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Location marketing and cultural tourism
Crime narratives as destination branding

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1 Executive Summary

This report presents research into **location placement** in popular cultural crime narratives across the European continent. Considering the British, Nordic and South-Eastern European context, the report evaluates strategies in the cultural, creative and tourism industries regarding the choice of European locations and settings for local or transnational crime stories in literature, film and television.

One the one hand, the report shows an **increasing international awareness** from producers, funding schemes, distributors and broadcasters of both local and translocal place branding in and through crime stories. On the other hand, it becomes obvious that stakeholders across the European continent have not yet reached the full potential of popular cultural place branding.

The overarching methodology for the report is *location studies*, which provides a model for scrutinizing both the locative, representational features of crime narratives as well as their production context. For literature, film and TV series, this means close inspections of the geographical places they depict, the sites of production and writing, which can both become touristic destinations, and are subject to policies of place.

Today, the settings of crime fiction are more than a backdrop or a symbolic place in which a narrative takes place. Now, **locations have become 'big business'**, as it has become increasingly important to **brand places** in a fierce market economy. Crime narratives offer distinct opportunities to use, construct and reimagine places in a way that attracts funding for film and TV productions as well as tourists and visitors interested in places they have read about or seen on screen.

The report highlights the continued importance and **leadership of the British TV industries** and the crime narratives originating from the Nordic region. Regarding the branding of places, the UK examples stress that production companies, broadcasters and subsidy schemes strategically develop crime narratives through embedding a deliberate sense of place, ready for other players to advance into cultural tourism. The UK analyses are indicative of the British peak market position in popular culture in general as well as in the production of popular crime narratives.

Besides the UK dominance, the report underlines the important **role played by the Nordic region** during the past decades of transnational spread of crime narratives. Location placement in the Nordic region's production of crime narratives has not only been increasingly strategic; the region has also grown able to capitalize on an international interest in the places on screen and collaboration with players off-screen. This awareness is part of the continued transnational co-production within the Nordic region. This has given rise to further external co-productions with players outside the Nordic region.

In parts of the South-Eastern European context, the report finds less strategic efforts towards location branding through crime narratives. Besides the exploitation of North-Italian crime production close to Slovenia, the Eastern European location branding is, partly, dominated by global players producing in places that are relatively unfledged in a strategic international branding of urban and rural places through popular culture. Nevertheless, productions and narratives in the region show a fascinating location awareness and an **increasing international attention towards Eastern European places** and production services. This is similar to the UK and the Nordic region, indicating that the South-Eastern region may be next in line in the international attention towards places on screen.

Although the capitals of Europe still play a very important locative role in crime narratives and in popular culture in general, the report finds an **increasing production interest in cities and places** *away* **from the central cities of Europe**. Crime narratives have, to an increasing degree, been able to profile rural areas, peripheral locations and smaller towns for a potentially international audience. From Aberystwyth in Wales, to Ystad in Sweden, to Trieste in Italy, to Brașov in Romania, there is less attention towards cosmopolitan Europe and more interest in rural-urban integration of a European popular cultural spatial mentality.

On the one hand, less cosmopolitan crime stories place the stories at geopolitically sensitive transcultural places with suspense as the narrative result. On the other hand, these productions show a more **translocal place identity across the continent**. This means that crime narratives draw attention towards local places across Europe, but share a great number of similarities in the way the productions do this. For instance, the conversion of the rural Norwegian areas in the TV series *Eyewitness* (2014) into similar Transylvanian locations in *Silent Valley* (2016) indicate stylistic transculturalism in European crime serial production. In other words, the locations change, but the stylistic and narrative 'language' used to address locations and themes becomes a transcultural communication tool.

Finally, this report formulates a policy perspective to be considered in the future: While subsidy programmes have incentivized transnational collaboration by motivating film and TV producers to navigate *across* national boundaries, further integration of European transcultural identities can come from incentivizing stories that deal with transcultural and transnational regions on the continent. This calls for **increased policy incentives to produce narratives that take place in less used locations**. The positive results from this will be a) a new European narrative quality around places less often recounted in popular culture and b) a potentially increased trans-European awareness of a rural and less cosmopolitan European transcultural identity. To be 'united in diversity' also means to be united in a rural and urban spatiality of Europe. Showing attention towards less profiled places means that such places may be transculturally integrated rather than treated as peripheral to centralized continentalism.

Although the breadth of the report's research indicates a range of trans-European tendencies, the researchers and institutions behind this report (represented through the partners working on the DETECt work package 4) produce a blind spot around Western European countries. Firstly, the presumption based on general knowledge produced by the research project is that the tendencies uncovered in this report will also apply to countries such as Germany, Belgium and Spain. Secondly, this stresses that there is **a future need for further location studies across Europe**. Thirdly, the blind spots of the report's results point towards further work within production research for upcoming deliverables as well as DETECt research in general.

Kim Toft Hansen

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2 Locating Europe: Recommendations and overview

Kim Toft Hansen & Cathrin Bengesser

Locating Europe through popular culture is not difficult. On international screens, Europe appears to be literally all over the place. European services attract international productions to 'media meccas' like Leavesden Studios in London, to overwhelming natural locations in Iceland, to 'medieval' nature in Northern Ireland or to strategically coordinated production services across the Czech Republic. Iceland appears in James Bond films, Berlin in American series like *Homeland*, Czech locations represent Poland in Danish drama, while international players on the market – like HBO and Netflix – increasingly film their productions on-location across the European continent.

Today, locations have become 'big business' in film and television production. As a result, places are traded like never before, commercialized through screened popular culture and rebranded afterwards as tourist attractions. As much screened popular culture is adapted from printed media, literary place branding also plays an important part in reimagining European places. The relationship between popular culture and places is a powerful tool in catching the attention of media users, visitors and producers.

Through nine analytical and two methodological chapters, this report presents research into location placement in a range of exemplary European crime narratives in three sections with different geographical scopes. A focus on the UK is due to its dominance in the genre, but the report pays profiled attention towards the Nordic region and also considers the fast-rising South-Eastern European locations and settings in popular crime narratives. On the one hand, focusing on these locations provides an opportunity to see patterns in physical location placement on a continental level. On the other hand, it is also possible to decipher contours of ideologies of European places in popular culture. In other words, locations are clearly still a practical matter in producing popular culture, but at the same time, locations motivate a shift in the cognitive geography of Europe: i.e. showing attention to lesser known places across the continent generates a more widespread consciousness around a European space.

Report overview

The nine analytical chapters of the report are divided into three sub-sections representing the geography of the locations analyzed in the chapters. The first section deals with Nordic Noir and the spin-off potential and implications in the Nordic region. The second section focuses on the rise of the South-Eastern locations in film, television and literature. The third section considers the trend of peripheral locations with cases from the UK and Italy. The last section introduces the theoretical and methodological approaches of the report. Each chapter contains key take-away messages at the end. Wherever useful, cross-references between the chapters are made.

I. SELLING THE NORTH THROUGH CRIME FICTION

Chapter 3 "Locative media in screen tourism: The production of the DETECt Aarhus app" displays the development of the DETECt web mobile app, a locative app for smartphones
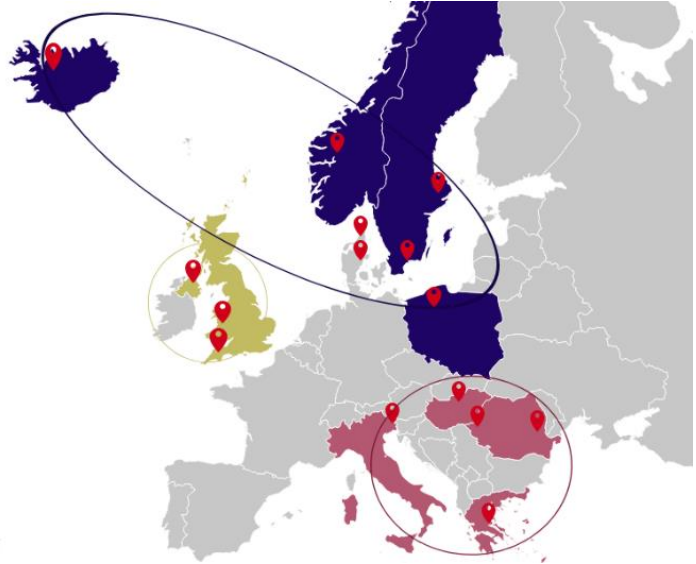
Figure 2.1: European locations analysed in the report

featuring locations from crime productions in Aarhus, Denmark. The chapter provides the theoretical framework and the productive implications for developing this media service. The conclusion is that such mobile locative service may establish further engagement by the audience in both the titles presented and the places visited.

Chapter 4 "*Wallander* and *Millennium* as Swedish crime tourism: two diverging location marketing strategies" presents research into two profiled and internationally successful Swedish crime narratives: the bestselling novels by the authors Henning Mankell and Stieg Larsson. The chapter highlights how bestsellers offer local independent players opportunity to capitalize on the international attention towards the settings of the novels. In addition, it concludes that the socio-critical voice of the novels disappears from the tourist activities based on the narratives.

Chapter 5 "Location placement in Nordic Noir" accentuates the ideological interconnectedness in the Nordic region as a basis from which the international interest in Nordic Noir has developed. Through insights into transnational productions within and beyond the Nordic region, the chapter stresses a common locative ideological framework around crime production as a driver for transnational co-production in the region from which it is possible to create further transnational collaboration. In conclusion, it becomes clear that the success of Nordic Noir rests on a long-time development as well as fiscal incentives to collaborate.

II: THE RISE OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPEAN CRIME FICTION

Chapter 6 "Locating Budapest in contemporary Hungarian crime narratives" shows how Budapest has become an attractive location and setting for both international and local production. On the one hand, the local relationship between Hungarian literature and adaptations is highlighted through the usage of the capital as a setting for historical Noir. On

the other hand, the international attention towards locations and stories from Eastern Europe is analyzed through HBO Europe's activities in Budapest. These two tendencies accentuate the simultaneous local and international appearance of Hungarian location placement.

Chapter 7 "Spatial representations of local colour: Potential cultural tourism through Greek crime narratives" points towards location placement potential in Athens, a city with a long history in heritage tourism. As stressed in the chapter, there is, however, no established strategic relationship between popular culture and place branding, even though both the locations and the crime genre productions in Greece hold the potential for developing further attention towards Greek locations.

Chapter 8 "Transylvanian location aesthetics and policies: Cases *Valea Mută* and *Hackerville*" addresses the production and location strategies behind two HBO Europe serials, indicating different tendencies. One tendency is HBO's Eastern European import of formats, which points to the profiled position of Nordic Noir. Another tendency is the presence of global players and their interest in Romanian locations not as location branding, but rather as aesthetic quality on screen. A final tendency is the increase of co-production, in this case a high-profile Romanian-German co-production. The chapter concludes that for the exchange between successful stories and location-branding perspectives, a gentle, fiscal push forward may be necessary.

III: CRIME FICTION IN BRITISH AND ITALIAN PERIPHERIES

Chapter 9 "Innovative uses of peripheral locations in Italian crime narratives: The case of *La Porta Rossa*" portrays the increased use of peripheral locations in Italy, away from the capital. In the report, the chapter holds a threshold position (as indicated in the map above), since the location analyzed here borders on Slovenia and, hence, the Eastern European region of Europe. The analysis finds that it was not easy to find the right location for the TV series, but the spin-off activities for viewers, visitors and tourists created since, have drawn a remarkable interest. The chapter concludes that such a location provides a unique visual identity as well as an unconventional geographical branding model.

Chapter 10 "Away from London: British locations and screen tourism from *Broadchurch* to *Hinterland*" summarizes the strategic and effective location branding model and tourist earnings on the British Isles beyond the UK's capital. It is stressed how screen productions generally increase the potential of attracting visitors to the screened locations, and that the crime genre plays a pivotal role in doing so. The chapter concludes that a strong sense of place generates the most visitors, and that authorities are likely to capitalize from the production and the spin-off activities, if they are well prepared.

Chapter 11 "Northern Ireland Screen crime production and strategies of territorialisation" seeks out the roots of the Northern Irish screen production success story. On the one side the chapter traces the growth of local production in and around Belfast's studios to the attraction of *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019). On the other hand it becomes clear that other genres have benefited from the local screen policies, and that the crime genre also thrives based on practical and fiscal support from the 'Northern Ireland Screen' film commission. The chapter concludes that embedded location branding can make a small European territory thrive on screen labour and strategic production services.

IV: METHODOLOGIES OF LOCATION STUDIES

Chapter 12 "Location studies and the spatiality of literary and screen production" presents the overall methodology and theories on which the report is based. The all-embracing method is 'location studies', which is an approach that guides attention towards geographical places, spatial policies, tourist activities and sites of production. As this method was primarily developed for analyzing screen productions, the chapter develops the methodical scope to include literary production. In conclusion, it presents location studies as a rich approach bridging research between production and textual readings of popular culture.

Chapter 13 "Screen tourism in Europe: Phenomena, approaches, trends" singles out approaches to screen tourism and frames the report in state-of-the-art research into touristic activities based on screen production. Screen tourism is a well-known phenomenon in the larger cities and the capitals, but it has been on a steady rise in the regions and rural areas too. The chapter concludes that new media may enhance the experience of fictional settings by associating the actual locations with locative media and virtual reality. In addition, the conclusion highlights that more research into the users of such activities is needed.

Key contexts and trends for locating Europe in contemporary popular culture

The peak position of television – The rise of series
Contemporary location placement, location branding and tourism activities based on popular crime narratives are dominated by TV series. Crime narratives appear in cinemas across Europe and entail a vibrant connection with literary crime fiction, but in line with a rising popularity of the serial form on TV, series are currently at a peak position in popular culture.

The European Audiovisual Observatory reports a transformation in broadcast from TV films to TV series with 3-13 episodes. The 3-13 episode series are generally associated with "high end" TV production because this form has been used by HBO in pioneering quality TV series like *Game of Thrones*

Figure 2.2: The rise of series in Europe.

The rise of series

About 1,000 fiction titles are produced for TV in the EU each year.
More 3-13 episode series are produced now. They are considered the "high end" of TV production and export well. Most EU titles on VoD services belong to this form.

Number and length of series titles (2017)
Sample of 92 channels and 7 SVoD services in 22 EU countries

962 titles produced
235 new 201 continuing 3-13 ep. Series

27-52 ep. — 3%
> 52 ep. — 10%
14-26 ep. — 5%
1-2 ep. — 37%
3-13 ep. — 45%

3-13 ep. series make up **76%** of EU titles on SVoD services

3-13 ep. series
1-2 ep. TV films

Number of productions fairly stable, but shift towards more 3-13 ep. series, which are sought after on the global market

Source: Fontaine & Jimenez 2019, EAO 'The production and circulation of TV fiction in the EU28 - Television and VOD'.

On Demand Sevices in Europe 2018

25% of European Broadband households had an SVoD subscription in 2017.
> 75% in Denmark
< 10 % in Hungary

69% of Western European homes are expected to have SVoD by 2023.

Source: Ene 2019, EAO "Pay AV services in Europe" p. 17.
McDonald 2018, Digital TV Europe

EU 28+
Albania, Armenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Georgia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Norway, Russia, Switzerland, Turkey, Morocco

1624 catch-up

1081 pay VoD

free VoD 212

NETFLIX expanded across the EU between 2012 and 2015

AMAZON PRIME Video expanded across the EU between 2012 and 2016

80% of SVoD subscriptions in the EU are for Netflix or Amazon

HBO is now active in 20 European countries.

pay and free VoD services can be expected to be in need of content for their catalogues

Source: Schneeberger 2019, EAO "Audiovisual Media Services in Europe" p. 8

Figure 2.3: The rise of European streaming.

and is also often chosen by European public service broadcasters for prestigious productions, such as the internationally popular crime series produced by DR or TV2 in Denmark. For that reason, it comes as no surprise that location branding of popular culture in Europe is dominated by serial screen productions.

The trend towards series is motivated by serial production for local and international streaming services as they expand across Europe. For transnational players, locations have become a marketing tool for 'standing out' on a market characterized by fast change and fierce competition. Historically, the global player HBO has been present in Europe since the 1990s as a cable TV provider, but during the past years, they have been pushing towards online distribution too, including setting up local offices around Europe and producing original content in Europe. For that reason, this report includes analyses of location placement in Eastern European HBO productions. The analyses of HBO's investment in Eastern Europe presented in chapters 6 and 8 show the transformative effects that new original series can have on national TV cultures. Moreover, gaining proximity to the popular and prestigious US and UK quality series on HBO, helps to spark the interest of viewers in other countries.

While streaming services can be considered trendsetters in location placement through series, it is still broadcasters who drive the production of high-end 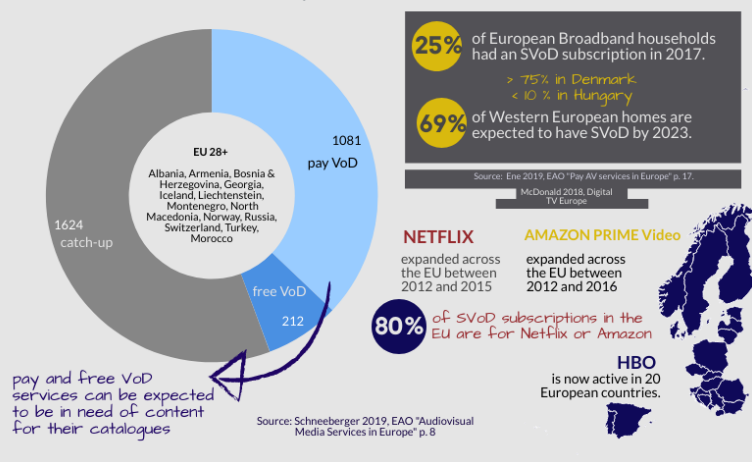TV series in Europe. Although the number of European originals produced for the big SVoD services in Europe has nearly tripled between 2015 and 2017, they produce only 4% of the total output of original 3-13 episodes series. Among the broadcasters, the public service channels are the drivers of the series trend. Their role in location placement is analyzed in several case studies in chapters 9-11.

Altogether, place branding clearly implies literary and cinematic contributions, but TV's leading position in depicting contemporary popular crime narratives explains why this report has given TV series the most attention.

Digital disruption of content distribution – The rise of streaming

Viewers are quickly moving from linear broadcast TV service providers to online streaming services, which have expanded across Europe since 2012. Although this digital disruption of the television and film market is happening at different speeds in the European nations, it needs to be taken into account when we consider the future perspectives emerging from this report. While the expansion of Netflix, Amazon Prime Video and HBO Europe with their mostly US-American catalogues can be seen as a threat to the diversity of the European audiovisual market, their arrival has also created a unique opportunity for the transnational distribution of European content. With over 1,300 video-on-demand services operating across the continent at the end of 2018, the demand for material to fill the SVoD catalogues is high, as is the necessity to stand out. SVoDs need local and regional branding, including the production of local shows set in different countries and regions. Series from European markets beyond the ubiquitous British series offer such opportunities to stand out. The continued popularity of the Nordic crime series proves this point, as does the more recent international popularity of series like *La Casa de Papel*, which was originally produced for a Spanish broadcaster. Hence, although their origins are often masked by the streaming services, the productions by the national broadcasters build the backbone of the local offers of streaming services.

The rise of distant locations

All over Europe, there is an increase in interest and curiosity towards locations and places outside the larger cities and capitals. This does not downplay the desire for shooting or setting stories in urban spaces, since the overall amount of literary and TV screen production has been on the rise during the past decade. The number of scripted original series in the USA has almost doubled in less than a decade. With the expansion of streaming services (figure 2.3) this 'stream war' has also come to Europe and increased competition. In this context, location has been a marketing tool. New or expanding providers strategically use locations to become noticed, such as Transylvania in the HBO Europe/TNT Serie co-production *Hackerville* (2018), while broadcasters use locations to signpost innovation as it has been done in the case of RAI's Trieste-based *La Porta Rossa* (2017-). For these reasons locations outside the main cities have become a new production value for the producers, broadcasters and distributors. Additionally, national media and cultural policies may require or reward moving outside the capitals, as done by the 'out-of-London' production quotas for British public service broadcasters or by regional production support (e.g. in the region Friuli-Venezia where *La Porta Rossa* was produced).

An interest in locations away from the capitals is also present in literary crime narratives. The rise of distant locations, for instance in Southern Sweden, includes local literary tourism and literary adaptations for both cinema and TV, which over time has fostered a new production hub in Sweden, including well-coordinated tourism activities analysed in chapter 4. At the same time, the attention towards peripheral locations in for instance Italy, the UK and Denmark highlights a concurrent tendency towards producing scripted content without printed original sources.

In this way, the awareness of both big city locations and settings outside the main urban areas have the potential to produce a transcultural image of Europe. With a rising international interest in non-Anglophone material (like Greek crime novels analysed in chapter 7) and subtitled drama, location placement in both recognizable and new locations presents an opportunity to showcase destinations and places to viewers across the continent. In essence, the local colour of the productions exhibits different cultures around Europe, but *the way* that such imagery is produced is increasingly similar. The result is not a homogenous, mono-cultural identity construction, but it is, rather, a production of a translocal imaginary about shared visions of place.

For instance, telling a Norwegian crime narrative about sensitive material (homosexuality) through rural location

placement may tell a similar, adapted Romanian story through different non-capital locations, as is the case with the Norwegian series *Eyewitness* adapted into the Romanian series *Silent Valley*. In the end, the local colour, the cultural representation and the locations vary in the two series, but the way the locations are *treated* shares a number of similarities, conceiving a shared stylistic vision through crime narratives. The popular contraction of globalization and localization into 'glocalization' is a good way to explain this phenomenon: Productions are, at the same time, increasingly spread around the world, transnational players produce (and co-produce) more and more local content, while paying attention towards locations and localities rarely featured on screen. In the end, this also affects the potential of screen tourism in regional areas in Europe.

The profiled position of the UK and the Nordic region
A solid set-up of location branding through collaboration during production and through activities after distribution takes time and resources. The UK has strategically sought out such opportunities for a long time, as is shown in chapters 10 and 11, while the players in the Nordic region have also been piloting similar activities for decades (see chapters 3-5). One common denominator between the UK and the Nordic region is the dominant position of public service broadcasters, which still continues despite the disruptions by digital distributors. Public service traditions may be a basis for building strong local room to manoeuvre in times of rapid change.

In addition, in both the UK and the Nordic region there have been strong genre traditions within crime narratives. The UK has had a language of advantage that has placed Britain in a position to disseminate this tradition, while the Nordic region has benefited from a history of international attention towards specific authors and, at a later stage, a new public service production model for TV series. The interrelations between these phenomena are at once coincidental (you can*not* strategically plan a Stieg Larsson phenomenon) and strategically and politically planned (you *can* profile public service and public subsidies).

Increasing potential of Eastern European locations
Especially through three decades of presence in the Eastern European territories, HBO has been able to lead the way with local productions, since domestic broadcasters have either not had or not used resources to develop serial narration of crime stories. Though these productions have been made for local audiences, the increased attention towards both fresh locations and digital online distribution have served the European continent with commercial TV series with high production values. This has been based on the philosophy that 'the local is global', i.e. presenting local values, conflicts and aesthetics has an international appeal.

The chapters about Eastern European locations in film, literature and TV show an awareness of the value of locations from the writers and producers. Locations and settings are consciously chosen in order to facilitate the narratives with representative and symbolic senses of place. However, the surrounding location branding activities in the region have been scarce and, if the interest is further local branding, there is a need for boosting the strategic development. The chapters about Romania, Hungary and Greece clearly bring to light the pronounced potential for further location placement and branding in the stories and places analyzed.

Audiences, screen tourists and cognitive geography
Placing a narrative in a specific location includes a direct representation of place, i.e. the physical geography of a setting. The effect may be realism or including something familiar in a suspense-filled story, but it may just as well spark curiosity because it feels new, different and exotic. However, in doing so such narratives also both reproduce existing ideologies about the locations and potentially produce new ones about the places, i.e. instituting or reframing the cognitive geography of the places.

Crime narratives tap into and contribute to debates about national and transnational unity as well as difference. From the Nordic examples, emerges a sense of Nordism across the region. The use of peripheral locations in Italy and the UK, establishes a debate about border areas and belonging. Borders separate and unite at once, and for that reason it is not only worthy material for narrative conflict; borders are also places of geopolitical debate, bridging ideologies and cross-national interaction.

Emphasizing locations in crime narratives through setting, mise-en-scène and critical debates about conflict, violence and crime produces awareness: At first, it is a mere spatial awareness of locations, but the result over time may be a spatial transcultural interface realized through shared narrative experiences in literature or on screen, and through shared experiences of places as literary or screen tourists. More than half of the viewers of European crime series surveyed within the DETECt project (D5.1) have already visited or are interested in visiting locations that feature in European crime series (Pagello & Schleich, eds. 2020). 8.3% of respondents can be considered screen-induced tourists, because they visited a place they had been impressed by on screen. A further 28.2% are potentially interested in visiting locations they have seen on crime shows. Such viewers may seek out more information about the location and culture they have seen on screen. Even though there are many factors that keep audiences from becoming screen-induced tourists, this shows a potential for translating transcultural viewing into transcultural encounter. The 18.2% who say they have been to places irrespective of the series that have been set there, may still have crossed a vital transcultural threshold. DETECt's qualitative audience (D5.1) and user research (chapter 3) suggest that there is also tourism-induced viewing, because a visit to a location can make users interested in watching series set in their previous holiday destination. While not directly inciting tourism, this phenomenon can contribute to broadening the range of countries and locations present on individual Europeans' screens and minds (Bengesser & Waade 2020). Representing physical geographies in popular culture may in the end enhance or even reshape awareness about the cognitive geography of Europe.

The premise is, then, that screen productions may reshape or emphasize the cognitive geography of specific locations. As this report is based on insights into the screen branding models behind screen tourism and place branding for other reasons (e.g. local employment), the above-mentioned shares of screen tourists in the DETECt data (for D5.1) only indicate an idea about the impact of screen tourism emerging from European crime drama. It is very difficult to pinpoint screen productions as the single decisive factor and hence highlight *the* screen tourist as a single entity. It is also challenging to identify one specific target group of European screen tourism, as there are many target groups depending on both the location and the screen production. This has been elementary in screen tourism research for long: As noted in chapter 13 in this report, most researchers agree that screen productions may influence destination choices, but Young & Young (2008: 208) highlight that such an approach may establish a "tendency to make a binary classification of visitors into film tourists or non-film tourist."

Destination branding
In other words, when attempting to understand why specific tourists visit a location, multiple factors – like climate, history, local nature, entertainment or media representations –

influence the choice. Only few large-scale productions like *Game of Thrones*, *Lord of the Rings* or *The Da Vinci Code* appear as a single decisive effect on the traveller, while other phenomena – like crime fiction induced tourism – most often create mere attention around a specific locale in such a way that the tourist may discover new places as attractions. In this way, using screen productions as a motivator appears as a part of an overall ambient destination branding model rather than direct marketing of specific product offers. Simon Anholt refers to this as destination *branding* rather than destination *marketing*: "the transition from destination marketing to destination brand is all the more logical because the state or region is generally responsible for the overall place *image*, leaving marketing of specific services to the end-user to private operators" (Antholt 2010: 3). This marketing method means branding 'somewhere' by creating a certain feeling or sensibility around it, which is more implicitly associated with specific screen productions. In this way, screen place branding contributes to an atmospheric awareness of the location or place that may become activated in different ways, e.g. by booking holidays at a specific location. The increase in place branding through screen productions must be seen as part of this general transition into establishing place images rather than marketing specific local offers.

As can be read in the chapters of this report, a phenomenon like Nordic Noir became a powerful branding tool for local towns and cities in the Nordic region, but it has also provided a stylistic vocabulary for non-Nordic areas like Eastern European territories to establish recognisability and awareness around locations used in local productions. On the one hand, this report highlights – through all its case studies – a quantitatively increased tendency to 'think and build in' screen tourism and place branding in the production of crime narratives. On the other hand, measuring the actual tourism activity results from this branding model needs to be evaluated qualitatively as a part of several factors and as atmospheric awareness of locations and places. This report concentrates on how locations in crime narratives have become a conspicuous factor in the creation and dissemination of spatial atmospheres, i.e. how ambience influences the cognitive geography around a specific place or region.

Conclusions and recommendations: A spatial shift in policy

The most important conclusion from this report is that locations are not only physically important for setting and filming crime narratives and popular culture in general. Locations are imbued with cultural values, ideological presumptions and geopolitical interests. There is, for that reason, great potential in *a spatial shift in policies of place* in popular culture. Such a shift entails are range of opportunities presented in this report.

Key takeaways

- **Shifting focus**: Spatial integration – locally, nationally, regionally and internationally - may benefit from a shifted attention in subsidy schemes towards a more varied geographical representation of Europe.
- **Moving beyond centres**: Peripheral or non-capital European locations in popular cultural production may be included as an evaluation criterion in funding for both production and distribution.
- **Integrating location and narrative**: To foster visibility of peripheral and non-capital locations, they are ideally not only the site of production, but an integral and identifiable part of the narrative. Incentivizing screenwriters or literary writers to become inspired by peripheral locations could contribute to this.
- **Reaching further**: considering spatial awareness in the evaluation criteria may also have a direct impact on global players on the European continent, because they re-distribute local/national productions.
- **Fostering familiarity**: Policy focus on distribution of European works with diverse spatiality/geography may elicit an increased continental transcultural familiarity, i.e. developing mutual awareness across the continent.
- **Moving beyond the AV sector**: A new way of fostering strategic cooperation across sectors by considering and subsidizing activities beyond popular narratives, including tourism activities, may prolong the longevity of subsidized cultural production.

PART I. SELLING THE NORTH THROUGH CRIME FICTION

3 Locative media in screen tourism: The production of the DETECt Aarhus app

Anne Marit Waade & Cathrin Bengesser

This chapter focuses on the ways in which screen tourism has become augmented by the use of locative media, i.e. the use of (mobile) media to facilitate experiences that are specific to the geo-location of the user. Our desk research and participatory observation of current trends in screen tourism highlights the potentials of locative media for screen tourism, because they help augment users' experiences of places. Reviewing literature on the use of apps in tourism, we develop a typology of contemporary screen tourism experiences illustrated by examples from the Nordic region. Following, we present a first-hand insight into the production of a location-based screen tourism experience: The DETECt Aarhus App, which has been realised by Aarhus University and VisitAarhus as part of the DETECt project. Further, the chapter also provides findings from the testing phase of the pilot version of the app, carried out in autumn 2019.

This contribution highlights how popular crime narratives can act as bridges between the media and the tourism industry as well as between the experience of fictional stories by viewers and their exploration of actual places as tourists. Our experiences during the production and testing of the DETECt Aarhus app nuance our understanding of the potentials and drawbacks of the use of locative media in contemporary screen tourism. While we see potential for screen tourism apps in cities that are not associated with big and internationally renowned media products, we highlight that offers around less popular productions need to offer content that is interesting and intelligible beyond the fictional world of the product. Our experience as a third-party producer of a screen tourism offer leads us to recommend the integrated production of audiovisual narratives and screen tourism experiences as collaborations between tourism bodies and media production companies.

Augmenting places through locative screen tourism

Screened and fictional narratives influence the more general reception and understanding of the actual places. There are thin layers of meaning mixing fictional, factual, historical, mythological stories and imageries *augmenting* the actual places. Sometimes these fictional narratives conflict, replace or challenge the actual history or the physical characteristic of a place. For example, in Northern Ireland where *Game of Thrones* is mixing the realm of the entertaining fantasy narrative with amazing heroes, the country's boarder conflicts as well as the delicate ongoing Brexit negotiations.

The places and landscapes are all marked by these different stories, *Game of Thrones*, Brexit, and the political history of Northern Ireland as a contested place (Joyce 2019). This mixed layer of fictional and conflicted political condition is also the case for Dubrovnik, another *Game of Thrones* film location, recognized across the world. The re-

> More details on the phenomenon of screen tourism can be found in **chapter 13**.

> **Locative media**
> **are** "broadly defined as media of communication that are functionally bound to a location."
> **guide** the user through space
> **add** specific/dynamic layer of meaning to places
> **enable** the customization of experiences
> (see: Wilken & Goggin, 2015)

cent war and historical conflicts recede into the background when we follow the celebrities on their 'walk of shame' (a famous scene in the series where Cercei is forced to walk naked through the streets of King's Landing) in the amazing medieval old city scenario.

The mixing of both fictitious and authentic foundations leads to new regional narratives and identities, opening opportunities for innovative new experience offers and themed niche products like Murder Walks or vampire experiences (Lexhagen, Larson, and Lundberg 2013). The novelty of these kinds of place making processes lies in that the popular cultural tourism experiences are often grounded in fictional narratives, which do not (necessarily) originate from local image resources and hence, no authenticity claims can be made. For instance, Bollywood dance cruises and Indian buffet restaurants have nothing to do with Swiss cultural history or culinary traditions; still they have become an integral part of the Central Switzerland "experiencescape" (Gyimóthy 2018).

The mixing of layers of meaning can also be achieved by the use of media as part of the tourism experience. Within the tourism industry it has become a strategic ambition to develop mobile screen tourism platforms based on social media and locative media that can take the screen tourism experiences to new heights both on-site and offline. Following the recent development of many city guide apps and popular platforms such as TripAdvisor, we have within the last decade seen different destinations trying out screen tourism apps linked to popular crime fiction, such as the *Dicte* Filmwalks app in Aarhus and "In the footstep of *Wallander*" in Ystad.

> **Chapter 4** analyzes *Wallander* tourism in Ystad and *Millennium* tourism in Stockholm.

A typology of mediated tourism experiences

In this section we present a typology of mediated tourism experiences based on models proposed in academic literature in the fields of tourism research, anthropology and media studies, which we have aggregated and adapted to suit the specific interests in screen tourism. Examples from the Nordic region illustrate the different categories and serve as case studies for discussing the potentials and drawbacks of the specific types of screen tourism experiences. The case studies are based on the analysis of secondary literature, our exploration of existing film tourism apps and insights gathered during the production process of the DETECt Aarhus App.

In order to understand the specific possibilities and uses of locative media for screen tourism, it is necessary to take a broader look at the mediation of tourism experiences in general. The first differentiation of tourist experiences is a temporal one. Gretzel and Jamal (2009) distinguish between the phases before, during and after the trip, arguing that mediation can occur in all of them (2009, 479). Today, as 8 in 10 Europeans go online on their smartphones (Eurostat 2018, chp. 1.1) and can use mobile data at no extra cost in other EU member states, the differentiation between the phases becomes increasingly blurred. On the smartphone, the specific needs associated with the phases are often catered for in one place, e.g. tourism apps like TripAdvisor.

Barbara Neuhofer et al. (2014, 346) distinguish the use of technology in tourism experiences according to two further dimensions: Firstly, the intensity of technology use. Secondly, they rank experiences according to the intensity of "co-creation" they afford between the tourist and the service provider, ranging from company-centric staged experiences, to company-consumer co-creation and co-creation with multiple stakeholders. Based on this matrix, they develop an "experience" pyramid with many low-tech staged experiences at the bottom and few technologically empowered, interactive and immersive experiences at the top (Neuhofer, Buhalis, and Ladkin 2014, 348).

This model provides a valuable heuristic for differentiating screen tourist experiences according to their varying degrees of technology use and co-creation. Guided walks like the *Millennium* tour through Stockholm use low technology and are staged by the tour-guide, who predetermines the course of the walk and the information provided. A banal, but fundamental shortcoming of the guided walks evident from van Es and Reijnders' (2018, 509) analysis of the *Millennium* tour in Stockholm is the dependency on the weather: The majority of the group abandoned the tour because of the rain. Offers like the *Millennium* Map or app-based, locative tours makes tourists independent of the fixed times and itineraries of guided tours – they can pause or digress at their leisure, which means they can integrate their own needs into the experience, which can be seen as a form of co-creation. Still, this does not mean that the level of technological interactivity is high.

What is problematic about Neuhofer et al.'s model is the implied hierarchy as they propose that "the technology-empowered experience [is] the most distinct and valuable experience" (Neuhofer, Buhalis, and Ladkin 2014, 348). Their argument is based on evidence on secondary literature from the early 2000s. Neuhofer et al.'s interviews with managers of the companies that implemented the technology-based experiences study, however, cannot allow for conclusions about the value of the experiences to the end-user. While sophisticated interactive gadgets offer brands (such as hotel chains) a means to distinguish themselves and to communicate value by associating themselves with ostensibly expensive technology, this does not automatically translate into a valuable and meaningful experience for the user.

Film tourism is a case in point: Stijn Reijnders reports that participants of the *Inspector Morse* walking tour – a fully staged, no-tech experience – feel fully immersed, quoting one tourist: "It involves you in the plot … Now you are there it's like you are part of the story" (2010, 46). Also, Gretzel and Jamal emphasize the continuing appeal of staged mass-tourism experiences like cruises. Similarly, Jacques Migozzi reports in chapter 4 that users of the *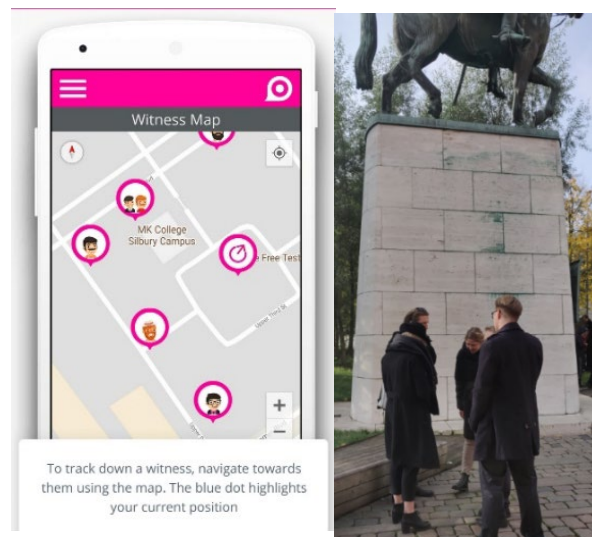Millennium* Map did not mind that they were only presented with a limited selection of places to explore. Hence, neither the intensity of media use nor the level of co-creation offered by the experience necessarily correlate with its meaningfulness for the individual.

A flipside of co-creation is the commitment that it requires, as well as an increased potential for disappointment. During our research process for the DETECt Aarhus app, we participated in the app-based 'Clued Upp' detective game, which took place in Aarhus mid-October 2019. The game required committing to a specific date and time and encouraged users to co-create the experience by solving a murder mystery in competition with other groups.

On the day, teams of players (some of them in costumes) walked through the city solving a murder mystery based loosely on the story of the London gangsters Ronald and Reginald Kray, who might be familiar from the film *Legend* (2015). During the scheduled time, players had to locate about a dozen of virtual informants that would relay information about the murder in videos and text-statements. While we enjoyed the hunt and the speculation about the murder, the eventual resolution of the crime story left us underwhelmed, because it could not live up to the complexity of the story that had emerged from our five-hour process of our co-creation. Though locally specific quizzes (e.g. about the statue depicted in image 3.1) tried to reinforce a connection between the murder mystery and Aarhus, the hiatus between the physical space we were in and the story of the Kray Twins set in London was another caveat of the Clued Upp game.

Instead of classifying tourism experiences according to their interactivity and level of co-creation, our model foregrounds the different forms of mediation and the way they depend on technology. Themed walks are personally mediated by the tour guide and are accessible without any technology. Experiences like VR travel depend fully on mediation through the internet. Locative tourism experiences are placed in between the two. They depend on mediation through mobile technology, which also uses the internet, but necessitate a specific geo-location of the tourist in order to function (see: Wilken and Goggins, 2015). Some apps/websites (e.g. GeoTourist or Filmloci) offer locative as well as virtual experiences. Instead of equating interactivity and "co-creation" with increased engagement, we would like to draw attention to the flipside of these qualities: the commitment required from the users.

Figure 3.1: Clued Upp detective game in Aarhus.

To track down a witness, navigate towards them using the map. The blue dot highlights your current position

Mediation \ Topic	General tourism	AV culture	Specific narratives/ narrative worlds
Personal (on-site)	Guided city tours (e.g. Aarhus Culture Walk, Aarhus Food Walk) local tourism offices	Aarhus film tour with Ulla Malmos Ingmar Bergman Film cruise Film museums	*Wallander* Walking Tour, Ystad *Millennium* Tour, Stockholm *The Bridge* tour, Copenhagen/Malmö *Millennium* Map
Mobile (locative)	City guide apps, (e.g. Know your Bro, Copenhagen by Motes) Geo Tourist (audio app) Trip-Advisor (app) ←	Iceland film locations Movieloci (app) DETECt Aarhus →	Clued-Upp (app-based role-playing detective game) Storytourist, *Little Mermaid* (audio guide) *Dicte* film walk in Aarhus (defunct) In the footsteps of Wallander app (defunct)
Virtual (off-site)	Tourism offices' websites (e.g. visitaarhus.dk) VR travel documentaries, (e.g. Visit Norway VR app) Geo Tourist (audio app) Trip-Advisor (website)	Travelblogs (e.g. filmtoursimus.de,) bergmaniskane.se movieloci.com	In the footsteps of Wallander (on Ystad Kommun website) Dicte's Aarhus (on VisitAarhus website) 360° Trolls (360° video)

high ↑ **Commitment** ↓ low

Figure 3.2: Typology of mediated (screen) tourism offers.

Of course, the use of film and television to encounter the narratives, characters and places are integral parts of the screen tourism experience. During our research for the DETECt Aarhus App, Filmby Aarhus shared insights from their consultancy report from 2016 focusing on the effect of promoting tourism around the TV series *Dicte* (TV 2, 2013-2016): In a focus group with Swedish tourists visiting Aarhus on a pre-planned *Dicte* weekend, the familiarity with the city, which the series had already created, played an important part in the experience. While some visitors were surprised that Aarhus was an actual place and not made up for TV, others felt they already knew the city because of *Dicte*, even though they had never visited before.

At the same time, the example of *Dicte* also points to a danger of relying on specific narratives to attract people to a city, and on building a screen tourism experience solely on one fictional universe. The series ended in 2016 and while it is still available on streaming services abroad (e.g. Walter Presents in the UK, Amazon Prime in Germany), it was not widely received beyond the Nordic region. Hence, replicating a locative tourism experience purely based on *Dicte* risks minimizing the group of international tourists potentially interested in using the DETECt Aarhus App.

The relationship and links between the fictional version of the destination and the actual experience of it on location are an important part of screen tourism experiences in general. For tourism based on crime narratives, however, it is of particular importance, because the locations of crime scenes and the detective's travels through their districts or regions of authority to solve the crime are central elements of the plot and genre (Hansen and Waade 2017, 12). Therefore, we have introduced the dimension of specificity of fictional place into our typology. While "space" refers to an abstract area or realm without meaning, a "place" carries meaning and/or personal attachment (Cresswell 2004; Ateljevic 2000; Lefebvre 1991). In the case of film tourism, the meaning that transforms a physical space into a specific place is provided by the fictional narratives and the way they are (re-)presented on screen.

Recreating a sense of place in line with popular crime fiction is a central goal of the guided tours based on novels,

films and series (van Es and Reijnders 2018, 511). This process is illustrated by van Es and Reijnders' observation that participants of the *Millennium* walking tour were disappointed when the tour guide took them to a different café than the Mellqvist Kaffebar, which features in the Swedish film adaptations of the series and was allegedly also frequented by author Stieg Larsson (2018, 515). High specificity of fictional place and the physical space, however, are not always easy to reconcile. In fact, the negotiation of authenticity and specificity of place characterizes screen tourism as cultural phenomenon (Månsson 2010). van Es and Reijnders' study of guided Sherlock Holmes literature walks in London reveals the importance of locations conveying the right sense of time and atmosphere (2018, 511). They draw attention to the discrepancy between the gloomy dark ambience of the nineteenth century London described in the text read out by the tour guide and the bright and busy modern day central London-street the participants are standing on (2018, 509).

The use of audio-visual media as part of a tour can help to bridge this discrepancy, because playing a video or audio clip can immediately evoke the mood of the crime story and thereby ease users' suspension of disbelief as they see the original and the transformed location side by side. This is where the use of locative media can offer added value to the tourists. In order to heighten the connection between the series and the city, the *Dicte* Film Walks app, for example, included clips from the series, which users could watch on location. Moreover, the use of audio-visual media on location can give audiences access to views they cannot have from the location they stand in, e.g. because the building in question no longer looks like the one described in the fiction (van Es and Reijnders 2018, 512).

The specificity of space relates to the way in which the tourist encounters the space of the destination. When exploring *Wallander*'s Ystad through Ystad Kommun's *Wallander* website, the user can be anywhere in the world and have the spaces of Ystad and the places they represent in the series mediated to them through the internet. The GeoTourist app features audio tours through popular filming locations (e.g. London or Chernobyl), though the tours are not dedicated to screen tourism. However, virtual tours

exclude embodied experiences in the physical space that is visited: Stijn Reijnders recounts that participants of the *Wallander* tour in Ystad are encouraged to sit in the detective's chair (2010, 45). Such an unmediated, locally-specific experience cannot be provided by a virtual tour or be replicated by merely looking at the detective's office in a picture online.

Who are the screen tourists?

Alfio Leotta (2016) argues that tourism apps cater to the needs of the so-called "post-tourists". Post-tourism is a concept first employed by Maxine Feifer in 1985, who uses the term to indicate the shift from tourism in the mass-consumption era to tourism that offers a greater range of choice. Neil Campbell (2005) highlights that the post-tourist is actively constructing their experience, combining elements of the real with imaginations of screen culture and virtual information. Similar notions echo in Richard Florida's (2004) concept of the "creative class" consisting of professional creatives, like artists, scientists or teachers.

As described by Gretzel and Jamal (2009, 474) the creative class make their travel choices based on perceptions of sites mediated by "cultural brokers" like travel writers or images in the media and seek creative stimulation from the destinations they visit. The globalization of industries in the creative sector as well as in academia has also increased the mobility required of the creative class, while ubiquitous mobile internet enables 'digital nomads' to work anywhere. And exactly because technology and displacement play such an important role in their lives, these aspects also play a role in the tourism experiences they seek out. Gretzel and Jamal highlight that more and more people are tourists in their own city, because they have moved or commute for studies or work (2009, 472). With a student population of over 40,000 and an increasingly international profile, Aarhus is a case in point.

Based on the above, we conclude that tourism experience that requires a strong familiarity with the fictional place mediated by film or TV series limits the target group to fans, while tours that rely less on familiarity with a specific film or series are open to more people.

The DETECt Aarhus App

The DETECt Aarhus app is a locative film tourism app aimed at tourists (overnight, day-trip or cruise), business visitors and students (international and/or new locals) and not just to fans of a particular crime narrative. This broad target group was chosen to reflect the diversity of visitors to Aar-

hus. In order to be open to the broad target group, it combines features from different ends of the spectrum in our film tourism typology, so that it does not only speak to people who are fans of or already familiar with the Aarhus-based media productions.
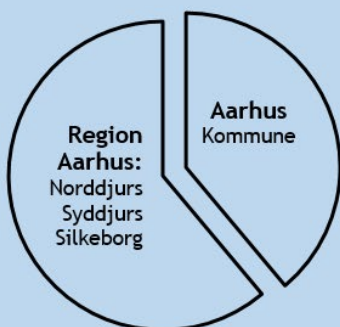
The app has been realized based on the platform "Motes", a solution for locative tourism experiences offered by a Copenhagen-based company of the same name. The DETECt app requires a medium level of commitment from the tourist, who has to be in the physical space of Aarhus but can assemble their tour at their own leisure. As a location-based app, DETECt Aarhus guides users through the city based on GPS data and public transport info. It reinforces the connection between physical space and fictional place through additional audiovisual information and allows for adaptation to personal needs since tourists are not dependent on a tour guide or a specific event.

The content can be "unlocked" when standing in a specific location. Each story ('mote') adds a specific layer of meaning to the physical space the tourist is located in. This meaning can originate from specific fictional crime narratives that turn the physical space of Aarhus into a specific place of crime and investigation (e.g. *Dicte*), but also more generally from audiovisual culture and heritage in the Nordic region (e.g. the silent film era) or Aarhus as a site of film and TV production (e.g. interviews with location scout Ulla Malmos).

Different types of audiovisual content – video, audio, text, images – are offered in order to cater to the preferences of different users as well as to the context of the locations in which they become accessible. Although mobile data is available throughout the city, we invested in a feature that enables tourists to download all the content onto their phones before venturing out. This is to ensure that the audio and video content can be enjoyed in the best quality on location. Though requiring technology use, the level of participation is low, to make it accessible without a lower level of commitment.

Tourism in and around Aarhus

3.6 million bednights (2018)
(Region + Kommune Aarhus)

Region Aarhus: Norddjurs Syddjurs Silkeborg

Aarhus Kommune

Visitors to Aarhus (2018)
(Kommune Aarhus)

714,000 Leisure nights

686,000 Business nights

90,000 Cruise passengers

3,000 international students
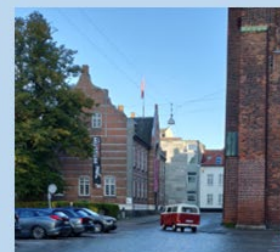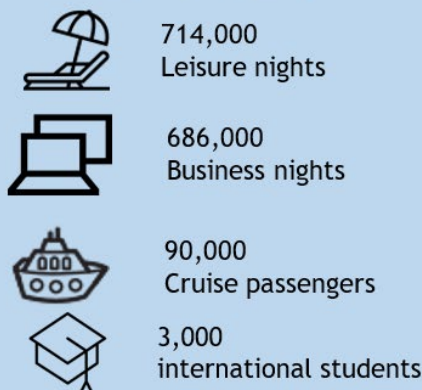
Sources: VisitAarhus & Aarhus University

When trying to obtain original audiovisual material from the films and series, we faced problems of copyright and licensing restrictions that limited the range and amount of original content we can show on DETECt Aarhus, because the clearing of rights involved several different stakeholders or producers were keen to avoid spoilers. In the example of the Virtual Reality screen tourism experience created by Esterno/Giorno based on the TV series *La Porta Rossa* (Rai2, 2017-) in Trieste, the planning and production of the screen tourism experiences was integrated into the TV series' production process. In the light of our difficulties in obtaining content post-factum, we can only recommend such an integrated approach.

Between September and November 2019 we tested the DETECt Aarhus pilot version. This testing involved:

a) observation and discussion with eight small groups of international students, who did the tour together as part of a course on Nordic media culture,
b) walk-through by 14 groups of Danish undergraduate students on the course "Media Reception Analysis",
c) 18 qualitative individual or group interviews with international and Danish users of the pilot version carried out by these Danish student.

Stories in the DETECt Aarhus pilot version
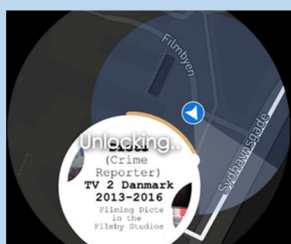
Rådhus: Welcome Video. Interview with location scout Ulla Malmos on top of 'Europahuset', talking about the rich variety of filming locations on offer in Aarhus.

Banegårdspladsen: Video interview with Ulla Malmos about filming *The Exception* (2020). The film about moral misconduct at an NGO was shot in Aarhus and Budapest, but the original novel is set in Copenhagen.

Bridge over Fiskergade: Trailer for *Lev Stærkt* (2014), a film which features a car racing scene through Fiskergade.

Åboulevarden: Clip from TV2 Østjylland showing "behind the scenes" from filming *Dicte*, season 3 in Aarhus.

Bassin 2 (Harbour): Silent film culture in Aarhus. Still images from the silent film "The White Slave Trade" (1910) and interview with Dr. Niels Nyegaard about the cultural phenomenon which inspired films, books and plays.

Women's Museum: Audio-interview with novelist Elsebeth Egholm, who wrote the *Dicte* novels and other crime novels with a focus on strong female characters

Kornpier: Video Interview with Ulla Malmos about filming a stunt in the Harbour.

Filmbyen: Clip from TV2Ø about filming *Dicte* in the Filmby Studios.

A new experiences new information

"Without the app we would have just [gone] past all the stations without really recognizing anything." (international student group, Sep 2019)

"I think it made me see the city in a different way, because I guess the mainstream tourist doesn't go through film spots, so yeah, you get to see a different side of the city that to be honest, I didn't know before." (Spanish exchange student, Nov 2019)

"I would say that you get information about things that you are not used to getting information about. For example when you stand at the church you didn't get the usual information about when the church was built, but you got information about a novelist who had used Aarhus for their writing." (Young Dane, who recently moved to Aarhus, Nov 2019)

International students testing the app in September 2019

Figure 3.3
'Den Hvide Slavehandel' (1910)
© Archive: Danish Film Institute.

Discovering Aarhus' Audiovisual Culture

"[…] it was interesting to see how the series [*Dicte*] have been shot in many places in Aarhus. E.g. by the river from where we saw a small clip. It made us want to watch the series." (international student group, Sep 2019)

"I mean, I'm not a film lover, and like crime stuff isn't my go-to, but I guess it's a different way to get myself involved in Danish culture […] I guess that Aarhus has more potential, in terms of culture, and in terms of film culture, than what I assumed before.." (Spanish exchange student, Nov 2019)

"[…] I definitely would like want to go home and see more about the author or, […] if I can find it the silent movie and things are just that just to be more […] I guess culture inappreciative towards Danish culture but also crime fiction in general." (US-American exchange student, Nov 2019)

The testing revealed that the app mainly appealed to international users, who appreciated being guided to new places and learning more about the city's history and culture. In fact, the foreign visitors expected the app to offer not just stories about film and TV, but also facts about Aarhus. For the Danish students and 'Arhusians', the app was of limited value, since they are already familiar with the city and therefore expected the app to offer them more in terms of entertainment. The films and TV shows did not have sufficient appeal for them. Still, Danish users not yet familiar with the city said they discovered new places and information, revealing that the app can appeal to *new* Danish residents of Aarhus, e.g. first-year students.

Observing how participants used the app and discussing with them revealed a varied picture of uses and preferences. While some users said they prefer to read information, either because they had no headphones on them or because they struggle to understand spoken English, the majority of users appeared to dislike or even ignore the written information in favour of the audio-files and videos. This shows that, especially the practical points about progression through the tour should be mediated in different ways in order to cater to the different needs and abilities of users. Particularly the Danish users stressed that they would have expected more interactive features and more material from the films and TV series mentioned, while also acknowledging that the media productions from Aarhus are not sufficiently popular or interesting to them.

This finding confirms that in contrast to cities like Ystad and Stockholm where tourists are drawn in by the narratives created by Mankell and Larsson, the Aarhus-based crime shows are not as widely renowned and are therefore no sufficient pull factor. While hardly any of the participants knew the books, films and series featured in the app, many expressed interest in seeing more of them after learning about these crime stories in the app. This response highlights that, although they are usually directed at fans of films, series or authors, screen tourism offers also have the potential to be interesting for non-fans, who do not even know that they could be screen tourists in the city. The aspect of discovering new films or series to watch and broadening the appreciation of the local audiovisual culture is the strength of DETECt Aarhus.

Conclusion: from tourist to *screen tourist*

Screen tourism is a popular activity among contemporary tourists belonging to the creative class, but also an activity for more 'conventional' tourists. Additionally newly arrived 'locals' can be enticed by the offer. The link between fictional places and physical spaces provided by screen tourism creates an augmented experience of the destination the tourist is visiting. Locative media can facilitate and catalyze this process through cues of audio-visual material that convey information or the atmosphere of a fictional world while the tourist is standing on a location where the story has been set or filmed.

Using locative media for film tourism experiences heightens the flexibility of users and thereby lowers the level of commitment needed for the experience. The meaningfulness of the experience does not depend on the level of technology use or interactivity. Instead, it depends on: the novelty and relevance of the information to the user and the strength of the connection the locative medium creates between the user's physical location and the fictional place of the film, TV series or novel.

While screen tourism usually targets users who are already engaged with a popular narrative, locative screen tourism experiences can also be used to introduce users to local audiovisual culture.

Key takeaways

- The target group of screen tourism apps can extend beyond fans of particular films, series or novels, since tours can also be used to discover local audiovisual culture
- Locative media can make screen tourism more convenient and engaging,
- The meaningfulness of screen-tourism experiences depends on the connection between the physical space and the fictional place. Locative media can help strengthen this connection, particularly if original audiovisual content from books, films and series can be included.
- An integrated approach to producing the films or series and locative screen tourism offers can help avoid issues of clearing copyright post factum and makes it easier to obtain interesting and useful content for screen tourism apps

4 *Wallander* and *Millennium* as Swedish crime tourism: Two diverging location marketing strategies

Jacques Migozzi

At its peak of popularity, thousands of Henning Mankell and Stieg Larsson readers could be seen in both Ystad, a small coastal town in South Sweden, and the capital Stockholm, walking in the footsteps of their heroes. These locations are the settings of two bestselling authors' works and part of undeniable literary phenomena. The ten volumes of Mankell's Wallander series have sold over 40 million copies and Larsson's Millennium trilogy over 75 million. Both have been adapted for television and the cinema and have caught the interest of a worldwide audience. Over the years, the two phenomena have been able to attract international readers and viewers to the book's settings and filming locations. As a result of the tourism potential of these transmedia stories, guided tours and thematic maps began to emerge; in Ystad in 1990 and in Stockholm from 2008 onwards. They became the driving force behind a new form of value creation linked partly to the paradox of how local stakeholders turn into tourist attractions the locations the locations of essentially critical Noir novels, which challenge the Swedish "myth" of welfare and equality, by telling stories about violence and societal breakdown.

The popularity of certain crime fiction titles, which make a widespread impression on the general public on the national and international level, may contribute to the promotion of a region. It may be used by various stakeholders more specifically to develop literary tourism. In this section, we illustrate this phenomenon and define a number of its characteristics by examining the similarities and differences of two emblematic cases. The two representative cases emerged almost synchronously in Sweden: On the one hand, the town of Ystad, which was used as the symbolic capital of Henning Mankell's Wallander series, in both text and screen, and as the basis of location marketing. On the other hand, in Stockholm various stakeholders in the city's tourism activities have taken advantage of the international impact of Stieg Larsson's Millennium trilogy, but

Empirical material

This chapter is based on a survey among participants of literary tours conducted from January to June 2010 in Stockholm, and in October of the same year in Ystad. The information collected has been supplemented by a written correspondence with the national communication agency VisitSweden, an interview of the Deputy Director of the Swedish Institute in Paris, and an exclusive interview with Henning Mankell during the 2011 Paris Book Fair.

During the survey in Stockholm, a participatory observation of the Millennium Tour was performed every Saturday morning from 14 Feb to 29 May 2010, completed with analysis of a questionnaire circulated among the visitors.

Furthermore, interviews were conducted with:
• 2 Millennium Tour guides (Asa Danielsson, and Alexander Cavalieratos)
• 3 Stockholm City Center agents
• 2 waiters of cafés visited during the Millennium Tour (Mellqvist Kaffebar and Kvarnen)
• A group of 5 visitors of the Stockholm City Museum
• Philippa Norman, co-creator of the Millennium Tour, programmer of cultural events, Stockholm City Museum
• Anna Sandklef, Communication Manager, City of Gnesta

During the survey in Ystad, interviews were conducted among others with:
• Managers and employees of 3 hotels: *Saltsjöbaden*, *Continental* and *Anno 1793 Sekelgården*.
• Employee of *Fridolfs Konditori*
• Manager of the bookshop at Stortorget
• Employee of *Cineteket,* Ystad Film & experience center
• Elinor Engman, employee of the Ystad Tourist Office

Anna Maris, former leader of Cineteket
"There is a great difference between literary tourists and film tourists. Film tourists call more attention to themselves. They enter the tourism agency and says: We're Wallander tourists, where is that? Film tourists expect to see the authentic. They wish to sit in Kurt Wallander's chair, and wish to touch all his things, and they want to have the latest information about the new films, and they wish to buy a t-shirt. Many haven't read the novels. They come in here and says hey, are there also books? Literary tourists are different. I think that they feel that it's a bit embarrassing that they like Wallander. These are often well-educated people coming to Ystad to see the nature and to cultural values, architecture, the monastery, the half-timbered houses and other things. Besides this is Wallander a strong contributing factor to their visit."

(from Waade 2011: 80,
quote translated by Kim Toft Hansen).

in a very different way and for some of them with a cautious association to the violent content.

This chapter focuses on these synchronous phenomena in the period of their probable peak between 2010-12, initiated by the international success of Larsson's trilogy from 2005 and boosted by the Swedish film trilogy (2009), the Swedish TV series (2010) and the American film by David Fincher (2011). For the case of Wallander the period marks the time when both the Nordic-German (2005-2013) and the BBC TV versions (2008-2016) were well established in and beyond their home markets. Nowadays, some of the promotional devices observed in our study have changed, e.g. the tourist guides have been digitized, but the main conclusions still remain valid: Literary and film tourism have a powerful and positive impact on cities' image and economy and the stakeholders employ various strategies to take advantage of the fictions' worldwide fame.

First, we examine how the settings of the two crime stories have been staged for tourists. Then we question whether the crime geographies of the Wallander series and Millennium trilogy — in others words the representations of space and place designed by the novels — have determined the on-site experience of the literary settings. Finally, we underline the importance of the stakeholders' strategies in the touristic transformation of the crime novel's settings.

The organisation of thematic tours in Ystad and Stockholm, namely the Wallander Walk and Millennium Tour, as well as the sale of dedicated tourist souvenirs (location maps, brochures, postcards, etc.) express a change in status for these mass consumer goods from bestseller to cultural phenomenon. They are part of the literary tourism trend, particularly that of crime novel tourism, in the same way as the trails along the paths of Donna Leon's Inspector Brunetti in Venice or Ian Rankin's Inspector John Rebus in Edinburgh. Yet the step from the individual experience of reading to the collective experience of the guided tour, the shift from the evasion that is characteristic of the "mimetic immersion" inherent in all fiction (Schaeffer, 1999) to physical geographical mobility raises a question: is it a matter of "realising" fiction or "fictionalising" the (real) town?

> **Anna Maris, former leader of Cineteket**
> "Of course, we know the differences between Wallander's Ystad and the real Ystad. We know that the foreign visitors to a larger degree in their heads have the image from the books, rather than the one in the tourist brochures, because they are actually different. […] Well, this is the fact that the real Ystad is more clean, cute, ordered and calm than Wallander's Ystad where all the horrible murders take place all the time."
>
> (from Waade 2013: 185, quote translated by Kim Toft Hansen).

Ystad: creating crime for fiction

The creation of touristic value in Ystad is based on a total transformation, i.e. to such an extent that the small harbour town has been replaced by a "Wallanderland" (Sjöholm, 2009; Waade 2013). This is indicated by the brochure *In the footsteps of Wallander* distributed by the Tourist Office which presents the town as "*Wallander's Ystad*" (Ystad Tourism Office, undated). The most significant element of Ystad's touristic transformation is the "*Wallander package*" (see Knudsen and Waade, 2010). This includes a night and meal in one of the three Wallander hotels, the Wallander guided tour and a tour of *Cineteket*. Back then, the local cinema museum was exhibiting the history of Swedish film production with heavy accentuation of the Wallander productions; today the center redubbed as Ystad Studios Visitor's Center. This 'package' also involves a trip to *Fridolfs Konditori*, Detective Wallander's regular café. Although this staging of the tourist package occurs solely within Ystad itself, the absence of explicit sights of Ystad highlights the omnipresence of a culture that does not feel the need to inscribe itself on the walls of the town: it is the spirit of the place.

If we compare Henning Mankell's literary geography (i.e. the places referred to and named in the stories) to the tourism geography (i.e. the places utilized by players in the tourism industry), the space covered by Wallander tourism appears to be vast and nonselective. We may convince ourselves, with maps in hand if necessary, that the Ystad staged for the tourists does not conceal the crime scenes (Saumon, Guyot and Migozzi, 2015). Yet, there is an ambivalence between crime and recreation, which ultimately conditions the attractiveness of a location. Placing the *Wallander* stories in Ystad creates indeed a contradiction between the crimes and the charming town. In both the brochure distributed by the Tourist Office and the responses given in interviews by local stakeholders there is a clear distinction between what is presented as real in the novels and what is fictional: Mankell produces a faithful representation of Ystad's pleasant setting while creating a level of violence and criminality that does not represent reality.

Playing with this ambivalence, the tourism strategy of Ystad appears thus to be founded on the affirmation of a territorial in-between, supported by notions of both augmented and mixed reality. In the fiction as well as on the tourist trail and in the dedicated smartphone app, the location is "augmented" through various practices of media exposure and levels of representation. The result is a thorough conceptual approach to Ystad that has led to the development of a *mixed reality*, including value creation in tourism that tends to build the fictional town on the foundations of the real one. It implies developing the playful and polysensory nature of the approach to the place by visiting Wallander hotels and restaurants (Sjöholm 2009): Intimate encounters with the locations becomes an experiential performance for the tourist who is a fully-fledged actor in urban investigation.

The strategic construction of a "real" tourism system is the starting point for a redefinition of identity: Ystad has become a film production hub for the whole of southern Sweden, with the making of the Wallander films and series serving as a catalyst for especially the many crime series productions by the Ystad production company Yellow Bird as well as a range of tourism activities. Such systematic value creation in return has reinforced the ambivalence between fiction and reality: as eagerly highlighted by tourist office advisor Elinor Engman, who recalls that when a police car emerged suddenly with sirens blaring, pedestrians automatically turned to look for the cameras. This anecdote is retold in the above-mentioned tourist brochure (Ystad Tourism Office, undated).

Ystad's touristic scenery is, therefore, founded on the fictionality of crime: the active process of make-believe is called upon to confirm the fictitious nature of crime, thus protecting the city's branding model from it. The first forty seconds of the promotional video produced by the Ystad Town Council in 2009 highlight the interplay between fiction and reality as it presents Ystad as a town of crime fiction in a quirky and humorous way.

Stockholm or crime avoidance

The touristic value creation around the Millennium trilogy in Stockholm includes a guided tour, called the Millennium Tour, and the thematic map called, the Millennium Map. This tour is based on a selection of locations in Stockholm and its outskirts where the plot unfolds. The tourist trail only takes the visitors through locations associated with the "heroes" Lisbeth Salander and Mikael Blomkvist, inducing merely positive connotations.

Comparing the locations covered by the tour with those included in the story reveals an avoidance of crime scenes: the Millennium Tour omits the outskirts of Stockholm and, within the city centre, is confined to Södermalm, the

southern district of Stockholm, and prioritizes the venues of daily and private life. During a participatory observation of the Millenium Tour, it became apparent how the guide - well aware of the way the tour was structured - distinguished the spatial dichotomy between the "*good part*" and the "*bad part*" with the latter only being pointed to from afar (Saumon, Guyot and Migozzi 2015). According to the creator of the Millennium Tour, Philippa Norman, the choice of locations responds to diegetic criteria and is based on an explicit territorial strategy: the former apartment of the heroine Lisbeth Salander in Lundagatan is situated near the tour, but the more working-class area within Södermalm is literally only "pointed at" by the guide during the visit as a symbolic gesture of territorial representations.

Conversely, the Millennium Map is more exhaustive than the tour: It presents the stories' settings of evil and (in)justice, located essentially on the Northern islands of Stockholm. The model reader of the map is a versed Millennium reader moving more freely around the town in search of these sites. According to the tour creators from Stockholm's City Museum, the aim is to offer a different way of seeing the town via the Millennium Tour. Nevertheless, territorial conformism remains clear since only a finger is pointed at violence that visitors are sheltered from. Does the Millennium Tour therefore really contribute to creating new representations of the territory? A survey conducted from 14 February to 29 May 2010, where participants received a questionnaire to complete at the end of each English-speaking Millennium Tour, shows that for most participating readers and viewers, the locations described by Stieg Larsson depicted the "real Stockholm". Furthermore, they experienced the venues of the Millennium Tour to be exactly as they had imagined when reading or watching the trilogy, and the sites chosen for the tour corresponded with their expectations. As a violent and critical novel, Millennium paradoxically stoked the desire to discover Stockholm's everyday intimacy, and its touristic staging fulfilled this expectation perfectly.

In the case of Wallander tourism in Ystad, the crime novel becomes a tool for regional value creation through rendering crime as belonging to the realm of fiction. However, it is through *avoidance* that the paradox is resolved in the Stockholm case. Clearly, this case illustrates the need for better understanding the stakes involved in the staging of the crime fiction locations, by scrutinizing the process of local players who use these multimedia stories as a communication tool and economic lever. On this crucial point, a set of recent academic studies give illuminating perspectives (Waade 2013; Hansen and Waade 2017).

As a faithful echo of the success of Nordic crime fiction, a similar national dynamic governs the value creation of literary tourism in Sweden. This was the ambition of the creation of *Visit Sweden*, a communication agency established in 1995 as a national initiative together with the tourism industry. Yet, the crime tourism activities are carried out locally, which includes an authentic localisation of the crime novel. By comparing the tourism strategies in Ystad and Stockholm, the synergies between individual and collective appropriations of crime novels as keys to lasting of cultural tourism can be accentuated.

From player synergies to a tourism cluster in Ystad

According to the informants, staging tourist experiences in Ystad was the result of an increasing number of readers and viewers requesting information on the Wallander settings from the Tourist Office in the 1990s: At first, this led

to the creation of a thematic map, then of a free brochure with 40,000 copies printed per year at peak, later to launching a free app for smartphone users. With the abovementioned tools at hand, the tourist-investigator is therefore free to make individual impressions, reinforced by the creation of the app, which greatly increased tourists' sense of appropriation. Today, Wallander tourism already peaked, and as a result the presented Wallander 'package' and the free app are no longer in service. According to Visit Skåne, today Wallander tourism has become a "classic attraction" merely disseminated through a website with location information (Visit Skåne Undated).

The cases presented here are, then, becoming historical, but they underscore how players in an experience economy like the tourism industry, wishing to capitalize on a cultural phenomenon, should be ready to service a touristic demand when a phenomenon like Wallander turns up in popular culture.

In fact, Wallander tourism has been part of a pervasive regional strategy implemented by three political entities: Besides to the primordial role of the Ystad Town Council, an important part is also played by two regional bodies, i.e. the local authority *Region Skåne* and *Skåne Länsstyrelse*, the decentralised county office of the State. Crime tourism rests therefore on a rationale of regional development, which draws its strength from the coherence of various local policies.

The policies are directly expressed in the promotional activities of Ystad's Tourist Office, initiator of the staged tourist experiences and whose role has been mainly that of coordinating individual initiatives: identification of Wallander businesses within the urban space, localisation and advertisement via brochures, keeping players in touch with each other for the creation of thematic tours, and finally connecting them in the form of a Wallander 'package' by centralising all reservations.

Although the actions of private players were spontaneous at first in Ystad, it became the Tourist Office that regroups private and public initiatives and, symbolically, places them into a coherent and visible "package". In fact, privately owned businesses took over the Wallander phenomenon in Ystad and, through their cooperation, designed a homogeneous and dynamic offer for tourists. The aim is to both contribute to the construction of a collective tourist experience and take full advantage of a cultural phenomenon optimising the revenues of their own businesses. As a coherent construction founded on the networking of interdependent actors, the systematic territorialisation of Wallander tourism may be likened to a *tourism cluster*.

From the original heterogeneity of the businesses to the homogenisation of their tourist offers, the challenge is to move beyond cooperation towards a real ecosystem. The notion of "package" expresses the coherence existing between tourist initiatives in Ystad and synergy at a local

level: the overnight stay included in the package was spent at the *Anno 1793 Sekelgården* hotel in the Wallander suite. The rooms at the hotel vary from each other (the Wallander suite is the larger family suite). Only a small photo of Henning Mankell makes up the Wallander suite, making it an easily obtainable marketing tool for any hotel management. The staging is systematic in Ystad, from "Wallander's table" at the *Continental Hotel* to "Wallander's cake" in *Fridolfs Konditori*. In order to get around Henning Mankell's refusal to have his character's name used for a cream cake, the owner gained the agreement of an eponymous Swedish family to give its name to the pastry. In full acknowledgement of the ruse, the official agreement certificate is clearly visible in the café.

Overexploited, crime territory thus seems threatened with depletion. During a meeting (2011, March 19) at the Paris Book Fair (2011, March 18-21), Henning Mankell expressed his dismay with Wallander's scenery for tourism purposes: according to him, the tour is idealistic and the cake ridiculous. From the sixth volume of Wallander stories, his novels' post-faces refer to readers' territorial obsession, and the portrayal of the setting goes progressively from over-referencing to topographical vagueness.

Between appropriation and avoidance of an 'illegitimate' culture

The Millennium tourist invention is the work of the Stockholm City Museum: as part of the festivities organised in 2008 on the theme of literature, the Museum's cultural event programmer set up the first Millennium Tour. Contrary to other literary tours, which tend to be ephemeral, this particular one has continued since 2009 and become a weekly event. The central role of the City Museum in this territorial construction should be underlined here: it secured exclusivity for the production of the map and tour, which takes visitors through a nearby neighbourhood and ends at the Museum where the tourists are then invited to purchase the Millennium Map.

While the Museum's mediation has visibly established itself between the tourist gaze and the actual locations, the issue of avoiding crime scenes should be raised: The survey conducted among participants of the guided tour showed that the great majority of them do not wish to wander freely around the locations of the stories, but are happy to accept the Museum's selection.

On the contrary, the Tourist Office — the only other place authorised to sell the map and tour tickets — is reluctant to take part in the local promotion of a culture it considers as illegitimate: the Millennium Tour is not recommended by its advisors (agents of the Tourist Office) who lack information about the tour, which they consider only intended for a few fans and which fails to provide a faithful image of Stockholm.

Contrary to this, "*Litterära Stockholm*", a literary tour around the town promoted by the Tourist Office, is the subject of true territorial signposting. Geo-markers in the streets show the places mentioned in the works of Swedish literature's literary giants – and signifies the wish to sustain a national and legitimate culture throughout time and space. Finally, the absence of Millennium cultural appropriation by the storekeepers along the tour or those featured in the trilogy – who have no promotional strategy related to Millennium – reveals the lack of enthusiasm vis-à-vis this bestseller culture, which fails to arouse any feeling of belonging or identity recognition.

The question of conflictual location marketing should therefore be examined. The appropriation of the Millennium trilogy was initiated by Stockholm's City Museum, rejected by the Tourist Office and not taken up by local businesses: The first of the three follows the guidelines of Stockholm's Cultural Committee, *Kulturutskottet*, responsible only for the capital's cultural policy; the second answers to the *Stockholm Visitors Board* of the *Stockholm Business Region AB Group*, representing its economic and commercial component and "sells" the capital; and the third shows no obvious tendency towards using media geo-markers to make their businesses work.

While, in line with its mission, the City Museum of Stockholm tends above all, via the touristic value creation around Millennium, to promote cultural heritage that is neutralised by the appropriate selection of places on display. The Tourist Office, aims to prioritise the common image of the capital. From its point of view, the effort required for the utilizing of locations of a literary series, which multiply the popular and critical flaws, seems not worth the price. Location marketing and literary tourism based on local crime fiction thus remains here a disputed process.

The value of image

While the differences in the value creation around these bestseller cultures make it possible to compare two independent tourism strategies in Ystad and in Stockholm, players in both territories relish the economic benefits of the powerful media exposure that the various adaptations of Millennium and the Wallander series represent.

At the request of Ystad's Town Council and Skåne County in 2005, Joakim Lind prepared a report for *Cloudberry Communications* on the impact of the Wallander films and series on the territory. Six years later, the same communication agency produced the *Millennium Report* for the regional stakeholders and various cultural and tourism promoters, trying to quantify the value of the media coverage (Lind 2011). Beyond estimating the direct economic consequences of televisual and film adaptations on the locations concerned, it is also necessary to put a figure on the value created by the exposure of Stockholm and Ystad in the adaptations.

The report's calculation rests on two premises: Firstly, exposure triggers tourist mobility if spectators are able to identify the locations. Secondly, the media exposure of a location featuring in a film or series may be calculated in the same way as product placement. By cross-checking the number of appearances with the viewing figures for films and series, Cloudberry Communications estimated Stockholm's exposure value in the Swedish film and television adaptations to be worth €106 million. The report was, in fact, produced in 2011, in other words before the release of the American remake with Daniel Craig, presumably adding a substantial increase of this value. The film and television exposure of Ystad was estimated to be worth €65 million for Swedish adaptations and €250 million for the BBC adaptations. In general, the reports' authors estimated that an annual 4-10% increase in tourism could be expected during the first three years following the exposure of a region in a film or internationally broadcast series. According to an OECD report (2014: 59), over a longer period of time the Wallander effect really had an impact on Ystad: "A 60% increase in tourism turnover in the period 2002-11 was recorded, while tourism employment grew by 44%." One aspect is, of course, the direct economic increase in earnings, while the report also stresses that Ystad

as a municipality improved its image through positive media coverage.

While fictional geography makes an essential contribution to the process of constructing a tourist destination, it appears that appropriation of this geography and territorial strategies of value creation are nonetheless decisive in producing tourism and ensuring its success and longevity. The differences between a) cooperation and the coherence of initiatives in Ystad and b) the dominance of the City Museum, restraints of private stakeholders and refusal of the Tourist Office in Stockholm are evident. Crime tourism thus appears as an indicator of local identities: while Ystad as "Wallanderland" was happy with its touristic transformation, certain stakeholders in the capital did not directly stage location marketing and found it more difficult to accept the manifestations of bestseller culture in their city.

Larsson and Mankell share the critical voice in Swedish crime fiction, condemning the increasing violence within society and the breakdown of rule of law. Therefore, they have both portrayed Stockholm and Ystad to be undesirable parts of Sweden. Yet, their model of criticism has in some way become a marketing model, as political exemplarity turns partly into exemplary promotion. Can the crime novel, therefore, still fulfil its critical role? This is the paradox of the touristic staging of Noir novels.

Conclusion: Crime fiction and its paradoxical appeal

From Stockholm to Ystad, tourism optimisation of crime destinations operates by erasing the crime novels' critical substance. Millennium tourism in Stockholm rests on the avoidance of crime scenes. The venues shown are selected and the capital is reshaped to give it the smoothness of a consensual metropolis. In the Wallander stories, Mankell addressed an omnipresent violence also located in Ystad to such an extent that violence and crime appeared as a fictional tool for the author, which in turn was used as a critical model for violence pervading the Swedish society in general. While the crime tourism activities in Ystad do not directly avoid violent scenery and crime scenes as such, the Ystad cultural tourism based on Wallander never really engages in the socio-critical voice of the crime novels.

In fact, this points to a further paradox which questions the political and anthropological impact of the corpus studied in the DETECt project and, truth be told, may even be the institutional objective of the project: Clearly, crime fiction may be used as a "sales force" for locations to such a degree that it becomes a goal in itself, but this may be at the risk of both becoming a sham devoid of all critical scope and of suppressing the tragic part inherent in the crime genre.

Key takeaways

- There is an obvious financial benefit from crime tourism for locations featured in literary and audiovisual works.
- Wallander tourism in Ystad is based on an unreal – fictional - amount of local violence used by the author to critique Swedish society.
- In Stockholm and Ystad, tourism optimisation of the crime destination operates by erasing of the crime novel's critical substance.
- Millennium tourism in Stockholm rests on the avoidance of crime scenes. The venues visited are selected and the capital is reshaped to give it the smoothness of a consensual metropolis.
- The different strategies of negotiating crime fiction on location highlight a paradox: crime fiction is used as a "sales force" for a territory to such a degree that it becomes an economic goal, but this is at the risk of both becoming a sham devoid of all critical scope and of suppressing the tragic part inherent in the detective genre.

5 Location placement in Nordic Noir

Kim Toft Hansen

This part of the report focuses on the Nordics. It highlights that in the region there is a direct line from actual/practical location placement in film and television production, to location branding for local areas, to general national and transnational spatial branding, to the creation of a location-based ideology around transnational collaboration and cultural relationships. In conclusion, it is clear that *patience and public expenditure* are important ingredients if such 'likemindedness' through media production and distribution is sought on a larger geopolitical level.

> "Going out of the city gives us the specialty of Iceland. How Iceland is unique, how the landscape is unique. We set the first series in a small town in Iceland, but small towns tend to be like each other, it's an international thing. The thing of the small town. But still we are in Iceland, we have the crazy sea, we have the crazy mountains and we have the crazy snow and everything. So what we brought to the world was something visually unique."
>
> *Sigurjon Kjartansson, Creator of Trapped*

Banal Nordism

Though he speaks only about the TV series *Trapped* (2015-), location observations from the Icelandic screenwriter and producer Sigurjon Kjartansson is very representative of how especially Nordic TV crime narratives have played a decisive role in establishing a local and global approach to places at once. Location placement in Nordic Noir signals the uniqueness of the settings and landscapes in the Nordic region, but at the same time the appeal has been intentionally international.

For decades, the Nordic region has been exemplary in its regional collaboration between its countries, between public service institutions and commercial players on the market (Hansen and Waade 2017). Such a collaboration has produced what Stuart Burch (2013) calls 'banal Nordism', a reference to a collaborative and joint idea of the Nordic region as a communal region with a shared mind-frame. Kim Toft Hansen has recently related this notion of 'banal Nordism' to how different institutions on the Nordic market tap into this ideology of Nordism (Hansen 2019).

As a result, location placement in the Nordic region not only concerns the actual, active construction of a setting for a scene in a film or TV drama production. Through years of development, Nordic screened location placement has increasingly become embedded in political interests, economic interests and representative interests in the actual locations. For Kjartansson, it is clear that he wishes to represent something that brands or represents Iceland as a geographical place, but at the same time he realizes the international appeal of such screened places.

Location placement in the Nordic region has become marked by several interests from local, national and regional policymakers, from tourism agencies, from an increasing number of producers in creative industries and, as a result, from the viewers and perhaps media tourists too.

A brief note on literature

A basic understanding of place is necessary for any narrative form of expression, including literature. Crime narratives as a genre often have a specific place – the scene of the crime – as a central revolving point. Detectives are often tied closely with the place of the stories. Cities and rural areas in Scandinavia are also well-represented by writers writing crime stories about specific places.

Even if literature as a force of location placement is a noteworthy part of the overall crime narrative location placements strategies, film and television series are generally and economically a heavier carrier of attention. In Nordic Noir there are quintessential roots in literature (including numerous adaptations), but this section of the report focuses in on knowledge about audiovisual location placement, mostly TV crime series.

Location strategies: creative focus

The Denmark-based pan-Nordic production company Miso Film is representative for recent tendencies on the television market in the Nordic region: increased interest in co-producing content, establishing local offices in Scandinavia, close collaboration with broadcasters (often, commercial public service) and an ingrained market interest in localizing the content for both an economically strategic and a narrative reason. Miso Film has strategically used crime narratives as a popular genre to claim a central position on the Nordic screen market. Producing local content with a Nordic interest, they have been able to secure local, national and international funding for their productions. From a productional point of view, the crime series *Modus* (2017-) is a case in point: it is written by the Danish writers Mai Broström and Peter Thorsboe, based on a Norwegian novel by Anne Holt and screened in Sweden in Swedish. Altogether, this indicates that local presence with an international outlook also means something for the producer. Such a production also produces 'banal Nordism' through its integration of Scandinavian perspectives directly in the production model.

The simultaneity of local and global processes and interests stressed by Kjartansson in *Trapped* is also clearly represented 'behind the camera' in the production process. Through collaborative co-funding practices – local screen agencies, national funding bodies, and international production support – content travels relatively easily internally in the Nordic region – and has received a remarkable international attention, creating something uniquely local and international in content and process in the Nordic region. The Norwegian Miso Film TV-series *Frikjent* (*Acquitted*) (2015-16) exemplifies this very well. Produced for the Norwegian commercial public service channel TV2, the series is a collaboration between Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic players, underlining the local and Nordic mind-frame behind the series.

This is also featured in the location placement of the series. Here, a quote from the company's sales brochure (Miso Film 2015) illustrates how locations have become a salient part of pitching and selling productions outside the domestic market. Unhindered, the director Geir Henning

Hopland navigates between local representations in a global world as well as the local colour of the areas around the picturesque Sognefjorden in Norway and the notion of national representation of Norway. The title sequence in *Acquitted* is at once a narrative and locative introduction to the series. It is narrative in the way we see a symbolic representation of the storyline, but it is also highly locative in its conspicuous location placement. Clearly, story and place blend together.

Trapped and *Acquitted* are highly representative examples of how locations in Nordic television crime dramas have become a marketable asset alongside the suspense-filled narrative. The result is an interest in the places of crime fiction specifically, but it is also reflected in the overall attention towards crime narratives in and from the Nordic region.

Producing regional proximities
Still, locative branding models do not indicate that locations are chosen as merely a local representation for a global audience. There are other more important influential factors that have an impact on location placement – locally, nationally, regionally and internationally. Even though globalization has had an incredible effect on how content is produced and distributed, there are still tendencies towards collaboration within regional proximities. The recent Danish-Swedish-German-British-Norwegian co-production *Greyzone* (2018-) illustrates this very well: Though it is a transnational story with a transnational funding model, the funding for the series comes from neighboring countries around the North Sea area. However, creator Rasmus Thorsen (2018) stresses that the transnational funding model for TV drama today is an unavoidable fact.

The attention towards locations and regionality in producing television drama is, for the Miso Film producer Peter Bose (2018), also a basic financial matter. According to him the Nordic region still possess opportunities due to the fact that there is a history of co-production that goes decades back, and as head of fiction at the Scandinavian SVoD

Viaplay, Nanna Mailand (2018), indicates: In the Nordic region, there may be a shared culture that creates regional opportunities to tap into 'banal Nordism' as an socio-cultural and financial rationale.

For Mailand, especially crime narratives motivate such special collaborative opportunities. Researcher Ib Bondebjerg stresses that crime narratives may be "'natural' European stories" (2016: 5), while Elke Weissmann refers to such narratives as "'explicitly transnational' productions" (2012: 12). The subject matter (crime) is a border crossing activity, which means that the content (crime narratives) is potentially more prone to travel outside their domestic markets and to find co-producing partners in an international production environment.

The geography of production
Two banal factors heavily influence locations in Nordic Noir. The first one is the placement of the production company; the second one is the actual placement of the production. The city of Copenhagen is heavily represented in Danish crime film and crime series and Stockholm shares this level of representation in Swedish crime narratives. With broadcasters, film education and film institutes located in the capitals, it comes as no surprise that such media clusters result in a heavy representation of these cities in general and in crime narratives too.

As a reaction to this centralization through media clusters, we have seen a tendency towards producing at so-called 'distant location', i.e. locations further away from production hubs. The series *Acquitted* is a good Norwegian example, while the Swedish Fjällbacka productions (2013) based on Camilla Läckbergs characters and setting and the supernatural noir *Jordskott* (2015-) show that the tendency also resonates in Sweden. Denmark is a geographically smaller country than the two other Scandinavian countries, but nevertheless the series *Dicte* (2013-16), *Norskov* (2015-17) and *DNA* (2019-) all represent distant Danish locations. All series are produced for TV 2 Denmark, a broadcaster with policy obligations and a historic interest in reaching

Bringing Norskov to Frederikshavn
"Frederikshavn saw the value of a large serial production that would attract local attention. They were able to engage in the production because the port was facing some challenges. They wanted to generate an increase in population, attract young people, generate jobs and training places. In this context, they saw *Norskov* as a good platform, and we found a common interest. In light of the international attention towards our series, we are very aware that we may create added value for some of the local areas where our series take place. Perhaps pay special attention to regions, which may resonate with institutional strategies of being a regional broadcaster.

In that respect, you might say that we really want to produce drama outside of Copenhagen, and when we do so, we have an interest in discovering whether or not local stakeholders may benefit. We have a whole department which focuses on commercial partnerships, so-called advertiser funded programming. However, they cannot interfere with what we do, you may say that no one in Frederikshavn wanted to control the narrative, but they only wanted an association between Norskov and Frederikshavn. We are increasingly aware that some series evoke a sensation of something very local: *Dicte* feels like it takes place in Aarhus, and you can feel that *Norskov* takes place in Frederikshavn."

Christian Rank, head of drama at DR Fiction (executive producer on Norskov for TV 2 Denmark)

all of Denmark, also through the locations of their dramas and the sites of production for regional TV.

The phrase "the local is more global" has become a cliché in media production. As producer Tomas Radoor from Nordisk Film indicates, authenticity and a sense of the real lies in the local even if a story is markedly transnational. For TV 2, the series *DNA* furthered the transnational co-production model in *Greyzone*, but still it broke new ground for the broadcaster in the way that it used several European locations as part of a very internationalized setting, including French, Czech and distant Danish locations.

While different series produced for TV 2 Denmark point towards an intensified use of distant *local* locations as well as towards telling stories that cross *international* borders, the context around such productions still stress the need for local authenticity and something unique in the way that settings are established around real locations. The series *Norskov* – the first Danish TV series to be shot 100% on location in a small Danish town Frederikshavn – illustrates the interest very well. There are many interests at play, as

highlighted by Christian Rank, TV 2's executive producer on *Norskov*, today head of drama at DR Fiction.

Tourism-induced production

Gazing across the Nordic region, it becomes obvious that location placement is affected by a wide range of different factors. One of the most attractive ones appears to be media-based tourism activities. The most successful case of place branding through TV crime narratives in the Nordic region may be the utilization of Henning Mankell's Wallander stories in Southern Sweden (Waade 2013). This series was produced by the production company Yellow Bird, a company that has produced a range of cornerstone productions within the Nordic Noir brand based on the slogal "We turn bestsellers into blockbusters." Today, this is still the case – at the moment they are producing a new Netflix drama *Young Wallander*, while SAM Productions is producing bestselling novel *The Chestnut Man* (2018) for Netflix, which has been written by Søren Sveistrup, author of the famous Nordic Noir series *The Killing* (2007-2012). These new projects shows a) that written crime fiction still plays a huge role in the attention towards Nordic crime narratives, b) that the mentality around these stories are interestingly Nordic and not only national, and c) that there is still a remarkable international interest in Nordic crime stories.

The Wallander case illustrates strategic interests in using crime narratives as an attention seeker for tourists. As such, Mankell's stories – including the locally produced BBC-versions of the stories – have helped brand the small town Ystad. However, this is just one out of two general ways to brand places. In the Wallander stories, Ystad plays a part as a fictionalized Ystad, but still the town remains almost the same. The above-mentioned Icelandic *Trapped* also brands Iceland as a place to visit and is, for instance, utilized by the polar travel agency Discover the World.

Still, 'Discover the World' also illustrates another branding model for the nexus between tourism agencies and film/TV production: Iceland has become the home of numerous productions using the topography of Iceland as *place substitution* for films such as *Batman Begins* (2005) or *Prometheus* (2012). According to Einar Hansen Tómasson (2016), project manager at the private-public promotion partnership Promote Iceland, they are approached by an increasing number of international film and TV producers with an interest in producing fiction in Iceland – and the reason is (besides obvious tax incentives) a very varied topography and a spectacular nature experience.

In other places in the Nordic region, especially in Norway, there are similar strategic services addressing the locations of the film and television productions. On the one

**Influential factors
in Nordic location placement**

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PRODUCTION:
Media clusters of production companies, broadcasters, production services, as well as local, national and transnational screen agencies & policies

TOURISM-INDUCED PRODUCTION:
Tourism agencies and location placement

LOCAL TOPOGRAPHY AND SPATIAL BRANDING:
Urban characteristics and marketing the local

hand, the attraction of a large international production results in local production expenditure, while at the same time film and television becomes a heavy incentive behind promoting a place through the actual locations behind the stories.

The result is that film and TV may not only influence tourist activities after production; tourism today also has an impact on the aesthetics of television and film narratives. Needless to say, not only crime narratives rely on representative location placement, but the international success of a brand like Nordic Noir of course creates added attention towards the places represented in the stories.

> **Einar Hansen Tómasson (2016)**
> **Project manager at Promote Iceland**
> "Of course, the location must fit to the story line. We cannot be an old forest, we know that. It has to fit to the script, and luckily for us we have very diversified locations. So for example, *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (2013). As part of the script Iceland substitutes Greenland, Afghanistan and the Himalayas. All these locations in that film [were] shot in Iceland. One of our strengths is that if you, say, locate your base campus in the mid-south and draw two circles from there, you're able to access both the highlands, the big mountains. You can go from there to icebergs, big waterfalls, green alleys, the black desert beach by the coast. You're able to access these locations within a very short timeframe. You're probably able to get similar locations in the US, but you will have to go Hawaii for the black sand beaches and you will have to go to Alaska for the iceberg and so on. That's our core strength; you save a lot on the logistic set-up, which is very expensive."

Local topography and spatial branding

As indicated in the quote from Einar Hansen Tómasson, the aesthetics of local topography means a lot besides the surrounding practicalities of production. Spectacular nature is a great asset just like a romantic or thematically representative city area. Media production clustering may, on the one hand, produce a logistic set-up that incentivizes production in certain places, but distant locations may, on the other hand, also solve logistic issues for productions and represent unique topographic areas. The latter may even produce the former, and with Iceland located fairly central in the Atlantic Ocean, the topography and the geographical location has altogether been a successful cocktail, attracting film and TV productions to the Nordic area.

The British production *Fortitude* (2015-18) is a special case regarding both its generic qualities and its location placement. The TV series, produced for Sky Atlantic, clearly represents a British commercial interest in Nordic Noir as it blends the characteristics of the genre brand with new supernatural tendencies within crime narratives. The setting of the series is the fictional settlement Fortitude, located in a Norwegian Arctic area very similar to Svalbard.

Nonetheless, the actual 'cold' locations of the drama were found in Iceland, while the cast of the series – including notable Nordic actors and actresses – stresses the Nordic affinities of the series. However, finalizing the series the third season finally moved the production from Iceland to Svalbard, coming full circle with its own setting. As a
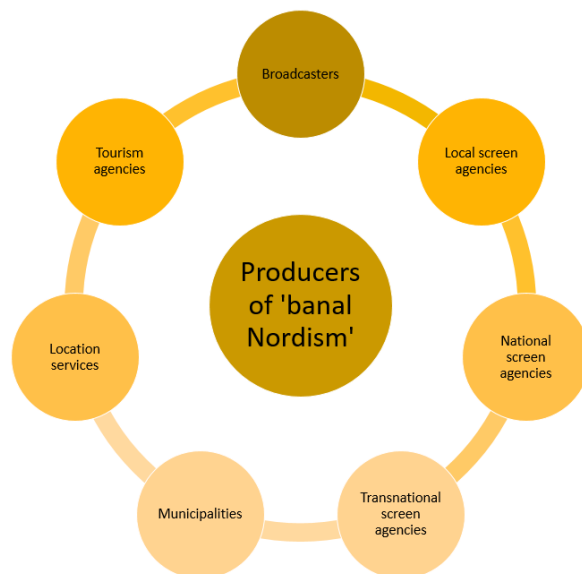

Figure 5.1: Seven players in the production of banal Nordism in screen production

case, *Fortitude* shows the brand value of both Nordic Noir and Nordic locations in international crime stories.

Branding the series, Sky Atlantic used the fake-tourism website visitfortitude.com, mimicking the numerous tourist websites around the world. A fake tourist website was also used in relation to the British launch of the Swedish supernatural crime drama *Jordskott* (2015). Interestingly enough, the *Fortitude* tourist site slowly disintegrates – as a marker of the series' dramatic material – in order to become a promotional site for the TV series. Yet, this promotional strategy stresses the touristic context around such productions.

Screen agencies and policies of place as locative factors

Location has always been a practical matter in film and TV production – and it will always be a practical side of producing stories. However, the case of Nordic Noir clearly shows that there is a wide-ranging catalogue of opportunities in *supporting* spatial branding through film and TV.

The countries in the Nordic region share a number of similarities that transcend the mere topographical aesthetics of locations. As a very important cultural precondition in all Nordic countries – and one of the main reasons that the small countries may punch above their weight – is that the success story of Nordic Noir is based on public service values for television and public support for media production in general. Of course, the roots of the attention towards Nordic Noir lie with a literary genre that caught the attention of the international readership decades ago, but the media policies behind public service television – both non-commercial and commercial public service – are a conspicuous reason for the spread of Nordic crime narratives and the branding opportunities for the region. In other words, the basis for branding smaller nations through popular culture is, in the Nordic region, built around years of leg-work establishing national public service brands as well as politically incentivized transnational collaboration between the Nordic countries. The ideological branding of the Nordic region – the 'banal Nordism' – has been established through decades of collaboration and public funding opportunities for popular culture.

The birth of Nordic Noir

As a concept, Nordic Noir was born in 2009 as an alliteration in the bookclub of University College London (UCL). Quickly after this, the concept travelled to marketing material, e.g. from the British wholesale distributor Arrow Films. Soon after this, we began to see the first academic titles scrutinizing the notion of 'Nordic Noir'. Embedded in this spread of a concept, journalists and the press in general started using the concept as a description of crime narratives coming out of the Nordic region.

Especially titles by authors like Henning Mankell, Stieg Larsson and Jo Nesbø as well as TV series like *Wallander*, *The Killing* and *The Bridge* now became re-branded by this new and powerful concept. Distributors and academics started to ponder on this concept, stressing that the roots in the Nordic region goes back much further – and include a very conspicuous starting point: Mai Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö's ten police procedurals about the police officer Martin Beck.

Today, the notion of Nordic Noir may be used interchangeably with Nordic crime fiction (sometimes Scandi-crime), but some argue that Nordic Noir has its own stylistic features, such as dark monochrome colours, slow-paced narrative rhythm, desolate locations and a narratively contained social critique (Creeber 2015).

In the Nordic region, central producers of a spatial and/or Nordic mentality are generally publically funded bodies of different kinds: local film commissions (such as West Norway Film Commission or The West Danish Film Fund), national film funds (such as The Public Service Fund in Denmark or The Swedish Film Institute), transnational screen agencies (such Nordvision or The Nordic Film and TV Fund), municipalities or other political bodies, tourism agencies (most of them publically funded too) and broadcasters (such as publically owned public service broadcasters or advertiser-funded public service).

Such institutions all have different obligations and raisons d'être and, as such, they do not single-handedly produce Nordism. Though, the co-existence of all bodies at once as well as a comparatively strong public funding model for each creates a production ecology that has been able to 'co-produce' a banal sense of a Nordic ideology (with locations as one significant example of banal representation). With transnational institutions such as Nordvision (collaboration between non-commercial public service institutions) and The Nordic Film and TV Fund (collaboration between the Nordic Council of Ministers and several film and TV institutions) as noteworthy transnational collaboration, it becomes clear that media production in the Nordic region is built around publicly (co-)funded cultural partnerships. From an institutional point of view, this creates a transnational financial attention towards how locations are chosen, produced and represented in film and TV series.

With a generic reference to *Nordic* Noir as a revolving point, crime fiction – produced for and co-financed by the above-mentioned bodies - has been remarkably strong in co-creating a sense of transnational unity through popular culture – both internally in the region and in the mind-frame outside the region.

From banal Nordism to banal Europeaness?

The point is not that the Nordic production and funding model should copied elsewhere in order to establish cultural collaboration and ideological intimacy. In the empirical material for this section, we also see signs of bewilderment and lack of trust in the Nordic model, which illustrates that 'banal Nordism' may exist as an actual collective awareness, but it is, at the same time, very much an image that has been reproduced for a very long time. In essence, transnational 'likemindedness' can be motivated through media collaboration, but even in a region like the Nordic one with years of ideological alliances it is still not easy.

Nevertheless, the branding model behind Nordic Noir indicates an impression of success, and that the spread of Nordic Noir may be the fruit of years of establishing collaboration and Nordic internal branding before the external branding created resonance throughout Europe. There may to be two necessary ingredients in creating something similar on a larger geopolitical level, such as banal Europeaness, and that is *patience and public expenditure*. Public funding creates an opportunity for smaller nations' creative industries to grow, while such growth takes time and patience and cannot be motivated overnight. One thing is location placements as banal promotional activities based on one or several productions, which is fairly simple to create, if the locations are there to be sold; another thing is a successful establishment of a surrounding ideology throughout a region. Places and hence locations are often, through geo-political histories, tied to ideology, which means than location placement may be a very important node in the creation of something greater that the mere representation of places on screen.

Conclusion: Uncertainties and opportunities

Nordic Noir – and Scandinavian crime narratives in general – are compelling cases with respect to how a brand may be used as a locative branding strategy. Nevertheless, international commercial players without a direct polico-historical interest in maintaining cultural collaboration (most importantly streaming services) have been able to tap into the 'banal Nordism' of Nordic Noir, as verified by Hansen (2019). On the one hand, such perspectives may, down the road, emphasize the strength of local or regional cohesiveness, but this may be at the expense of publicly funded initiatives, including public service television. Even though the public service institutions still retain a remarkable

market position in the Nordic region, new players on the market create uncertainties regarding the position of publicly funded programming.

One obvious strategy is producing local content for a local audience, or regional content for a regional audience. However, new streaming services are now co-producing with local production companies and the result is, for the commercial players, also a significant local recognizability in the productions, such as the Danish and Swedish Netflix productions *The Rain* (2018-) and *Quicksand* (2019-).

If the political incentives behind local production models in a transnational production environment are kept strong, e.g. through strategic public transnational collaboration, the Nordic region shows that there is an opportunity to create indications of a transnational and location-based cultural cohesion. This cultural situation is based on decades of national and transnational collaboration, but it may be supplemented – or perhaps even surpassed – by commercial activities. Whether or not such a situation is politically and structurally desired is a decision someone needs to make; commercial players are growing in power and may become an even greater threat to publically owned or supported initiatives.

Key takeaways

- Nordic Noir has been a model for format remakes and stylistic influence, including location placement and the uses of place.
- Nordic Noir has been a salient part of branding the Nordic region as culturally cohesive and unified.
- Nordic Noir shows that it is possible for smaller nations to punch above their weight and gain an international audience.
- Nordic Noir highlights public expenditure as key for gaining a local and international voice.
- Commercial players with no direct geopolitical interest in the region may tap into 'Nordism' for mercantile purposes.

PART II. THE RISE OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPEAN CRIME FICTION

6 Locating Budapest in contemporary Hungarian crime fiction

Sándor Kálai, Anna Keszeg, Péter Mészáros and Dorottya Molnár Kovács

This chapter presents three of the most important contemporary Hungarian crime fiction products set in Budapest. In these, the city plays a major role as a splendid cityscape, as a "sinful city", but also as a cathartic space of individual and social evolution. Our cases are: 1) Vilmos Kondor's novel *Budapest Noir* (2008); the filmic adaptation of the novel *Budapest Noir* (2017, directed by Éva Gárdos); and 3) the HBO Europe series *Aranyélet* (*Golden Life*, 2015-2018, created by Roope Lehtinen, Mikko Pöllä and Gábor Krigler). Our case studies combine a production point of view with document analysis, the only difference being that we have a literary text as a first example and two audiovisual ones as second and third. In the case of the novel, we use a textual and narrative analysis to connect space and time within the same analytic focus. In the case of the film, theories related to the meanings of filmic locations inspired the investigation. Thirdly, our research is inspired by „location studies" which are concerned with locations as brands and products and/or the reality-effects produced by places in fictional worlds.

Budapest as iconic location

In the case of a small country like Hungary, the localization strategies in film and TV production indicate an interest in representing widely known, iconic spaces rather than displaying the complete variety of the cultural landscape. Even if content with an interest in local places is present on the market, the most successful products tend to be that which represent Budapest.

Since Budapest is an oft-used substitution for other places in Europe, the majority of productions shot there do not show an apparent interest in the social, economic, political or cultural realities of the city. To find such values we have to look at local cultural products. As contemporary popular crime fiction has developed towards more socially and locally involved patterns of the genre, it is not surprising that Hungarian crime fiction in literature, film and TV series now also give a more accurate and less spectacle-driven representation of Budapest.

The three examples in this chapter are all considered game changers in their respective fields. Kondor's novel brings hard-boiled crime fiction to the Hungarian book market (Rácz I. Péter 2008). Éva Gárdos's film was celebrated by the national press as the first manifestation of an American way of producing film in Hungary (Gyárfás 2016). Often in the press, *Golden Life* is dubbed the best Hungarian TV series ever made, and it has been praised as the first great impact of HBO's production culture on Hungarian TV (Sixx 2016). However, even if *Golden life* is a Hungarian production, it is a *niche* product for Hungarian audiences, as other series made for national TV channels have little to do with so-called "complex television series" (Mittell 2015). In their own branding, the subscription service HBO signals a more "edgy" production culture than other channels that depend on high ratings. In contrast to the critical success and HBO's branding of the series, this is also reflected in the fact that *Golden Life* was no hit on national television (Sorozatwiki 2018).

Budapest as set

Elected as the best European tourist destination in 2019 by the "European Best Destinations" organization, Budapest's iconic sights became part of the globally mediatized European landscape. Budapest's recognition is partly due to the film industry, which uses the historic attractions of the city as substitute location for other more iconic European spaces such as Paris or Prague. High quality production services, comparatively cheap living costs, and a Hungarian tax rebate for film productions complement the attractiveness of the city's architecture and its geographic placement. Recent films (partly) shot in Budapest include *Blade Runner 2049* (2017), *Midsommar* (2019), *Dune* (2020) and the series *The Alienist* (a forthcoming TNT series based on Caleb Carr's historic crime novels set in New York in the late 19th Century) as well as the seventh season of *Homeland* (2018). Because of the American film industry's interest in filming in Budapest, the city has gained recognition as an easy way of depicting a "typical" European city.

Pinnacles of the Hungarian neo-Noir

The history of the literary crime genre in Hungary is complicated and discontinuous. It emerged in the middle of the 19th century, developed into a significant part of Hungary's literary culture in the first half of the 20th century, but then suddenly stopped during Socialism only to re-emerge in the 1990s. In this history, Vilmos Kondor's novels play a particularly important role, because they are considered to be the first real detective stories in Hungarian literature after 1990. Since 2008, the author has built a distinct fictional universe organized around the figure of an investigative journalist, Zsigmond Gordon. The first novel, *Budapest Noir* (translated into several languages) is a programmatic text: it is a historical crime narrative, starting the series in 1936, and it simultaneously brings the reflexive manner of hard-boiled fiction to Hungarian literature. The title of the series, *Sinful Budapest*, indicates that the city not only plays a particularly important role in the narrative, but also that the idea of the „sin city", already prevalent in popular literature, highlights some of the local features of the town. Therefore, an analysis of places and locations in the programmatic novel is vital for understanding how Kondor (re-)imagines Hungarian crime fiction as well as Budapest within Hungary's history and the conventions of Noir.

The novel was adapted to film in 2017 by Éva Gárdos, who took the expression "Noir" in the title seriously and adapted the plot into a Film Noir. The director stated that her interest in the book came from her admiration of Film Noirs: she read the book because it was recommended to her by someone who knew her passion for this particular film genre (Gyárfás 2016).

Quality TV in Hungary

Original quality content creation arrived comparatively late in the Hungarian television industry, with HBO Hungary's first original series, *Társas játék* (*When Shall We Kiss*), airing in 2011. Most Hungarian quality TV shows are still connected to the international entertainment conglomerate (Gardiola 2010). *Golden Life* is one of the first examples of quality television in the country and a flagship project for HBO Hungary and has been marketed by HBO as an instant success with the public. As ATV Hungary pointed out: "every generation is obsessed with the mafia show and watches it as a documentary on Hungarian reality" (ATV 2018).

Gábor Krigler showrunner and Szabolcs Baranyai marketing manager often refer to the favorable critical reviews and the availability in the US as signs of success (Bodnár 2018). According to Krigler, linear viewing data is not relevant for HBO in the current measurement system, as they have decided to evaluate the success of a series based on views on their streaming service HBO GO, reviews and viewer feedback (Klacsán 2018). According to Krigler and other creators' statements, the feedback from the UK HBO center is even more important than the sources listed above (Klacsán 2018).

Golden Life has topped the popularity charts of HBO Hungary for a long time, outshining popular American shows. As for the reaction of the audiences, we have to point out the niche nature of the series: when the Hungarian TV2 bought the broadcasting rights for the first season three years after the first season was released, the success streak stalled. According to Nielsen ratings, the first episode was watched by 401 thousand people (10.5% audience share). The numbers consistently decreased until the 6th episode, so *Golden Life's* success in terms of criticism and popularity among HBO subscribers did not adapt well to TV (Sorozatwiki 2018).

After the Hungarian debut, the show was distributed to several European countries, either on an HBO channel or on demand. HBO's role in local serial production goes beyond the traditional market role of cable operators. The shows made by HBO Hungary illustrate that Gábor Krigler, who has been recruited by the company then known as HBO Central Europe, has established the showrunner position as a production mode in Hungary. This is also reflected by the fact that the production company Laokoon Films did not develop any content for *Golden Life*, as it was solely responsible for production.

Budapest Noir: A novel about a sinful city

In many interviews, Kondor has been asked to explain the role of Budapest in his novels. In his replies he always stresses the role that cities play in hard-boiled crime novels: He emphasizes the investigator's symbiotic relationship with the necessarily urban landscape. For Kondor, another important feature is Budapest's mediated nature. Kondor is interested in the representation of the late 1930's Budapest in the contemporary press. Insisting that he is no historian, he reconstructs his *own* Budapest from the media discourse of the period. Once asked about his accurate descriptions of the historical city, he replied: "Look, I'm honored that people consider my urban descriptions credible, but let's not forget that this is my imagined Budapest." Continuing, he enumerates the sources that he used for familiarizing himself with the city: press articles, radio broadcasts and sociographical works written by journalists (Riedl 2016; Pintér 2012).

As a historical crime novel, *Budapest noir* combines the description of Budapest in the 1930s with the crime

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Buda-Pest

In the Hungarian cultural imaginary, there is a prominent distinction between the two parts of the Danube similar to the Parisian differences between the Rive Gauche and the Rive Droite along the Seine. This distinction is based on a more wealthy, secure and noble Buda and a more prole, insecure, peculiar Pest. Ideologically, Pest appears more open to change while Buda appears more conservative. This distinction dates back to the 19th century when the first bridges over the Danube were built and the city merged into one administrative entity. The preference of Gordon for Pest shows his sympathy for the poor and for the changing urban landscape.

The appearance of the showrunner in Hungary

The profession and the concept of the showrunner has no precedent on the Hungarian market. Gábor Krigler, former creative producer of HBO, is the first in Hungary to be identified as such. It took almost a decade for local HBO adaptations in Hungary to acquire autonomy in producing local content. For example, even for the first season of *Golden Life*, the London leadership approved the costumes of the main characters. After realizing the capacity of the local team, they were given increased freedom for the production of the second season. Although they still regularly reported to London, the creative team could decide locally on all the creative issues. While supervising the development and production of the second season, Gábor Krigler also had the creative control of selecting and approving costumes and props (Winnie 2016). As the showrunner and creative producer, he also coordinated the writer's room, identifying the main plot points that writers needed to include in the series (Rakita 2018).

The role of cities in hard-boiled crime novels

"I really like Budapest, which is fortunate because one of the most important features of the noir genre is that it merges the city with the protagonist of the book. Lew Archer can only investigate in the suburbs of Los Angeles, just like Philip Marlowe in downtown Los Angeles. Matt Scudder can only walk on the streets of Manhattan, just as Steve Carella can only pursue crime and perpetrators in the 87th district of a semi-imagined New York. The protagonist of David Goodis' best novels is Philadelphia itself, as is Berlin for Bernie Günther, and Vienna for Dr. Max Liebermann. In this genre, the city and the protagonist (the detective) cannot be separated from each other: the detective's special knowledge lies precisely in the intimate knowledge of the city, the city which maintains an indissoluble and often two-way relationship with its inhabitants" (Molnár 2018).

Vilmos Kondor

genre's investigation plot. The story takes place in October 1936, when Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös dies. The investigator of the case is not a police officer, but a journalist called Zsigmond Gordon, who works as a crime reporter and is intrigued by the murder of a young Jewish prostitute. He is a character moving around and due to the exigencies of his profession, he is a very good reader of clues and details.

Kondor's series applies a well-known and effective generic narrative strategy. By placing the hero in his city, he motivates a switch in the reader's attention towards the setting of the crime and an interest in the geographical location alongside the narrative. The crime genre includes a long list of investigators connected to cities, such as Maigret's Paris, Montale's Marseille, Carvalho's Barcelona, Rebus's Edinburgh, Holmes' London and – in our case – Gordon's Budapest. To register how Budapest works as a location, we focus on five aspects of the novel's spatial structure.

Spatial dualism: The geographical position of this city is iconic. In the novel, the river Danube plays its traditional role, as it splits the city in two and defines two completely different places. Gordon prefers Pest: "Gordon hurried on. He didn't like being in Buda. For some reason Pest was closer to his heart; there, at least, he felt at home, insofar as this was possible at all" (Kondor 2012, 7th chapter). The crime was in Pest, but the criminal is someone established in Buda.

Urbanism: As there is no hard-boiled crime story without the urban tissue encompassing it, this novel presents a social panorama of Budapest in which the journalist acts as a link between social layers. During his investigation, Gordon passes both aristocratic residences and suburbs of the poor. The characters represent the upper class (politicians and the wealthy bourgeoisie from Buda), the middle-class (policemen and intellectual workers at the newspaper) and the underworld (prostitutes and burglars). Gordon is deep-rooted in the streets, boulevards, suburbs and hidden corners of Budapest where the secrets lie.

Space and darkness: The events take place between 6 and 15 October 1936. Each chapter tells the events of one day from Gordon's point of view. Here, the novel follows another "rule" of hard-boiled fiction: According to the representation of the nocturnal city, everything happens in a rainy, autumnal climate, which

becomes a symbolic representation of the imminent danger that awaits the city and its inhabitants.

Mobility: Since Gordon travels, he often takes either the tram or a taxi (he has his own taxi driver), but he also travels on foot. In a discussion with his girlfriend, Krisztina, Gordon seems to be against the possession of a car in Budapest: "'Besides,' Gordon added, 'I don't have the nerves to drive in Budapest'" (Kondor 2012, 7th chapter). Having a car would cut him off from the world; he needs to be in direct contact with the city (using public transport, he is never alone). It is the direct contact that ensures his professional success and, in this case, the success of his investigation.

Significant places: The represented places (private and public) in the novel may be analyzed through Gordon's relationship to them, and Kondor often insists on his main character's sensorial experiences by describing his memories and emotions while walking in the streets of Pest.

Budapest Noir: A film about a sinful city

In the following, we will focus on the production of the film adaptation of *Budapest Noir* premiered comparatively late in 2017 at the Chicago International Film Festival, almost ten years after the publication of the book. It was shown at several other festivals and distributed to the US, Romania, Poland and Russia. In fact, HBO planned to turn the book into a television series. In an interview, Kondor stated the following: "The then director of HBO was very much into the project, she [unknown identity] had everything: not only the first book, but the whole series, and the rights to use the characters in case they want to develop the story beside my novels. For me HBO's name and its series were a serious guarantee. I thought I could give this team free hands, because the result would be something we can all be proud of. But this lady was either replaced or dismissed – I don't know what happened. From then on, the series' plans were discarded. Whoever replaced her stopped the development immediately, throwing a year and a half of money out the window" (Gyárfás 2017). In an interview with HBO Hungary's creative producer, Anna Závorszky (2019), gave us a secretive answer: "you can figure out yourself what happened".

For the film, the director Éva Gárdos adopted an intertextual strategy similar to Kondor's: While Kondor introduced the hard-boiled crime narrative tradition into Hungarian literature, Gárdos introduced the features of classic Hollywood Film Noir to a Hungarian audience. The film poster and the film title emphasizes

the generic affiliation, the urban topography and the monochrome stylization. Pater Sparrow stated that "the protagonist of Budapest Noir is the city as such, so the movie has a strong Hungarian identity and we had to make this idea visually compatible with the rules and necessities of the genre" (Szinhaz 2017). Gárdos stated that, for her, the main focus was not only Budapest, but a specific historic time of the city, i.e. 1936: "I liked that the story is about Budapest and the year when it took place, 1936, was a very interesting one in the country's history. According to the book, people don't want to notice what's going on in the country and today it is the same: in America, nobody wants to acknowledge what is about to happen and I think that the same goes for Hungary" (Kovács 2017).

In the film, there is a tendency to internationalize Budapest, presumably adding production value. The first scene is located at a train station, the second one on the streets, the third one at a coffee house and the fourth one on the streets again, indicating the director's interest in emphasizing a modernized Budapest with the features of modern urban sensibility. From a total of 52 locations in the film, 18 are external, 11 public spaces such as coffee houses and clubs, 9 public institutions such as police stations and newspaper headquarters, and 14 houses or private interiors. An early shot in the film presents a panoramic view of the city from the perspective of the Gellért statue located on the hills of Buda. This touristic panorama represents a rather banal Budapest, which in later scenes is anchored in a more accurate representation of space.

Jean-Pierre Esquenazi states that the heroes of Film Noir rarely have private spaces. We never see their apartments, and if we do, those places usually showcase the characters' difficulties with settling down (Esquenazi 2010, 243). There is no such thing as home for the Film Noir detective. Instead, there is confusion for the characters between private and public spaces. That is why they like spending their time in casinos, night clubs and coffee houses. In Gordon's case, the issue of private happiness is as complex as his trajectory among the spaces of Budapest.

The portrayal of Budapest in the film is, in fact, a portrayal of Pest; Buda plays only a minor role in the film and Gordon is somehow an alienated foreigner when he has to leave his favorite part of the city, as if there was something threatening about Buda. This symbolic system of the film's locations may be represented on intersecting axes of public/private and underworld/bourgeoisie, respectively (figure 6.1).

The film expresses a visible interest in locations with a realist, referential role: The coffee house, Gordon's newspaper office and the police's headquarters, the brothel, the Szöllősy villa were selected in order to establish historic-geographic accuracy. The Szöllősy
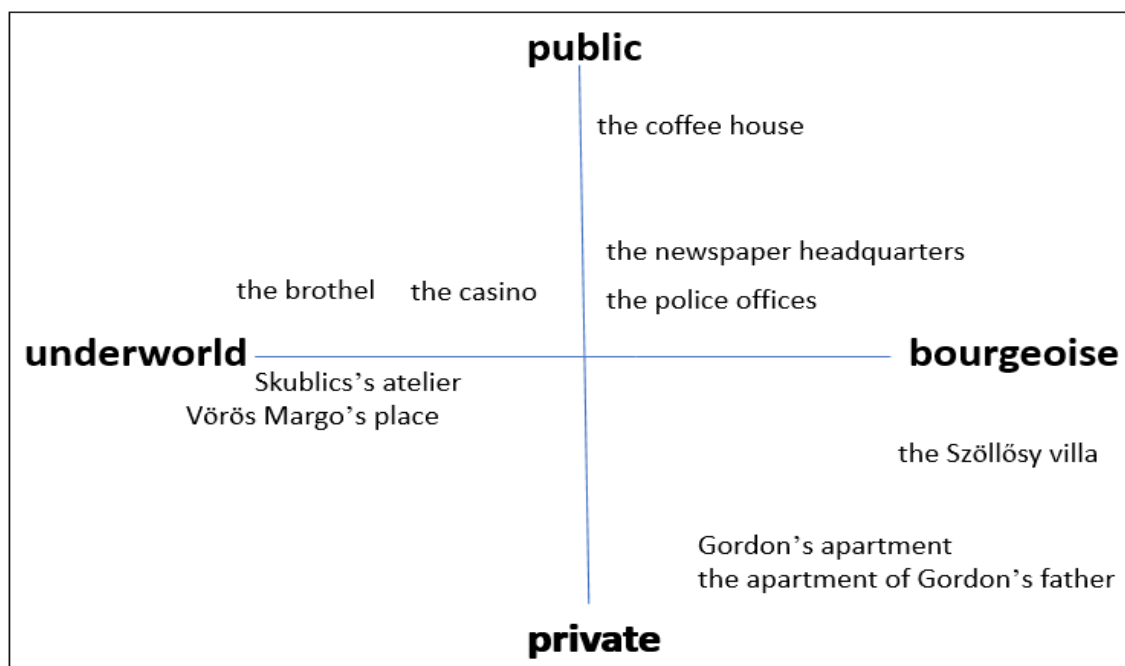

Figure 6.1: The system of spaces in the film Budapest Noir.

villa is a poignant example of the historical adaptation on the level of locations: The villa on the Gellérthegy is introduced through an establishing shot of an actual Hungarian Bauhaus villa at the same geographic place as it is nowadays, while afterwards presenting interior décor from the thirties. For the interior scenes, however, production designer Pater Sparrow chose a villa interior from Prague and not one from Budapest (Bartha 2017). The stunning interior works as a metaphor for the role of Jewish bourgeois culture in Budapest, and expresses affiliation with Hungarian culture, though with similar living standards as those of the Western bourgeoisie. Sparrow's decision to choose a non-Hungarian villa to represent this standard of living lets the viewer focus more on a problematic social integration.

At the end of the film, Gordon returns to the same tobacco shop where he was at the beginning and listens to the shopkeeper's complaints about the danger of living in Budapest as a Jew. Gordon replies with the utterly naïve statement that Budapest is and will remain a safe place. There is an element of contradiction between the classic model of Film Noir and Gárdos' interpretation here, because the city is not the enemy, but a safe place, and Gárdos' ironic nostalgia is somehow directed at the dangerous historic period in which one could still believe that Budapest was a safe place. Following this line of thought, we need to stress how the evil characters disappeared from the film, how tussles are less violent and conflicts less threatening than in the novel. The film is characterized by the diminution of the level of aggression and danger compared to the novel. Kondor Vilmos also considers the movie too polished in comparison with the novels (Gyárfás 2017). Juci Szurdi, the art director, stated in a podcast discussion that they conceived the sets and décor to be expressed through light-and-shade contrast in accordance with noir stylizations, but also that he was very disappointed with the final result that included vivid colours and day-light scenes. He also recounted experiences of conflicts with the director and the cinematographer on this issue (Sparrow 2019).

In summary, the historic accuracy of the film, a major issue for the art director, is contrasted by the expressive Film Noir style induced by the director and the cinematographer. The result is a beautiful and contradictory image of the city, balancing banal panoramas of a touristic interest with intimate, curious interiors reflecting particular and precise social realities.

Aranyélet
Golden Life (2015-2018), a Hungarian crime drama television series developed by HBO Europe and produced by Laokoon Films, is loosely based on the Finnish series *Helppo Elämä (Easy Living)* (MTV3 2009-2011). The series was a critical and, at least according to HBO, a commercial success on HBO Hungary, although it did not do so well when broadcasted on national television two years after the premier. It is the fourth production for HBO Hungary. The series aired in several European countries, and in August 2018 the first two seasons were released in the US. In 2015, entertainment website IGN Hungary wrote: "*Golden Life* is not only one of the best Hungarian shows ever made, but one of HBO's best thrillers as well" (Kovács-Cohner 2015). Player.hu wrote that it is the best thing that could have happened to Hungarian television (Hauschel 2018), while Nlcafe.hu claimed the following in an article title: "The all-time best Hungarian TV show was born" (TóCsa 2015).

Golden Life: A TV series about a sinful city

Gábor Krigler, the Hungarian creative producer, discovered the Finnish original series, *Easy Living*, and proposed a loose adaptation to Hungarian circumstances (Klacsán 2018). Instead of following local traditions, a new screenwriting practice was introduced by HBO in order to build on Krigler's North American experiences. HBO introduced the writers' room to the Hungarian market (Winnie 2016), a method completely unknown in Eastern Europe at that time (Varga 2017: 67). For other elements of *Golden Life*'s production, HBO followed European traditions, including the season concept in screenwriting (i.e. writing one season at a time), which are fundamentally different from the HBO samples found on Krigler's US study: According to Krigler, 90% of series are made episode by episode (Winnie 2016). Thus, Krigler describes scriptwriting decisions as being made locally. These decisions include, in the case of *Golden Life*, employing young scriptwriters alongside the leading screenwriter, in the hope that they can be socialized to the institution's working methods for later projects (Winnie 2016). In this context, Krigler therefore emphasizes the creative and local trendsetter role of his producer team rather than talking about their status as a "film industry professional" trained by HBO.

Social criticism and reality

Before the second season premiere, István Tasnádi, senior screenwriter of the show, recalls the producer's original 2016 concept: "They wanted an exciting, crime-genre story with many implications for the current Hungarian social situation and public life. It was not exactly politics, in fact, it was an unspoken expectation that we should engage with the dilemmas of contemporary Hungarians" (Kovács 2016). Hungarian screenwriters have tried to reflect contemporary reality to a greater extent than Finnish originals. As István Tasnádi mentioned in another interview: „Slowly, a simple and smooth crime story has grown into a social parabola that shows the life of a family today in Hungary" (Rakita 2018). Many authors point out that they were surprised to realize that a range of the fictional events in the series were based on real events. According to István Tasnádi, they were able to analyze social events to such an extent, because HBO is an independent, multinational company (Rakita 2018).

The 'Hungarian pear'

According to the largest Hungarian study of social classes so far, a complex survey conducted by GfK Market Research and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2014, the Hungarian demographic map looks a lot like a pear (figure 6.2). The upper class and upper middle class are both very thin, while the majority is situated in the lower middle class with the underclass as the largest group of all with 23% of the population (Kozák-Veres 2014, 24-25). As indicated in the model, there is a significant difference between rural and urban life in Hungary, which means that, to put it simply, the difference between life in Budapest and the rest of the country is substantial. Despite our lack of data about the demographics of HBO users, Anna Závorszky, HBO's Hungarian production executive of original productions, in an interview stated that their target group has been and will be an urban population (Závorszky 2019).

Taking into consideration that places can "play a role" in TV drama almost in the same way as an actor/actress plays a part, we presume that the settings of *Golden Life* represent the life-styles of different strata of the Hungarian society. Accordingly, *Golden Life* offers the viewer a sociographical journey in upper- and underclass criminology. Most of the eight social classes identified in the above-mentioned market research are represented in one way or another by characters and their surroundings in *Golden Life*. From the wealthy billionaire through to the influential politician to the struggling working class, characters in *Golden Life* undoubtedly represent varied groups in Hungarian society.

The main characters, the Miklósis, are a 'new money' family already wealthy enough for the upper middle class, but not characterized by the higher education and social status usually associated with this class. Politicians and high-level criminals in the show represent Hungarian society's thin layer of the elite. Most scenes take place in the elite vicinity, which the Miklósis aspire to. The family's core ambition is climbing the social ladder, making their story interesting in itself. In the first episode, we meet the family living in a suburban area of Buda. In the neighborhood, upper-class families live in detached houses with sizable gardens. Their house is a modern minimalist building with the interior reflecting a carefully designed and deliberate architectural concept. The Miklósi house is a symbol of easy life accessible through criminal activities, balancing the boundary between elite and upper middle class.

Pisti Mátyás, a convicted felon and Roma father in his thirties or early forties, represents another group of Hungarian society. Considering the spacious, two-story suburban family home he has built, he is moderately successful in his affairs. However, he becomes a gipsy gang leader with his large, but architecturally unimpressive house looking like a palace among the humble wooden huts and tiny, worn-down cabins along the dirt roads.

The archetypical home of rural intellectuals in the show is represented by the wooden house of Barbara Nyíredi, the journalist. The house is in Börzsöny outside the city. Her small garden in front of the building is well-kept, thoughtfully arranged and full of flowers. The home is also neat with natural colors and a combination of rustic and modern design. In comparison to other strata, there are only a few examples of the working class.
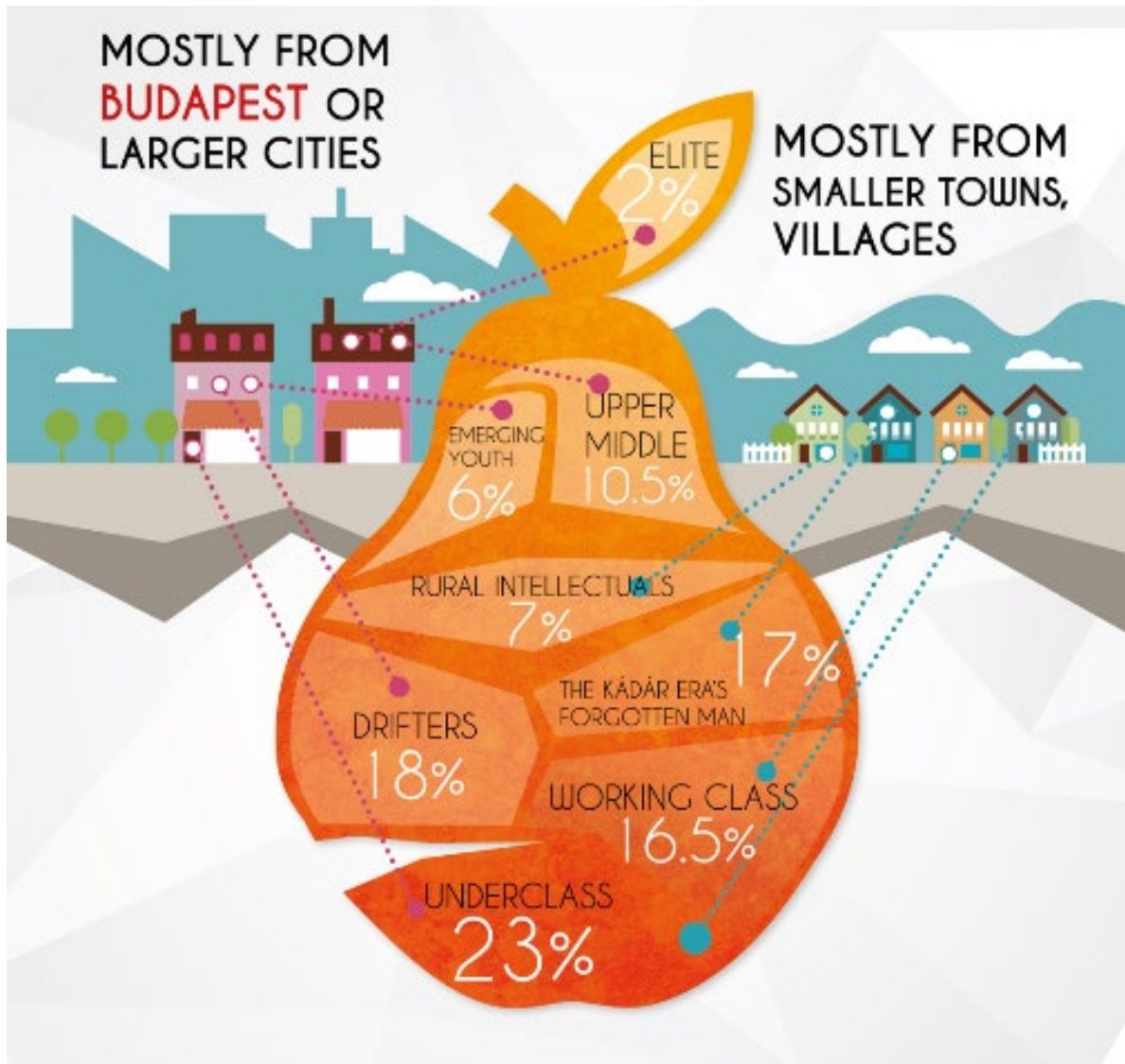

Figure 6.2: The "Hungarian pear": the structure of the Hungarian society. Source: GfK–MTA Osztálylétszám 2014.

Without crime, based on their qualifications and background, the Miklósi family would have belonged to the working class. Eventually, that is where they end up: at the end of the last season, they are portrayed in a typical home in an urban block of flats. The series puts the story of the characters in a stagnant, yet idyllically depicted, small bourgeois, working class life in a block of flats. Implicitly, the story claims that, starting out from the lower classes of society, this is the highest social level that members of Hungarian society can reach – without crime.

Site selection
The production of *Golden Life* involved site-searching experts. During the Golden Life work, the location manager and location scout - two roles that do not stand out sharply in the Hungarian market (Klacsán 2017) - were assigned a bigger role than in the previous HBO series. As a concept for the series, the creators of the series – Gábor Kriegler, Mikko Pöllä and Roope Lehtinen – avoided the heavily used spaces of Budapest in order to represent lesser-known locations within the series' dark world of crime, adding a fresh touch to the series (Gaszner 2018). HBO's earlier adapted series seem to have done exactly the opposite: they put the story in such iconic places, in some cases using explicit tourist destinations.

Originally, the third season was supposed to take place at Lake Balaton, but they found a better venue:

the Danube Bend (Bodnár 2018). It would have been difficult to add a new kind of visuality to the slightly used "lollipop, water bicycle Balaton theme," says Judit Fodor, Laokoon's producer on the series (Gaszner 2018). According to HBO's executive producer Anna Závorszky, the Danube Bend, the area around Zebegény, Nagymaros, Vác was also a good decision because, unlike Lake Balaton, this naturally stunning and slightly more exclusive holiday destination is underrepresented in Hungarian films (Gaszner 2018). In the end, however, the decision to move the story to the Danube bend was made for pragmatic, logistical reasons since the area is much closer to Budapest (Bicsérdi 2018; Gaszner 2018).

Conclusions
This chapter shows that a close reading of the texts themselves as well as researching *Golden Life* from a production point of view may teach us about social realities and the effect of a mediated city. On the one hand, Budapest as the archetypical sinful city shows that different locations of the city supposedly produce different types of crime (Buda differs from Pest when it comes to investigating crime). On the other hand, it illustrates how different social groups inhabiting different types of homes have trademarked versions of criminality.

Key takeaways
- In literature, film and TV series, Budapest has developed from being merely a substitute location in international productions to being an increasingly strategic urban location and city 'playing' itself.
- Rural areas are underrepresented in contemporary Hungarian audiovisual productions.
- Crime stories from Budapest correlate the archetype of the sinful city.
- In his series of crime novels, Kondor Vilmos strategically establishes Budapest as the main protagonist, similar to fictional or real cities in hard-boiled detective novels.
- The film *Budapest Noir* recreates a generic Film Noir city, while establishing Budapest as a historic setting at the same time.
- HBO Europe's three-season series *Golden Life* presents a social topography of crime, reflected in interior production design of the series.

7 Spatial representations of local color: Potential cultural tourism through Greek crime narratives

Christos Dermentzopoulos, Nikos Filippaios and Lampros Flitouris

The relationship between Greek society and crime fiction began at the same time as this new genre was being shaped in Europe and in the US, namely during the transition from the 19th to the 20th century. Nevertheless, from that era until now, foreign crime fiction has overshadowed Greek crime fiction traditions, especially in terms of reception. However, there are some important works in indigenous crime fiction novels, cinema and TV-series (Filippaios 2019). The spatial representations in these Greek novels, films and TV-series bring to light a versatile view of Greek urban and rural space, constructing a local color which often differentiates from the typical folkloric or touristic one. We focus on three Greek cases within the crime genre, which are representative, not only because of their success, but also due to their special representation of space and their local color, which dynamically creates a potential for cultural tourism.

Petros Markaris and The Costas Haritos series

As Karin Molander Danielson claims, "the modern crime stories in literature become a rhetorical and political force in a modern society characterized by diversity and specialization" (Danielson 2002). In Petros Markaris' literary work, the memory of the history of post-war Greece coexists with daily life as it was shaped before, through and in the aftermath of the economic crisis. His complete works until now with inspector Costas Haritos as the central character (12 novels & the short stories collection *Athens, the capital of the Balkans*), were written between 1995 and 2019. In this series, Markaris develops a social commentary using the generics of crime fiction, especially the 'Mediterranean Noir' sub-genre (Paritsi 2016).

The space in which most of the novels' plots take place is the urban web of Athens and the broader area of Attica. The location placement is mainly based in dipoles: the petty bourgeois neighborhoods of Athens are contrasted with the luxurious suburbs; or, around the most iconic archaeological touristic sites of the city, as Akropolis, there are traces that point to the consequences of the economic crisis. These contradictions constitute a unique, almost idiosyncratic local color. Of course, this topography of the novels is strongly influenced by their serial character.

"Seriality is the term used for dependence on intra-serial references and a chronological, intradiegetic order within a series" (Allenberg 2014). The post-war Greek detective novel, as formed since the 1950s by Yannis Maris and his character, inspector Giorgos Bekas, is characterized by seriality which made Bekas an intimate figure amongst readers. The television adaptations of his novels in the 1980s and 2000s forged stronger bonds with a wider audience: *The death of Timotheos Constas* (1987) and *The stories of Inspector Bekas* (2006-8). Markaris' main character, Costas Haritos, is largely influenced by Giorgos Bekas. The work of Markaris was also adapted for TV. More specifically two of his novels *Late-Night Report* (1998-9) and *De-*

> "The stories are a compelling portrayal of Athens and generally Greek society and the author draws inspiration from actual social problems: racism, corruption, terrorism and the economic crisis are some of his books' subjects that make the case for the social dimension of detective literature"
>
> Politopoulou (2015, 160-173).
>
> "The system in question is called clientelism and it involves the Greek elite as the ship owners, doctors, lawyers and top journalists."
>
> Borger (2017)

fense Zone (2007-8) were adapted as TV series and broadcast on national TV. The use of two media (both literature and television) are a typical example of the interconnectedness of modern media communication, namely intermediality (Jensen 2016).

Markaris addresses history like many Mediterranean noir writers, with examples including Jean-Claude Izzo, Maurice Attia and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (Politopoulou 2015, 180). The friendly relationship between Haritos and Lambros Zisis, a communist and former prisoner during the Military Junta (1967-1974), sets the frame for a connection, not only with the historical events from the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) until the dictatorship, but also with the traumas these events left on the collective memory to this day (Demertzis 2011). Markaris mostly chronicles the development of the Modern Greek society from 1995 onwards and the tragic transition from a situation of economic comfort and material well-being (1995-2008) to the economic crisis (2008 until present day), which proved that this well-being was transient and fabricated. Therefore, this multifarious crisis according to the author's – and his protagonist's mindset - is mostly a crisis of moral values.

The main cohesive element in Markaris' literary series is the evolution of Costas Haritos' life as a typical Greek petty civil servant. This kind of urban lifestyle is evident in the relationships between Haritos and his family. Even the way family dinners are pictured, his wife's cooking recipes, the relationship with the parents of his son-in-law, the bond with his old Fiat 131 Mirafiori and the purchase of a conventional, banal Seat Ibiza portray a bourgeois, simple, ordinary character that bears no resemblance to the psychologically troubled lone inspector or the super hero police officer (two tropes often seen in popular crime fiction). Following the portrayal of Giannis Maris' detective, Bekas, presented as a post-war middlebrow police officer, Haritos is yet another Greek example of an unhealthy, morose, middle-aged homicide detective. In contrary to the usually staid Bekas, however, Haritos narrates his daily life with sarcasm and irony. His originally sassy and sharp mouth (e.g. in *Night Report* and *Defense Zone*) becomes more prudent with age, showing more understanding and empathy towards others including both his wife and other characters in the stories.
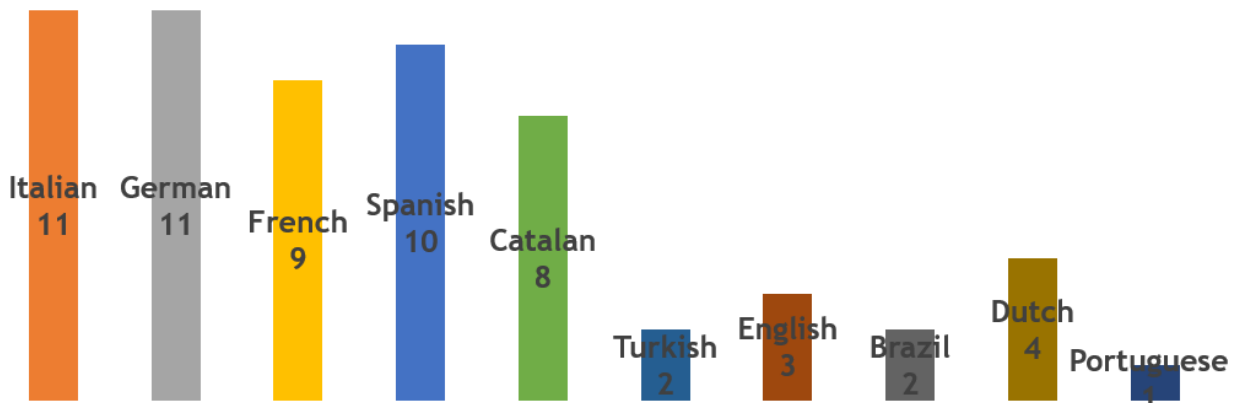
Figure 7.1: The translations of Markaris' novels into different languages not only indicates a Mediterranean interest in his works, but also shows a cross-European interest.

Haritos is no intellectual, nor a particularly educated person. He is an average police officer who has pursued a typical career since he became a young policeman during the Dictatorship until his position as the Head of the Homicide Department. Even his wider relationship with literature and reading is limited to newspapers and old Greek dictionaries. Vivien Nillane detects a proximity between Haritos and other famous heroes of European crime fiction: "Haritos still has to jostle for position among the police hierarchy; he sits firmly on top of his subordinates but he is wary of his superiors, like other police procedural heroes: Reginald Hill's Andy Dalziel and Ian Rankin's John Rebus come to mind from the British canon" (Nilan 2003). Markaris' character grows up alongside his readers, following him since his first work.

Most of the series is set in Athens and the broader area of Attica, usually presented through Haritos' car trips. Finding a free parking spot in the complex center of Athens is a daily obstacle for the hero. Haritos lives in the petty bourgeois Athens neighborhood of Pagkrati in a typical apartment building. Nevertheless, during latest years Pagkrati has attracted visitors from Athens' "alternative" youth crowd, because new modern restaurants and bars have opened there. Therefore, most readers can presumably relate to the hero's residence and territory. The stories' seriality and location placement have therefore forged strong bonds between the fictional characters and the audience. Although the television adaptations of the two novels did not produce high ratings despite their artistic success, we can safely claim that Haritos has found a place in the canon of modern Greek literature heroes. Although he is a character of an imported genre such as crime fiction, his stories managed to represent a strong local color.

In Markaris' novels, the local color creates the necessary familiarity for the Greek audience, but it may also represent a form of exoticism for foreign readerships. Local color, with all of its national components, interacts with (western) European culture (Dobrescu 2013, 50-51). Consequently, local color is almost inevitably connected with a kind of banal nationalism where local habits and particularities are turned into an identity element. In daily life, this banal nationalism is constantly flagged in the media through routine symbols, habits of language and 'flagged' identity (Billig 1995). However, in the case of

"Near the Panathenaic Stadium and the Pagkrati Woods, the neighborhood offers many tourist alternatives such as the biggest Cemetery of Athens, declared a historical monument." (Poseidon 2016)

Figure 7.2: Tourism alternatives in Athens

"(Haritos) seemingly reserves his true affection for the daughter who will be the first in the family to get a tertiary education, while resenting the young man who has found a place in her affections. But things are not quite what they seem, and even Haritos and Andriani's stereotypically arid marriage is a living thing – able to grow and develop in response to events, though the petty tensions between them give rise to much of the humor in the series."

Nilan (2003)

Markaris, local color is set in a deeper idiosyncratic manner. Born in the cosmopolitan city of Istanbul by an Armenian father and a Greek mother, Markaris has no difficulty depicting a crossroad Greek community, a blending of images, people, sounds, behaviors and cultural elements from the Balkans and the Orient, as realistically as possible, in a cityscape that functions harmonically within the plot.

The human geography in Markaris' work can be read with three categories of national representation in mind: Familiar and quotidian landscapes, dwelling spaces, and homely spaces (Edensor 2002, 37-68).

Firstly, as Haritos moves perpetually between buildings, squares and roads, using every form of public transport available – from the new metro to the trolley bus and the old electric railway, or navigating from the police headquarters to the outer suburbs by car – a representational map of the Athenian urban area is shaped. Such a literary cartographic representation of Athens results in a sense of familiarity, as Haritos knows every one-way street, traffic congestion, every slow intersection and any part of town. The whole Athenian urban portrait in Markaris' novels is a familiar, quotidian landscape, with which not only the "Athenian" but also the "external" reader can presumably relate: "For non-Athenian readers, the details may be new but the sense of the city, as a living organism and an active part of the story, is still there" (Nilan 2003).

Secondly, we can consider the sites of popular assembly open air markets, arcades with stores as well as the kiosks and corner shops widely found in Greece, squares with Greek orthodox churches and chapels, also traditional coffee shops. These places are also highly popular in tourist guidebooks, often described as essential to Modern Greek daily life. A vivid example is the habit of women gathering for coffee breaks, gossiping about neighbors, talking about current affairs involving the town or even the whole country. The representation of this spatial category in Markaris' novels vividly underlines local color.

This versatile human geography in Markaris' work is strongly connected to the phenomenon of cultural tourism. Especially the above-mentioned areas offer readers an imaginary travel to contemporary Greece. According to current theory on crime fiction (Waade and Hansen 2017), local color is reflected through a wide variety of examples serving both as suggestions of understanding the indigenous culture and as an "alternative tourist guide".

"Athens-based Petros Markaris is probably the best place to start any literary criminal investigation of Athens."

(French 2019)

THE CRIME FICTION OF ATHENS

Crime and the City Visits the Turbulent Greek Capital
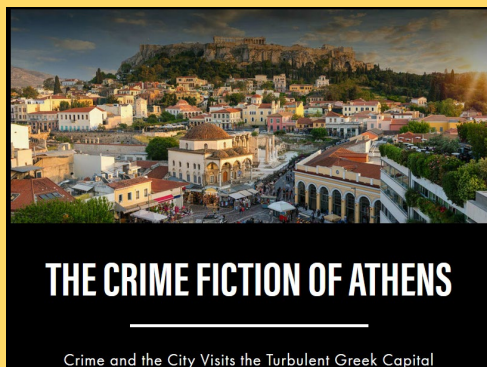
"Strongly written, slyly plotted, spiced with drolly satirical sidelights. Markaris is a crime writer to cheer and cherish."

Boyd Tonkin, The Independent

Considering the renewed international interest in the situation in Greece, mostly throughout the years of economic crisis (2010-2016) accompanied by remarkable tourist activities, we may better appreciate the impact of Markaris' work. Specifically, a literary exploration of Markaris' Athenian human geography offers readers a bipartite travel. On the one hand, they may experience the contemporary city with its anonymous modern buildings, the costly northern suburbs, the underprivileged outskirts, the poor downtown neighborhoods, the picturesque spots in Plaka or Thision. On the other hand, we also find popular tourist attractions, such as the Acropolis or Elefsina, usually with the addition of excerpts by world famous ancient Greek writers like Homer. These iconic sites have a vivid historic and national symbolism, an ethno-symbolism (Smith 2016) approved not only by the Greek readers, but also by the international market that can relate to the familiar or even stereotypical idea for Greek mentality and culture. For example, when murders take place in archaeological sites such as in Keramikos or Elefsina, a suicide in the Parthenon or a police pursuit in Thision (Markaris 2011), this may fascinate the German, French, or Italian readers (most of Mark's works have been translated into these three languages). For this reason, European newspapers and sites occasionally recommend Markaris' novels to future Greece visitors (e.g. French 2019).

Summing up, Markaris' spatial representation of the Athenian urbanscape and Attica in general could be characterized as complex, pluralistic and even contradictory. The human geography in the novels projects a critique of life in big cities, reveals the hidden historic and scenic sides/sites of Greece's capital, and simultaneously the novels involve a form of banal nationalism. In a way, this spatial perspective corresponds to the unique personality of Haritos: Although he remains in the heart of the bourgeois (even petty-bourgeois) life of Modern Greek society, he stands not only as a defender of its deeper moral values, but also as its keen critical commentator.

Alexis Alexiou and *Wednesday 4.45*

Wednesday 4.45 is the second film by director Alexis Alexiou, a stylish neo-noir with strong sociopolitical allusions to the recent years' global economic crisis. The production began in 2011, but mainly due to the country's troubled economy, it was not completed before 2015. These difficulties were overcome thanks to co-funding between companies from Greece, Germany and Israel (Papadimitriou 2018, 12-13). From a production perspective, *Wednesday 4.45* shows a tendency towards collaboration beyond the Greek borders, a typical practice in Greek cinema of the 2010s (Papadimitriou 2018).

A transnational element is also obvious in the film's cast. The protagonists are two famous Greek actors, Stelios Mainas and Maria Nafpliotou, who both have experience with commercial as well as quality TV and art-house-cinema. However, an important addition to the cast is Adam Bousdoukos, a German actor of Greek origin with a remarkable career mainly as collaborator with the Turkish-German director Fatih Akin. In addition, the antagonist in the film, a Romanian mob character, is portrayed by the acclaimed Romanian actor Mimi Branescu.

The film's localization is based in the following factors: a) the urban topography of the Film Noir genre, b) the sociopolitical view of the director and his critique on the economic crisis, and c) the transnational elements of the production and the cast. In *Wendesday 4.45*, local color is far from the usual depictions of Athens and Greece as a tourist destination full of sight-seeing and relaxation. Dimly lit and decadent urbanscapes set the background for a storyline full of deceit, pessimism and dark humor. This dark local color could attract the interest of not only a Greek, but European or even worldwide audience which has experienced the economic crisis and its consequences.

The plot of the film centers on a Greek owner of a live jazz club in Athens, Stelios, who tries to repay a big debt to a loan shark from the Romanian mob. As he tries to collect the money, Stelios gets involved in a series of turbulent and violent events: his estranged wife wants a divorce, breaking up the family, and he witnesses two murders in the Athenian underworld. Finally, Stelios decides to confront his enemies in the Romanian mafia. The film ends with a spectacular shoot-out.

The film has many similarities with Film Noir, a choice taken by the director with a conscious referential scope to the overall genre, as he states in an interview (Alexiou 2016). The voice-over of the central hero, the unorthodox camera perspectives and the shadowy view of the cityscape, the ambiguous and self-destructive existential hero as well as the focus on marginalized people and the underworld are all traits of film noir (Fotiou, Fessas 2017). As many of the film's reviews indicate (e.g. Mitsis 2015, Kranakis 2015, Koutsogiannopoulos 2015), Alexiou's work displays a rich palette of influences, from Micheal Mann's and Quentin Tarantino's refreshing and unconventional view on Film Noir structures and conventions to the Hong Kong crime cinema of John Woo. This breadth of influences is additional evidence of the multicultural aesthetics in *Wednesday 4.45*.

At the same time, the film has a strong indigenous Greek element, a strong connection with the economic crisis and its negative impact on society, culture and the psychology of the Greek people. The film takes place in 2010 in the beginning of the economic crisis and Alexiou's ideological view is obvious and powerful (Alexiou 2016): The ones who are primarily responsible for the crisis are the Greek politicians and the neoliberal capitalist politics. Contrarily, the victims are the "hungry of the world", as observed by a character, i.e. the poor people, the refugees, the exploited and the marginalized. However, the film's central conflict concerns not only Greece, but the whole of Europe. Phenomena such as the crisis of the institution of family, the flow of refugees and the economic and social inequality are certainly European, even global issues.

On this political, social and even ideological background, we may therefore detect Wednesday 4.45's "glocality". Svetlana Boym characterizes "glocal" as "a culture that uses global language to express local color" (Boym 2001, 67). In the case of *Wednesday 4.45*, this definition somehow reverses: the director and the production team use recent local perspectives (the indigenous problems connected to the economic crisis) to express a global concern and finally attract a European, even worldwide art-house audience. This trait brings to mind the way that Petros Markaris introduce local color in his literary universe. However, although Wednesday 4.45 probably targeted a global audience, mainly Europeans could identify with the film. The official review of the Tribeca Festival, in which the film was screened, states: "Alexis Alexiou's sophomore feature benefits from local color and allusions to recent events, but has limited import value in the States" (De Fore 2015).

The global elements in *Wednesday 4.45* are evident in the film's localization. In tune with the Film Noir stylization, the film's urban landscape is gloomy and dreamy full of vivid neon colors and shadows. This is also stressed by Alexiou himself in highlighting "the city" as a defining element of Noir. Notably, during two pivotal sequences in the narrative, set at noon and dawn respectively, empty panoramic urban landscapes depict Athens as a megalopolis full of crime, decadence and danger. In these scenes, the narration stops and the urbanscapes appear in all their declined grandeur, accompanied by the cinematic jazzy score composed by Yannis Veslemes (alias Felizol)

This interpretation of urban environment is typical in crime fiction. Lyn Pykett highlights Charles Dickens' and Wilkie Collins' 18th century Newgate novels as some of the main heralds of the crime fiction genre: "on the one hand they make a spectacle of criminality for the consumer of the tapestry of urban life, and on the other hand they serve to shock the middle-class readers into seeing aspects of city life which they would normally not encounter, or would pass by with averted gaze" (Pykett 2003, 27).

Here, we focus on two scenes of the film. The first one takes place in Athens' national garden. The protagonist Stelios discusses the social aftermath of the crisis with an anonymous old man, a friend of his deceased father. The national garden is portrayed as an abandoned place, immersed in an old, decayed grandeur. As Anne Marit Waade and Kim Toft Hansen write: "drama may be critical towards the ways in which cities appear in infrastructure, architecture or style". (Hansen and Waade 2017, 59) Thus, Alexiou uses this topography to criticize the economic and social inequalities.

Figure 7.3: Athens National Garden and an abandoned café in Wednesday 4.45.

In the second excerpt, we witness the Romanian mob brutally murder an Albanian strip club owner who has refused to repay his loan. The sequence takes place in a peripherally located empty café, which operates as "memory place" (lieu de mémoire) (Nora, 1984) of a prosperity long passed. The walls are decorated with objects such as a cheap nylon Greek flag and an old tourist poster, indicating that the prosperity of previous years were an illusion. The owner wears a t-shirt from the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. A TV set nobody watches displays news about the burning of the enormous Christmas tree of Athens by anti-authoritarian groups, an actual event in 2008 (Fotiou, Fessas 2017, 127-128). The café creates the sensibility of regognizable local color, although without the feeling of a healthy and flourishing society.

As a result, local color in *Wednesday 4.45* is marked by a critique of the disastrous backlash of the economic crisis. Despite this reconfiguration of local color, the film never develops an introvert mentality. On the contrary, the film's interpretation of local color presumably motivates viewers to identify with it and allude to similar problems in other countries. Consequently, the transnational character of the production, the European feature of the cast and the director's decision to use the popular sub-genre Film Noir is relevant to the content, the style, the structure and particularly the spatial representation of the film.

> "Eteros ego, Lost Souls: A Netflix-level Greek production worth watching."
>
> Pouleres (2019)

The transmedia universe of *Eteros Ego*

The media franchise *Eteros Ego* (*Alter Ego/Other Me*) (2017) began with a 2016 feature film. After the film's success, it was turned into a sequel for television called *Eteros Ego: Lost Souls* (2019). At the time of writing, the second season of the series is in production. In its transmedia profile, *Eteros Ego* was preceded by, for instance, the adaptations of crime writer Giannis Maris' novels for film during the 1960s and for TV in the 1980s and later the 2000s. However, *Eteros Ego* brings a breath of fresh air to the Greek media-scape, which we will unfold in the following.

The localization in *Eteros Ego*'s transmedia universe is influenced by a fundamental trait of modern Greek ideology: that contemporary Greeks are the heirs of ancient Greek civilization in culture, mentality and language. Therefore, Greek locations with iconic archaeological sites promote cultural tourism to the European and global viewer and a sense of banal nationalism to the Greek viewer (Billig 1995). Examples include Elefsina of Crete as well as places of knowledge and high culture such as a university building. However, these places are also connected to vicious crimes. The localization in the film and the series is linked to a combination of banal nationalism and cultural tourism to such an extent that it may be called 'tourism-induced film production' (Waade 2013, 91-2). At the same time, it is clearly influenced by the conventions of the crime thriller genre.

The head of the venture, Sotiris Tsafoulias, is both the director and screenwriter. As mentioned above, the film was a big hit in Greece, but its release was characterized by strange circumstances. On the first days of screening in Greek cinemas in 2017 a public debate with the creators and the main participants took place. An unknown man, who matched the description of a wanted murderer, joined the discussion. Tsafoulias and his co-operators decided to withdraw the film from the cinemas and upload it to Youtube instead, resulting in over two million views and enthusiastic feedback from the audience. This success drove Tsafoulias and his team to do a television sequel produced by the Greek production company Blonde in co-operation with Cosmote TV, the pay-TV service owned by Hellenic Telecommunications Organization. The first season aired in 2019.

The narrative universe of *Eteros Ego* is in some ways transnational. In the film, this transnational touch is still in formation, but it is developed in the series. This is the result not only of the director's vision, but also probably due to the involvement of Cosmote TV. In the official premiere event of the series, Dimitris Michalakis, the official director of Cosmote TV, underlined that the channel focuses on ambitious productions with international scope, beginning with documentaries on Greek history and continuing with the Eteros Ego series (Bisbidis 2019). This could be interpreted as a glocal strategy. The notion of glocality merges local color with transnational features, and glocal productions usually target a European or even a global audience. Also, many enthusiastic reviews of the series praised its uniqueness in the Greek media landscape and stressed its export potential. Nevertheless, we see no indication of a breakthrough with European or international audiences. However, the film won awards at the Thessaloniki International Film Festival, the Los Angeles Greek Film Festival and Liège's Festival International du Film Policier, indicating some popular and international appeal.

The protagonist in both productions, Dimitris Lainis, is a genius, eccentric criminologist. Lainis, portrayed by Pygmalion Dadakaridis, has Asperger's syndrome, which on the one hand equals introversion and underdeveloped social skills, but on the other also means an extraordinary investigative capacity. The idea of an autistic detective originally stems from Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes character, but it has become a contemporary television trend (Loftis 2015). The Saga Norén-character in *Bron/Broen* (2013-18) is a prime example of the contemporary autistic detective (Sideri 2017, 31).

Lainis and deputy inspector Apostolos Mparasopoulos (Manos Vakousis), head of Homicide at the Greek Police, are the central characters in *Eteros Ego*'s narrative universe. In the film the duo investigate a serial killer inspired by the Pythagorean theory of "amicable numbers", while the killings in the series are based on occult symbolism from the ancient Greek myth of Theseus.

This link to Ancient Greek culture in Greek crime fiction is the most important element in *Eteros Ego*. The frame of reference is that ancient Greek civilization was essential in developing West-European culture. The premise that an ancient heritage makes Greek people unique in the world has for centuries been implied in the official ideology of the Greek nation state. It still influences Greek mentality to this day, and it is exemplified perfectly in this scene from the film: Lainis has turned to an acclaimed French mathematician to help him understand the Pythagorean mathematics. The mathematician closes his monologue with this reply: "With you, the Greeks, something funny happens. The whole world wants to be like the Ancient Greeks and you Greeks want to be like the rest of the world."

> A commercially successful sub-genre in contemporary Greek crime fiction is mathematical mysteries, i.e. crimes influenced by mathematical methods also deployed by the investigators in order to solve the mystery. The most important figure in this sub-genre is Tefkros Michaelidis' novel Pythagorean Crimes (2006). Michaelidis co-operated in the script of the film *Eteros Ego*.
>
> For a comprehensive view on mathematics in literature, see Mann (2016).

Figure 7.4: Dimitris Lainis presents a geographical tracking of the murderer's acts to his colleagues in the police.

The words are spoken in a university lecture hall, a place of organized knowledge and rational thought. In the series, the discussions concerning the interpretation of the mythic story of Theseus between Lainis and his partner criminologist takes place in the Athens Law School. Like ancient philosophers, the two men calmly discuss the murders as they walk between the university buildings.

Theseus, the founder-hero of Athens and a mythic king, traveled from the Peloponnesian city of Trizina to Athens, exterminating outlaws with supernatural powers. The contemporary murderer kills criminals – a rapist, a pedophile, a procurer etc. – imitating Theseus. Moreover, he leaves his ritualistically and occultly murdered victims in the places where Theseus accomplished his feats. These places are, however, internationally known archaeological destinations, or what Tim Edensor (2002) characterizes as "iconic sites". For instance, Epidaurus is famous for its theater and Elefsina is known for its religious mysteries. Lainis and Mparasopoulos follow the murderer's tracks, taking the viewer on a geographical and historical journey.

Eteros Ego is influenced by films such as *Seven* (1995) and the first season of TV-series *True Detective* (2014), both linked to the occult thriller. Tsafoulias and his team have produced a media commodity with potential of cultural tourism. The occult thriller elements in *Eteros Ego* are combined with the international appeal of ancient Greek heritage. This may be appealing for both Greek and foreign viewers, but it also brings with it a strong sense of banal nationalism in both the film and the series. As the Markaris case illustrated, banal nationalism in Greek crime fiction is common, but in *Eteros Ego*'s transmedia universe it is the crucial link to local color of the story.

An occult allegory of Ancient Greek mythology is dominant in the series, which can be read as part of a New Age-movement in Greece. New Age merges the established attitude of modern life with the past: "New Age (…) transcends voices from the past, as well as, for that matter, voices belonging to the established order of the contemporary society and culture" (Heelas 1993, 109). New age

movements in contemporary Greece usually adopt the most dominant indigenous "voice of the past", namely Ancient Greek culture. This involvement of Ancient Greek-inspired new age, namely the symbolic and existential interpretation of the myth of Theseus, gives *Eteros Ego* an instructive aspect, which may address local and international viewers alike.

In an interview, Tsafoulias said that the series is multi-layered because "it is not only for entertainment, but also for recreation" (Tsafoulias 2019). The series contrasts the seriousness with humor, especially when it comes to language. This dialogism or polyphony of language, a concept which was introduced by the Russian literature theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, is characterized by making fun of the high-strung language often used to describe Ancient Greek memory (Bakhtin 2003). For example, after Lainis profoundly explains the meaning of the ancient myths, Mparasopoulos and his deputy joke and curse to lighten the dark and violent mood.

Generally, the high-strung rhetoric of mainly Lainis is contrasted by the daily hardships of ordinary Greeks during the economic crisis. Sotiris Tsafoulias' cameo appearance in the series exemplifies this contrast. He plays a car mechanic who lost his job because of the crisis and then found a job as a doorman in a strip club owned by a procurer. This turn to the man on the ground illustrates a broader sociopolitical ambition in the series.

The last two episodes take place in Crete, one of the most popular Greek tourist destinations. The killer wants to finish his imitation of Theseus' feats by murdering the Greek prime minister. In the killer's paranoid mind, the prime minister symbolizes the Minotaur, because he is depicted as responsible for the economic crisis. Thus, in the series' finale, the political allusions are linked with the two main dialectic poles of the narrative universe: the implied banal nationalism as well as the transcultural dynamics and the potential of cultural tourism.

Conclusions

In all three of our case studies, the potential of cultural tourism has been developed by spatial representation that may challenge and enrich the view on Greek urban spaces. On the one hand, these spatial representations interact with nostalgia, an idealization of the past and even banal nationalism, but, on the other hand, also contestation and a critique of Greek social, economic and political life. These depictions of local color presumably have potential for cultural tourism on a European or even an international level. At this point, this potential is partly realized in Petros Markaris' work, seeing as some of Athens' tourist guides contain references to the topography of the novels. As Greek crime novels, films and TV series adopt this European and international scope, the possibilities of cultural tourism gradually increase.

Key takeaways

- For the evolution of indigenous Greek crime fiction in the sectors of literature, cinema and TV, a crucial feature is integration of foreign elements and influences into a modern Greek mindset and culture. This integration is obvious in the location placement, especially of the post-1989 crime novels, films and series.
- The location placement is largely based on the ancient Greek heritage and its cultural and touristic extensions, but it also usually connects with the contemporary times, usually focusing to the country's social, economic and political problems.
- The reference to the country's contemporary problems does not lead to an introvert space representation addressing only Greek audiences. On the contrary, the aforementioned novels', films' and TV series' location placement also refers to a European or international audience, creating the possibilities of cultural tourism.
- The most successful product of Greek crime fiction in terms of cultural tourism is Petros Markaris' series with Costas Haritos. Nevertheless, Wednesday 4.45 and Eteros Ego, due to their special and original location placement, acquire strong possibilities of cultural tourism.

8 Transylvanian Location Aesthetics and Policies: Case Studies *Valea Mută* and *Hackerville*

Caius Dobrescu and Roxana Eichel

> "The meadows are in European and global terms utterly unique. I have never seen anything like it, there's nothing left like this. This is a jewel in Romania's crown."
>
> Prince Charles, interviewed for the documentary series *Wild Carpathia*

The deep relationship between real urban, rural and natural locations and cultural/fictional settings played an essential role in the European success of Scandinavian crime narratives (Hansen & Waade 2017). Since many of these ingredients are pervasive in media, film and tourism representations of Transylvania, we focus on two case studies of crime TV series set in locations identifiable as Transylvanian. We do this on order to test the extent to which 1) the pre-existing location aura is turned into production value in manners comparable to the Scandinavian case; 2) the Nordic Noir location aesthetics can be detected as a model, and is intentionally played upon. In what follows, we reconstruct the location and place vision of the producers of *Valea Mută/Silent Valley* (2016), commissioned and executively produced by HBO Romania, and *Hackerville* (2018), co-commissioned and co-produced by HBO with the German pay-TV channel TNT Serie.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the producers' location strategy and the association developed with the actual settings, we analyse the emergence of Transylvania as a brand, first at level of global fictional imagination, then on the European tourism market, and last (but not least) on the film and television market.

> In her book on the Transylvanian village of Torockó, an exoticized Hungarian ethnographic location, Anna Keszeg used the theory of mediascapes to analyse the media-texts surrounding the place. Mediascape, a concept coined by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, refers to all forms of media outlets and tools available in a specific geographic region and to the images of the world created by them. Keszeg's research proved that the audio-visual productions of the late 19th and early 20th century were highly influenced by literary texts and historical works of the 19th Century (Keszeg 2015).

Transylvanian Landscapes and Modern Mythology

Over the last decades, Transylvania acquired a growing visibility as a tourist destination. Here are some relevant landmarks of this evolution:

- HRM Prince Charles, who since 2003 acquired properties in the eastern part of the province, supports local ecological small industries (Bucur 2018, Brunt 2019).

- *Lonely Planet* promoted Transylvania as a 2016 top touristic destination (O'Hare & Delgrossi 2016).
- Circulation of documentary films destined to Western audiences, i.e. *Wild Carpathia* (Wild Carpathia 2019).

The main reason behind the global interest in this region is its fictional association with the myth of Count Dracula. The Transylvanian background of the first part of Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* (1897) had little to do with what, at the time of the publication, used to be a province in Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, Dracula's fictional universe keeps augmenting the real geographical and cultural place. Stoker's geographical vagueness not only sparked a vivid debate among academics and communities of fans on the alleged location of the Count's castle (Walker & White 1997, Davison 1997: 377-410), but also a race between different contemporary Romania cities (Brașov, Sighișoara, Cluj, Bistrița) for the symbolic and economic appropriation of this global brand.

The present boost of Transylvanian tourism is connected, in direct or indirect ways, to inputs present in the original shaping of the Dracula fiction. The media coverage of the region is focused on three main topics: biodiversity (i.e. landscape, climate, flora and fauna), cultural diversity (i.e. multiethnic communities and

> Bram Stoker moulded the stage of vampire romance and drama, from the the silent film era to the latest Netflix production; from US or Scandinavian vampire shows; to similar productions in Italy, Latin America, or Asia (Bush 2001, Richardson 2010, Peirse 2013: 13, Serrano 2016); to postmodern parodies such as *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975, remake: 2015); and to comics and cartoons such as Times Television's *Count Duckula* (1988-93) or the Disney franchise *Hotel Transylvania*. What Carol Margaret Davison calls "*Dracula's* transhistoric adaptability" (1997: 23) accounts for the periodical regeneration of this Gothic stereotype in its "natural" location.

> "Although some people may only associate the name with tales of bloodthirsty vampires (it is the setting of Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula*), Transylvania is one of the most beautiful natural regions in Europe dotted with picturesque, medieval fortress towns and monasteries." Source: wikivoyage.org
>
> "Transylvania is undoubtedly Romania's hidden gem: a rich cultural, geographic and historic region [...]. But Transylvania is also a place where the rural way of life of our ancestors, the true heart of Romanian culture, still exists in daily life and is preserved by the village elder." Source: romanianfriend.com

cultures), and the preservation of nature-friendly ways of life. These topics acquire specific fictional overtones. The "wilderness" of the local forests and mountains is connected to the Romantic landscaping of the Victorian vampire myth. Ethnic diversity resonates with the exoticism of the original story. Traditional eco-friendly lifestyles refashion the archaic atmosphere of Stoker's Transylvania. These aspects are highlighted in the discourse of external opinion makers, such as the increasingly influential tourism site *Wikivoyage*, but are also appropriated by domestic tour operators. The tacit weaving together of myth and reality, modern facilities, nature fascination and gothic nostalgia can be noticed also in EU local development projects (EC Project 2015).

Film Industry and Film Tourism in Transylvania

From the point of view of film tourism, Transylvania is a rather atypical case. Generally, the notion of film tourism covers secular pilgrimages to places in which influential films have been set or filmed on location. The last distinction is necessary, since fictional and real locations do not necessarily coincide. With Transylvania the connection worked the other way round: the fictional aura of the region attracted producers who either connected directly to the supernatural genres, or adjusted the preexisting magical or pristine image of the local landscape to their own artistic and commercial aims. Since around 2000, Transylvania has become a location not only for genre films in need of medieval and "dark" settings, but also for period dramas (e.g. set in Appalachia during the American civil war) or for international thrillers.

There are signs that regional and local operators have begun to understand the potential of film tourism, e.g. the implementation of both literary and film tourism in the "In the search for Dracula" tour organized by Romania Tour Store (2018). This evolution is meant to be supported by: a national policy of tax deductions for film industries implemented since the autumn of 2018 (Holdsworth 2018), regional resources administered by the private-public partnership Transylvania Film Fund, created in 2015 in association with the increasingly influential Transylvania International Film Festival annually held in the city of Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg (TIFF 2015).

In what follows, we evaluate the intersections between this emerging international film production, and the extension of HBO Europe towards the Eastern part of the continent. This HBO policy implies not only the distribution of its programs, but also original content production. The HBO East-European project was initiated by a British team (vice-president of HBO Europe Antony Root and the executive producers Steve Matthews and Jonathan Young), and has been almost simultaneously established in the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Romania (Holdsworth 2016). Eventually, we explore the Transylvanian instantiations of this pan-regional project from a double perspective, i.e. defining the politics and aesthetics of location as well as the European circulation of crime/noir series formats.

> "Nordic noir uses recognisably *Nordic* phenomena, settings, light, climate and seasonal conditions as well as language(s), characters and themes such as gender equality, provincial culture and the social democratic welfare state."
>
> Waade & Jensen 2013: 119

Silent Valley: Nordic Noir in a Transylvanian Context

The HBO Europe series *Silent Valley* is the first direct interface between two European fictional universes

maintained through a systematized network of symbolic associations, and through a cluster of media and tourism industries. The first one is the generic brand *Nordic Noir* with its poetics of blending location, climate, environment, and with its gender/race tolerance agenda, delivering the plot scheme and the models for the characters. The other one is *Transylvania* with its aura of magic and mystery, offering ambient geographical and social-cultural settings. *Silent Valley* is located in the mountain region previously known as the Transylvanian Alps, more precisely in and around the highly touristic city of Brașov.

The adaptation of the Norwegian format to Transylvania follows a double logic: 1) scouting for land- and cityscapes resembling the original Nordic setting and 2) embedding the plot and its toleration agenda in new and distinctive socio-cultural milieus. The subsequent presentation will follow these two tracks. In the narrative structure, we detect the inscription of this Nordic-Transylvanian encounter, while recon-structing the explicit intentions of the producers concerning the hybridization strategy.

> "Part of the family dynamics is unique in the Romanian version, the use of language is different, and locations bring a fully different dimension to the series. You cannot have a successful adaptation if you don't get to fit the characters to the local context, and screenwriter Christian Barna and director Marian Crișan did exactly this, while preserving the Norwegian format."
>
> Jonathan Young, VP Original Production, HBO Central Europe, producer of *Silent Valley*, quoted in Andronache (2016).

> Moderator: "Marian, you always come back to mountain-scapes. It's a leitmotiv with you, they tend to become characters in your movies. Moreover, I think you really support the Ministry of Tourism, you're acting as its bona fide PR officer. Where does this inclination come from and what's the role of the silent valley in *Silent Valley*?"
>
> Marian Crișan: "This is one of the things I liked most in the script. HBO stated that it should not be an "indoors movie", that it should happen in open spaces, and indeed we have many sequences in natural settings. To some extent the Silent Valley turns into a character in itself, because it is at the origin of the whole story. In cinema, but also in television the location of the action is crucial, I see it as an intricate part of what I have to say. People are important, but so much so are places."
>
> From a Q&A promotional event for *Silent Valley* posted on the series' Facebook account

> Castel Film Romania produced *Silent Valley* for HBO Europe in 2016. The cast and crew are local, but the format is imported. The four episode miniseries is an adaptation of the 6-episode *Øyevitne*/*Eyewitness* (2014), created & directed by Jarl Emsell Larsen and produced by NRK,

Landscape as embedded film tourism

Even if not advertised as such, presumably, the fictional aura of the city Brașov (in Romanian), Brassó (in Hungarian), Kronstadt (in German) and, generally, the region Southern Transylvania played a role in deciding the

location. The potential of associating Nordic Noir with Transylvania could not have escaped a consummated producer like Jonathan Young, who started his career in the industry as location manager. The choice of the director of the series, Marian Crișan, also suggests a special interest in film-landscaping with a distinctive Transylvanian touch.

The involvement of Marian Crișan with crime drama in Transylvanian mountain locations is anything but circumstantial. He had already experimented with the combination in the feature film *Orizont/Horizon* (2015). According to Andra Radu, the Romanian creative producer of the series, Crișan's previous Transylvanian project was a contributory cause to his appointment as director on the *Silent Valley* project (Marinescu 2016).

Mountain thrillers usually contain what John Urry called a "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002). They absorb a pre-existing symbolic patterning of the scenery according to cultural history and to the ideological and commercial aims of tourism. In *Silent Valley*, as in his previous dealings with mountain landscapes, Crișan negotiates between the dominant touristic images of Transylvanian nature and his artistic goals.

Place and location aesthetics in Silent Valley are in constant resonance with the rhetoric of local, regional, and international tourism media coverage of Transylvania and the Brașov area (the text box below shows such layers of interaction). Director Marian Crișan was obviously

concerned with adding production value to the ready-made popularity of the mountain landscapes. In our interview with him, he stressed the importance of intertwining the plot and action with the locations. According to him, in order to become a place of the imagination, the location should be construed dramatically, it should contribute to building tension. He also stressed that he expressly avoided the most salient touristic identifiers of Brașov and the

> "Silent Valley is not a real location. We invented the name of the place. We prospected Brașov and the surrounding areas. Locations are very important to me. They create atmosphere and invite drama. What I liked in the *Silent Valley* project is that we could explore the geography of the Brașov area, from the centre of the city to the Gypsy slums of the neighbouring town of Săcele, to the forests where we placed the crime that triggers the whole story. I like filming in nature, in open spaces, and it has been a real challenge to reconstruct the geography of the series from places that were not always contiguous. There is something magic about cinematographic geography. To narrate in a dramatic continuity even if you shoot in places that are not spatially connected is a quintessential challenge of film making."
>
> Marian Crișan (2019)

Panoramic vistas of Brașov as 'breakers' closely reminds the viewer of iconic representations of the city in vintage postcards or in modern tourism media:

The series' recurrent representation of dirt track training resonates with the local offer in terms of nature cycling:

Figure 8.1: Still from Silent Valley, featuring mountain bikes & motorcycles. © HBO Europe.

Representations of means of transportation. *Silent Valley* obtained the 2017 Golden Trailer Award for Best Foreign TV Spot / Trailer / Teaser for a series with a trailer called "The Train of Fear" (GTA 2017). At the same time, the featuring of means of transportation allowed for hints towards Nordic Noir, e.g. a close-up o of a Volvo bus.

Figure 8.2: From left to right: 1) Scene from award-winning trucks-and-cars chase in the Cheia mountain pass, Volvo close-up. © HBO Europe.

Brașov area, in order to avoid perceptual and emotional clichés. In his vision of locations, he did not seem to have considered any Nordic Noir precedent. When asked about his evaluation of its location poetics, Crișan didn't name any notorious films or series, but referred exclusively to Scandinavian auteur cinema.

According to producer Alina David, there was no structured policy that pre-determined the choice of place. In an interview conducted by Anna Keszeg, David suggested that the only direction coming from the London HQ was "away from Bucharest" (David 2019). This was confirmed by creative producer Adina Radu. According to her, the team was given total creative freedom for adapting the Norwegian format, including the choice of locations. Radu worked closely with director Marian Crișan and writer Christian Barna for the development of the script. Given the relative lack of domestic experience in terms of crime series, the team had a vibrant feeling of doing a pioneering, explorative, personal work. Therefore, the creative and executive responsibilities tended to overlap in a manner unspecific to the proceedings of the industry.

"It is not common or required from a creative producer to choose locations, but I have been very close to this project. In retrospect, I'd say there was no actual debate over the choice of the frame location. It came up naturally. The team trusted me with this because I was intimately connected to Brașov. I used to live there. My choice was based on a feeling, on a somehow unconscious, mental map.

In my teen ages, I had a split urban experience. There was the daytime city that I identified with the very strict rules of the high school I was attending (it was nicknamed "Bastille"). But the reverse of this was Brașov by night. We didn't take drugs, we were not prone to violence. But we felt free because we could gather around a couple of beers, listen to tons of rock and discuss literature. For me, Brașov is a nocturnal city and, accordingly, *Silent Valley* is a nocturnal series. Neither noir, nor dark, but nocturnal, this is how I felt it.

Later, when we discussed the actual adaption of the format, the presence of neighbouring "Nordic" forests was cheered as a great asset. It is, obviously, the same kind of landscape, it is quite Nordic. But all this came after choosing the location. At some point such evaluations are inevitable, but, as far as I know, Transylvania as tourist destination did not come first thing into play."

Adina Radu (2019)

"They loved the Norwegian format and I think they have seen a provocation in approaching the Romanian audience with sensitive topics such as homosexuality and the search for gender identity. Launching a challenge seemed for them part of the mission statement of HBO. But the format also had its Nordic Noir side. We meant to give the series a darker touch, but then it gradually shifted towards a family drama with accents of social critique. At the beginning we were closer to the atmosphere of the original, but we drifted from it and wanted to insert more local things. Like those connected to the Roma population, to its mores and customs."

Adina Radu (2019)

Location Policy and Ethno-Landscape

The original interest of HBO's British producers in terms of location did not lay with natural landscapes. Their incentive was rather the introduction of a progressive

Background information on the Roma community represented in the series:
- The use of the Romanes, the native language of the Roma, is the most original contribution of *Silent Valley*; it is probably the first Romanian production to have ever taken this linguistic turn.
- Romanes is one of the local varieties of Romani, a language which "is not the same as Romanian and not a Romance language" (Hubschmannova, Kalinin & Kenrick 2000: 11).
- The series mirrors the dynamics of conversion to neo-protestant Christian denominations among the Roma population in Romania, a process that intensified spectacularly over the last decades (Fosztó 2009: 167-208, Bițiș 2017).

"Unfortunately, I didn't spot any social debate generated by the series. In spite of our expectations, there was no public controversy on, for instance, homosexuality or the representation of social polarization and destitution."

Marian Crișan (2019)

agenda to an audience they perceived as predominantly conservative. The Norwegian format was chosen for its both frontal and nuanced approach of the topic of gender identity. Early, however, creative producer Adina Radu and director Marian Crișan determined the equal inclusion of local themes. The most important being the specificity of the Roma community. Fact is that the polemics with the alleged biases of the Romanian publics did not bare fruit, but on the level of adapting the Norwegian format to the local ethno-cultural map, the Romanian team came with some noteworthy creative strategies.

Let's concentrate on one relevant example. In the representation of the Roma community there is an element of exoticisation, with a certain dark-touristic touch. It might awake a slight association to Gypsy magic, which may be insidiously connected to Draculean-Transylvanian themes. The obvious effort of the producers is, however, to avoid stereotyping and to mainstream the image of this marginalised community. One strategy is to factor in visual and attitudinal tropes that allude to the symbolically-prestigious Nordic universe. On this line, the fictional Roma community on which the plot is premised belongs to a neo-Protestant denomination. This creates a cultural rhyme with Nordic Protestantism:
- the austerity of the "international" church (not connected to local traditions of wooden churches) and its integration in the surrounding mountain landscape;
- the stoic distinction of the old Roma preacher mourning the loss of his sons.

Landscape and character surprisingly and spectacularly connect this "exotic" disenfranchised community to the human geography of Norway.

Hackerville's and HBO's Timișoara

HBO's 2018 Romanian-German production *Hackerville* is set in Timișoara, a city in Western Romania, situated in the famous historic region Banat, nowadays regarded more and more as part of Transylvania. Historically speaking, Banat shares several stages of its evolution with the Principality of Transylvania: Austro-Hungarian administration, poly-ethnic structure, the influence of German culture are among the characteristics that single out the region and set it apart from South-Eastern Romania.

Hackerville is the first Romanian crime series produced by HBO based on an original story instead of an adaptation or remake, as were the cases of its predecessors, *Umbre/Shadows* (2014-), which started from a project loosely based on Australian series *Small Time Gangsters* (2011), and *Silent Valley*, the adaptation of the Norwegian *Eyewitness*. Other significant details pertaining to the production strategies and location choice had to do with the multinational teams. HBO Europe and TNT Serie were joined by Romanian production company Mobra Film, developed by 2007 Palme d'Or winning director Cristian Mungiu and by Tudor Reu, while UFA Fiction was represented by creators Ralph Martin and Joerg Winger. The intersection of different cultures and with different backgrounds was, in the case of Hackerville, a dominant trait of behind the scenes as well as on screen interactions.

Recent history has seen Timișoara become the epicentre of the 1989 Revolution that brought down the Ceaușescu regime (*Hackerville* briefly references this historical event as well, with one of the characters, Walter Metz, threatening to start "a new revolution"). At present, the city is preparing to become European Cultural Capital in 2021, a project with the potential to make the historical and ethnical diversity of the area more visible in Europe and beyond.

In this context, in Romania the HBO series was interpreted to some extent as an anticipation of the international visibility that the city may enjoy in 2021. While it pinpoints some interesting locations in Timișoara, *Hackerville* is, however, set to make its own aesthetic and ideological points rather than to explicitly promote the complex demographic, linguistic and multicultural concoction of the area. It does not take an interest in ethnic communities such as the Hungarian or Serbian, with an obvious long-term effect on local identity.

Still, an essential element of the aforementioned legacy is widely featured in the series. Actually, Timișoara was chosen as location for *Hackerville* for emphasizing the aftermath of the Germans' exile during the Communist period, nostalgia, the perception of places in light of a reactivated memory. In this respect, co-director Igor Cobileanski stated in an interview for *DETECt* that the setting of *Hackerville* was selected so as to represent locations where multiethnicity and the departure of the Germans are known to have been significant cultural issues (Cobileanski 2019). From his point of view, Sibiu, a city in Central Transylvania, would have been as convincing as Timișoara, since many Germans used to live there as well, but emigrated before or after 1989.

In many ways, the Romanian-German ethnic balance and cultural harmony in Transylvania was shattered by the communist decades (Vultur 2018). Several public places and the atmosphere rendered visible in *Hackerville*, convey aspects of this recent history rather than emphasizing the facets of long-term historical structures.

In his autobiographical work *Inner Archipelago* (1994), the Romanian-American critic Virgil Nemoianu, whose family had roots in Banat and who always preserved a strong attachment to this area, described the region as a cultural site of "micro-harmony", including idyllic virtues such as tolerance, imperfection and aesthetic dialogue between the manifold coexisting types of tradition. "Micro-harmony" can also be regarded as a characteristic trope of the self-perception of most parts of Transylvania.

"I emigrated with my parents and arrived in West Germany. I can say it was like an awakening and it definitely had a formative impact for my personality, because I had to adapt to the rules of the game as I played along."
Anca Miruna Lăzărescu, co-director, in an interview for HBO Romania: Hackerville – Behind the Scenes.

"I think Timișoara looks beautiful in this series. Splendid images captured by a brilliant director. It shows that some people of Timișoara can be prodigies at 14, while others can be even more relaxed and kind-hearted than we actually are. I think this series will be the best way to promote the city before becoming European Cultural Capital."

Ovidiu Drăgănescu, former Prefect of the Timiș County, MP, quoted by Romanian journal Adevărul, 2018

Banat and Transylvania are two regions in Romania that have evolved quite differently in a historical perspective. Although nowadays perceived as an entity, in the past centuries they had distinct administrations and ethnical structures, received different cultural influences, etc. After the 1918 Union with Romania, the perception of these differences has started to fade (see Turda 2001, 199). Today, tourism operators tend to capitalize on this ambiguity, for instance by promoting tours of Transylvania starting from Timișoara (Timișoara City Tours 2019; True Romania Tours 2019).

Figure 8.3: The Pentecostal Church of Gârcin, near Brașov. © HBO Europe.

"While transiting a secondary route between Bucharest and Brașov through the Cheia mountain pass, I identified another key location of the series. At some point on this road there is a Pentecostal church. I loved its way of defying the massiveness of the surrounding space."
Adina Radu (2019)

While older architectural features are impossible to neglect when watching the series, the option to focus on more recent constructions can be understood as a consequence of the plot structure, which brings forth the last three decades in Romanian history.

A Multinational Team Creating a Multicultural Story

Facts and fiction have an interesting way of intertwining in *Hackerville*, thereby conveying truthfulness to its message. This matches the intentions that HBO Europe often mentions, such as speaking of authentic stories and emotions, many of them based on local stories and tropes, but with a generous potential to travel globally. For instance, an authenticity trait pertaining to *Hackerville* is

given by the fact that some of the main actors share the life-circumstances of the characters: Anna and Ovidiu Schumacher, who actually left Romania in the 1990s and settled in Germany, impersonate the exiled daughter and father revisiting their home country. Anca Miruna Lăzărescu, co-director, is also a migrant Romanian-German for whom *Hackerville* was, to some extent, the story of her own return to her hometown. Therefore, coming back to a familiar place as a "new" person is a topic that influences the relation to space and location in the series.

On the one hand, fact and fiction are not merely overlapping, they also take diverging trajectories: The HBO series shifts the location of the city in Romania, which has become internationally known as "Hackerville": Râmnicu-Vâlcea. The place could not have hosted as convincingly as Timișoara the polyethnic background of Lisa Metz or the business environment in the show.

On the other hand, the HBO series shares, in part, some aims with the documentary: the idea of raising awareness about the social phenomenon of hacking as a consequence of the moral and economic transformations characterizing the aftermath of the Communist era: unemployment, increased criminality, the disbalanced shift in values such as honesty or education. However, in this fictional world, the dark side of hacking is counteracted by the "good hacker" represented by youngster Cipi Matei. Besides the crime plot, *Hackerville* focuses on the relationship between past, present, and future, engaging certain types of locations in order to do so. The estrangement and the temporary return of the Metz family, mainly represented through Lisa's experiences and emotions, is the structuring pillar for all of the places featured in the show. As the viewer gradually learns, she identifies with the child hacker Cipi because she feels she could have developed a similar fate, had both her parents died.

With shadows and scars of its Communist past, present-day Timișoara is the series' main setting. Already the title sequence brings forth a series of drone-captured images from Ciprian Matei's neighborhood, consisting of apartment buildings from the socialist era. The buildings simultaneously depict a gateway to the present and the future. The buildings and the cityscape mix with fluid and ever-changing shapes and features merging them with a computer keyboard and components on electronic circuit boards. This way, the title sequence presents the viewer with a world where the real cityscape merges with virtual realities.

Ethics and aesthetics connected to the abandoned places

Abandoned places are some of the most important types of locations employed in the show. As often seen in the crime genre, they serve as hiding spots for illegal activities. From the perspective of production such places certainly provide convenient arrangements. At the same time, the profiling of such deserted places indicates the intentions behind the series' location strategies: The setting is a metropolitan area with conspicuously exposed ruins, which suggests that the economic and political wounds of the post-communist transition have not yet healed.

These abandoned places pertain to both public and private spaces such as the closed refinery, the abandoned hospital where Cipi hides, the rural cemetery, and the pre-emigration Metz house. Even some places in the midst of lively human activity seem to imply that they are somehow half-functional, half-deserted. According to the team, one

Râmnicu-Vâlcea has already been in the spotlight for some social survey articles and mini-documentaries from different sources and with various perspectives. For instance, *Norton* finances a series of investigation documentaries aiming to reveal various sites of cybercrime: "a documentary series that explores the hidden places that blur the line between the physical and digital worlds. It unapologetically exposes the true face of cybercrime and reveals how online threats have real-world consequences" (Symantec Corporation 2015). In this sense, the production teams' choice to shoot *Hackerville* in Timișoara is significant as it seems to subvert a stereotype: the hacker from Râmnicu-Vâlcea.

In *Hackerville*, the plot focuses on the exile and return of a family belonging to the German minority. Only a child when her father fled communist Romania, the series' character Lisa Metz grew up to be an investigator of cyberattacks for the *Bundes-kriminalamt* (BKA), the federal criminal police office in Frankfurt. She goes to Timișoara because a mysterious Romanian hacker breaks into a German bank system only to demonstratively steal 9.99 euro.

An international network of cybercriminals, locally controlled by Bulgarian villain Borisov, also tries to track and capture the young talented hacker and make him work in their service. Both forces search for the hacker Ciprian Matei. At times, the race is crosscut with scenes guided by nostalgia and reinterpretations of the past, based on Lisa's history rather than the city's multilayered background or the histories of other important characters.

of the functions of exploring such abandoned places was to underline an absence: the empty space left behind by the migrant Germans, a space that has not been filled or replaced by anything else after their departure. Therefore, location and place are interconnected to the topics of ethnicity and uprootedness.

Hackerville addresses estrangement from the city rather than the direct interest for Timișoara's history or touristic sites. Tourism becomes instead a way of reconnecting with once familiar spots of the city. Identity of the displaced characters rather than place itself seems to have caught the attention of the producers, writers and directors: the interplay between familiar and foreign

makes up the key meanings in a story about recognition, identification and migration. In this sense, the character Lisa Metz is at times depicted as a "tourist" despite having been born in Timișoara: she is a visitor in her own hometown (though a tourist on a detective mission), so the popular sites are seen from her de-familiarizing perspective. For example, she is represented taking selfies on Alba Iulia Street or photographing the Monument of Saint Mary and Saint John Nepomuk, an 18th century monument in Liberty Square.

> "The German-Romanians are almost an invisible group. I remember in West Germany in the 80s, when Ceausescu allowed families to emigrate and suddenly there were these new kids in school, who spoke this oddly-accented German, but the community has been almost invisible, at least in popular culture"
>
> Joerg Winger,
> quoted by *The Hollywood Reporter*, 2018

Location, Audiences and Reception

The HBO Europe staff asserted that co-production was a necessary option not due to financial reasons, but in order to convey authenticity to the project (e.g. filming in Frankfurt and having German actors on set). For such productions, the market is still mainly local, as Antony Root claims, according to The Hollywood Reporter. The series was well received in Germany, thus confirming Winger's predictions on German interest in a community perceived as under-represented in popular narratives (the Romanian-Germans). It also gained some of the prestigious Grimme Awards in 2019: the prizes for best directors of a fiction series (Igor Cobileanski, Anca Miruna Lăzărescu), best lead acting (Anna Schumacher and Andi Vasluianu), and best soundtrack (Silent Strike).

On the other hand, the Romanian audience seemed more enthusiastic about the idea of an HBO series being shot in Timișoara rather than about the show itself. Director Igor Cobileanski believes the Romanian moderate or even skeptical reception was triggered by the profile of Romanian characters in the series or some recurring patterns of solutions to the plot: the "happy-ending" trope or the Romanian "hero" policeman who saves the day.

> "I said I would try and show authentic Romanians (…) The West is seen as pragmatic and more professional as far as investigations go, while the Romanians are more relaxed. The Germans are sharp and quick, while the Romanians are… funny"
>
> "Romanian audiences can watch American movies and accept the idea that the protagonist travels on a spiderweb or saves the world from the impact with a meteorite, but they would not believe a film where a Romanian hero does such things. I believe the Romanian audience is very honest"
>
> Igor Cobileanski, co-director (2019).

> "(…) it shows Eastern Europe beyond the clichés of poverty migration and backwardness. It does not remove these clichés by means of didactics, but by means of entertainment television. The series also asks questions about belonging, identity, home. But it represents them for a digitally networked society, not against the background of rival nationalities. These are questions from the perspective of the present young generation that has long had access to the Western world and yet has a modern Eastern European identity."
>
> Excerpt from the Jury's Motivation for the Grimme Awards, 2019.

The production of Hackerville brings into play a region that had previously not been employed as filming locations for European fiction projects involving such multinational interconnections. Timișoara and its surroundings have not been the source of widely known transnational myths such as Dracula. Their involvement in crime fiction production was not precedeed, as in the case of Silent Valley, by the "dark" reputation of the site. Therefore, the scene was set for fresh possibilities. The main criterion for the producers' choice of Timișoara was ethnicity (i.e. as primary factor for the plot strategies, before any other considerations related to location or logistic suitability).

Conclusions: Levels of Disconnection

There is a brand of Romanian auteur cinema premised on the economy of artistic means ("minimalism") and on confronting major social problems in a quasi-"dark" manner. But this did not seem to influence the poetics of the two series analysed. At the same time, the promotional or critical discourses on the Romanian series never refered to the international brand of "Romanian New Wave" (as construed in Bergan 2008, Scott 2008, Kaceanov 2008, Zeitchick 2010). This is a reminder of the fact that a Nordic Noir promotional rhetoric hardly ever refers to the previous success of Scandinavian auteur cinema.

There seems to be no necessary connection between the "noir" and the "dark" fictional universes: Transylvania is ascribed to the latter (Gothic, horror, fantasy), even if originally Dracula and Jack the Ripper evolved almost jointly into the status of popular culture myths (Davison 1997: 147-174, Storey 2012).

There is no necessary connection between the touristic aura of a region and its success as a film and television setting. According to the creatives on *Silent Valley* that we interviewed, the Transylvanian "mystique" did not play a significant role in searching for a Scandinavian-compatible location. Moreover, it was assumed that, had it been mentioned, the ready-made image would have hit against HBOs prospect of scouting new and "fresh" East-European perspectives. Besides this, in some cases touristically far-famed places are not equipped for hosting cinema or TV productions. As Igor Cobileanski (2019) stated, infrastructure is often a challenge in Romania in any city other than Bucharest.

There is a disconnection between the consumption of US or European crime narratives and the consumption of domestic productions. The Romanian audiences are interested in the genre, but hardly connect it to their national/local/regional environment.

The contemporary domestic and foreign perception of the identity of Transylvania extends over other regions and cities such as Timișoara. Even if having a similar multi-ethnic Habsburg heritage, historically the city has not been part of the province. Theoretically, this inclusion could prove productive through the wider dispensation of the Transylvanian medial aura. But for the time being, the only entities interested in prospecting this opportunity are small-time tour operators. The multi-ethnic legacy of the region is also under-explored: its timid representations in the two series discussed above only begins to suggest its complexity and narrative richness.

In Romania, initiatives for national and regional film funding have been launched only recently. The measure to which these initiatives would activate a pattern of interactions between producers, tour operators and local/regional governments cannot be foretold. But the emergence of these funding structures points to the rising awareness of the possibilities of mutual support between film industries and regional/local development.

The growing perception of the necessity of acceding to European funding networks is obvious in that the Transylvanian Film Fund was meant, from the very beginning, to become part of Cine-Regio "the organization that brings together 43 European regional film funds" (TIFF 2015).

PART III. CRIME FICTION IN BRITISH AND ITALIAN PERIPHERIES

9 Away from London: British locations and screen tourism from *Broadchurch* to *Hinterland*

Stefano Baschiera & Markus Schleich

While the 17th and 18th century "Grand Tour" lured predominantly young English noblemen to roam the continent, contemporary screen tourism appeals to many tourists of all demographics and nations to visit the UK. Cultural tourism, i.e. the audio-visual exposure of recognisable settings in films and television series, is a beneficiary factor to the soaring numbers of visitors in many regions of the UK. Based on the analysis of media policy documents and reports from the film and tourism industry, this chapter focuses on the economic impact of screen production and screen tourism in the UK outside of London.

The economic, cultural and touristic importance of screen production outside of London are exemplified through the case studies of two prominent TV crime series: *Broadchurch* (ITV1, 2013-2017) and *Hinterland/y gwyll* (S4C/BBC One, 2013-2016). This chapter offers evidence that screen productions significantly increase visitor numbers in the British regions, particularly if they are long-running, the series convey a strong sense of place and if local tourism and cultural agencies work closely together with producers of screen content. While the darker themes and topics, might not initially make a location of crime shows appealing to tourist, the British cases show that they nonetheless manage to attract tourists.

> **Chapter 12** of this report provides a comprehensive overview on screen tourism research, highlighting the difficulty and complexity of quantifying the economic impact of screen tourism.

(Screen) Tourism in the UK

In 2010, then Prime Minister of the UK, David Cameron, identified tourism as the UK's third-highest export earner behind chemicals and financial services (Gov.uk 2010). According to a study conducted by Deloitte (2013), tourism has been the fastest-growing sector in the UK in employment terms. In this report, Britain is forecast to have a tourism industry worth over £257 billion by 2025. The sector was predicted to grow at an annual rate of 3.8% through to 2025 - significantly faster than the overall UK economy and much faster than sectors such as manufacturing, construction, and retail (Deloitte 2013). In a recent report on the potential impact of Brexit on the creative industries, tourism and the digital single market, the maintaining access to the Single Aviation Market and a an easy regime for handling tourists' entry into the country were highlighted as key for retaining visitor numbers in the UK post-Brexit (Publications Parliament 2018: 35-39).
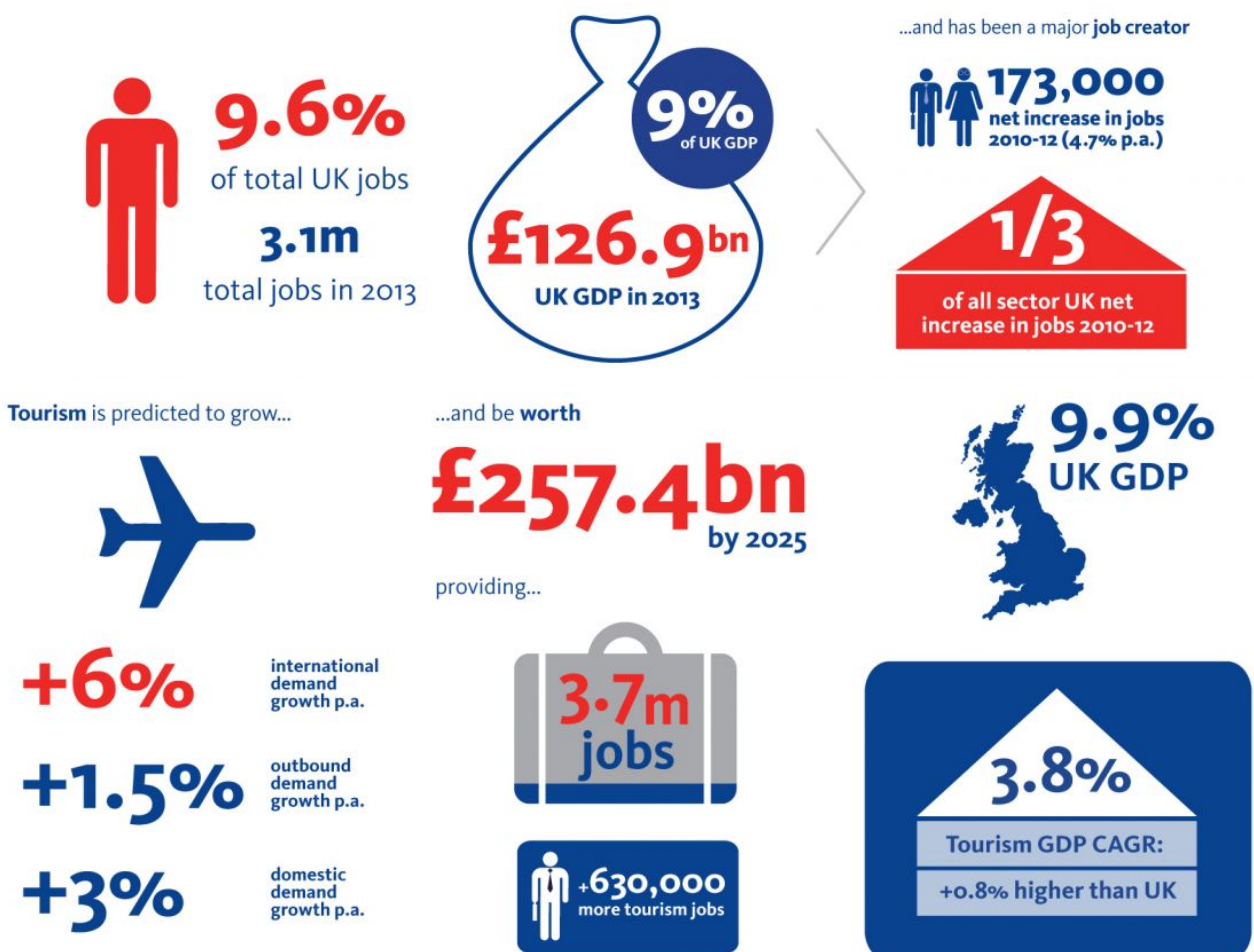
Figure 9.1: Tourism: jobs and growth. Deloitte November 2013

A look at the numbers confirms that the importance of tourism for the British economy cannot be overstated. David Cameron labelled tourism as "our calling card to the world, and it has never been more important to ensure that Britain continues to be a world-class destination. […] For too long tourism has been looked down on as a second class service sector. That's just wrong. Tourism is a fiercely competitive market, requiring skills, talent, enterprise and a government that backs Britain. It's fundamental to the rebuilding and rebalancing of our economy" (Gov.uk 2010). It is therefore understandable that the UK government is emphasizing the rich cultural heritage of the British Isles: "From the 1,000 years of history of the Tower of London to the unique Giant's Causeway clifftop experience in Northern Ireland, UK tourism offers enduring memories and experiences for both domestic and inbound visitors" (Gov.uk 2019).

The Olsberg Report 2015

There is an astonishing amount of research available on screen tourism from the early nineties onwards. The phenomenon of films turning viewers into visitors of a site where a film or television series is shot has been widely discussed in academic literature and is now well-documented. In 2007, the Olsberg report – conducted by Olsberg-SPI, a creative industries strategy consultancy - called for a systematic analysis of the economic impact of screen tourism, which has subsequently been carried out by stakeholders in different regions.

While all of these case studies conclude that screen tourism plays a significant role in boosting the numbers of visitors, most of them struggle to back their findings with substantial data to extrapolate the results to calculate the overall impact of UK films and television series on visitor numbers to the UK. The recent Olsberg report from 2015 is the first to tackle this problem. The study was funded by Creative England in association with Visit England to provide the first robust and data-driven assessment of the value of screen tourism to England outside of London ("the Rest of England").

London's attraction as an international destination is apparent in the fact that the city accounts for 53.3% of spending by overseas visitors to the UK. However, another report on the EU Funding of the UK Screen Sectors between 2007

and 2017 reveals: While London does indeed have the highest proportion of projects and funding – it had the highest number of projects supported (712) with the largest value (£87.8m) -, it only received 37% of the total funding (BFI 2018b). This means that over 60% of the EU funding is spread quite broadly over the rest of England. Notably, Northern Ireland (16.7%) and Wales (10.3%) received large proportions of funding between 2007-2017 (BFI 2018b). It should be noted that England has very attractive tax breaks for film and television productions.

The screen sector tax reliefs have been introduced to make the UK a competitive and stable workplace to develop and produce screen sector content. The Film Tax Relief (FTR) was introduced in 2007 and followed by the High-End Television Tax Relief (HETR) and the Animation Programme Tax Relief (ATR) in 2013, and the Children's Television Tax Relief (CTR) in 2015. Designed to support the creative industries, these tax reliefs have enabled significant growth in the sector of film, high-end drama as well as children's and an-

> "From TV shows like *The Crown*, to films like *Darkest Hour*, and animations like *Peppa Pig*, our creative industries are intrinsic to the rich cultural fabric of the UK. But they're also an important part of a dynamic and diversified economy, and a key component of our great, global trading nation in improving its evidence base of the strong impact that they have on our economy."
>
> Philip Hammond,
> Chancellor of the Exchequer (BFI 2018a)

> "While research has not been undertaken into screen locations that have featured in particularly dark or bleak productions it should be assumed that to function as screen tourism sites there should be clear aspects of positive appeal in the treatment of the story and the stars involved."
>
> (Olsberg SPI 2015: 47)

imation television productions. According to the Screen Business Report from 2018, the creative industries delivered £8bn to the UK economy and generated over 137,000 jobs in

Total tourism spending — NI £2.1bn, Scotland £10.9bn, Wales £6.0bn, London £66.9bn, Rest of England £27.3bn
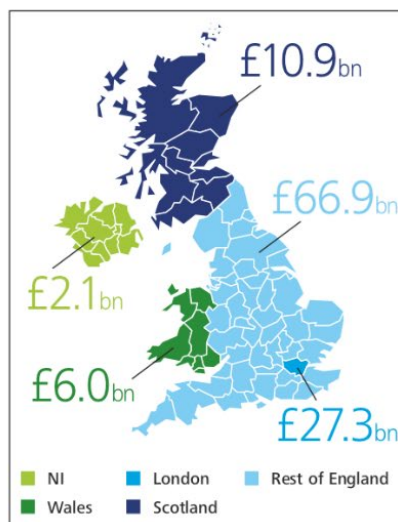
International tourism % of tourism spend in geography — NI 15%, Scotland 18%, Wales 10%, London 12%, Rest of England 47%
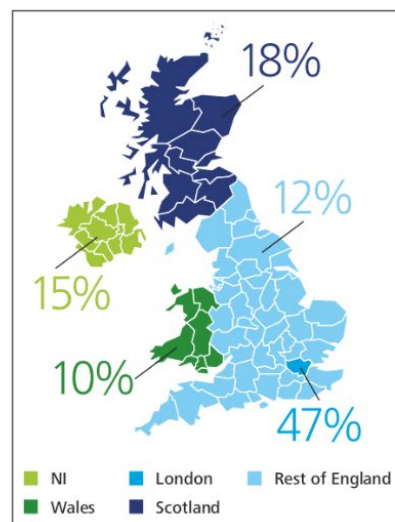
International tourism % of international tourism spend in UK — NI 1%, Scotland 8%, Wales 3%, London 35%, Rest of England 53%

Legend: NI, London, Rest of England, Wales, Scotland

Figure 9.2: Tourism: jobs and growth. Deloitte November 2013.

2016 alone, but also had spill-over impacts for industries such as merchandising and tourism (BFI 2018a).

As a tourist market, the UK operates in a highly competitive international landscape. As the UK's capital, London attracts millions of visitors each year. Competition to lure tourists into their regions is a lot harder for the rest of England. Thanks to the tax reliefs mentioned above, England is very attractive for creators of audiovisual content, and enabling producers of film and television shows to shoot at locations away from London is not just beneficial for local talents, i.e. film crews, but also supports regional tourism. The fact that the "rest of England" attracts over 60% of funding of the EU is telling, as the screen sector relies heavily on a combination of private and public investment to grow. According to a report by the British Film Institute (BFI), EU investment has been a critical part of this mix (BFI 2018b).

It is impossible to predict the (international) success of any production, but the presence of a well-established financier or backer can be a measurement for quality and the potential for wide audience exposure internationally. The Olsberg 2015 report further concludes that international investment translates into wider exposure and circulation of films and television productions, namely in "[r]aising the profile of [screen] industry within a geographic region" and "[t]ourism impacts through support of certain high-profile productions" (Olsberg SPI 2015: 32). The report also acknowledges that the tax reliefs had an "immediate impact" (3) and made it easier for regional production hubs to attract international investment, thereby driving the production volume in the entire UK to record highs. Many of these productions are set away from London and their effect on tourism is one of the main points of interest for the surveys conducted by Olsberg. The opportunity that lies within screen tourism is expanding, but a deeper understanding of the potential value of film and television productions is necessary, especially for the regions away from London.

The primary research undertaken for the Olsberg report provides clear evidence that tourists will travel to sites specifically because they have been depicted in feature films and television drama. While this report focuses on the value of core screen tourists, it should be noted that screen tourism can also contribute to tourist visits at a less direct level by promoting other key tourist draws of the UK, such as its heritage and culture for instance. To understand the proportion of core screen tourists at filming locations, the reports only worked on locations that are visited by both screen tourists and non-screen tourists. These are referred to as dual-appeal locations and play a key role in estimating how the proportion of core screen tourists relates to the population of general tourists, and the overall tourism at the sites. The report also distinguishes between domestic and international tourism: International screen tourists are a priority for

Government and other agencies. International tourists bring additional spend into the UK, and, in the case of core screen tourists, this spend is directly linked to film and television productions. In cooperation with Creative England, a long list of potential sites for the survey was drawn up, which were then narrowed down to a list of eight sites, which altogether had to fulfil the following criteria:

- Locations represented as much of the English regions as possible.
- They covered a broad range of content (further explained in the following section).
- Different categories of filming locations were covered including historical buildings, countryside locations, towns, and villages.
- A combination of free and paid-for attractions.

Besides the locations, the screen products were equally important. The survey needed to cover a wide range of genres and, thus, a broad key demographic. The following genres and productions were included:

- Costume drama: *Pride and Prejudice*, *Downton Abbey*, and *Brideshead Revisited*.
- Big budget blockbusters: *The Dark Knight Rises*, *Jack the Giant Slayer* and the first two Harry Potter films.
- Children's productions: *Garfield: a Tale of Two Kitties*.
- Fantasy shows: *Merlin* and *Atlantis*.
- Crime Shows: *Broadchurch*.

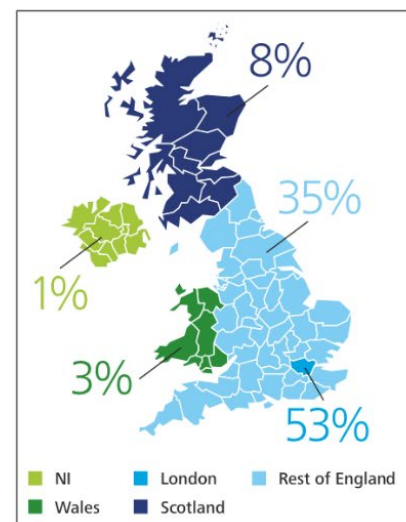The surveys were undertaken throughout the day from August 29th and 31st, 2014, with one full day spent at each location. The interviews were conducted randomly, with surveyors addressing as many visitors as possible. In addition, an online survey was sent to subscribers of relevant databases and, in some cases, circulated on social networks, both approaches were coordinated with local tourism organisations.

Within the eight sites surveyed, a range of screen tourism impacts can be detected. As is to be expected, popular and long-running franchises attract the highest proportion of core screen tourists, such as the Harry Potter films and *Downton Abbey*. Another less surprising fact is that the top-performing sites feature clearly recognisable ("iconic") locations such as Castle Howard, which featured in *Brideshead Revisited*, and Alnwick Castle, which most tourists appreciate as the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry in the first two Harry Potter films. Furthermore, heritage buildings proved very popular, particularly if they had been showcased prominently on screen.

The same applies to natural landscapes; a significant number of respondents especially sought out the cliffs at

Key findings in The Olsberg Report

- 36.1% of all international tourists and 11.6% of all domestic tourists surveyed on-site at six locations studied for this project can be defined as core screen tourists – i.e. a screen production was the primary motivator for their visit. <
- The value of these visits is significant, with the best-performing sites attracting day-spend value from international visitors of up to £1.6 million annually. Combined with the day-visit value of domestic core screen tourists, the best performing site saw £4,3 million total screen tourism spend annually.
- International core screen tourism is valued in the range of £100 million-£140 million for the Rest of England in 2014. This is considered to be a conservative value.
- The top-three performing sites featured iconic locations that were depicted clearly on screen and were central to the plot. All three were also featured in film franchises or television series – suggesting that extended on-screen exposure creates the biggest screen tourism impact.
- Different types of productions can induce screen tourism, including period and contemporary stories, family content, sci-fi, and fantasy – and even dark stories. Screen tourism was also detected across a range of locations, including heritage buildings, a town, a village, and a countryside site.

(Olsberg SPI 2015: 1)

Location	Film	TV drama
Alnwick Castle	*Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001), *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (2002)	
Bampton		*Downton Abbey* (2010-present)
Castle Howard	*Brideshead Revisited* (2008 film), *Garfield: a Tale of Two Kitties* (2006)	*Brideshead Revisited* (1981 television series), *Death Comes to Pemberley* (2013)
Holkham	*Shakespeare in Love* (1998), *The Duchess* (2008)	
Lyme Park	*The Awakening* (2011)	*Pride and Prejudice* (1995 television series) *Casanova* (2005), *The Village* (2013-2014)
Puzzlewood	*Jack the Giant Slayer* (2013)	*Atlantis* (2013-present), *Da Vinci's Demons* (2013-present), *Doctor Who* (1963-present), *Merlin* (2008-2012)
West Bay		*Broadchurch* (2013-present)
Wollaton Hall	*The Dark Knight Rises* (2012)	

Key to Locations

- ● Alnwick Castle, Northumberland
- ● Castle Howard, Yorkshire
- ● Lyme Park, Cheshire
- ● Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire
- ● Holkham, Norfolk
- ● Puzzlewood, Gloucestershire
- ● Bampton, Oxfordshire
- ● West Bay, Dorset

Figure 9.3: The seven sights/locations surveyed for The Olsberg report (2015).

West Bay, which had been featured prominently in *Broadchurch*, as a particular attraction. It is certainly an advantage if the site in question is situated within regions or locales that have existing appeal to visitors. Both Harry Potter and *Broadchurch* exemplify that locations do not have to represent themselves ("play themselves") on screen to attract visitors as neither Hogwarts nor the city of *Broadchurch* can be visited in real life.

Another interesting finding is the duration and on-set of screen tourism: Some tourists visited the site of Puzzlewood at a time when *Star Wars: Episode VII – The Force Awakens* was still in production. At the same time, the effects can outlast the original theatrical run or broadcast. Digital distribution keeps productions in circulation long after they have been originally screened or broadcast; therefore, their potential to induce tourism can be open-ended.

The aforementioned case studies draw similar conclusions, and the Olsberg report can back its findings with empirical data. They do acknowledge, however, the limits of their study: "Since this study assesses day spend at dual-appeal locations it is difficult to compare findings with other valuation in the public domain. For example, according to Oxford Economics, screen products depicting the UK are responsible for around a tenth of overseas tourism revenues. However, this is assuming the influence of film on all visitors to the UK rather than core screen tourists undertaking day visits to dual-appeal locations. Meanwhile, IPS data from 2006 shows that 3% of holiday visits to the UK involved a visit to literary, music, TV or film locations at some point, accounting for 4% of total spend on holiday visits. It is unclear, however, how much of this can be directly attributed to film and television locations" (Olsberg SPI 2015: 13). According to a recent article in ScreenDaily, screen tourism in the UK added £400m to the 2013 national economy, and high-end TV tourism another £100m (Hazelton 2017).

For the DETECt project, one particular finding proves especially interesting: According to the report, period drama proved to be the strongest draw for tourists, but genres across the board were a significant motivation for visitors to seek out the sight depicted in the productions. This includes family fare, fantasy, and sci-fi. Productions with darker themes were also able to attract screen tourists. The report labels this as "darker content", but the only example for this specific category is *Broadchurch*, which the report later categorises as a crime show; the crime genre can hence be used synonymously here. Among the predictive list of factors that help screen productions to attract tourists (i.e. based on a well-known literary work, features the location in a high-profile, visually-impactful way, inclusion of cultural heritage, contemporary culture, and countryside), the positive appeal of the film or television series is an important aspect. However, despite being a story about sexual abuse and a child's murder, *Broadchurch* featured strong, appealing lead characters (played by David Tennant and Olivia Colman) and portrayed a close-knit community that viewers may have felt drawn to. Crime stories such as *Broadchurch*, which was broadcast in 135 countries, therefore, demonstrate that dark content is no barrier to screen tourism.

Production Clusters in the "Rest of England"

According to a report by Oxford Economics (2010), three-quarters of the jobs in the core UK film industry were based in London and the South East in 2010. London alone claimed 26,300 jobs (including employees & self-employed), or 55% of the total. There are, however, significant numbers of employees throughout the UK, i.e. 2,200 jobs in the South West and 2,100 jobs in the North West. The report indicates that there is a trend for the UK core film industry to become less "London-centric" over time, with more production shifting to areas outside of London. Interestingly, these shifts are primarily attributed to the growing demand for TV production employment rather than film. The report argues that increases in regional funding for both TV and film production over the past decade have made locations outside London and the South East viable bases for media firms in the UK.

The British capital remains the powerhouse for film studios and TV production in the UK. Soho itself is the centre of London's production industry, with major players such as Working Title, Number 9 Films, Potboiler Films and Gorgeous Enterprises based there, along with post-production houses like De Lane Lea, Prime Focus and DNeg, and a huge variety of agents and casting directors on tap. Elstree, Leavesden

and Shepperton are film studios within touching distance of London's centre, all equipped with a range of stages, back lots and even underwater filming facilities.

The UK's capital, however, is by no means the only place ready to host film and TV productions; the "rest of England" is catching up. Major production companies are spread throughout the country. This is certainly helped by the production quota set by the British public service broadcasters which brings productions to places outside London (Ofcom 2019). The Bottle Yard Studios in Bristol have become a thriving hub over the last few years, hosting a wide range of productions from feature films to crime shows such as *Broadchurch*. Glasgow's STV productions have been operating since 2008 and are home to Ian Rankin's highly popular Rebus adaptions for television and also for *Taggart*, the longest running Scottish crime show. Northern Ireland boasts three major production companies in Belfast: The Paint Hall, Titanic Studios, and The Belfast Harbour Studios. Productions such as *Game of Thrones* and *The Fall* have turned Belfast into a major player and there is a major rise in productions and interest from all over the world.

The Doctor Who franchise has completely transformed film and TV production in Wales and the region remains attractive for films and television shows (The Knowledge, 2019). Pinewood Studio Wales in Cardiff is the largest complex of its kind ever built in Wales. In 2016, a part of the internationally successful show, *Sherlock*, was shot here – and even though the series is set in London, fans are attracted to the Cardiff filming locations.

The most striking example for the rise of regional production hubs outside of London is the growing popularity of Yorkshire. In 2018, Screen Yorkshire's contribution to the creative industries was recognised by the BFI following the aforementioned study of EU Funding of the UK screen sectors between 2007 and 2017. The report showed how EU funding had enabled the screen sector and the economy to grow, attract investment, and generate jobs. Screen Yorkshire – through its Yorkshire Content Fund – was cited as having delivered unprecedented growth in turnover and employment in the screen industries, delivering high-end television and film productions across the region such as Peaky Blinders and The Great Train Robbery (Screen Yorkshire, 2018)

In June 2017, Screen Yorkshire announced figures from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) that revealed that the

Figure 9.4: British Film Studios. BFC 2019 Map Data ©

growth of Yorkshire creative industries performed better than any other region in the UK, including the South East (ONS 2017). The figures showed that between 2009 and 2015, Yorkshire's Film & TV Industries generated an annual turnover of £424m (an increase of 247% against the UK average of 118%). The ONS data also showed that the number of business units across Yorkshire and Humber grew 57% vs a UK average of 47%, while employment across the film and TV industries in the region grew 88% against a UK average of 32% (ScreenYorkshire, 2018).

While London will remain the centre of film and television productions, creative hubs away from London are thriving, partly because of the steadily growing availability of film crews and facilities, but also because of the touristic appeal of the regions.

The following two short case studies are representative examples of how locations in British television crime dramas
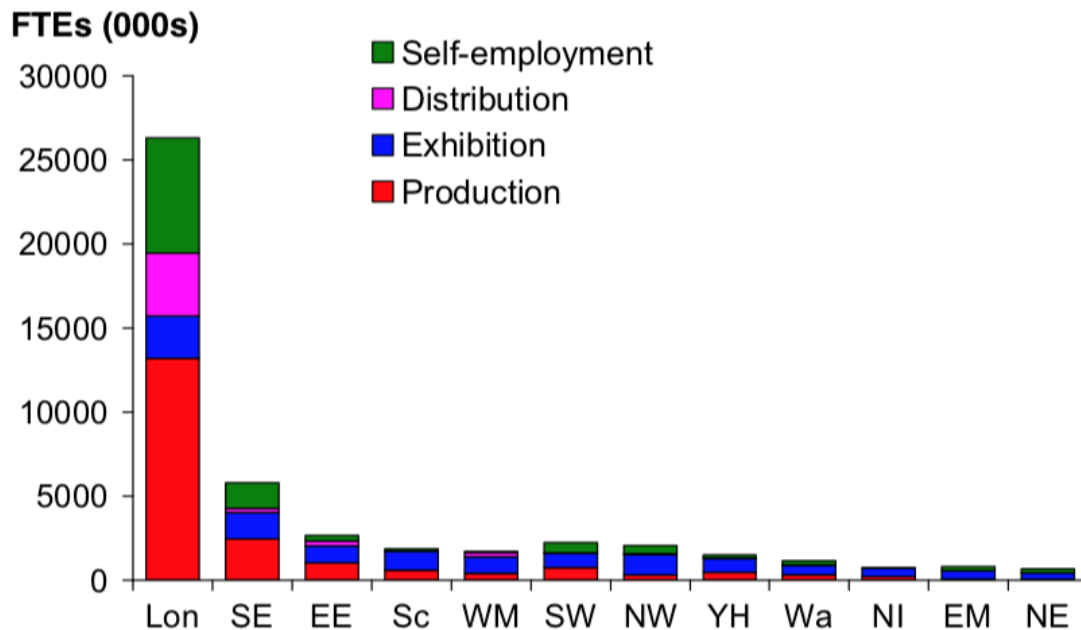

Figure 9.5: Employment in the UK film industry. Oxford Economics, 2010.

have become marketable assets which are mirrored not only in the availability of local support for shooting in the regions in questions but also the extensive promotional strategies to attract tourism during and after the release of a film, or, in this case, the broadcast of a television show.

Case Study I: *Broadchurch*

Broadchurch is a serial TV crime drama broadcast on ITV for three seasons between 2013 and 2017. The series is set in Broadchurch, a fictional English town in Dorset, and focuses on police detectives DI Alec Hardy (David Tennant) and DS Ellie Miller (Olivia Colman). The series focuses on the death of local 11-year-old Danny Latimer and the lasting impact of grief, mutual suspicion and media attention on the town's close-knit community. As mentioned, *Broadchurch* is part of the Olsberg report.

It is sufficient to say that *Broadchurch* was a nationally and internationally successful series with attracting 7.8 million viewers on average for the first season in the UK alone and winning critical acclaim. Apart from the UK, *Broadchurch* has been broadcasted in 135 territories worldwide including the US, Canada, Australia, Africa, Russia, Brazil, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and China.

Shot across the South West in Clevedon, North Somerset, Yate in South Gloucestershire, and West Bay and Bridport in West Dorset, *Broadchurch* is set in an area traditionally dominated by literary tours following the footsteps of Jane Austen and Mary Anning along the Jurassic Coast. It is fair to say that especially the cliffs that are omnipresent in *Broadchurch* qualify as a dual attraction. According to the Olsberg report, the allure of the show is significant though. The site survey was undertaken at West Bay on Friday, 29th August 2014, with a link to an online survey sent to consumer databases. There were 176 total respondents, representing 599 visitors when group sizes were factored in.

While only 7.7% of the domestic interviewees were motivated by a TV show or film to visit the West Bay, almost half of all international tourists qualify as screen tourists and almost 80% of this group was at least partially motivated by *Broadchurch* specifically. That means that, in total, over 40 percent of all international visitors came because of the show.

These are significant numbers and show the immense potential of screen tourism for the local economy. That already starts with the production itself. Creative England estimates the production of this scale potentially accounts for up to £1 million in the South West with money spent on services such as local hotels, restaurants, and facilities. Additionally, Hill Road in Clevedon was used as a set for the fictional Dorset town of Broadchurch. Market stalls were erected as part of the scenery, which immediately attracted shoppers, inspiring traders in the road to apply for funding for establishing an indoor food and craft market.

A government grant of £9,000 has since been awarded to achieve this goal. Ever since the first broadcast in 2013, local businesses have seen an increase in sales and the official tourism site for Dorset ran a number of Broadchurch competitions, with prizes ranging from DVDs to holidays – including a stay at The Bull Hotel, where the cast and crew were housed. 77% of businesses reported an increase in customer numbers in 2013 and of these 47% thought that this was linked to *Broadchurch* (Creative England 2019: 5).

After the premiere of the first episode, www.visit-dorset.com achieved record-breaking numbers in March, with the site attracting up to 200 hits per minute during the *Broadchurch* broadcasts. The site garnered over 100,000 unique visitors, a threefold increase on March 2012 figures (Creative England 2019: 5). Many enquiries concern specific filming locations of the series. A report prepared about the economic impact of *Broadchurch* for the West Bay region in 2014 concludes that with the series spreading internationally, local businesses, local and regional tourism authorities, and destination marketing organisations might not be aware

"*Broadchurch* has provided West Dorset District Council's tourism team with an incredible opportunity to benefit from high profile TV coverage. Series 1 and 2 of the drama generated a staggering amount of interest in the area and the tourism team worked hard to make the most of this opportunity through a range of off- and online marketing initiatives. West Dorset District Council is in full support of Creative England's Film Friendly Partnership and works proactively with Creative England to encourage filming in the region."

(Jessica Matthews, Tourism Marketing Officer, West Dorset, in *Creative England* 2019: 5)

of the different needs and demands of these international screen tourisms (Connell 2014: 33). As indicated in this report, the effect of *Broadchurch* was not limited to the initial broadcast and the hospitality sector is well prepared to welcome screen tourists.

To make it easier for screen tourists to find a specific set, visit-dorset.com lists the most iconic destinations. The agency operating the literary walking tours has expanded their portfolio and now also offers a *Broadchurch* itinerary around West Bay and Bridport, so visitors can see the police station, newsagents, cliffs and more. These effects also affect areas that were not directly depicted in the show which market themselves as a perfect basecamp to explore the scenery of *Broadchurch*.

Case Study II: *Hinterland/y gwyll*

Shot in both the English and Welsh language, the crime series *Hinterland/y gwyll* centres around the pursuits of Detective Chief Inspector Tom Mathias (played by Richard Harrington). Set in Aberystwyth, against the backdrop of mountainous terrain, isolated farms and close-knit villages, it was the first BBC television drama with dialogue in both languages and its three seasons ran from the 29th of October 2013 until the 18th December 2016. The fact that *Hinterland/y gwyll* is effectively bilingual and set in a structurally weak region of the European Union has made it eligible for Creative Europe's TV Programming funding, to support the local heritage. The Welsh production company Fiction Factory Films received a grant of € 500,000 for the third season for their bilingual production (Creative Europe 2015).

A Radio Times article about the show, published after the show ended, makes a valid observation: "Hinterland doesn't exactly make mid-Wales look inviting. There are too many grisly murders and murky goings-on for that – but you can't help but be hypnotised by the rugged scenery" (Webb 2017). Just like *Broadchurch*, darker themes do not lessen the appeal of the show: *Hinterland / y gwyll* has made a star of its location – the moody landscapes and vast wide-open spaces of Ceredigion. Bordered by the Cambrian Mountains on one side and a far-stretching coastline on the other, the

"Aberystwyth and the landscapes of Ceredigion, which are are 'characters in their own right' according to the producers" of *Hinterland / y gwyll*. The acclaimed detective drama shows the landscape of Ceredigion in a new light, each location adding an intrigue of its own to the storylines - from Aberystwyth and the marshes of Borth and the dunes of Ynyslas on the coast to the forests, lakes and former silverlead mining hamlets of the Cambrian Mountains."

(http://www.discoverceredigion.co.uk 2018)

county is an ideal setting for a crime show, but also, according to visitwales.co.uk, for lovely days out.

According to a recent article in the Observer, the international success of *Hinterland*/*y gwyll* has led to a growing interest in Welsh drama. The article, tellingly titled "Forget Scandi: the natural home of dark drama is Wales now", highlights how attractive Wales has become for national and international productions, who all make the most of Wales's combination of otherworldly landscapes and experienced on-the-ground production crews (Hughes 2018). With productions such as Sky Atlantic's historical epic *Britannia*, BBC's sci-fi thriller *Hard Sun*, and Channel 4's adoption drama *Kiri* all set in Wales, the Welsh production is constantly growing with Wolf Studios Wales being the newest addition: a vast new production studio in Cardiff Bay, that is home to both Sky One's *A Discovery of Witches* and the BBC adaptation of Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials*. While the support of local talent boosts the Welsh economy, it is the touristic appeal that is a major point for the local authorities to attract film and television productions (Hughes 2018).

Unlike *Broadchurch*, this Welsh series has not been part of any empirical study and therefore numbers for touristic visits linked to *Hinterland*/*y gwyll* are hard to come by. The strategies of local tourism authorities bear a striking resemblance to their West Bay counterparts, which allows the assumption that *Hinterland*/*y gwyll* has a similar effect on tourism like *Broadchurch*.

Wales offers a variety of reasons to visit cities such as Cardiff and Aberystwyth, and one common theme across the board are the shooting locations of *Hinterland*/*y gwyll*. Regional tourism authorities prepared booklets with detailed information about them. There is a variety of ready-made walking tours or interactive maps for a more independent experience. Some local businesses, such as hotels, go further by offering private tours to locations close to where many scenes from the TV series were shot.

Conclusion: Alive and Well Away From London

The English tourism industry for the "rest of England" capitalises on the boost of exposure that film and TV productions can bring to a local area. With attractive tax breaks and experienced film crews ready to work with investors and producers, the UK can expect high levels of TV and film production to continue. The outcome of the surveys clearly shows that film and television productions are key products to introduce attractions of the UK internationally and hence to attract visitors. The findings underline what has already been suspected and improve the established networks: Thanks to the close ties between Creative England, Visit England, local councils, destination organisations, it has never been easier to find local talents and locations scouts. The British Film Commission (2019) will even source film crews in the regions in question if producers need that kind of assistance, while tourism agencies will provide the necessary infrastructure for the shooting of films and television series. These services eventually bolster the tourism offer in the areas which can then, in turn, capitalise on its impact. The rising numbers of productions set outside of London also explain the growing numbers of production hubs all over the country; the planned Mercian studios in Birmingham, incepted by *Peaky Blinders* showrunner Steven Knight, being the latest noteworthy example.

Exposing the significant effect of screen tourism also helps the screened locations to prepare for the demands of their visitors. Following the Olsberg report, Creative England made numerous recommendations to meet the demands of screen tourists, and as this chapter showcases, both *Broadchurch* and *Hinterland*/*y gwyll* are prime examples of these adjustments. Both locations have a variety of practices in place to help visitors to quickly find the shooting locations. Both case studies also illustrate, how tourism can build on the potential visitor interest to ensure a sustaining interest in the area when the show has concluded its broadcast by providing information on the history of filming in the immediate area and links to other filming locations nearby and their wider tourism offer.

Even though the Brexit's impact on the creative industries in the UK is unpredictable (Publications Parliament 2018), the general outlook is positive: Supported by a competitive tax credit regime for film and TV drama, state of the art production hubs, and many attractive locations, even more productions are expected to film in the UK, meaning that audiences around the world will see more of the UK's locations on screen, and following the current trend, one can expect many of them to be set away from London.

Figure 53 – *Proportion of Core Screen Tourists at West Bay within Domestic and International Groups*

Figure 54 – *"Which of these films or television dramas partly motivated your visit to West Bay?"*
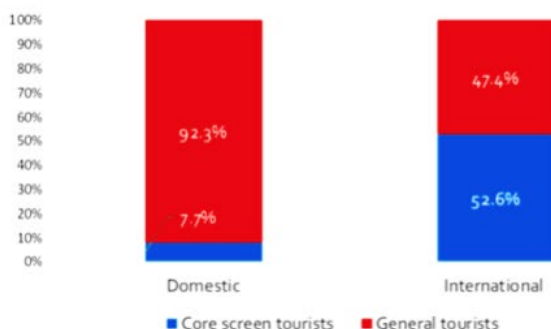
Figure 9.6: Excerpt from The Olsberg Report (2015).
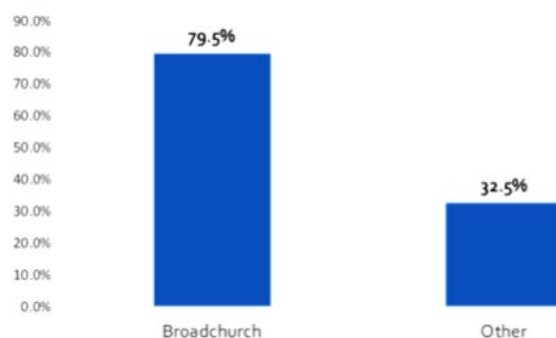
Key takeaways

- Hosting the production of a film or television drama often leads to a significant soaring in visitor numbers and seeing real-life film locations can be a primary reason for tourists to travel to the UK and visit locations away from London.
- According to some estimates, international core screen tourism was valued in the range of £100 million-£140 million for the Rest of England in 2014. This is considered to be a conservative estimate.
- Crime fiction has the same ability to attract tourists as other genres with a more positive appeal.
- Popular and long-running productions will draw the most tourists.
- Locations have more appeal if they are integral parts of the story. A "strong sense of place" and showcasing natural attractions or heritage buildings prominently on screen translates into higher visitor numbers.
- Thanks to the on-going circulation of films and television series via VOD-services such as Netflix, screen tourism effects often outlast the theatrical run or broadcasting period.
- Production hubs are often available in the areas that have proven very attractive for screen tourism recently. Creative England and Visit England will work closely with producers to guarantee easy access to locations and establish contact with experienced film crews.
- The tourism authorities of screened locations are well prepared, offering guidance and assistance for screen tourists who have different demands and needs than general tourists.

10 Innovative use of peripheral locations in Italian crime narratives: The case of *La Porta Rossa*

Massimiliano Coviello, Valentina Re and Luca Barra

In this chapter, we introduce and discuss the notion of *peripheral locations* as a key element in understanding production strategies, location marketing and screen tourism in contemporary Italian television. After defining the notion and stressing its relevance in the European circulation of national crime productions, we focus on the TV series *La porta rossa* (*The Red Door*) (2017-) as an exemplary case study. The show is co-produced by Rai Fiction and Vela Film (Garbo Produzioni from the second season), and internationally distributed by Studio Canal, the distribution division of Canal+ (Vivendi Group). The story is set in the city of Trieste, close to the border between Italy and Slovenia, and intertwines crime and fantasy. The production history of the show demonstrates the complex role played by peripheral locations in the writing process and in the fictional world, and the VR walking tours organized by Esterno/Giorno underline how peripheral locations can help to create innovative and engaging forms of screen tourism.

A number of recent crime TV shows co-produced by Rai Fiction, the productive branch of the Italian public broadcaster RAI, has shown an increasing attention towards "peripheral" filming locations. By peripheral locations, we mean locations situated away from Rome, i.e. away from both the production and symbolic center of Italian narratives.

In recent productions, the potential of "visual innovation" associated with the use of peripheral locations is often combined with innovative visual style, complex narration (Mittell 2015), and genre hybridization. Furthermore, the use of peripheral locations in crime narratives can help fans to "embed" their engagement in physical places and facilitate the development of the spatial topic of the suburbs and gated communities, where tensions related to crimes and detection grow faster and become stronger, with greater emotional resonance.

Rome has traditionally been the main production centre for film and television fiction, while television entertainment and news are equally distributed between Rome and Milan. Broadcasting and advertising companies are mostly set in Milan. Rome provides several studios for producing fiction (i.e. Cinecittà) as well as parts of the city (i.e. Prati, Esquilino) where a lot of companies and production facilities are situated. The capital is a major production location for both practical and economic reasons.

Only Rai, the PBS (Public Broadcasting Service), has other studios in Torino and Napoli. These are mainly used for long-running daytime soaps and children's programming. Mediaset, the commercial network, and Sky, a pay television channel, regularly use already existing facilities in Rome. This Rome dominance has recently been challenged by a push towards peripheral locations, widening the parts of Italy represented on screen but also resulting in increased complexity for production companies, unable to count on already-established studios.

Peripheral locations and the anthropology of space

Based on the categories elaborated by anthropology of space (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003), peripheral locations can be defined through the following three senses of space:

Peripheral locations defined

- Locations situated away from a productive and symbolic center of national narratives – such as Rome in the case of Italy.
- Locations that are not included in primary tourist routes.
- Locations that do not perfectly correspond to national brands in terms of typical (or stereotypical) landscapes and cultural heritage – such as Sicilian (*Inspector Montalbano*) and Neapolitan (*Gomorrah*) environments or small, medieval towns (*Don Matteo*) in the case of Italy.
- Locations that are not traditionally considered as production centers for audiovisual content – although the cooperation with regional film funds can play a relevant role in the production scheme (Cucco and Richeri 2013).
- Locations that encourage audience engagement and the formation of a translocal imagination and visual culture.

1. Inscribed spaces. Peripheral locations are spaces transformed into places by the multiple ways in which people attach meaning to the locales they occupy. They refer to spaces embedding experiences, holding memories, and re-appropriated by spatial tactics (de Certeau 1984). They are cultural elaborations of properties of the environment through narrative and praxis.

2. Contested spaces. Peripheral locations, considered as settings for audiovisual production, lie at the intersection of various and competing social and economic needs. In many cases, the needs of the shooting do not match with the needs of the residents and their everyday routines. Initiatives like Esterno/Giorno (see below) may facilitate the contact between the "hosts" and the "guests".

3. Translocal spaces. Peripheral locations, that do not correspond to national brands and traits typically associated with a nation, may facilitate the emergence of a "postnational geography" (Appadurai 1996), where a mix of diverse phenomena such as migrant citizenries, diasporic communities, travel, and tourism creates new forms of spatial belongings and translocal identities.

Peripheral locations and European crime narratives

Our research clearly shows the potential impact of peripheral filming locations on the European circulation of national crime productions. From the interviews we have conducted with creatives working on recent Italian TV crime shows, clear references emerge to the relationships between them and other European programmes set in unusual, maybe "peripheral" locations, which provide the shows with unique visual identities and offer an unconventional image of the country of origin.

Explicit references are made, for instance, to the British show *Broadchurch*, set in the Dorset County, to the French *Les Revenants*, shot in Haute-Savoie, and to the Spanish show *El embarcadero*, set in the lagoon of the Valencian Albufera Natural Park. Further references could also include, for instance, the Belgian series *La Trêve*, filmed in the Ardennes, as well as many Scandinavian Noirs.

Regardless of the rural or urban nature of peripheral locations, such settings provide original glimpses of their countries and facilitate a common and deeper knowledge of European landscapes. More interestingly, through the use of narratives, new perceptions of landscapes develop from the tension between idealized or imagined settings (the "background") and the "foreground" where everyday life is cast (Hirsch 1995).

Peripheral locations always play a key role in the narrative. They provide a sense of authenticity and give a strong contribution to the characters' development, thus promoting common, transcultural narrative models and a transnational, or translocal, visual culture and experience.

Case study: *La Porta Rossa*

As an exemplary case study, we focus on the prime-time TV show *La porta rossa* (*The Red Door*, 2 seasons, 12 episodes per season, currently in production). The show is co-produced by Rai Fiction and Vela Film, and internationally distributed by Studio Canal, the distribution division of Canal+ (Vivendi Group). Season 1 was broadcast from 22 February to 22 March 2017 on Rai 2, the second Italian public channel. Season 2 (produced by Garbo Produzioni) was shown between 13 February and 20 March 2019. Both seasons are currently also available on-demand on RaiPlay (the broadcaster's streaming service).The story is set in the city of Trieste, close to the border between Italy and Slovenia, and presents a generic hybrid of crime and fantasy.

In our interview with the producer, Maurizio Tini defined the show as a "high concept" series. This idea designates the sense that it is based on a "fresh, unique, and compelling story *premise* that can be easily summed up in a single sentence or two" (TVtropes).

The writing process. Phase 1: the "Bologna version"

La porta rossa had a very long and complex writing process. The first version was written between 2011 and 2012 by Carlo Lucarelli and Giampiero Rigosi, both writers and screenwriters of detective and Noir stories. Both live in the city of Bologna, which also was the city where this first version of *La porta rossa* was set, although no production facilities are available there. They had already co-authored the crime TV show *L'ispettore Coliandro/Inspector Coliandro* (2006-2010 and 2016-) for Rai Fiction, from 2006 to 2010, also set in Bologna and based on some popular tales and novels by Lucarelli.

Coliandro aired on Rai 2. This reference to the channel is important because, as Rigosi explained, at the time

when they started to write *La porta rossa*, the financing programme for original productions to be aired on the second channel had been discontinued. This is why the writers decided to set aside *Coliandro* and engage in a brand new project to be financed by Rai 1, the first and most-watched public channel in Italy.

It is important to emphasize the close interaction between the writing process and the broadcaster, and how the latter affects the former in all aspects: in this case, writing *La porta rossa* for Rai 1 is very different from writing for Rai 2. While Rai 2 allows for more freedom and innovation, Rai 1 tends to prioritize simple and linear stories told with a clear and conventional language. In Rigosi's words, this first "Bologna version" was very Noir and very gloomy: maybe too gloomy for the Rai 1 standard, and the project was abandoned.

The writing process. Phase 2: the "Torino version"

In 2014, the project resumed production. Sofia Assirelli joined the writers' team and the story's location changed from Bologna to Torino. This change of location came from the broadcaster: Rai has an important studio in Torino and there were strong benefits to filming there, rather than in Bologna. The writers knew the city of Torino very well and they liked it. A two-year rewriting process started, where the main problem was not the change of location; rather, it was the need to balance the hybridization of different genres.

The protagonist is the ghost of a dead policeman. The ghost introduces gothics, supernatural and fantasy elements that are largely absent in traditional Italian storytelling. Thee elements needed to be balanced by more familiar and conservative genres. In this respect, thriller and crime provided a comfortable frame: the audience knows that the ghost is a murdered cop, and that he has to investigate his murder before the assassin has the chance to kill his wife. Finally, the detection story had to be complemented by the sentimental or melodramatic storyline, which was provided by the impossible, devastating relationship between the wife and the ghost of her husband.

The broadcaster monitored and supervised the entire process of "genre balance", and both the producer and the writers engaged in complex negotiation processes that Rigosi has fittingly defined using the metaphor of the game of "tug-of-war". While there is evidence that the mix between solving crime and romance, and especially the emphasis on the sentimental, are typical of Italian productions, this particular mix between the crime genre, fantasy and sentimentality is highlighted by the producer as the most original feature of *La porta rossa*, as well as being its most ambivalent trait.

On the one hand, working with the generic conventions slowed down the writing and production process and required many adjustments between the writers and the Rai Fiction story editors. On the other, once the writers learned to balance these elements, it definitely contributed to the show's success and original identity.

Phase 3: Choosing Trieste

In March 2016, when the director Carmine Elia entered the process some months before the beginning of the shoot something new happened. The director proposed a new change of location, from Torino to Trieste. Despite the broadcaster's initial insistence to use the studios in Torino, Trieste became the final setting of the story based on three factors:

1. The narrative/aesthetic factor
The writers fell in love with the city, and within a matter of weeks re-wrote some parts of the story to adapt it to

"So we said, let's try to propose something to Rai 1. Together with Carlo, we started thinking about a story for Rai 1. This story came to our minds, the story of a dead police commissioner who remains in the real world as a ghost. We pitched for Rai 1. They liked the concept and we started writing. At the very beginning, since the story was so divergent from Rai standards, we had a lot of freedom. So we set the story in Bologna and we made it very noir, very dark [he laughs] ... But it was beautiful, wasn't it? We finished the first draft, and then nothing. No one called us. Some directors have been contacted... And yet, nothing. For a year, we no longer hear about this."

"And then, we have been asked: 'What about setting the story in Trieste?'. And we answered: 'Trieste, a border town... And this is indeed a border story, a story on the border between life and death...'. We went to visit the city. It's a beautiful city, and Federico from the Film Commission is such a great location manager. They took us to visit some places. We said: 'We absolutely need to set the story here in Trieste'. And so, we partially rewrote it based on Trieste, really just before shooting began."

Giampiero Rigosi, screenwriter

Data provided by the Friuli Venezia Giulia Film Commission
- Shooting days: 120
- Preproduction – number of days: 84
- Total expense in the region: €3,600,000
- Film Fund contribution: €200,000
- Multiplier: 18:1
- Local professionals involved: 28
- Hotel accommodations: 5.480
- Local extras involved: about 1.200

"We have always tried to imagine the investigation not as a pretext […] but as a hallway full of doors […]. The crime genre makes you want to walk down that hallway."

Sofia Assirelli, screenwriter

the new location. The originality of Trieste as a film location perfectly matches the originality of the show in terms of genre hybridization, and Trieste provides a unique visual identity. The city's location, at the crossroads of Latin, Slavic, and Germanic cultures, on the border between Italy and Slovenia, lines up neatly with a story about the border between life and death.

The hybrid identity of Trieste as a border town also matches the hybrid identity of the show. On the one hand, as an important seaport in the Mediterranean Sea, Trieste is also a border between earth and sea. On the other, Trieste is the most Middle-European Mediterranean city. It is a border town also in the sense that it hybridizes Northern and Southern Europe. It combines Northern architecture, lights and atmosphere with the Mediterranean attitude of people. Trieste perfectly expresses the "in-between' nature of Italy, between North and South, as well as possible mutual influences between Mediterranean and Nordic Noir.

2. The production factor
In production terms, Trieste – just like any peripheral location – is neither a completely rational nor a cheap choice.

La Porta Rossa ratings

Season 1 aired from 22 February to 22 March 2017. Ratings were good moving from 13,01% for the premiere (3,284,000 viewers) to 14,10% for the season finale (3,471,000).

Season 2 aired from 13 February to 20 March 2019. Ratings had a slight decrease from 12,51% for the premiere (3,043,000 viewers) to 12,41% for the season finale (2,807,000).

Shooting in Rome tends to remain cheaper, because financial assistance from regional film funds is not enough to cover the extra cost of moving people and equipment not already available in the area.

And yet, besides providing the show with a unique visual identity, the choice of Trieste allowed more freedom in production. The previous choice of Torino was, of course, more convenient and cheaper for Rai Fiction, because Rai could partly invest financially and partly with personnel and technical equipment. Conversely, shooting in Trieste, Rai could not ask the independent producer to use the Rai studios and did not limit his freedom in managing the production process.

At the same time, Rai Fiction, by virtue of being a PBS, was interested in shooting on peripheral locations all across Italy in order to show regional diversity, tell authentic stories and stimulate the creativity of screenwriters and directors.

3. The regional film commission factor

As Maurizio Tini, the producer, explained in our interview, the funding of *La porta rossa* is split 80/20: 80% of the total budget is provided by the broadcaster, the remaining 20% by the independent producer. This split is common in the Italian TV market.

The additional financial contribution from the Film Commission amounted to €200,000. Given this contribution, and apart from the impact in terms of employment, the direct economic impact on the territory is remarkable, since the expense in the region amounted to around €3,6m for the first season.

However, the relationship between the film commission, the production company and the territory goes beyond financial aspects. The Film Commission provides complete assistance to production companies, from bureaucratic proceedings to contacts with local technical and logistics teams, thus promoting the use and development of local expertise.

In the case of *La porta rossa*, Federico Poillucci, the Film Commission (FC) President, has played a fundamental role in choosing the locations. He personally accompanied the director, authors and producers on locations, helping them to find the settings that best matched the story and visual style of the series. He also had a cameo role in the show as a swimming instructor.

Furthermore, since 2012 the FC has developed the project Esterno/Giorno, which offers touristic and educational itineraries, both real and in virtual reality, related to film and TV series filmed in the region (see below).

Finally, as Federico Poillucci and Maurizio Tini explained in our interviews, the collaboration with the Film Commission along with the distinctive narrative features of the TV show could facilitate international co-productions in the future, especially with neighboring Slovenia. This would represent an innovative strategy to strengthen the international circulation of Italian productions in a positive context where, based on the recent report released by Italian APA (Association Audiovisual Producers), co-productions and international productions have grown by 150% in the last three years (APA 2019).

The main objectives of Esterno/Giorno

- Promoting the culture of the territory through film and TV show tours for tourists, students and citizens, designed as an opportunity for entertainment, education and sociality.
- Exploiting cinema and television to convey cultural content related to art history and architecture.
- Promoting training opportunities dedicated to the audiovisual language.
- Enhancing the professional figures already present in the territory (tourist guides, technicians, experts, etc.)
- Creating synergies between public and private actors in the territory, involved in tourism, audiovisual production, communication and digital technologies.
- Encouraging the strategic importance of the audiovisual industry, both as a territorial marketing tool and has an opportunity for economic growth in the area and professional opportunities.

Phase 4: The premiere and the fandom

A last big twist in *La porta rossa*'s production history is of noteworthy mention. In late 2016, when the shooting was over, the second public channel Rai 2 started again to finance original productions to be aired on the channel. For this reason the series, originally written and produced for the mainstream channel, was finally broadcast on Rai 2, getting good ratings as well as valuable fandom. This change from Rai 1 to Rai 2 allowed for a further development of the narrative role of the Trieste setting and the narrative complexity of the show in the second season.

Upon the success of the series, *La porta rossa*'s fans created a Facebook group. On 19 October 2019, they organized a public convention in Trieste, including a self-managed tour to the show's beloved locations. Such an event highlights the fandom surrounding the series. For that reason, Trieste as a location has clearly benefited from the publicity of the production. The last part of this chapter, then, shifts attention towards the digital and narrative augmentation of Trieste as a place.

The "augmented" walks by Esterno/Giorno

The tourism organization Esterno/Giorno was founded in 2012 thanks to the Associazione Casa del Cinema di Trieste (a cultural body including the Film Commission) with the contribution of the Autonomous region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. The project is an example of on-location screen tourism (Beeton 2015, 17), since it offers film tours, thematic walks and educational itineraries to discover the locations of TV series and films set in the region.

The itineraries have three main aims: Firstly, they promote places once excluded from traditional tourist routes that now gain visibility thanks to the stories they have contributed to telling. Secondly, they inform and involve the local community, so that locals can cope with the inconveniences caused by film sets through increased awareness. Finally, through the direct comparisons between locations and their staging, tours become an instrument for learning film language.

During these walks and thematic tours, a virtual reality (VR) platform called VirTours, developed by the Friulian

VR tours planning by Esterno/Giorno		
Preparation	**Editorial plan**	**Finalization**
Work plan analysis.	360-degree pictures of all the selected locations.	Collection of all contents followed by their storage (database or cloud).
All locations cleared out.	360-degree film set pictures.	Optimization of material.
Identification of all the locations.	360-degree film set videos.	Final-cut of the itinerary loaded on VirTours platform.
	360-degree interviews (director, cast, other employees).	

Figure 10.2: Preparation, editorial plan and finalization of VR tours by Esterno/Giorno.

company IKON, is employed for sharing and creating immersive content. This sophisticated use of technology makes the experience of screen tourism by Esterno/Giorno unique in an Italian context. Thanks to VR headsets, tourists are provided with short films, 360-degree immersive views, photos from film sets and backstage interviews with director and cast.

Film critics and crew members lead the VR visit and coordinate content offers for all the participants in real time through a tablet. The tourist is thus accompanied through different environments with the chance to have a collective and personal experience at the same time, both real and virtual, which aims to make the visitor able to discover Trieste's "invisible places", since some of them are precluded from common touristic paths or not easily reachable.

Though small, Esterno/Giorno's team addresses all the crucial steps of VR tour planning: starting with the design of the entire itinerary, to the editorial production of content and their final set-up on the VirTour platform.

According to 2018 surveys provided by Film Commission, Esterno/Giorno's activities involved 900 participants in 45 itineraries during 10 months, in 10 different tours. In terms of economic, social and cultural impact on the territory, this represents a good result, especially because the technology used limits the groups of tourists to 20 participants.

The *La Porta Rossa* VR walking tour

The VR walking tour dedicated to *La porta rossa* is the most attractive itinerary for tourists from all over Italy. Two main paths are available, one during daytime and the other during night. The former has been introduced in order to give visitors stronger experiences with the Noir and fantasy atmospheres characterizing the aesthetics of *La porta rossa*. Visitors are able to follow the phantom's footsteps in the city, and precisely as Cagliostro, they also become unseen witnesses of other people's lives.

During the visit, VR headsets are employed for multiple purposes, starting with the introductory video with the main protagonist played by actor Lino Guanciale, realized for the occasion. The immersive content is implemented especially for the visit to Porto Vecchio, a very picturesque city area though scarcely inhabited and secluded. The guide leads the group of visitors close to the hangars where some of the scenes were shot, like Gagliostro's murder on the roof of warehouse 22, while interviews and backstage videos disclose the secrets of the set.

The virtuous cycle of production and screen tourism

Videos, interviews and 360° photos are produced by FVG Film Commission during the production process and used in the creation of film and TV show tours.

Image 10.3: A guide leads the VR visit and coordinates content presentation for all the participants in real time through a tablet. Images: Esterno/Giorno Facebook page.

From Ursus, a massive crane, VR devices offer a 360-degree photographic rendition of the entire location. During the visit, production choices and location strategies play key roles as well. For example, at the beginning of the second season, we can see the prison where inmates enjoy their "yard time". Actually, this place is a shipyard where vessels are stored dry. VR-visitors can explore this site while engaging in an ongoing exploration of what takes place in the show. This is made possible by an immersive video in which the photographic reconstruction of the place is combined with interactive sections enriched with the crew's comments and short film clips from the TV show.

Along the tour, special effects and editing techniques are also revealed for educational purposes. The old bolt factory is the place where the second season starts and ends. In the show, the factory is located in a storehouse in Porto Vecchio. When tourists reach this destination, VR headset video lets them discover that the interiors of the location coincides with those of a technical institute situated elsewhere in the city. This prompts the guide to explain the making of and, in particular, the editing and counter-shot techniques employed to merge two different locations.

Conclusions

The VR walking tour dedicated to *La porta rossa* is the most attractive itinerary for tourists from all over Italy. Presumably fascinated by the discovery of what is behind the scenes, the screen-tourists provided with VR headsets relocate the imaginary of *La porta rossa* into a new space in which fiction interacts with their direct experience of the TV show set and its locations.

The component of detection inside the narrative works as a significant push factor for screen tourism oriented towards locations in which crime productions are set (van Es and Reijnders 2018). By changing perspective, the crime genre has become a pull factor for those peripheral locations which do not fit typical stereotypes and offer favorable conditions especially for production requirements. The choices and coordinated strategies involved in the production of *La Porta Rossa*, the Film Commission's support and the TV show's positive impact on the touristic promotion of Trieste have proved to be virtuous.

> **Detection tourism**
> "In a way, the location to be discovered becomes part of the mystery of the story itself."
>
> *Gianluca Novel,*
> *Vice President of FVG Film Commission*
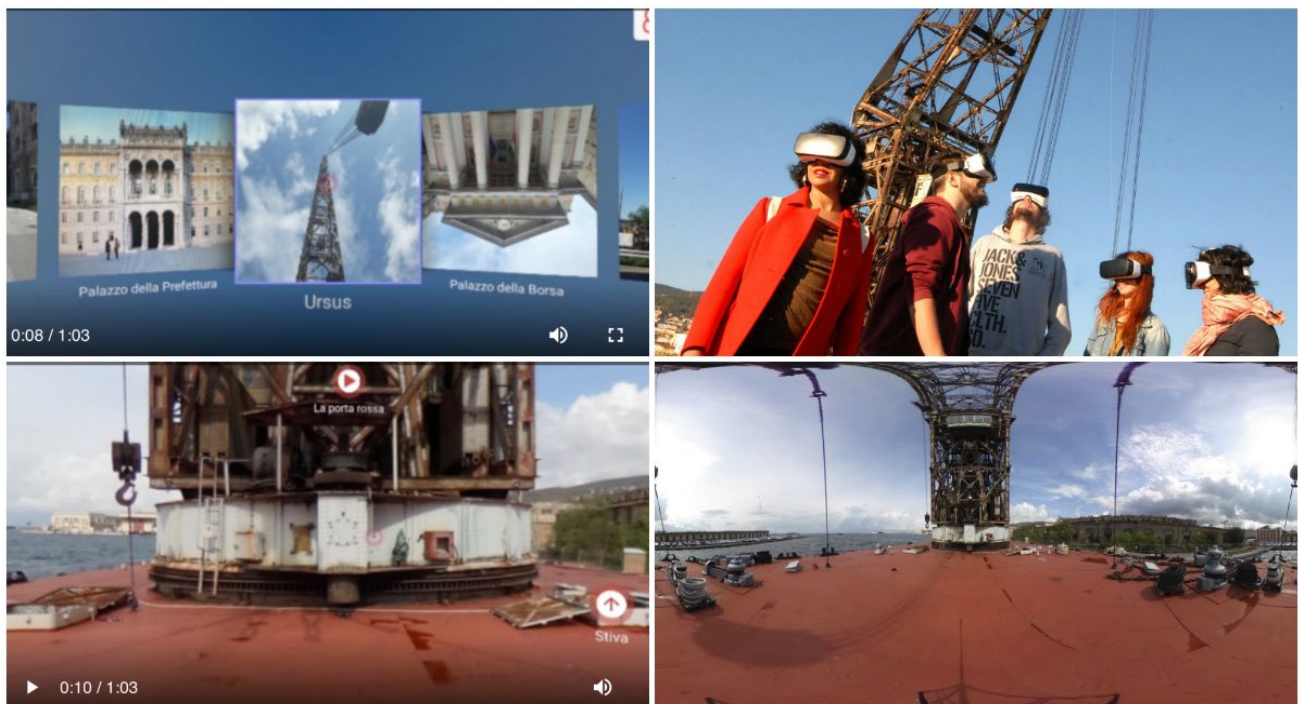
Image 10.4: VR visit at the Ursus crane. Photography: Esterno/Giorno Facebook page.

Key takeaways

- Peripheral locations are locations that do not perfectly correspond to national brands in terms of typical (or stereotypical) landscapes and cultural heritage.
- Peripheral locations provide TV shows with unique visual identities and facilitate the circulation of unconventional images of their countries of origin.
- A mix of diverse phenomena such as migrant citizenries, diasporic communities, travel, and tourism characterize peripheral locations and creates new forms of spatial belonging and translocal identities.
- The use of peripheral locations in Italian crime TV series is often combined with innovative visual style, complex narration and genre hybridization.
- Thanks to the use of a Virtual Reality Platform, screen-tourism relocates the imaginary of crime TV series into a new space in which fiction interacts with the direct experience of the set and its locations.

11 Northern Ireland Screen Crime Production and Strategies of Territorialisation

Stefano Baschiera and Markus Schleich

This contribution considers production policies and location strategies implemented by the film commission Northern Ireland Screen (NIS). Through interviews with NIS's head of production and one location manager, this investigation reveals the challenges presented by the framing of cultural heritage within the national screen industries, in particular during the *Game of Thrones* era. Case studies are *Line of Duty* (2012-), *The Fall* (2013-2016) and *A Patch of Fog* (2015).

Recent Developments of Screen Productions in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland is the protagonist of a recent and fast development in the screen industry, particularly considering its size. This emerges clearly from the percentage of employment in film production in respect to the population and in its development between the two economic statements on the state of Screen Industries in UK in 2005 and 2012. In fact, while in 2005 Northern Ireland was constantly at the bottom of the tables, the report *The Economic Impact of the UK Film Industry* published in 2012 by Oxford Economics highlights the very same region as a success story.

The impact of the screen industry is particularly significant considering that the country has only 1.8 million inhabitants. Another reason why special attention should be paid to the role of the screen industry for Northern Ireland is its positive effect on re-inventing the international reputation of a country still tainted by its problematic recent past.

To understand this rise one has to look at Northern Ireland as exemplary case of a screen industry whose development is deeply intertwined (and owes so much) to a 'runaway' production: *Game of Thrones* (2011-19). The adaptation of G.R.R. Martin's fantasy saga *A Song of Ice and Fire* deeply shaped the recent film industry in Northern Ireland and the work and planning of NIS. It is sufficient to think of how the first two seasons returned a ratio of more than 8:1 to the NI economy, with a local spending of 18 million for the first season and 21 million for the second to understand its impact within the size of the screen industry in the country. *Game of Thrones'* success paved the way for the national screen commission's work with developing territorialisation policies, infrastructures, and skill sets of the local crew while creating a production environment for indigenous stories. NIS's direct spending was estimated by March 2018 to be £42.8 million across all of the screen sectors with a claimed expenditure on goods and services in the Northern Irish economy of £250.75 million (*Northern Ireland Screen* 2016: 7).

A pivotal element of this success story is the amount of work/jobs created by *Game of Thrones*. The impact on the labour market cannot be overemphasized. To put this into perspective: According to the most recent available data, Northern Ireland had 43,000 people working in the creative industries, most of them in screen productions, which is the equivalent to 5% of Northern Ireland's total employees (*Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure* 2015: 3).

In the past two decades, the development of creative industries in Belfast has closely followed that of most other UK post-industrial cities (including the re-valuation of its waterfront) starting from the late 1990s policy change. Positive developments for the screen industries began in England in the 1980s when filmmaking started to be perceived as a significant economic activity in its own right, as John Myerscough (1988) identified in his study *The Economic Importance of the Arts* published. In contrast to other areas in the UK, Northern Ireland's development was slowed down by the Troubles. Only in the advent of the peace process in the 1990s, the screen industry in and around Belfast fostered (Hill 2006: 180). A key text for the onset of this development is *The Arts and the Northern Ireland Economy*, a follow-up to his work on the cultural industries in Britain, Myerscough identified the economic benefits of increased investment in the arts and cultural industries within Northern Ireland and called upon the government to "give more strategic consideration to the cultural sector" (Myerscough 1996: 180).

In a more recent publication, Philip Drake (2014) successfully engages with the UK changes in policy following the new Labour government elected in Britain in 1997. He states that the 'Third Way' agenda, for the first time, fully embraced the economic growth made possible by the cultural industries. These developments occurred also in Northern Ireland with the creation of a new Department of Culture Arts and Leisure (DCAL) and a shift of the Northern Ireland Film Council towards a greater attention given to its "economic" role.

> "There are two units based out of Belfast: Dragon with about 150 permanent crew and Wolf with around 120 but these figures always increase. Last year there were 3 units [...] shooting for 9 weeks with 150 crew on each unit and on one memorable day in Belfast, they had a total of 5 units shooting simultaneously!"
>
> (Byrne as quoted in NI Screen, 2016: 20)

> "At a time when many industries in Northern Ireland are in decline and with creativity being heralded as one of the key themes of the Northern Ireland Economic Strategy, the creative industries stand out as an opportunity for continued growth and increasing global recognition. Creative industries in Northern Ireland have been identified as a significant opportunity for wealth and job creation with quite considerable sector output growth at rates of between 5% for non-digital and 30% per annum for digital sectors."
>
> (Oxford Economics 2012: 32)

As Hill argues, The Northern Ireland Film Commission strategy document entitled "The most powerful industry in the world" made clear that the core policy objectives are industrial in character aiming at the creation of new jobs, attract investments and create a positive image for Northern Ireland in a way that can contribute to building confidence in all sectors (Hill 2001: 182).The foundation of NIS in 1997 is testament of this development in regards to the general shift in screen industry policies.

The assessment of the economic benefits of the films shot in Northern Ireland between 1997 and 2000, however, was quite underwhelming. The report *A Development Strategy for the Northern Ireland Film and Broadcast Sector* published by the consultancy Olsberg/SPI in 2001 explains the limitations of the region's growth. The report states that these productions did not allow either a sustainable indigenous industry or the creation of internationally competitive skills. More importantly they did not offer enough flow to sustain the industrial infrastructure. And while the Arts Council in Northern Ireland was able to secure funding worth one million pound from the EU Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation (SSPPR) to establish a screen commission and a script development fund, very few milestones could be reached in the early years (Hill 2006: 176) In fact, The Paint Hall studios in Belfast. which opened in 2001, were already facing an operating loss after one year due to the lack of use. Hill's study on Northern Irish cinema, being published in 2006, ends on this grim assessment of the financial condition of the industry (2006: 188).

Just one year after Hill's publication, however, the situation dramatically changed. In 2007, the first financially significant international productions brought the feature film *City of Ember to Northern Ireland*. This became the first watershed moment in the region's recent screen industry. Half a year of intense negotiations saw the Belfast location see off alternative sites in England, Romania, Prague and Berlin (BBC 2007). For the first time the Paint Hall studios in the Titanic quarter were used by an ambitious film production which was particularly pleased with the flexibility offered by the vast space and its strategic location (being both close to Belfast city center and the airport and within one hour driving distance from a wide array of locations). This put Northern Ireland on the map for international and offered strategic marketing material for the NIS. *City of Ember* is a fantasy film mainly shot in studio. It needed significant manufacturer works for props and settings. Different from other productions which mainly used NI locations and relied on "imported" crew, *City of Ember* needed a significant amount of work which had to be done locally. As a result, the film deserves the label 'made in Belfast' (Belfast Telegraph 2018). There is

no hard evidence that this might not have happened without *City of Ember*, but the immediate effects showed the capability of the film industry to employ contractors, carpenters, architecture students (applied for visual effect CAD) etc. at the dawn of the 2008 financial crisis.

While, in theory, all the political support for the screen industry was already present in the 1990s policy aiming to boost the economy, 2008 changed the perspective of the local government who for the first time actually considered film production as a possible mitigation of the crisis of the construction sector in Northern Ireland. While *City of Ember* neither convinced critics nor found a wider audience, it introduced Belfast as a veritable production hub and eventually landed them *Game of Thrones* (BBC 2018). 2008 was also the year in which HBO and NIS first got in touch. In 2009, Universal Studios brought *Your Highness* to Belfast, which was not only shot in the Paint Hall Studios, but also required a significant amount of on location shooting, thus turning the film into a sort of brochure for Northern Ireland. It returned £11.78m on a total investment of 1.15m with a ratio of over 10:1 (Northern Ireland Screen 2017: 6)

In 2013, Universal (in cooperation with Legendary Pictures) picked Northern Ireland for *Dracula Untold*; this time with a budget of over a $100m. This film also required a lot of location shooting but the production needed to use another studio facility (the former C&C factory in Castlereagh) as the Paint Hall had already been booked, since 2010, by HBO. The HBO commitment to the Titanic studios significantly helped to develop other facilities across Northern Ireland and to upgrade the Titanic studios as well in 2012.

THE PAINT HALL

- Originally part of the Harland and Wolff shipyard, the Paint Hall contains 4 x 16,000ft² "cells", set out in a square connected by an internal road and streets
- Each cell measures 90ft high and has one 3ft thick external "wall" that is actually a 75ft high door
- None of the cell ceilings is external and the building is "double-skinned" reducing noise pollution
- The facility offers a suite of offices, workshops, a green room and its own internal electrical substation which provides 110v, 240v and 3 phase power to the whole building.

THE HURST & MACQUITTY STAGES

- Harcourt constructed new purpose-built sound stages adjacent to the Paint Hall in 2012
- Two large free-span spaces, each 21,000ft², capable of combined use as one large space of 42,000ft².
- Eaves' height of approximately 43ft.
- Space incorporates high performance acoustic fabric, high-level walkways and rigging gantries with power, lighting and internal environment options to suit the full spectrum of film production uses.
- Tax breaks for high-end television drama and animation

Figure 11.1: Excerpt from Harcourt Developments website presenting Titanic Studios (https://harcourtdev.com/titanic-studios).

HBO's repeated commitment to the Titanic studios (which they have rented for twelve months per year since 2009 until today) was an important "push" to the creation of other facilities across Northern Ireland (such as the Linen Mill Studio and the Botanic Harbour Studios), but it also led to the upgrade of the Titanic studios in 2012 with the opening of two new sound stages: the "Hurst" and the "McQuitty".

The development of the facilities mentioned above is a further example of the ability of Northern Ireland to meet the high standards of international productions (Dawtrey 2011) and can to some degree be considered "best in class" in terms of studios. With the current boom of films and television series shot in Northern Ireland, it is no wonder that NIS postulated in their report *Opening Doors: A Strategy to Transform the Screen Industries in Northern Ireland* (2019) the economic vision to make Northern Ireland the strongest screen industry outside of London/South East England in the UK and Ireland within ten 10 years.

The Role of Northern Ireland Screen
NIS played a pivotal role in the exponential growth of the screen industries in Northern Ireland (Ramsey et al. 2019: 1). NIS is a publicly funded screen development agency. As a public body, NIS is funded by Invest Northern Ireland (Invest NI) and partially financed by the European Regional Development Fund under the European Sustainable Competitiveness Programme for Northern Ireland and the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (DCAL); it is delegated by the Arts Council of NI (ACNI) to administer Lottery funding for film in Northern Ireland. Just like similar bodies in England, Scotland, and Wales, NIS *de facto* acts as a film commission offering several pull-factors, such as location scouting, studios management, funding for production and development etc. Furthermore, it is also constitutionally committed to the growth of film culture and education in Northern Ireland. The list of financiers of this film commission already highlights the European policy of reeling on creative industries in order to help the financial growth of

Table 1: Characteristics of 'Best-in-Class' Studios	
1	Multiple sound stages, of varying sizes, which are modern and up-to-date
2	Flexible, competitive studio rates
3	Attentive, flexible studio management and staff
4	Large, modern screening rooms, production offices and workshop space
5	Close proximity to experienced professional labour force
6	Backlot space
7	Special features (tanks, permanent exterior sets)
	Proximity to city and good services within the city, to a broad range of ancillary services, high volumes of electricity

Figure 11.2: Seven characteristics of top studios (Dorgan Associates 2013:6).

For both 2015/16 and 2016/17, in cash terms funding dedicated solely to film activity in the individual nations of the UK was greatest in England but per capita investment was highest in Northern Ireland.
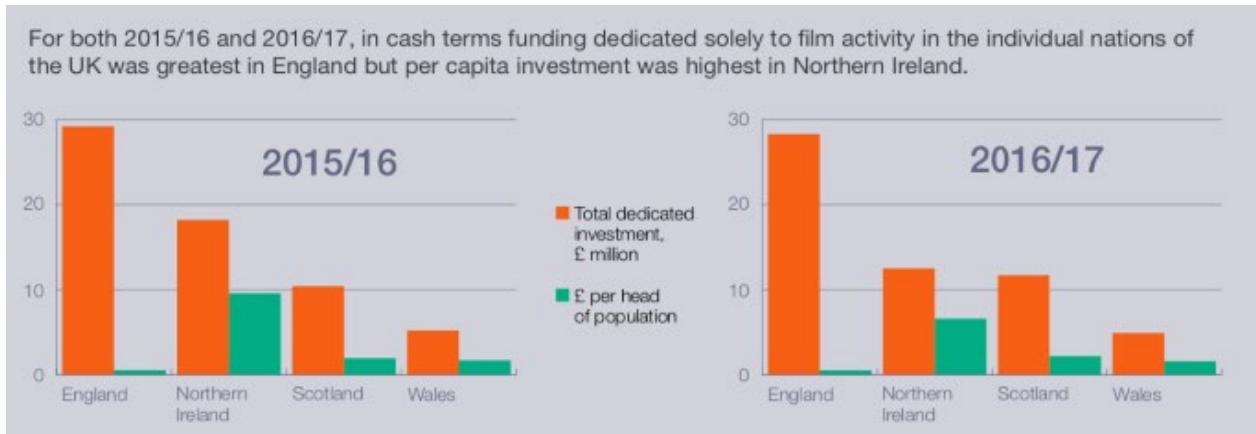
Figure 11.3: Total investment and investment per capita across the UK (BFI 2018: 176)

underdeveloped regions, in particular those facing the consequences of a post-industrial economy.

From 1997 to 2013, NIS's funding supported the production of 61 films. The problem, was that especially early indigenous films had a generally poor commercial run and primarily meant short term employment for local crews and talent. The recent growth is based on changes occurring between 2007 and 2010 during the initiative *Building on Success* Strategy of NIS. As emerged from the Invest NI's report on the work of NIS of the period, one of the key premises underlying this strategy's success was a significant realignment of support in favour of television production in Northern Ireland. This was based on the view that television production (rather than film) was more likely to be the primary means to build a sustainable regional screen industry (*Northern Ireland Screen* 2013). The capacity of accommodating new large-scale productions and the omnipresence of *Game of Thrones* shows, firstly, a depth of the local crew unthinkable a few years before and, secondly, that inward investments are crucial in this twist on the screen industry fortune.

The tax-breaks for both films and television of the UK are actually lower than in the Republic of Ireland (which gives up to 32% relief compared to the British 25%), but the surge of productions in Northern Ireland seems to correlate with the 15-year high of the dollar against the pound in autumn 2007 (Ramsey et al. 2019: 9). That allowed NI to present itself able to compete in a global market as 'best value for money' for international productions. In an interview with *Screen Daily*, Aidan Elliott of Generator Entertainment explains the choice of Northern Ireland for the production of Microsoft's *Sepia*.

Northern Ireland Screen has launched a series of initiatives to boost local talent and, hence, the region's economy. Their last program, *Opening Doors 2014-18*, has been especially successful. Opening Doors was a 4-year strategy designed to make the Northern Ireland screen industry the strongest in the UK outside of London, "supporting vibrant and diverse cultural voices that will be recognised and celebrated equally at home and abroad" (Northern Ireland Screen 2019: 6). NIS's target to capture £250m direct

Northern Ireland expenditure from supported production worth over £500m will be achieved (Northern Ireland Screen 2019: 4).

For both 2015/16 and 2016/17, total investments dedicated solely to film activity in the individual nations of the UK was greatest in England, but per capita investment was highest in Northern Ireland. An independent interim evaluation delivered in June 2017 found that local expenditure associated with the screen industry had more than doubled from £128 million for the 4 years 2010-14 to £143 million for the 2 years 2014-16. The evaluation confirmed Value for Money 'VFM' and indicated very strong levels of customer satisfaction. The evaluation measured "Additionality" (an essential rationale for making public money available to an industry to stimulate activity that would not otherwise occur, i.e. that the market, left to itself, would not engender) as extremely high at 86% and emphasised strongly that "Without the support minimal activity would be happening in NI" (Northern Ireland Screen 2017: 4).

Northern Ireland's critical success is anchored in Large-Scale by Game of Thrones' record 38 EMMYs, but TV crime shows such as Line of Duty and The Fall have attracted considerable attention and a different approach to sustainability. The impression is that the focus has shifted: the national prestige is not relied exclusively on the idea of "local" stories, instead it emerges from a more general definition of Made in Belfast. Andrew Reid, head of production of NIS, pointed out that screen industries allow a post-industrial city to be once again internationally recognised for making something, and that is a matter of pride. It is something tangible, different from an economy-based services. Therefore, at this stage, the international image of Belfast focuses on "made in Belfast" more than "Belfast Stories".

"We looked at shooting in New Zealand, Morocco and South Africa but when it came down to it, the best value for money is actually in Northern Ireland, where you can get the tax credit and funding from regional agency Northern Ireland Screen. I don't think you can beat that anywhere else in the world for production value and making money stretch"

(Elliott in *Screen Daily* 2014)

Creative Industries Tax Breaks

– The high-end television tax relief (HTR) was introduced in 2013 and applies to British scripted drama with budgets of more than £1m per broadcast hour and allows cash rebates of up to 25% through the Television Production Company (TPC).

–The Film Tax Relief (FTR) was introduced in 2007 and applies to British films of any budget, the Film Production Company (FPC) can claim a payable cash rebate of up to 25% on UK qualifying expenditure.

(British Film Commission 2020)

Location and Crime

One of the key roles played by NIS is to promote and develop the location opportunities offered by the region. Northern Ireland is among the most compact 5,196 square miles of back-lot in the world, offering a variety of different locations from coastlines to idyllic villages, mountains, glens and loughs, urban landscapes and cities with an attractive mix of architectural styles ranging from Victorian red-brick buildings to 21st century glass and steel constructions (Baker 2016: 180). Ian Heard, a location scout working on shows such as *Marcella, The Tunnel*, and *Grantchester*, points out how Northern Ireland and Belfast are not only competitive for the financial benefits, but also because of their ability to stand in for many other places, becoming the background for different kind of genres. One of the main legacies of *Game of Thrones* is undoubtedly the development of the skillsets in screen productions and in particular of the offering pertaining to the location departments. On the one hand, new professional figures and skills (like the ability to build a temporary road to a remote rural location) are now part of the Northern Ireland Screen Industries portfolio, offering new opportunities for global productions. On the other hand, the impact on the local economy of the HBO production (in particular in terms of global perception and tourism) transformed Northern Ireland to a "film friendly" country, welcoming screen production in urban and rural areas. This represents a significant shift in respect to the recent past marking an openness and accessibilities of NI locations.

In the recent productions supported by NIS we can see the attempt to create a balance between national representation and global appeal, in particular by relying on generic productions. From this perspective, crime plays an important role. Among the projects supported from the screenwriting stage to the production by the NIS development funds are indigenous crime films such as *A Patch of Fog* and *Bad Day for the Cut,* both eventually set and shot in Northern Ireland. One must also consider how the BBC had an obligation to commit, by 2016, 3% of its production budget in Northern Ireland, focusing in particular on TV drama. Such focus led the region to host a series of crime dramas commissioned by the BBC such as *Line of Duty, The Fall, Paula, Dublin* Murders, the forthcoming *Bloodlands* and ITV's 3rd season of *Marcella.*

Case Study I: *Line of Duty*

Ever since *Line of Duty* aired on BBC Two in 2012, it has become a massive hit in the UK and internationally. Created by Jed Mercurio, it became the most popular crime series broadcast on BBC Two in the multi-channel era (*The Guardian* 2012) and has won numerous prices, i.e. the Royal Television Society Award and Broadcasting Press Guild Award for Best Drama Series. The show was included in a list of the Top 50 BBC Two shows and the 80 best BBC shows of all time (*The Telegraph* 2014). A poll conducted by *The Independent* ranks the show as the 8th best police shows of all time (2019) and it came in third in a *Radio Times* poll of the best British crime dramas of all time (2018). Revolving around the Anti-Corruption Unit 12 (AC-12), the series' setting has always been kept vague, but

"I've been at this for about 15 years. It's changed a lot in that time. There wasn't much of an industry when I was coming out of school, it took me a while to drift into it. I was always interested in the creative side of things, I made a few short films and wanted to get into the business full time. Locations was one of the departments that was recruiting. For a long time, there wasn't any BBC productions made here. What the industry needed was a large-scale returning series as a catalyst. *Game of Thrones* has been incredible for this country."

(David Cooke in *NewsLetter* 2019)

there are hints that the *Line of Duty* takes place in the midlands. The exact location is never mentioned, although maps of Birmingham appear on walls and telephone numbers use an 0121 area code, again indicating Birmingham. The fictional 01632 phone code is also seen. Various postcodes are displayed on documents and have the Birmingham 'B' or Milton Keynes 'MK' prefix. The police forces referred to are the fictional Central Constabulary and the fictional East Midlands Constabulary. Season one was filmed in Birmingham. Seasons two, three, four, and five, however, were filmed in Northern Ireland by BBC Northern Ireland.

David Cooke is the location manager for the NI-filmed police series. In an interview with *NewsLetter* he said: "With the second series they did it pretty tightly so people wouldn't know where it was shot, but these last three series, particularly the last two I've worked on, they've felt a bit more confident with showing a bit more of Belfast, even though it still is meant to be the Midlands. Obviously, you avoid prominent landmarks like the cranes and the Albert Clock" (Newsletter 2019).

"in the many mysteries posed by the BBC's gripping and wholly addictive *Line of Duty*, one stands apart. Forget 'The Caddy', ignore the identity of H, never mind which UCO has crossed over to what OCG. The big question is: where are we?"

(James Medd in *CNTRAVELLER* 2019)

Cooke confirmed that over 60 Belfast locations were featured in the six episodes of the last season: "For each location you might have to find about four or five possibilities so that's a lot of locations that have to be scouted to reach the final 60 odd" (ibid.). The fact that *Line of Duty* is a global phenomenon made his job significantly easier, as it is much easier approaching places to ask if you can film there. Belfast's often violent past and partially run-down state makes this city attractive for crime series. The gritty environment lends itself well to murder, hijacking scenes, and shootouts.

Thanks to the post-production facilities available, even the sunny outdoor shoots can be given a dark and menacing character. And the surrounding of Belfast work as a *Passepartout* even more than Belfast itself, as location scout Ian

Figure 11.4: Central Library in Belfast features as the Police Headquarters in Line of Duty (futurebelfast.com)

Heard confirms when he told us in an interview: "When you leave Belfast you could be in the middle of anywhere." The interesting aspect of Northern Ireland's ability to stand in for other places, does not mean that fans of the show cannot debate the actual shooting locations.

Fans can easily make out the real-life locations within Belfast. The office of the AC-12 is HQ of Invest Northern Ireland in the centre of Belfast, almost opposite the great Victorian theatre Ulster Hall on Bedford Street. On Upper Queen Street is the Stix & Stones restaurant where one of the officers meets up with his estranged wife. A little to the north is another often featured venue, Belfast Central Library on Royal Avenue. This Victorian building stands in as Police Headquarters. And while *Line of Duty* uses Belfast's landmarks sparingly, as anonymity is key for this show to credibly take place in the midlands, both the Obel Tower (Belfast's tallest building) and St. Anne's Cathedral (the city's most famous church) make appearances in the show. For people who are familiar with Belfast, streets like the area of Castlereagh to the south, at the junction of Rosetta Road and Mount Merrion Road, and Downhill Avenue are easy to identify. So while this show falls more in the category of "made in Belfast" than "set in Belfast", the city and its surroundings are omnipresent in this BBC crime show (inews.co.uk 2019).

Case Study II: *The Fall*

Unlike *Line of Duty*, *The Fall* is clearly not just "made in Belfast" but also "set in Belfast". This gripping psychological thriller series that forensically examines the lives of two hunters. One is a serial killer, Paul Spector, who stalks his victims at random in and around Belfast and the other is a talented female Detective Superintendent, Stella Gibson, on secondment from the MET who is brought in to catch him. When the show first aired to rave reviews in

2013, reviewers hailed it as a new branch of Northern Irish crime fiction which tackles issues of the post-Trouble state of Belfast, a prime example of the genre of non-terrorist Northern Ireland crime fiction that has been one of the unexpected products of peace (The Guardian 2016).

The first seasons of *The Fall* made specific reference to the fact that serial killers, except for paramilitaries, were an unknown phenomenon in Belfast and while war is technically over, as Gillian Anderson's DI Stella Gibson discovers, "a long shadow still falls" (The Guardian 2012). For the *The Fall*'s audience, "part of the tension – a version of what happens in much European crime fiction after the Second World War – is whether or not the killings are related to the Troubles" (The Guardian 2013a).

According to the website of NIS, *The Fall* features a wide variety of Belfast locations: Belfast International Airport, The Waterfront Hall, W5 at Odyssey, New Lodge Estate, Rugby Road, Botanic Gardens, Victoria Park, Malmaison Hotel, Ulsterville Avenue, The Merchant Hotel, Hilton Hotel, Belfast Metropolitan College, Stranmillis Primary School, The Holiday Inn, Whiteabbey Hospital, McHugh's Bar, Cityside Retail Park, and Victoria Square (Northern Ireland Screen, undated). Most of these sites are clearly depicted and add to the sense of place in ways that would be impossible for a show like *Line of Duty*. While the creator of the show, Allan Cubitt, admits that he didn't know Belfast well enough and that his geography was quite off for the first season, he managed to create an image of Belfast where "the sense of danger rarely lets up, be it from Spector getting caught on the 'wrong side' of Belfast in

"some residents of Belfast would be probably quite offended by some of the car journeys that jump around the city. [For season two] I knew the city much better and had a greater sense of how to make use of it." (Allan Cubitt on YouTube 2016)

"With staycations proving ever-popular, BBC 2's latest detective drama invites viewers to take in the sights of a region which isn't too far from home. The Fall is set in Northern Ireland; a country which, despite its reportedly competitive filming rates, remains remarkably underappreciated as a tourist destination. This looks set to change with the arrival of Detective Superintendent Stella Gibson (Gillian Anderson's acclaimed protagonist) on the scene, despite the show's gritty theme. Most scenes from the first season of The Fall were shot in Belfast, a fitting locus for the psychological thriller. Age-old rolling landscapes, a tumultuous political history and a vibrant cultural present make for a somewhat mystifying backdrop." (Easy Voyage 2013)

Figure 11.5: BBC Northern Ireland's digital map of The Fall locations (Skylab by BBC Northern Ireland 2013)
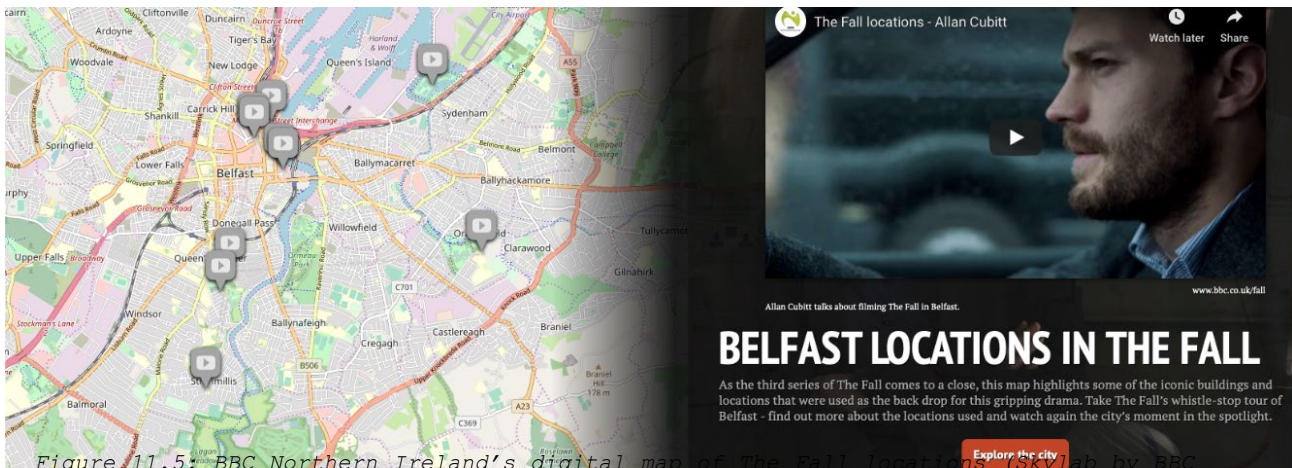
anticipation of a kill, or in the flashes of sectarian violence that won't much please the city's tourist board" (The Guardian 2013b).

Interestingly enough, the city's tourist board has no reason to worry about the show's tourist effect. As early as 2012, travelblogs and commercial travel providers used *The Fall* as motivation to visit Belfast.

Belfast, as these websites point out, has a lot to offer, as it is clearly shown in the show itself. St George's Market, the botanical gardens, the Waterfront Hall, the Merchant Hotel and many other iconic destinations are clearly depicted in *The Fall*. The show that has "a keen eye for post-Troubles politics and serial-killer creepiness" (The Guardian 2013b) also steers tourists towards the "the 'bombs and bullets' tours, in which black cabs take visitors to the most significant sights related to The Troubles" (Easy Voyage 2013). BBC Northern Ireland even created a digital map that maximises the effects of territorialisation (figure 11.5).

Case Study III: *A Patch of Fog*

A Patch of Fog is a 2015 thriller written by John Cairns and Michael McCartney and directed by Michael Lennox who won a BAFTA and was Oscar nominated for the Belfast-based short film *Boogaloo and Graham*. The script was developed thanks to the support of NIS which was also involved in the production of the film. A true indigenous production (written and directed by local talents, shot with mainly local crew) *A Patch of Fog* had his first screening at the 2015 Toronto Film Festival and took advantage of the popularity acquired by his Northern Irish lead actor (Conleth Hill) for his role in *Game of Thrones*.

A Patch of Fog tells the story of an acclaimed Northern Irish novelist who is blackmailed into an unwanted friendship with a security guard. The film was shot in Belfast, Downpatrick, and Bangor in less than a month, between 21 November and 19 December 2014. What is interesting about the choice of locations is that it showcases a series of key landmarks in Belfast managing to mix the modern and "traditional" sides of the city, such as: Strand Cinema,

Lagan Weir (with its view of the Titanic quarter development and the docks), Botanic Gardens, Ulster Museum, the local store Wyse Byse, Queen's University, Victoria Square, Belfast Met (Springvale campus), all locations mixing an identifiable heritage of the city and clear post-trouble development. The film poster offers a good example in this regard as it portrays the iconic glass dome of Victoria square shopping center, a complex opened in 2008 in the heart of Belfast city. Being shot in winter, the film presents several scenes of the city during night time and creates a continuity between modern houses with enormous glass walls and Victorian terraces, neon lighted shopping centers and the 19th century university campus.

What emerges is the versatility of the Belfast locations, but also the struggle in representing untainted signs of a modern metropolis. While some reviews (i.e. Guardian 2016c, Hollywood Report 2015) did not fail to underline its strong association with the city, others (Variety, 2015) do not make any reference to Belfast or Northern Ireland, stressing instead the "universality" of the story told.

Conclusion

Belfast, like so many cities in the UK struggled with the post-industrial state of the economy when the screen industries became a major force in local economic transformation. Unlike the rest of the UK, Northern Ireland still had to cope with the aftermath of the Troubles and many early films produced in the country actually dealt with the Northern Ireland conflict. While Northern Ireland invested heavily in studio facilities and the grooming of local talent, the first international productions did not benefit the region in the way bodies such as Northern Ireland Screen and Invest NI had hoped for. That did change drastically with HBO's *Game of Thrones* which meant stability and financial security. Belfast's highly evolved studio landscape, highly skilled local crews, its ability to stand in for other cities and areas, attractive tax breaks, and the ambition of Northern Ireland Screen to attract more international productions, Northern Ireland has become a key player for global media productions.

Crime is one genre that recently thrived in Northern Ireland. While crime fiction set in Belfast freed itself from having to deal with the Northern Ireland conflict thematically, the whole region and especially Belfast retain a gritty atmosphere which lends itself well to the genre in general. This uneasy environment surely helps to attract other crime shows and films, which are originally set in other cities, to be shot and produced in Belfast. Highly acclaimed shows such as *The Fall*, *Line of Duty*, and films such as *A Patch of Fog* illustrate Northern Ireland's ability to move away from the Troubles while capitalising on the territory's troubled past.

Key takeaways

- Runaway productions attracted through territorialisation policies created the condition for the development of Northern Irish Screen industries.
- Securing +£100m films and *Game of Thrones* allowed for studios, sound stages and post-production units to be built.
- In terms of location and facilities, Belfast is now regarded as "best in class" and is well on track to become the second biggest production hub in UK outside of London.
- Crime is taking a key role in stories showing contemporary Northern Ireland.
- The location market is key for the competitiveness of Northern Ireland at a global scale.
- Belfast, hosting crime series and films such *The Fall, Line of Duty, The Secret, Dublin Murders, Bad Day for the Cut, A Patch of Fog* and many others has, according to a recent article by the *Guardian* (2016), become "the capital of crime TV".
- Using mainly local talent, the Ulster region utilises its violent past as backdrop for post-Troubles crime fiction to tell stories "set in Belfast" and at the same time attracts many productions in which Belfast and its surroundings stand in for other locations, thus bolstering the pedigree of the "made in Belfast" label.

PART IV. METHODOLOGIES OF LOCATION STUDIES

12 Location studies and the spatiality of literary and screen production

Kim Toft Hansen and Jacques Migozzi

In this theoretical and methodical section of the report, we will highlight the main disciplinary aspects of location studies, while expanding the scope of the method to include spatial approaches to literary content. We do so in order to explain the methodological context around the chapters of this report.

Film and television production share a number of similarities, although the production process and circulation strategies diverge, but the production of literature is markedly different from audiovisual content. In fact, the concept *location* is rarely used in literary studies, which means that the method must be adjusted and attuned to include literary approaches to settings and story worlds.

A spatial approach is immanent in analyzing European crime narratives, since the reference to Europe implies geographical limitations to the texts analyzed through location studies. However, *European* crime narratives may involve various extremes on a scale ranging from the predominantly local representations to the pan-European (ideological) ideals in crime narratives, from using Trieste in *La Porta Rossa* to travelling through and debating Europe in Arne Dahl's 'OpCop' book series. In fact, European crime narratives represent all corners of Europe through highly localized and perhaps only locally distributed and consumed titles, while a number of titles also engage thoroughly with the construction of Europe as a geographical and ideological entity.

European crime narratives include both occurrences at very different, but associated extremes, since both convey different stories about Europe, and the genre does so from different localized narratives. Stories confined to and consumed at local places are not less European, but they may appear less engaged in narratives of pan-European identity. From different perspectives and disciplinary approaches, location studies advance a close inspection of the practicalities of producing and negotiating a simultaneously integrated and segregated local and continental European space.

Locations and settings of popular culture may be tied together by mediated space and place, local geography, topography, (geo)politics and place policies, urban/rural relationships, branding and touristic strategies, local and transnational trade and industry (naturally the cultural industries). Such a framing of popular culture establishes a new empirical basis for analyzing the production of local and transnational identity constructions and spatial attachment. The chapters in this report present further examples.

As a concept, *place* is consists of layers of meaning that, in different ways, influence the connotations of place and guide the semantics of place and spatiality.

Location Studies
In the context of production and policy studies, *location studies* was launched as a cross-disciplinary approach to studying television series and serialized audio-visual content (Hansen and Waade 2017). Location studies combines analyses of the aesthetic and narrative content of serials with the practical and empirical approach in production analysis, and as a result, the approach builds a theoretical and methodical connection between representational and industrial analyses of especially popular cultural products.

Place theory and place narratives

Place theory, i.e. thinking about places and telling about them have roots in ancient philosophy and narrative theory (Morison 2002). As a result, location studies as a method is established on top of hundreds of years of place philosophy, evolving into a theology of place in religious practices (Inge 2003), later developing into geography as an academic discipline in 18th and 19th century.

The important practical steps towards places as marketable and mercantile value occur in the invention of modern tourism industry during the 19th century, when trains offered new means of transportation (Zuelow 2016), at a time when places were 'romanticized' through various art forms, landscape paintings and ensuing photography.

Simultaneously, early aspects of literary tourism, rooted in religious pilgrimage, came into being as mainly an interest in burial sites of dead authors, termed 'necromanticism' by Paul Westover (2012). In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, travelling industries became common, and because of a deepening relationship with the rising advertising industries, places turned into sellable commodities.

Still, in film and the subsequent TV industry locations and places of production were, for many years, merely viewed as a practical matter in relation to where the film or series should be 'shot', whether in a studio or on location, and if on location then where. Already in the silent film era, it was, for instance, possible to take a tour of Universal Studios, but it was not before 1964 that the studio turned the interest in filming locations and studios into a theme park. At this stage, film was increasingly shot on location, due to new lighter camera equipment as well as the influence from the French New Wave, which then started to attract attention to place portrayal in cinematic representations of places.

Locations and urban studies

While the film industry established itself from the late 19th century, the urbanization process of, especially, Western civilization gained momentum creating the basis for the development of the academic discipline 'urban studies' (Paddison 2001: 2). As a counter-reaction to the urbanization of Western culture, sociologists became "concerned

with the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation of social life, social relationships and social control" (Shucksmith and Brown 2016: 2), thus establishing the basis for what is now termed 'rural studies'.

Per definition, these various disciplines have been deeply engaged with places and narratives of place, but in very different ways. Commercial attention towards places motivates place branding and media tourism as increasingly important parameters of place interpretation during the 20th century. In general, this brief pre-history of location marketing, place branding and cultural tourism is permeated with a cumulative commercialization of place – and all semantic connotations of place and location are etymologically 'buried' in the locative approach to screen and literary production.

Places, locations, sites

Especially in geography and topography, 'location' is an important concept. The focal point, at least for human geography, is an attention towards what gives meaning to places for the people living there (dwellers) or visiting them (tourists). In some cases, the notion of a *site* is more common, e.g. in Brian K. Roberts' theory of human settlement (1996), where he distinguishes between three aspects of a site: physical environment, site and situation, and socio-economic forces.

Such an overview of place making through settlement is, of course, a theoretical, ethnographic model of why specific sites historically have turned into places with meaning (e.g. cities). At the same time, the topographical theory appears as an inherent metaphor for the creative choice around choosing settings and locations for narratives. The relationship between the physical and socio-psychological appearance of settings and locations and different socio-economic forces influence the choice of place for producers of fiction. There may be obvious external reasons for a producer of television fiction to place a serial production at a certain place (e.g. tax incentives, co-funding, touristic opportunities), or there may be thematic or historical reasons for writers (e.g. a narrative or a theme may be tied to a specific real place).

With similarities to the expansion of Roberts' settlement theory, Tim Cresswell (2015) presents a general typology of places (see textbox). When locations and landscapes in this way materialize as significantly visual components of people's subjective attachment to places, it makes sense that especially locations, semantically, become more important for film and television than for literature. This does not, however, mean that literature cannot co-create an intersubjective construction of a sense of place. Internal visualizations in a reading process – motivated by potent aesthetic language presentations – may be even more powerful than visual representations. In addition, we need to remember that much successful film and television also comes from adaptations.

> "Literature (along with other more recent media) plays a central role in shaping people's geographical imaginations. [...] Not only does the work say something about a place, but its very construction says something about how society is ordered spatially"
>
> (Mike Crang 1998: 44)

Landscapes and local colour

For Mike Crang (1998), literary landscapes are not purely descriptions of places from a specific viewpoint. Mediations of places and landscapes may also be the hinge between the physical topography of a place and the personal and intersubjective sense of place.

Local colour

As described by Vladimir Kapor (2009), local colour was a) developed as a colour and perspective theory in painting that developed into b) a concept about regionalist American prose, but then settled as c) the vernacular semantics known today indicating *a specific tone, spirit or sense of a local place*. In his historical genealogy of the concept, Kapor stays within the confines of the historical, mostly 18th century semantics of the concept, which is why he does not take the latest step into local colour as d) also expressively marked by "a global trend of transforming places into commodities and cultures into marketable destinations."

(Hansen and Waade 2017: 32)

Brian K. Robert's theory of human settlement

a) The *physical environment* describes the objective variation of land- and seascapes.
b) The contrast between *site and situation* establishes active choice as a significant influence. As it is, *situation* may refer to both the specific physical relationship to surrounding landscapes as well as the socio-psychological relation to the site. As a result, you may say that a site and settlement becomes a place whenever the physical and socio-psychological become interwoven; meaning comes from social appropriation of place.
c) The third and final aspect of a site for Roberts are the *socio-economic forces* of the site, which may be influential factors when choosing to settle, or it may turn out to be an advantage after establishing a settlement (e.g. raw material in the ground).

(Roberts 1996)

Tim Cresswell's typology of places

a) *Location* is a mere reference to 'where', while
b) *locale* is the material basis for social contacts, whereas a
c) *sense of place* is the social, subjective and emotional bond people may have to a place. Location, locale and sense of place, then, enters a dialectical relationship in establishing social ties to places that may be reworked through the way a location historically develops.
d) For Cresswell, *space* is an abstract area devoid of meaning, which indirectly maintains a place as somewhere with specific meaning for 'someone'.
e) The final aspect of place for Cresswell is *landscape*, which for him is both a part of place and contrasted to place, as "a portion of the earth's surface that can be viewed from one spot, [i.e.] a focus on the material topography of a portion of land (that which can be seen) with the notion of vision (that which is seen). Landscape is an intensely visual idea. In most definitions of landscape the viewer is outside of it"

(Cresswell 2015: 17).

1.	Ideological rural national landscapes	Such "landscapes come to stand as a symbol of continuity, the product of land worked over and produced, etched with the past, so that 'history runs through geography'" (Edensor 2002: 40)
2.	Iconic sites	"Typically these spatial symbols connote historical events, are either evidence of past cultures, providing evidence of a "glorious" past or "golden age" and antecedence […] or they are monuments erected – often within larger memoryscapes" (ibid. 45)
3.	Sites of popular culture	The site-specific places are "where large numbers of people gather to carry out communal endeavours such as festivals, demonstrations and informal gathering" (ibid. 48)
4.	Familiar, quotidian Landscapes	These are "mundane spatial features of everyday experience" (ibid. 50), e.g. parks, pubs, streets carrying familiar names. They "stich the local and the national together through their serial reproduction across the nation" (ibid. 53)
5.	Dwellingscapes	Appear as an "unquestioned backdrop to daily tasks, pleasure and routine movement" (ibid. 53), e.g. open spaces, coffee machines, public pathways.
6.	Homely spaces	"As a way of making spatial sense of the nation then, home is able to link […] the small-scale domestic to the large-scale space. 'Home' conjoins a myriad of affective realms and contains a wealth of transportable imagery" (ibid. 57).

Figure 12.1: Edensor's six spatial categories (2002).

The semantics of place and the interdisciplinarity of place theory and analyses highlight a complex theoretical basis underneath location studies as a method, here also involving literary studies. As developed in Hansen and Waade (2017), place theory also implicates the historical-semantic development of the concept *local colour* (see textbox). At root, recent commercialization of local colour does not necessarily change the meaning of the concept, but it enhances the mediated potential that may represent, negotiate and establish local colour as a 'geographical imagination' (see: Crang 1998).

In semiotic terms, local colour is imbued with a perpetual semiosis between the physical place (object), the mediated place (representamen) and the imagined place (interpretant) (see figure 12.2).

In relation to localization, nations, remembrance and cultural identity, Tim Edensor's (2002) spatial categories presented in figure 12.1 link well with Kapor's concept of local colour, Cresswell's relationship between objective and subjective spatial qualities and the general idea of social life being structured by spatial sensibilities. Edensor's central geographical argument is that the nation is a bounded space (in the abstract sense similar to Cresswell's *space*) that through spatial representations establishes ideological meaning-making around local spaces in a culturally global world. His six spatial categories range from the larger, well-known national sites to the most local spaces representing a certain way of organizing and arranging personal space (see figure 12.1).
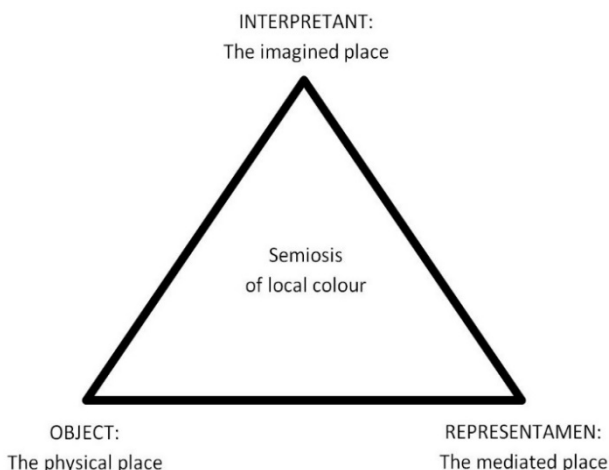
Besides being a theory of human geography, Edensor's spatial categories carry a popular cultural resonance (he for example analyzes Mel Gibson's 1995 film *Braveheart* as an exemplary case) and includes heavy visual and narrative indicators of national spaces and places. Such categories not only represent a contemporary visual and narrative context around a national space; they also present scholars of literature and screened places with a vocabulary to describe the history of spatial representation in popular cultural narratives.

Producing and negotiating places through screens

As already noted, location studies were developed primarily for studying productions of screen narratives. Commonly, screen production is much more expensive than literary writing, and since different spatial interests increasingly permeate the funding schemes of screen production, perhaps it makes sense that many of the influential factors in location studies appear slightly more represented in narratives on film, television and subscription video on demand (SVoD) services.

Yet, the general and banal point in location studies is that *a range of contextual factors around a production influence the final narrative result*. This is no new insight in scholarly work on aesthetic, narrative output, although the influential factors vary between each mode of representation. First, we present the method elaborated for screen production research, and then we draw attention to different methodologically enriching perspectives that establish a spatial location approach to literature. As figure 12.3 illustrates, location studies – inspired by Edensor's gradual spatial categories and Roberts' theory of site settlement – was designed to analyze the transitory relationship between the single scene-specific location, through different on-screen features represented in scenes, through four different influential contextual factors impacting the choice of location during production (or writing), and lastly the cultural preconditions that, in a more abstract sense, may influence how locations are chosen when producing film, television and SVoD-series (Hansen and Waade 2017: 53-73).

Location studies show an interest in the intentions behind choosing locations irrespective of the level of distinctness, but the method, of course, shows an obvious interest in the increasing tendency towards evident and recognizable locations as a mercantile representation of interest, and/or as a reality-effect producing a sense of authenticity in screened or literary fiction.

At a deeper level, locations and landscapes may also tie together *place-as-realism* and *place-as-memory* and

INTERPRETANT:
The imagined place

Semiosis
of local colour

OBJECT:
The physical place

REPRESENTAMEN:
The mediated place

Figure 12.2: The semiosis of local colour
(Hansen and Waade 2017: 41).
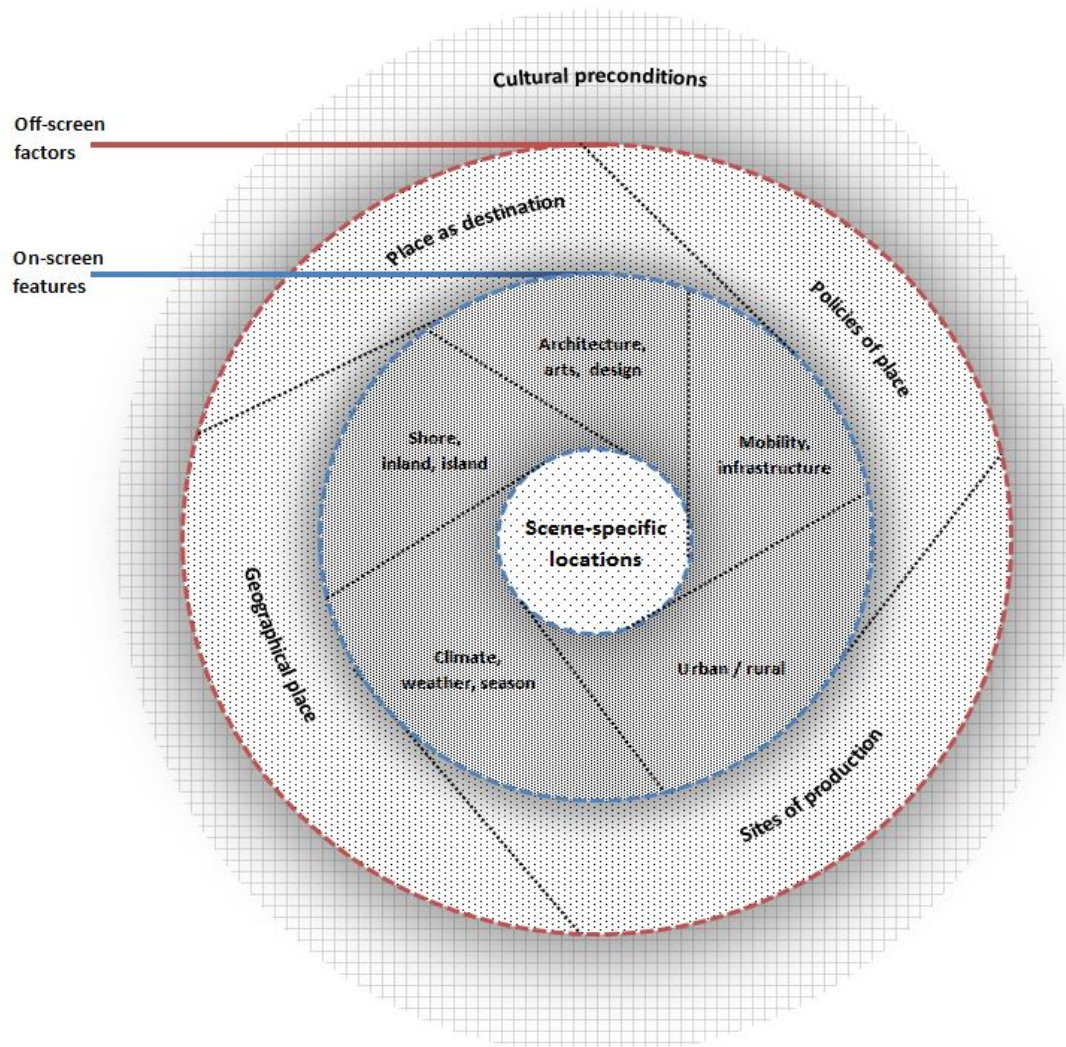
Figure 12.3: The four layers of location studies (Hansen and Waade 2017).

Questions for the analysis of on-screen features

1. What types of *architecture, arts and design* are offered as being a part of the visual or locative design of the narrative?
2. How is the *infrastructure* and means of *mobility* pronounced as a natural part of the location and setting?
3. Does the narrative take place in *urban and/or rural areas*, and what are the intentions behind – and the effect of – the urban and/or rural localizations?
4. In which ways do *climate, weather conditions and seasonal changes* inspire the recognizability of the local colour of a specific place?
5. In what range does the topographical position – *shore, inland or island* – affect the local sense of place presented in the narrative spatial design?

place-based identity constructions. In other words, screened locations and landscapes become sculpted in time and readable as cartographically represented 'sculptures' representing place simultaneously slightly detached from time and marked by the time of representation. As such, much is unconscious when producing/writing place, but it may be a salient part of why a specific location, setting or landscape is chosen for a specific narrative.

In figure 12.3, the inner circle presents a range of locative means that assist creatives in anchoring narratives at specific places, i.e. either consciously or unconsciously, embedding the local colour of location and setting. The local colour representations of scene-specific locations may be summed up through the abovementioned five basic questions relating to the on-screen features.

"[c]inematic landscapes are not simply of the moment, but can recall both our own and a general condition prior to their representation. The mnemonic offering, founded on the complexity of such a framing and such a juxtaposition of framing, and on the place of elements of the composition in our innate understanding, is atemporal in that it does not necessarily correspond to the day-to-day time that is imposed on human life [...]. So cinematic landscapes, while obviously part of a continuum, and equally composed of frames, can also be considered conduits to memories, and a form of time, that transcends the cinema itself"

(Turner and Rayner 2010: 18-9)

Figure 12.4: Off-screen factors in location studies (Hansen and Waade 2017).

Four off-screen factors

The five components of on-screen features (questions) represent a range of perspectives from which the local colour of a screen narrative may be analyzed as a representational aspect in the 'texts'. Besides looking at locations as a salient part of the production/narrative the methodic intention of location studies is also to understand the motivation behind these choices and work out *when* in the production process location placement was made – and not least by *whom* – and *why*.

Naturally, there must be other questions in relation to specific productions and different localities, but the idea of on-screen features is to create a broad spectrum of approaches to local colour representation. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize that not all representations of local colour in narratives are necessarily conscious. This is because many narratives – by way of cultural preconditions and tacit knowledge about a cultural framework – register local colour as a mere feature that appears naturally without producers' direct intentionality.

Such unintentional features are no less important than the premeditated and strategically chosen locative features. Therefore, analyzing location as a practical matter through four specific off-screen factors (see figure 12.4) departs from the knowledge in and objectives of personnel in some ways tied to producing and circulating the specific narratives. Unintentional or 'naturally' present local colour (things taken ideologically/culturally for granted, e.g. the way we talk, dress and interact within a specific culture) are especially important too, but it proves hard to ask producers about aspects they were unaware of, although it is possible and sometimes feasible.
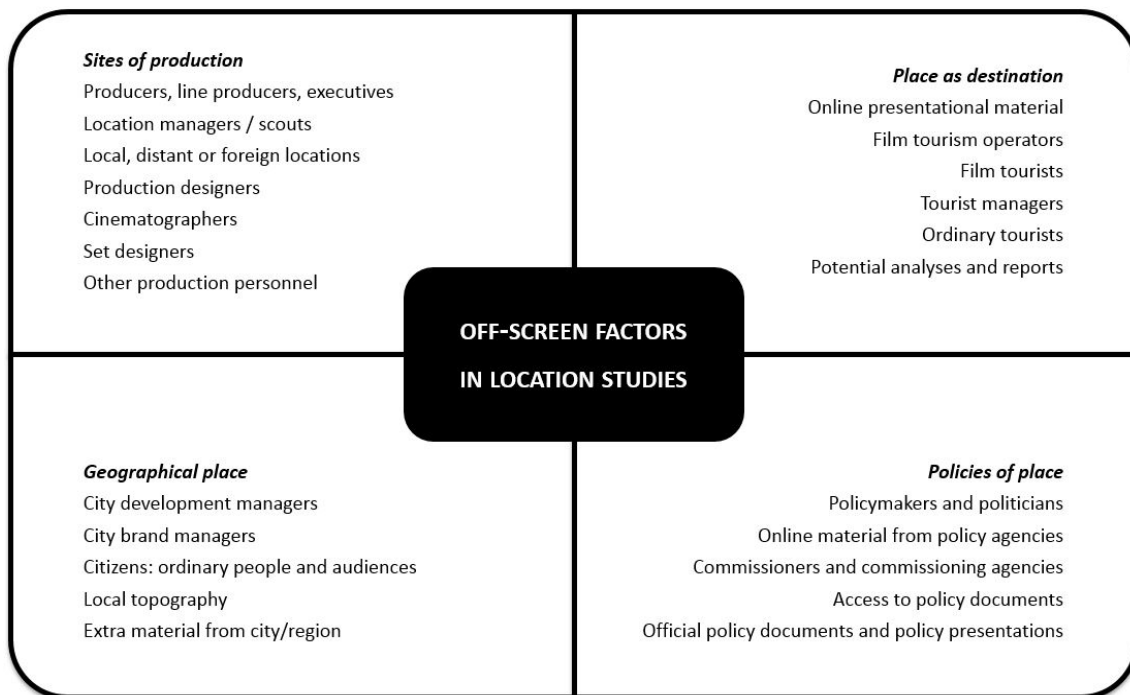
The four off-screen factors (figure 12.4) are an attempt to illustrate the potential empirical basis for a production analysis of locations and choosing locations for a narrative. Correspondingly, this may be the methodical categories that are most obviously tied to location studies as a method for analyzing screen production. The four factors register a relationship between creative processes, touristic interests and place policies, on the one hand, and the physical, geographical place on the other.

Inspired by Roberts (2012) as well as Hallam and Roberts (2014), this method is also a call for empirical attention towards what they call film as a *spatial practice*. Slightly different from Roberts and Hallam's approach, location studies also regard the textual features of screen and literary production as core empirical material for reading the spatial practices of creative production.

Obviously, in written narratives the geographical location is described through language representation, which is, perhaps, less easily recognized than an on-screen image of a place. For that reason, especially the contextual factors around literary production need to be reassessed in order for the method to tally with literary locations and settings, which we return to this below.

Places between reality and representation

Having the semiosis of local colour in mind, location studies' main interest is the relationship between the representation of places and real places. This means that the *geographical place* is of utmost importance when analyzing locations, i.e. everything that surrounds a place, a city and

Location defined

Location may be broadly defined as *the specific place where a scene or a sequence in an audiovisual or linguistic presentation takes place.* Everything happens – takes place – somewhere, but the explicitness of that place may be varied from undisclosed and indistinct to the significantly manifest and evident.

Film as spatial practice

"This orientation places emphasis on film and filmmaking as socially and spatially embedded forms of practice. In methodological terms it thus reflects more qualitative and ethnographic perspectives on film, space and place and is focused on the ways film and film practices are imbricated in wider social, cultural and economic processes of spatial production and consumption." (Hallam and Roberts 2014: 9)

the general geographical areas including the local topography and the work of development and brand managers as well as geographical imagination from citizens and visitors.

These factors do not necessarily relate with media or mediation through narratives, since it also involves political or practical intentions with the real place as such, though in an age of mediatization it may be hard to regard anywhere without any mediation (Hjarvard 2008).

Of course, the geographical place is in a close relationship with *policies of place*, which play a double role, i.e. both regarding decisions about the place by policy-makers as well as influential spatial media policies such as local obligations of public service media. This factor involves local, national and transnational place policies that impact local places, but it also integrates media policies that most often are directly tied to specific places (often nations) as well as institutions that – privately or publicly – may have different place policies embedded in their general practices, e.g. local or transnational film funds.

As a result, the geographical place and policies of place deal primarily with the real places as they are and present themselves without necessarily attending to the mediated practices around such places, although the geographical imagination may be directly or indirectly shaped by mediations of place.

On-location and studio shooting

Naturally, on-location shooting is highly compelling, when it comes to analyzing the link between place and representation, but studio productions are also significant, since place production and production of creative imagery of place also takes place here, e.g. the many World War II productions filmed in Studio Babelsberg in Germany. Of course, within location studies the most interesting aspect is the actual decision making around places and locations, but generally a spatial understanding of production also entails general knowledge about producing narratives.

Destinations and sites of production

The two last off-screen factors of location studies concern the actual production and the mediated branding models of places. *Sites of production* is the factor that most directly involves production studies as a method (Caldwell 2008, Mayer 2011), which means interviewing and communicating with creatives and financial partners producing narratives, e.g. producers, scriptwriters, location managers etc. In relation to the geographical place, sites of production also include the placement of the location during production (where and why) and whether or not the production takes place in a studio or on-location, including where the production company, distributor, broadcaster, etc. is geographically located.

In relation to mediated place-making, *place as destination* is an imperative part of understanding how places are presented and branded through different media, including literary and screened narratives. Just like policies of place, place as destination has different components. One aspect are the tourist operations that mainly concern tourist managers, tourist reports, general tourists etc. and the initiatives in branding a place as such (which almost always involves a mediated representation of the destination, e.g. through a website). The other aspect has to do with the direct tie between tourism and mediated place making, which most directly involves attention towards cinematic, literary tourism and general cultural tourism.

Increasingly, different institutions and organizations become entangled in media production, because there are monetary incentives in collaborating with creatives in

The banality and ideology of place

In his book *Global Culture: Nationalization and Modernity* (1990), Arjun Appadurai coins terms such as "ethnoscapes", "mediascapes", "technoscapes", "finanscapes" and "ideoscapes", stating that "ideoscapes are also concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented towards capturing state power or a piece of it" (Appadurai 2013: 515). As a result, places in literature and on screen may tie together banal references to recognizable local colour and the ideological framework around places and the popular cultural representation of places.

branding a place. Municipalities are now co-funding television drama, regions collaborate in funding creative production in general, while tourist organizations have become one funding opportunity among many, which means that the separation of influential factors into four sub-sections is purely theoretical. The Danish TV series *Norskov* is a great example of a case where all off-screen factors a deeply entangled (see Hansen & Waade, 2017: 187).

Interrelated factors and cultural preconditions

In practice, the four factors are increasingly dialectically intertwined (see figure 12.5). Understanding the financial and creative puzzle behind a narrative output becomes even more complicated, but for especially that reason the area of literary or screen production calls for an empirical mapping of place making, place branding and location marketing. The next section will further establish the theoretical and methodic basis for location studies as a supplementary approach to literary production.

First we need to define what is meant by *cultural preconditions* in the topographic model of location studies (figure 12.3). For all local or regional places and areas there are a range of aspects that may be taken for granted or lie hidden deeply within media systems, cultural ways of life and thinking as well as trends and histories of a place.

Such preconditions are not directly transferable to other places and regions, but the basic claim that each place has historical and contemporary roots that generally influence the perception of creative production is universal. Some preconditions may, in fact, not only be specifically affiliated with the producing culture, but they may rather stem from a global production ecology or genuinely international influence.

As analyzed by Nielsen (2016), Danish television drama has – as a basis underneath the international attention – been unswervingly inspired by US-American production cultures too, which only highlights creative industries as an

Preconditions for Nordic TV series

Hansen and Waade (2017) claim that four different cultural preconditions are highly influential in the recent international attention towards Nordic television series: "a) the recent Nordic wave in food, design and fashion as a market condition, (b) the history of Nordic melancholy in arts and philosophy, (c) the Nordic landscapes as commodities, and (d) the Nordic media welfare system and the public service basis for drama series."

(Hansen and Waade 2017: 77).

unremittingly global line of work. However, a location study of a production – or several productions – needs to also consider general cultural preconditions as influential towards the way local colour is portrayed and how locations may be chosen during production and/or writing.

Writing and augmenting place through literary topographies

If we follow Gervais-Lambony's (2007) bold hypothesis about novels and urban space, a work of art, regardless of its medium, configures individual and adjacent experiences of space, investing them with meaning and form, while also giving places what Paul Ricoeur calls a "narrative identity" (1988: 595). According to Ricoeur's hermeneutical model (1985), the fictional narrative configures the world (Ricoeur refers to this process as *emplotment*, or "Mimesis2"), taking the reader through an aesthetic experience ("Mimesis3") that enables him/her to grasp the raw and shapeless nature of time ("Mimesis1"). While the modelling power of fiction should be acknowledged (Schaeffer 1999), in order to measure the ability of literature to impact imaginations and fertilize representations, one must also take into account its specificity with regards to audio-visual narratives (film and TV).

Firstly, we need to stress that, while the transposition of Ricoeur's theoretical model to on-screen narratives might reveal strong similarities with literature, there are also some significant inconsistencies between the two: Most significantly, these differences have to do with the intra-textual interplay of representations, but also with the spatial and territorial implications carried by literary accounts of place.

For that reason, we will now focus specifically on the *writing* of place and the augmentation of space through literary topographies, i.e. the specific use of places in literary representations. This includes the emergence, challenges and limits of "geocriticism" as well as the link between spatial references in fiction, 'territorial marketing' and literary place branding (Zbuchea 2014).

The theoretical context of the "spatial turn" in the 1990s has seen a rise of interest in the spatial dimension of literature too, both from literary studies and from the emerging field of cultural geography. This gradual convergence between two distinct disciplinary fields created new objects of study: Geographers found that literature provided the best expression of man's concrete, emotional and symbolic connection to place, while scholars of literature started to focus more on the space where writing unfolds. Michel Collot, then, interrogates the emergence of

a new discipline, *the geography of literature,* which he breaks down into three distinct but complementary levels: *geography, geocriticism and geopolitics* (Collot 2014; Tissier 2007; White 1994). In passing, Collot recognizes that the geocritical approach has been extensively theorized in the past fifteen years in Bertrand Westphal's (2007) writing.

Collot acknowledges the contribution made by Franco Moretti's *distant reading* (2000 and 2008) in shedding light on the social, economic and cultural dimensions of the production of literature and its dissemination and transmission (see Migozzi and Boumediene 2012). However, Collot strongly objects to the use of maps for analysing place in novels, because it sidelines the role of imagination in the literary production of space.

In contrast, geographers Muriel Rosemberg and Florence Troin recently presented one of the most advanced attempts at mapping the spatial practices of a fictional character, using the Marseille-based crime novel *Total Khéops* (1995) by Jean-Claude Izzo (Rosemberg and Troin 2017). However, the authors mention similar limitations, referring to the challenges in using the synthetic, abstract and objectivizing language of graphics to transcribe a character's subjective, sensitive and multi-sensorial experience of space – a challenge made more acute by the fact that the reader also projects him/herself, using their imagination to fill gaps and interstices in the text in an act of 'interpretative collaboration,' to quote Umberto Eco's seminal study *Lector in Fabula* (1979).

Literary fiction builds a space for the reader to engage with/imagine, and in some cases contributes to the crystallisation of "local colour" as presented above (see Figure 12.2). In doing so, it can spill beyond the "inner circle" of on-screen local colour (see Figure 12.3), which breaks down into five key elements: shore, inland, island; architecture, arts, design; mobility, infrastructure; urban/rural; climate, weather, season. However, beyond the creation of a tangible geographic backdrop through the five items identified by Kim Toft Hansen and Anne Marit Waade (2017), which outline a referential space that can be objectified through geographical positioning, the construction of spatiality by fiction can also be understood as a re-territorialisation of ideas.

The quintessentially urban crime novel

In exploring the narrative's argumentative potentialities, as argued by Muriel Rosemberg (2007), crime fiction provides a particularly interesting point of entry when questioning the relation between space and literature. Because of its historical roots and its topographical specificity, the crime novel is – or has been – the quintessential urban novel, as demonstrated by Jean-Noël Blanc (1991), although crime fiction has also found its rural counterpart (Hansen and Waade 2017: 69). Yet surprisingly few geographers have investigated crime fiction and considered the rich and complex mirror provided by this genre (Ravenel 1992; Bruneau 2009; Rosemberg 2007). Prolific crime writers have often stressed the organic connection between their serial protagonist and the character's city, represented as the very biotope of their ethos.
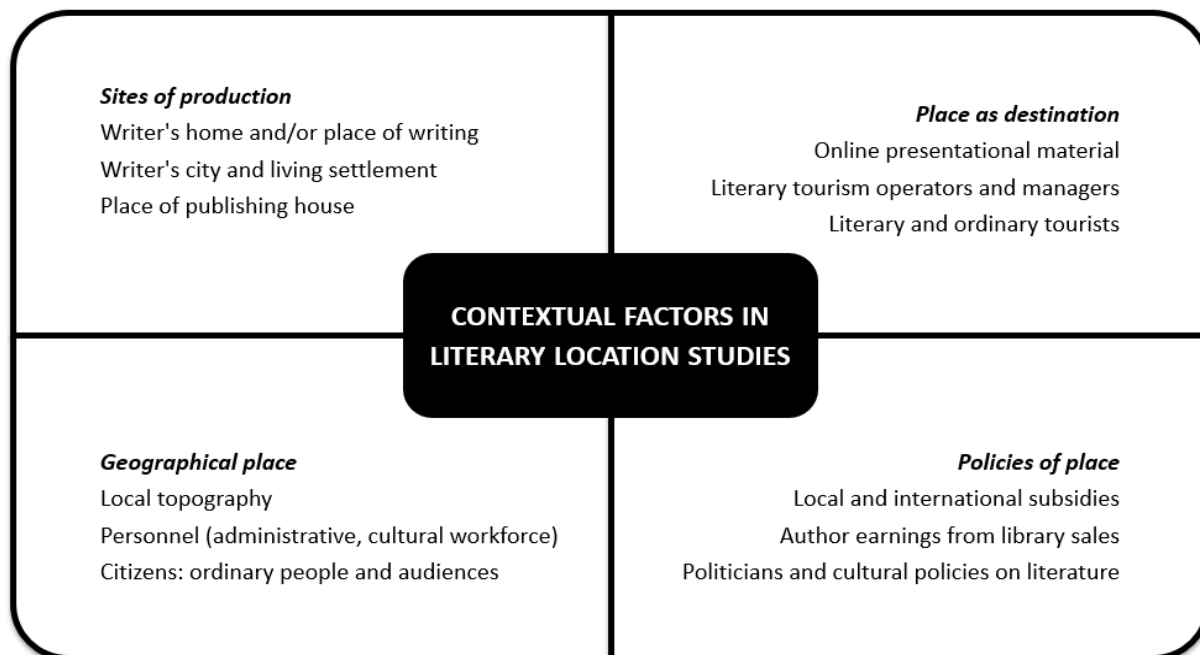
Sites of production
Writer's home and/or place of writing
Writer's city and living settlement
Place of publishing house

Place as destination
Online presentational material
Literary tourism operators and managers
Literary and ordinary tourists

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS IN LITERARY LOCATION STUDIES

Geographical place
Local topography
Personnel (administrative, cultural workforce)
Citizens: ordinary people and audiences

Policies of place
Local and international subsidies
Author earnings from library sales
Politicians and cultural policies on literature

Figure 12.5: Examples of contextual factors in literary location studies

For instance, the Catalan writer Manuel Vasquez Montalbán had a major impact in shaping imagination of Barcelona with his series featuring private investigator Pepe Carvalho (1974-2003), as shown by Sophie Savary (2007). Quite symptomatically, Montalbán's work was the object of a 2014 article in multilingual London magazine *Time Out*, which was immediately translated by French weekly *Courrier international*: "Travel. In the streets of Montalbán's wild Barcelona" (Zanon 2014). As demonstrated by Anne Marit Waade (2013) (as well as chapter 4 of this report), following in the 'real' footsteps of fictional policemen is also possible in the southern Swedish town Ystad where the tormented police investigator Kurt Wallander was 'born.' Altogether, this clearly indicates that crime literature also poses an augmentation of reality that may involve pecuniary, touristic spin-offs.

Consequently, the notoriety of a range of crime novels may contribute to the promotion of a territory, and be employed by certain operators to develop cultural tourism clusters (Fabry 2009). At first glance, off-screen factors in location studies may indicate that producing literary works eludes many of the factors influencing audio-visual works. For instance, the sections *Sites of production* and *Policies of place* (see figure 12.4) presumably have a lower impact on the production of a literary work, which may also apply to the prescriptions of city development managers or city brand managers.

It is rare for a novelist to choose the setting for his/her novel based on a commission from cultural, industrial or institutional bodies (this would fall under the section *place of destination* in figure 12.5), except perhaps for the trend of "regionalist" crime fiction which has boomed in France's coastal tourist sites such Britany and the Riviera. However, as soon as a piece of crime fiction achieves mass notoriety on a national or international scale, the situation becomes utterly different.

Literary crime tourism
Not only may various operators listed under the sections of destination, policies and geography exploit the book's symbolic capital to build a customer acquisition strategy targeting tourists from around the world, and thus construct an attractive brand identity for the area. In addition, if a novel is serialized on screen, the shooting of a TV or film production can become a powerful driver of local development, as shown by Ystad in Sweden, which has prospered thanks to the success of Henning Mankell's hit series *Wallander* (see Saumon, Guyot & Migozzi 2015).

In the case of Wallander, the birthplace of the author and the setting of the novels conflate, but as presented by the massive tourist trends around a bestseller like Dan Brown's *The Da Vince Code*, places related to the writer do not necessarily have to be the quintessential go-to point (Månsson 2010). As presented by Nicola J. Watson (2006), analysing 18th and 19th century tourism based on British Romanticist/Victorian literature necessitates the distinction between 'placing the author' and 'locating the fictive,' motivated also by examples from crime fiction such as the obvious reference to Arthur Conan Doyle and his Sherlock Holmes narratives (Watson 2006: 3).

Rosemberg and Troin on sensorial experiences

"Unless one goes down the route of the artistic map, the graphic representation of the experience of landscape – or more specifically of urban atmospheres – appears problematic. This process would require inventing a graphic semiology that could account both for the concrete dimension of place, without which there can be no *sensorial* experience, and for the very pace of *experience*, which combines present perceptions with sensorial or cultural reminiscences – as illustrated by the many musical and culinary references associated with urban journeys in *Total Kheops*."

Muriel Rosemberg and Florence Troin (2017: 15)

Literary tourism destinations

A closer examination of literary crime writing shows the necessity to reassess Sue Beeton's observation (2005) that, although "there is a widely-recognized influence of literature on tourism destinations […], the main difference between literary and film tourism is that, in relation to the former, visitors often go to the regions that relate personally to the writer (such as place of birth and death), whereas film tourists visit the sites portrayed or places of the stars." (Beeton 2005: 52)

Contrary to Beeton's claim (2005: 52), historically tourists have been drawn by the haunting charm of fictional locations much more than by the author's real-life places, and they still are. Since 2016, for instance, visitors have been flocking to the guided tours organized by the Giverny tourist board to capitalise on the success of Michel Bussi's crime bestseller *Nymphéas noirs* (*Black Water Lillies*, 2016). Also, literary or screen tourism may also originate bottom-up from the readers/viewers themselves and not only top-down from tourism organizers.

The Edinburgh Rebus Tours

If readers are unable to take part in the "acclaimed walking tours of Edinburgh" based on "the bestselling Inspector Rebus books by Ian Rankin" that will introduce them to the "alternative side of Edinburgh that lies behind the normal tourist haunts", fans of Ian Rankin's crime novels can also access an interactive online map to "explore Ian Rankin's Edinburgh from anywhere in the world, visit some key locations found in Ian's writings and walk in the steps of Rebus as he investigates crimes in the streets of his home city."

(Rebus Tours 2000)

From literature of crisis to location marketing

The location interest in crime fiction points towards a potential paradox, since literary crime tourism revolves around unearthing a special, critical sense of the place that may be hinted at or created by the stories. Furthermore, territorial or locational marketing turns representations initially charged with symbolic negativity into enticing arguments and selling points. This is in stark contrast with Jean-Patrick Manchette's description of crime fiction as the "literature of crisis," presented as an accusatory form that reveals contemporary society's dysfunctions and peculiarities (see Collovald and Neveu 2004).

For this reason, this report also investigates the processes of selection, euphemization and narrativisation used by local players to turn an essentially critical piece of fiction into a touristic asset, for instance by studying how crime scenes are selected or avoided by guided tours. As documented by Agarwal and Shaw, literary tourism has become both "highly competitive" and "a phenomenon of global significance," and while their specific focus is the relationship between heritage tourism and screen/literary tourism, they still list crime titles as noteworthy literary tourist examples: the American *The Da Vince Code*, the Swedish *The Millennium Trilogy* and the French *Maigret* novels (Agarwal and Shaw 2018: 14 and 23).

In addition, both historical tourism and crime tourism underlines that the paradox may not be peculiar, since these forms of tourism highlight an interest in dark tourism (e.g. visiting concentration camps from the Second World War) and crime tourism (e.g. Jack the Ripper tourism in London).

Methodology of literary location studies

Summing up the perspectives on literary crime tourism, the above presented model on location studies may also service analyses of literary locations/settings. The most obvious reason is, of course, that the method is based on the aesthetic theory of local colour, reworked into a method to study locations on screen. However, literary works also have a site or sites of production and often involve an aesthetic, representational treatment of a real geographical

place that in the end may influence, at least, the place as destination and the imagination of place.

In studying literary locations, policies of place may seem like the least influential contextual factor, but e.g. different local and international interests and policies of place nevertheless also influence publishing houses and literary festivals. Often, festivals are dependent on public subsidies, while writers are highly reliant on income from public funding systems, prizes as well as author earnings through library sales. Such funding may vary greatly from place to place, country to country, region to region, which altogether stresses that locally bound policies also have a significant impact in literary production, although also significantly different from screen production.

Figure 12.5 tentatively outlines a range of contextual factors in literary location studies, acknowledging that there are significant differences in literary and screen production with the price of production as the most significant difference, but also the ways that literature may be employed in destination branding differ. Place branding and location marketing is often very visual, making it obvious to exploit audio-visual productions, while literary productions must go through a visualization process before it may work as a means of tourist attraction.

Conclusion

For the most part, the analytical chapters of this report focus on screen production and the relationship with and potential for location marketing, but this theoretical and methodical presentation stresses that place branding also features popular literary production. The section has proposed a range of theoretical positions and methodical approaches usable when analyzing locations, place branding and cultural touristic perspectives on European crime fiction. The theory and method are based on a universal approach developed for the analyses of Nordic crime fiction, but the breadth and scope intends a close examination of screen and literary production and its local, national and international spatial context.

As the model shares methodologies from both production studies and 'textual' studies, analyzing location marketing and cultural tourism in different European crime fiction traditions consists of close readings in a production and market context. As a result *location studies* builds a direct bridge to especially representational studies and the ideological, political and geographical implications of the use of places and landscapes as 'textual' features in crime narratives.

13 Screen tourism in Europe: Phenomena, approaches, trends

Stefano Baschiera, Cathrin Bengesser, Markus Schleich and Anne Marit Waade

We have all heard about the young fans going to New Zealand to walk in the footstep of Frodo from *Lord of the Rings* and visit Middle Earth. We also know about *Harry Potter* tourism in London, *Wallander* tourists in Ystad, *Inspector Morse* tourism in Oxford, *Inspector Rebus* tourism in Edinburgh, and more recently *Game of Thrones* tourism in Northern Ireland, Girona and Dubrovnik. These are just a few among many examples of contemporary screen tourism. This chapter introduces the phenomena associated with screen tourism, highlights a few examples from across Europe and provides an overview how screen tourism has been approached by academic researchers as well as by the tourism industries.

A brief introduction to screen tourism

Ever since the 1660s when the young European elite of sufficient means and rank began to undertake the "Grand Tour", literary tourism has flourished and prompted many people to visit settings from fictional texts as well as places of significance to the lives of their authors. This could include following the route taken by a fictional character, visiting a particular place associated with a novel or a novelist, such as their home, or visiting a poet's grave. Today, we still have many examples of tourists walking in the footsteps of their favourite author, for example Hans-Christian Andersen in Italy, James Joyce in Dublin, Charles Dickens in London or Sherlock Holmes in Baker Street. There are also long-distance walking routes associated with writers, such as the Thomas Hardy Way (Haslam 2009).

> "The popular media of the day influences the appeal of travel destinations and activities through constructing or reinforcing particular images of those destinations and acting as 'markers'. In the past, media such as literature, music and poetry have been a major element, even more so than visual media such as art. […] From the mid-20th century, film (and later television) became the main mass media outlet and has been particularly effective in affecting tourism." (Beeton 2005: 4)00

While literature is not the main mass media anymore, a similar effect can now be detected elsewhere in the medial landscape. The audio-visual exposure of recognisable settings in films and television series is a beneficiary factor to the soaring numbers of visitors in many regions of Europe. This is not particularly surprising and by no means a new phenomenon.

Screen tourists, or film tourists, are tourists who visit a place or go on a tour because they know the places from television series, films or games. Today, we can see that both the tourist destinations and the screen industries take advantage of this growing interest among tourists to visit places known from popular films and television series. Popular fictional stories can be used to market and develop a destination, form the basis for specific tourist events (release events, fan events and re-enactment events etc.) and tours (bus tours, murder walks, guided tours, app-based tours etc.). In relation to the destinations, screen tourism does not only include on-site filming location, but

> **Screen tourism** is defined as
> "visitation to sites where movies and TV programmes have been filmed as well as to tours to production studios, including film-related theme parks" (Beeton 2005: 11)

also film studio tourism (Beeton 2005) in which the fascination is to see behind the scenes and the production, learn about the celebrities, hear the anecdotes and share knowledge and expertise.

In Belfast, for example, the city offers several *Game of Thrones* tours on a daily basis in which the visitors can visit different film locations along the Northern Irish coastline as well as the Titanic film studio emphasising the HBO production. The on-site bus tour lasts for up to nine hours and take the visitors to filming locations from the series and other well-known tourist sites. The visitors get the chance to take picture of the places that they recognise from the series, and they socialise and have fun with the other participants. At some tours, the participants dress up in costumes from the series and re-enact scenes from the series followed by entertaining photo sessions.

The participants fight against dragons and evil creatures to defend the iron throne, they swing their swords, axes and sticks, they are jumping, posing, taking pictures, stumbling and laughing. In their imagination, they can see how they are part of their TV series, crossing worlds of fantasy and reality, playing like Nicolai Coster-Waldau, Jon Snow, Sansa and Arya. As such, the destinations can utilise the famous stories to develop and sustain strong brand narratives, they can develop fun and entertaining tourist experiences, create strong experience economy products, and they can engage the screen industry, fans and viewers in their destination marketing. The *Game of Thrones* example clearly demonstrates how screen tourism has emerged in a global media industries context as a successful cross-industrial collaboration in which the media industry and the tourism industry work together to plan for long-tail marketing and branding. Northern Ireland Screen and Visit Northern Ireland have collaborated and worked closely together with HBO to produce the series, to engage local partners and give rise to screen production and tourism in Ireland. As such, the investment was part of a branding strategy and developing the local creative industry.

More recently, places and film locations have become a conceptual and aesthetic production value as well as a funding model for TV drama productions, and today location placement has become a crucial part of screen industry business model in which local funding as well as access to new markets and groups of viewers bring significant values to the production. This is not least the case for streaming services such as HBO Go and Netflix reaching out to global markets.

> "The history of cinema and tourism are deeply interconnected, since both these cultural activities provide different but overlapping answers to the modern desire for temporal and spatial mobility."
>
> (Leotta 2011: 1)

A lot of the academic and journalistic attention has been paid towards the effects of big blockbuster franchises such as *Lord of the Rings* in New Zealand (Thompson, 2007; Leotta 2011). Today's research, however, is more nuanced than that. Screen tourism can be defined as a specific pattern of tourism that drives visitors to see screened places during or after the production of a feature film or television production. Within academic research, scholars distinguish between television and film as the two main fictional forms of screen-based media types. TV, compared to the cinema as a public event, is watched in more private, casual settings and television programmes are broadcast on a significantly smaller screen, thus relying more on sound than image. This distinction seems somewhat dated, given the huge international success of *Game of Thrones*, a show that is often hailed for its cinematic aesthetics and whose effect on tourism is widely accepted (Joyce 2019).

The most significant difference, however, is the running time. The cinematic "narrative develops around a specific problem that has to be resolved at the end of the movie. Television, on the contrary, prefers the open-ended serial [...] Consequently, the viewer has more time to develop empathy with the characters as opposed to the one-off feature film" (Roesch 2017: 6).

> More details on the British film industry outside London and the development of screen tourism there can be found in **chapter 9**.

Following this argument, one might assume that what applies to the empathy for characters, applies to some extent to the interest in the setting. Key findings of a study conducted by *Visit England* and *Creative England*, "Film Tourism: What is it, and how can you maximise the benefits?", suggest that long-running television series have the most allure for tourists to visit certain locations (Creative England 2019). Given the popularity of many contemporary television shows, it is hardly surprising that the small screen has overtaken the impact of feature films production. In a recently published study by *Visit Scotland*, asking visitors why they've chosen Scotland as travel destination, television programmes featuring Scotland account for 8% of all visitors compared to the 6% who quote a film as their primary motivation to visit the northern part of the UK (Visit Scotland 2019).

In Sweden, Henning Mankell's inspector Kurt Wallander and later Lisbeth Salander from Stieg Larsson's Millennium Trilogy have been attracting tourists. The subsequent transnational adaptations of the crime novels to the film and the TV screen have broadened the reach of their stories and thereby expanded the potential for screen tourism to Ystad and Stockholm.

The tourists' interest in the locations of the Wallander series has hit Ystad as a bit of a surprise in the year following the publication of Mankell's first novel about detective Kurt Wallander. The first tourists came mainly from Sweden. In 2003, a tourism manager was hired to cater to the demand. Target groups of Wallander tours are: Wallander fans, their friends and family members, groups or companies meeting in Ystad, and tourists who have never heard of Wallander but might become interested after visiting Ystad (Waade 2016, 51).

With the co-produced TV-adaptation that aired between 2005 and 2013, also other Nordic and German tourists came to the small city in Southern Sweden (Waade, 2016). The adaptation of the Wallander stories by the BBC, which had already shown the previous Nordic series, expanded the tourism potential once more. The support of local authorities for the TV production was vital for its realisation and the growth of *Wallander* tourism.

The success of tourism to locations of Nordic Noir crime series is astonishing in so far as the cold and dark atmosphere conveyed in the aesthetics and tone of the series and the topic of – often brutal – crime can be considered "anti-touristic" (James, 2016). Yet, exactly this image of the Nordic region is what attracts tourists (Askanius, 2017). Following the success of the Nordic Noir tourism in Sweden also actors in the Danish tourism industry began exploring the potential of attracting screen tourists at a time when Danish TV dramas like *Forbrydelsen* or *The Bridge* received international distribution and recognition.

> **Chapter 5** analyses location placement in Nordic Noir.

With the rising popularity of screen tourism, actors in the tourism industry and city marketing have also begun to embrace the potential of screen productions to shape and shift the public perception of their destinations. A European-wide study of location placement in screen production from 2013 illustrates emerging cross-sectoral collaboration in which crime series as a popular TV genre feed the popularity of crime-series-based screen tourism (Månsson and Eskilsson, 2013). A small-scale initiative demonstrating this new mode of creative economy and collaboration across tourism and the screen industry that takes advantage of the Nordic Noir brand, is the 'New Nordic Noir project' in which a small municipality on the Danish Westcoast engaged in a site-specific crime series production to brand their destination (Waade, 2020).

> **Film vs Film-Induced Tourism**
>
> "Both the terms film tourism and film-induced tourism refer to tourists who decide to travel to a place they have previously seen on screen. This does not necessarily mean that these tourists actually intend to seek out the precise shooting locations from the movie. If they have been influenced in their travel decision though a movie and are inspired to experience, for instance, Florence due to its exposure in *A Room with a View* (1985), then they are film tourists. [...]If the film tourist in Florence intents to visit the precise locations used for shooting scenes from the movie, he or she is a film location tourist."
> (Roesch 2009: 7)

Academic approaches

Screen tourism research is characterised by its clearly interdisciplinary approach drawing on disciplines such as tourism studies, media studies, geography and anthropology, in which the different studies most typically emphasise one of the following agents and aspects:

1) **Screen tourists**: How tourists experience the screen tourism destinations and motivations for their visit (e.g. Reijnders 2010; Lee 2012)
2) **Screen tourism destinations**: how particular destinations take advantage of screen induced tourism and develop strong brands (e.g. Beeton 2005; Månsson and Eskilsson 2013)
3) **Screen productions**: places and landscapes in screen production including tourism induced screen productions (Roberts 2016; Waade 2016)
4) **Screen tourism technologies**: development of new GPS-based, interactive maps and social media technology in relation to screen tourism (van Es and Reijnders 2018, 512; Leotta 2016; Lexhagen, Larson, and Lundberg 2013).

There are several branches within screen tourism research, describing the phenomenon or calculating tourist flows (Riley and Van Doren, 1992; Tooke and Baker, 1996; Riley, Baker and Van Doren, 1998) to focusing on more complex topics such as travel motivations (Beeton, 2005; Riley and Van Doren, 1992), national identity (Jones & Smith, 2005),

marketing strategy challenges (Croy, 2010), and effects on the management of screened destinations (Mordue, 1999; 2001).

> **Chapter 8** contains an example of VR-based screen tourism in Trieste around the Italian series *La Porta Rossa*.

In a seminal article conceptualizing the circuit of tourism, Irena Ateljevic (2000) addresses the 'cultural turn' in human geography, which attempts to transgress and reconcile dichotomous notions of production (economy) and consumption (culture). Drawing on critical theorists in human geography and cultural studies (Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 1993; Hall 1997; Thrift 1996), she advocates that tourism production and consumption systems are interconnected through reproduction and their dialectics can be studied simultaneously through John Gold's notion of negotiation (1994). Negotiation refers to sense-making processes along which promotional expressions and individual experiences are being attuned into a wider ideological framework. Seen through this conceptual lens, tourism is a nexus of production-consumption place-making circuits, where producers and consumers 'feed off' each other in endless cycles of place creation, imagination, perception and experiences (Ateljevic 2000, 372).

> **Chapter 3** offers an insight into the practical development of screen tourism by charting the production of the DETECt Aarhus App.

The circuit of tourism acknowledges the simultaneous presence of Lefebvre's threefold spatial dimensions, connecting representations of space (in advertising, fiction and mass media); material space (the actual and experienced); and symbolic-imagined spaces of representations. In other words, tourism is a negotiated reproduction of space, and this notion enables researchers to address contested and multi-layered place identities, cultural translation of global consumer tastes and lifestyle values or material, spatial and cultural transformations. The pop cultural narrative, the technical portrayal or the story behind the film provides a place with an additional narrative layer. For instance, the recent wave of Nordic Noir (crime novels adapted to the TV and cinema screen) envelops the Scandinavian countryside with a gloomy, foggy and scary atmosphere; a scenographic template for crime scenes.

Economic approaches

For a remarkably long time, the empirical effects of screen tourism have not been scrutinised in depth. In 2007, a report by Olsberg/SPI, a creative screen industries strategy consultancy for both the public and private sector, stated the need to systematically analyse the economic effects, mainly because too little was known about the actual impact of screen productions on the tourism sector. This need to account for the impact of screen tourism is increasingly important because of the crucial role played by "multipliers" in the funding policies at sub-national and national level. In order to lobby for tax incentives and funding support to the media industries, national and sub-national commission need to account for the return of investment in the territory and the different benefits that the screen industries could bring in terms of visibility, economic development etc.

Prior (and after) to the Olsberg Report of 2015, several other studies analysed the effect of screen tourism. These case studies often used anecdotal examples, which in their sum do represent a considerable body of evidence supporting the view that the effect is significant (cf. Young & Young 2008). Most researchers agree that film and televi-

> **Screen Tourism 10 Years Ago.**
> "The authors of the report (Olsberg/SPI, 2007) suggest the implementation of a comprehensive economic study to evaluate the value of film for destination marketing. This recommendation backs up the assumption that too little is known about the monetary contribution of film related tourism to destinations, which is part of the reason why film tourism is still treated as the poor cousin by many destination marketers and tourism stakeholders." (Roesch 2009: 228)

sion do actively shape the public perception of travel destinations, i.e. in Yorkshire, whose popular public image, on the one hand, reflects its rich history in film, from *Jane Eyre* and *The Railway Children*, and, one the other hand, focusses on its dominant working-class culture in films such as *The Full Monty* and *The Damned United*.

Films thus pitch their locations to viewers as future travel destinations to experience these aspects of Yorkshire first-hand (O'Connor, Flanagan and Gilbert 2008). Other case studies examined the impact of the Swedish *Millennium* films on the Stockholm region (The Millenium Report 2011) and the impact of films such as *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull* on visitors to New Mexico (The Impact of Film Tourism on the State of New Mexico 2008). Interestingly enough, some screen tourism is motivated even if the specific location is not even shown in the film or television show itself. For example, the success of the Disney animated film *Frozen* reportedly led to a 37% increase in US visitors to Norway in the first three months of 2014 (The Times 2014). Other famous examples are the Antony House in Cornwall, whose visitor numbers rose from 25,000 to almost 100,000 after *Alice in Wonderland* was released in 2010 (Association of Leading Visitor Attractions, 2011). Similarly, the number of visitors of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, prominently featured the first two *Harry Potter* films among other film and television productions, rose by 230% between 2011 and 2013, generating a £9 million for the local economy (Visit Britain 2013; Oxford Economics 2010).

Most of these studies struggle to back their findings with substantial data to extrapolate the results to calculate the overall impact of UK films and television series on visitor numbers to the UK. The limited available statistical data can be used to quantify the impact of screen tourism. In 2010, Oxford Economics, a global forecasting and quantitative analysis company, published their report *The Economic Impact of the UK Film Industry*, using available evidence to suggest that up to a tenth of UK tourism may be attributable to the impact of UK films. Most studies operate with the causal assumption that a film or television show that depicts a certain location drives up tourism at said location. This research has been crucial to change status quo: before screen tourism was established as a phenomenon, the rising numbers of tourists generally overwhelmed the destinations in question and the local tourism industry was often not prepared for the unexpected demand (Hudson and Ritchie 2006; Lundberg, Lexhagen and Mattsson 2012). The Olsberg report from 2007, however,

> **Economic Guesswork**
>
> While evaluating the economic impacts of films and TV dramas for the tourism sector is crucial for the local economy (to attract investment for instance), the claims made by the studies mentioned here lack specific methods of calculating the exact effect (Li et al. 2017).

correctly identifies the problem of this assumption: It is a hypothesis that is not statistically proven, even though the data seems to suggest it is correct. In other words, the studies see a correlation between screened locations and soaring numbers of tourists, there is no empirical evidence to support or, eventually prove the hypothesis.

Conclusion

Screen tourism is a phenomenon on the rise across Europe, not only in capital cities, but also in the regions. Academic researchers trace the phenomenon back to literary tourism in the Romantic period, but now detect a range of qualitative shifts as screen tourism becomes integrated into place-making and marketing strategies and new media like smartphones or Virtual Reality are used to bridge the gap between the fictional worlds and the actual locations. Actors in the tourism and the city marketing industry have come to embrace the potential of literature, film and TV productions to not only attract visitors, but also to change perceptions of their destinations. While rising numbers of visitors and guests at locations where popular narratives are set can be observed, quantifying the economic impact of screen tourism is a difficult endeavour, since tourists' motivations for visiting certain locations are multi-faceted. Qualitative research such as participant observations and interviews with screen tourists as well as tourism professionals make a valuable contribution to understanding when and how screen tourist experiences come into being and how they are perceived and used by visitors. Together, academic and economic approaches to screen tourism can craft a more nuanced picture of the complex processes in the circuit of screen tourism.

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