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LOCATIONS IN TELEVISION DRAMA SERIES

GUEST EDITED BY ANNE MARIT WAADE AND JOHN LYNCH

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SERIES has two main purposes: first, to respond to the surge of scholarly interest in TV series in the past few years, and compensate for the lack of international journals specializing in TV seriality; and second, to focus on TV seriality through the involvement of scholars and readers from both the English-speaking world and the Mediterranean and Latin American regions. This is the reason why the journal's official languages are Italian, Spanish and English.

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EDITORIAL

LOCATIONS IN TELEVISION DRAMA SERIES: INTRODUCTION

ANNE MARIT WAADE

In this special issue, the guest editors will invite the reader to come with us to cosmopolitan cities such as Berlin, Los Angeles and Miami, and to more ambiguous urban landscapes such as Belfast and Baltimore. Moreover, we will guide you to the provincial, industrial city of Frederikshavn in the northern part of Denmark, and to Tilburg and the Brabant region in The Netherlands. Don't miss the touristic sites in Australia, namely the beaches in Sydney and at the Gold Coast, nor the rural, historical village Chilham, located in Kent in the UK. All these places have one thing in common: they play a significant part in one or several television drama series. On behalf of the crew of authors, editors and myself, I will welcome you on board, and I wish you a pleasant and eye-opening journey!

During the last decades, television drama series have become "prized" content and valuable sales for broadcasters, online platform providers and distributors, and the production value and the budgets for such series have increased (McCabe and Akass 2007, Nelson 2007, Lotz 2014, Steemers 2016). As part of this development, the aesthetic and narrative elements of television drama have changed, and we now see more complex narratives and characters as well as more scenic imagery and sophisticated visual aesthetics when it comes to settings, lighting, colours and production design (Mittell 2015, García 2016, Wheatley 2016). This tendency has opened up new ways of using and displaying the places that are featured in television series: there is greater use of location shooting, and a more significant handling of actual, geographical plac-

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es - something that gives authenticity and visual values to the series. Location, a term that until recently has mainly been a practical term in television productions and television studies, has received new attention among producers, broadcasters, distributors, fans and audiences. Academics have picked up on the interests for locations and related them to theories such as cinematic landscapes, landscape painting, literary places, media geography, media consumption, media tourism and cult geographies (Hills 2002, Lefebvre 2006, Reijnders, 2011, Månsson 2015, Hansen and Waade 2017).

Popular television series and brands – such as *Game of Thrones*, *Sex and the City*, *Nordic Noir*, *The Fall*, *Cities* and *The Wire* – illustrate how location has become a significant production value. The places in which these series are set are sometimes reflected in the stories in significant ways, and in some cases the choice of locations has brought extra funding to the productions. The visual aesthetic and topography include panoramic views, cityscapes, snowscapes and seascapes. The televisual landscapes and panoramas are linked to new aesthetic (cinematic) standards for television drama series, new screen technologies (for example big, high definition television screens), and a general fascination and commodification of places and landscapes in global consumer cultures.

Following this process, locations and places have been reflected in film studies (for example film semiotics, national landscapes in film, film history) and literature studies for decades, but only very recently in television studies and television drama studies. Thus, locations, cinematic geography and landscapes in television drama series represent a fairly new and emerging research field. In general, locations, television places and production design have experienced very little academic attention in contrast to, for example, narratives, visual style, genre and acting. However, there are some exceptions throughout history, for example the studies of places and locations represented in the first American TV dramas of the fifties and the sixties (i.e. the westerns). It is obvious to draw upon the extensive scholarly work that already exists for cinema and literature, but we still need to develop television specific – as well as television drama specific – analyses and theories to be able to see how places play their role in television drama production, aesthetics and reception. For example, the seriality of television drama influences the relationship between viewers and the locations presented onscreen. Often we see that viewers develop a close and intimate relationship to the places themselves throughout the episodes and seasons of the drama series. In a slightly misleading formulation, some producers and scholars characterises this pehnomenon as "location as character". But this overlooks substantial differences between characters, plot and setting in a drama series (for an elaborated discussion in this regards, see McNutt's article in this issue).

Les Roberts (2012) introduces the idea of cinematic geography as an interdisciplinary approach that reflects upon the relation between the film or television drama series and the geographical place of the actual city, and demonstrates the complex interplay between the economic, artistic and practical interests that are at stake when it comes to audio-visual productions. Roberts's work is a contribution to a more general and increasingly widespread interest in the relation between media and geography (Couldry and McCarthy 2004; Falkheimer and Jansson 2006; Hansen and Waade 2017). More recently, there are works on, for instance, *The Wire* (Gjelsvik 2010), BBC's *Wallander* and the glocal (McCabe 2015) and landscapes in Nordic Noir (Creeber 2014). One of the contributions that exists on locations in television drama at this stage is the special issue on *Treme* and New Orleans as cases in the journal *Television and New Media* (Mayer 2012). Location in a television drama production involves persons and decisions both above the line (creative and financial decision makers) and below the line (technical and practical personal), as well as institutional and economic conditions outside the production team, for example funding, production facilities, public service commitments and target groups (Blandford and McElroy 2011). As part of the glocalisation process, specific places become commodities with significant values – both cultural and economic – in a globalised world. The recent interest in places in the creative industry in general (Comunian et al. 2010) and in television drama in particular illustrates this very well.

To better understand the aesthetic, cultural, political and economic aspects of cinematic landscapes in television drama, we need to develop perspectives across disciplines such as geography, art history, media and creative industries. This special issue is dedicated to meeting some of these needs, and to the analysis of the increasingly significant role of location as a key element in television drama.

1. **LOCATION STUDIES**

Location studies introduce a new and emerging approach within media studies based on the empirical analysis of locations in media texts, media production and media reception (Hallam and Roberts 2014; Moores 2012). Location studies are not limited to television drama series, but draw upon a

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long tradition of analysing places and landscapes in film, art and literature. Moreover, the location studies approach is of great relevance when looking at locative social media technologies, in which locations play significant communicative, aesthetic and social roles (Goggin and Hjorth 2009, Gordon and de Souza 2011). Location studies reflect upon the relationship between places and media texts (in this case television drama series). It considers various aspects of those relationships, such as: the aesthetic and narrative aspects of places in television drama; how media represents and brands places (cities, nations, regions); how sites of production and their physical conditions influence particular series; and how media production is seen as a valuable creative industry and means of regional development to attract investors, inhabitants and visitors. Hallam and Roberts include a critical aspect to location studies, in which film, documentaries and television drama series can be considered as "spatial critique", in the way that they critically reflect on, discuss and negotiate the infrastructure, architecture, social conditions and policies in actual places, cities, regions and landscapes.

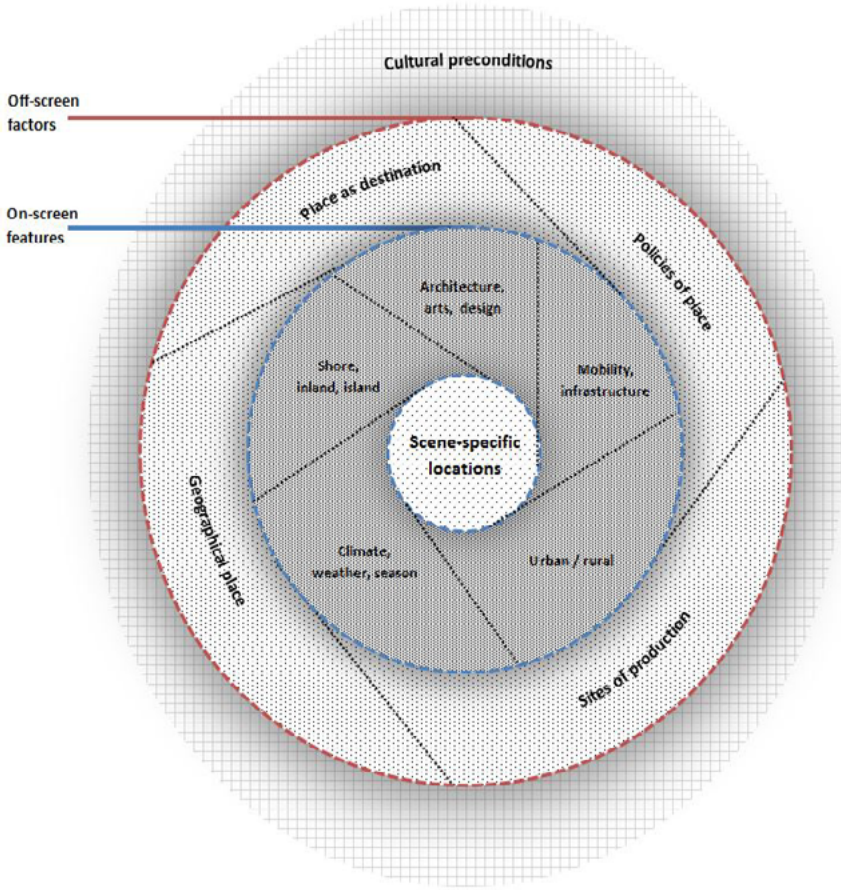

FIGURE 1.ON-SCREEN FACTORS AND OFF-SCREEN FEATURES OF LOCATIONS IN *NORDIC NOIR* (HANSEN AND WAADE 2017, CHAPTER 3).

Following Hallam and Roberts, together with Hansen, I have elsewhere suggested a model for location studies (Hansen and Waade, 2017) where the different aspects of on-screen features and off-screen factors relate in the handling of location and local colour in television drama (in this case with a particular focus on Nordic Noir series). The model can work as a framework for the articles presented in this special issue, in which different aspects of location on-screen and off-screen are emphasised. The on-screen features inform and influence the scene specific locations and the local colour of the television drama series, and include elements such as urban and rural places, climactic conditions, settings inland, coastal, and offshore, architecture, art and design, as well as infrastructure and mobility (for example cars, bicycles, walking, running, travelling by train, train stations, subways etc.). The off-screen factors furthermore inform and influence the scene-specific locations and the local colour of the television drama series, and include political and economic conditions, the actual sites of production, the historical and geographical place, and the place as destination and branded content. Finally, the cultural preconditions in which the on-screen and off-screen are embedded also influence and inform the way places are chosen and presented in the television drama series. These could include, for example, the strong tradition of public service drama in some parts of the worlds, or places acknowledged and marked by war, conflicts and difficult heritage. It could also be locations acknowledged as picturesque sites, or touristic and commodified places meant for cultural consumption and well known from art works, posters, films and travel books.

In Kim Toft Hansen and Jørgen Riber Christensen's article in this issue, the authors develop the location studies approach further and suggest four main aspects of location in television drama series, including its reception as: a) *setting* related to the diegetic world, b) *cinematic landscape* related

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to the visual and scenic imageries, c) the *site of production*, and, finally, d) the *intertextual location* "which is a notion of locations as particular hinges between locations as settings and locations as sites of production tied to the reception of these by the audience" (Christensen and Hansen 2015).

2. **FROM FREDERIKSHAVN AND THE GOLD COAST, TO BELFAST, BALTIMORE AND CHILHAM**

The places, series and spatial approaches represented and analysed in the contributions to this special issue of *SERIES* connect with many aspects of the location studies approach outlined above. Furthermore, the cases illustrate different genres, different locations (rural/urban places, province/centres, etc.), and different countries (UK, Germany, Denmark, US). Moreover, some of the cases illustrate contested and negotiated places (Berlin, Belfast, Baltimore), some are touristic and heritage places (the Gold Coast, Chilham), some are highly mediatised places (Miami, Los Angeles), and others represent outskirts and peripheral places (Tilburg, Frederikshavn). However, the majority of the cases represent crime series, and this has to do with the genre's transnational popularity as well as its realism and often place-specific approach (for a further elaboration, see Alberto García's article in this issue). Furthermore, all cases illustrate locations from Western countries.

Let us take a closer look at how the articles contribute to the location study approach. The three first articles in this issue take a production studies approach to location in television drama, focussing on the ways in which production conditions influence and inform the selection and display of places on the screen. Following the location studies model mentioned above, these articles emphasise off-screen conditions. Firstly, in their article Norskov *and the Logic of Place: The Soft Effect of Local Danish TV-drama Production*, Hansen and Christensen analyse the series *Norskov*, considering the role of the provincial, industrial city of Frederikshavn in the production, as well as the series' story and imagery. Based on interviews with the series' location manager, cinematographer, producer and scriptwriter, as well as textual analysis of the series itself, Hansen and Christensen's article illustrates how *Norskov* is a result of "stories from below" embedded in local ideas and conditions. In this case, the use of location emphasises Frederikshavn as a province and industrial city, a shore and "port noir", in which the local is connected to global crime and market conditions. In their article *The Gold Coast on Screen: Children's television selling Brand Australia in international markets*, Davis and Potter also take a production approach to location in television drama series, focusing on Australia's beach as a source of popular imagery that attracts young viewers both within and outside Australia. The authors focus on the use of beaches at the Gold Coast and in Sydney, and – based on interviews with industry personnel – they discuss the market strategies and the cultural political considerations that lie behind the handling of these locations in four selected productions. In their article *Berlin in Television Drama Series: A Mediated Space* , Eichner and Mikos focus on Berlin as a historical, well-known film location and discuss the differences between Berlin as a film city and as a television city, and how media representations feed back into our understanding and imagination of Berlin as a contested place.

The following three articles emphasise on-screen features, and take a close look at how location is reflected in various series' narrative, dramaturgic and aesthetic concepts and premises. Alberto García's article *Baltimore in* The Wire and Los Angeles in The Shield*: Urban Landscapes in American Drama Series* uses the American television drama series as examples to focus on the "spatial turn" in television drama. García elaborates the relation between crime drama and spatial realism in this context, detailing how urban American landscapes play a significant role in the narrative and aesthetics of both series, as well as how each develops a sociopolitical critique of the cities themselves, which speak to the more general social, economic and racial injustices of contemporary American capitalism. Thus, both *The Wire* and *The Shield* give aesthetic form to a mode of spatial critique articulated by Hallam and Roberts (2016). In John Lynch's article *Belfast in* The Fall*: Post-Conflict Geographies of Violence and Gender*, the television drama series is considered as part of Northern Ireland's general ambition to "construct non-controversial images that speak of the new economic prosperity as part of a wider promotion of the region as a safe and prosperous place". For both Lynch and García, these series relate to and reflect the cultural, historical and political pre-conditions of the cities, but whereas *The Wire* and *The Shield* articulate a socio-political critique of Baltimore and Los Angeles, *The Fall* aims to create a new story and image of Belfast as host to a regenerated post-conflict society. Both articles draw attention to the relation between on-screen features and cultural pre-conditions, and give examples of images, plots and characters that in different ways reflect the

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general cultural, historical and political conditions of these cities. Finally, Myles McNutt's article *Narratives of Miami in* Dexter *and* Burn Notice takes as his starting point the well-worn notion of "place as character", and critically discusses how this idea is based on a misunderstanding of the role that locations play in contemporary television drama series. McNutt suggests that places can play different roles, either as *narrative backdrop* (the location is subordinated to the story) or *narrative engine* (the location plays a more salient role in the story's premise, plot, aesthetic, production and promotion). McNutt illustrates these ideas by analyzing the role of Miami as a narrative engine in the American drama series *Dexter*. He emphasizes the setting as both a crucial on-screen feature *and* a significant part of the series' promotion, and, thus, part of the off-screen factors in its success and reception.

The last two articles develop a further aspect to location studies, namely the audience. Sandra Wagemakers looks at the television viewers of the Dutch crime drama *Smeris*, and Lavinia Brydon and Lisa Stead look at a different audience, namely the host community of Chilham where a recent BBC adaptation of *Emma* was filmed. In *Tilburg in Smeris: Local Audiences Engaging with (Familiar) Locations on National Television*, Wagemakers elaborates the relationship between on-screen features and off-screen factors, in this case not in terms of the production, but rather of the audience. Based on empirical studies of viewers' Twitter feeds and Facebook comments, as well as focus group interviews and assessments, Wagemakers looks at how the audience experience and respond to the use of Tilburg as a location, and how locally shot television drama plays a role in the building of identity within regional areas that stand in peripheral relation to the Dutch capital. Brydon and Stead's article *The English Village in Emma: An Empirical Study of Heritage Dramas, Location Filming and Host Communities* –about the English village of Chilham as a rural filming location – is based on both oral history interviews with citizens and on community archive studies. The analysis reveals the strong relationship between the local population and the television drama series – it details the pleasures of being an on-set spectator, and how the frustrations of production as an imposition on the community are held in tension with more optimistic perspectives of television investment as a boost for local tourism. Both articles constitute significant methodological contributions to location studies, by looking at how audiences and host communities reflect on and relate to filming locations, and, thus, elaborate the intertextual locations.

3. RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

In general, the articles in this special issue on Locations in Television Drama contribute to the field of location studies in various and interesting ways. Firstly, on a methodological level, the articles represent research that engages with multi-disciplinary and multi-method approaches to location studies in television series. Secondly, on a theoretical and conceptual level, the articles theorise televisual places and their narrative, dramaturgical and aesthetic functions, as well as the relation between physical, mediated and imagined places. Thirdly, on a societal and political level, the analyses illustrate the role of regional commissioning and emerging collaborative practices, the politics of location as signifiers of changing landscapes in a globalised media culture, and how location can be considered as a site of screen tourism and community engagement.

For future work, it would be interesting to extend some of these perspectives and look at locations in television drama series across genres, across Western and non-Western media contexts, across different media and disciplines (discussing the similarities and differences between locations in film, theatre, literature and television drama), as well as across history (to see how the use of locations in television drama has developed throughout history).

On behalf of the authors and editors, I wish the reader a thought-provoking and fascinating reading experience. We hope it will inspire future research that further develops the application of location studies approaches to television, by looking across disciplines, history and geography.

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NORSKOV AND THE LOGIC OF PLACE: THE SOFT EFFECT OF LOCAL DANISH TV DRAMA PRODUCTION

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KEYWORDS
Provinciality; location studies; cartographic branding; re-imagined communities; TV crime drama; intertextual consciousness.

ABSTRACT
In this article, we analyse locality and locations in recent Danish TV crime drama with the series *Norskov* as a representative case. The series' mode of production is rooted in the Danish broadcaster TV 2's regional obligations and it illustrates a broader tendency in local TV drama production. The article introduces the concepts intertextual consciousness, stories from below and cartographic branding, and refers to the notion of re-imagined communities as a local administrative result of drama production and broadcast. The findings of the article are based on production and location analyses with primary focus on the series' preproduction stage as well as empirical data material such as interviews, documents from the production process and material from the municipality of Frederikshavn (the location of *Norskov*), manuscript versions, and textual and visual material from the cinematographer and the location manager. Finally, the article combines provinciality and the notion of re-imagined communities in order to evaluate the effect of local drama production.

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Scandinavian television crime drama has increasingly become more and more local. Like popular written crime fiction, television drama production has, throughout the last few decades, shown an emergent awareness of recognizable and often peripheral places. In general, this development was incited by the popular Swedish series *Wallander* (2005-2013), but attention to so-called provincial areas is nothing new in Danish or international crime drama. In a Danish context, the province was used as a topos in the television drama *En by i provinsen* (1977-1980), where the title literally means 'a provincial town', *Strisser på Samsø* [*Island Cop*] (1997-1998), which takes place on a Danish island, *Rejseholdet* [*Unit One*] (2000-2004), in which a police team travels around Denmark, and *Dicte* (2012-), which takes place in the second largest town in Denmark. In Denmark, 'the province' basically means 'not Copenhagen', and in shows like these the provincial topos is often combined with travel and/or homecoming passages. This is the case in *Strisser på Samsø* and *Rejseholdet*, but has a lot of similarities with travel motifs in crime narratives such as *Lilyhammer* (2012-2014), *100 Code* (2015) or *Jordskott* (2015). In such cases, the province is not a place where you are, but it is rather a set of places that you go to.

This is also the case in the recent Danish television drama *Norskov* (2015-), which will be the representative case in this study of the logic of place in local Danish television crime drama production. The television drama takes place in a fictional port town in North Demark called Norskov, but the drama was the first Danish television drama to be shot entirely on location, in this case in the northern port town Frederikshavn. The narrative revolves around Tom Noack, who returns to his native town from Copenhagen in order to help the local police solve drug-related issues, but he soon realizes that the local problems have strong ties to his own reunited social circle. From the start, the narrative expresses issues of provinciality and geographical peripheries, while several aspects of the production process encircle issues of locality, periphery and spatial logic, which means that the narrative of the drama as well as its production are heavily embedded in discussions of place. For this reason, *Norskov* is chosen as a compelling case in order to read how place has been articulated during the production, in the drama series itself and in the local political context of the drama series.

In this article, we analyse *Norskov* as both a representative and an original case in Danish television drama production. *Norskov* was broadcast by the commercial Danish public service channel TV 2, which has broadcast previous dramas such as *Strisser på Samsø* and *Dicte*. Part of the so-called public service remit are specific regional obligations, which have resulted in a comprehensive attention towards the province in TV 2's Danish television drama broadcasts. We focus on locality and location in *Norskov*, and based on theories of place and location we introduce the concepts *intertextual consciousness*, *stories from below* and *cartographic branding*, and finally we refer to the notion of *re-imagined communities* as a local political result of the drama production and broadcast. The *Norskov* series is both representative and original: representative of a tendency within television crime drama production today because of the series' mode of production, with its stress on locations that has roots in TV 2's regional obligations; and original because of its combination of this focus with its character-driven crime plot, its characters being shaped by their place in the local community.

1. THE LOGIC OF PLACE AND LOCATION STUDIES

Results in this article are based on a comprehensive production study of *Norskov*, which include several interviews with people involved with the production (above and below the line), the television broadcaster, the production company, the local administration in Frederikshavn as well as regional commissioners. Furthermore, the article is based on findings in visual material and documents from and communication about the production process, such as access to documents from the municipality of Frederikshavn and The Danish Film Institute, manuscript versions and notes from the scriptwriter, textual and visual material from the cinematographer, photography by the location manager, and published material in media, such as social media content and press coverage. Of course, this means that we have a huge amount of empirical data, and in this article, we will only be able to touch upon a minor sample of it. The aim of this article is then to draw general conclusions from our extensive material.

There are of course many conclusions to draw from such a huge data bank, but the numerous references to place that run through the material – from the very early stages of production, to the latest posts in a Facebook support group for *Norskov* – are striking. The sense of place that we may decipher from such material is what we here refer to as 'the logic of place'. Here, 'logic' does not refer to strict philosophical argumentation, but rather implies a certain way of thinking about a specific matter. The fact that we encounter spatial references throughout our material indicates that place has

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been a very important factor to consider for all parties in developing, producing and broadcasting the drama. 'Place' is, then, understood as both a specific locality with what Steven Peacock (2014: 100) refers to as a "fixed geographical denomination", but according to Shaun Moores (2012: 27), places are also "constituted when locations are routinely lived-in", in which way a place becomes "an experiential accomplishment binding people and environments". The logic of place thus consists in *a certain way of thinking about the experience of particular locations*. In other words, encountering such a bulk of material with frequent spatial references, theories of location and location studies as a method come in handy when interpreting the way a production has provoked discussions of the logic of place.[1]

Still, location studies as a method is new and underdeveloped, while academic work on places in Scandinavian crime fiction is more common (e.g. Peacock 2014, McCorristine 2011, Reijnders 2009). Locations are usually thought of as a practical matter for the production or as a reference to a geographical location in film and television (see Honthaner 2010: 323-52), while Les Roberts (2012) and Serra Tinic (2005), both still within the scope of place analysis, and especially Anne Marit Waade (2013), have taken the consideration of locations a significant step further. Waade (2015) points towards three different theoretical positions from which to understand locations: 1) locations may be "settings" that have to do with establishing a diegetic world, 2) locations may be a "cinematic landscape" that in many different ways include local images from places where the production takes place (e.g. iconic places or generally local colour), or 3) locations may be a "site of production", which to a greater extent deals with production prioritizations as well as politico-economic production contexts. In these three understandings of locations there are indications of a parametric transition from fiction into reality, from establishing a story world to a much more practical framework. Elsewhere, and with this in mind, we have introduced 4) the idea of *intertextual locations*, which is a notion of location as particular hinges between locations as settings and locations as sites of production tied to the reception of these by the audience (Christensen and Hansen 2015). In this way, the appropriation of places in television drama and film will not only produce an augmented and intertextual place, but the idea behind intertextual locations emanates from the fact that the actual choice of location for a production is – consciously or subconsciously – often already intertextual in its spatial orientation. When a director, producer or whatever requests a particular location for a scene, it is not only reality that is swept for inspiration, because a production crew also carries an *intertextual consciousness* based on previous material they have seen and produced, and such material may play a pivotal role when they work on coming up with new material. Below, we clarify how the concept of intertextual consciousness has grown out of our interviews with the creator, producer, location scout and manager and conceptual cinematographer of the series, and out of access to its pre-production material. It should be noted here that our approach is also based on "fully embedded deep texts" from the pre-production process (Caldwell 2008: 347) to the exclusion of textual analysis of a series and its episodes.

David Bordwell (1985: 36) refers to the way that a viewer processes a film based on previous experiences of other films as transtextual motivation, but what we find interesting in working with the logic of place in television drama production is that spatial and narrative choices made during the creation and production are transtextually motivated too. Of course, this makes intuitive sense because all filmmakers are viewers as well, but what we will show in the following analysis is just how conspicuous transtextual motivation is in the planning of locations during production on *Norskov*. For Bordwell, the most commonplace transtextual category for the viewer is genre, and in her framing of a production analysis of Danish satire, Hanne Bruun claims that this goes for producers as well. Genre, she writes, "constitutes product categories as well as production and distribution categories for the producers" (Bruun 2011: 106). What we propose in this article, though, is that the transtextual motivations for a production are not just a genre category, but are rather a productive and creative method. It should be noted that Bordwell's use of the term "transtextual" is based on Gérard Genette, who in his categorisation of transtextual relations includes Julie Kristeva's term intertextuality in a more restricted sense to denote "a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts" (Genette 1982/1997: 5), whereas Umberto Eco uses the term intertextual as a general concept, again dividing it into sub-categories. Eco stresses that in what he calls 'broadened' intertextuality [a]ny difference between knowledge of the world (understood naively as a knowledge derived from an extratextual experience) and intertextual knowledge has practically vanished"" (Eco 1997: 23). Similarly, Bordwell combines his transtextual – or inter-

1 We are well aware that place theory is a huge field, but we have no room here to develop such theories further. See Christensen and Hansen (2015 and 2016) for a discussion of different place and space theories developed for the analysis of local media production in Denmark.

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textual – motivation with mimetic theories of narration, and it is striking in our case that the intertextual consciousness never seems to preclude what Bordwell – for the viewer – refers to as realistic motivation (1985: 153-154). Bordwell discusses Aristotelean mimesis, and his translation of the Greek theatron as a "seeing place" (4) indicates that the act of vision is fundamental to mimesis. As we will show, we find a consistent realistic insistence in our data that runs trouble-free alongside the transtextual motivation, which clearly indicates that realism and intertextuality are no adversary to each other. It is rather the opposite case: realism is both contextually and transtextually motivated by the choice of location. The close connection between realism and location that we find in our case is not unique. In film history, the British New Wave, also referred to as Kitchen Sink drama, was epoch-making in its insistence on filming primarily working-class lives not in studios, but on location in Northern industrial cities. An emblematic stylistic trait of the British New Wave – which, as we shall see, is also found in *Norskov* – was "panoramic shots of the industrial city" and "the 'external' point of view from outside and above the city, the look of the master-cameraman" (Hutchings 2016/2001: 304-5). Generally, the association of realism and regionality/provinciality in fiction precedes film and television in the notions of "regional realism" in literature (Campbell 2003) as well as "local colour" in visual arts (Hansen and Waade 2017), in both cases closely tied as well to location and locality.

Both Caldwell (2008) and Bruun (2016) indicate a range of methodical problems in conducting qualitative production research. First of all, established media producers above the line may be well-trained in passing on scripted material so as to disclose little of what would be sensitive material in a production culture or on a specific production. Secondly, scholars may tone down the critical aspects of cultural research such as ours because they need to stay on good terms in order to maintain the creative personnel as sources of information. Here, we have no room to discuss these matters in depth, but in our case, we are fundamentally interested in how places and locations actually were scripted, discussed and reflected on up to, during, and after the production period, which means that our position as researchers is, as much as possible, keep an outsider's glance on pre-prepared material. This does not mean that we are uncritical towards our case material, but the need to appear critical towards our data is somewhat downplayed for the benefit of describing the experience and logic of place among the creative personnel of *Norskov* during the drama's production.

2. METONYMY AND STORIES FROM BELOW

In the earliest presentation of the *Norskov* project (dated September 2011), creator and scriptwriter Dunja Gry Jensen writes the following (Jensen 2011): "We have a great desire for reality. Real police work. Real crimes. The real Denmark. Real Danes. We believe that others feel the same. That they are actually interested in how police work takes place in reality"[2]. Here, the realistic motivation is quite clear and the following indicates the development method for Jensen: "We believe that research is the best precautionary measure against clichés." During the spring of 2012, Jensen and researcher Mette Sø travelled around Denmark in order to explore three things: "the challenges and everyday life of the provincial police; the challenges and themes of peripheral Denmark; and sensational criminal cases from provincial Denmark". At this early development stage, the Southern Danish port Svendborg is mentioned as a possible location for the drama, and to a great extent this town has both cultural and visual similarities with Frederikshavn: a similar population, the masculine and robust harbour area, and the peripheral geographical seaside location with another country (Germany) only a voyage away. These early references indicate that the development of the drama is marked by a spatial mentality, and the development research seems in many ways to adopt an ethnographic gaze in the open-minded registration of local stories from all around Denmark. Jensen and Sø collected provincial stories as inspiration for the development of the drama, which is what we in this article refer to as *stories from below*: stories that come from the 'real Danes'. According to Sø, this research method is not in itself unusual in Danish television drama production; for instance, she used similar methods for the first season of the DR drama *Arvingerne* [*The Legacy*] (2014), but the accentuation of realism permeates our material alongside the spatial discourses.

For Jensen, as well as others, it is important to stress that Norskov is not the equivalent of Frederikshavn, which is the main reason that the real town is re-named in the series; instead Norskov seems to be a spatial metonymy for issues we may locate in many different geographical areas in Denmark: "it is not a film about Frederikshavn, and actually I just use Frederikshavn as a place to tell something about people. Not about peripheries in reality" (Jensen 2015). The narrative in

2 The spoken language of the quotations has been modified into more reader-friendly written language, and all translated quotations in the article have been approved by the interviewees.

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Norskov is, then, first and foremost meant to be a relational drama about human interconnectedness, but the locality of Frederikshavn brought these aspects into a discussion of peripheral Denmark. "After all, there is in fact nothing especially peripheral about visiting Northern Jutland", said Jensen. "I was actually pleasantly surprised by the sense of towns or parts of the country that in fact very much turn towards the rest of the world too: Norway, Sweden, England", she continued. One of the first lines spoken in *Norskov* is: "There are some people who say that Norskov is situated in peripheral Denmark. I say, they just haven't grasped that the Earth is round" (1.01). This is the very first line spoken in the *Norskov* show-reel made for international sales, which stresses that *Norskov* – from a broadcaster's and from a distributor's point of view – does not only represent peripheral areas in Denmark metonymically, but provincial regions in general. So to speak, the highly localised narrative, shot on location and based on intense research with a great deal of human interest, may basically be a very global narrative.

In Jensen's concept presentation (dated April 2012), she writes the following: "Norskov is an old industrial port town one hour's drive north of Aalborg. Historically, the town has been centred around the large shipyard Norskov Yard, and it has frequently been visited by workers, seamen and traders from home and abroad. Today, the shipyard is closed down [...] and even though the town still has a relatively thriving business and pub life everything is in decline. Workplaces move out, so does youth, and hospitals and institutions are now further away after the municipal reform. Lately, the local paper has begun announcing every time a new family moves to town. Still, Norskov maintains some optimism" (Jensen 2012). One of the storylines in the final drama is a political narrative about such optimism, and the line quoted above from the first scene of the drama is spoken by the mayor of Norskov. In our interview with the municipal chief consultant of cultural affairs (who worked very closely with the production team), she referred to Frederikshavn as a tumbling doll: "You should not feel sorry for us, because we're one of those dolls that always gets on its feet again" (Iversen 2015). Such stories from actual people, stories from below, have been collected all around Denmark, but according to Jensen the particular "entrepreneurial and American" mentality was a decisive experience that made her suggest Frederikshavn as the location for the drama. According to her, the drama is about "masculine solicitude" (Jensen 2015).

Concluding the conceptual text, Jensen stresses that "it is a prerequisite that we take our point of departure in a contemporary Danish reality instead of existing artistic sources. Therefore, our conceptual work has started with extensive research. This material is our key reference and source of inspiration" (Jensen 2012). Nevertheless, she prioritizes a "list of references" to film and television that should supply the production with what she terms "a common language". In her earliest presentation, Jensen primarily refers to the television dramas *Mad Men* (2007-2015), *Deadwood* (2004-2006) and *Friday Night Lights* (2006-2011) in order to frame "strong, central male main characters", whereas in her later conceptual presentation the only one left is *Friday Night Lights* – and this drama's intense focus on a peripheral American small-town mentality and the communal importance of football have obvious similarities with the prominence of ice hockey in *Norskov* (and in Frederikshavn). In both narrative and style, *Friday Night Lights* is a realistic account of a local town in decline, so besides the fact that it too takes its point of departure from 'real' peripheral problems, in many ways the hand-held style of the drama appears as both realistic and transtextual motivation for developing *Norskov*.

3. **INTERTEXTUAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN PRE-PRODUCTION**

At root, photography carries traces of reality, an indexical sense of something "having been there" (Barthes 1964: 47), as result of "photochemical imprints of real objects" (Schwarzer 2004: 165). In essence, the visuality of television drama production starts with planning and finding places for the diegetic world to take place. In fact, the phrase 'take place' implies an interesting metaphor for the way that localisation of drama by way of particular locations is creating new meaning for a place: it is a matter of grasping, adopting and augmenting something that in some ways is partly already there. As we have seen, the planning of *Norskov* involved an excursion into local narratives, but what is interesting is the fact that, during their research, both the drama's screenwriter and researcher initially fell for the masculine visual characteristics of town areas. Together with collected stories from provincial places in Denmark, these areas made their way into the imagery of the show. The masculinity and potency of a port are not only highlighted in images included in Jensen's conceptual presentation of *Norskov*; they run through photographic images by both location manager Martin Bagger and cinematographer Adam Wallensten, and of course finally in the broadcast series. According to Jensen, the final

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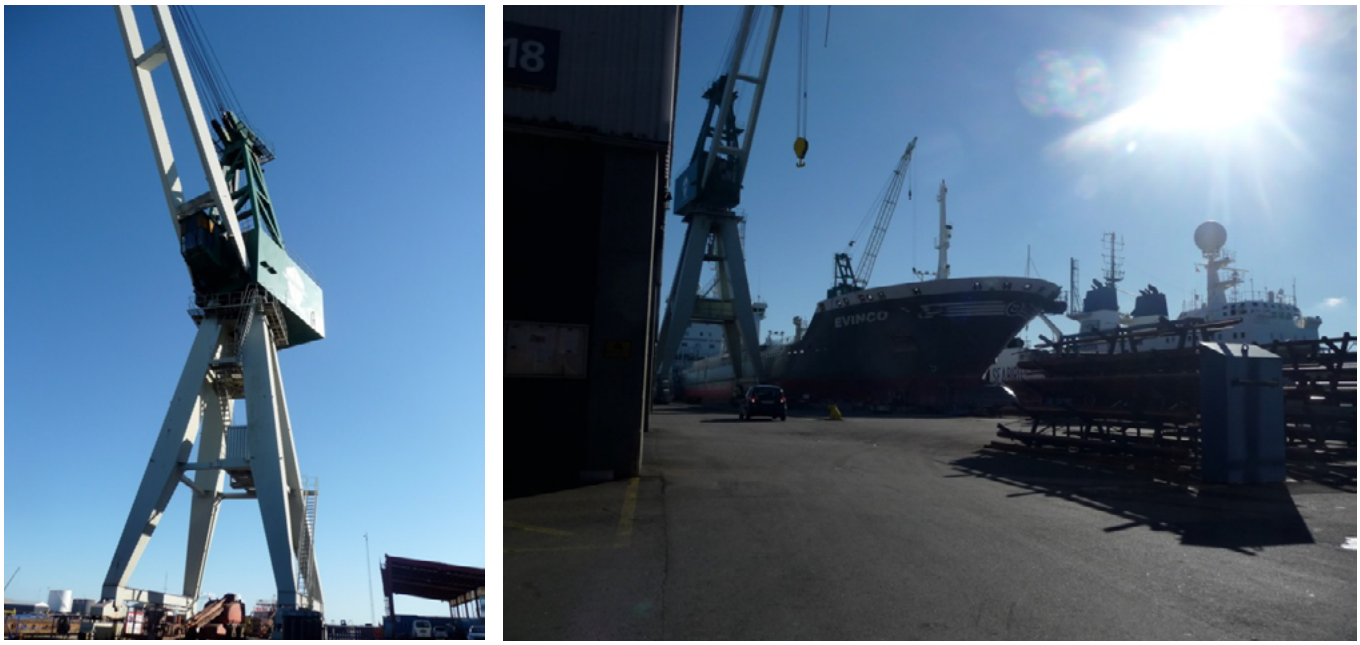

FIGURE 1: THE MALE POTENCY OF THE CRANES LOCATED ON THE PORT OF FREDERIKSHAVN DOMINATES THE PHOTOGRAPHIC HARBOUR IMAGES BY LOCATION MANAGER MARTIN BAGGER (PHOTO CREDITS: MARTIN BAGGER).

choice of Frederikshavn as location is not so much a rational choice, but is rather an artistic decision based on what she terms "desire": "we fell in love with the town." Jensen and Sø were searching for what they call a "model police station", and in order to talk to a head of investigations they went to Frederikshavn and instinctively became "crazy about" the location (Jensen 2016).

In fact, the port plays only a minor role in the final narrative, but several aspects during the ten episodes keep referring to the harbour as a focal point: parts of the plot are about placing a new and ambitious secondary school on the harbour, one of the three main male characters has his company on the harbour, water as a transportation method plays an important role throughout, and images of the port and water appear often as backdrops or as panoramic images. Such imagery is very common in Nordic and international television crime fiction, e.g. *Forbrydelsen* [*The Killing*] (2007-2012), *The Wire* (2002-2008) and *Wallander* (2005-2013), which indicates that the generic transtextuality of such drama may have influenced the visual characteristics of the drama and perhaps even the choice of location. Conceivably, this may not exactly be *intertextual consciousness*; it may even be unconscious influences based on generic affinities and general use of port imagery in crime fiction. In her work on port cities, Alice Mah illustrates the dramatic attraction of port cities in popular culture in the following way:

> Port cities lie at the edge between black and blue. For centuries, writers have described port cites as exotic places of cosmopolitanism and vibrant cultural exchange, connected to the 'blue' of sea, sky, and dreams. Port cities are surrounded by blue, the blue of water lapping at shores, extending out into distant horizons. They are filled with the blue of longing, of imagining possibilities out at sea and in different lands. But port cities are also represented as 'black' places of crime, violence, poverty, and social exclusion, classic settings for gritty *noir* literature and film (Mah 2014: 27).

Mah mentions the second season of *The Wire* (2003) as a principal example, and throughout our empirical data on *Norskov* this particular American drama is mentioned numerous times, including letters of application for the municipality of Frederikshavn. *The Wire* has been credited as a series where Baltimore as a location may be characterised as "city as character" (Sodano 2015: 22), and this spatial notion of a character is repeated several times in our material on

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Norskov, for instance in Jensen's letter to the municipality of Frederikshavn entitled "Dear Frederikshavn": "You may say that we have chosen Frederikshavn to play the role as Norskov in the same way that we choose an actor to play a role as a character" (Jensen n.d.). With *The Wire* playing an important role as "common language" for the production crew it seems safe to say that the port imagery of *The Wire* (among other crime dramas taking place in ports) may have influenced the location manager, location scouts and cinematographers, etc.

Nevertheless, the "common language" referred to in our material on *Norskov* is not merely generically oriented, and with place theory and location studies in mind, the inspirational references seem remarkably spatially oriented. However, there is a very clear development throughout the pre-production too. In the earliest writings from 2011 the references are, as noted above, primarily character-based, but in Jensen's conceptual presentation the list of references has grown and spatial explanations accompany most of the titles: *Friday Night Lights* depicts "a provincial town" and "the structure of a small town"; *Brotherhood* (2006-2008) is set in "the Boston-part of town" (even though it was shot on location in Providence!); *Underbelly* (2008-2013) is about "organized crime in Melbourne"; *Matador* (1978-1982) provides "a sense of meeting a whole provincial town"; *Winter's Bone* (2010) shows us a "white trash environment in peripheral America" (Jensen 2012). Based on the list of references, it is perhaps rather the combination of strong, realistic characters and an evident sense of a real place that appear encouraging for the scriptwriter, but that does not make the transtextual motivations any less obvious. Many of the titles mentioned have affinities with crime fiction in one way or another, but it is striking that the intertextual consciousness seems to focus much more on transgeneric dramatic elements such as character and place.

The transgeneric features become much more obvious in cinematographer Adam Wallensten's conceptual material for *Norskov* (Wallensten n.d. a). Instead of directing his attention towards particular logics of place as such, his notes on style deal with methods for developing a sense of presence, life and dynamics for the viewer, which he finds in films such as *Call Girl* (2012) and *The Place Beyond the Pines* (2012). He includes several references to realism in his different working papers on *Norskov* such as 'raised realism' or 'stylized realism'. Relatedly, one thing is particularly interesting (also because it made its way to the series) as expressed by Wallensten: "We will not work with 'breakers' where we show different places in the town and its citizens. Instead, as far as possible we will place scenes where we are able to include the city and people." (Wallensten n.d. a). Still, this insistence on realism of imagery in his material is combined with visual, unnamed references to other examples, which include images from *Out of the Furnace* (2013) and *True Detective* (2014-2015). His notes on cinematography are, nevertheless, heavily embedded in a discussion of place presentation and representation. *Norskov* is shot in scope widescreen format (2.35:1), and according to Wallensten this particular format suits the location well: "Like few places in Denmark, Frederikshavn has nature and a format suitable for scope." (Wallensten n.d. a). Views of hilltops, wide shots of the town through windowpanes and open fields and forests seem to create specific widescreen imagery for Wallensten.

4. PANORAMA SHOTS AND CARTOGRAPHIC BRANDING

Discussions of scope and wide angles of townscapes lead us to the panoramic shots of Frederikshavn included in both the preproductional material from Bagger and Wallensten as well as the final series. A particular intention behind the series, frequently appearing in our data, was that "everything is connected", which is the headline for Wallensten's conceptual text for the drama (Wallensten n.d. a). This means that the drama is constantly focalized, every location is carefully chosen in order to get a sense of town and surrounding landscapes, and there are no establishing shots for specific locations and no so-called "city symphonies" that use "buildings, streets, bridges, and vehicles, showing us how cities rattle and rush, stream and plod, awake and settle down" (Schwarzer 2004: 243). Everything (almost) in *Norskov* is, then, connected by way of visual methods and character focalization.

However, our parenthesis above (almost) accentuates other features of the drama. Even though the series never makes use of establishing shots, it very explicitly establishes the city space for the viewer. The first shot of the first episode is a panoramic view of town after nightfall with the local bay carving a scenic arc picturesquely curving in the background. Similar shots are frequent in TV drama in general as well as in television crime in particular. *Forbrydelsen* was trendsetting with the many panoramic views of Copenhagen often employed as establishing shots, but such imagery in Scandinavian television crime drama also goes back, for instance, to the first season of *Beck* (1998). A logic of place is here established by

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way of traditional cartographic images in bird's eye perspective. The images are very local because they draw attention to landscapes and localities, but the images are very translocal, too: they appear in drama across production cultures and have by now become symptomatic of what has been branded as Nordic noir with its "exoticism of settings, light, climate, language and everyday life" (Jensen and Waade 2013: 189).

Nevertheless, this way of portraying a town has an interesting precursor in what has been called *panoramic maps*, *pictorial maps* or *bird's eye view maps*. Panoramic maps from around the 17th to the 19th century are decorative maps of cities that, by now, have become attractive wall decoration in homes. Historically, such maps and images have been closely connected to commercial interests. John R. Hébert and Patrick E. Dempsey write that panoramic images usually "depict the vibrant city" where harbours "are shown choked with ships", even though, normally, harbours were not. Panoramic maps were often, then, used "to promote sales" and as a "descriptive geographical tool" rather than for sheer navigational representation (Hébert and Dempsey 1984). As Melinda Kashuba writes, panoramic maps "not only show what some of these communities look like but what our ancestors wanted them to look like" (Kashuba 2005: 185) – cities were, here, presented at their best. This particular bird's eye view that we see so often

FIGURE 2: THE FIRST IMAGE AND THE TITLE SCREEN IN *NORSKOV* (AT THE TOP). THE PANORAMIC IMAGERY OF THE BAY AREA IS USED AS THE FIRST GENERAL INDICATION OF PLACE AND AS A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO PRECISELY NORSKOV AS A TOWN (PHOTO CREDITS: SF FILM). THE SAME MOTIF IS USED IN TOURIST MATERIAL FROM FREDERIKSHAVN (AT THE BOTTOM) (PHOTO CREDITS: PETER JØRGENSEN, JERUP / BY KIND PERMISSION FROM TURISTHUS NORD).

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FIGURE 3. VISUAL EXCERPTS FROM CINEMATOGRAPHER ADAM WALLENSTEN'S CONCEPTUAL WRITINGS ON *NORSKOV* (WALLENSTEN N.D. B). IN THIS MATERIAL, IMAGES OF FREDERIKSHAVN WITH A CLEAR SENSE OF THE OPEN SKY APPEAR SIDE BY SIDE WITH SIMILAR IMAGES FROM *TRUE DETECTIVE* (PHOTO CREDITS: ADAM WALLENSTEN).

in Nordic noir – and in TV-drama in general – has a surprising number of similarities with commercial interests and what has later been dubbed "place branding" (Moilanen and Rainisto 2008). It may not come as a surprise, then, that the panoramic view of a city is widely used in three-dimensional tourist maps. While such imagery is not of commercial interest to the production crew, we have found that such panoramic images in the drama are of interest to the municipality. For the cinematographer, location manager and others, such images are instead, by now, transtextually motivated, and interestingly enough these images appear relatively infrequently in *Norskov*. However, when they do they seem highly significant.

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The identity of the diegetic place is especially established by way of cartographic, panoramic images. The motif in Figure 2 is repeated in the title screen where the title "*Norskov*" is superimposed on the image, which basically forms a classic Barthesian *ancrage* (Barthes 1964: 48): The title anchors the place as specifically Norskov, but with close identification with Frederikshavn because this particular image is very characteristic of the town, and in this way a great deal of town identity is brought into *Norskov* by way of one carefully chosen image. The camera positions for these images are both panoramic drone shots (the bird's eye view across town) as well as on the hilltop of the so-called Pikkerbakken, which is the site of a significant tourist attraction (a historical military fort). We find such imagery taken from one of the highest points in town in the tourist video "Frederikshavn – toppen af Danmark" (meaning the top/peak of Denmark), which both emphasises the branding perspective of the particular location as well as the close image identification between Norskov and Frederikshavn.

This does not at all mean that producers, script writers, cinematographers, etc. have intended to brand Frederikshavn through drama narrative; actually, quite the opposite has been the intention, which is emphasised by the lack of city symphonies and establishing shots. Again, however, it suggests a certain transtextual frame of mind that comes from both a history of *cartographic branding* as well as a contemporary widespread use of panoramic drone shots and hill-top views in television drama. Nevertheless, the specific hill-top angle from the place called Pikkerbakken appears in Wallensten's material as well, which gives the impression that this particular picturesque image from Frederikshavn plays a triple role, providing: a) a sense of place in the local real town, b) a point of view historically associated with panoramic cartography, and 3) transtextual connections to very similar images in both Nordic and international crime fiction in particular, and television and film drama in general.

5. **PROVINCIALITY AND REIMAGINED COMMUNITIES**

The above considerations have provided a range of views on the logic of place during the preproduction planning of *Norskov*. These analyses show a careful and detailed reflection on choices of locations as well as the visual logic of place in the drama. Now, we would like to flip the perspective in order to discuss the interest from and the role of the local community in a production like this. Why does a municipality go to great lengths to raise capital, attract and welcome a television production? What does a region like Northern Jutland, a peripheral region in Denmark, gain from attracting such a production? To do so, we re-invoke Kevin Robins's notion of *reimagined communities*, which is a concept he used to frame British developments in media industries in the late 1980s (Robins 1989). Later, he reintroduced the concept together with David Morley as a highly appropriate discussion of culture, identity and media in a European context in the middle of the 1990s (Morley and Robins 1995). In a present view of local and global media environments across Europe, their vision of the relationship between the local and the global may appear slightly prophetic, but it rather shows how far back these developments of localised media industries reach. As a particular context around their perspective they refer to specific legislative transformations and recommendations in the mid-1980s, which do have a number of similarities with Danish transformations in the late 1980s. In 1988, the commercial public service broadcaster TV 2 was launched with explicit and mandatory regional obligations (Bruun et al. 2000: 17), which were based on political intentions to widen the local and national perspective in Danish public service television. Initially, however, television drama was given low priority, but in the middle of the 1990s a political agreement boosted collaboration between the television and film industry, which led to an increased attention towards television drama for TV 2. With noticeable relevance for *Norskov*, the result was the provincial crime drama *Strisser på Samsø*, which took place on a regional Danish island, and the teen series *Spillets regler* (1997-1998) about a football team in a Jutland provincial town (Nielsen 2000). The provincial focus, the interest in crime drama and the attention towards sports point clearly, though without direct relations, towards *Norskov* and the interest in local crime drama and the local community around ice hockey. So when Morley and Robins (1995: 35-36) write that "there is a growing sub-national agenda focused around local and urban cultural identities" in British audio-visual industries, there is a great deal of similarity in the development of the Danish media production industry during the 1990s and especially around TV 2 as a broadcaster. Morley and Robins (1995: 36) continue with reference to Patrick Vittet-Philippe and Philip Crookes' work on local radio and regional development: "Local media are seen as 'regional building tools not only in traditional cultural terms (regional awareness, cultural identity, linguistic crystallisation), but also in terms of economy (provision of jobs, sensitisation of the

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public to communication technologies, dynamisation of local markets, etc.)'" (Crookes and Vittet-Philippe 1986: 4). The forms of local effects are usually referred to as soft and hard effect, respectively, and one particular soft effect that Robins at first, then Morley and Robins, refer to is *reimagined communities*. In their title, they cautiously leave a question-mark after the concept, because they are, at first, very hesitant towards the status of the nation-state. They do, after all, pick up a specific inspiration for the concept from Benedict Anderson's classic phrase *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983) in a way that indicates various shifts of attention towards other factors than the nation as a community: "the dual tendency towards globalisation and localisation of image spaces" (Morley and Robins 1995: 37). Image spaces are, for Robins (1989: 150-156), a representational space that symbolically encircles specific geographical places, which makes them comparable to our notion of an intertextual consciousness: the circulation of media images creates a particular interceded spatial and visual vocabulary that affects the perception of places. According to Morley and Robins (1995: 37), the focus on the creation of such imagery has a downside because of "the increased pressure on cities and localities to adopt an entrepreneurial stance in order to attract mobile global capital", which is a pressure that we see now in contemporary Danish media industry and local administration: there are relatively few film and television productions in Denmark, and so only a few municipalities can share in a piece of the pie.

However, what we find in our data on *Norskov* is the presentation of a successful local production story. The idea of local representation and the hope of creating or contributing to an imagined, not-national, but regional or local community imbue our interview material and administration documents from Frederikshavn. Iversen's image of the town as a tumbling doll, and references by the series' creator Jensen to the tough, but solicitous, masculine atmosphere of the town, are highly significant in this regard, because both cultural identities make the transition into television fiction, and may in this way contribute to maintaining, creating and describing the identity of a local community. According to the mayor of Frederikshavn, Birgit S. Hansen (Hansen 2015), the municipality had to rediscover a sense of community after a structural reform of local, municipal administration in Denmark during which three municipalities were fused into one under the administration of Frederikshavn. She tells us that Frederikshavn has not made a hard data assessment of the local production, but they have made a soft data assessment, and she maintains that a specific result of attracting the drama to the town was "community cohesion and pride". Morley and Robins (1995: 41) point out that a local administration may have to learn "how to use the mass media and new communication technologies to create 'a new forum for public discourse'" in order to "open up some new possibilities for reimagined solidarities". In the material available to us it is very clear that the municipal administration had to *learn* how to solicit and service the large production machinery that moved into town (Christensen and Hansen 2016). In addition, "recent growth in decentralised programme-making opens up at least the possibility of local media spaces", and public discourses, "grounded in a spatial framework, could be elaborated in a local public sphere" (Morley and Robins: 1995: 41). Morley and Robins's work speaks mostly in the future tense, with a sense of utopian hope of escaping the "false aura" and the "fabricated and inauthentic identity" that may be the result of pan-European top down models of media images. Instead, a production project like *Norskov* is a result of *stories from below*, of a local sense of place, and of a certain logic of place in the production process that ideally searches for 'authentic' material (the discussion of whether or not this process results in authenticity is difficult and, in our case here, unnecessary). A lot has happened for local television drama production in Denmark since the birth of commercial public service television in the late 1980s. Three regional commissioners with a significant impact on the local attraction of media industrial projects have emerged; new national policies on regional drama production have been instigated; and since the turn of the Millennium an increased number of local film and television productions have been commenced, distributed and broadcast. Today, we see an amplified interest from local municipalities and regions in creating new and appealing milieus for creative industries. Morley and Robins (1995: 26) refer to the "political economic restructuring and transformation" leading towards reimagined communities as "a process of spatial restructuring and reconfiguration [that] involves at once a transformation of the spatial matrix of society and of the subjective experience of, and orientation to, space and spatiality". At a time when we, during the past decades, have seen references to a so-called spatial turn (Warf and Arias 2009) that has affected media studies as well (Falkheimer and Janssen 2006), the restructuring of attention towards provincial areas in Danish television and film production since the mid-1990s is very interesting. Within the spatial matrix of society, the media has in the same period played an increasingly important role as a producer of identity and as a special way of generating attention towards places.

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FIGURE 4: NORSKOV MARATHON SHOWS HOW TV DRAMA IS USED DIRECTLY IN LOCAL COMMUNITY ARRANGEMENTS. THE IMAGE ABOVE IS TAKEN FROM THE PROMOTIONAL VIDEO, AND WHAT IS NOTABLE HERE IS THE FACT THEY ALSO USE THE VIEW FROM PIKKERBAKKEN AS A TITLE IMAGE (JUST LIKE BOTH *NORSKOV* AND THE TOURIST VIDEO) (PHOTO CREDITS: PETER JØRGENSEN / VIDEOGRAPHER). THE IMAGE BELOW IS A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MARATHON MEDAL WITH REFERENCE TO THE ORGANISERS' WEBSITE (PHOTO CREDITS: RICO EIERSTED).

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Of course, one thing is the attention that Frederikshavn as a town receives from being the sole location of a ten-episode television drama series with a second season in production. Another thing is how the effect of a drama production like this is measured in the long run, and obviously here there are different methods. Recently, the town cut the first sod to a new exclusive freehold flat area in Frederikshavn called Norskov Parken (The Norskov Park), and recently a so-called Norskov Marathon was arranged in town. According to the organiser Rico Eiersted, the marathon was arranged in order to visit as many possible locations throughout the supposed "arduous race", which is indicated in the slogan of the marathon: "Where the view is more important than the time" (Eiersted 2016). These are not only limpid illustrations of local initiatives trying to harness the attention given to a television drama, but they also demonstrate how a local community is literally reimagined through reference to a fictional drama. However, these are only the minor results of the drama, because the actual attention given across Scandinavia (the near and neighbouring countries to the north of Frederikshavn) is intended to attract a workforce for a port expansion in Frederikshavn – an expansion that may need around 2,000 people (Iversen 2015). With the direct and indirect attention towards the port in *Norskov* we again have a common denominator in fact and fiction that resonates underneath the "regional building tools" of a reimagined Frederikshavn. In promotional material about the port expansion, the visualisation of the port shows close similarities with the way that both the location scout and the cinematographer have chosen to frame the port in photography. Of course, this illustrates the importance of the port in local creations of identity, but it also shows how closely different points in the image circulation process are tied together. The same may be said about the inspiration for the name of the series, which according to creator Jensen may have come from the local shipyard on the harbour called Orskov Yard.

FIGURE 5: AN IMAGE TAKEN FROM A PAMPHLET OF THE PORT EXPANSION *PORT OF OPPORTUNITIES* (TOP, LEFT) (BY KIND PERMISSION FROM THE PORT OF FREDERIKSHAVN), LOCATION SCOUT MARTIN BAGGERS PHOTOGRAPHY FROM THE PORT (TOP, RIGHT) (PHOTO CREDITS: MARTIN BAGGER) AND CINEMATOGRAPHER ADAM WALLENSTEN'S PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE PORT AREA (BOTTOM) (PHOTO CREDITS: ADAM WALLENSTEN N.D. B). THE RESEMBLANCE AND THE SENSE OF INDUSTRIAL SPACE CONVEY A SIMILAR LOGIC OF PLACE.

CONCLUSION

Issues of provinciality and geographical peripheries in combination with a recent TV crime drama series production have been the subject of this article. Based on a rich and large data bank, peripherality has been explored in the light of pertinent theories of locations. The discussion of place in the context of media production has rested on the series *Norskov* as a case, and this series has been selected because of its important representativeness as a contemporary TV production by the commercial Danish public service channel TV 2. Also, the relationships between the television broadcaster, the production company as well as the local administration in Frederikshavn have been investigated, and this close inspection is the principal methodological innovation of the article, because we here see new strong ties between local cultural and industrial policies. Here, research into production and location, in particular analysis of the preproduction stages of the series, is better facilitated with careful attention towards thinking and experiencing place during production. The key aim of the article has been to draw general and original conclusions from our extensive material, and the main results have been the introduction of new and necessary concepts into the field of location studies: intertex-

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tual consciousness, stories from below and cartographic branding as well as re-introducing the central notion of re-imagined communities as a local political result of the drama production and its broadcast. The most crucial contribution of the article is to demonstrate how, in the image circulation process of a television production, different intertextual and authentic perceptions of locations are closely conflated.

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THE GOLD COAST ON SCREEN: CHILDREN'S TELEVISION SELLING BRAND AUSTRALIA IN INTERNATIONAL MARKETS

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KEYWORDS
Children's television; landscape; screen production; screen policy; live action drama; beach location.

ABSTRACT
For many countries, children's television plays a vital role in national cultural representation. Australia with a population of 22m people has had state supports including local content quotas for children's television since the late 1970s. Despite its important role in national cultural representation Australian children's television—particularly high cost, scripted drama—has always been viewed internationally. Indeed, ever since iconic drama *Skippy* (1967), Australian children's television has relied on international investment and sales to cover its costs. Thus producers have become adept at using Australian landscapes to create a distinctive and appealing 'Brand Australia' for international audiences.

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For many countries, including Australia and the UK, children's television is believed to play a vital role in national cultural representation. Children are seen as deserving of locally produced television that entertains them while reflecting familiar situations, accents and locations back to them. In order to support the production of culturally specific drama series that situate children in their own culture, Australia—with a small population of 22 million—has had state supports including tax breaks, direct subsidies and content quotas on commercial television since the late 1970s. Despite the acknowledged importance of the local, children's television in Australia—particularly high cost, scripted, drama series—relies on international investment and sales to cover the majority of its production budgets. This can impact its look, style and content, with internationally appealing, local elements foregrounded. While bush landscapes were popular in early Australian shows like *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo* (1967–1970), the majority of recent children's drama focuses on the beach, a liminal and iconic location with considerable appeal in European television markets.

In this article we examine the aesthetic and economic advantages that Australian beach locations and waterside settings offer to producers of children's live action drama series. Our examination draws on semi-structured face-to-face interviews with broadcasters and producers, and textual analysis of Australian policy documents, industry publications and live action drama series. The research presented here represents some early findings from a three-year Australian Research Council-funded project examining key global trends in the production and distribution of contemporary children's television, after a period of rapid industrial and technological change. Working with industry collaboration, the project engages with the production ecology (Steemers 2010) of children's television; that is the industrial, economic, creative and regulatory influences that shape its creation. In following the actors—the producers, broadcasters and screen agencies—to gauge their impact on the production and distribution of Australian children's television series in global markets, the research is situated in a production studies model within a political economy tradition.

Our examination of four successful children's drama series reveals the ways in which producers use identifiably Australian waterside locations in their children's television series. In doing so they manage to create live action drama that achieves local regulatory objectives, by reflecting Australian locations, stories and social norms back to Australian children, while simultaneously appealing to international broadcasters whose sales revenues are a crucial component of their production budgets. Despite the importance of beach locations for these purposes, the beach as location is only one element of a screen production ecology that is also affected by the availability of local funding subsidies, access to production infrastructure and creative labor, currency fluctuations, and creative decision making by individual writers, directors and producers. Indeed, the complex nature of the children's TV production ecology in Australia is mirrored in the complexity of the children's drama series it engenders. These series ultimately inhabit a liminal space themselves, between the national and the international, carefully designed to appeal to their most important markets outside Australia, and simultaneously inward facing, as they seek to reflect their country of origin back to its youngest audiences. This state of creative tension is exacerbated at times by international broadcaster demands to reduce culturally specific language in order to make these series more accessible to their own audiences, when cultural specificity is the very quality needed for producers to attract local commissions and funding subsidies at home.

Four case studies: *H20: Just Add Water* (2006–2010), *Mortified* (2006–2007), *Lockie Leonard* (2007–2010) and *Dance Academy* (2010–2013) will be used to illustrate how the connections between Australian broadcasting policy, producers' aesthetic and creative considerations and the availability of infrastructure and labor frequently result in the foregrounding of the beach and other waterside locations in Australian children's drama. These series were selected because all were produced in response to state demand, generated either by quotas on Australia's commercial networks or the 2009 introduction of the country's first free to air children's channel by public service broadcaster the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). All were set in beach or waterside locations, all received direct funding from funding agency Screen Australia and all were made with the support of the Australian Children's Television Foundation (ACTF), which was established in 1983 as a national children's media production and policy hub (Edgar 2006).

In addition to these common elements, the case study series were all commissioned during the mid-to late 2000s, at a time when Australia's commercial networks were prepared to invest in high quality children's drama to fill their quota obligations for 32 hours of locally made, first run children's (C) drama each year (ACMA, 2016). All were critical and commercial successes for their producers, winning national and international awards and selling well in global media markets while fulfilling the goals of national cultural representation in Australia. And yet, we argue that while spectacular beach locations

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remain appealing to international buyers, and location and funding subsidies still exist, the live action drama series for which Australian children's television producers have a global reputation for excellence are under increasing threat. Their production levels have plummeted since the period examined here, due largely to commercial broadcasters' reluctance to invest in local children's content at a time of digital disruption to their business models. Animation has now largely replaced the live action drama that showcased Australian locations to both national and international audiences, meaning the beach location as signifier of Australian culture and lifestyle is far less visible in the children's drama series being produced now for national and international audiences.

1. AUSTRALIAN CULTURAL POLICY AND A CHILDREN'S SCREEN PRODUCTION INDUSTRY

In 1967, live action drama *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo* – filmed in bush land in the Australian state of New South Wales – revealed how extraordinarily successful Australian children's drama could become in global markets. The series, of which 91 episodes were made between 1967–69, was set in a national park where nine-year-old chief ranger's son Sonny Hammond lives with his pet kangaroo, the eponymous Skippy. The talented marsupial—she can communicate with humans, play the drums, untie knots, place bets and operate a radio—was played by up to nine different kangaroos, which were kept in hessian sacks until shooting started. Producers and cultural entrepreneurs John McCallum, a former actor, and film director Lee Robinson deliberately produced *Skippy* for export markets, filming in color with high production values, at a time when Australian television was still black and white. Their successful technique was to embed Australian settings and figures into recognized American genres, in this case US dramas such as *Flipper* (1964–1967) and *Lassie* (1954–1974) (Gibson 2014).

Skippy showcased Australian flora, fauna and bush settings while consistently portraying Indigenous Australians as part of that landscape, which was unusual in Australian television series of the time. The series' popularity in international markets marks the point at which Australia's 'colonial difference and displacement' became a way of asserting a national on-screen identity (Gibson 2014: 580). In *Skippy*, Australia's exoticism, remoteness and otherness became assets, with natural bush landscapes full of unusual flora and fauna appealing to international audiences. The producers' strategies for producing identifiably Australian drama series for export markets were highly successful; *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo* sold in 128 countries including England, Netherlands, Canada, Japan, and Belgium. The series was dubbed into 25 languages and viewed by more than 300 million people a week, the first time a uniquely Australian production had sold so well internationally (Moran 1985; Gibson 2014).

Skippy's success did not, however, immediately lead to a boom in local screen production. Indeed high-quality, children's programs remained in short supply in 1960s Australia, despite a 1957 recommendation from the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (ABCB) that regular supplies of educational, cultural and religious programs should be made available to children. Without content quotas, however, the commercial networks were able to ignore the ABCB's guidelines and use cheap US imports or inexpensive studio-based shows sponsored by biscuit and soft drink manufacturers to attract the child audience. The ABCB criticized the networks' sponsored offerings, suggesting they exploited children's leisure time and interests, but without regimes of inspection and codification could do little more (Potter 2015).

At this time however, public concern about the lack of local children's quality programs—including drama—also led to sustained campaigns by organizations such as the Australian Council for Children's Film and Television. Rising community dissatisfaction with the lack of Australian content available to audiences of all ages together with a growing enthusiasm for a local screen production industry led to an important senate enquiry, chaired by VS Vincent. The Vincent report of 1963 articulated a view that Australians were receiving an inadequate view of Australian culture, with local drama constituting only 1% of the television schedules at the time (Cunningham and Jacka 1996). It changed the debate surrounding Australian drama, including children's series, providing legitimacy for increased levels of local content and for government support for a local screen production sector (Bertrand and Collins 1981).

In response to these developments, content quotas for small amounts of Australian television for adults were gradually introduced on Australia's three commercial networks 7, 9 and 10 in the late 1960s, leading to the development of a local screen production industry. Continued public concern about the lack of local provision for children also led the ABCB to introduce low quotas for children's television—four hours every 28 days—on the commercial networks. Further, in 1977 a new regulator—the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT)—

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held a public enquiry which revealed widespread public disquiet about the low budget, poor quality television on offer for Australian children. The ABT's report found the networks' commercial imperatives were not compatible with their 'acknowledged social responsibilities' and announced it would be establishing a Children's Program committee and setting content quotas for Australian programs classified "C" (for children), with drama as a high priority (Edgar 2006). The Children's Program committee produced recommendations emphasizing the importance of quality, local television that would contribute to children's social, emotional and intellectual development while supporting the goals of national cultural representation.

As a result of these recommendations, in 1979 a new policy instrument was released: The Children's Television Standards (CTS). Its purpose was to guarantee minimum levels of high quality drama for children on Australia's commercial networks. By 1984 the CTS included provision for 32 hours of locally produced children's or C first-run drama each year on networks 7, 9 and 10. The CTS stated that a children's program is one that is:

> made specifically for children or groups of children; and is entertaining; and is well produced using sufficient resources to ensure a high standard of script, cast, direction, editing, shooting, sound and other production elements; and is appropriate for Australian children. (Australian Communications and Media Authority 2016)

The CTS were designed to ensure supplies of local television, particularly drama series, with high production values that could situate Australian children in their own cultural context. In other words, programs with cultural value. In their requirements for cultural specificity they ensured producers would foreground identifiably Australian locations and settings—such as the beach—in order to establish a sense of place for the child audience. The introduction of this important policy lever and particularly the C drama quotas led directly to the creation of an Australian children's television production sector and a tradition of excellence in the production of live action drama series for children. However, from the outset international sales and investment were critical to production budgets due to the size of the local television market. This meant that series were also deliberately developed to appeal to overseas markets through the use of iconic Australian locations, including the beach, thus generating both private and cultural value.

2. THE BEACH AND WATER-BASED NARRATIVES IN AUSTRALIAN SCREEN CONTENT

Australia has 30,000km of coastline and Australians are enthusiastic coastal dwellers, with four out of five living close to the beach. The beach is significant in constructions of Australian national identity, considered a symbol of freedom, community and innocence (Bonner et al. 2001). It is also seen as a place of leisure and, in the film *Puberty Blues*, for example, as a "playground for youthful sexual pleasure and exhibitionism" (Wadell 2003: 46). Beaches are also regarded as a natural playground, although the most well-known of Australia's beaches— Surfers Paradise on the Gold Coast south of Brisbane, and Bondi and Manly in Sydney—are actually city beaches, thus beaches are both natural and urban spaces (Fiske et al. 1987). Although the closeness of Australia's beaches to cities and urban life prevents them from being seen as tropical getaways, the existence of wild surf beaches allows a dichotomy to exist in the construction of the Australian beach as location, that is, beaches are "urban *and* natural, civilized *and* primitive, spiritual *and* physical, culture *and* nature" (Fiske et al. 1987: 55).

Differing views exist about the portrayal of the beach in Australian film and television: for some it is mythic, beautiful and abstract, yet also ordinary space (Ellison 2013). As Emma Price notes, the sense of Australian national identity created through the beach location that evokes "innocence, freedom and community" is also an exportable construction, one that can be used to promote Australia, as an "idyllic, open and pleasurable space" through art, theatre and literature as well as television (Price 2010: 452). Thus the beach has become part of Australian imagination while helping producers develop and export a beach-centered "Brand Australia", through film and television including reality television such as *Bondi Rescue* (2006–) and soap opera *Home and Away* (1988–). The latter constructs a melodramatic social reality that centers on Australian beach culture, masculinity, sun-tanned healthy bodies and wholesomeness, which has been successfully marketed to an international audience for almost 30 years (Price 2010). Australian soap operas such as *Home and Away* and *Neighbors* (1985–) represent "every day" Australian lives in suburban, beachside settings, projecting an image of youth and vitality in locations that promote community and healthy lifestyles. The formula and its scenic backdrop sell well to audiences whose lifestyles are vastly different, such as those in the UK, with both using clichéd imagery to portray Australia

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as forever summer (Waddell 2003). It has been suggested that the attraction of both productions for UK audiences was "the depiction of classless, upwardly mobile society; of ordinary people with a high standard of living; of an attractive climate; and of a supportive and close community" (Monoghan 1994 in Cunningham and Jacka 1996: 118).

Clearly the beach as location has particular meanings for the majority of Australians, for whom Australia's coastline is an accessible and desirable home and its beaches a familiar place of leisure. The beach also has another set of meanings for television audiences in global markets, as noted above, for whom it suggests a particular construction of Australia with which many Australians might not be familiar. For example, Australia is a multi-cultural society yet *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* have been repeatedly criticized by commentators for their lack of ethnic and cultural diversity (Knox 2012; Ford 2015).

Whether or not it accurately reflects Australia, its stories and people, Australian screen content has certainly been effective in selling Australia generally as a tourism destination. A 20.5% increase in US visitors to Australia was recorded from 1981 to 1988, after the 1986 release of *Crocodile Dundee* for example, while in 2008, Tourism Australia deliberately ran a campaign around the release of Baz Luhrmann's movie *Australia* (Hudson and Ritchie 2006; Deloitte Access Economics 2016). Thus, as the 2012 BFI study of the UK film industry observes:

> the role that films play in promoting a country or a regional rather than a specific location is also important. Films not only generate interest in a country but also act to remind people about what the country has to offer—for example by showcasing scenery and the cultural offer (BFI report 2012: 66).

Further, recent research commissioned by Screen Australia estimates 144,000 international tourism visits annually can be associated with Australian films and TV, generating approximately $704 million in tourism expenditure each year (in comparison, total visitor spending in Australia was $107 billion in 2014–2015). International tourists are also estimated to have stayed an average of 1.7 extra nights, for the purpose of seeing Australian film and television locations, with an approximate annual value of $21 million. Tourism expenditure in Australia generated by film and television is therefore approximately $725 million a year, compared to the total value of export earnings for Australian film and TV screen content, which was $252 million in 2014-15 (Deloitte Access Economics 2016: 28).

Despite clear evidence of tourism revenues generated by Australian film and television locations, the value of the state-subsidised children's drama series discussed here is primarily considered to be cultural, with its production mandated by Australian media policy instrument the CTS. In 2011, 79% of Australians agreed that Australian film and TV stories make a vital contribution to the creation of Australian national identity (Screen Australia 2011) while 76% of Australian parents think it is important that their children watch local film and television content. They think this partly because Australian content is educational (61%) but also because of the contribution such content makes to children's cultural identity (Screen Australia 2011). Nonetheless, without state subsidies including direct funding and tax breaks, and international sales, the Australian children's screen production industry is entirely unsustainable; this tension between the national and the global plays out in the spaces of production, as the following case studies demonstrate.

3. **CASE STUDIES**

Australia's screen production companies are concentrated in the large cities of Melbourne and Sydney; nonetheless, the case studies we focus on here were shot in dispersed coastal locations in Australia, including Western Australia and Queensland. Queensland—which is twice the size of Texas, with a large rural population and small manufacturing sector—attracts productions partly because of the locations it offers, but also because of the Queensland government's sustained efforts to attract the screen production sector to the state by providing tax breaks and direct subsidies. These encouraged the 1988 establishment of the Warner Roadshow Studios, a partnership between Warner Brothers and Australia's Village Roadshow, which encompassed the associated Movie World theme park on the Gold Coast. The Studios succeeded in attracting some big budget international feature films but also drew US mini-series and telemovies to its "film friendly" location. In the late 1990s, Australian companies began to use it, as US demand declined amid a strengthening Australian dollar (Goldsmith et al. 2010).

3.1 ***H20: just add water* (2006–2010)**

Founded in 1988, Jonathan M. Shiff Productions (JMSP) has established a reputation for high quality children's programs that have been critically and commercially well re-

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ceived worldwide. From the outset, the natural beauty of the Australian landscape has been a significant component of his brand. Shiff's first children's drama, *Ocean Girl* (1994–1997) was a science fiction story set on Queensland's Great Barrier Reef and in the Daintree Rainforest. These exotic and eye-catching landscapes, and the series' powerful ecological message, were a great success for JMSP, grossing $50 million in export sales (Ward and Potter 2009). Their popularity caught the attention of German domestic broadcaster and international distributor, ZDF, which subsequently offered JMSP an output deal. The ongoing financing and creative relationship between Shiff, ZDF and Shiff's longstanding Australian broadcast partner, Network Ten, has proved to be hugely significant for JMSP. Almost twenty years of collaboration has spawned a number of popular, girl-skewed franchises including *The Elephant Princess* (2008–), *Lightning Point* (2012–) and—with most commercial success—H20: Just Add Water (2006–), which has been seen by more than 300 million children worldwide. Without exception, these series were commissioned by Network 10 to fill the network's C drama quotas, and would not have been made for Australian television otherwise. And yet most of their financing comes from their success outside Australia, with Shiff explaining in 2008: "You're either driven as a local business (and paying the negative costs) or operating as a global business with 12% from the local partner but the rest is international".

H20: Just add water is a live action children's fantasy series aimed at the tween market. After swimming in a hidden grotto, underneath the full moon, three teenage girls are transformed into mermaids every time they come into contact with water, a secret they have to conspire to hide from parents, friends and potential threats. The concept was instantly appealing to young girls, with its universal themes of fantasy, friendships and a secret "other" life. In creating a series based in a natural, marine world, Shiff was able to use beach and waterside settings that appeared aspirational and attractive to European audiences, reminiscent of warm holidays and endless tropical summers, but would have been impossibly difficult and costly for a European producer to achieve (Ward and Potter 2009). Indeed, Shiff sees that natural, sunny, water-based aesthetic as very much part of his visual signature, which has been described as "almost a fetishisation of what many non-Australian audiences perceive as appealingly exotic landscapes and lifestyles saturated with colour in contrast to the familiar, more subdued landscapes of home" (Ward and O'Regan 2011: 44).

Like much of JMSP's slate, *H20* was filmed on Queensland's Gold Coast—a popular tourist destination with both Australians and international visitors. The show incorporated all the state's spectacular subtropical environments of the beach, the reef and the rainforest as well as utilizing its glamorous urbanization, complete with marinas, cafes and esplanades. Shiff suggests that the main driver of *H20*'s international appeal is this aspirational, upmarket lifestyle, and that his German investor and distributor ZDF Enterprise's investment and influence played a significant role in the style and look of the series. As he explains:

> Our German partners often say "keep away from the high rises". I go—well that's the QI building and they say "well it looks like a Russian housing commission block of flats". (Shiff 2008)

The program also intentionally utilizes the colorful features of the Gold Coast's sea, sky and beaches. As director Colin Budds explains:

> I stayed away from pastels and beige and went for the primary colours and given that our biggest audience is in landlocked Europe, they love to see the crashing surf, blue skies and palm trees...I wanted to keep it energised, and I didn't want a lot of "suburban" or middle of the range lenses. It was "see the real sunny Gold Coast"...i.e. wide and tight without the middle ground. (in Corday 2007: 152–3)

The use of the Gold Coast as a location is also significant because of the availability of film production resources, specifically the custom-built studios at Village Roadshow that include three water tanks, including the largest water tank facility in Australia. These studios have been used for other water based narratives including the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise, *Nim's Island* (2008) and the third Narnia film, *Voyage of the Dawn Treader* (2010); their presence supports a local infrastructure of skilled technicians and crew.

In addition to the underwater filming facilities at Village Roadshow, Shiff used a local tourist attraction, Sea World Marine Park, with its tropical aquarium and trained dolphins. He managed to incorporate Sea World into the narrative of the show while also utilizing the practical resources it offered. Unlike *Ocean Girl*, where the underwater shots were filmed in open sea, many of *H20*'s sophisticated underwater sequences were filmed at Sea World in a more easily controlled aquatic environment.

Shiff has long recognized that the beachside aesthetic is a vital part of his brand, something that marks him out from

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some of his European competitors. He has cleverly packaged the tourist dream of Australian landscape, climate and lifestyle into a highly commercial brand of children's television. Shiff acknowledges however that while Australian audiences may engage with the location of *H2O: Just Add Water* as the Gold Coast (though the locality is never mentioned by name), half of the US audience probably think it is filmed in Florida. Hence the Gold Coast as production location functions as a non-specific, sunny, safe, charismatic place that resonates in different ways for Australians, US or European audiences. Its meaning is determined by its audience's own cultural backgrounds (Olsen 2004), which lends Shiff's series their liminal quality. However, despite their use of location to create their international appeal, his series are commissioned and funded on the grounds of their Australian cultural value.

3.2 ***Mortified*** **(2006–2007)**

Live action comedy *Mortified* was produced by the ACFT in partnership with Enjoy Entertainment. Set in the mythical town of Sunburn Beach, *Mortified* was filmed on Queensland's Gold Coast and premiered on Network Nine in 2006, running for 26 episodes as part of the network's C drama quota obligations. As with all local drama series, international pre-sales were integral to its funding, with the ACTF securing pre-sales from the UK's BBC, and Disney Channels in Australia and Asia. Since its launch, *Mortified* has had great international success, screening in 180 countries including Germany, France, the US and Canada. It still plays in Australia on public service children's channel ABCME. The series was also a critical success, winning the 2006 Australian Film Institute (AFI) Award for best children's drama and an International Emmy nomination in 2007, as well as being shortlisted for the prestigious Prix Jeunesse in 2008.

Mortified centers on Taylor Fry, an eleven-year-old girl with an over-active imagination, who dreams of escaping the embarrassing antics of her mortifying parents. Unlike other Australian children's dramas such as *H20,* the very concept of which is rooted in marine life, tropical islands and the glamorized beach landscape in which it is filmed, *Mortified* is a realistic story about everyday families. It is set in a fictional but nonetheless quintessentially Australian beachside suburb, with the majority of the action taking place in Taylor's school, local community and family home. The lifestyle portrayed in *Mortified* is typical of the urbanized coast in Australia, where the beach forms an integral part of children's lives. Taylor and her friends walk to school via the beach, socialize there and spend their leisure time swimming and surfing. They are portrayed as completely at ease in the ocean and outdoor environment, where the distant cityscape forms a grey backdrop against the blue water and skies, and golden sand.

The producers knew that a beach aesthetic was an advantage for an Australian children's series, as it would deliver cultural value while appealing to international buyers. Writer and series creator Angela Webber was based near Sydney's beaches in New South Wales and so was keen to locate the show close to home. However, the offer of production investment from Queensland state funding body the Pacific Film and Television Commission (now Screen Queensland) meant that the series was ultimately shot on location in Queensland. While ACTF producer Bernadette O'Mahony acknowledges that state agency finance was a big reason for re-locating the series, it was by no means the only benefit of Queensland, which also allowed access to affordable waterside housing. As she explains:

> *Mortified* was originally set in a beachside suburb in Sydney. If we'd left it there we probably wouldn't have had the location of the family's house right on the water like we did on the Gold Coast. (O'Mahony 2016)

Aware of the appeal of the beach location to landlocked European audiences, the production team capitalized on the Gold Coast setting, utilizing the beach and ocean backdrop wherever they could:

> When we moved the series to Queensland for financing reasons, we wanted to make the most of the location and the location brief was to find an average house, preferably near or with a view of the beach. Once we found that, we wanted to make the most of the balcony and view across the yard, so we used the exterior as well, and wrote more scenes in the front yard, on the deck rather than inside. (O'Mahony 2016)

This location choice for Taylor's family home had a large window with ocean views. The set designer also added a deck to the house, which looks out over the sea. The coast provided a stunning backdrop for both interior and exterior scenes, and thus the beach is unobtrusive, almost incidental and yet omnipresent. Each time the audience sees Taylor and her friends in "walk and talk" scenes on their way home from

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school, they amble along the seaside boardwalk. Occasional aerial shots emphasize the scale of the beach and coastline and the proximity of Taylor's home and suburb to the ocean. According to O'Mahony (2016):

> We always intended to have the walking and talking scenes to and from school along the beach or waterways to showcase the setting, but the house being literally opposite the sand was a bonus.

Despite the fact that the show was shot in very close proximity to Gold Coast locations used by Jonathan Shiff in *H20, Mortified* has a very different aesthetic. It is less glossy and more rooted in everyday Australian life. Where the cinematography of *H20* emphasizes the luxurious shine of the turquoise water and the sparkling marina, *Mortified's* look is less exotic, almost nostalgic. The children in faded school uniforms, with sandy school shoes, are seen walking along dusty boardwalks, representing a more realistic and conventional slice of Australian life.

Director Pino Amenta was also careful to maintain a contrast between the striking colors of the natural outdoor settings and the costumes, so that the viewers would not be overwhelmed and miss the show's emotional nuances. The characters' clothes were therefore deliberately chosen for their subdued tones, so they would contrast with the bright yellow of the beach and the bright blue of the sky. Amenta also agrees that the series' location provided an important tonal quality, stating:

> I don't think it would have worked as well in a big city. It feels like we're in a small town and with the high rises of Surfers Paradise in the distance, it almost has a yellow brick road kind of feel. The kids in the series are near a city but not part of it. And visually it is vast and open. (in ACTF n.d.)

The naturalistic portrayal of the Australian beach setting still proved appealing and aspirational to international audiences, even without the artifice and glamour of *H20*. But the appeal for domestic Australian audiences and the creation of a sense of the local were just as important to the producers:

> The location wasn't chosen specifically with the international market in mind, but it certainly gave it international appeal. That ideal of living right on the sand is aspirational in Australia as well, and worked both domestically and internationally. It was always written as the parents being old surfers and hippies so the beach was always going to play a part wherever we shot it. That aspirational location and lifestyle became another character in the series, and wherever possible we made sure the series had that sense of place. (O'Mahony 2016)

Not only did the Gold Coast location provide important state subsidies, according to O'Mahony (2016) the availability of highly skilled creative labor, due to the proximity of Village Roadshow studios and the infrastructure associated with the facility, was an additional benefit. Thus it was a combination of financial incentives, accessible beachside settings and access to infrastructure and creative labor that cumulatively led to the decision to locate *Mortified* on Queensland's Gold Coast. Nonetheless, since *Mortified* was made, state government screen production subsidies have been reduced, which combined with a smaller labor supply has reduced the gold Coast's competiveness as a location. According to O'Mahony:

> Queensland's not as busy as it used to be. It had a good run with kids TV, with Jonathan (Shiff). But they don't have a lot of money at Screen Queensland now. From a casting point of view when we did *Mortified up there, we did bring quite a few cast from interstate. The pool of people isn't as big cast-wise, and it does cost you to bring people up. The further you get from Melbourne and Sydney the more you will be importing people and there's a cost to that. (2013)*

3.3 ***Lockie Leonard*** **(2007–2010)**

Live action drama *Lockie Leonard* was adapted from the books by Australian author Tim Winton. The first series was commissioned in 2007, also by Network Nine, and was produced by Goalpost Pictures. The series was distributed internationally by the ACTF, and while series one secured a small international pre-sale from pay TV operator Jetix, series two was picked up by CBBC in the UK. As well as winning a 2008 Logie and a 2007 AFI award, the show was also nominated for a BAFTA for Best International Children's Drama Series in 2007. Both the first and second series have been internationally successful, selling in more than 170 countries.

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The original books are set in a small surfing community called Angelus which is a fictionalized version of the Western Australian town of Albany, where Tim Winton spent some of his childhood. The hero, Lockie, is a surfing fan who moves to Angelus with his family and has to start at a new high school in the solitary coastal settlement. Life seems pretty bleak for Lockie, until he realizes that Angelus has some of the best surf in the world.

Tim Winton is one of Australia's most celebrated contemporary novelists and is widely recognized for his depiction of contemporary Australian culture, his deep-seated affection for his homeland, and his passion for the ocean and surfing. Many of his stories are set in his home state of Western Australia (WA) and utilize its typically beautiful, remote and, at times, dangerous landscape. This wild and spectacular scenery is rarely seen in television drama, but the show's producer, Kylie du Fresne, felt that it was important to stay true to the specific setting of Winton's original book:

> With *Lockie Leonard,* we didn't have a lot of resources. But we felt it's Tim Winton, his landscape and the feel and the look of his landscape. He's such a visceral writer; we have to create a series that captures that, as well as the drama. (2013)

Despite *Mortified's* sunny beach aesthetic, the high rises of the urbanized Gold Coast can nonetheless be glimpsed in the background. But Angelus presented a very different vision of the iconic Australian beach location. While Lockie and his family live among a starkly isolated yet close-knit community, these beaches are untamed surf beaches, away from the urban sprawl of the Gold Coast. The remote locations echo the series' themes of transition, marginalization and displacement, as Lockie attempts to settle into his new life just as he enters puberty. While the series speaks directly to Australian children, its international investors did worry it was too Australian. As du Fresne explains:

> We had that international voice of people that we trusted saying "we love it because it's unique but don't make it so Australian because it's not accessible". So we did have a little bit of that pressure, they had script approval and other normal approvals. (du Fresne 2013)

The evocative settings also complement the series' acutely observed emotional narrative, which fearlessly tackles themes that might normally be considered too confronting for children's television (Potter 2015). Stories such as Lockie's puberty and wet dreams, his brother's bed wetting, his best friend's family breakdown and his mother's fragile mental health are all dealt with in an honest, uncompromising style, which reflects the stripped back rawness of the undeveloped landscape. The family home is shabby and rundown, its interior dated and a little gloomy. The house is always threatening to slide into the swamp, its temporary nature a stark contrast with the power of the ocean and the pounding surf, where Lockie spends so much of his time.

In addition to stunning locations, Western Australia also offers production companies like Goalpost Pictures considerable financial support from its screen funding and development agency, Screen West. Screen West remains committed to encouraging screen production in the state and will offer comparatively significant financial incentives to companies that will film there, particularly projects that are deemed to be Western Australian stories. Despite the combination of beautiful, under-used locations and healthy financial support from the local state agency, Western Australia is rarely used as a location and Lockie is a notable exception in recent years.

A number of factors contribute to its lack of popularity as a production location. Unlike Queensland, where the presence of the Village Roadshow studios on the Gold Coast has attracted a stream of big budget Hollywood films and local TV productions and thus created an infrastructure, Western Australia does not have the same framework in terms of skilled labor and facilities. In practice, this means that many key crew members have to be shipped in from interstate, which can have a significant impact on a program's budget, as du Fresne discovered:

> We shot on location in Albany, which is where the books were set. So there was a huge strain on resources, having to accommodate an entire cast and crew in a remote location. And when you film in the west you have to import a lot of stuff from the east. So we were under huge budget pressure. (du Fresne 2013)

Since *Lockie* was filmed in Albany in 2007, Screen West have enforced conditions for accessing their financial support: all production companies from outside of the state have to be in a genuine official treaty or co-production agreement with a credited Western Australian producer if they wish to apply for significant production finance. While the policy is

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designed to ensure that WA production companies directly benefit economically, in practice, satisfying the conditions can prove onerous. With any co-production, there is the challenge of aligning with a partner with similar creative tastes but in WA, where there are limited production partners to pair with, the difficulties are increased. There are the additional complications of co-developing projects with partners that are on opposite sides of the country. As a result, *Lockie Leonard* is one of only a handful of internationally successful children's dramas to be produced in Western Australia and one of the last TV drama productions before Screen West's change in policy. The state's geographical remoteness, the necessity of partnering with a local production company to qualify for significant local financial support and the cost of transporting and accommodating key crew from outside the state can outweigh the generous economic benefits offered by the state agency.

3.4 *Dance Academy* (2010–2013)

Dance Academy is a live action drama series aimed at 10–14 year olds that ran for three seasons (2010–2013) on the Australian public service broadcaster ABCME. This dedicated children's channel was launched in 2009 and *Dance Academy* quickly became one of its most popular series. The show was produced by Melbourne-based production company, Werner Films, with the mentorship and support of the ACTF. *Dance Academy* was filmed entirely in studios and on location in Sydney and was set in the world of a fictional ballet school, the National Academy of Dance. Country girl Tara arrives in the big city to pursue her dream of becoming a principal ballerina, and the three series track her rites of passage through the school: her friendships, romances and competitive rivalries.

When she set up the company in 2008, producer Joanna Werner had already enjoyed a fruitful relationship with the German public service broadcaster ZDF, a result of the seven years she had worked as a producer with Jonathan Shiff at JMSP. ZDF's commercially successful relationship with JMSP had demonstrated to them that there was both a German domestic, and wider international appetite, for high end, Australian-produced children's live action drama series with a culturally specific setting. With a license fee from the ABC and additional finance from Screen Australia and state agencies, ZDF came on board as a pre-sale with ZDF's international distribution company, ZDF Enterprises, taking rest of world rights on the series.

Werner's creative partnership with the German broadcaster proved to be influential because although the company was based in Werner's home town, Melbourne, ZDF were keen to utilize a different, aspirational Australian landscape, the waterside city of Sydney with its iconic Opera House. They asked for production to be moved, as Werner explains:

> ZDF said they'd come on board if it was shot in Sydney. And I decided to really embrace that. And we didn't really feel that any shows had thoroughly embraced Sydney and used Sydney as a character. New York is so celebrated in shows like *Gossip Girl* and *Sex and the City*. We decided to take that approach and have the Harbour Bridge and the Opera House in shot as much as possible. We centered the show in the most picturesque parts of Sydney. We didn't just do it for the international market. I think Australian audiences want to see that too. (Werner 2013)

The ability to shoot in these iconic locations was due to the practical and financial support of the local state agency, Screen New South Wales, which had recently reduced location fees for screen producers in an attempt to increase the use of locations such as the Opera House and Sydney Harbour.

When compared to younger 8–12-year-old audience-targeted shows such as *Mortified* and *H20, Dance Academy* is an older-skewing brand, hence Werner's comparison with a sophisticated, urban teen title like *Gossip Girl*. Younger audiences might find the laidback Australian beachside aesthetic appealing, but as those audiences mature, an edgier, fashionable, metropolitan yet still quintessentially Australian landscape proves popular with the teenage market.

As well as being perceived as a cool destination for young Australians, Sydney is often the city that teenage Europeans dream of visiting on gap years and backpacking holidays, and has always been associated with the color blue in its marketing and branding materials (Gammack and Donald 2006). *Dance Aca*demy fueled this fantasy with its central cast of teens, staying in boarding houses far from parental control, having romantic interactions under blue skies on a hillside above the crystal waters of Sydney Harbor, with ferries chugging through the background. Werner was also fortunate that Sydney was in a quiet production phase, so she had access to a large pool of creative labor. As she explains:

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> We got the best people. Our head of makeup was Academy Award nominated. Our Director of Photography was Martin McGrath who is an icon and shot so many wonderful features and series. I didn't have established relationships because I hadn't worked in Sydney before but because Series One was such a collaborative success and everyone enjoyed it, the majority of crew stayed for all three series. (Werner 2013)

The spectacular settings, which play directly into a teenage fantasy of what life in glamorous Sydney would be like, combined with the high end production values and the beautifully choreographed dance sequences meant *Dance Academy* was a huge critical and commercial success, both domestically and overseas. The show is currently screening in over 160 countries including Nickelodeon in the UK, Teen Nick in the US and ZDF in Germany. It has won multiple honors including two Australian Logies and was twice nominated for an International Emmy award. A theatrical movie, shot on location in Sydney and New York, was released in April 2017.

4. **DISCUSSION**

These case studies reveal how Australia's landscapes, beach and waterside settings, and sunny climate offer significant natural assets for screen producers charged with achieving the goals of national cultural representation while creating sustainable funding models for their children's drama series. By speaking to leading producers of children's television about their work, we have been able to see how the various elements that make up the screen production ecology intersect and interact in the screen production industry. The aesthetic advantages offered by Australian waterside locations are clearly not enough, on their own, to sustain the work of children's television producers. More pragmatic considerations including the availability of state financial support also clearly influences the ways in which producers use waterside locations, as does the accessibility of production infrastructure and local supplies of skilled creative labor.

It is important to note that three of the four case studies analyzed here were commissioned by Australia's commercial networks in order to fulfill their annual quota obligations for C drama series. This means that their primary value is intended to be cultural, through the contribution they make to the goals of Australian national cultural representation. Nonetheless their popularity with European audiences may well contribute to tourism revenues, as part of a broader body of Australian screen content, while these sales also provide vital funding for producers.

Unfortunately, since the late 2000s, Australia's commercial networks (which exert considerable influence in the production ecology) have radically scaled back their live action drama commissions, choosing instead to fill their quotas with less expensive animations. These are frequently co-produced with international partners and are often not even based on Australian stories and will neither look nor sound Australian. Unfortunately, without a local broadcaster attached to their live action drama children's series, Australian producers are unable to access any local funding subsidies, rendering their liminal, iconic series financially unviable. The children's television industry in Australia has contracted sharply as a result. Australian locations, and Australian beaches, have therefore become much less visible in local and international children's television markets since the late 2000s. Thus soap operas like *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* have become increasingly important markers of Australian culture for non-Australian audiences, despite their much criticized lack of diversity.

The future of children's live action drama series like our case studies is now far from secure, despite the very considerable critical and commercial success they have enjoyed in international television markets and the cultural value they deliver to Australian children. Of course, Australia is not alone in facing challenges in ensuring supply of quality children's television drama that situates children in their own cultural context. It provides, however, a useful lesson in the need for media policy to adapt quickly to digital regimes, and in the challenges facing independent screen producers as they struggle to compete in fiercely competitive, global media markets.

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BERLIN IN TELEVISION DRAMA SERIES: A MEDIATED SPACE

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ABSTRACT
Since the early days of film Berlin and the film studios in its suburbs was an important site of production. Signature films for film historians such as *Metropolis* and The *Blue Angel* were shot at the UFA studios in Babelsberg. Throughout its history Berlin was and is a popular place for media productions with the city functioning as a text, full of meaning that turns into branded value. The article will investigate the complex relationship of historical and societal events and Berlin as a production site and an imaginary landscape respectively cityscape. Based on the analysis of national and international drama series we will argue that the increasing importance of Berlin as production site and location goes hand in hand with an increasing mediated imagination of the city as a cinematic respectively televisual space that is able to represent past events such as the Nazi regime and the cold war and actual events such as organised crime, counter terrorist activities, and an intercultural life in a modern metropolis.

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Since the early days of film, Berlin, with its film studios in the suburbs, was an important site of production. Signature films such as *Metropolis* (1927) and *The Blue Angel* (*Der blaue Engel*, 1930) were shot at the UFA studios in Babelsberg. *Berlin – Symphony of a Great City* (*Berlin – Die Sinfonie der Großstadt*, 1927) showed scenes from the streets of Berlin and provided the basis for future representations of the city. The depiction of iconic places such as the Reichstag or the Berlin overhead metro became increasingly important and prevalent as motifs for establishing shots. After World War II, in a divided Germany, the production site in Babelsberg (East Germany) was turned into the DEFA studios, the main production site for film- and television making of the GDR. Other production sites such as the CCC studios maintained their importance for the production of films in West Berlin. After reunification, Berlin and the film studios in Babelsberg once again became a fascinating location and production site for national and international film and television production companies.

In this article we argue that Berlin is a filmic and televisual cityscape in which the entire history of the 20th century is part of the contemporary mediated imaginary city. Historical images of the city are sedimented layer by layer, thereby establishing specific brand images of Berlin, a city that is always in flux and flow. The multi-layered images of Berlin, we further argue, have become a cultural and commemorative resource for national and international audiences, attracting even more national and international productions and thus turning the brand image into a brand value. While political decisions, economic development and direct and indirect funding also impact on this development, the increasing importance of Berlin as a production site and location goes hand in hand with an increasing mediated imagination of the city as a cinematic or televisual space. Berlin as a mediated space is able to represent 20th century history such as the Nazi regime and the Cold War as well as current themes of the new millennium.

Our argumentation is based on a historical account of Berlin as a site and setting for cinematic and televisual productions as well as Berlin itself as a resource for mediated locations and images. By considering a number of recent television series such as *Berlin Babylon* (2017-), *Berlin Station* (2016-) and *Weissensee* (2010), we will illuminate how the historical images inflect contemporary productions with meaning.

1. MAPPING BERLIN

Berlin has been the setting and production site for numerous narratives between the two World Wars, in the immediate post-World War II period, during the Cold War and reunification, as well as more recent periods of globalised terrorism and late capitalism. In the course of creating this multifaceted image, Berlin itself has changed its status several times. It has not only lost (and regained) its role as Germany's capital, but also its unofficial status as vibrant open and metropolitan city. From an open world capital in the 1920s, it became the center of Nazi power in the 1930s, but was destroyed and bombed out with the end of World War II. Afterwards, Berlin became a marginalized enclave with the erection of the Berlin Wall (1961–1989), but – reflecting its continual process of self-reinvention – the city has recently regained its metropolitan status. While Berlin does not have the same economic power as other world capitals such as New York, Tokyo or Paris, it has become increasingly popular and attractive for young and creative people from all over the world. Since the former mayor, Klaus Wowereit, declared Berlin as "poor but sexy" in 2004, the slogan became the subcultural brand image of Berlin, a city lacking money but offering its inhabitants low living expenses, an amazing nightlife and a sense of being "it". Berlin, to follow Stijn Reijnders (2011), has built up a brand image. This brand image attracts again (in liaison with targeted economic promotion) a vibrant art and media scene, with film, television, gaming and publishing industries. According to Global Startup Ecosystem Growth Index, Berlin was the fastest growing Start-Up Ecosystem in 2015, ranking meanwhile at place seven as one of the world's top ten.[1] This will most likely influence Berlin's image of Berlin in the near future. Yet, instead of maintaining a stable image, the image of Berlin is characterised by change. Instability is characteristic because the state of instability is not an exception but rather the rule, with Berlin being a city "always to become and never to be" (Scheffler 1910 in Ingram and Sark 2012: 6).

Eichner and Waade (2015) have argued that locality in film and television is significant because it offers multiple points of audience attachment. Locality is communicated in audiovisual narratives by representing the local colour of a specific location. It includes the representation of place with landscapes, iconic buildings, or flora and fauna. It includes the

1 http://startup-ecosystem.compass.co/ser2015/ (30.11.2016)

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local language with its specific vernacular(s). It includes the representation of cultural practices, the manners and traditions of everyday life and the resulting social discourses. And finally, it also includes the "spill-over" of narrative meaning into the real world, when, for example, the filmic or televisual location intersperses with the "real world", and fictional film locations in a real city turn into tourist attractions and commodities.

Berlin, like Reijnders' "guilty landscapes" of crime fiction, has been "injected" with a multitude of narrative meanings and has become a "brand value" for other media productions that draw on the images of Berlin: as a historically significant place under the Nazi regime, as a subcultural punk and drug swamp of the 1980s, as a site of reunification and Europeanisation in the post-wall era and much else besides. Based on Lefebvre's theories on "the production of place" (Lefebvre 1974/1991), Eichner and Waade (2015) have elaborated on the complex intertwining of the physical place, the imagined place and the mediated place. The actual physical place is – via a mediation process – presented as the mediated place. Taking the example of Berlin, primary carriers of Berlin as an audiovisual space are its iconic places such as the Brandenburg Gate, the Reichstag building, and the television tower at the Alexanderplatz. Less iconic but no less significant are the streets of Berlin, with their backyards and the specificities attached to the particular areas. When Berlin becomes familiar to the non-resident audience primarily by means of the mediated place, it is mediatised into an imagined place. The process by which the concept of the imagined place influences the perception and the performance of audiences in the actual physical place is labelled hyper-mediatization – for example by visiting iconic places or by following in the footsteps of your favourite character as a film and television tourist (for instance tracing the movements of Christiane F. at the former Berlin main station Zoologischer Garten in *Christiane F.*, original title: *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*" by Uli Edel 1981).

The aspects of local colour described above are effective throughout the whole triangular processes by which a relationship is created between the physical place, the imagined place, and the mediated place. But the image of Berlin cannot be traced solely on the basis of its present status and image. As elaborated above, the multilayered historical images of Berlin from inter-war times until the present day constitute a rich narrative pool.

2. **BERLIN AS A FILM CITY – A BRIEF HISTORY**

Buildings, places, and memories that become attached to them are part of the grand narrative of Berlin in the 20th and 21st centuries. Film culture joins the discourse of the grand narrative of Berlin by incorporating the historical layers into the filmic story. However, as we want to argue, while one historical layer might dominate the narrative, the other layers are, through cultural memories, always also efficacious in the filmed city landscape.

Berlin has been a film city since the advent of film itself. "Filmmakers have been present in Berlin ever since the beginning of cinema", states Saryusz-Wolska (2008: 225). In the 1920s there were at least twelve film studios in Berlin and its suburbs. Several of the most famous German films of the 1920s were shot in Berlin. *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (*Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, 1920) was made in the Lixie studio in Berlin-Weißensee. *Nosferatu – A Symphony of Terror* (*Nosferatu – Eine Symphonie des Grauens*, 1922) was produced in the JOFA studios in Berlin-Johannisthal. Films with the famous Danish actress Asta Nielsen such as *Mata Hari* (1920) or *The Joyless Street* (*Die freudlose Gasse*, 1925), in which Nielsen is accompanied by Greta Garbo, were shot in the Eiko studios, film studio Staaken, Rexfilm studios in Berlin-Wedding and most prominently in the Babelsberg studios in the southwest of Berlin. Large and elaborate productions such as *Metropolis* were filmed in more than one studio, namely in Staaken and Babelsberg, and *The Blue Angel* was shot in the studios in Berlin-Tempelhof and Babelsberg. Babelsberg, built in 1912, became the most important German production site until the 1940s. The first film made in Babelsberg was *Death Dance* (*Der Totentanz*, 1912), a 34-minute film featuring Asta Nielsen. The first two studios in Babelsberg were glasshouses before studios with artificial lighting were built in the 1920s. Some famous films were made here, such as *The Last Laugh* (*Der letzte Mann*, 1926), the above-mentioned *Metropolis*, and *The Blue Angel*.

After World War II the now GDR-owned studio in Babelsberg was home to the DEFA film studios, where most of the East German films were shot. In West Berlin some studios such as the former Ufa studio Tempelhof were still used for film and television production, but new studios were also founded such as the CCC studio in Berlin-Spandau and the film studios at Havelchaussee in Berlin-Pichelsberg. After reunification, the Babelsberg studios went to the French company Compagnie Générale des Eaux (later Vivendi), which tried

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to rebuild a prominent location for international productions. However, only the production *The Pianist* (2002) gained international attention. More successful than the actual films was an exterior movie set that was built in 1998 for the German film production *Sonnenallee* (1998). This film set was called "Berliner Straße" and covered 7,000 square metres, showing typical Berlin streets with old residential houses. Between 1998 and 2013, when removed, the "Berliner Straße" hosted manifold projects: in Roman Polanski's *The Pianist* it portrays the Warsaw Ghetto, whereas for *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) Quentin Tarantino had "transformed the 'Berliner Straße' into a cineaste's version of a Parisian street corner. The complete façade of a Parisian cinema was specifically erected to set the scene for the American director's alternative end to World War II." (Wedel 2012: 42) With the end of tenancy the movie set had to be removed. The new studio to be built on the land owned by the Studio Babelsberg AG was only fully financed and entered the construction phase with Tom Tykwer's most recent prestige project, the television series *Babylon Berlin*, which portrays Berlin in the 1920s. The new studio set reopened as "Neue Berliner Straße" (New Berlin Street) in May 2016.

When Vivendi sold the studios in 2004 to the producers Carl Woebcken and Christoph Fisser, the new owners transformed the studios into a publicly traded company, the Studio Babelsberg AG. Since then many international films have been shot in Babelsberg such as *V for Vendetta* (2005), *The Reader* (2008), *The International* (2009), *Inglourious Basterds*" (2009), *Unknown* (2011), *Monuments Men* (2014), *Grand Budapest Hotel* (2014), *The Hunger Games – Mockingjay 1+2* (2014/2015), *Bridge of Spies* (2015), *The First Avenger: Civil War* (*Captain America: Civil War*, 2016), and finally US television series such as *Homeland* (2011-) and "Berlin Station".

The actual production landscape in Berlin and Babelsberg has not evolved by chance, nor is the city's historical, multifaceted image solely responsible for the attractiveness of Berlin as a film and television production location. It is rather the outcome of political decisions in the region which made the film and television industry a key factor in economic development (Krätke 2002). International productions were enabled by changes in Germany's film funding system, which made it easier for international productions to access funding. As a result, Studio Babelsberg is the co-producer of most of the movies shot here, causing the local funding body, the Medienboard Berlin-Brandenburg (MBB), to support these international productions. For instance, the MBB contributed one million Euros to the production of *Homeland*. The financial support can be regarded as one major driving source for the increasing attractiveness of Berlin/Babelsberg as a location. But the fact that Berlin is "a result of [...] history of Europe in a nutshell" (Saryusz-Wolska 2008: 225) is also a reason for the prolonged interest of international filmmakers in Berlin, since, "[B]ased on this place, one can portray European modernism, totalitarian ideals, the Cold War, the fall of communism and the development of a unified Europe." (ibid: 225). Many of the film examples above focus on a narrative that is linked to the history of Berlin: *The Pianist*, *The Reader*, *Inglorious Basterds*, and *Monuments Men* are connected to the narrative of the Nazi regime and World War II; *Bridge of Spies* and *The Lives of Others* (*Das Leben der Anderen*, 2006) – a film that was shot on original locations in Berlin – tell stories that take place during the Cold War in a divided Germany. Thrillers such as *The International* and even more so *Unknown* use Berlin as plot location and setting, thereby loosely connecting to Berlin's real history and memory of cold war agents and spies. Kraenzle accordingly summarizes that Berlin "has secured its place in history, not just as a centre of cinematic innovation, but as a site of political and cultural upheaval and a mirror of the turbulent twentieth century" (2012: 107).

3. **BERLIN AS A TELEVISION CITY**

The advent of television changed the circumstances of a divided Berlin as a site of production and as a cinematic cityscape. Whereas GDR series such as *Hochhausgeschichten* (1980-1981), *Johanna* (1987-1989), and *Zahn um Zahn* (1985-1988) portrayed East Berlin as the capital of the GDR and highlighted the ideology of socialist personalities, the West German federal Public Service Broadcaster SFB, located in West Berlin, produced drama series which portrayed the life of West Berliners in a divided city and focused on elderly main characters until the end of the 1980s.

In *Liebling Kreuzberg* (1986-1988) the famous former GDR actor Manfred Krug plays the lawyer Robert Liebling, who cares about the worries and needs of the common people. In his cases he deals with shoplifting, burglary, suicide attempts, assault, official defamation, fraud and disabilities. A cross-section of the Berlin population is featured by these cases. The first season was set in the Kreuzberg district, a quarter at the heart of Berlin, bordered towards East Germany not only by the Wall but also by the river Spree. The existence of the Berlin wall that was enclosing Kreuzberg is not explicitly negotiated or problematized, but it is often presented as part

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of the background or subject to the characters' dialogues. For example, in the third episode of the first season the attorney knocks on the wall, ironically proclaiming it to be "German work of value". In the fourth season, broadcast in 1994, and so five years after the fall of the Wall, the chancellery moved from Kreuzberg to Berlin-Mitte. As a result, pictures of the new centre of Berlin with iconic buildings such as the Berlin Cathedral and the television tower at Alexanderplatz were now featured. The series narrates Berlin from the perspective of the inhabitants of the district of Kreuzberg and later the districts of Mitte and its northern neighbour district Prenzlauer Berg. The overall locality of Berlin, represented by its iconic buildings, is broken down to the level of individual districts and their inhabitants by means of the 'Berlinisch' vernacular, manners and cultural practices. The series *Praxis Bülowbogen* (1987-1996) is set in a corner of Schöneberg where the subway turns into an overhead metro – an iconic image of Berlin since the 1920s. The doctor Peter Brockmann takes care of all his patients, from toddlers to old age pensioners and from pregnant young women to homeless people. The patients' lives are presented in contrast to the life of the doctor's family. What is depicted here is not Berlin as a whole but the neighbourhood of Schöneberg with its inhabitants and village-like structures.

Other national and federal German public broadcasters picked up on stories of Berlin. Werner Fassbinder's renowned drama series *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1980) placed its story in Berlin. Fassbinder based the series on a novel by Alfred Döblin from 1929, a novel that had already been successfully adapted into a movie in 1931. In fourteen episodes the story of the ex-con Franz Biberkopf is told, a man who repeatedly and inescapably gets involved in criminal activities and ends up in a psychiatric clinic. Berlin life in the 1920s is told from the perspective of petty criminals in a criminal environment. The series has been described as "a fascinating, highly imaginative vision of the city and people, a dark journey through the 'dark night of the soul'" that successfully adapted Döblin's novel.[2] The famous iconic buildings of the city are not the only places that are featured: small streets with typical Berlin tenement houses, which often have several backyards, are also depicted. In this way, the series develops a picture of the city characterised on the one hand by the everyday life of petty criminals, and on the other by iconic buildings that embody different stages and layers of German history.

After reunification the role of Berlin as a location and production site for television changed. The new Berlin Republic started to regain some of its former vibrancy of the 1920s and transformed itself into an open metropolis again, becoming a popular place for young people, artists and creatives from all over the world. It is the "capital of knowledge and culture" coined by a strong cultural sector, media industries, and education, making it into a first-tier "global media city" (Krätke 2003). Concurrently, Berlin offers a vibrant nightlife always accompanied by an aura of loucheness, non-conformity and opportunity, a topic that has been picked up in Dominik Graf's *In the Face of Crime* (*Im Angesicht des Verbrechens*, 2010). Here the milieu of the Berlin Russian mafia serves as dense background where the crime case unfolds. The new Berlin is depicted in lighter drama series such as "Berlin Berlin" and comedies such as *Turkish for Beginners* (*Türkisch für Anfänger*, 2005-2008), which place young female characters at the heart of the stories and highlight the intercultural life of Berlin. Alongside public service broadcasters, commercial broadcasters also started to produce drama series in Berlin. Since 1992, the longest running daily soap, *Good Times, Bad Times* (*Gute Zeiten, schlechte Zeiten*, 1992-), has been shot in Berlin and the studios in Babelsberg (Moran 2000). As well, *That's Life* (*Verliebt in Berlin*, 2005-2007, adaption of *Yo soy Betty, la fea*) and *Verrückt nach Clara* (2006) both rely on the new Berlin as convincing setting for the diverse life encounters of their young protagonists.

Berlin serves as the location for many domestic television series, most prominent when it comes to the crime and police genre.*KDD – Berlin Crime Squad* (*KDD – Kriminaldauerdienst*, 2007-2009) is a renowned and prize winning police series set in Berlin Kreuzberg. Also, *Wolff's Turf* (*Wolffs Revier*, 1992-2006 & 2012), *Die Straßen von Berlin* (1995-2000), *Der Kriminalist* (2006-), and *Abschnitt 40* (2001-2006) are located in the German capital, portraying cases from a fictive Berlin underground milieu with a touch of Berlin local colour. The popular series do not draw deliberately on Berlin history but rather use contemporary images of Berlin as metropolitan location of drugs, prostitution and organized crime, and use the reunification process between East and West Berlin as a telling, meaningful setting for a primarily domestic audience.

Berlin is also the host of numerous hospital drama series and soaps. In the footsteps of *Praxis Bülowbogen*, series such as *Auf Herz und Nieren* (2012), *Für alle Fälle Stefanie* (1995-2005), or *Klinik am Alex* (2008-2009) portray in dramatic or humorous ways the everyday life of hospital work with the city of Berlin merely serving as background scenery. Genre

2 http://www.zweitausendeins.de/filmlexikon/?sucheNach=titel&wert=55266 (21.11.16)

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hybrids, such as the recently aired historical series *Charité* (2017), differ inasmuch as they invoke a more deeply historical Berlin, with "Charité" depicting the city in the year 1888. The story follows a young woman who in pursuing her passion for medicine meets some of the founding fathers of its modern practice: Rudolph Virchow, Robert Koch, and Emil von Behring. Berlin here is purely imaginative: the series offers a fictional evocation of a passed time, and at the same time the fictional evocation of an imagined place, as filming takes place not in Berlin itself but in the capital of the Czech Republic, Prague.

Most of the early representations of Berlin in film and in television series deal with an *inner* image of the city. At the same time, they initiate the mediated image of the city. They contribute to the mediation of collective memories which are connected to the (political and cultural) history of the 20th century. It was after the unification that the mediated image of Berlin became an imagined city, a city where 20th century history is present in locations, sets and iconic buildings, and a city with a brand value.

4. **BERLIN IMAGES**

Similarly, Huyssen argues that "there is no other western city that bears the marks of twentieth century history as intensely and self-consciously as Berlin" (Huyssen 2013: 51). This history is visible in the architecture of the city, represented not only by distinctive buildings but also by the map of the city and related street life. Berlin was at the centre of the Weimar Republic and the Roaring Twenties – impressively pictured in the film *Cabaret* (1972). It was also a central location during the Nazi regime and the Holocaust, and in the Berlin Wall provided the central emblem of the post-war German partition. It also played a major role in the Cold War, with totalitarian regimes of the East colliding with democratic regimes of the West, and the city witnessed the fall of the Wall and the end of communism. And finally, Berlin was reunified and Europeanised, starting with West Berlin being the European Capital of Culture in 1988, and developing into a European metropolis at the gateway between Eastern and Western Europe in the last two decades.

Berlin in the 21st century is a city where history accretes, layer by layer. "The unique nature of Berlin is its complex history and how this has played upon its current position" (Gittus 2002: 112; see also Neill 2005). The cityscape of Berlin narrates the history of the 20th century in different ways. Whereas the Speer architecture tells a real and imagined story of the Nazi regime, the new architecture – such as Potsdamer Platz with its skyscrapers, and the transparent dome of the Reichstag building designed by Norman Foster – tell the story of a new Berlin that has overcome the past. "Thus debate over how to shape the new Berlin is concerned with superseding the past and convincing Germany as well as the rest of the world that the new Germanness is emancipated from previous versions." (Shapiro 2010: 429) The architecture represents the fact that "the phenomenon of Berlin as Germany's new capital and seat of government does not wish to draw crude associations suggesting that the past can directly affect the present and future of German identity." (Gittus 2002: 93) Berlin tries to narrate the (horrible) past as memory – for instance in the Holocaust Monument or the GDR museum. But the link between past and present is always visible – even if in forms of absence or emptiness, such as empty spaces that speak to the bombing of Berlin during World War II, or the border between East and West. This relation between the visible and the absent is characteristic for the role of Berlin in the national identity of Germany:

> Berlin is susceptible to an analysis of the link between past, present and place in the formation of German national identity for several reasons: first, the resonance of German history is inveterate in the existing buildings which exist; secondly, the divided city was hosting two ideologically opposing regimes, which attempted to create competing realities in one city space; thirdly, those areas – empty throughout most of the 1990s – which were occupied by properties used in the past are also sites of remembrance or forgetting; and, finally, the major physical legacy of the 20th century has bequeathed an unprecedented amount of free inner-city land to Government, developers and investors (Gittus 2002: 96).

The most prominent example of such a Berlin place is the former wasteland and 'death strip' at Potsdamer Platz, which was devoid of buildings between 1961 and 1995. As a testimony to the consequences of World War II and a divided Germany, Potsdamer Platz came to represent a new German national self-concept and reunification, starting with the Roger Waters concert *The Wall* in 1990 and developing into its current state with the Sony Center as an architectural symbol of global capital. Huyssen warns in this context that it

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is exactly this process of filling the voids that endangers the memories of Berlin: "this whole area between Brandenburger Gate and Potsdamer Platz (...) was a void filled with history and memory, all of which will be erased by the new constructions." (1997: 75)

In fact, it can be argued that the new Berlin, the Berlin Republic, is still in the process of filling the voids; it is a city characterised by construction as such. Berlin has gained the reputation of being the world's biggest construction site, iconically represented by the immensely popular red Info-Box that was present between 1995 and 2001 at Potsdamer Platz. And more recently, the enormous, prestigious, and yet disastrous project to build the new Berlin Brandenburg Airport is another example of the fact that Berlin is constantly under construction.[3] New constructions, however, do not necessarily mean that memories are lost – they may instead become part of new layers in the city's history. Instead of keeping the past preserved, Berlin becomes and develops in multiple layers. Berlin as an imagined city represents 20th century history, and is always a city in progress as it turns into a vivid modern metropolis of visual and popular arts.

5. BERLIN AS MEDIATED AND IMAGINED LOCATION AND PRODUCTION SITE

Meanwhile Berlin has become an important location and space for national and international contemporary drama series, as well as an important mediated historical space. For instance, the Roaring Twenties are central to the narrative of the television series "Babylon Berlin", based on the bestselling novels by Volker Kutscher and built around the character of Gereon Rath, who investigates "the whole Panopticon of an exciting world metropolis amid drugs and politics, murder and art, emancipation and extremism".[4] The successful miniseries *Ku'damm 56* (2016) addresses the German post-war era and the 'Wirtschaftswunder' (the German "economic miracle") of the 1950s in Berlin-Charlottenburg. The story focuses on the private lives and struggles of its protagonists in a post-war Germany, who try to forget World War II and who are torn between competing, rigid attitudes to morality. The political climate and the divided city of Berlin are only in the background of the storytelling, however they still play an effective role in producing the specific climate and atmosphere of the prudish 1950s. The series *Weissensee* and *Deutschland 83* (2015-) draw much more directly on the context of the Cold War in a divided Germany, playing with notions of 'Ostalgie' and 'Westalgie', the specific variations of German post-Wall nostalgia.5[5] Berlin's historically coined images are thus apparent and turned into a brand value to appeal to local as well as global audiences.

Other productions such as *The Team* (2015), *Homeland* or *Sense8* (2015) use Berlin among other places as sceneries for their stories. The images of Berlin that these series draw on are less targeted and more open towards the audience's knowledge and experience with the imagined space of the city. And while the evocation of Berlin has proven as a successful commodity that adds production value to many television series productions but that it will not guarantee success with audiences. In trying to replicate success stories such as *Borgen* (2010-2013) or *Breaking Bad* (2008-2013), Berlin-based series such as Die Stadt und die Macht (2016) or *Blochin* (2015) have for diverse reasons failed to win the favour of audiences.

The numerous Berlin-based and Berlin-produced television series indicate that for both German and international series, Berlin has been turned into a commodity that adds production value to a television show. Yet, the existing circulating images of Berlin as an imagined place determine which images can be successfully used and communicated to a broader transnational audience. International film and television series often do not exceed stereotypical images of Berlin as a signifier of the Nazi regime or as signifier of the Cold War era. At the same time, many domestic productions use Berlin as simply an interchangeable backdrop against which the action takes place. But as we have elaborated, with the images of Berlin stacking up and with the increasing international popularity of Berlin as "the place to be", more sophisticated images and meanings of Berlin can be transported by the depiction of the city. One example of the rich and meaningful use of Berlin is the US-produced series *Berlin Station* written by Olen Steinhauer. In the series, Richard Armitage plays the CIA officer Daniel Miller, who is sent to Berlin to look for a leak in the Berlin branch of the CIA. The head of the Berlin CIA branch, Steven Frost, is a

3 The prestigious project went into the building phase in 2006 and was supposed to open in 2012, but due to severe construction failures this proved impossible. The opening of the airport is still in the unforeseeable future with estimated costs nearly three times the initial budget.

4 Production information of ARD (http://www.daserste.de/specials/ueber-uns/serie-babylon-berlin-tom-tykwer-100.html).

5 "Ostalgie" is a term used to describe a nostalgic view towards the former GDR as better society. In reaction to this, "Westalgie" refers to a view that considers West Germany, Helmut Kohl and the cold war as a better, less complex place firmly divided into two blocks (Hell and von Moltke 2005).

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veteran of the Cold War. The series includes the narrative of Berlin as the centre of the Cold War and the capital of spies, and continues this into the present time. The characters of the series are closely interwoven with the city of Berlin itself. As the key second assistant director, Carlos Fidel, outlined in a personal conversation, "US writer Olen Steinhauer was very focused on the city to define the characters in the series." The cityscape of Berlin is the essential component of the story of *Berlin Station*. That this concept proved to be successful is – among other aspects – due to the fact that Berlin has become a renowned physical place that has turned into manifold variations of an imagined space. The imagined city of Berlin as a representation (and condensation) of 20th century history and of the new millennium has become a brand value that is implicitly present in all these transnational television drama series productions. The series always depict iconic Berlin sites that serve as mediated and imagined spaces. But only when this is done in a way that allows audiences to ascribe meaning to the depicted place, does locality turn into a brand value.

6. CONCLUSION

The filmic and televised Berlin itself is then not a reproduction of Berlin history or of contemporary Berlin society. It is the result of the triangular intertwined nature of 1) the actual physical place, loaded with multilayered historical meanings, 2) the already mediated places that have become the cultural resource of German and international audiences, as well as of film and television professionals, and which are thus turned into 3) manifold variations of the imagined space. The variations of the imagined space of Berlin – alongside other cultural images – fill in and inspire the new portrayals of Berlin with the most recent example, *Berlin Station*.

This article has investigated the relationship between historical and societal events and Berlin as a production site and imaginary land- or cityscape (see Couldry and McCarthy 2004; Eichner and Waade 2015; Lefebvre 2006). Based on a historical account of Berlin as a film city and the consideration of contemporary national and international drama series, we have argued that the increasing importance of Berlin as a production site and location goes hand-in-hand with an increasingly mediated imagination of the city. That mediated imagination presents Berlin as a cinematic or televisual space able to represent not only past events such as the Nazi regime and the Cold War, but also current themes such as organised crime, counter-terrorist activities, and an intercultural life in a modern metropolis. The imagined city of Berlin represents 20th century history and has become a brand value for transnational productions.

With Berlin's recent self-invention the historical layers are complemented by more contemporary images that sometimes overlap with older layers and that are evoked by the very same iconic signs. This then does not necessarily involve the integration of these significant images into the narrative. Many productions make use of Berlin as mere urban background against which any story can unfold. *Homeland* or *The International* offer examples of Berlin as a site of production and economic advantage. There are, however, manifold examples of how the multilayered images of Berlin turn into a brand value and commodity. When Berlin as a historical city becomes the driving force of the narrative in *Babylon Berlin*; when the city is essential to characterise the protagonists in *Berlin Station*; or when Manfred Krug in one of the earlier examples, *Liebling Kreuzberg*, personifies Berlin by means of habit and vernacular. Here, the imaginary city of Berlin turns into a brand that comprises a specific form of production value for national and international television drama series.

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BALTIMORE IN *THE WIRE* AND LOS ANGELES IN *THE SHIELD*: URBAN LANDSCAPES IN AMERICAN DRAMA SERIES

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Television studies; landscape; spatial turn; city; *The Shield*; *The Wire*.

ABSTRACT

The Shield (FX 2002-08) and *The Wire* (HBO 2002-08) are two of the most ever critically acclaimed TV-shows and they both can be seen as the finest developed film noir proposals produced in television. *The Wire* transcends the cop-show genre by offering a multilayered portrait of the whole city of Baltimore: from police work to drug dealing, getting through stevedores' union corruption, tricks of local politics, problems of the school system and some unethical journalism practices. On the other, *The Shield* offers a breathtaking cop-show that features in the foreground the moral ambiguity that characterizes the noir genre. Both series display complementary realist strategies (a neorealist aesthetic in *The Wire*; a *cinéma vérité* pastiche in *The Shield*) that highlight the importance of city landscape in their narrative. Baltimore and Los Angeles are portrayed not only as dangerous and ruined physical places, but are also intertwined with moral and political issues in contemporary cities, such as race, class, political corruption, social disintegration, economical disparities, the limitations of the system of justice, the failure of the American dream and so on. The complex and expanded narrative of *The Wire* and *The Shield*, as Dimemberg has written for film noir genre, "remains well attuned to the violently fragmented spaces and times of the late-modern world". Therefore, this article will focus on how *The Wire* and *The Shield* (and some of their TV heirs, such as *Southland* and *Justified*) reflect and renew several topics related to the city in the film noir tradition: the sociopolitical effects of showing the ruins of the centripetal industrial metropolis, the inferences of filming in actual places, the dramatic presence of what Augé coined as "no-places", the *bachelardian* opposition between home and city, or the streets as an urban jungle where danger lurks in every corner.

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The Shield and *The Wire* are two of the most critically acclaimed TV shows ever produced, and both programs bring to the forefront the relevance of the urban landscape. *The Wire* (2002-2008) transcends the cop show genre by offering a multilayered portrait of the city of Baltimore, including police work, drug dealing, union corruption, problems in the school system, and unethical journalism practices. On the other hand, *The Shield* (2002-2008) takes the form of a fast-moving cop show set in a dirty, corrupt and disturbing Los Angeles, where the law seems inadequate to contain the constant threat of crime. Both shows have many things in common: they share, for example, Clark Johnson as the director for both the pilots (where the template of the show was established) and the series finale; this fact reinforces how important location was for *The Shield* and *The Wire*.

The two shows also constitute a bitter reflection of the twilight of the heroic that has characterized the Third Golden Age of Television (Vaage 2015; García 2016). Jimmy McNulty and Vic Mackey are distorted reflections of the legal system. They are anti-heroes in search of an impossible redemption. As police officers, they are unorthodox by necessity, trying to maintain order while the powers that be sweep their misfortunes under the rug. Like some of the best examples of 'Quality TV', both series are deliberately cloaked in moral ambiguity, where the notions of good and evil become blurred, drawing dramatic force from their permanent contradictions. Furthermore, both series adopt complementary realist strategies – a neorealist aesthetic in *The Wire*; a *cinéma-vérité* pastiche in *The Shield* – that give particular narrative significance to city landscapes. Baltimore and Los Angeles are portrayed as dangerous and ruined physical places, because these narratives raise moral and political issues such as race, class, social disintegration, economical disparities, the limitations of the justice system, and the failure of the American dream.

In order to analyze how both cop shows depict the urban landscape, first we will explain how the "spatial turn" can be linked to contemporary high-end TV drama. Once we have sketched this context – of a contemporary trend in TV production towards a certain emphasis on spatiality – we will focus on how two of the most acclaimed cop shows[1] reflect and renew several topics related to the city in the film noir and crime drama traditions: the inferences of filming in actual places, the dramatic presence of what Augé coined as "non-places", the *bachelardian* opposition between home and city, and the sociopolitical effects of showing the ruins of the centripetal industrial metropolis.

1. THE "SPATIAL TURN" AND THE THIRD GOLDEN AGE OF TELEVISION

The issue of urban geography has witnessed a recent upsurge in academia. Spurred by the work of authors such as philosopher Henri Lefebvre (*The Production of Space*, 1974), social theorist Michel Foucault (*Discipline and Punish*, 1977), and geographer Edward Soja (*Postmodern Geographies*, 1989), several fields from the humanities and social science have developed a so-called spatial turn over the past twenty-five years. As Warf and Arias explained, this trend assumes that "geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because *where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen" (2009: 1). As expected, screen studies have not been oblivious to this close attention to "spatiality" (Shiel 2001: 5). In fact, film studies have specifically paid considerable attention to the relation between location, settings, places, and their cinematic depiction (Clarke 1997; Shiel and Fitzmaurice 2001; Barber 2002; Mennel 2008). However, it is also necessary to point out how, traditionally, some genres or movements were especially keen on encouraging critics and academics alike to study the relation between space and cinema—the Western, American film noir, and Italian neorealism being some of the most prominent examples.

Regarding TV fiction, this Third Golden Age has also brought a renewed interest in analyzing how the setting of a series influences narration and vice versa. Some of the most critically acclaimed Quality TV series of the last 15 years – shows as geographically and thematically diverse as, to name just three big hits, *The Sopranos* (1999-2007)[2], *Rescue*

1 Noted TV critic Alan Sepinwall, for instance, includes both *The Wire* and *The Shield* among the 15 essential TV shows that revolutionized TV Fiction, generating the so-called "Third Golden Age" (2013; see also Zoller Seitz and Sepinwall 2016).

2 *The Sopranos* proposes quite different images of the city: it is a pretty ambivalent image, echoing the moral hesitancy of the whole show. On the one hand, it offers a negative picture of New Jersey, presenting the stereotype of Italo-American cultural geographies. Largely through atmosphere, "Sopranoland" offers an urban landscape of sleaziness, corruption, and violence around not so glamorous places such as Satriale's and the Bada Bing. New York is the other side of the ambivalent urban illustration that *The Sopranos* echoes. As Sadler and Haskins argued, in *The Sopranos* New York City is a "constant backdrop of the storyline (even in the opening), a postcard to contrast with the dark New Jersey world of the main character" (210). Just that: an escape from the gritty space depicted in the Garden State.

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Me (2004-2011)[3], or *Dexter* (2006-2013)[4] – can also be studied from a spatial approach, reflecting on how the city intertwines with narrative and dramatic development, a regular trope in *noir* and police drama.

2. **COP-SHOWS AND VISIONS OF THE CITY**

Given its nuclear essence as part of the genre, landscape, cityscape, and location have been a very fruitful field of study for recent cop dramas. As Roberts has stated:

> Given the topographic and locative nature of much television procedural drama – the detective being essentially a mobile subject: a figure whose procedural enquiries take her or him to and from specific location points as s/he goes about trying to piece together bits of the narrative puzzle – it is a genre that has much to offer for the purposes of spatial analysis (2016: 370-1).

Accordingly, in a decade where Nordic Noir has reached a worldwide aesthetic influence and audience success, it is logical that Scandinavian and British TV scholars have given serious attention to the urban topography of crime (Waade 2011; Agger 2013; Eichner and Waade 2015; Peacock 2015; Agger 2016; Pheasant-Kelly 2016). Some stimulating essays have been published which have focused on the British equivalent: "Celtic Noir" (Cubitt 2014; Roberts 2016). It would go beyond the purpose of this article to study in depth how numerous cop shows depict cities, exhibiting disparate portrayals of the urban landscape. However, as this article focuses on two very influential TV shows, it would be beneficial to take a closer look at some of the landmark American cop shows of the Third Golden Age. We can find suggestive insights from TV series offering distinctive and complementary views of the city before diving into *The Wire* and *The Shield*. We will briefly analyze the politics of space in three popular cop shows, because the comparison can enhance our further reasoning when we, in the next sections, address our case studies. We have chosen three shows that differ notably in narrative format, dramatic tone, and the kind of city they depict. *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000-2015) – referred to from here as *CSI* – is a highly episodic TV series, a forensic procedural drama set in the biggest city of Nevada. *Justified* (2010-2015), a neo-western noir set in Harlan County (Kentucky), offers a canonical hybrid of the series/serial, flexi-narrative format (Nelson 2007). Finally, we have chosen also *True Detective* (2014-) for this briefly comparative overview because, with its protracted, nonlinear story arc, it is the most popular example of the so-called anthology series. The first season of *True Detective* proposes an existentialist crime drama that takes place in several locations in Louisiana.

CSI is widely accepted as the great procedural series of the 21st century. Vegas is a city of paradoxical extremes. Fountains and deserts, gambling and addiction, entertainment and vice, wealth and bankruptcy, reality and simulacrum, fraudulence and authenticity—*CSI* plays, from the very beginning, with this constant dualism. If Las Vegas has been built on speculation (Borchard 2007: 81), the methodic plot within the TV series is quite the opposite. Facing a city full of mirages, illusions, passions, and simulacra, the forensic team offers scientific truth, reason, and logic. Therefore, Las Vegas constitutes the *mise-en-scène* of horrendous crimes but, as Palatinus has said, "the glowing lights of the Strip are counterpointed by the dim blue sterility of the autopsy rooms" (2009: 3)[5]. Consequently, the cityscape of Las Vegas is not dramatically or politically relevant as such. It is just a backdrop for the criminal plots that Grissom and his team must solve. The proper landscape for crime is the human body: it is a trace, an "object of scientific scrutiny, and finally, ... a piece of art in its own right" (Palatinus 2009: 2). The city of Las Vegas is not the real scenario: the surface of the body is.

3 *Rescue Me* offers a darker image of the city of New York, quite the opposite from the Big Apple reflected in the ambivalent *The Sopranos*. In dealing with the effects of 9/11, *Rescue Me* offers a grey landscape: an amputated skyline without the twin towers is the very first scene of the series. In parallel with the landscape, the characters – a group of firefighters – are also emotionally crippled. It is portrayed as a distressed city that cannot heal its physical and emotional wounds. That is why, from time to time, we see shots from the core place of the tragedy.

4 Opposed to the *Rescue Me* dull palette of New York, *Dexter* is set in the dazzling city of Miami. The duality of the anti-hero is also reflected in the urban landscape that the series exhibits. Even from the opening sequence, "*Dexter* deliberately subverts any sense of a Gothic *mise-en-scène* and instead locates its horror narrative within its incongruous bright and sunny Miami location" (Brown and Abbott 2010: 210). Miami is portrayed as being full of life, music, and color; a beautiful place expelling joy and light. Even the interiors of the dark side of Dexter – his apartment, his boat, the places where he performs the murders – are neat, tidy and sterile spaces, much like the city we see in the show. The landscape, thus, reinforces the moral ambiguity of the main character, a regular trope in *noir* and police drama.

5 In fact, the whole *CSI* franchise displays an overall strategy of "visual city coding". The use of individual color palettes marks each *CSI* installment as distinct from each other: *CSI: Miami* (2002-2012) employs oranges, reds and whites, while the more psychological *CSI: New York* (2004-2013) plays with muted greys and dull blues (Allen 2007: 66). I would like to thank Tobias Steiner for pointing out this idea to me.

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If *CSI Las Vegas* takes a "touristic" approach to its settings, *Justified* – one of the most critically acclaimed recent cop dramas – negotiates its space from a much more ambiguous stance. Location in *Justified* serves both a symbolic and narrative function. The adventures of Raylan Givens are strongly tied to Harlan County, Kentucky, where he grew up. Several actual features of Harlan are relevant to *Justified*'s plot: the coal mines, the southern accent, the rural surroundings, the idiosyncrasy of its social heritage, and the presence of hillbillies. The whole narrative of *Justified* can be understood as an attempt to make peace with the place. It is a curse – that is, the reason why the protagonist is so conflicted – but also the only way of salvation – that is, Raylan Givens needs to correct all the wrongs in Harlan in order to be able to break free from Harlan's burden. Consequently, the portrayal of Harlan County is affectionate, nostalgic, gentle, but also dangerous and violent – a contradiction that spurs the dramatic energy of the narrative.

Lastly, it is worth noting the politics of space in the celebrated *True Detective*, particularly in the series' first season, set in Louisiana and starring Matthew McConaughey and Woody Harrelson. Brian Black notes that the first season of *True Detective* can be seen as an image of the sinister "sacrificial landscape" (2000: 60). And as Kelly has argued, the petrochemical *mise-en-scène* of coastal Louisiana "enlivens the toxic image with inferential power, or *visual enthymemes*, that invite audiences to draw connections between trauma that unfolds through narrative action and omnipresence of toxic iconography" (2016: 41). The director of the season one, Nic Pizzolatto, expands this idea of how damaged landscapes strengthen the representation of damaged people: "These lost souls dwell on an exhausted frontier, a fractured coastline beleaguered by industrial pollution and detritus, slowly sinking into the Gulf of Mexico. There's a sense here that the apocalypse already happened" (in Madrigal 2016).

The Wire and *The Shield* do not take their image of the city that far, because the urban landscape is not such a literally toxic place to live. As we will investigate in the following pages, Baltimore and Los Angeles appear as fractured urban landscapes which resemble the damaged social contract depicted through the narrative. Unlike popular cop shows such as the *CSI* franchise, *Law and Order* (1990-2010), *The Mentalist* (2008-2015) or *Lie to Me* (2009-2011) – where overwhelmingly the cityscape appears only as snapshots – *The Wire* and *The Shield* really throw light on the urban context where their stories unfold, bringing them to the foreground in the narrative.

3. **SHOT ON LOCATION WITH TWO EYES OPEN**

The physical preeminence of the urban landscape has been favored from the very conception of both series, as Clark Johnson, the director of th*e The Shield*'s pilot episode, explained: "Los Angeles, in particular the area we were shooting, in Boyle Heights, Rampart, downtown L.A., really plays a character" ("Pilot" DVD commentary, 1.01). David Simon has argued that the same thing is true in the case of *The Wire*, which "was shot entirely in Baltimore by Baltimore craft and labor unions" ("The Target" DVD Commentary, 1.01). Because it is a team that knows the city well, they succeed in imbuing the characters' life stories with the contrasts and the inequalities of the raw urban setting. The streets, the abandoned houses, the port, the public housing, the façades of the public buildings, the skyline of the financial district, and even many of the interiors that mark the series, are real: the courtroom, the morgue, and the Maryland Hospital.

In this attempt to convert Baltimore into another character and to give its physical spaces symbolic and moral significance, the constant presence of images from security video cameras stands out, as the eyes that see everything. *The Wire* shows off its objectivist pretensions of being a mute witness by describing all the corners and points of view of a city divided by race and class; it also goes a step further by making sense of it all. *The Wire*, just like the unfolding police investigations ("All the pieces matter", Detective Freamon assures us in episode six ["The Wire," 1.06]), collects these diffuse fragments of Baltimore and uses them to give the city the form of a coherent discourse, "while pointing to the power structure and social inequalities inherent in city spaces" (Speidel 2009). By including all the social, cultural, and economic areas of the city – while avoiding giving any one of them priority – *The Wire* presents a Baltimore that conceals many different cities. According to Soja, this clarifies how "relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology" (1989: 6).

In order to achieve its ideological proposition, *The Wire* demonstrates a stylistic sobriety that separates it from the rules of other cop shows. In contrast to the scientific hyper-visibility of *CSI* or the accelerated editing of *24* (2001-2010), *The Wire* opts for a storyline with multiple threads and more than 100 characters, and it maintains a slow and anti-climactic pace without cliffhangers or formal emphasis—there is no extra-diegetic music, for example, the only exception

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being the ending montages for each season finale. For stories that accentuate the physical description of the sets where the action takes place, it is customary to present the characters in medium and long shots so that they can be seen interacting with their surroundings. This aesthetic austerity "eschews the use of special effects" and insists "on the frontality and 'thereness' of the subject" (James 2008: 63). This is why it is so significant that filming takes place in exterior locations, on the corners of the real west side of Baltimore, on Fayette and Monroe, and Homer and Franklin Avenues. The series takes place in real locations.

Something similar can be said of *The Shield*, created by Shawn Ryan. Filmed in 16mm with natural lighting, numerous zooms, hand-held cameras, and re-framed shots, *The Shield* imitates a *cinéma vérité* style centering on neighborhoods where racial turmoil goes hand in hand with crime[6]. By means of the fly-on-the-wall documentary aesthetic, the city shapes the series right from the production process. Scott Brazil, one of the executive producers, makes reference to the frenetic pace of filming that characterizes *The Shield* – one episode completed every seven days – as "desperation cinema" ("Behind *The Shield* featurette," DVD Season 1). The film crew had to take advantage of buildings and shops with all of their authentic fixtures instead of constructing sets. In addition, filming was done with "two eyes open" ("Behind *The Shield* featurette," DVD Season 1) thus allowing the incidental and the spontaneous to become part of the narration. A paradigmatic case in the relationship between the real city and the metropolis presented in the series took place during the filming of the fourth season. The crew went to film a church on 77th Street (north of Watts, nestled between South Los Angeles and Huntington Park)[7]. Several days earlier, a murder had been committed in the area, which "belonged" to a gang known as the Swan Crips and, logically, there was concern for the safety of the crew. In the story, Captain Monica Rawlings, played by Glenn Close, explains to area residents the measures she intends to take in order to reign in crime in the area, in front of 200 extras who were actual residents of the district. As the actor Jay Karnes recalled: "She was talking to those people about the actual problems in their neighborhood" ("Under the Skin" documentary, DVD Season 4).

4. THE AMBIGUITY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SPACE

This anecdote illustrates – just as Shiel explained when discussing the fragility of the neorealist city – the way in which *The Wire* and *The Shield* explore the mechanisms of the documentary. It reveals how fictional TV shows can also give priority to the referential effect when setting characters and ideas from the fictional world in a real universe. A universe that geographically and temporally is perfectly defined, such as the Baltimore and the Los Angeles of the beginning of the twenty-first century, instead of a post-war Italian city. In this way, *The Wire* and *The Shield* succeed in using a representational strategy based on realism to reproduce "the visual and thematic ambiguity and metaphysical alienation" (Shiel 2012: 103-4) of reality, which is to say of space and time, by means of a "fragmented narration" – a mosaic of stories, spaces, characters and points of view. Just as in film noir, the narration "remains well attuned to the violently fragmented spaces and times of the late-modern world" (Dimendberg 2004: 6).

These fragmented spaces make up the cities in which the characters of both series move through. Because the job of a police investigator is nomadic, his or her professional identity is largely defined by the spheres – amorphous, abstract, and disordered – in which he or she is constantly moving while attempting to impose order. While scenes include street chases, searches in dangerous buildings, and stakeouts in parks, all paths eventually lead to the same destination: police headquarters. It is the anthropological space that makes sense of the dangerous daily journey in the fight against crime because, as Augé writes, "place becomes a refuge to the habitué of non-places" (1995: 107). The police station is, as a result, the professional home as it provides security, a place where anonymity – a badge number or a nameless suspect – assumes a personal identity: police officers and criminals both assume personal names, a specific identity over and above their innominate professional identities.

6 *Southland* (2009-2013), the most honorable aesthetic heir to *The Shield*, works the space in a similar manner. The Ann Biderman drama set in contemporary Los Angeles exhibits a scorching city, an unrelenting grim landscape where the characters patrol a wounded city, flooded with loonies, perverts, and criminals. One of the most memorable narrator intros states, "Cops are supposed to hold the line between chaos and civilized society. Every now and then chaos gets the upper hand" ("Chaos", 5.09). In order to depict this muddled city, *Southland* employs the harsh energy of a hand-held camera, reflecting a relentless space where violence can assault you suddenly without warning.

7 This location is also significant because this area was the focus for the 1992 Los Angeles riots (also known as "South Central Riots") after the exoneration of officers involved in beating Rodney King, in April-May 1992. The uprising led to South Central being renamed South Los Angeles in an attempt to "clean up" the image of the area. I would like to thank Elliott Logan for providing me with this fact.

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Nevertheless, the dramatic originality of both series lies in the subversion of this idea: both Baltimore's police headquarters and Farmington (*The Shield*'s police station) lose their condition as anthropological place, since they have become unclear spaces that, citing Augé, do not make sense "for the people who live in it" nor do they provide "intelligibility for the person who observes it" (1995: 52). The precincts in both *The Wire* and *The Shield* are unsafe and uncomfortable spots for their characters. Therefore, the individuals in both series are forced to look for alternate spaces. McNulty is a busybody who does not trust his superiors and questions the police system and, as a result, ends up confined to a dull room in a basement (the entire special unit from season 1 is provided with this dump of an office) and later to a patrol ship at the docks (where, in season two, he works completely alone). As McMillan explains: "The disciplinary mechanism of ranked progress can serve equally as punishment. Insubordination and political machinations like McNulty's are shown to be the only ways to accomplish anything worthwhile in an institution as broken as the BPD [Baltimore Police Department]" (2009: 55). Broken institutions in line with a broken space.

Vic Mackey, on the other hand, makes the office of the Strike Team his home, the place where the members of the team truly feel safe, as a family. The office explicitly excludes those who do not belong to the team, its door bearing the following, handwritten message for outsiders: "STRIKE TEAM ONLY! (That means you, Asshole!)". The rest of Farmington is hostile territory, where they are constantly under suspicion and have to prove their innocence to Aceveda and the Department of Internal Affairs. However, just as the narrative reaches its agonic end, any familiarity or safety disappears for Mackey in the Farmington police station. When the Strike Team is dismantled, they are forced from their private setting, and even Mackey and Gardocki end up alienated from the precinct.

This *delocalization* also influences other relevant, more neutral settings, such as the interrogation room. In a TV show full of lies, hidden agendas and deceptions, the interrogation room, as Howard has analysed, "is one of the few places on the show where *reflection* is truly possible, where hows and whys can be openly discussed, where some unusual nods to spirituality take place, and where some attempt is made, on both sides of the table, at thoughtful understanding" (2012: 118). Consequently, it is no coincidence that Mackey savagely tears off the monitor when he is confronted with the truth in the series finale. Cornered by an ironic and fierce Claudette Wyms, Mackey is forced to stare at the pictures of Shane's dead family, the dreadful legacy "the hero [Mackey himself] left on his way out of the door" ("Family Meeting", 7.13). By trashing the interrogation room, Mackey is symbolically denying the significance of that room as a place of truth, redemption, and absolution.

5. THE FAILURE OF DOMESTICATED NON-PLACES

From an anthropological point of view, it is interesting to observe the conversation between space and narration: the greatest narrative crises of the characters are reflected by means of a corresponding spatial crisis. In *The Shield*, the deaths of both Lemansky and Shane happen while the characters are fleeing, without having either a professional or a personal place to return to. Vic Mackey ends up far from his family's home, in a cold office that feels unbearable to him, a bureaucratic prison for the intrepid super-cop of yesteryear who dominated the city to the cry of "my streets, my rules!" ("Slipknot", 3.09). On the other hand, although they are not great narrative crises, in *The Wire*, McNulty, Bunk, and Kima's drunken binges end up "dislocated", taking place close to the train tracks, some darkened parking lot, or some other non-place.

At the same time, there are many characters living outside the social order who desperately desire to convert the non-place into inhabited territory. Augé labels the non-place as a space that "cannot be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity" (1995: 77-8). *The Wire*, given its systemic nature, is more prodigal in this domestication of non-places. During the first season, a run-down courtyard becomes an "itinerary, crossroads, and center" (Augé 1995: 72) that completes the individual, social, and even work identity of Bodie, Poot, and the other boys in the Barksdale gang, crammed around an orange sofa that acts as a living room. The spatial identity of this open-air home becomes so important that Wallace, the emotional center of the first season, cannot stand living in the country with his grandmother and returns to "the Projects", only to end up meeting a tragic death.

The same creation of spatial sense can be applied to the "free zone" of Hamsterdam, where a neighborhood of abandoned houses is turned into a market and shelter for hundreds of drug addicts. Something similar could be said of the streets frequented by the children of the fourth season, a real home for many of them, given their bad experiences with their families and/or foster homes. In every one of these cas-

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es, however, these "territorialized non-spaces" end up being a failure; as De Certeau would say, these marginalized citizens of the social order "inhabit a textual system—the city—of which they themselves are not the creators" (Fielder 2001: 272). This is why D'Angelo in *The Wire* can say he feels more at home in jail than he does on the streets. It seems the non-place can never become a home in these modern cities, where danger is lying in wait on every corner and from which there exists no possibility of escape.

That is why Bubbles, the nomadic drug addict and *flâneur* of the slums, finally ends up redeeming himself when he has the chance to move out of his sister's basement; it is also why Detective McNulty invokes the return to his true home following his investigative adventure on the streets. "Let's go home", he says in the series' final episode to Larry, a homeless man for whom indeed the streets of Baltimore are the only home he has. And, not by coincidence, McNulty expresses this last wish while on the expressway, the prototype of the "non-place" *par excellence*. Bachelard wrote, "All really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (1994: 5). That is to say, in the face of a dismantled and uninhabitable Baltimore, McNulty and Bubbles do not flee but rather return to those "virtues of protection and resistance" (1994: 46) that Bachelard attributes to the house. These values contrast with those of Marlo Stanfield, the new emperor of the drug world, who, in a visual metaphor, ends up abandoning a luxurious hotel with lawyers, politicians, and financiers to return to his "home": the dark, filthy streets, where he feels protected—a similar thing happened to the corner boys starring in the fourth season: they are more comfortable in the streets than in their de-structured family homes. As Clandfield noted, this Marlo Stanfield ending links, although too simplistically, urban policies and capitalism, "precisely because he [Marlo] seems to be without Stringer's desire for legitimacy, his prospective involvement with real estate underlines the critique of urban redevelopment in *The Wire* as an industry driven by amoral pursuit of profit rather than by principle" (2009: 48).

The Shield plays with the same "home/city" dichotomy from a different perspective, digging deep into the moral uncertainty that characterizes the series. This idea can be condensed in the final sequence of the pilot episode, where "the domestic sphere as a place of safety and the outside world as a place of danger" (Chopra-Gant 2007: 667) are graphically opposed to one another. This final sequence summarizes the life of each character and plays with a Machiavellian confrontation: in order to have the security of a home (or of a Dodgers game) there have to be "Mackeys" out there imposing their rules in the asphalt jungle. It is as if the narrative were asserting that Mackey and his henchmen are rotten apples, that the civilized society despises their methods, that it is mandatory to defend the empire of the law, but that people need the Strike Team to guarantee that the person knocking on our door at five in the morning is just the paperboy. In other words, to ensure, according to Bachelard, that when "faced with the bestial hostility of the storm and the hurricane, the house's virtues of protection and resistance are transposed into human virtues" (1994: 46).

6. CONCLUSION: LANDSCAPES AS SOCIOPOLITICAL CRITIQUES

The landscapes of Baltimore and Los Angeles reveal themselves as arbitrary and dangerous places, where death can come at any moment. Following the genre's elegiac tradition, *The Wire* and *The Shield* graphically show the ruins of the centripetal industrial metropolis, the mirror of the moral ruin of society and its institutions. The image of both cities is the same spatial dehumanization that Sert discovered in post-industrial cities:

> The natural frame of man has been destroyed in big cities (...). Cities have fallen short of their main objective, that of fomenting and facilitating human contacts so as to raise the cultural level of their populations. To accomplish this social function cities should be organic social structures (1944: 395).

Los Angeles is a sprawling, diverse city of numerous, very different neighborhoods. *The Shield* centres on the most hidden and squalid areas of Los Angeles: the back patio of Hollywood and Rodeo Drive, where the palms of Beverly Hills and the glamour of Venice Beach are replaced by the blood of the immigrant gangs in Pico-Union. *The Wire*, on the other hand, takes this dehumanization to extremes by painting a portrait of not only the most depressed and dismal areas of the city, but also by literally converting the city into a cemetery where bodies are buried in empty houses, with the wave of murders in the fourth season.

According to Krutnik's observations about the *noir* settings, *The Wire* and *The Shield*'s vision "of the abysmal city flaunts ambivalences about the relationship between the individual and the community" (1997: 88), presenting the modern city as a threat to the American community. This idea, as opposed to the epic construction of the Western genre, reaffirms the

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"evaporation of social allegiances" (Krutnik 1997: 99) as characteristics of these cop shows with political and social messages. The city—violent, criminal, tragic in the Greek sense of the word—is portrayed as "a melting pot with un-meltable elements" (Gibb and Sabin 2009). The system is rotten, the city fractured and the races and classes in conflict with one another. The justice system is ineffectual and a "different kind of cop" an "Al Capone with a badge" – as Vic Mackey is portrayed at the beginning ("Pilot", 1.01) – is essential.

By means of the realistic depiction of the urban landscape as a daily menace, the two series trigger a sociopolitical critique. In the first place, *The Wire*, as Ethridge has written, questions two interwoven American myths, one economic and the other socio-political. The first is the myth of the American dream, in which hard work leads to wealth, and the other is the myth of America as a place of inclusion in which there exists "a place for you" (Ethridge 2008: 154). In regard to the first myth, although *The Wire* does not offer any solution to the crisis, it does clearly identify the root of the problem: "Capitalism is the ultimate god in *The Wire*. Capitalism is Zeus" (Ducker 2006). Through its naturalistic portrait, and expansive and complex narrative, the idea that surfaces again and again in the series is that capitalism has destroyed the social fabric – the idea of the community – spreading degradation and an everyone-for-himself mentality. Regarding the myth of America as an inclusive space, *The Wire* offers a story that shines a light on "the other America", the dark side of the American dream, a "rigged game" – as one of Bodie complains to McNulty in "Final Grades" (4.13). The very first anecdote of the series (about Snot Boogie) voices that everyone is forced to play this rigged game. As Sheehan and Sweeney have written, "Underlying *The Wire*'s story-arc is the conviction that social exclusion and corruption do not exist in spite of the system but because of it" (2009). Corruption permeates the depressing, neglected, and violent urban landscape which *The Wire* exhibits (see also Lerner 2010: 213).

On the contrary, in *The Shield*, the system does not fail; rather the people fail. The creator of *The Shield,* Shawn Ryan, has stated that the program seeks to address the following question, "What are we, as a society, willing to put up with, in terms of civil rights, in order to increase our own personal safety?" (DVD Season 1). Thus, the series depicts a racially agitated city, as uncomfortable for its inhabitants as the visual style it puts before the viewer. It is a Los Angeles dominated by murder and corruption, where multiculturalism and integration present a real problem. In this environment, it seems that neither the law nor public morality is enough to combat crime. Chopra-Gant argued that the series infers the message that a sort of natural justice – namely Vic Mackey's maverick solutions – is "an essential precondition for the existence of a social order" (2012: 133). However, as the vibrant, tragic series finale displays, justice is done, everyone pays a high price for their sins, and good – with all the nuances in such a morally ambiguous narrative – triumphs over evil. Bellafante wrote, "In a view radically at odds with the position of *The Wire* on urban corruption, *The Shield* believed that institutions were salvageable when decent people acquitted themselves ably" (2008). In other words, it is possible to maintain a social organization that we can call the city. Never before had a cop drama depicted a city, a savage urban jungle, as skillfully as *The Shield* or *The Wire*.

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CSI: Crime Scene Investigation (2000-2015)
CSI: New York (2004-2013)
Dexter (2006-2013)
Justified (2010-2015)
Law and Order (1990-2010)
Lie to Me (2009-2011)
The Mentalist (2008-2015)
Rescue Me (2004-2011)
The Shield (2002–2008)
Southland (2009-2013)
The Sopranos (1999-2007)
True Detective (2014–)
The Wire (2002-2008)

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BELFAST IN *THE FALL*: POST-CONFLICT GEOGRAPHIES OF VIOLENCE AND GENDER

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The Fall; post-conflict; gender; Belfast; location studies.

ABSTRACT
This article examines the TV series *The Fall* in terms of the relationship to its location in the city of Belfast. Viewing the process of production and dramatization as intrinsically linked to aspects of the city from a post-conflict perspective, the paper examines how issues of onscreen violence and gender are worked out in this context of economic regeneration in operation since the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The introduction of a fictional serial killer to the province after decades of violence and a fragile peace process can be seen as an attempt to normalize the region in the popular imagination. The paper firstly examines the various ways that the older geography and spatial markers of the city are incorporated into the series and characters. At times used by the director to add a sense of unresolved social tension and spectral presence of simmering violence, the city and its history provide a repressed background to the foregrounded conflict. This is examined further by framing the series as an example of third-wave Troubles drama where cultural production plays an important role in the stabilizing of this post-conflict society. Within the drama itself images of birth and the tenuous beginnings for future generations are configured around issues of gender, masculinity and unpredictable reactions to the opening up of Northern Irish society to forces of globalization. The paper reflects on how the series effectively intertwines issues of loss, grieving and fragile recovery in a place still not clear on how to deal with its recent history and the anxieties over the return of violence.

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> I think the best of these sorts of shows on TV often have a very strong sense of place. In a way, the whole trick with creating a compelling drama is to create a distinct world. Belfast as a location has a very particular quality – a product, perhaps, of its history. A history, in part, of violence. That history casts a long shadow.
>
> Allan Cubitt (2013), Writer, *The Fall*

1. **NORMALISING BELFAST**

The Fall was one of the UK's and Ireland's most highly rated BBC drama series of 2013/14.[1] Set in contemporary Belfast, it follows the search for a killer of young, professional women, which plays out on the streets and locations of a city still carrying echoes of the Troubles in its attitudes and iconography. At the centre of the drama is a struggle between the killer, who is located in the context of the city and its history of violence, and the detective brought in from outside the province, whose job it is to identify and arrest him. This paper will argue that the television series manifests a sense of anxiety in response to the changing physical and personal landscape of the city of Belfast, as issues of violence and gender work themselves out, often contradictorily, on screen. Through a consideration of research on the city as a post-conflict territory subject to the forces of redevelopment as part of a peace dividend, it is possible to identify that the newly enabled professional class is, in many ways, aligned with these processes of globalization but that this process has, problematically, not succeeded in resolving suppressed issues of identity, class resentment and a culture of past abuse. Indeed, in what can be considered an almost forced articulation of this, the serial killer's name, Paul Spector, suggests a haunting that personifies the return of a repressed and unresolved violence that the force of law is no longer able to keep in place, and which, in this context, can be seen as pointing to the fear of a collapse of the consensus for peace in the province, highlighting the presence of destabilizing forces. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to make connections between the drama's use of location and key aspects of individual characterization to provide an insight into popular perceptions of the current status of Belfast and Northern Ireland in a post-conflict context. It addresses issues of masculinity and gender in this specific context, as these relate to the themes of the series and its positioning within the crime drama genre, the history of the province, and the location of the city of Belfast itself, and seeks to provide an analysis that critically examines how these cultural formations are intrinsically woven into the texture of the drama.

In terms of the Northern Irish conflict, Belfast saw one and a half thousand people killed and tens of thousands traumatised by what took place over those thirty years (McKittrick et al. 2004). As a site of representation, during this period the city became associated in film and media with the imagery of militarised street warfare and bombings, usually framed in terms of a sectarian urban conflict that minimized the role of the British state in perpetuating the divisions within the society. Since the stabilisation of the region with the signing of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, the city has undergone a process of renovation and renewal driven by the forces of economic regeneration and, indeed, rebranding (Moore 2016; Northover 2010).[2] In the realm of the visual, policy makers have sought to construct non-controversial images that speak of the new economic prosperity as part of a wider promotion of the region as a safe and prosperous place. The film and television industries have played an important part in this process and, through the state-funded agency of Northern Ireland Screen, have sought to boost the region's economy and celebrate what they describe in inclusive language as 'our culture' (Northern Ireland Screen 2016). Such strategies are important, not least to move away from the reductive picture of a place that was once so firmly associated with a singularising notion of war. The diversity that was always present but was forced underground through a repressive discourse of rigid identity is now able to have a visibility in a way not seen before.[3]

In a certain paradoxical way then, this strategy of 'normalisation' sees the city, for the first time, assigned its own fictional serial killer in *The Fall*.[4] This can be interpreted as an

1 "Currently airing on Monday nights, *The Fall* became BBC Two's biggest drama series to launch in eight years with an average audience of 3.5 million and 15.4% share." http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2013/the-fall-series2.html

2 As recently as 2004 Martin McLoone would write: "It has to be said that even after nearly a decade of the peace process in Northern Ireland Belfast still suffers from a profound image problem. Its reputation as a centre of religious bigotry and inter-communal violence has made it, in Neill *et al* 's graphic phrase, 'a pariah city' ".

3 For a good example of a film essay that effectively communicates something of this, see Mark Cousins, *I am Belfast*, 2015.

4 The term normalisation has a long history in Northern Ireland and it has been consistently employed as a part of political and military efforts to discursively position the conflict within terms that isolated it from wider questions of the role and responsibilities of the British State.

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example of what Mark Seltzer refers to as the "abnormally normal" representation of this type of person, functioning as a key element of what he describes as "wound culture" with its fascination for trauma and death that bridges private desire and the public sphere (Seltzer 1998). Quite whether a population still profoundly affected by the consequences of actual levels of personal and community violence is similarly 'fascinated' by such spectacles is a moot point perhaps, but of course the drama is circulated far beyond the province as a transnational product. What can be seen in this series are some of the familiar tropes of the fictional serial killer mapped on to the locations and contours of Belfast in a popular television drama that effectively uses the location to attempt to advance the genre and articulate something of this culture in which it is placed. This can be seen as part of what Les Roberts describes as the "locative turn" a tendency towards investment by programme makers in the potentials of location in a way that has not been so evident in the past (Roberts 2016). Such a potential is encouraged by development and funding agencies that seek investments in the regions as part of an expansion of the cultural economy. Hence *The Fall* was developed by BBC2 and co-produced with BBC Northern Ireland, who provided 75% of the initial funding, with further finance from Northern Ireland Screen and the European Regional Development Fund. The first season was written by the British writer Allan Cubitt and directed by the Belgian Jakob Verbruggen, and was filmed primarily in Belfast between March and June 2012 before being screened in the UK and Ireland over May and June 2013. The second season was written and directed by Cubitt alone and went out in November 2014. As this paper is submitted, a third season is about to air and therefore it is not discussed in any great detail due to publication deadlines. Cubitt and Verbruggen are both from outside Northern Ireland and so this is not a drama series written or directed by those who directly lived through the conflict. However, as a BBC production, it was able to draw upon crew and talent that did have extensive local knowledge.[5] In certain ways, therefore, the drama is involved in the very processes of internationalization it makes manifest on screen even if the locative details can function as a backdrop and may go unrecognised by many viewers where, as Lindsay Steenberg argues, the political specificity of the city of Belfast is sometimes evacuated and it becomes, rather, a "noir city" (Steenberg 2017). Productions such as *The Fall* are constructed so as to be available to a global market place and so that no necessary knowledge of history or place is required that might reduce the potential audience.[6] The complexity of the transnational television market is replicated in the complexity of the drama itself. I do not seek to reduce it in this regard, but rather attempt to map out certain contours of place and meaning that provide a perceptual register against and within which the dramatic process is enacted, as evidenced by the opening statement from Allan Cubitt.

2. CODING THE CITY

The central argument offered in this paper is that the TV series *The Fall* can be seen to resonate with tensions between the actions of this archetypal serial killer and the location of Belfast as a post-conflict society, one still struggling with the difficulties of unresolved loss, displaced violence and post-traumatic stress. This issue is creatively positioned at the centre of the drama since the killer is working as a bereavement counsellor, something that, at times, plays a significant role within the narrative. As one commentator observed, the series "...goes beyond the 'Troubles tourism' of the entertainment industries"[7] to give a compelling sense of the unevenness of the process of post-conflict social experience where there is an active effort to repress troublesome elements of the population within a broader process of globalized development. There is a policing component to this and a fear that these threatening individuals will return to kill the process before it has had a chance to establish itself.

The drama itself revolves around the binary of the male serial killer and the female police detective brought in to find him. Initially, the detective is brought in to carry out a 28-day case review of the unsolved murder of a young female architect. The Police Service Northern Ireland (PSNI) have been unable to make any headway and cannot see the pattern at work that points to a single perpetrator of a series of murders of professional women in the city. The starting point, therefore, is that of a prejudicial blind spot, an inabil-

5 This can be seen to follow in the footsteps of films such as *Sunday* (2002), *Bloody Sunday* (2002) and *Hunger* (2008) all of which were written and directed by British directors from the mainland.

6 For a discussion of these issues and the call for further research see Hilmes, M. 'Transnational TV: What Do We Mean by "Coproduction" Anymore?' at http://www.mediaindustriesjournal.org/index.php/mij/article/view/44/84.

7 'The Fall: extreme violence as a distorted mirror of post-conflict Belfast' Niki Seth-Smith, 27 October 2014, https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/niki-sethsmith/fall%E2%80%99s-extreme-violence-is-distorted-mirror-of-postconflict-northern-ireland

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FIGURE 1. STELLA IN HER HOTEL ROOM OVERLOOKING THE SHIPBUILDING YARD (1.01).

ity to see the reality suggested by the evidence. It takes an outsider, a woman from London's Metropolitan Police, to solve this case. Stella Gibson is a career officer, well versed in the audit culture and quality control of modern policing that speaks of the new order of organisational governance. In this sense, she signals a shift in the coding of the location of Belfast that has traditionally been defined as a masculine space of heavy industry and paramilitary violence. We can see this in relation to the Harland and Wolff cranes, Samson and Goliath – iconic symbols of Belfast and the shipbuilding industry that dominated the city through the twentieth century and which reappear throughout the show as part of its cinematic landscape (Lukinbeal 2005). In one scene from early on in series one, there is a shot of Stella standing in front of the window of her hotel room (the hotel is located in a prime area of regeneration in the docklands) which overlooks the shipyard and frames the cranes in the background before the rack focus pulls back to reveal her profile. Figuratively, she now overlays the past just as the new present in the form of Belfast's regeneration process, overcodes the old (Figure 1).

What the character of Stella can be seen to articulate is a force for consolidating the newly imposed reality of the post-conflict city. As a member of a privileged de-territorialized elite that arrives in different locations but never connects to its lived space (Bauman 2000), Stella moves across and through post-conflict Belfast without connecting to its past. This lack of engagement is rudely brought into focus after the gunning down of a police officer with whom she has recently initiated a casual sexual encounter, and prompts her superior to comment:

> "We should get you issued with a firearm, book yourself in at the range"
> "I don't have time"
> "This is Belfast, make time!" (1.03)

FIGURE. 2. STELLA'S VIEW FROM HER CAR AS SHE ENTERS THE CITY (1.01).

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FIGURE 3. "OUR MURDERED COLLEAGUES" RUC OFFICERS KILLED IN NI (1.01).

FIGURE 4. THE ARREST OF 'JIMMY' BY THE PSNI FOR BREAKING THE TERMS OF HIS EARLY-RELEASE LICENSE (1.01).

However, the abnormality of the location has already been established from the moment of her arrival, as she is surprised to be collected at the airport in an armoured vehicle that prompts the response: "Welcome to Belfast" (1.01). As she moves through the city-space safely ensconced within the protective vehicle, she views two iconic structures that make reference to the past as travelling shots: first, the peace wall at Cupar Way between the Catholic and Protestant communities of the Shankhill and the Falls, and second, the now derelict Crumlin Road Courthouse, a place that was central to the conflict as the point of entry into the prison system for convicted terrorists (Figure 2). These are also now established as tourist destination points in the city, where a 'Black Cab' tour will provide an introduction for visitors.[8]

The point is forcefully made that this is a very different place from the mainland as Stella enters the militarised and fortified police headquarters[9] and passes a memorial to officers killed in the conflict (Figure 3).

Brought in from outside the province, she is a necessary presence whose function is to resolve the threatening and destabilizing danger that the serial killer presents. As Steenberg explains, Stella "functions as a kind of aspirational inoculation against the abject horror of Spector" (2017: 69). The murderer Paul Spector is precisely a figure who operates outside the boundaries of the containable – a return of the repressed past of the city and its history of terror and death. He can be seen in this way as the kind of unsettling figure described by Gordon Avery as:

> Haunting and the appearance of specters or ghosts is one way … we are notified that what's been concealed is very much alive and present, interfering precisely with those always incomplete forms of containment and repression ceaselessly directed toward us (2007: xvi).

What makes the character of Spector problematic is that he doesn't fit into the post-conflict narrative that has assimilated the category of Belfast terrorist, even if inflicting terror is a way in which he derives his sexually sadistic pleasure.[10] At the start of the series, as he invades the house of another victim, he removes his balaclava to reveal himself, symbolically stripping away the masking that became central to the iconography of the paramilitary. The State, as represented by the PSNI, has evolved in order to manage problems posed by rogue individuals with paramilitary pasts, as we can see in the suppression of the grieving father and Loyalist Jimmy who, although a disruptive presence to the killer, is a limited and two-dimensional portrayal of an ex-paramilitary driven by rage and sectarian hatred (Figure 4).

At this more repressive level, Stella Gibson's function is to maintain the progress of the peace process by smoothing out the troublesome elements that threaten it. In this way,

8 https://www.getyourguide.com/belfast-l442/private-driving-tour-belfast-black-taxi-t10929/

9 This is a constructed entrance for the purpose of the series and the actual location is College Square North in central Belfast. Later in the series The Maze prison was used to stand in for the police station.

10 The 1998 film *Resurrection Man* presents an abject portrayal of a sadistic killer (based on the Loyalist Shankhill Butchers who were members of the UVF) who is also sexually excited by the torture he inflicts on his victims. For a useful discussion on the representation of both Loyalist and Republican paramilitaries see McLaughlin and Baker (2010) pp. 49-68.

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she represents not only the police force, but also the force of globalization. As Baker and McLaughlin argue, what they have called the 'propaganda of peace' was:

> only partly about encouraging accord between unionism and nationalism. It had another purpose: to prepare Northern Ireland for integration into global capitalism, something barely acknowledged in public debate where the Good Friday Agreement was rarely considered as anything other than a self-evident good (McLaughlin and Baker 2010: 12).

In other words, the aim of the strategy of post-conflict regeneration has been to argue that Belfast has emerged from the period of conflict with sustained economic growth, rising house prices and a buoyant economy. This has been driven by policies of urban renewal that have actively sought to mobilise a generic style of development described as 'urban cloning', whereby a standardized retail aesthetic is filtered through a branded localism that makes explicit reference to indigenous histories (such as the Cultural Quarters). As Brendan Murtagh observes, "In Belfast, these processes have distinctive appeal in the attempt to reposition the city as a neutral, modernising place that has left its parochial sectarianism behind" (Murtagh 2008: 3) However, as Peter Shirlow pointedly observes in an article on Belfast as a post-conflict city: "The fundamental problem that affects Belfast is that geography matters in a way that is overt and obvious. The cantonisation of life is a forceful impediment to the delivery of a new city." (Shirlow 2006: 107). Within *The Fall* this key aspect of the city becomes a moment of drama as the killer, out on reconnaissance for a future victim, finds he has crossed into territory that is still firmly within the control of the Loyalist paramilitaries off the Shankill Road. On returning to his car he is challenged (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5. PAUL SPECTOR CONFRONTED BY LOYALISTS OFF THE SHANKHILL ROAD (1.03)

> "You talking to me?"
> "Yes, I'm talking to you. What are you doing here?"
> "Is that any business of yours?"
> "I'm making it my business. You're not from around here."
> "So?"
> "So what are you doing?" (1.03)

The series, then, locates the path of the serial killer as he stalks his next victim, a female accountant at the forefront of the gentrification process, as problematically overlaying the older sectarian geography of the city to which he himself becomes victim. This ongoing struggle to reterritorialize the city is by no means complete and is subject to being violently opposed. We get a sense of the fluid nature of the smooth space of capital – here represented by a female accountant, and so figured as part of the gendered process already described in relation to Stella – coming up against the striated space of the city's sectarian geography, even if it seemingly passes by the territorial mindset of the Loyalists, who are represented as still locked into old issues of masculine (sectarian) identities. However, both serial killer and terrorist confront each other as lawless war machines driven by sadistic violence, leading to the denouement of series two where one seeks to destroy the other.[11]

3. THIRD-WAVE TROUBLES DRAMA

In a wider sense, *The Fall* is part of what can be described as third-wave Troubles drama. This periodizes the series as coming after the first and second wave of dramas that were produced, respectively, during the conflict and in the immediate aftermath of the 1998 peace agreement. Positioning the series as a third-wave Troubles drama usefully highlights aspects of the active part that such cultural productions play in the post-conflict regeneration process, in which a concerted effort is made to present a new phase of locative identity, more fluid than the rigidity of the previous religious forma-

11 Gregg Lambert writes of this Deleuzian formulation of the war machine and how it operates as fundamentally exterior to the operations of the law of the State: '...the people are always failing the ideals of the State, always found to be lacking, or exhibit a tendency to go a little insane, to return to religion and to the family, and if pushed to the extreme limit, to become terrorists or serial-killers.' (2010: 3)

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tion. It is a shift away from the essentialist and identity-driven structures of the only recently ceased conflict. This shifts the range of characterizations into more ambiguous terrain where the point is very much that these old indicators of identity are not simply reversed, but can begin to be transcended, so that the on-screen markers become, therefore, far less obvious if still consistently focussed on masculinity and atavistic violence – a key characteristic of Troubles drama. These markers still hover in the background, providing a secondary reference for the foregrounded Manichean conflict of killer and detective. This can be seen in the many glimpses of the mural-lined streets that mark out the city, for example in the shot seen below (Figure 6).

FIGURE 6. LOYALIST UVF MURAL IN THE BACKGROUND OFF DONEGAL PASS (2.02).

As previously stated, the introduction of a fictional serial killer into the province can be seen as part of the push towards presenting a certain kind of normality encouraged by regional development agencies and part of a wider marketing of Celtic noir. What becomes apparent in deciding on the location of Belfast as a dramatic setting is the need to stabilize a volatile people for whom state institutions have only very recently asserted any kind of credibility, none more so than the police, now called the Police Service Northern Ireland and no longer known as the less than neutral "Royal Ulster Constabulary".[12] Of course, all crime dramas present the police in an imaginary way and don't necessarily relate the location to any history or regional identity. For instance, the second and third series of the police procedural *The Line of Duty* were filmed in Belfast yet avoided any identificatory markers of the city, presenting it more generically as a typical British city. What *The Fall* articulates through its Belfast location, therefore – amongst all its other elements of genre and cliché – is the difficulty of establishing a new people, a people not defined by the old hatreds, which can help enable a stable future of economic prosperity. The function of the police, as an armed wing of the state, is to try to enfold all dangerous individuals within a legitimizing form of power so as to maintain law and order.[13] In Northern Ireland, the paramilitaries as collective organizations of disruption have now been largely assimilated and what is left are those deemed to be rogue individuals outside this process, who pose a far less existential threat to the state. In this way, we can see the serial killer as the most extreme form of individualized threat, for as Gregg Lambert writes in regard to formulation of the war machine and those who revolt against the state, such people are different from criminals:

> To be exceptional or solitary means in some way to be found outside the circle of society, and often against it, but not in any way that could be compared to the criminal who merely represents the law's own inherent contradiction, which can be peacefully resolved. (Lambert 2010: 1)

The serial killer and the paramilitary are not simply criminals because criminality can be addressed through the self-regulating law and order machine, as we see with the suicide of a corrupt officer, who faces questioning about the murder of his fellow officer by gangsters with whom they have been involved in drug dealing and prostitution. For the paramilitary characters in the series, their fate echoes their origins, as they use the gun and in return are shot themselves, in a kind of equivalence that restores the principle of identity. Similarly, the serial killer is apprehended and then subject to an interrogation. In another place he would be subject to the death sentence but here he is subject to the interrogation of the police officer whose function is to extort a confession in all its detail that, in a suggestive way, mirrors the sadistic actions of the killer, who torments his bound victims before killing them.[14]

12 The PSNI came into existence in 2001, as part of a review of policing contained in the Good Friday Agreement and sought to address the problem of the relationship between the state and the Catholic minority and what was seen by them as the oppressive role played by the Royal Ulster Constabulary within the province. The main Republican party, Sinn Fein, fully endorsed the PSNI in 2007.

13 Readers should be aware that all members of the PSNI carry firearms as routine, whereas on the British mainland police officers do not carry guns other than as part of specialist units.

14 It is interesting to note that Cubitt makes reference to a real killer, Colonel

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4. **REBIRTH**

Fundamental to the concept of regeneration in the region is the projection of the idea of a rebirth, the emergence of a new generation that is not defined by the traumas and attitudes of the past. What can be seen throughout the series in this context are allusions to birth and the anxieties surrounding it. These anxieties, it can be argued, manifest a fear within the province, concerning the fragility of the peace process and the future for its children. In the series' opening sequence, Sarah Kay – a solicitor being stalked as the next victim of the killer – is asked by a male colleague whether she wants to have children, and replies, "Of course I do!" (1.01) but within days, the killer has murdered her in her bed, unaware that she was, in fact, pregnant. Paul Spector's wife is a neonatal nurse, and we see her caring for a baby born to a single, 18-year old mother, who cradles her infant as life-support is switched off. Anxiety surrounds all the children, even as the killer, in his communiqué with the police, justifies his actions by quoting Nietzsche "giving birth to a dancing star". This hand-written document is subject to an electrostatic detection apparatus (ESDA) test (a reference to key miscarriages of justice during the conflict such as the Birmingham Six), which reveals the palimpsest of a child's drawing of a mother and baby in the womb (Figure 7).

The first victim identified, Alice Monroe, whose Unionist family connections initiate a high-level inquiry, is described as a "promising young architect" and can therefore be seen as a representative of the aspirations to build a new future for Belfast, one led by a professional class not yet securely established and subject to the predatory violence of the serial killer.

The question of gender in a post-conflict society previously defined by violence and the culture of "gunmen" is one that poses challenges for negotiating this transition to peace. Indeed, Naomi Cahn and Fionnuala Ní Aoláin argue that failure to address these issues could significantly affect the success of the conflict transition process (Ní Aoláin 2009). The emergence of a society from a sustained period of conflict and violence sees it move into a terrain of shifting attitudes and can pose difficulties for families with members who played active roles in the violence and now face the challenges of a far less secure image of masculinity. In terms of mas-

FIGURE 7. THE SHOT CONNECTS THE FEMALE DETECTIVE, MOTHER AND BABY, IN A LINE OF FORENSIC INVESTIGATION. (1.05).

FIGURE 8. THE KILLER EXERCISES (1.03).

FIGURE 9: JIMMY WORKING OUT IN THE CELL-LIKE ROOM OF HIS HOUSE (2.04).

Russell Williams, whose police interview and confession was released to the public and can be viewed on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPupWi28_qs. It is possible to identify phrases in this interview that are scripted into the Spector interrogation.

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culinity, *The Fall* offers a contrast between the body of the paramilitary, who is suggested to act out through domestic violence his frustration at his loss of status (represented by the death of his son whom he says was a victim of his crimes: "my son paid the price" [1.01]), and the serial killer, who at times we see in moments of narcissistic display (Figure 8).

Such images reinforce the sense of a shift in the place where previous images of traditional masculine bodies are supplanted by the new, aesthetic bodies of men concerned with achieving this ideal through exercise and diet rather than the "prison gym" workouts of the tattooed ex-prisoner (Figure 9).

The need to consider the changing terrain of masculinity in this context is important, otherwise, as Cahn and Ní Aoláin state, "this lack of attention to masculinities means a failure to account for the myriad of ways in which masculinities transform, adapt and reformulate in the post-conflict environment." (Ní Aoláin 2009: 6) By making direct reference on-screen to domestic violence perpetrated by ex-paramilitaries, and the fetishistic targeting of single, professional women, the series makes connections and associations with a range of reactions generated by the changing landscape of Belfast and the province. Police statistics show that Northern Ireland has seen a significant increase in domestic violence since the 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement (Women's Aid 2016). As Melanie Hoewer observes in her research on the tension inherent in the transition from traditional roles to new, uncertain ones:

> The competition between the traditional image of hegemonic masculinity and new gender images is central to the contention in intimate partnerships between men and women at the private level of society; this becomes visible in challenges in the re-integration of male prisoners into their families and leads to an increase in contention and violence in intimate relationships post 1998. This leaves female activists halfway between aspirations for changed gender relationships and remaining unresolved gender inequalities. (Hoewer 2013: 227)

It is these aspects of the series that see it usefully connected to the actual experience for women in the province and the cultural location Cubbitt draws upon to construct the drama. Spector's professional role as a kind of mediator means that his temperament is initially one of passive de-escalation, as when faced with the threat of violence from paramilitaries such as Jimmy and his accomplice. Yet he exploits his professional access to vulnerable women to the extent that he has himself appointed as the therapist to a woman he attempted to murder. The primal motivations of sectarian hatred that have long been held to underpin and drive the conflict in Northern Ireland are thus displaced onto young, professional women who encapsulate the shifts in power emerging under the nation's new regime. Stella's speech in one of the final scenes of series one – "You are a slave to your desires, you have no control at all, you are weak, impotent, you think you are some kind of artist, but you are not… you try to dignify what you do, but it's just misogyny, age-old male violence against women" (1.05) – echoes in some ways Margaret Thatcher's assertion that, in relation to the campaign for political status for paramilitary prisoners in the 1980s, "There is no such thing as political murder, political bombing or political violence. There is only criminal murder, criminal bombing and criminal violence."[15] Such a connection does not raise the misogynistic violence of the serial killer to the level of paramilitary violence but rather collapses both into an established idea of atavism and sadism as key characteristics of Belfast, returning to the paradox of normalizing the place through the serial killer construction.

This attempt to resolve Belfast's actual history of violence through an overlay of generic television crime drama imagery, informed by certain ideas of contemporary gender attitudes, founders on the extreme nature of what is needed to achieve this. The beginning of the series is structured around a number of shots that relate to both of these elements of place and genre and introduce the terms of this process. The opening shot of the very first episode is of Stella bending over, cleaning the bath, whilst dressed in pyjamas, and signals the series' attitude to the female characters, whose most intimate spaces are to be invaded and objectified as sources of pleasure for the fetishistic male view. This can be seen in the way the drama mobilizes this voyeuristic gaze as it follows the actions of the killer, as – in prolonged scenes that I found quite difficult to watch – he stalks his victims before binding them and finally strangling them in an act of sexual gratification. This raises issues concerning the regressive tradition of crime drama, which uses the peril and terror of female victims to reinforce the message of male violence and domination. Deborah Jermyn, in an analysis of *The Fall* in relation to issues posed by postfeminism, articulates her discomfort at the "double entanglement" that

15 A speech from March 5 1981 by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104589

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the screen representation of murdered women entails, whilst simultaneously giving us the character of Stella as powerful career police officer (Jermyn 2016). The series justifies itself by countering the graphic violence against the women victims with the characterization of Stella Gibson who, it is argued, challenges many of the clichés of the genre as a woman who is simply unconcerned at any attempt to "slut shame" her because of the sexual encounters she initiates with certain male officers. When she is challenged at one point with regard to the morality of her actions she retorts:

> That's what really bothers you isn't it? The one-night stand? Man fucks woman. Subject man, verb fucks, object woman. That's okay. Woman fucks man. Woman subject, man object. That's not so comfortable for you is it? (1.03)

Other scenes throughout the series are constructed to reinforce this representation, one that clearly tends towards defining Gibson as a femme fatale, and extends to a suggestion of bisexuality in her encounter with the pathologist Professor Reed Smith, played by Archie Panjabi. This is not the place to examine in detail the wider reading of the sexual politics evident in the series, but to instead point out how the contradictions of the post-conflict process can be seen in the way that Stella – a woman from outside the province, and so someone who the existing order has no power to discipline through any localized regime of repressive morality – has the status and authority to challenge the patriarchal contours of the city. Even so, the killer is able to invade her bedroom, read her personal journal and, at the end of the final series, violently and graphically assault her in the interrogation room (3.06). The women located within the province do not even have this level of security and can therefore easily be targeted by the killer in a way that is designed to generate a fear of all spaces, public and private. What *The Fall* points to, therefore, is a clear sense of the layers of power and violence operating within and across the city of Belfast as the location of the serial drama, while still carrying a sense of unease as, in this uncertain period, the fragility of the social order becomes, at times, apparent.

6. **IDENTITY AND LOCATION**

In this context then, questions of national and religious identity continue to play a significant role in the social realm of the province (Morrow 2013). Cubitt addresses the identity of the killer in this matrix by having him reply to the aggressive question from the Loyalist James Tyler "Spector? What kind of name is that anyway?" "It's Russian. Jewish," Spector replies. "That explains a lot", says Jimmy (1.01), who later threateningly describes him as that "Jew-boy piece of shit" (2.04). Being Jewish in Northern Ireland locates Spector within a tiny minority often viewed as outsiders.[16] We later learn, after he has been identified as the prime suspect, that his father was a British soldier and that he was born in 1979 which, as the Assistant Chief Constable Jim Burns reminds us, was: "The year the Shankhill Butchers were sentenced to life imprisonment for 19 murders, the year of Warrenpoint. A bad year" (2.03).

Creatively, the writer positions the killer most engagingly by having him work as a bereavement counsellor. Here, his role is to counsel those who are struggling to cope with loss after a loved one has been "seized by violence". For the province, therefore, coming out of the period of conflict and its traumas, such a role is a significant one for any process of peaceful stabilisation. Breaking the cycle of violence and terror necessarily means working to look forward rather than back, and to avoid blame and rage for past events. In his role as counsellor to Jimmy and his wife, Spector acts to insert himself between them and ultimately acts to facilitate her finding a place at a women's refuge while Jimmy is removed from the family home by the police (Figure 4). In a key exchange between the wife and counsellor in the bedroom of the child who died, he recounts his bereavement philosophy:

> "I don't think I'll ever be able to accept what's happened"
> "You don't have to. I don't subscribe to that model of grief. I don't see bereavement as ever being resolved or accepted. There's no closure, no recovery. But you can learn to live without the physical presence of your son." (1.03)

And later in series two, as he counsels a victim of his own attack recovering in hospital:

16 See the BBC documentary *The Last Minyan: The Decline of Belfast's Jewish Community* that looks at the fall in the number of Jewish people in Northern Ireland from a high point of 1500 in the mid 20th Century to 300 today. http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-26504260. Sadly, it is still an identity subject to hatred and violence, 'Seventeen Jewish graves desecrated in Belfast cemetery' *The Guardian*, Sunday 28 August 2016. The graves location in West Belfast, traditionally a Republican area, suggests that it is an expression of anti-semitism driven by the crude aligning of Jewishness with Israel where Republicans have identified with Palestine in the conflict, see 'Jewish cemetery attack shames city' editorial in *Belfast Telegraph*, 29/08/2016.

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> "We all know people who live too much in the past. Too much history, too much remembering can ultimately destroy the present and the future." (2.02)

Such formulations describe well the realities of Northern Ireland, as it seeks to maintain a somewhat fragile peace, and where hopes for "truth and reconciliation" are continuously deferred and "dealing with the past" means moving on and simply living with the trauma. As Kevin Meagher observes:

> The legacy of "the Troubles" remains, unsurprisingly, a sore point. Nearly 3,600 people were killed during the period and countless more were maimed, but there is little common ground about how and what is commemorated, remembered or conveniently forgotten. And, crucially, who is brought to book, either legally, or just in moral terms for the deaths and atrocities that occurred. (Meagher 2016)

CONCLUSION

What can be seen in *The Fall* is an incorporation of the location to add an engaging element of place and identity to the narrative itself that is more generally defined by the generic conventions of the crime drama series. This shifting of the representation of the city of Belfast away from conflict-era imagery is indicative of an opening up of the province to a range of economic and cultural forces in a fragmented and uneven process of development evident in a post-conflict situation. The economic regeneration sees the attempt to more effectively integrate the city into transnational networks of capital, which is itself manifest in the production process of the series. *The Fall* can be seen to communicate something of Belfast's awkward relationship the past and to its people, and the sense of anxiety that still lingers over a city living with "peace walls" to separate communities even while they have become key tourist attractions. The attempt to normalize the city though the encouragement of investment both economically and imaginatively falters on the unresolved tensions still operating in the place even if the force of the narrative is one of moving forward into a globalized future. The response is still to see conflicts resolved through the forceful suppression of socially threatening agents, violently misogynist or otherwise. The different elements of the series itself, functioning as entertainment, articulating shifting identities, and visualizing an unsettled location, resonate with the aggravating condition of the post-conflict situation that is morally ambiguous and politically unstable but dramatically mobilized in an attempt to resolve profound contradictions.

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NARRATIVES OF MIAMI IN *DEXTER* AND *BURN NOTICE*

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ABSTRACT

In popular discourse around television, a series' relationship with place is often marked through the suggestion its setting is "like a character in the show", but this article argues against adopting this as a framework for analyzing television's relationship with space and place. It articulates the relationship between this discourse of "spatial capital" and hierarchies of cultural capital within the television industry, limiting the types of series that are deemed to warrant closer investigation regarding issues of space and place and lacking nuanced engagement with place's relationship with television narrative in particular. After breaking down the logic under which these discourses function through an investigation of AMC's *Breaking Bad*, this article offers a more rigorous framework for examining how television drama narratives engage with spatial capital in an age of narrative hybridity. Through a close analysis of depictions of the city of Miami, the article considers how two specific narrative strategies—place as narrative backdrop and place as narrative engine—manifest across both serial and procedural programming, disconnecting spatial capital from its exclusive association with "quality television" and building a model for analyzing how place and narrative intersect in the contemporary moment.

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INTRODUCTION

Writing for *The New Yorker*, Rachel Syme characterizes AMC drama series *Breaking Bad* (2007-2013) as "a show organically tied to its shooting location", and she was not the only one to think so (2013). In a travel article focused on the series' setting in *The New York Times*, series creator Vince Gilligan describes Albuquerque as "a character in the series" (Brennan 2011), a description reiterated by Bryan Cranston in an interview with Albuqueque alt-weekly *Alibi* where he suggests the city has "become an important character to our show. The topography. Really the blue skies, and the billowy clouds, and the red mountains, and the Sandias, the valleys, the vastness of the desert, the culture of the people" (Adams 2011). The "characterization" of Albuquerque also emerges in a *Forbes* interview with series cinematographer Michael Slovis, whose evocative images of that topography have become iconic of the series (St. John 2013). *The Sante Fe Reporter*, writing about the series' finale, makes the distinction as explicit as possible: "while many TV shows use a city as a setting, none have used it like a character like *Breaking Bad* did" (Reichbach 2013).

The notion of "city as character" is a specific manifestation of "spatial capital"—defined as the value attached to space and place through a series' production, distribution, and reception—evident in popular discourse and program marketing. It is not a new discourse: in the study of film, the city of Los Angeles has often been understood as a character, whether in Thom Anderson's documentary *Los Angeles Plays Itself* (2003) or in Alain Silver and James Ursini's book *L.A. Noir: The City as Character* (2005). In the context of television, however, the idea of the city as character has become increasingly common as a form of legitimation. Consider, for example, *The Wire* (HBO, 2002–08) and *Treme* (HBO, 2010–13). In popular discourse around these shows – whether articulated by series creator David Simon, actors in the two dramas, or journalists (see Mettler 2014, Haley 2013) – Baltimore and New Orleans are, respectively, referenced as anchors for the authenticity of both series. In addition to being lauded for their sense of place, these series are also central to what has been termed a "golden age of television", where complex serialized dramas have redefined journalistic definitions of television quality (see Martin 2013, Sepinwall 2013), and where the sense of place in newer series like FX's *Fargo* (2014-) have been lauded in similar terms (Ley 2015).

This article interrogates the intersection of these discourses, exploring how the negotiation of spatial capital is inherently linked to the negotiation of cultural capital more broadly in the context of dramatic television programming. Through a close exploration of discourses of "place as character", I identify how claims to spatial capital function as legible claims to authenticity, and how the emergence of these discourses is more dependent on hierarchies of cultural capital functioning within the television industry than on the textual representation of place within a given program's narrative. Pushing past the notion of place as "character", this article links spatial capital to television narrative, which is crucial both in delineating between different forms of television drama—serial, procedural, and hybrids thereof—and in terms of distinguishing the "television city" from the "cinematic city", where considerably more research and analysis has taken place. By introducing two alternative approaches to analyzing place in television narratives—place as narrative engine and place as narrative backdrop—the article disconnects spatial capital from its exclusive characterization alongside "quality television" and seriality in contemporary discourse, as demonstrated through a close analysis of place and narrative in two Miami-set drama series, *Dexter* (2006-2013) and *Burn Notice* (2007-2013). The result is an adaptable framework that better explores the complexities of spatial capital in contemporary television, moving away from "character" toward a granular consideration of how space and place function distinctly within the medium.

1. SEARCHING FOR THE "TELEVISION CITY"

In both collections and monographs, the politics of the cinematic city have been explored in great detail (see Donald 1999, Clarke 1999, Brunsdon 2007). However, there has been significantly less research into the televisual city. In *Taking Place: Location and the Moving Image* (2011), for example, John David Rhodes and Elena Gorfinkel include only a single essay on non-fiction television, suggesting that the relationship between location and the moving image remains predominantly seen through the lens of film. This hierarchy emerges in a 1999 conversation between Karen Lury and Doreen Massey in *Screen*, where Lury argues that "television is, of course, a medium that is determined by different commercial and public interests, and its ideological function is often to try and erase or obscure real multiplicity and difference" (234).

This dismissal of television's ideological complexity was already somewhat short-sighted at the time, but in the years since, the television ecosystem has dramatically expanded,

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and with it the complexity of spatial representations. Lury's discussion with Massey took place immediately prior to what has been discursively constructed as the modern "golden age of television", where series like *The Sopranos* (2000-2007) set new baselines for hour-long dramas. In *The Essential Sopranos Reader*, William C. Siska goes as far as to posit *The Sopranos* as "Art Cinema", an effort to legitimate the text by elevating it beyond its status as television (2011). However, while Siska and others are logically pushing against the delegitimation of television demonstrated by Lury's claim, these efforts do not erase a sense of hierarchy. In Legitimating Television, Michael Z. Newman and Elana Levine deconstruct these discourses, accurately assessing the legitimation of television as an act that problematically elevates some television over other television, ascribing value in uneven and often problematic ways that seek to claim that television as a medium does not itself have claim to legitimacy (2011). Rather, it is these individual programs—compared to cinema or literature—that transcend the medium, leaving the generalized notion of television's inferiority—whether in reference to a historical past or a contemporary margin—intact.

This culture of legitimation is a double-edged sword as it pertains to the study of television's relationship with place, particularly as it pertains to the hour-long drama. Although what Jason Mittell identifies as "complex television" includes a wide range of genres, it is most commonly associated with the contemporary hour-long television serial, of which *The Sopranos* is considered a touchstone (2015). These are also the texts that Newman and Levine place at the center of discourses of quality television, a space in which the type of analysis typically reserved for film is considered more viable. As a result, complex, serialised series like HBO's *The Wire* and *Treme*—both co-created by David Simon, and set in Baltimore and New Orleans respectively—have been embraced as ideologically rich engagements with their respective cities. The role of place in *Treme*, in particular, was the subject of a special issue o*f Television and New Media* edited by Vicki Mayer in 2011, and the topic of a number of papers on *Treme* panels at the 2011 Society for Cinema and Media Studies Conference in New Orleans. Such work has crucially extended our consideration of the "cinematic city" beyond the bounds of film, engaging with televisual representation of location in substantive ways.

However, the intense focus on these particular texts risks creating the impression that spatial capital is not manifest within texts that lack the same claims to legitimation. There has not been the same level of analysis of Fox's 2007 drama *K-Ville*, which similarly investigated post-Katrina New Orleans—although the series' short one-season run was likely a contributing factor, the lack of prestige associated with the program and its network compared to Simon and HBO is a barrier to its consideration in these terms. Although analysis of shows like *The Wire* and *Treme* represent crucial and productive work, it remains analysis that is too often reduced to a narrow set of case studies of series that have concurrent claims to cultural capital—often manifesting as "place as character"—to support analysis of spatial capital. While spatial capital exists as a spectrum, its adoption as an articulation of quality television has reinforced cultural hierarchies prominent in contemporary television culture, and has in unproductive ways limited the range of series—and the types of narratives—that are considered through the lens of space and place.

2. THE LIMITS OF "PLACE AS CHARACTER"

Discursively, series like *Breaking Bad*, *Treme*, and *The Wire* are commonly legitimated relative to space and place through the discourse of "place as character," which Ken Fox frames relative to narrative. Defining the roles of place in film in the *Critical Dictionary of Film and Television Theory*, Fox begins with a clear dichotomy: while "place as a backdrop" is identified as "the least sophisticated function", in which place "invest[s] a scene or an action with aesthetic or emotional significance", "place as character" offers scenarios where "the location becomes vital in the way the film's narrative develops" (2001: 413). Citing examples such as Monument Valley in the work of John Ford, or New York in *On the Town* (1949), Fox argues that in these cases place is "more than just a backdrop: it defines the attitudes and actions of the characters", marking a clear link between place and narrative within this analytical framework (413).

"Place as Character" has become a fairly common framework for analyzing film, as evidenced in the aforementioned *Los Angeles Plays Itself* where "Los Angeles as Character" serves as one of the discrete sections of the visual essay, or in considering specific genres like science fiction (Strick 1984); the framework also has earlier origins in literature (Fowler 2003). However, the way that the idea of "place as character" is deployed in regards to television within popular discourse is uneven, lacking the type of definitional clarity Fox strives for. Actress Blake Lively used the simile in order to capture how she feels about shooting The CW's *Gossip Girl* (2007-2012) on

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location in New York, describing it to *The Independent* as "a magical place" that "just makes me warm and fuzzy" (2008). In an interview for her Canadian single-camera "black comedy" series *Sensitive Skin* (2014-), actress Kim Cattrall uses her own intertextuality to compare Toronto's role as a character in the series to New York City's role in *Sex and the City* (1998–2004), noting the show's choice to focus on Toronto specifically—including Director Don McKeller "show[ing] the crew neighborhoods they didn't know existed"—rather than setting the show in "Nameless City, North America" (Janceiewicz 2014). In some cases, the lines between Fox's categories are blurred. In an interview with *The Mirror* for the Belfast-set BBC/Netflix series *The Fall* (2013-), actor Jamie Dornan acknowledges "There's no definitive need for it to be set in Belfast, but it's a great backdrop. Belfast is like a character in the show" (2014).

These all offer examples where the discourse of "place as character" is consciously deployed by those within the television industry as a legitimating gesture, a claim to spatial capital that rarely functions in direct relationship to the text. Rather than focusing on the relationship between place and narrative, the discourse of "place as character" most commonly serves as an extradiegetic framing of a series' authenticity. *Breaking Bad* embodies the type of series that has been associated with place as character, and demonstrates its ties less to narrative and more to circumstances of production and the way that production is framed within popular discourse.

"Place as character" is predominantly applied to series which actually film in the location where they are set—while there are exceptions to this in the case of period series like *Boardwalk Empire* (2010-2014), series like *Breaking Bad* can more easily claim access to spatial capital when they are shooting in Albuquerque, rather than doubling another city for that location. Connected to this, the discourse is also more common for series which actively set scenes within a given landscape, which *Breaking Bad* did often throughout its run. New Mexico-based location manager Rebecca Puck Stair notes, for instance, that "when landscape is in the shot, it's usually almost a character", an acknowledgment that the logistics—and cost—of shooting a given scene on location are usually only undertaken if the presence of the landscape serves a specific purpose (Personal Interview).[1]

While "place as character" can at times emerge organically within critical reviews of a given series, it is most common with shows where place becomes a signifier within interviews, promotional materials, and other key paratexts. In advance of their premieres, both Showtime's *The Affair* (2014–) and HBO's *True Detective* (2014–) released behind-the-scenes videos where actors discussed the importance of place in the story through the framework of "character," while the discourse proliferated with *Breaking Bad* in part because of how consistently it was discussed by the creative team in interviews like those referenced above. It was also central to the "Ozymandias" video released during its final season, in which Bryan Cranston's reading of the Percy Bysshe Shelley poem is combined with a collection of time-lapse establishing images of the New Mexico landscape used throughout the series.

These three guiding principles—location filming, scenes set in the landscape, spatial paratexts—that group together texts associated with the discourse of place as character provide easy access to forms of spatial capital in television industry discourse. *Breaking Bad*'s surge in mainstream attention and ratings in its final season additionally amplified the visibility of media tourism to Albuquerque, where the intense online appetite for coverage of the series resulted in numerous unofficial paratexts where websites such as *The A.V. Club* and *The Etc.* visited locations like Walter White's house and the car wash where he laundered his drug money (Adams 2013). It has also become a huge marketing boom for the city of Albuquerque, which on its website boasts "the city…stars as a character in [*Breaking Bad*] with film locations throughout the metro area", including testimonials from Gilligan and the series' cast. Albuquerque even became a "recurring character" for the series, remaining central to discourse surrounding spin-off prequel *Better Call Saul*, which debuted in February 2015.

However, although Albuquerque has become a huge part of the discourse around *Breaking Bad*, the expansiveness of this discourse has obscured that it was not originally a creative choice, but rather the result of financial considerations. Gilligan originally set his story of a teacher-turned-meth cook in Riverside, California, but before shooting the pilot, production company Sony Pictures Television and AMC made it clear that the economics would not work in southern California. In a roundtable interview with Charlie Rose in the buildup to the series finale in 2013, Gilligan spoke of his reaction to the mandated move to New Mexico to take advantage of its production incentives:

> They said "What's the big deal, you put new license plates on that say California instead of New Mexico, it'll be fine." And I'm glad they came to us

1 Puck Stair raised this characterization without being asked about it directly.

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> with this idea, but I'm so glad I said "no, let's make it Albuquerque." Because the sad truth of it is, unfortunately, you can't swing a dead cat in this country without hitting a meth lab somewhere or other... It could be California, it could be—no one state has the lock on it, unfortunately.

The fact that *Breaking Bad* was not originally set in Albuquerque does not mean its setting is unimportant: through the series' conscious engagement with the landscape, the setting was used in ways that invite deeper consideration. However, that the series' narrative was conceived in a different location speaks to the way "place as character" lacks a clear connection to narrative, where Albuquerque plays a less significant role compared to its prominence as a symbolic and thematic anchor to the series' milieu. While series like *The Wire* and *Treme* were conceived as stories about specific cities and their citizens, *Breaking Bad* is a story that could have been set anywhere, which creates a distinction of spatial capital that the broad application of "place as character" flattens.

Although "place as character" has become shorthand to signify the importance of place within a given text, the discourse has lost a clear relationship to texts themselves through its ties to broader discourses of cultural capital, and to specific negotiations of spatial capital tied to the location of production. Accordingly, the next section introduces two alternative approaches to thinking about place's relationship with narrative—place as narrative backdrop and place as narrative engine—that push beyond "place as character" to consider the intersection of place and contemporary television storytelling.

3. **PLACE AS NARRATIVE BACKDROP**

In returning to Fox's basic categories for the function of place, understanding place as a backdrop remains valuable. However, in considering television's seriality as compared with film, we can understand place functioning as a narrative backdrop, with the long-term evolution of the series' plot and its characters developing a relationship with spatial capital over the course of a show's run. Whereas Fox notes that films like *Thelma and Louise* (1991) "[draw] attention to these places as sites of mythical imaginings, where other screen stories have been played out", within television those mythic imaginings can become intratextual rather than intertextual (413). Although series in which place functions as a narrative backdrop may remain engaged with place in limited ways, the long-form nature of television narratives creates a distinct engagement that draws out the value of spatial capital in conjunction with the development of stories and characters in an ongoing series.

In the case of a series like *Breaking Bad*, place is consistently utilized as a backdrop to heighten thematic impact or draw out character distinctions as the narrative unfolds. There is a conscious engagement with the landscape in the series. In the pilot episode, for example, the bank where Walt withdraws the money to pay for the R.V. is consciously isolated, surrounded by desert and mountains. Placing Walt's scene with Jesse within the landscape as opposed to a crowded urban environment calls attention to the characters' efforts to be as discreet as possible, while also previewing their journey into the desert to complete the cook in question. That iconic cook location in the Navajo reservation of To'hajiilee becomes crucial again at the end of the series, when Walt buries his drug money in the same location, and ends up in the middle of a shootout trying to ensure its safety. In one of the series' most powerful engagements with spatial capital, the opening scene of "Ozymandias" calls attention to this serialized use of location: beginning with a "flashback" to previously unseen moments from the events of the pilot, that scene ends with Walt in the foreground, and Jesse and the RV in the background, fading away (5.14). Then, following the series' opening title sequence, we see the same location, this time with the action from the previous episode—two vehicles, Aryan gunmen, Walt, his DEA agent brother-in-law Hank, and Jesse—gradually fading in, the location the link between the past and present (Figures 1 and 2).

However, although To'hajiilee is central to the series' narrative, its sense of spatial capital is defined purely through its aesthetic and symbolic value to the story. It is a landscape that is given meaning through the storylines that unfold within it, but the location itself holds no agency over that story—in this case specifically, the Navajo Nation plays no significant role in the series' narrative, with the series choosing not to engage with the cultural or political dimensions of those who own and govern the land in question. Although the episode is named after the reservation, and early speculation from *Vulture*'s Margaret Lyons—based on episodes of *The X-Files* (1993-2002), which Vince Gilligan wrote for, that took place on Navajo reservations—hoped that the episodes would explore the specifics of Navajo culture (2013), the series went no further in investing the series with the place-identity of the lands its characters occupied in these pivotal scenes.

While *Breaking Bad* is undoubtedly leveraging spatial capital in these scenes, tied to its use of Albuquerque filming lo-

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FIGURES 1 AND 2. TWO SCREENSHOTS FROM "TO'HAJIILEE", THE EPISODE 05.14 OF *BREAKING BAD*'. FIGURE 1 DISPLAYS WALT AND JESSE, RECREATING A SCENE FROM THE SERIES' PILOT. THEIR IMAGES FADE OUT LEADING INTO THE OPENING TITLE SEQUENCE, AFTER WHICH THE VEHICLES IN FIGURE 2 REEMERGES TO EMPHASIZE THE SERIALITY OF THIS PARTICULAR NARRATIVE BACKDROP.

cations distinct from shows filmed in other parts of the country, their investment with place is limited by their selective engagement with spatial capital. The series took full advantage of Albuquerque and the surrounding area to serve as an evocative and distinct backdrop for the series' narrative, but the resulting representations of place show limited engagement with the complexities of spatial capital, even if they are memorable in relation to the series' ongoing storytelling.

4. **PLACE AS NARRATIVE ENGINE**

Every television series has a narrative engine, which is distinct from the engines that drive cinematic storytelling. In order to generate enough storylines to support an ongoing television series, a show must start with a set of themes, situations, or character relationships that sustain the series moving forward, through what Michael Newman characterizes as the "beats and arcs" of TV narrative (2006). Whether considering a high school drama or a workplace sitcom, all shows rely on one or more engines to generate these beats and arcs, maintaining storytelling momentum through an entire season. In the context of contemporary drama, meanwhile, shows tend to rely on multiple engines, able to generate storylines that can function both episodically and serially over the course of a season or series.

Some engines are designed to last for a single season, whether in increasingly common short-order limited series like HBO's *True Detective*, or in shows like FX's *Justified* (2010-2015) where an episodic procedural engine—in this case, the Lexington, Kentucky office of the US Marshal Service—is supplemented by season-long narrative engines designed to start and finish within a single season. Such serialized arcs are more common in cable dramas, while procedurals like CBS' *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000-2015) tend to rely primarily on narrative engines like the workplace dynamics of a forensics lab, which in its basic day-to-day function generates over a decade of crimes to be investigated.

However, although plots and characters might be perceived as the most logical sources of narrative momentum, place is often a crucial component of these series' arc structures, and a productive narrative engine within these hybrid models. *Justified* has primarily remain focused on Kentucky more broadly, but the series used its second season to dig deeper into the local culture of Harlan County, with a season-long arc focused on drug matriarch Mags Bennett's efforts to defend her community against the threat of a mining company's attempts to access the nearby mountain. While Margo Martindale's Emmy-winning performance and the character's memorable exit were widely considered the season's largest contribution to the series, its use of Harlan as a narrative engine was equally crucial, grounding Mags's actions in their relationship to the community, and building a stronger sense of place that the show would continue to leverage into its final season, which was celebrated in part by a screening of the series in Harlan.

The strong relationship between seasonal serialized story arcs and place within shows like *Justified* has been more like-

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ly to draw the discursive engagement with spatial capital discussed in this chapter, but place equally functions as a narrative engine within episodic procedurals like *CSI*. The show's status as part of a larger franchise, and as part of a genre that relies on small variations to a basic episodic crime-solving template, could suggest that place functions as a narrative backdrop, with the *CSI* franchise moving the same basic procedural engine from Las Vegas to Miami and New York in its subsequent spin-offs. However, while certain episodes of *CSI* may rely on non-specific establishing shots of the Las Vegas strip as a way to add flourish to rote murder mysteries with limited ties to location, Derek Kompare argues in his book on the series that "Las Vegas is an essential component of *CSI*", specifically noting that "the component sensibilities of Vegas…—as indulgent resort, as workaday city, as mythic realm, and as environmental extreme—set the stage for a wide variety of compelling, horrific, and spectacular crimes." (2010: 54) Here, Kompare details how different spaces within Las Vegas function as separate yet interconnected engines for episodic storytelling, with the wilderness around Las Vegas proving as productive as the Las Vegas Strip most commonly associated with the city within the cultural imaginary; collectively, these four different points of view on the city create the diversity necessary to generate over 300 episodes of the series over fifteen seasons. For a show like *CSI*, place becomes a crucial narrative engine, with any given episode able to engage with Las Vegas from a new angle, albeit within short episodic stories.

5. **BACKDROP VS./AND/OR ENGINE: WELCOME TO TV'S MIAMI**

While the discourse of "place as character" serves as a broad evaluation of a series' spatial capital, separating it from shows in which place is apparently not a character, understanding place relative to narrative is not a question of definitive claims as to a series' engagement with location, nor is it about hierarchies of spatial capital. While we could generalize and suggest that shows that engage in place as a "narrative engine" are in a better position to investigate the sociocultural dimensions of spatial capital as opposed to shows in which place is a "narrative backdrop", this ignores the episodic and seasonal realities of television, in which a show's relationship to spatial capital will change over time as its narrative evolves. By utilizing these frameworks—place as narrative engine and place as narrative backdrop—to analyze narratively distinct dramatic representations of a single city like Miami, we can better understand how space and place intersect with different forms of dramatic storytelling, moving beyond discursive claims of "city as character" to consider how spatial capital is constructed on an episode-to-episode basis.

In his book on NBC drama *Miami Vice* (1984-1990), James Lyons notes the importance of the series' setting: Miami was undergoing a dramatic change in which increased Latin-American immigration—including the infamous 1980 Mariel boatlift—had ushered in a period of racial tension, and where the rise in the drug trade and related illegal activity would reshape Miami's reputation and begin a period of significant economic growth (albeit through drug money being laundered into construction projects). Lyons remarks that the resulting

> image of a subtropical city jittery on a cocktail of cocaine, currency, and construction lent itself readily to crime fiction, and De Palma's *Scarface* provided Yerkovich with the prototype for *Miami Vice*'s vision of high-rolling drug lords reveling in the trappings of the 1980s consumer boon (2010: 13).

Although *Miami Vice* would go on to become known for its contribution to television style under the guidance of Michael Mann, embodying what John T. Caldwell identifies as a "designer televisuality", it also signals a case of spatial capital being crucial to establishing a narrative engine—in this case a steady supply of crimes and criminals—to generate procedural storylines (1995: 86).

In order to explore these dynamics, I turn here to a case study of two more contemporary series set in Miami: Showtime's serial killer drama *Dexter* (2006-2013) and USA's spy drama *Burn Notice* (2007–2013). However, whereas *Dexter*—as a serialized premium cable drama with awards recognition and critical acclaim—has clearer access to discourses of spatial capital, considering the two series through the lens of narrative reveals a disconnect between serial storytelling and spatial capital, and undermines the cultural hierarchies that have been reinforced through the proliferation of "place as character" discourse.

5.1. **"Mutilated Corpses with a Chance of Afternoon Showers"*: Dexter's Mi*ami**

In one of the promotional images created for *Dexter* ahead of its first season, blood spatter analyst Dexter Morgan stands reading a copy of the fictional *Miami Star*, with the headline "Miami Killer Beats The Heat." He is wearing a colorful shirt,

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standing in front of a colorful backdrop, with bold hues tinting an image of what we can identify as Miami's South Beach (Figure 3)

The centrality of Miami in the promotion surrounding the series is a choice made by Showtime, but the setting itself was a choice made by author Jeff Lindsay, whose books about a vigilante serial killer served as the basis for the series. In a 2015 interview with Australia's *Cream Magazine*, Lindsay says that he "can't imagine [Dexter] being anywhere else". The interviewer, Antonino Tati, says Miami "seems the perfect setting for his dark shenanigans", and then asks Lindsay if he would agree that the city "stands for all the superficiality of the western world and yet, not far beneath it, lurks this certain darkness". Lindsay agrees with the leading question, and says "there's just something about the beautiful scenery and the palm trees and the pastel colors in the sky—all of that as the background for a headless corpse or two. It just makes it so much more interesting" (2015).

Dexter says much the same in the series' pilot. Arriving at the episode's first crime scene, Dexter remarks through voice over—a motif used heavily throughout the series—that "there's something strange and disarming about looking at a homicide scene in the daylight of Miami. It makes the most grotesque killings look staged, like you're in a new and daring section of Disney World." He dubs this "Dahmerland," after noted serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer. There is brightness to Miami, which makes for a strong contrast with the darkness of a crime series, especially one as dark as *Dexter*. One of the other crime scenes in the show's pilot takes place in a brightly lit Miami living room, with white furniture against white walls, which is that much more effective for showcasing the blood spatter Dexter uses to paint the audience a picture of the gruesome crime that took place. As Dexter says while observing another crime scene in the series' second episode, "Crocodile": "another beautiful Miami day: mutilated corpses with a chance of afternoon showers".

In promotional material released ahead of the series' debut, Showtime positioned Miami as part of what would make *Dexter* "thought-provoking", "complex," and "fascinating" drama. Identifying that the series would be shot in both Miami and Los Angeles, they suggest "the series captures the unique vibe and scenic vistas of South Florida. Gone are the pink flamingos, neon stucco and pastel suits of yore—this Miami is a character all its own." The deployment of the discourse of "place as character" is unsurprising, central here to Showtime's claims to the show's use of place transcending those that came before. Executive producer Clyde Phillips tells would-be viewers

FIGURE 3. A SHOWTIME PROMOTIONAL IMAGE FOR *DEXTER*'S FIRST SEASON.

"we are trying to show the Miami that you haven't seen", and that while they are shooting on location in Los Angeles and "in interesting parts of Miami", *Dexter* is ultimately "a show that's filmed on location in Dexter's soul, and it's all through his eyes that we are watching his own home movie" (Press Release).

As noted above, these discursive claims to spatial capital are limiting, particularly in the claims to be shooting on location in "interesting" parts of Miami—interesting to whom, and in what way? However, more importantly, the series is an ideal example of a case where place is positioned as crucial to a series when it in fact serves predominantly as a backdrop for narrative action unrelated to the location in question. While symbolic and evocative, extending from Lindsay's use of Miami in his novels, Dexter's negotiation of spatial capital showcases an uneven and limited engagement with the cultural identity of the Florida city, accepting its function as an "interesting" place to set this story, rather than a necessary dimension to telling it. It also demonstrates the challenge of engaging with spatial capital within serial narratives that consistently pull the character in question away from the intersectional spatial capital located in minor, episodic dimensions of the series' setting.

In the series' pilot, the spatial capital of *Dexter*'s Miami is activated in three ways. The first is through location shooting in Miami, which features more prominently in the early episodes than later in the first season, and all but disappeared as the show moved deeper into its run. The opening scene of the pilot features Dexter driving through South Beach at night,

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with its art deco hotels and bright neon lights. South Beach is crucial spatial capital within mediated images of Miami, with *Time Out Magazine* noting in 2014 that "every Miami scene ever filmed in any movie seems to have been shot here" ("South Beach Neighborhood Guide"). This iconography is subsequently supported by the second point of activation, Dexter's voice over, which dominates the series' point-of-view, and completes work—including those quotes mentioned above—to engage audiences with regards to the series' setting. As Dexter drives through South Beach, he remarks that "Miami is a great town. I love the Cuban food, the pork sandwiches—my favorite. But I'm hungry for something different now." Building on the reference to Cuban food, the pilot also uses its two Latino characters—Angel Batista and Maria La Guerta, both of Cuban descent—as markers of location, although primarily through their use of Spanish in the workplace as opposed to meaningful characterization tied to their heritage.

These place-making activities are effective at activating basic forms of spatial capital: it is clear that *Dexter* is set in Miami, and the series acknowledges basic facts about Miami's culture—the language, the music, the food—to engage the audience's own knowledge of the location. The show even inspired one ambitious fan, Gary Wayne, to devote significant time and energy to documenting the real location of every space featured in the series, using Google Maps and other forms of online forensics to discover which locations were really in Miami, and which were shot on location in Long Beach, California (2011). The spatial dimensions of his fandom speak to the series' commitment to spatial capital, and to the effectiveness of these place-making activities both in the series' pilot and throughout the show.

However, notably, none of the storytelling in either the first or second episode is driven by that culture. While various Miami locations serve as effective backdrops, the specific details of the Ice Truck Killer's murders have little to do with Miami, and Dexter himself shares no clear relationship to the local culture despite having grown up there. That the seasonal arc would be tied more to Dexter as a character than to Miami as a city makes sense, but it also limits the opportunities for the show to engage with place as a narrative engine. When the series focuses more on Miami in an episode where the Ice Truck Killer is leaving body parts around the city, the locations involved are all framed through their connections to Dexter's past. While the investigation eventually touches on the city's redevelopment, with one detective remarking that "the whole fucking city of Miami reinvents itself every five years", the point is raised primarily as a thematic backdrop for Dexter, who is haunted by his past and is confronting a fellow serial killer who knows his secrets. The Ice Truck Killer would be the first of eight seasonal arcs in the series that largely ignored the function of place as a narrative engine, content to play out the "interesting" contrast of Dexter's line of work set against the sunny Miami backdrop.

This is not to suggest that *Dexter* entirely ignored the possibilities presented by Miami for generating narrative developments. The show would often pair small developments in its ongoing case with Dexter investigating and eventually murdering a criminal, and during the middle of the first season one of these stories stretches across two episodes, and focuses on a human smuggler who is murdering those who illegally immigrate from Cuba but are unable to pay his fees. However, in "Crocodile" (1.2), which is the first episode to feature a substantial storyline of this nature, the character of Matt Chambers is consciously identified as a traveler, who tells Dexter that "there's nothing a new city can't cure" as he celebrates getting off on his latest hit-and-run rap. The series' average victim was not a character engineered out of the Miami setting, but rather a stock character who, like Dexter, is placed against the Miami background for dramatic effect.

Dexter's appropriation of the symbolic dimensions of Miami's spatial capital functions similarly to cases like *Breaking Bad*, wherein a base serialized storyline is inflected—rather than generated—by location. Over the course of the series' run, the continued presence of racial diversity and the series' use of the surrounding swampland in contrast with Dexter's white suburban existence would undoubtedly continue to connect to Miami in meaningful ways, but these negotiations of spatial capital are rarely connected to the negotiation of the show's serialized narrative. In general, serialized storytelling tends to be primarily drawn from plot and characterization, with place considered more of a static object despite the ways in which spatial capital can fluctuate over time. Although Dexter's cultural capital as an Emmy-nominated and critically acclaimed serialized drama allowed discourses of "city as character" to emerge around the series, the actual narrative reveals an evocative backdrop, with limited interest in place functioning as a meaningful narrative engine over the course of the series' run.

5.2. **"As long as you're burned, you're not going anywhere": *Burn Notice*'s Miami**

The symbolic Miami that *Dexter* used in its pilot is central to USA Network's spy drama *Burn Notice*, which in its love of non-specific establishing shots of bikini-clad women on South

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Beach and waves lapping onto the city's beaches epitomized the channel's "blue skies" programming philosophy—in fact, former NBC Universal Cable Entertainment president Bonnie Hammer revealed in a 2009 interview that the series was originally set in Newark, in "rat-infested alleyways", prompting her to request a change in location (Snierson 2009). "A couple weeks later," she explains, "we got the same fabulous voice in sexy Miami. It brought a sense of humor and levity to the series." In this way, the show's Miami setting was a conscious effort to retain this "blue-skies feel" albeit a case where place would seem to have been incidental to the genesis of character and plot in the pilot's original conception.

Despite this, *Burn Notice* is another series in which place has been identified as a character in the show, although notably by actors and fans, as opposed to critics (Gallagher 2009, Mitovich 2009).[2] The setting is certainly important to the show: as evidenced by the series' original Newark setting, Michael Westen could have been dropped into any city after being blacklisted by the CIA, yet the opening montage that begins each episode continually reinforces that it was Miami, where Michael grew up but has not visited for some time. The series' serial through-line focuses on Michael's efforts to escape from Miami, which the opening suggests he's not allowed to leave, investigating the people who "burned him" and trying to re-enter the agency. In these circumstances, Miami serves as a narrative backdrop to Michael's quest for redemption, as he gradually discovers that his real home is with his friends and family in a setting that suits USA's brand identity needs.

In this way, *Burn Notice*'s Miami functions as a backdrop similar to the city's function in *Dexter*, but the series' balance of serial and procedural narratives is distinct. While the serial components of *Burn Notice* show little engagement with the cultural specificity of its Miami setting, they make up a small portion of the series in its early seasons. While most episodes of the show involve some type of connection to the ongoing storyline, this often constitutes only a few scenes, compared to *Dexter* where the Ice Truck Killer storyline is the dominant narrative engine in most of the first season's episodes. Instead, *Burn Notice* relies more heavily on episodic storylines in its early seasons, with the procedural engine of Michael taking on freelance jobs to make ends meet driving the plot of most episodes. This engine is also distinct in the fact that it offers a greater variety of storylines for Michael to investigate: *Dexter*'s procedural engine of either fellow killers whom Dexter eliminates as a vigilante or cases being investigated by the Miami Police Department's Homicide Unit relies on the victims and perpetrators of violent crime, providing a limited vantage point into the culture of the city. By comparison, Michael Westen's set of skills are applied more broadly, allowing him to battle the same cartels as the Miami PD in one episode, while helping one of his mother's friends deal with a scam artist who conned her out of her retirement savings in another.

Similar to *Dexter*, the series' approach to Miami is reinforced in part through voice over narration. As Michael notes in the series' pilot, upon waking up in Miami after being "burned",

> Most people would be thrilled to be dumped in Miami—sadly, I am not most people. Spend a few years as a covert operative, and a sunny beach just looks like a vulnerable tactical position with no decent cover. I've never found a good way to hide a gun in a bathing suit.

This voice over echoes Dexter's detached relationship with Miami as a location, and draws out a similar contrast between Michael and Miami as was evident in the Showtime series between Dexter and Miami. The voice over plays over a sequence of images of women in bathing suits, a recurring motif that is joined by watersports and other beachside activities in the series' plentiful non-specific establishing shots. As compared with *Dexter*, however, the series uses more substantial location shooting, given it was exclusively shot in Miami over its seven seasons, meaning that Michael's voice over plays out between scenes of the character walking along South Beach, which would continue over the course of the series.

These sun-soaked establishing shots and voice over claims to spatial capital do not function alone, though, connecting to the pilot's episodic storyline. The plot sees Michael get involved in the case of Mr Pyne, a rich condo developer—a type found "everywhere nowadays", according to an art dealer Michael interviews as part of his investigation—and a victim of theft in the form of $22 million worth of goods missing from his waterfront estate. Michael is brought in to help clear the name of Pyne's Cuban caretaker, Javier (coincidentally played by David Zayas, who plays Batista on Dexter). Upon first meeting with Pyne, Pyne places Javier's presumed guilt in the eyes of the police in the light of Miami's racial poli-

2 The discourse also emerged in a Facebook discussion celebrating the show staying in Miami for its final season, with one user noting that "Miami IS a character in the show!!!"

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FIGURE 4: A SCREENSHOT FROM *BURN NOTICE*'S PILOT, FEATURING MICHAEL AND THE CHARACTER OF JAVIER. THE SKYLINE BEHIND THEM IS GIVEN ADDED MEANING THROUGH THE STORYLINE'S REAL ESTATE DEVELOPER VILLAIN, ASSERTING THE POLITICS OF CLASS THAT INFLECT THIS INTERSECTIONAL STORY OF A FALSELY ACCUSED INDIVIDUAL OF CUBAN DESCENT.

tics: "This is Miami—any incident and the police blame the nearest Cuban, or Haitian. You should have seen how they were all over my gardeners." In this scene and the one previous, stunning views of Miami's skyline can be glimpsed in the background, working in conjunction with the work done to establish Miami's local culture in previous scenes. However, the dialogue in the sequence works to outline the cultural politics of that skyline, emphasizing the racial dimensions of the case and the inherent intersectionality of spatial capital (Figure 4).

Embracing this intersectionality, the storyline engages the class politics of Miami, with the rich condo developer's manipulation of his Cuban caretaker framed relation to Miami's intense redevelopment. When Pyne is revealed to be a corrupt real estate developer who stole from himself in order to collect the insurance money so that he could cover illegal business dealings, it gives new meaning to the Miami skyline in the distance, as well as the non-specific establishing shots of waterfront condo developments used at various points in the episode. This intersection of race and class is built into the series' procedural engine, with Michael's cases often focused on those who are marginalized by society more broadly. In the pilot, a larger investigative firm refers the case to Michael when it is considered "too small", but Michael's disadvantaged position in Miami makes it ideal for his situation. This is similar to the season's seventh episode, "Broken Rules", where Michael is enlisted to help a local merchant in Miami's Little Havana neighborhood. It is also echoed in the season two episode "Truth and Reconciliation" (2.14), where Michael assists a Haitian national whose daughter was imprisoned and executed for speaking out against a corrupt government regime. In these cases, the show's narrative engine embeds Michael in the struggles facing these communities, and moves beyond the notion—expressed in the expositional sequence that opens each episode—of being "dropped in a city" to embrace Miami as a narrative engine in and of itself.

These negotiations of spatial capital continued over the course of the series, which would set scenes in abandoned condo developments and foreclosed mansions as the 2008 recession dramatically changed the realities of the real estate market. However, such developments would never emerge as the series' primary narrative motivation: although the engine at the heart of *Burn Notice* is well-suited to exploring the cultural politics of Miami as a distinct location, the spatial capital engaged by the series was limited by the series' place within USA Network's programming block. Although the "Blue Skies" brand would begin to fade as *Burn Notice* concluded its run, pushing shows more toward edgier, serialized storytelling, this change did not push the series toward embracing Miami as a narrative engine. Instead, as *Burn Notice* pushed further toward serialized storytelling in its sixth and seventh seasons, its narrative engine shifted almost exclusively to Michael's quest to restore his place within the espionage community, a shift that pushed the show further away from the specificity of its Miami location. Whereas we often associate complexity with seriality, in this case the complexity of the serialized case pushed the Miami location further into the background, replacing an episodic engine with the potential for stories rooted in Miami's spatial capital with a serialized engine tied to global espionage. Although the show's episodic storylines drew on this spatial capital inconsistently, they still represented an opportunity for more culturally specific storytelling, which would fade as the series moved away from its initial hybridity.

CONCLUSION

The discursive framework that results in place being identified as a "character" in a television series is logical, building on existing discourses in film and offering a shorthand way of acknowledging that a text has developed a strong sense of spatial capital. However, as demonstrated in this article, that framework has become entangled with discourses of le-

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gitimation that privilege complex serialized dramas, falsely suggesting that only those series that generate significant cultural capital warrant engagement with questions of spatial capital, and falsely associating seriality with a complex representation of a given location. As "place as character" becomes a tool that networks or creators use to legitimate their respective series, its usefulness as an analytical framework deteriorates, necessitating a more rigorous framework that derives from the manifestation of place in the text as opposed to the paratexts around it.

This article has offered such a framework, suggesting that we engage with place's relationship with television narrative by considering how it functions in a given series either as a "narrative backdrop" or a "narrative engine", or some combination thereof. By unpacking the way locations interact with television narratives that evolve over the course of a series' run, and can differ from episode-to-episode, these ways of engaging with spatial capital are better suited to addressing a wider range of television narratives, expanding beyond prestige dramas to consider how place intersects with both serial and procedural narrative formats, particularly given the increased hybridity of these modes in series like *Burn Notice*. Such a model also allows for a closer consideration of how other forms of identity—race, class, gender—intersect with spatial capital over the course of a series' narrative, topics that cannot be separated from an investigation of space and place. Rather than accepting the discursive claims that a city is "like a character in the show", this method breaks down the more complex intersections of place with character, theme, and narrative within a given series, and helps unlock a more nuanced understanding of the "place of place" in contemporary television storytelling.

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TILBURG IN *SMERIS*: LOCAL AUDIENCES ENGAGING WITH (FAMILIAR) LOCATIONS ON NATIONAL TELEVISION

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KEYWORDS
Local colour; audiences; location; place; television.

ABSTRACT
When a city that is rarely featured on television is used in a television series, local audiences get enthusiastic. Locations featured on screen have particular cultural values to those living close to these television locations. This article expands on local audiences' experiences by using a case study of the Dutch television series *Smeris*. Besides analysing the series and metadata, audience research, including Tweets and interviews, was conducted. While the first season of *Smeris* is set in Tilburg, the second season is mainly filmed in the capital Amsterdam. The normality of viewing Amsterdam on the screen is contrasted against the novel and special, yet familiar, experience of seeing Tilburg. Precisely because Tilburg is rarely featured on television, local audiences play with this physical place in relation to the place as featured on television. Local audiences may display their pride in this repositioning of Tilburg as a central figure. Locals may engage with the (mistakes within the used) mediated familiar locations. Moreover, residents may mix elements of reality (e.g. news articles) with events from the series. Thus, locals engage with this television series in for them new ways through mixing the places with their imagination.

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Television producers seem to prefer filming in one centre rather than in many different places. This may partly be attributed to cost-efficiency, convenience, and the cooperation of municipalities. However, sometimes series are situated in less central places. After the remake of *Doctor Who* (2005-) and *Torchwood* (2006–2011) the media landscape of the BBC seemed to change slightly in favour of Wales (Blandford and Lacey 2011). Local audiences thought that these series (*Torchwood* and *Doctor Who)* put their town of Cardiff on the map globally (Blandford and Lacey 2011) and allowed them "to play with the big boys of London" (Mills 2008: 391). However, being produced in Wales does not necessarily mean it is produced by people from Wales's creative industries, nor that it truly represents Wales to local audiences (McElroy and Noonan 2016). In the Netherlands, several series set in the periphery (albeit some still in an urban setting) have gained national success, such as the crime series *Flikken Maastricht* (2007-), *Hollands Hoop* (2014-), and *Smeris* (2014-).

While many Dutch television series take place in or around Amsterdam, the crime drama series *Smeris* placed the town of Tilburg on the centre stage in its first season. Local audiences celebrated the use of Tilburg. Disappointment was high, however, when the second season moved to Amsterdam, the most common setting for Dutch television series.[1] The second season, nevertheless, continued to refer to Tilburg and contrasted this 'peripheral' region against the 'centre', exemplified by Amsterdam. This dichotomy is presented not only as a physical move from the south of the Netherlands to the centre, but as a cultural difference as well. This move to Amsterdam makes this series particularly interesting as it contrasts two cities within one television series.

Expanding on existing research, this article will elaborate on the ways in which audiences experience these locations within a television series. Local audiences familiar with the settings in a program may engage with it differently than people who are unfamiliar with the locations on screen. This seems particularly the case for locations where filming rarely takes places. Because their typically marginal position has been reversed, local audiences have an unprecedented insider's perspective. Locals may engage with the imagined place of the fictional series as they integrate the series into social discourse. Even if such engagements are only temporary, they are still worthwhile to explore. Through analysing the series *Smeris* and examining audience responses through Tweets, interviews, and audience ratings, this article aims to understand how audiences interpret a national series that takes place regionally. This article examines how the city and region are given shape on television, but more specifically how people interpret these places in various ways, interweaving aspects of real-life with their imagination. However, before going into those aspects, *Smeris* will be introduced.

1. THE CASE OF *SMERIS* AND TILBURG

Smeris is a Dutch television series from public broadcaster *BNN*[2] and produced by Pupkin. So far, the series has aired three seasons, in spring 2014 and 2015, and the beginning of 2017.[3] The series revolves around two police officers, Theo Kamp and Willem Niessen, who initially play the typical good cop/bad cop routine. They get involved in the cannabis drugs scene in the first season, which eventually leads to a criminal network involved in hard drugs, trafficking in women, and prostitution in the second season. The humorous dialogue between the two characters sets it apart and is an important component of this crime drama series.

As common in the crime series genre, *Smeris* actively incoporates its location. Places or regions may have their distinctive atmosphere as the Nordic noir genre illustrates. Television crime drama's incorporation of place may let people engage with the specificity of their location while setting the scene and "offering a kind of photographic mood board for the series overall" (McElroy 2017: 14). The distinctiveness of its locations may even contribute to the success of a series, not only among local audiences but also people elsewhere (Turnbull 2015). The first season of *Smeris* actively engages with the city of Tilburg and its surroundings while the second season largely takes place in Amsterdam. The third season moves partly back to Tilburg, but this time the police station is in Hilversum.[4] The series is set within Tilburg, but seems to reflect the broader region of Brabant simultaneously. Tilburg is not a tourist destination and the city is often denigrated by both inhabitants and outsiders.

1 The crew argued in the media that the storyline caused the move to Amsterdam. Yet many people thought practical and economic reasons played a role because most of the crew and cast lives in or around Amsterdam. These arguments are supported by the fact that the third season takes place in Tilburg but is largely filmed in Hilversum.

2 BNN is a public broadcaster which targets its programs mainly at adolescents and young adults

3 While providing an interesting addition to the dynamics of place and representation, the third season is not considered here as it was not aired yet when this research was conducted.

4 Hilversum is the city where most national radio and television broadcasting agencies are hosted.

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Through several complementary methods, I set out to get a grasp of the local significance of this television series. My research consists of a combination of analysing the series and audience research. I conducted interviews with people who watched *Smeris* partly or completely. To gather respondents I posted a message in a Facebook group for *Smeris* background actors and sent letters to people whose houses were used. In total, I conducted nine interviews with twelve people (in three cases two people were present). The interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and one hour and forty-five minutes. The participants ranged in age from 19 to 67. Five of them were women and seven men. Seven of them live in Tilburg, three in the immediate surroundings of Tilburg, and two in another city in Brabant.

Furthermore, I collected all tweets containing the word 'Smeris' from 12 March 2014 till 24 August 2016 using TAGS (v5.1 and v6.0) (Hawksey 2013). I used Twitter messages to grasp people's immediate responses and to analyse how people make sense of this television series on a public media site (see Harrington et al. 2013). On Twitter, the crime series *Tatort* mainly generated a debate about the content of the episodes: "Users typically discuss the story, cast, and production value of the current episode" (Buschow et al. 2014: 144). This indicated that Twitter might be a good place to capture immediate responses to events happening in the episodes. Therefore, I was particularly interested in the period *Smeris* aired on television for the first time from March–May 2014 (Season 1) and March–June 2015 (Season 2). In total, I collected 38,568 tweets of which 15,587 started with 'RT' and hence are retweets. The tweets included both the use of #smeris and using 'Smeris' within a tweet. Most tweets relate to the television series, but in some occasions the word 'Smeris' is used to refer to cops in general. I analysed these tweets qualitatively by reading all the original tweets (not the retweets) and marked tweets that related to place in a broad sense.

Moreover, I requested the audience ratings for each *Smeris* episode from the television audience measurement service *Stichting KijkOnderzoek*, both for the Netherlands in total and for Brabant, the region in which Tilburg is located. Now that we have an idea of the series and the methods I have used, we can go on to discuss the local colour of the series.

2. **LOCAL COLOUR**

Series incorporating local colour do more than feature that locality. Being set in a specific place (a setting) differs from merely incorporating that place within the series:

> Local colour in a film or television drama series includes elements of representing place [...], language [...], cultural practices with a cultural proximity [...], social discourses and the "spill-over" of narrative meaning into the real world. (Eichner and Waade 2015: 4)

Television series may incorporate the place where they are located in implicit and explicit ways. A series may appeal to its audiences for its cultural specificity and its engagement with a locality (Turnbull 2015). A nation or region can use cultural symbols and representations to depict that place. Language is a powerful means that binds different people together, but also other aspects can serve as symbols for this imagined community. Television series build from and on "pre-existing discursive repertoires and patterns" (Dhoest 2007: 62). To make this idea of an incorporated banal nationalism more concrete, I elaborate on four main elements that Castelló (2009) specifies as aspects of nation building within television fiction. While he speaks about (stateless) nations, these four aspects also reflect how a region can be incorporated in a series.

First, territorial representations may transmit an idea of the nation. Even when 'imagined villages' are used, they often reflect a national impression, in that the scenery looks familiar and the architecture matches that which is associated with the nation. Second, language use is an important way to build a nation as language and dialect are important aspects of national and regional identities. Audiences recognize soaps as 'Scottish' or 'Catalan' mainly because of the language and accents (Castelló et al. 2009: 481). Third, cultural representations can be used in fiction to emphasize the nation. Such elements may include history, traditions, festivities, cuisine, etc. Sometimes stereotypical elements of a nation are used, particularly in stateless nations such as Flanders, Catalonia, and Wales. While viewers happily accepted series as Catalan or Scottish, "they engaged with them as sites of discursive struggle over the definition of reality" (Castelló et al. 2009: 481). The featured representations relied heavily on stereotypes and did not reflect audiences' everyday experiences. Cultural representations encompass more than stereotypes, but also include the local style and banal elements referencing the nation. Dhoest (2007) shows that the (sub)nation is reproduced through everyday common elements in Flemish fiction. Because viewers recognize the situations and locations the characters are in, not even thinking about it as specifically Flemish, they are recognized as part of an ordinary

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and normal everyday life: "As elsewhere, the settings signal taste, wealth and class, but always within the 'local' style" (Dhoest 2007: 69). Fourth, social discourses of a society may be used within fiction. For instance, fiction may deal with issues that are relevant to the nation (e.g. economic crisis) and reflect the ideological frame of that society (e.g. tolerance) (Castelló 2009).

The use of these four elements within a fictional television series is telling as to how a place is represented. The extent to which these elements are used with regards to a locality, and precisely how they are employed, reflects the local colour. Using one of these features alone does not necessarily mean that local colour is represented. A program may be set within a locality, and reflect this location, but might not necessarily engage with the specificities of the place. This means that even when iconic buildings are used, it does not necessarily result in a "deeper sense of place or contribute significantly to the narrative" (Murphy 2014: 39). *Smeris*, however, uses all of these elements to represent and visualize Tilburg and the Netherlands. In what follows, I will illustrate how *Smeris* has incorporated the four elements of nation-building discussed by Castelló (2009). In particular, I will incorporate and reflect on audience responses to these depictions of Tilburg and Amsterdam.

2.1 **Territory: Visualizing Tilburg and Amsterdam**

In the series, Tilburg is both visually and verbally emphasized as the setting. In contrast to some other regionally located series, only a few locations in the first season of *Smeris* are outside of Tilburg, most of which are close by and therefore justified in terms of the story. The opening sequence of the first episodes sets the tone by showing various images of Tilburg alongside the actors. Many people comment on the beauty of this. At several moments in the first couple of episodes, criminals talk over the phone while we are shown time-lapse imagery of Tilburg at night (Figure 1). The length of these shots, and the fact that the voices of the criminals are offscreen, puts more emphasis on the scenery, inviting the viewer to gaze at Tilburg. As one interview commented:

> Sven: What I think is beautiful from Season 1, is that you hear phone conversations with the criminals. You don't really know who is talking to whom, but you're only supposed to know later on in the series, and then during those phone conversations they do a time-lapse of Tilburg by night. I think that is really cool.
> (Interview with an extra from *Smeris*, living in Tilburg, June 2016)

Like Cardiff in *Torchwood*, such images present Tilburg as a generic modern city, but, simultaneously, specifically local aspects index it as Tilburg: "There is a pleasure in seeing a familiar place rendered, spectacularly, in an unfamiliar way" (Lacey 2013: 142). However, while viewers may enjoy such images of Tilburg, the city's depiction also contrasts with people's common assumptions, and so can produce a sense of irony. Instead of a small place, Tilburg is presented as a modern big city:

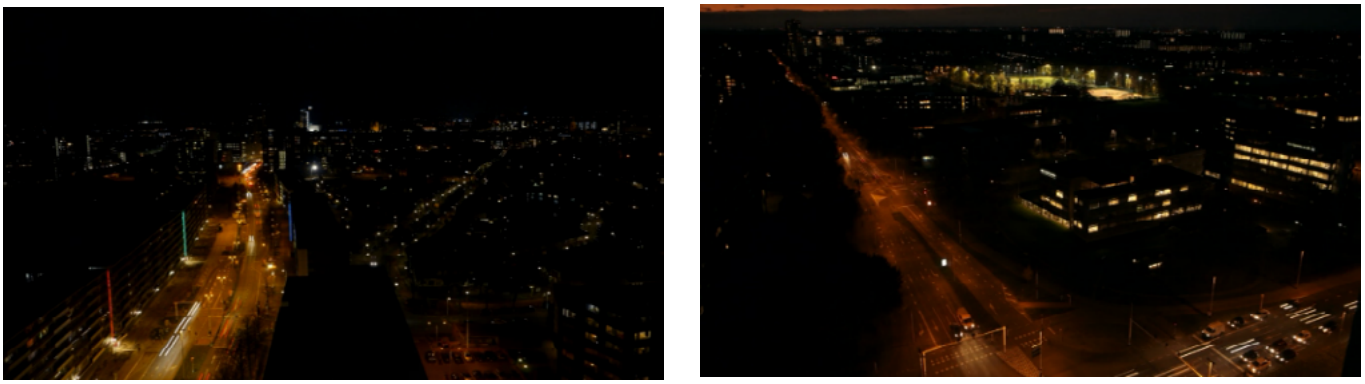

FIGURE 1. STILLS FROM THE TIME-LAPSE FOOTAGE OF TILBURG BY NIGHT (LEFT: *SMERIS* 1.02, PUPKIN; RIGHT: *SMERIS* 1.03, PUPKIN).

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FIGURE 2. THEO DRIVES FROM TILBURG TO AMSTERDAM FOR THE FIRST TIME (*SMERIS*, 2.01, PUPKIN).

> I am really rolling off the couch laughing, the Hart van Brabantlaan [a street in Tilburg] as so-called 'skyline' #Smeris
> (Twitter, March 2014)

In the second season, time-lapse footage of Amsterdam is used, although the presence of Amsterdam seems less prominent and intentional. The images are shown more briefly and are more familiar because of Amsterdam is so frequently depicted on television and film in the Netherlands.

In *Smeris,* Tilburg does not simply provide an anonymised setting or backdrop for the drama. In Season one, the series instead emphasises that its story takes place in the actual city of Tilburg. Tilburg is frequently referenced, and audiences noticed such remarks, such as in response to a scene in episode nine of season two, when a stumbling Sam comes home upon returning from Tilburg, where she has been drinking with Theo. "It looks like you had a lot of fun," says Esther. "Tilburg, top city!" Sam replies (2.09). A user on Twitter echoed the endorsement:

> #smeris Tilburg top city! Now we are talking!
> (Twitter, 24 May 2014)

Viewers not only actively engage with locations, but – as this comment on Twitter illustrates – also engage with direct, spoken references to Tilburg. Local people appreciate that Tilburg is featured and talked about on national television.

In the second season, the first episode still largely takes place in Tilburg, but towards the end of the episode, Theo gets in a car to drive to Amsterdam. Around thirty seconds are spent visualizing this transition: the highway, the signs passing by, and Theo in a car moving to Amsterdam (see Figure 2). This highlights the journey the characters and the series make. The car journey thereby relates to the narrative of leaving Tilburg behind. Except for the scene following this one with another character, the next (brief) return to Tilburg is in the fourth episode.

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On several more occasions, the characters move from Tilburg to Amsterdam,[5] or vice versa, or make other cross country journeys. In *Smeris*, these journeys are visualized by fast-forward images of the highway. These images invoke a sense of familiarity, as they present the very same highways that Dutch people routinely use. The blue signs and matrix signal indicators register the place as the Netherlands. While in the first season, Theo and Willem were frequently seen in a car, they often remained within the realms of Tilburg and its surroundings. Here, the featured car journeys hinge segments together and illustrate the travel from one place to another. Simultaneously they are narrative segments whereby the conversations within the car characterize the emerging bond between the two police officers (see Bignell 2017). In the second season, the characters move much farther. The bridge and tunnel in television series *Bron/Broen* (Danish/Swedish), *The Bridge* (American) and *The Tunnel* (British/French) function as a metaphor for collaboration – building bridges – while conveying a sense of distance between the two respective countries and cultures (Agger 2016, García Avis 2015). In a similar way, the move by car from Amsterdam to Tilburg shows its distance and closeness at the same time. As the shots are sped up, the characters quickly move from one place to another. However, the need to move also highlights the distance they travel.

2.2 **Language: Talking Tilburgian and other languages**

The series is called *Smeris*, a Dutch variant for the term 'cops'. This is a little ironic, as the Tilburgian criminals in season one of *Smeris* use the term *'wouten'* to refer to the police, while the Belgian criminals in *Smeris* use the word *'flikken'*. It is only in season two, in Amsterdam, when someone uses the term '*smeris'* for the first time. These three different words (*smeris, wout, flik)* index three different linguistic or geographical areas. In Tilburg, and several other regions, people often use the term *wouten* to refer to the police. Hence, some tweeters wondered why the series was not called *wouten* as that would have better reflected the local colour.

Most of the language used in *Smeris* is standard Dutch, and some characters in the first season have a soft *g*, a feature or pronounciation that is a characteristic in the south of the Netherlands. Some Brabantish words such as '*houdoe'* ('bye') and '*ons* Gaby' ('our' Gaby) are used by several characters. This type of language use is easily understood by the wider Dutch audience, but still indexes Brabant. While the main supporting characters do not speak Tilburgian, some of the guest roles use a distinctive Tilburg accent. Some television viewers appreciate the use of Brabantish language, though other viewers also judged some attempts to speak Brabantish as sounding 'fake' and missed the typical Tilburgian dialect. The use of Tilburgian, or the use of an accent from this region, made the series more authentic to some:

> #Smeris takes place in Tilburg and I actually hear soft gs. This is in contrast to other series that are set 'regionally'.
> (Twitter, March 2014)

Additionally, some English is incorporated, particularly by certain criminals. Both the use of Tilburgian and some inserted English phrases are considered ordinary in the first season as the lack of subtitles emphasizes. The subtitled use of English and German, mainly in the second season, highlights the international scope of the story. Belgian criminals also play an important role, particularly in the second season. Besides the occasional subtitled French when talking to each other, the Flemish criminals' Belgian Standard Dutch is subtitled. When Flemish characters speak to Dutch characters, the Belgian Dutch of the criminals is subtitled but the Netherlandic Dutch of the other character is not.[6] Flemish programmes in the Netherlands and fiction from the Netherlands in Belgium often have subtitles. People have mixed feelings about the inclusion of such subtitles and this is also reflected in responses to *Smeris*:

> Anyone who doesn't understand it without subtitles? Annoying! #smeris
> (Twitter, April 2015)

While these subtitles are included for comprehension, it also distances the Flemish people from the Dutch. While (most of) the audience understands the Flemish characters, the inclusion of subtitles suggests otherwise. In contrast, Brabantish characters are not subtitled. Thus, the subtitles create a subtle sense of similarity for the Brabantish with other Dutch people, while the Flemish are represented as culturally more distinct.

5 The distance from Amsterdam to Tilburg is around 110 km and while this may be considered relatively small, within the Netherlands this distance of one and a half hour is not considered short.

6 The subtitling practices are somewhat different on the DVD from the episodes as featured on television.

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2.3 **Cultural proximity**

Culturally, Brabant and Tilburg are emphasized through (stereotypical) Brabantish jokes or use of Brabantish elements. For instance, the sausage roll, a type of food acknowledged as Brabantish cultural heritage, is incorporated multiple times. Moreover, songs by local artists, possibly with a clear reference to Brabant, are used in pub settings. For instance, the tune *Brabantse Nachten zijn Lang* (Brabantish Nights are Long) is played in a bar. Some ironic responses on Twitter criticized the production for going overboard with Brabantish references. For others, however, such references went unnoticed or were appreciated:

> OMG! Brabantish nights are long... #smeris @[name] ;) they constantly play this in all the pubs here ... #brabantishnights #smeris
> (Twitter, March 2014)

In this way, *Smeris* incorporates popular culture in order to situate it within the local context. The producers really seemed to want to engage with Tilburg as a locality beyond merely using it as the backdrop of the series. In the second season, such references to Tilburg and Brabant remain. The centre, Amsterdam, is culturally opposed against the 'provincial' city of Tilburg. In season two, we see that one of the Amsterdam police officers often degrades Willem's character for being provincial:

> Arthur: A drugged girl in the back of a van might be trafficking in women in Brabant, but here we just call it Wednesday afternoon.
> (*Smeris,* Season 2, Episode 3)

Moreover, the characters in the series regularly joke about Brabant and Tilburg as opposed to Amsterdam. Looking more at the subtle, banal elements of everyday life within *Smeris*, we can observe the national discourse (e.g. number plates, road signs, police officers). Simultaneously, the buses and trams reflect the local sphere, as transportation companies in the Netherlands are also region-specific. Such subtle elements indicate and register the places as familiar from one's everyday life.

2.4 **Social discourse**

The last of the four elements of nation building – social discourse – is also incorporated within *Smeris*. The series engages with contemporary issues, also serving its public service. The first season revolves around drugs, specifically cannabis – Tilburg is reputed to have a substantive cannabis scene (e.g. Haenen 2014). Regardless of the accuracy of this claim, it has been argued that this aspect of Tilburg's reputation contributed to the selection of the city as a location for *Smeris* (Willems 2014). Interview respondents often emphasized the relevance of drugs as a social issue when asked about the role of Tilburg in the series:

> Suzanne: It is of course a city where many dealers, where uh... yeah, they often find ecstasy labs, so yeah, it is not strange that they do it here.
> (Interview with extra from *Smeris*, living in Tilburg, July 2016)

The specific locations strengthen this link to social discourse. One respondent told me that one of the locations used in the series had actually been a grow house, and in another case, people had grown cannabis in one of the streets that features in the series.

In the second season, the crime scene is extended beyond soft drugs to hard drugs and trafficking in women. This arguably reflects social discourse around the capital of the Netherlands, because prostitution is an issue often associated with Amsterdam.

Smeris actively engages with Tilburg by incorporating these four elements of nation building or local colour: territory, language, cultural proximity and social discourse. The combination of these elements in the creation of a regional identity, as we will see, is what attracts viewers to the series, as it enables and activates knowledge, participation and community in the audience. In the following discussion, I elaborate more on audiences' interpretations of Tilburg in terms of the city's visualisation in *Smeris*.

3. **LOCAL REASONS TO WATCH**

Audiences may watch programmes for reasons related to the locality. For instance, Griffiths (2009) reports that among local viewers of *The Edge of Love* (2008), the inclusion of the town and local people was one of the main reasons to watch the movie. And while most local viewers were generally positive about the movie, some inhabitants of the featured town thought not enough locals featured in the final product. The production had involved the active participation of many locals and a disruption of their everyday life, but not all local elements made it to the final cut. Consequently, some local

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residents were dissatisfied when they realized that many local roles were cut out (Griffiths 2009).

Tilburgians reported that the fact that the series was set in their home town was (one of) the reasons to start viewing *Smeris*. Some residents reported that they stopped viewing *Smeris* when the series moved its location to Amsterdam. One respondent formulated this quite boldly:

> Sofie: but yeah you miss the part of Brabant and then it becomes an ordinary series like Baantjer and Van Speijk and so on. I think that's too bad and then, and then I think I've seen that [kind of series] so many times, that I don't think it's uh... worth watching anymore. That sounds stupid, but yeah I follow a lot of crime series and then at some point the newness, the specialness, is lost when you move [the location of the series] to Amsterdam.
> (Interview with extra from *Smeris*, living in Tilburg, June 2016)

Sofie also mentions that many of her friends living close to, or in, Tilburg stopped watching *Smeris* once it moved to Amsterdam. She, herself, did not watch it anymore because Tilburg was no longer featured in the series, and because of that, the series' distinctiveness was lost. The data on audience measurement I received from Stichting KijkOnderzoek (2015), visualized in Figure 3, support the argument that less people from Brabant viewed *Smeris*'s second season. At the beginning of the first season, *Smeris* was watched by a disproportionate share of Brabanders, more than would be expected given their numbers among the general population. While this audience group diminished towards the end of the season, Brabantish viewers returned for the beginning of the second season. From the fifth episode in the second season onwards, neither more nor less Brabantish people were watching *Smeris* than expected based on the percentage of Brabanders in the Dutch population. From this data, it becomes evident that the number of people from Brabant who watch *Smeris* is related to whether or not the series features Tilburg.

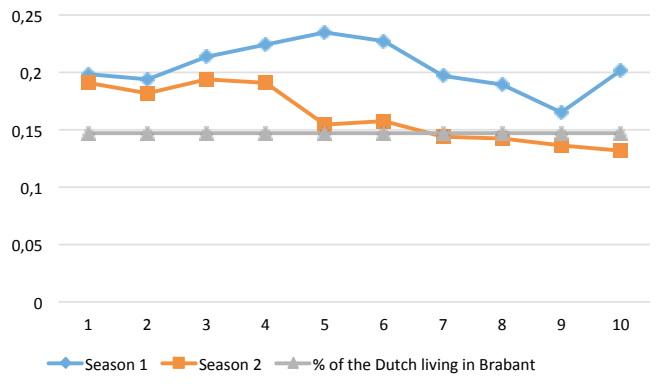

FIGURE 3. PERCENTAGE OF VIEWERS FROM BRABANT PER EPISODE (DATA FROM STICHTING KIJKONDERZOEK 2015).

4. LOCATION SPOTTING

The data discussed above indicates that local viewers may watch a series because it takes place in their city. Related to this is the way that many local viewers – not only fans or people who strongly identify with Tilburg – may look to recognise the drama's locations while watching *Smeris*. Some viewers watch an episode multiple times because, paying more attention to the locations, they had not sufficiently followed the story on their first viewing, or because they would like to explore the locations further:

> Maria: So I am pretty glad that my daughter taped it, because you're not really watching the story consciously, but only watch the locations and whether you can recognize them.
> (Interview with couple whose house is used in *Smeris*, September 2016)

Audiences enjoy seeing familiar places on the screen and are actively involved in spotting locations. Blandford et al. (2010) report that around 60% of their respondents indicated that spotting recognizable locations added to the enjoyment of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*. Audiences may spot two different types of locations. First, typical recognisable landmarks are spotted (e.g. the London Eye in London, the bridges over the Rhine in Cologne, Westpoint in Tilburg). Second, local audiences may search for places to which they connect personally (e.g. 'their' street, the park in which they always sit) (Bollhöfer 2007).

Looking for locations continues after watching the episodes. Many respondents discussed *Smeris* with others, and in particular the locations that were used in the series. People have sometimes gone to great lengths in trying to find some locations, sometimes even without success. By speaking about the location they recognise, residents may display their own Tilburgianness. This is even stronger when locals recognise (continuity) mistakes.

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Whereas media tourists may search for inconsistencies between the actual location and its depiction onscreen (see Reijnders 2011), locals may spot these discrepancies while watching. While some dislike this inaccuracy, others take pleasure in it. For them, it adds to the enjoyment of the show:

> I am very curious about where the Smeris actors will get out of the teleportation machine this time! #smeris #nederland3 [the television channel on which it is aired] #tilburg
> (Twitter, March 2014)

The teleportation machine refers to the ability of characters to, for instance, be inside a building in one place in Tilburg, but when leaving this place exit onto a different street in another part of Tilburg. Another participant enjoyed recognizing that the characters, shown to be on a particular street from one camera angle were shown to be on a different street when the image cut to a new camera viewpoint. The knowledge of these continuity 'faults' provides certain viewers with a privileged position of 'being in the know'. Beeton observes a "dissonance" that can be experienced by tourists who visit filming locations, but such an experience can be obtained by local inhabitants as well:

For some, the dissonance between reality and fiction may detract from the viewing experience, but for many it appears that having knowledge of the process imbues that person with some cultural cachet. Through knowing the inconsistencies between reality and fiction, the person becomes an "insider" to certain knowledge that was, in the past, the reserve of those in the industry. (2005: 235)

Thus, regional viewers enjoy *Smeris* because it incorporates a familiar setting that is not usually featured on Dutch television. Moreover, the setting retains its essential character throughout the series. Especially the extras and home-owners I interviewed had gained knowledge about how a series is produced, and thus could claim Beeton's 'cultural cachet'. Also, those who were not involved in the series' production still had an insider's perspective that viewers unfamiliar with Tilburg do not possess.

On Twitter, it was more common to find 'location spotting' in messages that were written in response to episodes set in Tilburg or other out of the ordinary places. Nevertheless, some Twitter users did proclaim their recognition of locations in Amsterdam-set episodes. However, the relative scarcity of such messages suggests that even if people in Amsterdam recognize locations, they hardly talk about it on Twitter. In fact, some tweeters who recognize Amsterdam locations live outside of the city. Moreover, such messages are not inflected with pride to the same extent as those from Tilburg. People in Amsterdam are more used to seeing their city on the screen, and so the specialness of recognizing one's own locality onscreen is not publicly celebrated.

5. SMERIS LOCATIONS AND THEIR MEANING

By being featured in a series, places can gain additional meaning (Bollhöfer 2007). In the case of media tourism, people explore places they know largely or only through the depiction of those places in the media. Residents of those places, however, may find them imbued with new meaning after seeing them depicted in a television series. People may remember the scenes of a series or movie when they are at the actual sites (Blandford and Lacey 2011, Blandford et al. 2010). Mills (2008) speaks of additional place making as the locations gain, next to the existing meaning they already hold for the residents, new meaning due to the representation on screen. Locals may need to fit the meanings of the fictional screen locations with their existing ideas about the places. Tilburg locals on Twitter also commented on their encounters with locations used in the series:

> Special place for a meeting: the 'police station' #smeris #tilburg – unfortunately without officers! [Includes a picture from inside of the building used as police station in Smeris]
> (Twitter, May 2014)

In his examination of media tourism, Reijnders (2011: 105-6) indicates two main forms to make a piece of imagination that is essentially immaterial (e.g. a story) tangible. The first mode is a rational mode in which media tourists are trying to compare reality with how they imagined the place from a movie or series. People use an emic differentiation of imagination and reality to categorize their experiences (Reijnders 2011). This corresponds with the earlier discussion on spotting locations and inaccuracies within television series. This comparison of Tilburg on screen with the physical Tilburg helps to disentangle each from the other. The Tilburg on the screen is separated from and compared with the physical place.

A second mode is an emotional-intuitive mode in which people search for bodily proximity. They want to be part of their imaginative world, and thereby experience these places themselves (Reijnders 2011). For instance, in the tweet below, the per-

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son is not trying to compare the media representations with reality, but rather she enjoys the correspondence between the two:

> TOO funny to see the lights of #Westpoint #Tilburg from my bedroom while simultaneously being the scenery on TV in #smeris
> (Twitter, April 2014)

Residents not only spot locations they know, but they relate these featured locations to their own experiences.

> Haha and that that woman then says: 'The neighbourhood is going down' about the street where I have already lived for 13 years. #smeris
> (Twitter, March 2014)

The above tweet illustrates how a fictional situation on television may be integrated with the viewer's own life, while continuing to maintain a distinction between fiction and reality. The tweeter laughs about how her neighbourhood is considered 'bad' in the fictional series. Had it been non-fiction, she might not have laughed because it would have reflected her actual street. The same person writes another tweet a couple of minutes later, in which she continues to comment on the character Loes who lives on that street:

> It all worked out for Loes, we as neighbours got her through this all, shhh. #smeris
> (Twitter, March 2014)

Regardless of whether (in the series) neighbours actually helped Loes handle the bad situations, it is interesting how this viewer integrated her media consumption with her own frame of reference. People pretend, for a moment, they are part of the series, despite being perfectly aware of the distinction between fiction and reality.

Fans often engage with television characters online, for instance by making fan Twitter accounts for the characters. With *Smeris*, such fans (ironically) integrate real news with the fiction of *Smeris*. For instance, some respond to posts about news concerning drugs in Tilburg with #smeris, playing with television meeting reality:

> Theo Kamp and Willem Niessen intercept another big drug shipment in Tilburg http://t.co/LB5mFoyIA9 [link to news article] #Smeris
> (Twitter, June 2014)

This mixing of screen and street perfectly reflects the "spill-over of narrative meaning into the real world" that is also a component of local colour (Eichner and Waade 2015: 4). *Smeris* integrates Tilburg's 'problems' into the drama and subsequently the series' fiction is incorporated back into the real-world social problems. Relating actual news events to the fiction series *Smeris* doesn't appear to happen as frequently in Amsterdam. While this may be due to the different social discourse addressed in Amsterdam (prostitution, hard drugs), it could also be because Tilburg is rarely featured on TV. People connect real-life scenarios to those happening within fictional television series due to the novelty of seeing Tilburg on screen. Since a place that is usually in the shadow now becomes the centre of attention, people (fans or people from Tilburg) are speaking about it. In contrast, because of the abundant depictions of Amsterdam, such references are more frequent, routine, and less interesting.

While, on the one hand, local audiences seem to be more aware of the differences between screen and reality, they also feel a greater need to integrate the two because of their familiarity with the locations. People start to imagine they are in the series, as they know the surroundings, or, vice versa, start to imagine the fictional characters acting in their everyday surroundings. Precisely because Tilburg is not a place they know mostly from television (as Amsterdam may be to many Tilburgers), but because of their intense familiarity with the physical place, the integration of the two becomes more interesting. Nevertheless, such symbolic layers should not be exaggerated. While for fans, visiting a media location might be special and may involve some enactment of the series, after seeing such places on a more regular basis, these locations become normal again, especially for ordinary viewers.

This marks a point of difference from the account given by Mills (2008), who has reflected academically on his own relation to *Torchwood* in which his house was also featured in a passing shot. However, he no longer lives in this house, nor even in the town where *Torchwood* is filmed. I would say that for Mills, *Torchwood* became a sort of souvenir for this place, a means of revisiting it without actually going there. The inability to see the house everyday makes its depiction on television even more special, as it provides a point of access to one's memories of the place. It may be similar to how watching a tourist destination on television after one's visit might revive memories of one's trip. Inhabitants who still live in these places encounter these locations more frequently. While in the beginning, Tilburg locals may think about *Smeris* in relation to locations around the town, this quickly wears

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off as they continue encountering these places in real life, but the episodes of *Smeris* are no longer broadcast on television. The additional meaning attributed to the locations is only temporary, and may only be evoked again in specific contexts.

6. **NO LONGER 'OURS'**

Finally, the idea that the periphery becomes the centre is also one of ownership. Not only are local viewers watching the series differently, some claim it as theirs. In a similar vein, people from Wales may take ownership over *Torchwood*:

> Identifying places as familiar becomes a way of taking ownership of the programme, of staking a claim to be at the centre of things for once, reversing the position of marginality that normally pertains for small nations invisible amongst larger ones. (Blandford and Lacey 2011: 7)

When the periphery becomes the centre, a re-positioning of Tilburg occurs, even if this is only temporary. Some respondents spoke of 'we' and 'us' being featured in the series. Not only are 'we' featured, but 'we' also produce the series. Respondents take some ownership of programme, simply because it is within their proximate surroundings:

> Sofie: The series was really Brabantish. I hope really that it will return to uh.. Tilburg, or at least somewhere in Brabant. So that we Brabanders can also show that we can make a series.
> Sandra: Even though the producers remained the same.
> Sofie: I mean more that we can represent Brabant, that's more how I mean it.
> (Interview with extra from *Smeris,* living in Tilburg, June 2016)

This ownership is particularly evident when *Smeris* moved from Tilburg to Amsterdam in the second season. People particularly dismissed the (boring) standard choice of Amsterdam, rather than another atypical city. Some locals feel that because it is set in Tilburg and uses local features, *Smeris* is a series about themselves.

Both the setting and local colour provide handles for identification. Literature on domestic adaptations of productions suggest that series are often modified to fit with localized customs and ideas, thereby creating cultural proximity (Beeden and De Bruin 2010). Such adaptations may facilitate recognition, identification and credibility among viewers through, among other things, the use of banal elements (Adriaens and Biltereyst 2012). Straubhaar (1991) argues that audiences have a craving for cultural proximity, for media products from their own (local) culture. Such cultural proximity does not necessarily have to relate to the locality, as people may share cultural and moral values from other parts of the world (Castelló 2010). The responses to *Smeris* suggest that in the case of a Dutch series, which uses the four elements of nation building (Castelló 2009), this recognition and identification is strong among local viewers. Series may resonate among local audiences for a recognition that is hardly found elsewhere in popular culture. This is not to say that other television series do not involve any familiarity, as national discourse is still recognizable and viewers may be involved, and identify, with the series in different ways, such as by relating to the stories personally. This change of scenery nevertheless gives some locals an appreciation of the local colour that goes beyond merely recognizing the locations:

> Sven: I think recognition, maybe very stupid, but just the accent is understandable but might need to be subtitled for some people.
> (Interview with extra from *Smeris,* living in Tilburg, June 2016)

This quotes illustrates that respondents enjoy this recognition, and the familiarity of the language, that is part of the local colour of *Smeris*. Sven notes how he enjoys the recognition and familiarity of watching *Smeris*. Moreover, he emphasizes the fact that the language he is (more) familiar with is now on television. While for those living in other places in the Netherlands, the language might need to be subtitled, the language spoken in *Smeris* is understandable and familiar to *him*.

7. **CONCLUSIONS**

In this article, I have explored people's responses to *Smeris* and its local colour by examining the episodes in combination with interviews and Twitter analysis. In its first season, this Dutch television series put the atypical city of Tilburg at the centre of attention. The series visualizes Tilburg, incorporates regional accents, jokes, and cultural references, and integrates the social problems of the city in the series. The

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news reporter in *Smeris* states about a crime scene: "It really is an American big situation, here in trusted familiar Tilburg" (1.06). This sentence summarizes how Tilburg is represented within this television series: while the visualization of Tilburg, particularly the time-lapses, imply Tilburg's spectacular (American) scope, the playfulness of a familiar Tilburg is created through the recognizable locations and the extensive use of jokes, both about Brabant and about other subjects. Tilburg in *Smeris* is thus presented as both grand and gritty, cosy and fun.

Locals express their pride at Tilburg being featured in *Smeris*. Some local audiences may spot locations, and may even enjoy seeing the familiar on television, without feeling proud. Not all respondents feel equally strongly about Tilburg being featured. Some argue it is merely fun to see Tilburg on screen, but no more than that. However, a number of Tilburgers, integrated their daily lives with the series, identified and personalized locations, even going so far as to blur the lines between fact and fiction in order to consolidate these connections and meanings. This is also illustrated by the intense disappointment when the series moved away from Tilburg to Amsterdam in the second season. Locals appreciate the use of Tilburg because, for once, 'they' also are featured on the national screen. This is strengthened by the fact that Tilburg is not only featured as an anonymized backdrop, but through the handling of local colour it is constantly emphasized that *Smeris* in fact takes place in Tilburg. Locals spot locations and discuss this. For once, they are insiders in a television series because they know the ins and outs of the city, and can spot inconsistencies in the series' depiction of the city's locations. While some locals simply watch and enjoy Tilburg on screen, others display their Tilburg pride through this behind-the-scenes knowledge of faults and inconsistencies, and thereby display their own Tilburgianness as 'their' city finally features in a nation-wide broadcast.

The pride of seeing 'your own' place on television may also be expressed by relating the series to actual incidents. People start integrating *Smeris* in the social discourse, mixing the series' events with those from the news. People take the 'screen' to their 'neighbourhood' as they appropriate the places visualized onscreen to their own situations. In the case of *Smeris*, Tilburg is not simply featured on television as it actually is in the real world, but in a way that allows Tilburg locals to engage with their city as an imagined place. Precisely because Tilburg is not a place local audiences mostly know from television, but rather as a result of their intense familiarity with the physical place, the integration of the physical place and the one featured on television becomes appealing. Moreover, the fact that Tilburg is not often featured, and this is an activity one is normally not able to participate in, makes this combination of reality and fiction more appealing.

Engagement with *Smeris* on screen and in locals' everyday lives is about involving themselves with their environment in a new way: through fiction. Just as fans may immerse themselves in the media they adore (e.g. media tourism, fan fiction), people who are (strongly) attached to Tilburg may more eagerly engage with integrations of reality and fiction. If neither the place, nor the series means anything to someone, he or she may not be tempted to engage with the series in a more intense way. Thus, locals integrate elements of fiction and reality; through searching for and engaging with the locations used in the television series and through engaging the issues of *Smeris* in social discourse. Locals have new opportunities to engage with a television series because they know the places on the screen. Nonetheless, this engagement should not be exaggerated as this may be only temporary. While additional layers of meaning may be added to locations, this quickly submerges again as people continue to live in this physical Tilburg, part of their everyday life.

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THE ENGLISH VILLAGE IN *EMMA*: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF HERITAGE DRAMAS, LOCATION FILMING AND HOST COMMUNITIES

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KEYWORDS
English village; heritage series; location filming; host community; film-induced tourism.

ABSTRACT
This article considers location filming for heritage dramas in rural England, focusing on the experiences of the communities that "host" television crews during production. The article specifically examines the filming of the 2009 BBC adaptation of Jane Austen's *Emma*, for which the historic Kent village, Chilham, doubled as the fictional Highbury. In doing so, it interrogates two central aspects. First, it illuminates some of the practical issues and economic and cultural impact of location filming for heritage dramas within rural areas. Second, it reflects upon how a community experiences and responds to its status as the host of such a series, considering the impact this has upon questions of identity and heritage. The article draws upon original empirical research, oral history interviews and community archive building conducted within the Chilham community and with Kent Film Office. It explores the memories and experiences of the local population involved in the television location filming process, as both spectators and participants. We thus consider the significance of location from the point of view of those who solicit, resist, profit from, and are caused problems by the temporary transformation of their local space into a television drama shooting space, forging new connections between production practices, location shooting and heritage series and national television/cinema.

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In April 2009, a television production team arrived in the historic English village of Chilham, in the southeast county of Kent, for a weeklong shoot. The attractive village, replete with original period features including Tudor and Jacobean houses and a Norman-built church, had been chosen to double as the fictional market village of Highbury in the BBC's new serial adaptation of Jane Austen's *Emma* (1815). Airing the following autumn, the production strengthened Chilham's standing as a favoured site for location shooting for feature films and television series. The village has been used repeatedly as a rural and heritage filming location across the decades, appearing in Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's war-time film *A Canterbury Tale* (1944) and a range of literary adaptations – such as the small screen offering *Hercule Poirot's Christmas* (1994) – as well as one-off episodes in magazine or reality television series such as *Top Gear* (2002-). In light of this history, the village has rightly earned a prominent spot on Kent Film Office's online resource "Movie Map Live" (http://kentfilmoffice.co.uk/kent-movie-map/moviemap-live-2/).

The presence of the BBC crew added a new chapter to the on-going story of Chilham's identity as regular "host" to film and television crews, where residents and locals have seen the everyday spaces of the village, including the "anatomical essentials" of its church, houses and fields (Massingham 1966 [1952]: 191), transformed temporarily into filmic and televisual *mise-en-scène*. With its four-part structure, high production values and prized Sunday evening slot, *Emma* provides a rich case study for exploring the use of villages in British television series, particularly the importance of shooting on location within contemporary heritage dramas and the impact that this has on host communities.

In recent years location filming has proved an exciting new area of interdisciplinary study for a range of scholars, yielding rich explorations concerning the representation and perception of place (see, for example, Martin-Jones 2005, Roberts 2012), film-induced or screen media tourism as a growing phenomenon (Beeton 2005, Reijinders 2011), and the development of multiple alternative "Hollywoods" that offer distinct cultural and economic frameworks for film and television production in a new global media environment (Gasher 2002, Goldsmith et al. 2010, Tinic 2015). Whilst our research aligns with this work, we offer a new focus on how location filming affects and shapes the experiences of those who permanently inhabit "host" spaces for film and television production. By exploring the highly localised environment of the rural English village and its use within heritage television dramas, we employ a methodology that draws attention to this hitherto under-explored area within location filming debates. Using Chilham as a case study, we have been able to combine traditional textual analyses with original empirical research and public engagement work, including oral history interviews with Chilham residents and Parish Councillors as well as a semi-structured interview with Kent Film Officer, Gabrielle Lindemann, who served as a key figure in co-ordinating the 2009 *Emma* shoot. This allows us to put into dialogue concerns that are often considered mutually exclusive, forging new connections between production practices, location shooting and heritage series and national television/cinema, as well as ideas about community and film-induced tourism.

The article suggests that the process of hosting acts as a catalyst for new negotiations and understandings of rural community identity. We argue that exploring the memories and experiences of village residents and the local officials who represent them offers new insight into how rural English community space defines and redefines itself as a heritage commodity available for exploitation within the contemporary media industries. In doing so, we bring to the fore particular questions of scale and location aesthetics that differ from several key studies on mobile production and alternative filming sites. For example, Serra Tinic's discussion of Canada as a production hub considers the country's adaptability, emphasising the "diversity of its physical landscape" (2015: ix) as key to its success in the global market. In contrast, we focus on the small and relatively stable space of an English village both as a rural location distinct from the urban and, also, as a site loaded with particular connotations for heritage film and television drama. As this article details, Chilham has appealed to location scouts precisely for its lack of diversity and its unchanged nature. Its period features make it representative of specific signifiers of "Englishness", heritage and rural space.

For this reason, we suggest that the specificity of rural English village space structures the mundane logistics of location filming in particular ways, where questions of distinctly national and rural heritage shape the way residents and local agents articulate its value as a heritage commodity. Locations like Chilham have a monopoly on notions of period authenticity for heritage drama, and thus offer marked qualities that contrast with other alternative film production locations which, in the increased "globalisation of story settings" have been able to "advertise themselves through the range of locations they can stand in for" (Goldsmith et al. 2010: 8-9). This monopoly has particular ramifications for Chilham and the way its residents and policy makers understand and seek to memorialise and exploit its steady sedimentation of location filming experiences.

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1. THE LAY OF THE LAND: RESEARCHING THE ENGLISH VILLAGE ON SCREEN

Following Albert Moran in his work on rural cinema and classical Hollywood, our research shares a concern for the "spatial footprint" that audio-visual media lays "across different environments, both physical and imaginary" (2006: 225). In rural-focused television series this "footprint" is manifested in numerous ways: how local authoritative bodies and location managers coordinate the transformation of the selected sites; how rural communities experience the moment-by-moment process of a transformation and subsequently respond to seeing their spaces (and, sometimes, themselves) on screen; and how tourism opportunities are generated and exploited by rural communities in the wake of location filming.

In the last decade there have been significant contributions to the study of television production histories in Britain, and several begin to address these issues (see, for example, Cooke 2012). Yet, there remains a strong desire to prioritise the employment and construction of city spaces for television dramas, with Manchester and London drawing particular attention in British television scholarship due to their long-standing small screen offers. These include ground-breaking dramas such as *Queer as Folk* (1999-2000) and innovative sitcoms such as *Peep Show* (2003-2015), as well as the long-running soap operas *Coronation Street* (1960-), set in the fictional town of Weatherfield in Salford, Greater Manchester, and *EastEnders* (1986-), set in the fictional London borough of Walford. These two large-scale cities may indeed dominate productions because they work to represent wider geographical areas and communities in the UK. Manchester's Canal Street in *Queer as Folk*, for example, stands in for any of the country's gay neighbourhoods, whilst the borough of Croydon in *Peep Show* serves to signify "affordable London". This domination, however, leaves numerous unanswered questions regarding the use of rural space within British television series.

Writing on rural settings in film, Catherine Fowler and Gillian Helfield suggest that "the turning of the camera eye towards the land has an equally prolific and consistent history", one which has been obscured by the sustained focus upon urban space in film including the suggestion of an "innate" city-cinema relationship (2006: 1). Their considerations of "rural cinema", which takes into account both the use of land and the lives of its inhabitants, can extend to British television series. Focusing on the village as a space "central to the popular sentimentalisation of English country life" (Bunce 2003: 21), a short list of relevant texts might include the long-running sitcom *The Last of the Summer Wine* (1973-2010), the ever popular *The Vicar of Dibley* (1994-2007, 2013, 2015), the veterinarian-centred drama *All Creatures Great and Small* (1978-80, 1988-90) and medical dramedy *Doc Martin* (2004-), as well as non-fictional series such as *The Village* (1993-2001), and, more recently, *Penelope Keith's Hidden Villages* (2014-).

The English village has been subject to sustained use in contemporary heritage series in particular, however. As with their cinematic predecessors, these productions are distinct from the above examples in that they are always set in the past, typically drawing on the nation's literary canon for inspiration, and celebrated for their commitment to authentic period details. Along with costume and set design, the careful choice and use of locations is central to the "museum aesthetic" (Dyer 1995: 204) with location filming often taking place in rural areas – especially country houses and villages. This makes clear the links with a larger heritage industry that serves to commodify British history (more often English history) through physical places and objects "for consumption in the international image market" (Higson 2006: 91). Within this broader conception of heritage, such series offer a pictorial portrayal of Britain that selectively connects the national character to the respected traditions of the land. This skewed but potent association, exacerbated by the weekly structure of television series in which repetition cements the association in memory, encourages audiences (and, indeed, researchers) to make erroneous assumptions about rural life in Britain, both past and present.[1] For this reason, we approach the question of location in contemporary heritage series by considering both the aesthetics and structures of the fictional texts with their "imagined" geographies, *and* the ways in which the real geographical spaces and inhabitants of rural England play host to their creation.

Working with residents raises a number of methodological issues. Here, our position as Chilham outsiders, which left us susceptible to unenthused or unwilling community participants and open to charges of "othering" in our activities and analysis. To address these concerns, we consulted the local Parish Council in order to design research activities that would both appeal to local residents seeking further information about the area's location filming history and grant us

1 Indeed, Catherine Fowler and Gillian Helfield make a distinction between heritage and rural cinema whereby the former is always set in the past and "the return to the rural can be seen as an expression of venerability" while the latter, in contrast, "may be set in the present, and the return to the rural tends to be less an expression of venerability than of vulnerability" (2006: 5).

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opportunities to gain insights into the opinions, experiences and impact of location shooting on village life, particularly in relation to questions of identity and heritage. This focus on working within and with the village community culminated in a public engagement event held in the village hall in autumn 2015, coordinated with Parish Council members and supported by Kent Film Office. The day featured film clips profiling the range of productions shot on location in the village as well as exhibition stands offering additional images, information and materials (for example, newspaper clippings) from local and national archives pertaining to the relationship that these productions have with Chilham. Activities that sought to directly engage the public with the research included: a DIY location map to which visitors were asked to pin their location-specific filming memories; a scanning and photography stand collecting objects, images and materials that visitors brought to the event; postcards on which visitors indicated their level of interest in the subject; and oral history interviews which allowed us to collect more detailed memories and opinions. The interactive and informal nature of these activities engaged community members as co-producers within the research process, resulting in 19 annotations to the location map, over 26 scanned materials (photographs, autographs and newspaper clippings), 22 postcards and 5 oral history interviews each lasting between 8 and 22 minutes.[2] Moreover, the activities ensured a polyphony of voices in the research as it progressed, helping to mitigate issues of "othering" and draw attention to the complexities of the community's experiences with location shoots.

2. "THAT QUINTESSENTIAL IMAGE": ECONOMIC, PRACTICAL AND AESTHETIC CONSIDERATIONS

As already mentioned, existing analyses of place in television studies have largely been consigned to urban space, rather than rural environments and locale. While acknowledging the theoretical considerations that underpin this focus,[3] there are more practical reasons why urban space and critical work on screen locations are so strongly connected. In the UK specifically, investment for location shooting is largely concentrated in London due to its skilled workforce, transport links and proximity to several major studio bases. That said, in recent years location filming has begun "rippling out" (Dams 2014: n.p.) with shoots occurring across England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales and within a range of rural locations. Regional film offices that work to coordinate location shooting opportunities offer contemporary film and television productions alternative location sites outside the capital. The growing desire to "relocate" film and television productions is in part a reaction to rising costs of filming in the big cities, especially London, but also a coordinated recognition of the economic value of location filming for smaller geographical areas and their communities. Film Officer Gabrielle Lindemann details the remit of Kent Film Office:

> We are essentially an economic development [...] initiative and it's our main task to get as much filming as possible into the county [...] because of the economic benefits to the local communities, whilst at the same time protecting residents and businesses from major disruptions (2016: n.p.).

The initial economic benefit is typically in the form of a one-off payment from the production company to a local council for use of the public areas under its jurisdiction. For television series, such as *Emma*, the payment tends to be modest (hundreds, rather than thousands of pounds) due to tight budgets that must cover the vast range of expenses incurred from several days of location filming: road closures, transport for cast and crew, extras, catering, parking for the unit base, and so on. Alistair Ralph, who served on the Chilham Parish Council from 1999 to 2015, confirms that despite the amount of filming that has occurred in the village over the years there has never been that much money on offer:

> There's always someone who says it's two thousand pounds a day, or five hundred pounds an hour, but in actual fact we've never found that sort of money arriving. Finally, we finished up working with the Kent Film Office saying to them "would you please be our agent, and achieve as much as you can for our community?" (2015: n.p.).

Though the English village has immeasurable symbolic value within discourses on British national identity (see, for example, Lowenthal 1991, Sibley 1997, Brace 2003), Ralph's comments show that pre-production negotiations with film and

2 The population of the village is 1634 according to the 2011 census.

3 This includes, for example, the aforementioned representational qualities of cities, the way moving images replicate the urban practice of *flânerie* (Bruno 1997), and the "star" quality of certain cities (Pomerance 2007).

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television crews quickly reduce the space to an object to be purchased and consumed. This tallies with W. J. T. Mitchell's arguments regarding the value of landscape, where at a "most basic, vulgar level" (1994: 15) it is expressed in monetary terms. Moreover, the repetition of similarly staged outdoor sequences in contemporary heritage series offers a compelling illustration of Mitchell's subsequent assertion that in "its double role as commodity and cultural symbol, landscape is the object of fetishistic practices" (1994:15).

Indeed, within the first minutes of the BBC's *Emma*, a highly familiar image of the English village is presented via one medium long shot that includes a market square, a row of small timbered houses and, in the background, a church. The neat composition occurs during a sequence that serves to establish the backstory and character traits of the eponymous heroine. As a voice-over details how the "sun continued to shine brightly on Emma" despite the premature death of her mother, and a backward glance to less fortunate neighbours signals the three-year old Emma's (Lyla Barrett-Rye) burgeoning inquisitiveness, the audience's desire for an oft-produced image of English village life is also satiated. Lindemann is convinced that the exceptional topography of Chilham, which allows such an economic shot, is a key reason why the Kent village has been a popular choice for location shoots over the years:

> there's very few villages in this country where you can see, in one shot, without panning or tilting [...] that quintessential image: a church [...] a few houses. That's the classic shot. That's what everybody wants. [...] It has, immediately, English village (2016: n.p.).

The convenient layout of Chilham's buildings may help a director quickly establish an English village location and, to a large extent, the country's traditional social fabric, where the village acts as a "totem of stability and tabernacle of values" (Chase 1989: 132). Heritage dramas still require their production teams to mask the ever-increasing signs of contemporary life, however. In *Emma,* the shoot's persistent use of the square, which accommodates a significant amount of residents' parking, required the removal of cars and a careful arrangement of gravel to disguise its modern surface. Road signs were also cleared and temporary trappings, including fake Regency shop fronts and market stalls, were installed to complete the illusion of an authentic nineteenth century rural environment. Residents were forewarned of the disruption with a leaflet drop a couple of months in advance of the proposed filming, allowing them to object and/or raise particular concerns, though the decision to progress with the shoot ultimately lay with the Parish Council.

This suggests that the village residents possess a relatively weak degree of control at an individual level when it comes to hosting location shoots in their local environment, making it all the more important that regional film offices work with local councils to marry their priority to "maximise inward investment from film and television companies' with that of "safeguard[ing] civil rights and interests" (http://kentfilmoffice.co.uk/about-us/about-kent-film-office/). In preparation for filming *Emma*, a carefully planned site visit proved crucial to striking this balance, with the experienced Lindemann able to anticipate issues and co-ordinate efforts from a range of interested parties:

> We [...] had a big recce with the film company because they needed a couple of weeks to [...] think about exactly what they wished to do [...] With Alistair [Ralph], with Kent Highway Services, and with a police officer [...] we kind of worked out the compromise between the closing of the square for prep work and for filming (2016: n.p.).

One of the biggest issues addressed was the need to find alternative residents' parking for the shoot's duration. With the village's visitors' car park (approximately three hundred metres from the square) already identified by the production crew as an ideal spot for *Emma*'s unit base, the well-timed recce allowed Lindemann to make the suggestion that this visitors' car park could be freed for residents if the crew sought an alternative unit base in the grounds of nearby Chilham Castle, an imposing Jacobean building that serves as a private home. Through confidential negotiations with the Castle's owners, an arrangement was soon agreed. While such seemingly mundane details are increasingly acknowledged in scholarly discussions about filming activity that occurs outside established media capitals (see, for example, Sanson 2014), emphasising them here reveals their centrality to the processes of production and, importantly, credits host communities as collaborators.

Along these lines, another major concern brought up during the recce was the flow of traffic through the village, given that the square also functions as a public road, granting access to several key services including the post office and a primary school. At the time of *Emma*'s shoot, Greater London was the only UK authority that possessed legal powers to close roads being used for filming. This meant that

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Kent Highway Services were very reluctant to shut down the square completely at any point across the proposed filming week. Anticipating this issue, a member of *Emma*'s production team attended a Parish Council meeting in early February to discuss road closure requirements and establish a point of contact that would be used when affected residents and businesses needed to be consulted. With the relationship between the Council and the production team developing smoothly, Lindemann then used the recce to work with Kent Highway Services on devising a one-way system around the square that would remain open during filming for essential access (for example, the school run). These arrangements were subsequently communicated to the wider village community and agreed upon before filming commenced.

Whilst practical details shape the meanings and resonance of heritage texts for host and regional communities, shedding light on them can also assist in understanding how the "look" and "feel" of a production is initially imagined and then, later, realised. The flow of traffic through Chilham, for example, needed to be minimised and rerouted during the filming of *Emma,* but it actually makes visible certain spatial arrangements that appealed to the BBC team during their pre-production location scouting. As the producer, George Ormond, reveals in a 2009 interview with the regional news network *Kent Online*:

> this was the first [village] that we actually visited, and we didn't visit anywhere else because we loved it. [...] It offers us so much [...] the texture, the square works so well. We've got roads coming off the square that gives us [...] depth, room to move (n.p.).

This interest in the village's mobile quality evidences the production's early desire to maintain some of the source material's concern for the spatial and, by extension, social dynamics of rural life. In keeping with Austen's novel, the English village in the BBC's adaptation is not a neutral space in which to stage dialogue but, rather, a complex site that occasions a range of character interactions, serving narrative and thematic developments.

The series' adherence to Austen's use of the village not as "a vignette with the background faded out, but a focus, or a nodal point from which lines radiate into the wider society" (Harding 1998: 50) is made particularly clear through its extensive and lively use of exterior shots. These shots show characters approaching doorways or leaning out of windows to share news, gossip, and the occasional secretive glance with their neighbours. By the end of *Emma*'s first episode, Miss Bates' "very Elizabethan cottage" (Herbert 2009: n.p.) is established as a particular spatial marker, grounding the viewer in the village's geography despite the constant toings and froings of its central square. The attention given to Miss Bates' house during the filming of *Emma* inevitably required the privately owned residential property to be more carefully "dressed" than some of the other buildings on the square. This combined with the fact that several actors (especially Tamsin Greig as Miss Bates) were required to look and lean out of the first floor window meant that negotiations with the owners, beyond those already conducted through the Parish Council, had to occur. Ralph confirms that in instances likes these a "private arrangement" – alongside assurances that any necessary repainting will be done once filming concludes – often eases potential resistance (2009: n.p.).

It sometimes takes more than monetary compensation to ensure a positive work environment in these kinds of rural spaces, however. Discussing the "tangible difference" in bringing the "circus to town" in a rural rather than urban site, location manager Jonah Coombs states that when "moving into a small community, it is important for the production to recognise that and offer something back over and above a donation to their residents association" (quoted in Dams 2014: n.p.). This can mean offering employment or training opportunities to the local community but, at the very least, it should mean satisfying residents' interest in the filming process by allowing them some access to the set.

3. "KEEN TO SEE WHAT'S GOING ON": THE PLEASURES OF BEING AN ON-SET SPECTATOR

The BBC team were clearly indebted to a co-operative local population when they came to shoot in Chilham in 2009. *Emma*'s producer, Ormond, offers the following praise in his *Kent Online* interview:

> The villagers have been absolutely fantastic. I mean I think it's a pretty disruptive process coming in and filming [...] we've had to cover up people's doors, we've painted people's houses, we've covered up their fences, we've put weeds outside their houses, we've cleared the roads, we've covered the square in gravel and they have absolutely been fantastic about it [...] they've been a joy to work with (n.p.).

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From the perspective of film offices, a supportive host community is crucial for a successful location shoot and ensuring filming activity remains a viable income stream for the region. Alongside Chilham's appealing topographical arrangement, Lindemann cites the villagers' approachability as an important element in its continued success as a filming location: "[They are] really film-friendly" (2016: n.p.). She adds that there are several examples where this is not the case, noting that residents and business owners in urban areas similarly used for their authentic period features (such as London's Columbia Road) are increasingly frustrated by repeated filming activity.

One reason for this contrast in attitude between heritage urban areas and heritage villages concerns the everyday quietness of rural areas. Film and television location shoots prompt a temporary change of pace for rural communities, increasing the volume of people, traffic, noise and activity spaces. Villagers have the opportunity, for example, to watch bustling crews operate an arsenal of expensive equipment (from cameras to rain machines) and talented casts perform a range of emotions (from tearful goodbyes to joyful reunions). The question of access thus becomes an important issue in pre-production negotiations, with regional film offices agreeing with location managers that the set will be open to the public at key points during the shoot. As Lindemann puts it, people "don't want to be just locked away in their house. They do want to watch." (2016: n.p.)

The enjoyment derived from on-set spectatorship is evidenced in the oral history interviews we conducted with Chilham's local population. Alistair Ralph, for example, sees no negatives in the activity, stating that "it is great fun to have filming" and that spending time with a film or television crew is "wonderful" (2015: n.p.). Other residents and locals discuss their curiosity regarding production processes, including photographer Steve Weaver, who admits "I'm always keen to see what's going on." (2015: n.p.) With regard to the filming of heritage dramas, additional thrills stem from seeing the creativity and attention to detail involved when constructing a particular period. One woman, who lives in a town neighbouring Chilham, recalls her anticipation of *Emma*'s filming thus:

> I heard about the filming of a drama in Chilham, it was not specified what the drama was apart from the fact it was period drama. And as I love history, I thought: that's something I'd really like to see. Because it's obviously going to involve a lot of artistry, a lot of historical interests, I must go and see it (Anon Resident One 2016: n.p.).

Her words give credence to the focus that the skilful transformation of an English village often earns in a heritage series' publicity material. The broadcast listings magazine *Radio Times*, for example, detailed the Oxfordshire filming locations of *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015) during its final series (Walker-Arnott 2015: n.p.) while, in the same year, the tabloid newspaper *The Daily Mail* created an online feature that allows readers to scroll between "before and after" images of Corsham, the Wiltshire town used in the first series of the BBC's remake of the heritage drama *Poldark* (2015-) (Creighton 2015: n.p.). For *Emma*, there is a feature entitled "Emma in Chilham" (2009: n.p.) on the BBC's website to consider as well as the aforementioned *Kent Online* interviews with cast and crew, which were conducted on the village set. These materials all gesture towards the residents of their respective filming locations, pointing to the impact that shoots have on daily village life, but do not employ their actual voices. It thus remains important to offer host communities authority over their personal experiences and provide a platform for them to speak. Relying exclusively on outsider observations can deny certain elements of a community's experience, and often reduces the residents' role to merely that of passive bystanders, obscuring their importance as essential facilitators for the entire filming process.

Giving greater attention to the voices of locals and residents also throws up discrepancies in attitudes towards and assumptions about the pleasures of location filming. For example, Weaver contrasts his sustained interest in location filming with the popular belief that the activity offers little excitement beyond the short bursts of recording. As a point of distinction, he references an advertisement used during the UK airing of *Downton Abbey*'s fourth series whereby costumed actors are shown sitting on set, frustrated and bored by the long downtime between takes:

> I love the whole project [...] I don't just sit there sort of looking bored, you know sometimes you see these adverts [...] I'm just sitting there looking and watching everything that's happening and seeing how it's all put together (2015: n.p.).

Weaver's attentiveness to the quieter moments of location filming, resulting in a series of photographs for his flickr account (https://www.flickr.com/photos/steveweaver/albums), is not isolated. Another Chilham local constructed a comprehensive scrapbook, documenting the entire shoot with annotated photographs and other materials expanding and

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commenting upon the minutiae of the filming process. The painstaking attention to detail evidenced in the scrapbook, which records exchanges between residents, the transformation of different houses and shop fronts, and illustrations and extracts from the literary text upon which the adaptation is based, would seem to counteract Lindemann's supposition that "after about fifteen minutes people get very bored" (2016: n.p.). However, the Film Officer admits that levels of interest can vary between productions, adding that you have to "feel your way around" (2016: n.p.) each location shoot to gauge its appeal to the local population and, accordingly, the amount of access that residents desire.

For *Emma*, interest in the production was undoubtedly greater due to how the series made use of the village's status as a heritage conservation area, foregrounding its well-preserved historic architecture and temporarily restoring long-gone traditions, such as a market day. The presence of horses, sheep and other livestock in the normally car-strewn square offered additional appeal, given that animals are often "key icons in ideas about rural lifestyle and ideas of the idyll" (Jones 2003: 285-6). In her interview with *Kent Online*, Tamsin Greig stresses this play-off between the authenticity of the village's existing period appearance and rural location, and the changes brought about by the production:

> the art department have done the most amazing thing to transform that place. I mean it is beautiful anyway but it just looks extraordinary [...] And the people who live there seem to be marvelling at it as well. They know they live in a piece of history but, suddenly, when it looks like it, it's just delightful (2009: n.p.).

Beyond the immediate pleasures of seeing the village's past evoked through meticulous set design, Chilham residents and business owners also seem to appreciate how the filming of heritage dramas has the potential to boost tourism in the area. Indeed, the village's location filming history is interwoven with its overarching identity as a tourist site. The businesses that lie at its heart, such as bed and breakfasts, tearooms, gift and antiques shops, are tourism-related, trading on their period features in much the same way that film and television companies are prone to do. As Lindemann comments, staple English television series, such as *Emma* or *Hercule Poirot's Christmas,* fit with the village's tourism offer: "when you get a match like that, that's really useful" (2016: n.p.).

4. "REALLY PUSHING TOURISM": THE POSSIBILITY OF A LOCATION FILMING LEGACY

Noelle O'Connor et al. summarise four central categories of existing film-induced tourism research. These encompass: a) "film-induced tourism as a destination motivator"; b) "film induced-tourists"; c) "the impact of film-induced tourism on both tourists and residents"; and d) "film-induced destination marketing activities" (2008: 424). Our own study relates most clearly to c), considering residents in particular. Some existing critical work has focused on residents, but this has largely been relegated to considering how film-induced tourism affects communities *after* the fact of filming. See, for example, Busby et al.'s 2003 study of residents' perceptions of film-induced tourism in relation to Agatha Christie adaptations filming in South West England, or O'Neill et al.'s 2005 study of residents in Cephalonia and their responses to tourism in the wake of the filming of *Captain Corelli's Mandolin* (2001). The experience of the host community as witnesses, participants and collaborators in the process of filming itself has rarely been critically addressed. Pre-production and production stages might be given greater attention in tourism research, since perceptions of the marketability of rural spaces affect the way residents – local councillors in particular – respond to requests for location shooting, but also how residents react to hosting film crews in light of a sedimentary build up of a screen tourism related identity in sites like Chilham, where shooting has taken placed repeatedly over time.

Film-induced tourism in part works by encouraging visitors to match fictional locations to their real counterparts but, in the case of heritage television series, it also encourages visitors to explore the pre-existing heritage authenticity of that location – the very reason for its selection as a heritage drama location in the first place. In this way the BBC's adaptation of *Emma* can be seen to trade less on the use of local space as "a place of possibility and fantasy" (Blandford et al. 2009: 18), and more upon local space as a marker of realism and authenticity in regard to period details. Chilham as a filming location for a Regency drama is loaded with a pre-existing "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990), insofar as the village capitalises on its status as a historic rural village for its tourist revenue. The cultural image that the village constructs for this gaze is thus re-channelled through the medium of period drama in its use as a location filming site. Productions like *Emma* use the realism of the village's heritage aesthetic to support the fiction of its period storytelling. For the host community

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witnessing the filming taking place, these gazes potentially interact and overlap. Throughout location shooting the local population might simultaneously view the space as that of the everyday and of "home", as a tourist space replete with heritage attractions, and as the filmic space in the fictional world of *Emma*. The third, filmic gaze builds upon the everyday and tourist gazes, but also speculates about a fourth – the specifically *television*-tourist inflected gaze through which the village might be viewed in the future.

Whilst the ways of viewing local space during the process of location filming are addressed above, the fourth gaze requires further consideration here, especially in regards to how policy makers view the exploitation of local space as contributing towards a larger Chilham "brand". With *Emma*, this relates quite specifically to the way in which the market square stands in for Austen's fictionalised environment. In the novel, Highbury is introduced as a "large and populous village almost amounting to a town" (2003 [1815]: 7); typical of Austen's narration, physical details are sparse, allowing for a freer interpretation in adaptation across media. The BBC's adaptation certainly reduces the scale of Highbury in choosing Chilham as its equivalent, but capitalises on the existing period features to add both authenticity and pictorial spectacle to the production design. Seriality offered the chance to further build audience familiarity with the locale. In contrast to other heritage dramas shot in the village, such as two Agatha Christie adaptations that were produced as single feature-length episodes, the division of the *Emma* story into a multi-part adaptation offered the village more sustained exposure over a longer period of time when the series was broadcast.

Both Chilham Parish Council and Kent Film Office strongly emphasise legacy and tourism in conceptualising the value of location shooting for the village. These two concerns are continually at the forefront of Ralph's discussion of his location shooting experiences, where he describes "really pushing tourism" (2015: n.p.) as the main income stream from location filming activities. Tourism opportunities are particularly significant to rural communities, like the one in Chilham, for making the decision to embrace and host film crews. Ralph's comments suggest that he conceives the value of location shooting less in terms of immediate income or experiential opportunities for residents. Rather, the value of location shooting is configured in terms of tourist potential, and the opportunity for a degree of location branding that can be exploited beyond the immediate hosting experience, and beyond the initial airing or screening of any television or film content produced in the village.

In *Emma*, as in television drama in general, the English village used for the location shoot is never directly named. This makes it significantly more difficult for the host community to capitalise on the appearance of their village on screen. Fictional screen narratives that have utilised Chilham as a shooting space have uniformly used it as a stand in for fictional environs, from Lymstock in *Agatha Christie's Marple: The Moving Finger* (2006) to Rittle-On-Sea in the First World War-set sitcom *Chickens* (2011, 2013).[4] Direct reference to the village might be included in the credit sequence when a production airs but the promotion of the village, especially within a heritage television series, is more likely to be achieved in local and national press surrounding the shoot, and through the exploitation of the heritage aesthetic employed in the production, highlighting the period features of the environment. The television text itself, therefore, cannot wholly do the work of promoting the rural village brand.

With rural tourism now "a key component of English tourism [...] heavily dominated by the domestic, not the overseas, visitor", generating billions of pounds per year (Busby et al. 2003: 291), the question of how to make the most of the publicity that surrounds location filming in English villages has become more pressing. For some areas, communities have built highly localised tourist industries around their status as prominent rural television locations, offering tours and memorabilia. Holmfirth in Huddersfield, which stands in for the village location at the centre of *Last of the Summer Wine* and Port Isaac, the Cornish village that doubles for the fictional Portwenn in *Doc Martin*, have both profited from tourism related to shooting in the area. The website for Cornwall's tourist board promotes Port Isaac's "Doc Martin experiences", for example, offering the opportunity for "die-hard fans of the series" to rent Fern Cottage, the site of the fictional Doctor Ellingham's (Martin Clunes) surgery, "when cameras aren't rolling" (https://www.visitcornwall.com/about-cornwall/blogging-cornwall/doc-martin-locations-to-visit).

Chilham has not yet exploited its filming histories to such a degree. In part, this is due to the dispersal of its associated televisual and filmic texts; the village has hosted a range of productions, but is not strongly associated with one single text, nor any one long-running, multiple series production equivalent to *Doc Martin.* Ralph discusses the significance of *Emma* specifically to the branding potential of the village on screen:

4 The closet equivalency for the actual village in a fictional narrative is Chillingbourne in *A Canterbury Tale*.

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> *Emma* was the one where we thought it was really going to happen. We had a lady over from Holland who was doing quite a nice hardback tourist guide based on *Emma* [...] it really didn't happen [...] knock on effect? No, I can't say we've got hordes of people all walking saying "where's this, where was that?" (2015: n.p.).

The apparent lack of capitalisation on the exposure caused by the shoot can be considered from a range of angles. Ralph mentions that the village itself does not currently and did not at the time include much in the way of branded product or tourist experience directly tied into *Emma*. This contrasts to other similarly used rural locations, such as that of Corsham, which in 2015 doubled as the Cornish town of Truro in *Poldark*. Following the series, the town sought to capitalise on their association with the production more directly, selling *Poldark* products in the local post office and tourist information centre.

The reception of the adaptation itself of course also impacts on the reach and familiarity of the production and its likelihood to connect with audiences as potential tourists. Whilst the *Emma* adaptation was generally well received, it did not make a major impact in the vein of other high profile BBC Austen productions, such as the 1995 serial adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*. Reviews in mainstream British newspapers criticised the BBC's over-reliance on Austen material and the prevalence of *Emma* adaptations specifically, questioning "whether we need another Emma at all [...] Why keep churning out the same classics?" (Wollaston 2009: n.p.). *The Independent* suggested, based on the series' declining ratings across its four-episode run, that the costume drama had "had its day" (Brown 2009: n.p.).

Emma may not have proved to be the series that had a lasting impact on Chilham's tourist futures but it did significantly affect the English village's potential for income in other ways. For Kent Film Office it was a "turning point" (Lindemann 2016: n.p.) regarding legislation for road closures in the county, and the need to ensure that this issue would not deter other production companies from location filming in the future. Acknowledging that the office was "lucky" (Lindemann 2016: n.p.) to have found a solution with Kent Highways and a supportive local population for the filming of *Emma* in Chilham, Lindemann decided to go to Parliament to put in place a Highways Act that now allows them to close roads for filming in Kent. This undoubtedly makes location filming in the county more attractive, as evidenced by the steady rise of large film productions – including *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015) – that have shot on location in Kent in the last five years.

5. "THE VILLAGE CARRIES ON": MAINTAINING A SENSE OF CHARACTER AND COMMUNITY

Although in his interview Ralph conveys disappointment that the high profile heritage series *Emma* did not produce a greater boost in tourism for the village, there are positives to be gleaned from the situation. As O'Neill et al. note in their study of Cephalonian tourism post *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, "the process and after-effects of filming are not always without negative ramifications" (2005: 211). They consider the ability of location filming not just to alter an area's "entire tourist structure" (2005: 211), but to impact substantially upon the infrastructure of a location in ways that do not benefit the host community at the time of filming. For example, the presence of a film crew, with their requirements for large-scale accommodation, transportation and services, can "parlay into profiteering which ultimately drives up local prices" (Riley et al. 1998: 931). In addition, host communities in rural locations may be left "to deal with the consequences" that their resources cannot cope with, such as "increased traffic and crowding" (Busby et al. 2003: 292). This, in turn, can make them less attractive to film and television production companies. Residents of Corsham are particularly attuned to this issue, given that after the filming of *Poldark* a swell in population led to additional signs being placed on the historic high street. Perceiving these signs as detrimental to the look and, by extension, the appeal of their small market town, one resident commented to the national press: "We are furious at the insensitive, high-handed way the council has dealt with this. This is a street that has been filmed by two separate companies because it's such a perfect historical street." (quoted in Wilkinson 2014: n.p.)

This issue of how film-induced tourism might irreversibly change the identity of an area is one that the residents of Chilham note in their interviews. Weaver, for example, thoughtfully contrasts the village's fate with that of nearby Pluckley, which was used as the location for the 1950s-set comedy drama series *The Darling Buds of May* (1991-1993) and quickly became a "massive tourist spot" with "people coming in coach loads" (2015: n.p.):

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> What's quite interesting with Chilham is that, to me, it never seems to change the character of the village or the way the village carries on. It just seems to – something comes and then it goes and it goes back to being Chilham again (2015: n.p.).

For Chilham then, perhaps the greatest advantage of the muted tourist response to *Emma* is that the village retains its broader value as a heritage site and that location filming is still viewed by the local population primarily in terms of the pleasurable experiential opportunities it affords them.

As a final point then, it is interesting to note how location filming and the subsequent release or air dates of productions offer a focus to village life, serving to bring residents and neighbours together in ways that are reminiscent of the now demised village fête. One resident of a nearby town notes that the *Emma* production not only promoted friendly interactions, whereby people would meet repeatedly over the filming week and chat about the production's progress over coffee, but also fostered a shared sense of "insider" knowledge that would be taken through to the air date (Anon Resident One 2015: n.p.). Another woman, living on the outskirts of Chilham, offers a similar comment, stating "it's nice to watch it all on television and to know where it is, and who lives there [...] I think people really enjoy it." (Anon Resident Two 2014: n.p.) These remarks tally with Steve Blandford et al.'s survey work with Welsh audiences in regard to the location filming of the revived *Dr Who* series (2005-) and its spin-off *Torchwood* (2007-2011), whereby they suggest that audiences derive pleasure from the status of these productions as "mainstream, international successes that could also be connected to the places in which they lived and recognised on the screen" (2009: 17). Such pleasures clearly register in similar ways for residents and neighbours of Chilham, but the sense of identity is far more localised, incorporating larger ideas about nation within the more narrowly focused, closely bounded rural locality of the English village and its own sense of community.

6. **CONCLUSION**

Our work suggests that a mixed-method approach – using oral history in combination with community focused memory work, textual analysis and production history research – can produce new knowledge about rural location shooting, especially the creation and exploitation of the English village as a heritage media commodity. Our single-village case study offers new insight into how location filming might be viewed as a "hosting" process, and the particular matrices of economic and cultural concerns that shape the relatively stable rural village space as a heritage shooting space in contrast to more transient urban locations.

Focusing on the specificity of the English village, as represented by Chilham, and the ways in which its "quintessential image" (Lindemann 2016: n.p.) of heritage Englishness is articulated by local policy makers and residents, pinpoints how location filming can prove to be particularly transformative for small-scale communities. As our article has shown, histories of location filming benefit from mapping such transformations across different levels – those of policy, public space, and community identity and memory – and by considering how these levels interact. Our findings thus facilitate a shift in focus from top-down approaches to location filming histories – which are led by explorations of how production companies make use of location spaces – towards one in which closer attention is paid to the experiences of the host community. This allows for a new take on the interrelations between location filming, television genres and film-induced tourism, ultimately producing different kinds of national television (and cinema) histories.

In the case of Chilham, local residents express both hopes and frustrations about what filming means for the village and, concordantly, its future as a filming site and film-induced tourist location. The oral history interviews also reveal the ways in which these individuals are able to connect the mundane qualities of the filming process to their own everyday lives, their memories of the village, and their personal sense of (and varied appreciation for) heritage television dramas. Foregrounding these alternative voices produces new understandings about how the commodification of local space, in both the act of location filming and its legacy as a film-induced tourism opportunity, is negotiated and enacted. This leads us to suggest that the individuals who live and work in the village can be considered collaborators and co-producers in the everyday minutiae of rural location filming. They act as facilitators, able to support or obstruct filming practices, and as agents actively involved in harnessing and exploiting the legacy of location filming. This affords them a distinct place within production histories for heritage television dramas, one worthy of greater critical attention.

Film crews like the BBC team producing *Emma* make use of rural village spaces, but those spaces and their communities in turn make use of the production, both at the time of

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filming and in crafting future uses and meanings of village space through heritage aesthetics. By incorporating the often-unheard stories of the local community into our analysis, the article presents a new contribution to histories of location filming by highlighting how sometimes it is the distinct, rather than the adaptable, qualities of a location that appeals. Chilham's stories of *Emma* are thus an intriguing starting point for further examination into the role that heritage, location and rurality play in shaping televisual texts, which in turn shape and reshape community experiences and identity.

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