not be satisfied with mere objects[38] anymore. As voiced demands, they seek to elicit the proof of love by the (M)Other to validate the infant's identity. Yet the demand for recognition cannot be articulated directly, since it would concede to the subject's lack and weakness when instead it must be approved of as whole (Lacan, 1977: 302-311): "In the desperate and vain attempt to articulate desire, the desiring subject continually moves from one demand to another, from one signifier to another", each of which are connected to "fleeting images of identity" (Lee, 1990: 59).

In this sense, Baudrillard sees individuals living in a market society to be motivated by that sense of lack which spawns an endless consuming desire hopelessly aimed at filling this illusory hole imagined to lie at the centre of their being (Desmond, 2003: 159).[39] The subject's desire for oneness thus generates superficial material demands for virtually everything, which always turns out to be nothing, as the one thing imagined filling that lack, the restorative desire of the Other[40], is always missed. Desire ultimately remains insatiable (Grosz, 1990: 61-63).

Hence, nostalgia already plays a determining role in the arbitrary consumption of 'ordinary' commodities: As a symptom of the subject's desire, it is propelled by the experience of lack, which "impels it nostalgically to seek out a past symbiotic completeness, even if such a state never existed and is retrospectively imposed on the pre-mirror phase" (Grosz, 1990: 39). Manifest nostalgia as a preference for retro-commodities could furthermore be seen to reduce the terror of unlimited choice[41] characteristic of postmodern consumer society: The purchase of *Creme 21*, for example, would thus not only answer an underlying desire for recognition by the Other (through the product's promise of returning youth,

[38] The screams of the infant make the Other (the mother) appear to satisfy its needs. Soon, this presence of the Other acquires an importance in itself, beyond the satisfaction of the infant's needs: It symbolises the Other's love (Evans, 2003: 37).

[39] The objects of consumption for Baudrillard exceed their objective functions in order to assume completely interchangeable sign value: "anything can be made to fit the bill. The definition of an object of consumption is entirely independent of objects themselves and *exclusively a function of the logic of significations*" (Baudrillard, 2003: 257; original emphasis).

[40] Zizek (1996) in this respect remarks: "The original question of desire is not directly 'What do I want?' but 'What do others want from me? What do they see in me? What am I for the others?'" The subject cannot fathom what he is for the others by himself, yet fantasy tells him (117). For this reason, even in love relationships where desire seems to be mutually reflected, it cannot effectively be satisfied, since the Other's desire in this sense is just as hollow and based on fantasy as one's own: "[S]ince this signifier [of the impossibility of identity affirmed as whole] is only veiled, as ratio of the Other's desire, it is this desire of the Other as such that the subject must recognize, that is to say, the other in so far as he is himself a subject divided by the signifying *Spaltung*" (288).

[41] Whereas Baudrillard views consumerism as an expression of real freedom where "consumers play with needs on a keyboard of objects" (Baudrillard 1988: 42; cited in Desmond, 2003: 159), others perceive the (post)modern subject as "fated to be free" (Lash and Friedman, 1998: 5), which "can lead to a totally fragmented, disjoined life, subject to the whims of fashion and the subtle indoctrinations of advertising and popular culture" (Kellner, 1998: 174).

attractiveness and wholesomeness), but also signal to some consumers the security of a decision that has already been made in the past.

5.2. Nostalgia Fetishism

The relation of nostalgia and compensatory consumption may be further explored through Freud's discussion of the subject's narcissistic reaction to lack and its creation of a substitute.[42] Freud's early view of narcissism relates closely to nostalgia as the subject's deep longing for a lost state of oneness and unification with the other (Frosh, 1991: 78-80). Narcissism is thus defined as the subject's desire for "[w]hat he once was" and "[w]hat he would like to be" (Freud, 1956a: 47). The object of narcissistic desire becomes the subject's "substitute for the lost [primary] narcissism of his childhood – the time when he was his own ideal" (Ibid.: 51).

In "Fetishism", Freud (1971) expounds more specifically how objects can be utilised to serve as a cover-up for loss. He discusses the splitting of the ego as a defence mechanism against the perceived threat of castration. Although Freud appears to take this idea literally, the castration-complex is best conceived more abstractly through a Lacanian understanding of the phallus as "the signifier par excellence of the impossible identity"[43] (Lemaire, 1980: 86) that is formulated "in the dialectic of the demand for love and the test of desire" (Lacan, 1977: 289). Lacan posits that the demand for love is always undercut by the desire for the phallus, that perfectly elusive signifier of (pre-)imaginary wholeness. The subject still longs to have its phallus (and consequently identity-fullness) confirmed by the desire of the Other, paradoxically, by eliciting it through posing to already be or have the phallus. Therefore, "this test of the desire of the Other is decisive not in the sense that the subject learns by it whether or not he has a real phallus, but in the sense that he learns that the (…) [m/]other does not have it" (289). Perceiving the absence of the phallus as a loss is thus a delusion of the fact that it is impossible to possess. The subject's 'castration anxiety' or 'penis envy' does not denote

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[42] In "Mourning and Melancholia", Freud describes how 'objects' in the widest sense of the term that have been invested with psychic energy can become introjected when they are lost, so that what is beyond reach in the external world becomes part of the structure of the mind in order to become fully desired again (Freud, 1956b: 160-161; Frosh, 1991: 69).Yet Freud's concept of melancholia is predicated upon a real loss and may thus best to illuminate clinical forms of pathological nostalgia as described by Peters (1985) , where the bad mother is identified with in order to be criticised as part of one's ego.

[43] The phallus is thus not to be confused with the penis, as it constitutes a much wider notion in order to "designate as a whole the effects of the signified" (Lacan, 1977: 285), meaning that it stands in for the gap inherent in representation. Lacan draws significantly on the structuralist theories of the Swiss Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, the gap between signifier and signified, between language and reality, becomes the split of the subject' ego and self.

the fear of loss but the terror of the painful insight into the split condition of the subject (Lee, 1990: 67).

Hence, the very moment the infant becomes aware that it is separate from its mother and that her desire is based on lack, as well, this devastating insight is immediately disavowed and glossed over by the vested belief in her phallus: To make her identity 'full' also means that her desire for the infant becomes meaningful again as an affirmation of its own identity-wholeness. Yet this reinstatement of the mother's, and consequently the infant's wholeness has left its unconscious mark, "because the horror of castration has set up a memorial to itself in the creation of the substitute" (Freud, 1971: 154). In this context, the fetish is appropriated by the subject as a material stand-in for the intangible and imaginary phallus and remains just as ambivalent. As a token of the triumph over the threat of castration, the fetish is nevertheless also a reminder of that threat: "In very subtle instances both the disavowal and the affirmation of the castration have found their way into the construction of the fetish itself" (Freud, 1971: 155-156).

In the widest sense, the castration complex as a disavowal of the 'real' conditions of existence and production is at work in both narcissistic consumerist nostalgia and commodity fetishism. The fetish (as substitute of the phallus, as commodity or as both) is responsible for creating and maintaining an illusion: "'Reality' is a fantasy-construction which enables us to mask the Real of our desire" in order to structure our effective, 'real' social relations and thereby mask some insupportable and impossible kernel at the centre of our existence (Zizek, 1991: 45).[44] For Lacan (1977), "[h]ere is signed the conjunction of desire, in that the phallic signifier is its mark, with the threat or nostalgia of lacking it" (289). It has already been mentioned earlier how the retro-commodity thus becomes doubly fetishised so that in every sense nostalgic consumption "involves a suppression – or at least its simultaneous cohabitation – of evidence or knowledge which contradicts what is implicit in the performance being engaged in or consumed" (Wayne, 2003: 198). In this sense, the experience of lack that propels consumption is specially reinforced, as well, since the retro-commodity points to a more concrete and manifest loss, for example in the shape of memories of one's childhood. Naturally, the diffuse longing for wholeness still remains the major driving force underlying that nostalgic yearning.

Robertson (1992), as mentioned above, has traced how the rise of global capitalism has effected the transition from personal nostalgia to its commodification and integration into

[44] In this respect, Wayne (2003) insightfully remarks: "Like all repressions, this stems from not wanting to acknowledge something that hurts, something that questions the very basis of your existence and your values" (201).

a system based on mass consumption. Taken together with the often heralded mass identity crisis[45] that is imagined to be ensuing from this development, the feeling is here at its strongest that what is at stake with nostalgia is the very core of one's own existence which is constantly threatened by inside as well as outside forces. The following mini case-study of a community of nostalgic consumers will serve to further investigate some of the claims made about the nostalgic phenomenon so far in relation to individual identity and media or cultural style.

[45] Frosh (1991) elaborates the feeling of identity crisis in contemporary society: "Under modern conditions, the construction of a self is a struggle at best won only provisionally and always entailing expenditure of considerable amounts of psychological energy. (…) [T]he self is never secure, requires unremitting protection and nurture, is always in danger of being undermined, of withering away or exploding into nothingness (…) [while] there is no absolute stability, no still point from which bearings can be taken. Such is the 'identity crisis' of individuals in contemporary society (…) [which] is characterised by rootlessness, instability, rapid transition from one state to the next, one fetish to the other (187).

6. Mass Nostalgia Consumption

The following will analyse the phenomenon of collective mass nostalgia for a series of audio plays called *Die Drei Fragezeichen* that manifested itself in Germany over the last couple of years. Still being officially sold as children's entertainment, the *Die Drei Fragezeichen* audio plays now sell approximately three million copies per year to a stable consumer audience – predominantly adults in their middle or late twenties.[46]

6.1. The Cult of *Die Drei Fragezeichen* in Germany

Originally an adaptation of a U.S. serial of children's books *The Three Investigators*[47], the first episode of the *Die Drei Fragezeichen* audio plays (hereafter DDF) was released in Germany in 1979. The stories tell the adventures of three juvenile detectives from a dozy fictitious town somewhere near Los Angeles, California, who become regularly entangled in preferably mysterious plots and cases they eventually never fail to solve. Although the books have been translated for various countries[48], the complete adaptation of the stories as audio plays is unique to the German market[49], as is the continued production of new episodes (which, up to today, stocked up the original 55 U.S. episodes to a total of 120), now by German authors, after *The Three Investigators* series was discontinued in the U.S. in 1987 (Bastian, 2003: 70-78).

From some point in the second half of the 1990s on, DDF have enjoyed a boosted publicly registered comeback and heightened media attention that may be traced through

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[46] A convenient (i.e. not totally random) survey among 1124 consumers of *Die Drei Fragezeichen* audio plays conducted on an unofficial fan website (see http://www.rocky-beach.com/umfrage/aus2002.html) in 2002 established the average age of them to be 24.2 years. My own survey conducted through the same website among 107 respondents in 2005 produced the result that 70% of the *Die Drei Fragezeichen* fans are between 22 and 33 years of age. In this regard, the average demographics of internet users who exclusively constitute the survey samples and the way that they bias the established average age of the audio play consumer towards a younger one must be taken into account (see appendix 8.2. & 8.3. for my exact survey results and internet user demographics).

[47] *The Three Investigators* is the original title of the children's novels created by the American author Robert Arthur in 1964. The first German translation of an *Investigators*-episode was published as early as 1968, whereas the adaptation of the stories as audio plays began more than ten years later in 1979. What is more, slight changes to the original were made in the process, as for instance the stronger integration of the figure of Alfred Hitchcock as narrator into the stories. In this context, it has to be noted that the famous American movie director is connected to *The Three Investigators* only in so far as he agreed to have his name and portrait printed on the covers of the books and audio plays as the series' patron. Especially in Germany, this marketing move created much of the initial appeal of the series (Bastian, 2003: 70-77).

[48] Alone in Europe, *The Three Investigators* have been published in 24 countries (Bastian, 2003: 75-76).

[49] Apart from Germany, only two episodes of *The Three Investigators* were adapted as audio plays in England, and eight in Switzerland.

instances as the appearance of a well-known German hip-hop group in two episodes[50] in 1997 and an increasing number of columns and articles in lifestyle journalism that slowly but steadily contributed to lifting DDF from obscurity to the public fore. In the same year, a small performance group from Wuppertal started to enact what they called 'full playback theatre' in accompaniment to the audio plays and succeeded in entertaining an audience of 40,000 by 2003. More than 70,000 visitors were attracted by the official DDF tour 'Master of Chess' in 2002 and 2003, where the original cast of DDF staged an unreleased episode live and unplugged. In this context, it is important to note that the three actors who lend their voices to the three kid detectives have not changed since the first episode of the audio plays in 1979. Now all in their late thirties, the voice actors still achieve to believably perform the only marginally aged, adolescent investigators on tape, preserving a significant element of stability and continuity of the series.

The biggest publicity by far was bestowed upon DDF on the occasion of their 25th anniversary in 2004 that was celebrated as a live and unplugged enactment of their very first episode before an audience of 12,000 old and new fans in the fully booked Colourline arena in Hamburg. The event also found mention in the 'tagesthemen'[51], a major German news magazine of the German public broadcast station ARD. The broadcast presented some interviews with fans in their late twenties to early thirties in order to shed light on the phenomenon of why adults listen to children's audio plays: "It's rather like family," a female interviewee remarked, "because you do get reminded of (…) what was nice in the past, what was good in the past".[52]

Hence, it appears rather clearly that the mass consumption of DDF among adults in Germany forms an exemplary case of collective nostalgia. In her book about the contemporary revival of children's audio plays and the 'outing' of their adult consumers, itself rather infested with nostalgic reminiscence, Bastian (2003) attempts a basic explanation of the cultural phenomenon of those 'Kassettenkinder'[53]. She presents several different factors that all played off each other in a specific way to give rise to a uniquely well-developed market of audio plays for children in 1980s' Germany: The equipment of children with their own private tape recorders (which became affordable in the 1980s) was the prerequisite for a

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[50] 'Fettes Brot' from Hamburg starred in two episodes of DDF after they had openly proclaimed themselves fans of the series. In return, the DDF voice actors recorded a bonus track for the new CD of the hip-hop trio.

[51]The broadcast from October 2nd 2004 can be viewed at http://www.tagesthemen.de/sendungen/0,1196,OID3668604_VID3668630_ OIT3668618_RESms256_PLYinternal_NAV,00.html.

[52] This is an approximate translation from the woman's statement in German: "Das ist eher so wie Familie. Weil…weil man eben doch…daran erinnert wird was früher war, was früher schön war, was früher gut war".

[53] 'Kassettenkinder' may be loosely translated into 'cassette-children', meaning grown-ups who still or again listen to the same audio plays than when they were little, mostly in secret.

boom of audio plays on cassettes[54], whereas the late arrival of such potential rival media as television or the computer in the children's bedroom delivered the children's audio play culture an opportunity to fully blossom relatively undisturbed. In addition, the DDF-label's mass production of cassettes created a medium children could afford for mass consumption. These factors hence fabricated a vastly shared common experience[55] among children of a certain age group which would serve as a foundation to their collective nostalgia as grown-ups in contemporary society (Bastian, 2003: 139-144).

Bastian (2003) argues that the repetitive rituals of consuming audio plays in childhood create a sense of stability, security and 'home' that is capable of being conserved and then retrieved again in adulthood through engaging in audio plays once again (147-148).[56]

6.2. The Average Adult Consumer of *Die Drei Fragezeichen*

The findings of a survey I conducted on a major DDF fan website[57] among 107 consumers of the audio plays are able to support Bastian's argument about the 'Kassettenkinder'. Based on my survey results[58], the average DDF consumer is between 22 and 33 years old (to a probability of 70%), male (72%) and either studying at a university or working (to equal shares of 37% each). He knows DDF from his own childhood days (89%) and resumed listening to the tapes as an adult because friends mentioned them again (29%), he saw them in shops (18%) or re-discovered them elsewhere (14% at home, 8% in the media, 4% on flea-markets; 30% of the respondents never stopped listening to DDF). He listens to several DDF episodes a week (69%, more than a third of which consume DDF on a daily basis), mostly when going to bed (75%), when being bored (58%) and when performing household tasks (51%). Sometimes, he also listens to DDF when he is feeling unwell (30%) or

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[54] Music cassettes had the important advantage over their predecessors, the stereophonic disc records, of being much more resistant, practicable and easier to handle, making them a desirable and naturally preferred medium for children's audio plays (Bastian, 2003: 144).

[55] What is more, these experiences from the past are also much more likely to have been ingrained into the memory due to the repetitive nature of their consumption in contrast to television formats, which could be watched a few times only (Bastian, 2003: 143).

[56] In this context, Flinn (1992) cites Rosolato (1972: 42) in order to show that not sound or music on its own binds itself to lost objects but musical repetition: "Repetition postulates an anteriority that recreates itself. It thus leads to the fantasm of origins: reencountering a lost object (…), or with one of its traits – sound, the voice" (Flinn, 1992: 54).

[57] The unofficial fan project www.rocky-beach.com went online in January 1998 and has counted more than 2.7 million visitors since then. It is a major compiler of any kind of information related to DDF and also functions as an organising platform for discussions and meetings among the DDF community.

[58] Again, the average demographics of internet users who exclusively constitute my convenient survey sample are likely to have influenced the outcome of my survey in the sense to let male and younger participants gain greater prominence than they would have reached in a totally random sample which every single DDF consumer would have had an equal chance of entering (see Appendix 8.3.). Apart from that, the high proportion of male fans of DDF is not surprising since the original series had been targeted at boys.

alone (24%). The average DDF fan listens to both the original translated DDF episodes and newly produced ones (89%), with a slight positive bias towards the old audio plays (48% prefer the old stories over the new ones, while 41% rate them equally). He is content with his life and considers it to be pretty stable (74.8%), yet he still thinks rather often about his past (62.8%) and generally considers DDF to be important to him personally (60.3%).

Strikingly, 72% of the respondents of my survey listen to DDF for the fond memories of bygone days that the stories conjure up again.[59] One respondent specified that DDF means to her an "'ideal world'; good in order to escape reality"[60]. Other respondents concede even more openly to consuming the audio plays for nostalgic reasons. They listen to DDF because, for example: "they stand for the best part of my life up to now"[61], "they remind me of my childhood"[62], "I feel like when I was twelve years again"[63], "a lot connects me with the old tapes from long ago"[64], "they are so familiar and solid"[65] and "they pose a certain constant in my life"[66]. The DDF audio plays thus construct an 'ideal world' of innocent childhood days on tape, which is only threatened by malevolent forces in order to emerge purified successfully reinforced at the end: Scoundrels always get convicted and mysterious phenomena brought down to rational explanations, and neither ever leaves any permanent damage to that ideal world. Moreover, sexuality plays no role whatsoever in DDF. All of this possesses "something distinctly intimate and constant, which somehow also conveys security. This is probably due to the unchanged main voice actors"[67].

6.3. A 'Whole' Universe on Tape

The DDF audio plays thus satisfy a longing for a lost sense of security and stability that one imagines to have once possessed in childhood. For psychoanalytical critique, this can easily be traced to those fundamentals of the human condition already outlined above, namely the experiences of imagined lack and loss of oneness with one's experiential universe that

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[59] This was the third most common reason indicated for consuming DDF after the more obvious ones of relaxation with 88% and entertainment with 90%. In another survey conducted by www.sozioland.de in 2005, even 86% of 768 respondents made the connections between listening to children's audio plays as an adult and having fond memories of one's own childhood.
[60] The original German response was: ""Heile Welt", gut, um der Wirklichkeit etwas zu entfliehen".
[61] "sie für den bisher schönsten teil meines lebens stehen"
[62] "sie mich an meine Kindheit erinnern"
[63] "ich mich wieder wie mit 12 Jahren fühle."
[64] "mich viel mit den altem tapes von damals verbindet."
[65] " sie so vertraut und solide sind"
[66] "sie eine gewisse Konstante in meinem Leben darstellen."
[67] "etwas vertrautes und konstantes (…), dass irgendwie Sicherheit vermittelt. Dies wohl vor allem aufgrund der unveränderten Hauptsprecher."

fuels an escapist desire for the return to the past (Frosh, 1991: 78-83). As it could be observed above, the 'ideal world' in DDF answers a yearning for "total harmony, full accord, utter security and consolation" which psychoanalysts attribute to the abandonment of "so-called primal relationship, the initial link between mother and infant" (Jacoby, 1985: 7). This longing for the mother does not have to be taken literally; it is rather "a longing for one's own well-being, which originally was dependent upon maternal care and protection, a longing to be cradled in a conflict-free unitary reality, which takes on symbolic form in the image of Paradise [or 'ideal world']"[68] (Ibid.: 9). As the DDF audio plays demonstrate, "concepts of Paradise [or 'ideal world'] may embrace thoroughly concrete, material goods of everyday life (…) [to be] inherently present in every idea, every image" (Ibid.: 10-11).

In this respect, Bastian (2003) mentions that many children used to listen to audio plays when they were ill and bedridden and "you can't do anything else anyway"[69]. Bastian indicates that the experience of being cared for by one's mother might have become associated with the audio plays, so that listening to DDF today in some way still feels "as if the door would open any moment, and mum brings us a glass of hot milk to our bedside"[70]. This suggested correlation makes it temptingly easy to reduce DDF tapes to the status of fetishes as a substitute for the (m)other's uncompromising love. Although this is clearly too simple an explanation, it still resonates with much of the psychoanalytical literature on the phenomenon of nostalgia already discussed above, especially in its relation to music and the voice of the other as love object.[71]

Nonetheless, it is important not to neglect the specific attractiveness the DDF audio plays have been able to exert on their German audience as an originally American series under patronage of Alfred Hitchcock. Particularly in the 1980s, this setting of the DDF was likely to assume a special significance for its child consumers who could thus forge through

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[68] Again, as it was already mentioned above, these internal images of Paradise, ideal world, wholeness or however on chooses to call them, are not only idealised but also merely inferred. These images "are, rather, symbolic formulations of pre-conscious, pre-lingual experiences which have subsequently been given verbal and perceptual expression. The myth itself tells us that paradisical existence cannot be 'known'. (…) To 'know' what Paradise means presupposes knowledge of its opposite, of the burdens and sufferings of earthly existence. The very idea of Paradise contains simultaneous grief over its loss" (Jacoby, 1985: 26).

[69] One respondent of my survey explained when he/she was listening to DDF: " Im Krankheitsfall, wenn man eh nix anderes machen kann!!!!"

[70] "als würde sich jeden Moment die Tür öffnen, und Mama bringt uns eine warme Milch ans Bett" (Bastian, 2003: 148).

[71] In this regard, Flinn (1992) contends that "[p]sychoanalysis (…) gives music a key role in restoring a sense of lost plenitude to the subject" (52). Sound is considered to carry a special significance in the pre-symbolic, pre-linguistic condition, where primary identification with the mother's voice takes place before the identification with her image. Hence, "the auditory realm is a crucial shaping force in early subjectivity". Sound may consequently function as 'objet petit a', fetishised for the plenitude it represents for the subject and for the suggestion it brings of bygone wholeness (53). From this point of view, with the castration complex in the back of the head, it becomes clearer how the "voice [in audio plays can serve] as the filler of the body's constitutive gap" (Zizek, 1996: 93).

their fantasy a strong link (that for many still lasts today) with a friendly, exciting world otherwise totally out of reach.[72] Neither content nor medium are as negligible as some psychoanalytic and postmodern theories would have them be in their relation to audio plays that are considered mere fetishes, objects of nostalgic desire or perfectly interchangeable commodities. Naturally, DDF fans deem the series to be the best on the market without any serious competitions from others that have outlasted the 1980s and 1990s, as well.[73] Yet even in the 1980s the audio plays were the market leader (Bastian, 2003: 38), which confirms their status as “a high-quality, entertaining, thrilling series of audio plays that has always been good”[74]. The specific economic and technological circumstances that Bastian perceives to have aided the rise of the audio plays have already been discussed above.

In this sense, only taking primary nostalgia into account as an explanation for the phenomenon of the ‘Kassettenkinder’ is ultimately reductive, although the psychoanalytical investigation into the motivation of nostalgic consumption produced some insightful and valid results. Yet, crucially, the fandom around DDF has developed its distinct momentum. Live tours, the development of fan websites and the avid purchasing of newly produced episodes have less to do with primary nostalgia than with the desire to actively participate in an organic community[75], the interest in actually watching a performance one only ever listened to, and to be part of the ‘whole movement’.[76]

[72] The suggestion that the Californian setting of the DDF audio plays contributes a significant portion to its appeal is furthermore reinforced by the fact that those episodes playing in Europe or even Germany were commonly dismissed on these grounds and received rather unfavourable ratings (which can be explored on the fan websites, e.g. www.rocky-beach.com).

[73] Many respondents of my survey stressed the inherent qualities of the DDF audio plays, also in relation to other competitors in the same market niche.

[74] “es eine qualitativ hochwertige, unterhaltsame, spannende Hörspielserie ist, die schon immer gut war.“

[75] In this context, see Davis’ (1979) concept of collective nostalgia.

[76] Hence, in the development from personal nostalgia to its collective form, the longing for unity that was once projected back towards one’s childhood appears to experience fulfilment in the large and inclusive family of the fan community. Naturally, the different expressions of nostalgia concur and collective nostalgia does not obliterate its more individual, personal form. 64.6 % of the respondents to the 2002 survey on rocky-beach.com preferred to consume the DDF audio plays when alone. This train of thought is elaborated in the conclusion following.

7. Conclusion

This discussion of nostalgia has attempted to reflect the archetypical longing for things past as a cultural phenomenon that may be investigated from a range of different modernist and postmodernist perspectives. The commodification of nostalgia in the shape of the proliferation of retro-products in today's consumer culture has been shown to be an even more complex issue whose characteristics and conditions cannot be subsumed under a few key precepts of one cultural critique or another. Rather, commodified nostalgia always needs to be investigated under consideration of its specific context and cultural, economic and technological conditions, as the concrete examples of retro-products and retro-consumption suggested.[77] At the same time, however, retro-commodities are integrated into the larger system of the capitalist imperative of consumption and need to be analysed as such, especially in regard to their implication on cultural as well as individual memory and identity.

Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated how the experience of loss becomes the basis of all subsequent experience of alienation and may foster nostalgic longing in the subject, especially in contemporary postmodern culture of plurality, fragmentation and insecurity (Frosh, 1991: 84). Even as a cultural aestheticised style, nostalgia may be identified to answer to a deeper psychic motive in the subject that is basically inherent in any interpersonal relationship, namely the longing for affirmation and recognition of one's individual identity. The circumstance that in contemporary consumer society this desire for wholeness is increasingly relegated from interpersonal relationships to those between subjects and objects, mainly in the shape of commodified images, poses a problem that cultural critics such as Debord, Jameson and Baudrillard but also Freud, Lacan and Zizek have discussed in their particular ways. Zizek (1991) in this context speaks about the de-fetishisation of subject-relations as being paid for by the fetishisation of commodities (26). Consequently, nostalgia in contemporary capitalist society occurs in a foremost commercial context, like for example Robertson argued, as a desire that expresses itself through demands for retro-commodities.

Yet even as a commodified psychic longing, contemporary nostalgia is not regressive and harmful on its own, whereas its unmediated pursuit as a denial of difference[78] is (Frosh, 1991: 85). Silverman (1986) contended that consumers of retro-commodities could elevate their status beyond a mere "naïve referentiality" (150) and actually engage in a critical and

[77] The case of *Creme 21* in this respect indicated that market imperatives and economic opportunities play a major role in the re-launch of commodities that make nostalgia a factor of niche marketing and not an indication of cultural yearning.
[78] This denial of difference has been discussed above and as the disavowal of the Oedipus or castration complex.

meditative relationship with the past thus evoked. The exact ways and possibilities of this engagement remain open to further discussion, while this idea nevertheless indicates that there may well be a healthy element in nostalgic longing. Davis (1979) emphasised this aspect in his discussion of nostalgia's role in creating continuity and stability for the individual's identity. In addition, Frosh (1991) perceives idealised nostalgic longing to foster a communal impulse in the individual through creating "a sense of what is possible, of what true connectedness might be" (95).

The way in which personal nostalgia can become reflected and shared so as to give birth to a large organised and connected fan community is demonstrated by the collective mass nostalgia for the DDF audio plays in Germany. Interestingly, the mini case-study about DDF poses a different example in that it is based on objects that are consumed through listening, mostly in private. In this sense, it already disputes some of the more radical contestation (as advanced by Debord and Baudrillard) that portray contemporary culture as being dominated by the purely visual and its imperatives of superficial aestheticisation. Ocularocentric (vision-centred) critiques of contemporary consumer culture thus cannot easily account for an increasing rise of audio plays and especially audio books. In this respect, particularly the case of communal nostalgia around DDF may be understood as a counterpractice against the image-mediated alienation and fragmentation of interpersonal relations in the 'Society of the Spectacle' (Debord, 1967).

In contrast to Debord et al., Maffesoli perceives the private sphere as a site of resistance to a sensed alienation and detachment from the contemporary public-political sphere. As a reaction, 'neo-tribes'[79] form to foster a sense of solidarity derived from shared emotional commitment and sentiment based on, for instance, the nostalgic devotion of children's audio plays (Desmond, 2003: 19-20).[80] In this respect, personal nostalgia that arises because of discontent with the present situation may apparently find satisfaction in the collective, so that the "mythologization of the Internet as a community represents a nostalgic dream for a mythical early modern community": the *Gemeinschaft* (Stratton, 1997: 271; cited in Baym, 2000: 206).[81] Baym (2000), however, advises against one-sided figuring of the

[79] DDF fans form what in Maffesoli's terms might be called a 'neo-tribe', meaning a huge network of an amorphous but interlacing group that is held together by some powerful emotional bond. A variety of diffuse and fleeting encounters, which take a rather regular and concrete form in the DDF fan-meetings organised on the respective websites, furthermore help to a sense of connectedness (Desmond, 2003: 19-20).

[80] In this context, the actual media texts around which the communities are organised must not drift away into obscurity when 'neo-tribes' are analysed, as the DDF audio plays for example already hint at a strong predisposition of its audience towards nostalgia and an 'ideal world'.

[81] Baym (2000) explains that "[p]eople start to read online discussion groups because they are interested in the topics of discussion. (…) Soon, however, the group reveals itself as an interpersonally complex social world, and this becomes an important appeal in its own right" (119).

shared-interest community as a utopia and to instead also consider the tension and contradictions that are being played out in such formations (207).

Moreover, the decisive shaping influence such mass media technologies as the internet have on the rise of those audience and practice communities and 'neo-tribes' must be considered as well. Whereas the internet made the effective communication and growth of communities possible, circulated target-images in the media may also help to recognise shared interests and organise on this basis (Desmond, 2003: 21). Audience and especially online communities furthermore can be effectively monitored by the producers of the cultural goods, fostering a two-way relationship between producers and consumers in some cases.[82]

In conclusion, the nostalgic feeling in contemporary consumer society is correlated with the experience of uncanny alienation.[83] On one side, this alienation is perfectly demonstrated and reinforced by the doubly-fetishised retro-commodity as the paragon of the reification of the subjects' relations to themselves, their memories and other people. In between, there exists nostalgia distinct from a sense of loss, effectively *alienated from itself* through its strategic utilisation in the media economy. As cultural style, nostalgia can serve to incite the re-negotiation of the past in the present, but just as well reinforce its stereotypical treatment. On the other side, then, nostalgia also disentangles itself again to a certain degree[84] from the logic of consumer capitalism and fosters the development of communities so as to act as a counterpoise to alienation and fragmentation of the 'society of the spectacle'.

[82] The fan website www.rocky-beach.com exemplifies a healthy two-way relationship between the producers of the DDF stories and their consumers. A special section of the website serves as a point of contact between DDF fans and the writers of the stories, where questions, suggestions and criticism can be directed at the DDF authors who respond regularly. Brown, Kozinets and Sherry Jr. (2003) in this context remark: "Not only are brands fixed cognitive associations of meanings; they are also dynamic, expanding social universes composed of stories. They are social entities experienced, shaped, and changed in communities. Therefore, although brand meanings might be ascribed and communicated to consumers by marketers, consumers in turn uncover and activate their own brand meanings, which are communicated back to marketers and the associated brand community. (…) Brand meanings, moreover, must be managed as community brands, as brands that belong to and are created in concert with groups of communities" (31).

[83] In its original sense, nostalgia denotes the painful condition of yearning to return home. It is felt, when 'home' is absent, when the situation is not homely, unhome-like or 'un-heimlich' – uncanny and alienated.

[84] Naturally, (nostalgic) communities such as the DDF fans are first and foremost an audience community organised around the consumption of a commodity or media content and thus still implicated in the logic of consumer capitalism.

8. Appendix

8.1. The Mirror Stage

The mirror stage is considered a cornerstone in Lacanian psychoanalysis as a narrative about the beginnings of subjectivity and identity (Lemaire, 1980: 79). In an "innovative elaboration of Freud" (Ferrell, 1996: 68), Lacan sketches the "drama (…) from insufficiency to anticipation" (Lacan, 1977: 4) in which the human infant establishes a first sense of itself and the surrounding world.

In comparison to animals, the human subject is born prematurely and is not endued with a natural instinct to aid it in its survival. For the first eight months of its existence, the infant cannot really be called something other than a mere bundle of crying flesh, perfectly incomplete and ultimately dependent on its mother (Lacan, 1977: 3-4). It is this stage, Lacan's concept of the Real, that precedes the formation of the ego or any organisation of the drives and that is characterised by "pure plenitude or fullness" (Grosz, 1990: 34). Metaphorically[85], Lacan (1977) pins down the child's entry into the mirror-stage to that moment when the infant catches a glimpse of its specular image in the mirror (1-2). By this "*imago*", the child, "still sunk in his motor incapacity and nursling dependence", avidly sees itself reflected in an unreal unity that contradicts his experience of a fragmented body and deceivingly allows for the quick "maturation of his power", yet only as illusory image ("Gestalt") (Lacan, 1977: 2-4).

Importantly, the imaginary identification with the "Ideal-I" (Lacan, 1977: 2) is propelled by the two dynamics of the experience of lack and the "méconnaisance" (Lacan, 1977: 6). For one, only through the acknowledgement of loss or lack, e.g. the realisation that the wholeness of the world is not its own, does the infant begin to distinguish itself from the outside world, consequently locating himself in that world. The willing assumption of the imago as the desired and anticipated Ideal-I is an expression of a nostalgic longing of past symbiotic completeness and a false feeling of omnipotence. Crucially, both have never really existed in the first place but find themselves forcibly imposed on an only inferable experience of the pre-imaginary Real (Grosz, 1990: 34-35, 39).

Secondly, the imaginary is furthermore characterised by "méconnaisance", a sense of simultaneous recognition and misrecognition: The child both affirms its accurate reflection in the mirror, while also feeling that the "other" is not really him and, in its perfect wholeness

[85] The child's self-recognition is not a singular act but a process. In this sense, it does not even have to involve an actual mirror but may be accomplished by the positive reflections experienced through the mother's face and gaze (Grosz, 1990: 36).

and unity, only an incomplete approximation (Grosz, 1990: 40). Thus, the assumed imago is also an intra-psychic object of aggression. The child invests the specular image of itself or another with all the hostility directed towards its own lack and dissatisfaction which have been the very motivation for internalizing the reflection in the first place (Grosz, 1990: 41).[86]

For Lacan (1977), the mirror stage also marks an important step in the infant's socialisation into the community, crossing "the threshold of the visible world" (3). As soon as the child as the child recognises itself as a closed (though eternally split and lacking) unit that may be referred to (and distinguished) via an image or a word, it is also able to acknowledge the existence of others apart from itself and consequently establish (social) relations. Hence the "specular I" precedes and is a prerequisite of the "social I" (Lacan, 1977: 5). The "symbolic" then soon dominates the imaginary and it is in and through that "locus of the Other" that the child acquires language (Lacan, 1977: 308, 306) and is made a subject: "Man (sic) speaks, then, but it is because the symbol has made him man" (Lacan, 1977: 65).

Yet part of the subject does not yield to the process of its translation. A rift between the self as the innermost part of the psyche and the subject as conscious participant in cultural and behavioural discourse causes the individual to be simultaneously excluded and represented in the symbolic order (Lemaire, 1980: 67-68). Hence, the subject remains split in the symbolic, ultimately entangled in the problematic (mis)-representation of language where it "is spoken rather than speaking" (Lacan, 1977: 69).

In the mirror stage, the immediate biological and satisfiable needs that governed the real became linguistically translated into demands which are directed towards the Other and may not be satisfied with mere objects[87] anymore. Demand seeks to elicit the proof of love by the Other to validate the infant's identity (Lacan, 1977: 309, 311). Yet the demand for recognition always becomes distorted: "[I]t is precisely because desire is articulated that it is not articulable" (Ibid.: 302). Direct articulation is impossible since it would concede to the subject's lack and weakness when instead it must be approved of as whole. Since both lack and the experience of wholeness are grounded in 'méconnaissance', they are essentially illusory and the subject's desire for recognition generates superficial material demands for virtually everything, which always turns out to be nothing (Grosz, 1990: 61-63). Crucially the one thing imagined filling that lack, the restorative desire of the Other, is just as empty as the

[86] Moreover, this potential for narcissistic self-deprecation already hints at the eternal impossibility of satisfaction fuelling (nostalgic) consumerism: The jubilant experience accompanying a purchase connected with the wish for a more complete self all too soon turns into utter disappointment and frustration.

[87] The screams of the infant make the Other (the mother) appear to satisfy its needs. Soon, this presence of the Other acquires an importance in itself, beyond the satisfaction of the infant's needs: It symbolises the Other's love (Evans, 2003: 37).

subject's own. Hence desire, as the dark underside of demand, ultimately remains insatiable (Lacan, 1977: 309-311).

8.2. Survey Results

The survey was cunducted among 107 participents through the DDF fan website
www.rocky-beach.com
The original responses to open ended questions are reproduced at the end of the survey.

1. Personal Data

Age

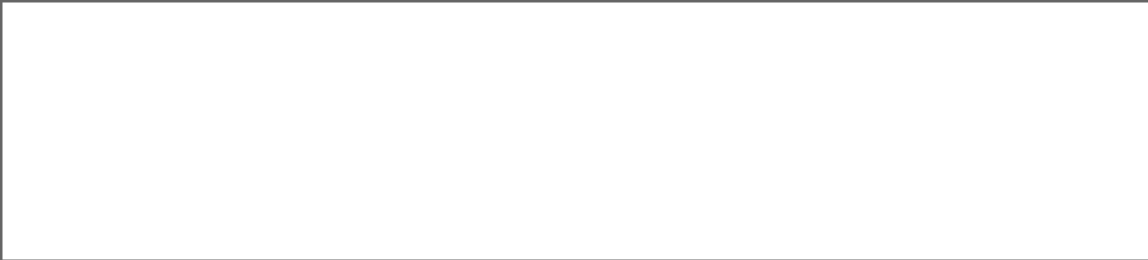
	6-9	10-13	14-17	18-21	22-25	26-29	30-33	34-37	38-41	42-45	46-49	50-53	54-57	58-61	62-65	over 65	Response Total
>	0% (0)	1% (1)	5% (5)	17% (18)	**26% (28)**	23% (25)	21% (22)	7% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**107**

Sex

	Male	Female	Response Total
>	**72% (77)**	28% (30)	**107**

Current occupation

	Pupil	Student	Apprentice	Employed	Unemployed	Retired	Response Total
>	14% (15)	**37% (39)**	6% (6)	**37% (39)**	7% (7)	0% (0)	**106**
Total Respondents							**107**
(skipped this question)							**0**



2. Consumption behaviour in regard to audio plays

Since when do you listen to DDF?

	Since my childhood without breaks	Since my childhood with break(s)	Since a few years	I only recently started listening to DDF	Resp. Total
>	30% (30)	**59% (60)**	8% (8)	3% (3)	**101**

If there have been breaks in your DDF consumption, how did you start listening again?

	Found old tapes at home	discovered MCs/LPs/CDs on fleemarket	Friends told me about DDF again	Discovered DDF in stores	The media raised my attention again	There have been no breaks	Resp. Total
>	14% (12)	4% (3)	**29% (24)**	18% (15)	8% (7)	27% (23)	**84**

How regularly do you listen to DDF?

	Several episodes a day	One episode a day	Several episodes a week	One episode a week	Several episodes a month	irregularly	Response Total
>	4% (4)	23% (23)	**42% (42)**	4% (4)	15% (15)	12% (12)	**100**

Original, old episodes versus newly produced episodes: I…

	only listen to old epis.	listen to all epis., but prefer the old ones	listen to all epis., and like them all equally	listen to all epis., there are differences of quality with all episodes	listen to all epis., but prefer the new ones	only listen to the newly produced epis.	Response Total
>	0% (0)	**48% (41)**	7% (6)	41% (35)	4% (3)	0% (0)	**85**

Do you listen to other audio plays/ books?

	Yes, audio books	Yes, other audio plays	Yes, to both audio books and other audio plays	No, DDF is the only thing form in this respect	Response Total

>	11% (9)	27% (23)	**41% (35)**	21% (18)	**85**
Are you generally interested in retro-products ?					
	Rather interested	**Rather not interested**	**Only if they have to do with DDF**	**Not at all**	**Response Total**
>	32% (27)	**60% (50)**	1% (1)	7% (6)	**84**
Total Respondents					**101**
(skipped this question)					**6**

3. On which occasion do you listen to the DDF audio plays? (multiple answers possible)			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
When going to sleep		**75%**	**75**
When performing household-tasks		51%	51
When driving		37%	37
When working		19%	19
When feeling (esp.) unwell		30%	30
When feeling (esp.) good		12%	12
When feeling lonely		24%	24
When being bored		58%	58
Together with friends/family		9%	9
When feeling under pressure		11%	11
Other		15%	15
Total Respondents			**100**
(skipped this question)			**7**

4. For me, listening toDDF provides... (multiple answers possible)			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
Entertainment		**90%**	**90**
A means against boredom		42%	42
Relaxation		88%	88
Pleasurable Memories		72%	72
Sentimentality		29%	29
Encouragement		38%	38
Other		3%	3
Total Respondents			**100**
(skipped this question)			**7**

5. When listening to DDF, I usually think of...			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
How my day was/ what I plan to do		14%	14
Past events I relate to the audio plays		35%	35
Not much, I concentrate on the story		**47%**	**47**
Nothing particular/ Don't know		40%	40
Other		2%	2
Total Respondents			**100**
(skipped this question)			**7**

6. How often do you think of your past?			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
10 (extremely often)		7.1%	7
9		6.1%	6
8		16.2%	16
7		17.2%	17
6		16.2%	16
5		**21.2%**	**21**
4		9.1%	9
3		5.1%	5
2		0%	0
1 (never)		2%	2
Total Respondents			**99**
(skipped this question)			**8**

7. How do you assess your life-situation?			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
10 (very stable, I have everything planned & under control)		2%	2
9		8.1%	8
8		25.3%	25
7		**26.3%**	**26**
6		13.1%	13
5		7.1%	7

4		4%	4
3		10.1%	10
2		3%	3
1 (feeling extemely insecure)		1%	1
Total Respondents			**99**
(skipped this question)			**8**

8. Apart from the DDF audio plays, I am interested in… (multiple answers possible)			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
Fan-meetings		12.2%	12
Related websites		**66.3%**	**65**
My own production of stories/audio plays		10.2%	10
Discussion with other fans (on-line & off-line)		32.7%	32
Related events/tours (Master Of Chess etc.)		54.1%	53
Many other things from long ago		25.5%	25
nothing		14.3%	14
Total Respondents			**98**
(skipped this question)			**9**

9. How important are the DDF audio plays to you?			
		Response Percent	**Response Total**
10 (vitally important)		7.1%	7
9		11.2%	11
8		**18.4%**	**18**
7		16.3%	16
6		16.3%	16
5		**18.4%**	**18**
4		7.1%	7
3		4.1%	4
2		1%	1
1 (not important at all)		0%	0
Total Respondents			**98**
(skipped this question)			**9**

On which occasion do you listen to the DDF audio plays?	
1.	Im Krankheitsfall, wenn man eh nix anderes machen kann!!!!
2.	Beim Baden
3.	Immer so zwischendurch.
4.	Wenn ich am PC arbeite
5.	schlecht im sinne von krank/bettlägrig
6.	Auf dem Weg zur Uni im Zug
7.	als Nebenunterhaltung bei Pc-Spielen
8.	Zum Ablenken, wenn ich an etwas Bestimmtes nicht denken will. Wenn ich mit Zitategeben dran bin.
9.	zum entspannen
10.	Sie laufen nebenher, wenn ich am Rechner sitze und programmiere. Aus Langeweile eher selten, kommt aber vor.

11.	bei Krankheit
12.	ps2 spielen
13.	Beim Zugfahren, im Hotel, in der Badewanne
14.	Beim Pc zoggen
15.	Nebenbei zu Brettspielen oder Computerspielen.

For me, listening toDDF provides... (multiple answers possible)	
1.	"Heile Welt", gut, um der Wirklichkeit etwas zu entfliehen.
2.	extrem beruhigend bei Schlafstörungen aufgrund von Stress
3.	... letztlich nichts anderes als die Lieblingsmusikalben eines Lieblingskünstlers: lauter vertraute Klänge, die zig Emotionen in sich aufgesogen haben, welche bei jedem Hören raustropfen. ;o)

When listening to DDF, I usually think of...	
1.	Kommt ganz auf die Folge und Situation an: Ist die Folge schon sehr lange nicht gehört worden und dazu noch gut, höre ich natürlich genau hin. Wenn die Folge aber schon sehr bekannt ist und weniger spannend und ich dazu noch viel Stess habe, kann es vorkommen, dass ich daran denke, wie mein Tag so war oder was ich noch so vorhabe.
2.	Das ist unterschiedlich. Mal hört man komplett analytisch und achtet auf Aufbau/Fehler/etc. der Story, mal läßt man sich vom Singsang der Stimmen/Geräusche/Musik einlullen, was fast schon meditative Wirkung hat.

I listen to the DDF audio plays, because…	
1.	Charaktere und Stories schon viele Jahrzehnte überzeugen.
2.	soooooooo schön und (immer noch) spannend
3.	sie teilweise sehr toll sind, manchmal eine nette Abwechslung und teilweise immer wieder spannend zu höhren sind.

4.	spannung
5.	es spass macht
6.	es keine besseren Hörspiele gibt!!!!
7.	ich mich dann gut fühle!
8.	es angenehm ist
9.	es gute Hörspiele sind
10.	die alten Geschichten einfach grandios sind!
11.	sie mich an meine Kindheit erinnern
12.	einfach gut
13.	mir die Geschichten und Charakteren gefallen
14.	Die Profis Sind
15.	...sie für mich Kult sind, und das seit bereits über 20 Jahren
16.	sie einfach zeitlos und cool sind!
17.	Die sind toll
18.	...ich diese Serie liebe !!!
19.	ich sie kultig finde
20.	ich dabei gut einschlafen kann
21.	sie einfach mein ganzes Leben begleitet haben!
22.	sie spannend sind und es immer neue fälle gibt, die mich brennend interessieren!
23.	Peter Shaw cool ist
24.	es spass macht.
25.	ich die atmosphäre liebe
26.	sie so schön entspannen
27.	es mir Spaß macht
28.	die Geschichten eine tolle Atmosphäre haben
29.	es das coolste Hörspiel ist was es je gab
30.	sie gut finde
31.	ich sie liebe
32.	die einfach klasse sind
33.	sie für den bisher schönsten teil meines lebens stehen
34.	sie mich mein halben leben schon begleiten und ich dabei wunderbar entspannen kann
35.	sie eine gewisse Konstante in meinem Leben darstellen.

36.	es immer die gleichen Sprecher sind!!!
37.	ich die Geschichten toll finde
38.	es Spaß macht.
39.	es die beste Hörspielserie ist die ich kenne.
40.	weil ich als Kind auch gerne Detektiv gespielt habe
41.	sie immer noch die besten sind
42.	sie einfach genial sind
43.	es keine entspannendere Art des Einschlafens gibt (außer Sex natürlich), und die Sprecher mit viel Spass bei der Sache sind (und das seit 25 Jahren)...
44.	imich viel mit den altem tapes von damals verbindet.
45.	es eine qualitativ hochwertige, unterhaltsame, spannende Hörspielserie ist, die schon immer gut war.
46.	es Spaß macht
47.	sie einfach zeitlos genial sind
48.	sie einfach klasse sind!
49.	es einfach gute Unterhaltung und netter Zeitvertreib ist
50.	ich mich wieder wie mit 12 Jahren fühle.
51.	sie einen super entspannen können
52.	sie spannend sind
53.	ich mit ihnen nichts Negatives verbinde.
54.	diese Hörspiele viele gute Synchronsprecher vereinen
55.	sie mir gefallen und Qualitativ hochstehend geblieben sind
56.	ich mit ihnen am besten einschlafen kann
57.	sie spannend und gut gemacht sind.
58.	sie Kult sind
59.	sie mir sehr gut gefallen
60.	ich bin wie Justus
61.	sie mir sehr gut gefallen
62.	sie es einfach drauf haben
63.	es kult ist
64.	ist geil
65.	an seichten Hörspielen zur Zeit leider immer noch nichts besseres auf dem Markt vorhanden ist

66.	es etwas vertrates und konstantes ist, dass irgendwie Sicherheit vermittelt. Dies wohl vorallem aufgrund der unveränderten Hauptsprecher.
67.	es ein "Einschlafritual" geworden ist.(Sehr zur Freude meiner Mitmenschen, die mit mir das Bett teilen müssen)
68.	sie die besten sind
69.	Atmosphäre in den Hörspielen
70.	die alten Folgen gut gemacht sind und die neuen so trashig, dass man wenigstens was zu lachen hat
71.	ich sie mag
72.	das die einzig vernüftige Serie ist, die nicht nur für Kinder bestimmt ist
73.	sie einfach wunderbar sind.
74.	es das beste Hörspiel aller Zeiten ist!!!
75.	drei Jungs von 3 interessanten Sprechern gesprochen interessante Fälle lösen, die im Gegensatz zu TKKG, Pizzabande, Funkfüchse etc anspruchsvoller sind
76.	sie mich seit meiner Kindheit begleiten und ich die Geschichten immer noch spannend finde.
77.	sie eine schöne Kindheitserinnerung sind
78.	sie witzig sind
79.	es seit Jahren gut ist
80.	diese Serie für mich imer etwas besonders war
81.	sie "lustig" und spannend sind
82.	sie so vertraut und solide sind
83.	sie amüsant & zuweilen auch
84.	sie mich immer wieder zum Lachen bringen und die Geschichten mit ein paar Ausnahmen sehr unterhaltsam sind.
85.	spaß machen
86.	sie eine der besten Hörspiele seit über 25 Jahren sind.
87.	sie trotz Kinder-Zielgruppe auch für Ältere noch ansprechend sind.
88.	ich finde, dass es noch immer eine gute Hörspielserie ist und weil sie sich nicht allzu ernst nimmt und daher die nötige Portion Ironie nicht fehlt.
89.	... sie das gewisse Etwas haben.
90.	sie eine nette Ablenkung sind.

8.3. Sociography of Internetusers

Data in %

	1999[1)]	2000[1)]	2001[1)]	2002[1)]	2003[1)]	2003[2)]	2004[1)]	2004[2)]
Sex								
male	65	61	59	57	56	57	55	55
female	35	39	41	43	44	43	45	45
Age in years								
14 to 19	13	13	13	14	14	14	13	13
20 to 29	26	25	22	23	18	17	18	18
30 to 39	26	27	24	28	25	25	25	25
40 to 49	18	18	21	18	22	23	22	22
50 to 59	14	12	13	12	14	14	14	14
60 and older	3	4	6	5	7	7	8	7
Occupation								
in Apprenticeship	22	21	21	20	22	22	18	19
employed	69	70	65	67	63	64	65	65
Retired/ unemployed	9	9	14	13	16	15	17	16
Internetuser from 14 years of age in Mio.	11,1	18,3	24,8	28,3	34,4	33,1	35,7	33,9
in %	17,7	28,6	38,8	44,1	53,5	51,5	55,3	52,6

1) Occasional Use of the Internet
2) Use of the Internet in the past four weeks
Basis: Internetusers from 14 years of age in Germany (n=ca. 1000)
Sources: ARD/ZDF-Online-Studien 1999-2004.

http://www.ard.de/intern/basisdaten/onlinenutzung/soziodemografie_20der_20onlinenutzer/-/id=55174/oc4awv/index.html

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