Nordic Noir Tourism 
and Television Landscapes: 
In the Footsteps of Kurt Wallander and Saga Norén

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Abstract
In this article I reflect on how media tourism in the Scandinavian region is related to the popularity of the Scandinavian crime fiction industry and more recently ‘Nordic Noir’. I investigate how the increasing market for film tourism influences crime fiction and television drama series. I look at the role played by television landscapes, assessing their aesthetic, narrative and economic value as series as well as in the context of the tourism industry. The success of Wallander tourism in Ystad has inspired a range of film tourism initiatives, which represent a new kind of creative and strategic collaboration between tourism, regional authorities and the television drama industry. Thus, Nordic landscapes and climate have become a commodity. I analyse the television drama series Wallander and Broen (The Bridge) as well as promotional material, film tourism websites and interviews with film tourism managers in Sweden and in Denmark. This study illustrates the aesthetics and business of television landscapes, and demonstrates how place in television is crucial to our understanding of how television drama series induce tourism. Finally, the article considers whether tourism also induces television drama productions.

Keywords
Film tourism, location, Nordic Noir, television landscapes, Wallander, Broen (The Bridge).
Introduction: Nordic Noir and Tourism

To better understand the different perspectives in film tourism as a new creative and collaborative economy, it is useful to take a closer look at Nordic Noir as a brand. The concept of Nordic Noir (or Scandi Noir) is recognised by audiences, fan communities and media industry partners, in particular buyers and sellers of television content (see for example www.nordicnoir.tv, MIPTV 2015, Forshaw 2013). More recently it has also become an international academic concept (Agger 2013, Bergman 2014, Hedling 2014, Gamula and Mikos 2014, Peacock 2013 and Jensen and Waade 2013). There are three significant trends and contexts that are worth considering in relation to Nordic Noir for the purposes of this study. Firstly, there is the connection between screen Nordic Noir and Scandinavian crime fiction, which is a theme that is explored further in this article. Secondly, as a concept, Nordic Noir refers to the historical film noir and its distinct use of camera angles, lighting and shadows, desperate and melancholic antiheros, emotional complex characters and tragic endings (Spicer 2013). One of the first examples of Nordic Noir was the Danish crime series Forbrydelsen (The Killing, 2007-2012) with its dark lighting and other stylistic and narrative features reminiscent of historical film noir. Also, like its filmic predecessor, it established a brand value. Thirdly, the concept of Nordic Noir is linked to the international enthusiasm for Scandinavian design, architecture, fashion and food, and reflects Nordic attitudes to gender, climate, nature and welfare (Creeber 2015, Syvertsen et al. 2014 and Jensen and Waade 2013).

Scandinavian crime fiction paved the way for Nordic Noir on screen and is in many contexts used as a synonymous concept. Crime fiction writers such as Henning Mankell, Sjöwall and Wahlö, Jo Nesbø, Anne Holt, Camilla Läckberg, Lisa Marklund, Elsebeth Egholm, Jussi Adler Olsen and Stieg Larsson have become international bestselling authors. Their crime fiction series are translated into several languages, their books have been adapted for films and television series, their publishers and agents have made a lot of money, and hundreds of other Scandinavian crime authors have followed their way to international success. Closely related to Scandinavian crime fiction are the popular Danish television
drama series, internationally acknowledged as quality television. The iconic Nordic Noir series *Forbrydelsen* (The Killing, 2007-2012) is produced in Denmark, and has inspired other crime series within the Nordic region like *The Bridge* (2011-, a Swedish-Danish co-production) but also outside the region, for example the British series *Broadchurch* (2013), *Hinterland* (2013), *Shetland* (2013) and *Fortitude* (2014).

The Scandinavian crime fiction series and the Danish television drama series have given rise to media tourism initiatives in the region in order to attract tourists from other cities and countries to come and visit places they know from their favourite crime novels and television drama series. Wallander tourism in Ystad has been the most successful case, and it seems that Sweden so far has managed to create more sustainable film tourism activities than the other Nordic countries, for example, Millennium tours in Stockholm, Läckberg tourism in Fjällbacka and crime tourism on Gotland. Screen tourism initiatives in the other Nordic countries include tourism and regional development in Norway based on *Lillyhammer*, Varg Veum and *Heftig og Begeistret* (Cool and Crazy) (Paulsgaard 2009), and similar strategies in Denmark initiated by Visit Denmark, local tourism organizations and local authorities. For example, in Copenhagen there are various tours based on Nordic Noir drama (run by http://nordicnoirtours.com). The national tourist board, Visit Denmark, offers a lot of information about the Danish drama series on their website, and there are also some regional initiatives: on the island of Funen, tourists can experience the locations of the series *1864* and *Arvingerne* (The Legacy), in Aarhus (for the series *Dicte*) and in North Jutland (*Norskov* and the historical drama *Badehotellet*).

**Film-induced Tourism and ‘In the Footsteps of’ Tourism**

When considering the Swedish crime series *Wallander*, it is noteworthy that when this series was being shot in Ystad, film and media tourism was beginning to take off as an international trend and strategy. Some well-known examples include the *Lord of the Rings’* beneficial collaboration with the tourism industry in New Zealand and the ‘*Da Vinci* effect’ in Paris There are also numerous examples in UK, where tourism in areas associated with particular books, television series or
films has been going on for decades. This creative tourism economy also includes examples such as James Joyce tours in Ireland, *Harry Potter* tours in Britain, *Inspector Morse* tours in Oxford, *Sex and the City* encounters in New York City and *Game of Thrones* tourism in Croatia and Ireland, just to mention a few. Stories, places and characters from literature, film, bestsellers and television series induce tourism, and the strategic co-creative collaboration includes finance, marketing and practical support for the media producers. The tourism managers and the local authorities for their part can promote their city, landscapes and region to a great number of viewers worldwide. This kind of location placement and branded entertainment makes consumers aware of a certain place and destination while they enjoy watching a film or television series. It is not restricted to movies, however, as the above list might suggest, but can include literature tourism, television series tourism and ‘in the footsteps of’ tourism (Månsson 2010).

*Cineposium* is an annual event gathering film commissioners across the world, and in 2015 the topic for the meeting was film tourism (see AFCI 2015). The organisers emphasised the growing interest in this collaboration across industries and also across private and public organisations. During the conference, several well-known and highly successful examples were presented, for example HBO and Screen Northern Ireland’s collaboration on *Game of Thrones*, Disney and Visit Norway on *Frozen*, Film London and Visit Britain on *Paddington* and the James Bond movie *Skyfall*. In the programme, the executive director of the International Film Commission Association (AFCI), Kevin Clark, welcomes the participants by telling them that ‘panelists and speakers will provide examples of their revenue increases, advertising value, and the “social” buzz yielded as a result of adopting Film Tourism into their marketing efforts’ (AFCI 2015: 3).

Literature-induced tourism, where tourists and travellers visit places they know from a novel or writer, has existed as a cultural phenomenon for many years (Sjöholm 2011). The Grand Tour (Strain 2003) was an early art- and literature-induced mode of tourism and a part of the young bourgeoisie’s cultural education. They visited well-known writers’ and artists’ homes, their workplaces and places as described in books and novels, and as illustrated in paintings. Contemporary film
tourism is based on the same kind of fascination with both the factual (the film production as workplace, behind the scenes information, the celebrities, the places where the scenes are shot, and so on) and the fictional parts of the stories (for example the crime scenes, the restaurant where a character dines or particular buildings and houses related to the story). The visitors want to experience the places with their own senses, have dinner at the restaurant, sleep in the policeman’s bed, stay in his house and take a close look at the crime scenes. Beside the actual places, the characters and the actors also play a particular role in film tourism:

It has been suggested that the cult of celebrity has become so significant because it distracts people from their growing sense of disconnection from their local community. Film-induced tourism has strong overtones of pilgrimage, with the tourist travelling (trekking) to sites considered sacred through their connection with fame and notions of fantasy. (Beeton 2005: 34-35)

Finally, it should be emphasised that screen tourism is not only a Western phenomenon. Thousands of television viewers in Korea, Malaysia and Thailand, for example, also visit places they know from the movies and the television screen (Rewtrakunphaiboon 2009).

The term ‘in the footsteps of’ tourism is used to describe the kind of tourism based on tourists’ desires to experience their favourite television or movie scenes first hand, as well as the situations described by the characters and authors from these films and television series they have got to know so well in the comfort of their homes. They quite literally want to walk in the footsteps of these people, act in the same way, eat the same food and gaze on the same landscapes. Acknowledging this longing for an (inauthentic) authenticity is crucial in order to understand film tourism as a phenomenon (McCannel 2013; Knudsen and Waade 2010; Månsson 2010; Sjöholm 2011). So too is the recognition that tourism is an embodied experience:
The embodiment perspective is relevant because people’s bodies transform the spaces they occupy through the way they occupy them [...] Thus, tourists’ physical interaction with space will, therefore, change their perception of the authenticity of the site visited. (Månsson 2010: 179)

Within general tourism studies, tourist performance is one of the key issues in understanding tourists’ behaviours and how they navigate and act within actual places (Edensor 2002; Larsen 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011; Haldrup and Larsen 2010). Performativity is embedded in time and place. As a supplement to John Urry’s idea of ‘the tourist’s gaze’, the concept of performativity clarifies how tourists ‘not only gaze but are also bodies performing at specific sites’ (Knudsen and Waade 2010: 12). The performative mode enables the tourist’s bodily and sensual experiences within a place and produces emotions and authenticity (Bærenholdt et al. 2004; Knudsen and Waade 2010: 13).

**Television Landscapes**

Landscapes as contemplative imageries are well known from art history, movies, advertisements and tourism. Within tourism, landscapes, cityscapes and pleasant views have become a significant commodity and iconography in tourism commercials and travelogues, and the images are often reproduced in the tourists’ photos and videos (Larsen 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011). When it comes to television as a specific technology and culture, conventional wisdom has been that television is best when it shows talking heads, factual news and entertainment (Ellis 1992; Caldwell 1995). Genre, narrative plot structures, characters, dramaturgy and visual style have been key issues for theories on television drama series. Locations and landscapes, in contrast, have attracted very limited academic attention until recently. The popularity of American high quality television drama series, and the cinematic orientation of television content and aesthetics in general, have meant that television landscapes have begun to attract artistic attention. In relation to television-induced tourism, Nordic Noir series and film
tourism as a creative economy, we are aware of a new interest in television landscapes. Within the last few years, scholarly works have reflected on the site-specific and landscape aesthetics in Nordic Noir and Scandinavian crime fiction (Bergman 2011; McCorristine 2011; Stigsdottir 2010; Povlsen 2010; Reijnders 2011; Waade 2011, 2013). In addition to being characterized as socially critical and engaging detective stories, Scandinavian crime series are also associated with particular colours, light and landscapes. As Bergman observes, this is part and parcel of a shift away from US-style urban crime fiction:

There has been a regression in social and political criticism in recent Swedish police crime series as they abandon their American heritage in favour of the more romantic traditions of British crime fiction [...] It has been pointed out that Swedish crime novels share two common characteristics: the strong focus on setting and the anxious suffering hero. Traditionally, the setting of the Swedish police crime series was modern and urban. [...] Nowadays, however, it has become more common to use rural settings. (Bergman 2011: 34-35)

The Canadian film theoretician Martin Lefebvre (2006) made a significant theoretical contribution to our understanding of landscape in audio-visual stories when he drew a distinction between setting and cinematic landscape. By landscape he means cityscapes, and cultural and natural landscapes. The setting on the one hand is related to the plot, the backdrop for the action and the mise-en-scene (Lefebvre 2006: 21), while cinematic landscape on the other hand suggests a more complicated process that includes a landscape gaze, which occurs when the viewer starts to contemplate the places rather than follow the action. The setting is related to the narrative representation and the diegetic world, and the cinematic landscape is an aesthetic representation and an extra-diegetic layer that emerges from landscape imageries and a particular landscape gaze that is constructed historically (Lefebvre 2006: 22). In supplement to Lefebvre’s two concepts, I will include a third one: location as economic value related to destination marketing,
regional development and production value. Les Roberts’ (2012) analysis of Liverpool as cinematic geography illustrates this three-part concept of cinematic places by positing the setting, the cinematic landscape and film locations as commodity and urban development:

The commodification of location sites as part of film-related tourism initiatives, as well as the promotion of urban landscape sites of film production – developments which have both gathered pace over the last two decades – raise pressing questions as to the sustainability of the postindustrial landscapes that are dependent on the increasingly nebulous spatialities of the film and cultural industries. (Roberts 2012: 4)

The crime genre encompasses particular features of local colour, both in regard to the setting and the cinematic landscapes (Lefebvre 2006; Reijnders 2009; Eichner and Waade 2015). The genre includes a particularly fascinating paradox in that improbable stories about serial killers, superhuman heroism and incredible coincidence are written in a basic realistic narrative style, where people, places and relations are recognizable and mundane (Agger 2013; Povlsen 2014). The crime genre is characterized by its use of realistic – and sometimes actual – places that are described in rich detail (Reijnders 2009: 176; Waade 2013). Some crime series are named after the city, for example CSI Miami. Some are based on actual locations, such as Ian Rankin’s Edinburgh and Camilla Läckberg’s Fjällbacka, while others make use of fictional places, for example Barnaby’s Midsomer provincial setting. Some series are very much focused on the places and the realistic setting, while others give greater emphasis to the characters and plot. In general, one can argue that the cinematic landscapes and settings have become an essential part of contemporary televsual series narrations. And when it comes to the crime genre, the locations play a significant role in the plot (setting), the visual style and actual places (cinematic landscapes) as well as a strategy for regional development and film tourism (film locations as commodity and urban development).
British Wallander Landscapes and the Mobile App *In the Footsteps of Wallander*

In my previous work I have illuminated the different landscapes and the places in the *Wallander* series, and I have compared the British and the Swedish series (Waade 2013). There are several academic works on *Wallander* tourism that focus on the tourist’s point of view (e.g. Reijnders 2011; Sjöholm 2011). Here, I want to take a different perspective and look at how the *local authorities* and the *local tourist managers* in Ystad managed to create film tourism in a region mainly inspired by *Wallander*’s international success. All Mankell’s books about Wallander use Ystad and Sweden as a location and follow a narrative that concerns threats to a secure, Swedish identity, democracy and community. In some cases the threats derive from conditions in the country itself, and other times from outside. Mankell’s crime series use desolate (and symbolic) Swedish landscapes as a backdrop to the turmoil that ensues in the storyline (McCorristine 2011: 78). McCorristine’s analysis of Wallander’s narratives identifies the series’ themes, issues and basic structures using a spatial approach. The starting point is the landscapes of Skåne, which in the *Wallander* series serve as a major location for Wallander’s identity and his psyche: ‘For Wallander, this environment is generally perceived as an alienating wasteland, with only the brief respite of spring and summer breaking the monotony’ (McCorristine 2011: 81).

The landscapes in the British *Wallander* series, also shot largely in Sweden, emphasize the open, flat landscapes of the Skåne region, as well as the Scandinavian seasons, climate and the coastal area. The yellow/blue (the colours of Sweden’s flag) colour contrast is used as a distinct visual style in the first episode in which the blue skies and yellow rape not only are significant for the series itself, but also promote paratexts online and offline. Academic works have expounded on how the landscapes and the places in the *Wallander* series have become significant production values both in regard to aesthetic and economic values (Bergman 2011; Nestingen 2009; Waade 2013; Hedling 2010; Stigsdottir 2010). Stigsdottir, for example, focuses on the production design and she argues that the visual style is too much; it is nostalgic
and unrealistic, or too Swedish, so to speak: ‘The ubiquity of classic wooden desks, lampshades and decorative furnishing therefore stand out as being at once a little too stylish and a little too old-fashioned to be quite real’ (Stigsdotter 2010: 254).

What I find interesting here is that not only are the landscapes, national colours, iconic places and buildings used as significant concepts and locations in the series, they are also used to frame and promote the series. A brief look at the promotional material related to the series emphasizes this significant visual style and concept.

In the extra feature material included in the DVD box and later distributed online, as well as in all the interviews with the writer, actors, directors and production designer, the places and the landscapes are mentioned and they position the series in relation to other British popular television drama series:

Sweden provides a distinct character to the story, rather as, say, Oxford did in the Morse stories. There’s a mystery to being here, really. It’s such an open, mysterious, ethereal landscape in lots of ways. These big skies and fields of rape and great swathes of pine wood along the coast. It’s a very different country. (Hiddleston playing Jan Martinsson, The Wallander Look, 2009, 3:40)

Here the production designer Jacqueline Abrahams is explaining how the series’ producers looked for open, emotional, epic and existential spaces (Wallander Country 2010, 4:48). She notes that they chose to shoot in the Nordic twilight, they used the local public baths as the police station and designed it as an open plan office ‘to emphasise that people police together [...] they discuss like a police family [...] you know, I think there’s a sense of not having a hierarchy’ (Wallander Country 2010, 6:13).

Ystad has about two million tourists every year. About half of these are day tourists from the region, and the majority of the others are also from Sweden and other Scandinavian countries. There are also tourists from outside Scandinavia, mostly from Germany and the UK. Wallander tourism includes four different target groups. Firstly,
Wallander fans who come to Ystad because of the series; secondly, families and groups that include one member who knows of Wallander and wants to learn more, while the others come along for the outing; thirdly there are groups and companies that have meetings in the city and would like to hear more about Wallander; and finally there are visitors and tourists who do not know about Wallander in advance, but become interested once they are in Ystad (Anna Maris, interview 9 September 2009). Film tourist activities in Ystad include guided tours, a Wallander package with special offers at Wallander’s favourite restaurants and bars, several guide books, a film museum that takes tourists behind the scenes of particular film and television production shots in the region, online videos and free film tourism apps (Walk of Film, In the Footsteps of Wallander) with extensive information about the region, the film locations and the different fictional stories. Apart from Ystad tourism and Ystad municipality as crucial actors in the Wallander tourism business in Sweden, the region has its own local film fund and support team (Film i Skåne), a film commission, local film production studios and facilities, a local film museum as well as a local Film School with several film production workshops and study programmes (Hedling 2010). All these persons and institutions made the film tourism industry in the region possible.

Henning Mankell wrote his first book about Kurt Wallander in 1991 and the following year the first tourists came to Ystad to see where Wallander lived. Throughout the 1990s, more and more tourists visited the city, mainly from Sweden, but gradually also from other Scandinavian countries and Germany, because they wanted to see the city they knew so well from the book series. The early Swedish adaptations of Mankell’s books for television resulted in even more crime tourists. In 2003, the city hired a new tourism manager, Itta Johnson. At the time the city was struggling with an oil accident that had resulted in the area gaining a bad reputation. Meanwhile, the production company Yellow Bird was looking for partners to realize a plan to produce thirteen television episodes (of ninety minutes each) about Wallander. It was at this point that the success story of Wallander tourism in Ystad began.
Jeg må sige, at jeg er rigtig glad for den der olieulykke, som kom i 2003. Det er grimt at sige det, men den åbnede øjnene på mange, så pludselig blev Ystad kendt [...] Pludselig vidste alle, hvor Ystad var! [...] Wallander har været den her døråbner, hvor det, som var vigtigt for mig, var at vise, at vi ikke kun var en strand med flere kilometer med olieforurening. (Itta Johnson, Market Strategic Manager, Ystad Municipality, in an interview 16 October 2009)

(I must admit that I am very happy that the oil disaster took place. I know it is awful to say so, but it opened many people’s eyes, because it put Ystad on the public’s radar. [...] Suddenly everybody knew where Ystad was! [...] Wallander also opened our eyes, and for me it was important to show that we were more than a beach with many kilometres of oil pollution.)

Johnson emphasizes that the development of Wallander tourism was based partly on intuition, but also benefitted from the support of local politicians. The local authorities wanted to support the production company with its ambitious project, and the new Wallander series became a reality. The development of Ystad as a screen tourism destination was carried out as a very close co-operation between several actors who wanted to invest in a local film industry in Skåne: film and television producers, local tourist managers and local authorities, as well as Mankell himself and Yellow Bird. Since the Wallander crime series was already a hit in Germany, Johnson’s initial plan was to invite German journalists to Sweden on a guided film location tour in the Skåne region and Ystad city. She contacted Visit Sweden’s director to suggest closer collaborations on screen tourism, and she also worked with their partners abroad. ‘Wallander tourism was no longer just a way to attract tourists to Ystad, but also a way to brand the region of Skåne, as well as Sweden as a destination’ (ibid.). Kenneth Branagh was used on Visit Sweden’s official website to attract British and international tourists. Visit Sweden in London made a promotional campaign in 2009 called Colours for a Swedish Lifestyle that was inspired by the British Wallander series and its visual aesthetics. Since 2009 the municipality
of Ystad has organized annual international conferences about film tourism, *Mixed Reality*, which attract production companies, tourism managers and academics who discuss current issues and ways to develop the field. At the same time they play a part in branding Ystad as the city of screen tourism. In general, screen tourism and film and television production became an overall idea and strategy for Ystad Municipality, and it was included in the city’s cultural policy, branding, corporate communication and strategic partnerships.

To give an example of how television landscapes and film tourism are linked, and also how screen tourism entails a particular performative practice, I will take a closer look at the film tourist app *In the Footsteps of Wallander*. The app allows the user to follow in the footsteps of inspector Kurt Wallander. It guides the user to film locations and actual places referred to in the novels and films. When using their mobile phone, users can visit the film locations and well-known places from the television series and novels and re-enact all the crime scenes, while listening to the narrative, watching images, and reading about the inspector and the city. The app offers a choice of three languages (Swedish, English and German) and a related website where users can prepare their visit, find their way around and get information about a number of crucial locations from the series. The places are presented with picturesque landscapes images (and colours) that are recognisable from the series. The app uses location-based technology and navigates while the tourist is walking (see Figure 1 and 2).

When considering tourism as a specific type of performative spatial practice, the tourist’s use of mobile and locative media while travelling *reinforces* the performative practice of the traveler because the media employed are site-specific and at the same time become part of the tourist’s own body and physical behaviour. Wallander tourism illustrates this idea: the visitors are coming to Ystad to see and recognize places, houses, streets and views from the novels and the television series. A random walk in the city might not lead the visitor to specific or significant sites, since there are almost no signs in the city showing where Inspector Wallander had been. When using the mobile app *In the Footsteps of Wallander*, two aspects of the visitor’s experience are emphasised. Firstly, the places and the landscapes from the series
Figure 1: The mobile app In the Footsteps of Wallander guides the visitor to filming locations in Ystad and Skåne region. Credit: Ystad municipality/Ystad Tourism.

Figure 2: The mobile app In the Footsteps of Wallander guides the visitor to filming locations in Ystad and Skåne region. Credit: Ystad municipality/Ystad Tourism.
become something special, something worth seeing and experiencing, and secondly, the tourist’s city walk and on-site performativity are orchestrated and scripted like a choreography. In Ystad, *Wallander* tourists can walk in the footsteps of a character from the crime series, and re-experience the plots and the places they know from the novels and the television series, while walking around in the actual city. The story creates an extra fictional layer to the city’s physical appearance, and the mobile phone app creates an extra dimension within the tourist’s corporeal experience and provides a script for the tourist’s city walk performance (Sandvik and Waade 2008). It is at one and the same time a provider of practical information and guide, and a device that frames the gaze and scripts the visitor’s walk and performance as a film tourist in Ystad. The example of this app shows how televisual landscapes and places from the crime series are re-circulated and emphasized on the app as well as the related website.

**Broen Landscapes and the Footsteps of Saga Norén**

The Swedish-Danish *Broen//Bron* crime series has a spectacular plot in which a body is found on the bridge at the border between Denmark and Sweden. Police officers from the two countries are brought together to solve the crime, and the leading characters are Saga Norén from Sweden, and Martin Rohde from Denmark. *Broen//Bron* is produced as a Swedish-Danish co-production in collaboration with the public service broadcasters from the two countries: SVT and DR, respectively (Eichner and Waade 2015). The tourism strategies and initiatives associated with *Broen* involve certain people and institutions who previously developed *Wallander* tourism. The Øresund Bridge itself has been part of a political and economic strategy for the last decades to create a new trans-national region, the Øresund (Pedersen et al. 2003). In this context, the series reflects this particular new region, and the co-production and the emerging Saga Norén-tourism are part of the new and growing creative industry in the region. The first two seasons of *Broen* sold well internationally and a third season was shown on Danish television in 2015. The series is also distributed as a format for international remakes, and so far three remakes have been made:
The Bridge (US/Mexican co-production), The Tunnel (French-British co-production) and The Bridge (a Turkish production).

In many ways the characters in the series are stereotypes, not only indicating typical national ‘Danish’ and ‘Swedish’ personalities, but also referring to Scandinavian crime fiction personalities. Martin Rohde is the weak man who messes up his life and cannot take care of his family, his health or his job (reminiscent of Wallander, Beck and Michael Nyqvist, and to some extent also characters like Harry Hole, Carl Mørck etc.), while Saga Norén is the outstanding female investigator with distinctive (or lacking) social and emotional human qualities (reminiscent of Sarah Lund and Lisbeth Salander). In this way one can argue that the series is a meta-Nordic-Noir-series, reflecting features, plots and characters we know from the popular Scandinavian crime fiction genre (Jensen and Waade 2013). This is also the case when it comes to the televisual landscapes and the location concepts in the series. On the one hand, the British Wallander (and to some extent the Swedish Wallander series produced by Yellow Bird) is characterised by a significant touristic imagery displaying impressive, open landscapes, iconic places and buildings in postcard colours and contrasts. Broen, on the other hand, includes a different, but equally distinctive, televisual landscape aesthetics. In this case there are very few beautiful landscape images; the office and the buildings are often boring, dusty and messy and the colours are in a scale of grey, brown, green and pale blue. This is the case for many scenes and settings, as well as for the promotional images that are available online on the broadcaster’s websites. I see this aesthetic strategy as a way for the producers to allude to the Wallander series and to position Broen in relation to it.

The Øresund Bridge is used in many different ways in the series and stands out as an icon for the series in itself. The bridge plays a crucial dramaturgic role in the first season and becomes a significant piece of imagery. In other words, the place is not only a backdrop but plays a main character in the series. The bridge can be seen in the paratexts online and offline, and it is used to promote the series in a similar way to the actors. Even though the visual style is not so colourful and touristic as the British Wallander series, there are still
some iconic buildings and places that are used in the series. In the title sequence can be seen the spectacular Turning Torso in Malmö, and the well-known (actual) police station in Copenhagen with its characteristic neo-classical architecture, which is also used as a significant setting in the series. Furthermore, Rohde’s home is a typical modern Nordic style house with a lot of wood and windows and classical Danish design lamps and furniture.

When it comes to tourism initiatives related to Broen, there are not (yet) as many as for Wallander, but there are some. Fans can walk in the footsteps of Saga Norén and Martin Rohde both in Copenhagen and in Malmö, there are guided film tours and a lot of information on tourist organizations' websites. One of the challenges is that the tourism organizations in the two countries that usually see each other as competitors now have to collaborate. The regional tourism manager Pia Jönsson Rajgård in Skåne Region explains in an interview to the local tourism magazine that their international brand image is mainly based on television drama series:


([We have] researched how people talk about culture in Skåne in different blogs and websites. What pops up are “Wallander”, film festivals and “Broen”. This is the same if we do a Google online search, explains Pia Jönsson Rajgård, Vice Director at Tourism in Skåne. The organisation aims to market, sell and develop Skåne as destination.)

Tourism authorities in both countries are still working on how they can utilise the international popularity of the series and the upcoming
episodes by building strong and sustainable partnerships between the industries. We have not yet seen the final output of Broen-related screen tourism.

‘Film-induced Tourism’ or ‘Tourism-induced’ Film?

The cinematic landscapes in the British Wallander are characterized by using national well-known imageries and symbols, for example the open, flat landscapes of the Skåne region, the Nordic seasons, local climate, the Swedish national colours of blue and yellow, architecture and design. Broen on the other side creates another image of the region, still reflecting the climate and the seasons, but with much more obviously urban locations and a significantly different colour palette (brown, yellow, grey, green). Both series have induced tourism, and both have been part of collaboration between tourism managers and media producers in the region.

Sue Beeton (2005) describes the kind of tourism outlined above as being induced by the film locations, film production and film studios associated with movies and television shows, but what about the reverse situation? Can tourism to an area inspire further television and movie production? I do not go as far as proposing that the driving force behind the productions of Wallander is the growing film tourism in Ystad, but it is important to recognize that screen tourism has become a new creative economy in which place branding, job creation and regional development go hand-in-hand with the media industries’ ambitions to attract funding and partners to support production of future content. Drama production, as we know, is costly, and for small nations such as those in the Nordic region, extra money and marketing strategies can be of great value.

In the nineteenth century, literature tourism was limited, with some notable exceptions, to a relative small group of lovers of literature [...], whereas each of the contemporary television tours attracts thousands of tourists every year. Visiting ‘fictional’ locations from ‘low culture’ has grown into an important economy activity, with far-reaching consequences for
the communities involved, the local inhabitants, and the tourists themselves. (Reijnders 2011: 4)

Strategic collaboration across the media industries and tourism has been developed both on Funen (Film Fyn, whose productions include De grønne slagtere, Far til fire, Hævnen, 1864), in Aarhus (Filmby Aarhus: Dicte, Tarok) and in Northern Jutland (Visit Nordjylland: Badehotellet, Norskov, Julekalenderen). Visit Denmark has recently developed a film tourism strategy which entails establishing partnerships with Danish film and television producers to better meet the challenges involved with developing sustainable film and television tourism in Denmark (interview with Sfyrla and di Liberto, 13 May 2015). These collaborative undertakings market series abroad and make campaigns based on specific series for specific markets, for example Badehotellet (TV2, The Beach Hotel) in the Netherlands (ibid.). Campaigns are also presented at film and television festivals, Cannes 2015 among others, to promote Denmark as a film tourism destination.

On the international stage, there is increasing interest in partnerships between tourism and the media industry. Visit Britain is a good example of this and it is working closely together with international film and television producers such as Universal Pictures, Warner Brothers and Sony Pictures on projects like Harry Potter, James Bond, Sherlock Holmes and Game of Thrones. In this instance the tourist organisation offers practical support, finance and marketing as well as activities for fans and film tourists. There are also some regional film tourism initiatives in the UK, for example, in 2009 the Peak District and Derbyshire launched a new initiative under the title Great Films Great Locations to attract visitors to the region, and more recently Discover Northern Ireland began marketing Game of Thrones locations:

With so many epic locations and landscapes to visit on your Game Of Thrones® journey why not book a short break in Northern Ireland – the real Westeros. Short breaks start from £55 per room.
It does not seem outlandish to suggest that this new tourism trend influences the stories and the series that are made by the authors, the broadcaster and the producers. Bergman (2011), for example, criticised the way that Swedish authors aim for international success and screen adaptation by choosing idyllic rural settings for a crime plot:

Creating an idyllic rural setting is probably good for the tourist business: no potential tourists are shown to be evil, and the isolated island appears more exotic and attractive to tourists, a safe heaven(sic) from the pass [...] Even if there has long been a tourist trail for following in the footsteps of Swedish whodunnit queen Maria Lang [...] , it was not until Mankell that this type of tourism truly took off in Sweden, and today it is a real factor to take into account. (Bergman 2011: 42)

This is of course a pitfall for Scandinavian crime fiction, as it is for all kinds of new popular literature that tries to imitate other bestselling stories and genres. When it comes to the Nordic Noir television series, there are several conditions and forces that will avoid film tourism as commercial risk for film and television production. Firstly, our Nordic broadcast system has a tradition of supporting drama productions that make the producers less dependent on external funding, market share and international sales in comparison to many other countries. Secondly, we also have highly competent and creative teams of producers who make quality television drama series without any interest in screen tourism, and last but not least, we have a strong public service production ethos that looks for drama series that want their audiences to learn, experience and be provoked. As long as cinematic landscapes and settings can inspire and improve high quality drama series, and as long as film tourism can give the fans and the audiences great experiences, tourism-induced film and television are more than welcome.
Endnotes

1 The interview was conducted in Swedish and Norwegian, but transcribed and translated into Danish to be published. See Waade 2013.

2 However, the app is not linked up with social media platforms and does not facilitate the user to share comments and photos with other users online. Other tourism apps (i.e. TripAdvisor) include these features, and this part reinforces the performative modes even more.

3 The police station has been used in several Danish television drama series, e.g. *Borgen*, *Unit One*, *The Team* (a European co-production).


References


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*Wallander* DVD box extra feature films (Left Bank Pictures/Yellow Bird)


Interviews

Anna Maris, previous manager at Cineteket, Ystad, interviewed 9 September 2009.

Itta Johnson, Market Strategic manager, Ystad Municipality, interviewed 16 October 2009.

Anja Hartung Sfyrla, Brand Manager, and Signe Lüth di Liberto, International Project Manager, VisitDenmark, Copenhagen 13 May 2015. The interview was conducted by Anne Marit Waade, Pia Majbritt Jensen, Ushma Chauhan Jacobsen and Iris Rittenhofer of Aarhus University.