

# Producing Peripheral Locations: Double Marginality in Italian and Danish Television Crime Narratives

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Alongside the enduring interest in capitals, location strategies in European crime series production have showcased an increased attention towards stories from and topographies of peripheral, distant and rural locations. We define and discuss this transcultural and transnational trend through the concepts of peripheral locations and double marginality, in the sense that these locations are usually distant from both production hubs and the symbolic centres of the nations, thus providing a fresh, sought-after visual identity to new crime series.

Combining representational studies with a production studies perspective on Italian and Danish PSB crime dramas, including a media systemic exploration, we analyse the particular location strategies in a range of profiled series broadcasted by Rai in Italy and TV 2 in Denmark. In the end, we compare these strategies and reconfigure the notion of peripheral locations in the view of the analyses, while lifting the perspective to European level, thus showing how the tendency towards using peripheral locations in television dramas uncovers a new, European translocal sense of place and emphasize the role of TV series in forming a collective spatial imaginary of Europe.

## Keywords

Peripheral locations

Production studies

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## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

For practical and historical reasons, location strategies in European crime series production have catered to the capitals. Historically, the crime genre has used the urban topography of big cities as a labyrinthine backdrop for the dramatic events, while film and television production hubs have found their natural production ecologies in and around central urban areas. However, the place-bound nature of crime narratives has also motivated local stories about crimes and investigation, a tendency that has been reinforced by recent place-branding models in close interaction with screen production. Alongside the enduring interest in European capitals, there has been an increased interest in the stories from and topographies of peripheral, distant and rural locations for crime series. Internationally distributed titles, such as *Hinterland* (S4C, 2013-16), *El embarcadero* (Moviestar+, 2019-20), *La trêve* (La Une/France 2, 2016-18),



*Sorjonen* (YLE, 2017-), *Der Pass* (Sky, 2018) and *Wataha* (HBO, 2014-), have in various ways used locations in the geographical national peripheries as an important ambience in the series. This article researches this tendency with a special, comparative focus on Italian and Danish crime dramas from the broadcasters Rai and TV 2, respectively.

The two public service broadcasters (PSB) in focus in this article have not been compared in academic research before, since direct collaboration between broadcasters and production companies from the two countries is still missing. As we demonstrate below, though, the two media institutions share a number of similarities as corporations, which makes them interesting to relate academically. At the same time, crime dramas produced by or for the two broadcasters have moved towards peripheral locations in a significantly similar way. Since Italian-Danish television co-production or direct financial collaboration remains untested, a comparison of the location tendencies in crime dramas for the two broadcasters indicates a wider and consistent tendency in crime drama production in European television. Through a production studies perspective on Italian and Danish PSB crime dramas, including a media systemic exploration, this article provides insights into recent location strategies in contemporary European television production. Although the empirical material servicing the argument of the article comes from analyzing production, the overall argument remains aesthetic in the sense that the locative and cinematographic similarities between financially unassociated territories stress a tendency within television production cultures that reaches beyond creative co-production practices and direct financial collaboration (such as pre-buy and co-financing agreements). Relating Italy and Denmark launches an attention towards a transcultural aesthetic practice around choices of location and cinematographic and narrative treatment of places rather than maintaining direct transnational ties as indications of shared cultural sensibilities. In this sense, comparing Italy/Rai and Denmark/TV 2 serves as a metonymical argument for a larger, continental tendency towards utilizing peripheral, distant and rural locations in crime series and beyond.

The core concept of the article is *peripheral locations*, i.e. the actual shooting location of a drama is placed in the geographical periphery of a nation state.<sup>2</sup> The concept is developed from anthropology and ethnography of space,<sup>3</sup> borders and liminality in geo-political television<sup>4</sup> and the combination of televised local colour, geography, tourism and policy studies.<sup>5</sup> We identify the stylistic consequence of this transcultural trend in crime series as *translocal spaces*, i.e. a similar localization trend in European crime series. While locations are portrayed through vividly comparable stylistic qualities (city panoramas, landscape drone imagery, and locative place images), the exoticism and local colour of the places still mark the series as local productions. Peripheral locations, then, highlight a *double marginality*, i.e. production circumstances are influenced by the



geographical, physical distance, while such locations provide a fresh, sought-after visual identity to new crime series. In this way, the tendency towards using peripheral locations in television dramas indicates a televisual Europe of regions associated with common, translocal place imagery.

## DEFINING PERIPHERAL LOCATIONS

With the rise of political interest in local media production and increased regional funding for film and television, new research interests into the circumstances, challenges and value of production in the national peripheries document 'how culture can foster economic development in smaller regions'<sup>6</sup> and 'stimulate local employment.'<sup>7</sup> Alongside, we have seen a significant focus on locations as a focal point for such interests, including the liminal character of the peripheries,<sup>8</sup> coastal landscape imagery,<sup>9</sup> local identity constructions,<sup>10</sup> and the relationship between the national/regional success of a series and the region where it is set.<sup>11</sup>

The notion of *peripheral locations* encompasses these perspectives, but the concept also accentuates the consequences of the geographical position of such locations. Such locations are often found far away from both the regular production hubs (often situated in the capitals) and the symbolic, ideological centres of the nations, producing a double marginality in both a practical and a symbolic sense. For popular cultural imagination, peripheral locations produce what Saunders refers to as *liminal spaces* with a double geopolitical function as both 'a barrier to movement as much as gateway between these national spaces.'<sup>12</sup> Placing narratives in peripheries also motivates stories about such particular liminalities, including the geopolitical concerns with borderlines, and, in crime narratives with specific interest in legal thresholds, attention skews towards geographic

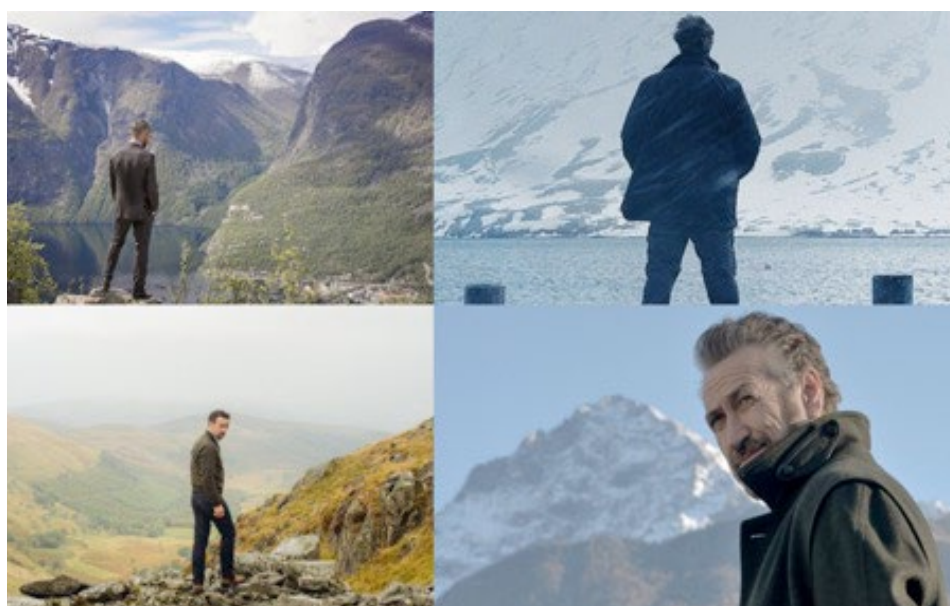


Fig. 1: Translocal landscape imagery in four European television crime dramas: *Frikjent* (TV 2 Norway, 2015-), *Ófærð* (RÚV, 2017-), *Hinterland* and *Rocco Schiavone* (Rai, 2016-) shows visual similarities between otherwise unassociated productions.



liminality (the place) underscoring the conflictual juristic liminality of the stories (the crime). In other words, placing stories in peripheral locations tends to stimulate stories about *being* in the periphery, including what lies beyond borders (*external liminality*) as well as being away from the symbolic centre of the nation (*internal liminality*).

From a production perspective, peripheral locations are often considered expensive and practically challenging. In production, locations away from production hubs are often referred to as *distant locations*, which in our case is a competing term, but the idea of distance does not emphasize the notion of peripherality. Producing outside central production hubs without studios or technical facilities challenges the ordinary production procedures, while moving creatives and equipment from the centre to the periphery costs extra. Creatives often, however, accentuate visual innovation through the aesthetics of locations rarely used in screen productions, indicating that producing in the peripheries provides an opportunity to establish a 'fresh look' in a television series. Nevertheless, producers also highlight that the local funding opportunities rarely fully compensate for the extra expenses in using non-traditional, peripheral locations. In other words, the rise of local co-funding makes up for some of the additional expenditure, but fiscal incentives are by no means the sole reason why we see an upsurge in peripheral locations in television drama. Explaining encounters with specific locations, creatives often refer to special embodied and emotional experiences of local colour, nature and local identity, highlighting the aesthetic opportunities often sought out in producing a television series at a peripheral location. Peripheral locations appear to produce a tripartite opportunity to institute a self-reinforcing relationship between new visuals, new narratives and new story-worlds. At the same time, however, it is striking how innovative aesthetics shares a number of stylistic similarities across cultures (the visual way that local places are treated appear very similar), creating a translocal imagination around the stylistic treatment of peripheral originality influenced by landscape painting, place photography, tourist marketing material, and places and landscapes in popular television (see image 1).

Below, we introduce the broadcasters Rai and TV 2, and afterwards we analyse the particular location strategies in a range of profiled series broadcasted by these television institutions. In the end, we compare the strategies and reconfigure the notion of peripheral locations in the view of the analyses, while finally lifting the perspective to a transcultural, European level.



## MEDIA SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

There are a range of media systemic differences between Denmark and Italy, starting from the obvious acknowledgement of the different sizes of the respective TV markets.<sup>13</sup> One significant difference is also that the position of commercial television and media is stronger in the Italian media landscape than in the Danish one. The profiled position of two all-commercial broadcasters, i.e. Mediaset (commercial broadcaster) and Sky Italy (pay tv service), shows a significant difference in relation to the comparatively strong position of public service broadcasting in Denmark. The Danish broadcasting system is dominated by the DR corporation, a 100% publicly financed public service provider, and the commercial public service television broadcaster TV 2 as well as a range of all-commercial players with a comparatively low share of viewers. These differences create a stronger position of public service broadcasting in Denmark than in Italy and a stronger direct commercial competition in Italy.<sup>14</sup>

On one level, Rai in Italy and DR in Denmark compares well as they are both multimedia services (including television, radio, online media and publishing), and they share a long pre-television history within radio broadcasting. Nevertheless, the high level of public funding for DR establishes a different position giving them an opportunity to navigate more freely and with no direct ties to such commercial activities that fund approximately a third of the annual Rai budget. In its financial organization, Rai has more similarities with TV 2 that — until 2003 — was funded by 50% license fee and 50% advertising. Today, TV 2 receives no public funding, but the intermediary position between public service remits and commercial activities highlights similarities between Rai and TV 2 and creates the main reason for comparing these two broadcasters in this article. As table 1 shows, Rai and TV 2 are both 100% state-owned, and while privatization has been suggested in relation to both institutions, this has not yet been successfully attempted. Both institutions have regional obligations with administration and production facilities placed elsewhere than in the capital, although much organization planning originates from the capital, including a historic tendency to place TV series production in the capitals. Nevertheless, the strategic placement of regional offices highlights the regional attention given to the policy background of both broadcasters. Altogether they have a comparable audience share and similar policy motivations and internal interests in profiling different regions of each country. One main difference, however, is that the reach and organization of Rai is transnational, predominantly in the neighbouring countries, but also as pay TV in other territories, including Denmark.



TABLE 1:

Comparison of the institutions Rai and TV 2 in Italy and Denmark, respectively.

	Rai	TV 2
OWNERSHIP	100% state-owned	100% state-owned
PUBLIC SERVICE REMIT	All activities	TV 2 Denmark (main channel)
FINANCING	Licence fee and advertising	Subscription and advertising
BROADCASTER CATEGORY	Commercial public service (all channels)	Commercial public service (only main channel) and commercial activities (the rest)
PRIVATISATION	Suggested, but never attempted	Suggested, but never attempted
MAIN OFFICE	Rome, Milan and Turin	Odense and Copenhagen
PRODUCTION FACILITIES	Rome, Milan, Naples and Turin and 17 regional offices	Odense and Copenhagen (only news production) and 8 regional offices
CHANNEL SYSTEM	Multi-channel system	Multi-channel system
STREAMING	RaiPlay (BVOD)	TV 2 Play (SVoD)
MAIN LINEAR CHANNEL AUDIENCE SHARE	Appr. 17% (Rai 2020)	Appr. 25% (TV 2 Denmark 2019)
OVERALL AUDIENCE SHARE	Appr. 36% (all channels 2020)	Appr. 40% (all channels 2019)
LOCAL CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS	They only concern regional, public information and linguistic minorities. References to the diversification of locations are included in Rai Fiction production strategies <i>Nessuno escluso</i> .	'TV 2 Denmark must offer a wide societal coverage of Denmark [...] in the different parts of the country.'
NATIONAL CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS	Rai must ensure 'complete and impartial information, as well as [...] encourage education, civil growth, progress and social cohesion, promote the Italian language, culture and creativity, safeguard the national identity and ensure socially useful services.'	'The range of programmes must strive towards quality, versatility and diversity. [...] In programme activities, special attention towards Danish language and culture must be emphasized.' <sup>15</sup>
INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS	To promote and support Italian culture and Italian excellences abroad.	None
FOUNDED	1944 (as Rai)	1988



## RAI IN THE ITALIAN PERIPHERY

The acronym RAI (Radio Audizioni Italiane) appeared in 1944 to replace the previous EIAR (Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche), established by the Fascist regime in 1927 with the radio broadcast monopoly license for the Italian territory. From 1924 to 1927, EIAR was referred to as URI (Unione Radiofonica Italiana). Upon the official launch of television broadcast in 1954, the company once again reshaped the meaning of Rai to Radiotelevisione Italiana, a term by which the PSB is still known today. Currently financed by license fee and advertising revenues, Rai has production centres in Rome, Turin, Milan and Naples and offers a portfolio of 14 national free-to-air channels (generalist, semi-generalist and special interest channels, 6 of them also distributed across Europe), three international non-European channels, and two regional channels. Since 2016 it has progressively strengthened its nonlinear offers through the launch of the RaiPlay platform.

Like many other European PSBs, Rai has obligations to deliver complete and impartial information, promote education and social progress, and stimulate Italian culture and creative industries. Among the obligations deriving from being the exclusive concession holder of the Public Radio, Television and Multimedia Service,<sup>16</sup> two are particularly interesting in the light of the objectives of this article. Firstly, Rai must reach the entire national population and specifically guarantee public information at a regional level too, including addressing and protecting linguistic minorities. The national coverage happens through institutional presence in each region with local seats and editorial offices, and through collaboration with various cultural players in the territory. Secondly, Rai is obliged to support the development of national audiovisual industries, including co-producing with and supporting independent producers as well as stimulating the Italian film industry.

Through its production branch Rai Fiction (established in 1997), Rai has become the leading player in television production. In the period 2017-19, Rai offered no less than 74% of Italian serial content, compared to the 8% by Mediaset (the main competitor and commercial broadcaster), the 7% by Sky (the main pay TV service available in Italy), and the 6% by Netflix (the dominant SVoD service).<sup>17</sup> In the latest years, this leading position also interrelates with an increasingly more dynamic and efficient collaboration with independent production companies. Increasingly, 'production companies and broadcasters collaborate as a team on financing, creative and production management, sharing risks and benefits,' writes Luca Barra.<sup>18</sup> In relation to this, diversification of locations plays an important role in Rai Fiction's production strategies:





*Rai Fiction wants to enhance the diversity of territories and territorial cultures, thus encouraging a process with a strong economic and more importantly cultural value. This process promotes inclusivity in the entire country and also from an international perspective. Local, in this sense, does not mean localism: rather, it means the accuracy of a reference point, and a setting that can become universal exactly because of its specificity.<sup>19</sup>*

According to Eleonora Andreatta, former head of Rai Fiction (now Netflix's head of Italian original content), the representational strategy has been explicit: 'To us, talking about Italy means representing it in its territorial diversity. The setting is not an appendix or a background. It contextualises and gives substance to the plot [...]. In the last few years, we have been shooting in every region of Italy, telling the story of our country in all its cultural variety.'<sup>20</sup>

## TV 2 IN THE DANISH PERIPHERY

Compared with the long pre-television history of Rai, TV 2 Denmark was born as a television broadcaster in 1988, breaking the PSB monopoly in Denmark held by DR, the traditional public service institution. TV 2 was introduced as a commercial alternative to DR, at first receiving funds from the Danish licence fee, but today its activities are funded primarily by advertising (since 2003) and by channel subscription (since 2012). From the start, TV 2 had regional obligations, predominantly materialised through eight regional, stand-alone channels that still today receive public funding from the media licence fee. TV 2 provides a multi-channel service for various target audiences, including the SVoD TV 2 Play, but only the main channel has a public service remit and broadcasts daily regional news. The public service remit for the main channel is essentially oriented towards a national context and holds no indications of international obligations: 'In programme activities, special attention towards Danish language and culture must be emphasised.'<sup>21</sup> However, according to the remit, 'TV 2 Denmark must offer a wide societal coverage of Denmark [...] in the different parts of the country.'<sup>22</sup> In other words, the primary public service obligations of TV 2 facilitate a national and a local coverage of Denmark.

Besides news, all TV 2 programmes must be produced by external production companies, an obligation originally intended to stimulate independent production in Denmark, which it successfully did and still does. This includes fiction too. Originally, this was called *the enterprise model*, but today this model has been surpassed by a *co-production model*, since the amount of co-funding from TV 2 has been greatly reduced in favour of both local and international co-financing.<sup>23</sup> From the first large-scale fiction productions, TV 2 has used local production in different areas





in Denmark as differentiation from DR that has been producing most of its dramas in and around Copenhagen. On the one hand, TV 2 could in this way uphold the obligation to regional coverage, and on the other hand position offers from the fiction department in opposition to their main competitor. TV 2's first long-format crime series *Strisser på Samsø* (1997-98) was set on small rural island, and since then the broadcaster has continued to portray locations around Denmark, including peripheral locations in crime series such as *Norskov* (2015-17), *DNA* (2019-) and *Hvide Sande* (2021-).

For Katrine Vogelsang, the head of fiction, this has been a very conscious strategy:

*I think that it actually springs from the story ideas. It has been a distinct agenda for me to get away from Copenhagen. If you want to get away from the stories about the system, often originating from Copenhagen where the Danish parliament is, then you need to pull away to get a different perspective on the Danes. TV 2's main series have been situated much more in the provinces. TV 2 was born regional. We live in Odense, and we stand on the shoulders of the regions, reaching clearly beyond an audience in Copenhagen.<sup>24</sup>*

As we show below, the consequence has been a revised image of the Danish peripheries that has been able to gain a voice through dramas set in different Danish localities.

## EXPLORING ITALIAN PERIPHERAL LOCATIONS<sup>25</sup>

In recent years, Rai Fiction has re-evaluated and diversified its production strategies, intensified in competition with original content produced by pay TV (Sky) and SVoD platforms (Netflix, Amazon Prime) and the increasing circulation of formats from especially other European countries. This process has offered interesting examples of balancing tradition and innovation while 'translating' international variations into the Italian cultural context.

Rai Fiction's production strategies, emblematically titled *Nobody excluded*, refer to three main objectives: 1) to consolidate the traditional broadcasting service while gradually renewing the offer of the main channel (Rai 1), 2) to enhance narrowcasting by experimenting with formats, genres and languages on channels like Rai 2 and Rai 3, and 3) to consolidate the relationship with national audiences, while simultaneously strengthening the capability to reach international audiences. According to the strategy, two main traits must characterize Rai's TV dramas: Firstly, authenticity is maintained as key for international exposure, defined as e.g. 'overcoming cultural stereotypes', 'truthful representation of society', 'multiple points of view', and 'strong identity connotation'. Secondly, in order to compete with 'the best international television,' Rai focuses on developing and updating



the most popular international genres through high production value and quality TV. Our attention towards *peripheral locations* in Italian crime narratives must be understood within Rai's attention towards authenticity and 'quality' for audiences in both a national and an international context.

Although the primacy of Rome as a location and production centre is attested — both in economic and symbolic terms — throughout Italian film and television history,<sup>26</sup> Rai has previously diversified locations in two ways. Firstly, the representation of rural suburbs, especially picturesque medieval towns, leads to narratives about crimes and mysteries with minor effects on reassuring and conservative environments, e.g. *Il Maresciallo Rocca* (1996-2008) set in Viterbo, *Don Matteo* (2000-) set in Gubbio, later Spoleto, and *Carabinieri* (2002-2008) set in Città della Pieve. Secondly, in portrayals of Southern Mediterranean areas the outcome is often stories about the contrast between the gorgeous natural and cultural heritage and the brutality of crime, e.g. *Il commissario Montalbano* (1999-). However, localisation strategies in these productions tend to consolidate, rather than subvert, cultural and visual stereotypes, while the locations often remain simple, albeit splendid narrative backdrops with no strong narrative motivation for the storyworld. Without the complexity and visual style of international television, these examples do not correspond with the social negotiation of spatial identities here associated with peripheral locations.

Set in Bologna with production facilities hardly available and broadcast on Rai 2, a pioneering exploitation of a peripheral location can be found in the primetime crime series *L'ispettore Coliandro* (2006-). The series is marked by the cinephile style of directors Marco and Antonio Manetti and the irreverently ironic and politically incorrect approach of screenwriters Carlo Lucarelli (author of the Coliandro novels) and Giampiero Rigosi, who claims: 'There is a Rome-centred imaginary [...] In my view, diversification is the answer. Nowadays, Coliandro represents Bologna more than Balanzone! When he comes to Bologna, Giampaolo Morelli [the actor playing Coliandro] always goes around only wearing Coliandro's leather jacket'.<sup>27</sup> Over the years, in fact, the shooting of *Coliandro* has become a collective ritual for the city, and the last episode of the fifth season was screened at the Bologna film archive, simultaneously with the television broadcast. The city of Bologna is depicted in a 'fresh' and unconventional way, emphasizing everyday life atmosphere. As Marco Manetti underlines: 'We were asked to film the exteriors in Bologna, but we wanted to shoot everything in Bologna, also the interiors, because we wanted the city to be felt, that Bologna could be glimpsed behind the windows. Localizing is an incentive for the circulation of Italian works.' And Antonio Manetti remarks: 'In Scandinavian thrillers, the smaller the locations, the more they work. If I had to choose between Stockholm or an isolated Scandinavian village, I would choose localizing.'<sup>28</sup>

Collaborating with screenwriter Sofia Assirelli, Lucarelli and Rigosi created the crime series *La porta rossa* (2017-), a series with a gloomy



atmosphere, combining the realism of the detective story with a supernatural storyline. Although originally set in Bologna, the setting temporarily moved to Turin, but in the end it was produced in Trieste, motivated by director Carmine Elia who explains:

*I fell in love with the fact that it was a border town, a city suspended between the sky and the sea, between Mediterranean and Northern Europe. A true border town, as if it were the delta of a river that enters the sea. I proposed to shoot in Trieste because it seemed to me a geometric, sharp-cornered city that could become a key part of our story. And Maurizio [Tini] was able to understand this.<sup>29</sup>*

Producer Maurizio Tini confirms: 'It was necessary to find a place that was as little "seen" as possible precisely because we were going to tell a story atypical for Italian serial production, so we also had to stand out from that point of view. We needed a city with its own characteristics, its own history, its own character.'<sup>30</sup> Simultaneously with the Rai 2 premiere, the last episode of the second season was screened in the city at the Rossetti theatre on 20 March 2019. Furthermore, fans of the series organized a convention on 19 October 2019 in Trieste to celebrate the engaging location that provided a key contribution to the visual identity of the show.<sup>31</sup>

The literary origin of the storyworld often determines the location of a crime series. *Rocco Schiavone*, adapted from Antonio Manzini's literary series and set in Valle d'Aosta, and *L'alligatore* (2020) based on Massimo Carlotto's novels and set in the lagoon landscapes of Northern Italy both provide great examples of this trend. In both Rai 2 series, peripheral locations establish an influential ambience around the protagonists (the Deputy Commissioner of the State Police Schiavone and the sleuth nicknamed 'Alligatore', respectively), emphasizing their main characteristics by analogy or contrast. Such adaptation processes also facilitate peripheral locations in the more conventional series produced for Rai 1, e.g. *Imma Tataranni – Sostituto procuratore* (2019-) based on Mariolina Venezia's novels. The protagonist offers a challenging representation of the female detective, corresponding with the representation of the Southern city of Matera, disputing a range of Mediterranean stereotypes tied to both place and people.

Besides influences on the female detectives, the two series *Non uccidere* (2015-18) and *Bella da morire* (2020) clearly display the international impact of Nordic crime series often referenced as Nordic Noir on the representation of Italian locations. From the interval between the two series, we may highlight how the international influential genre variation have been elaborated and adapted into the Italian cultural context. In *Non uccidere*, the storyworld is permeated by an oppressive and excruciating atmosphere emphasized by the 'Nordic' urban setting in Turin in Northern Italy and the dark colour tones of the imagery. In production paratexts (e.g.



Fig. 2: Based on Massimo Carlotto's novels, *L'alligatore* (2020), whose eponymous hero is played by Matteo Martari, is set in the lagoon landscapes of Northern Italy: the protagonist's gloomy attitude and his nickname are deeply related to the environment.

interviews),<sup>32</sup> actors and creatives make explicit references to the 'Nordic' visual style of the show as a 'disruptive' element in the Italian context.

Five years after the premiere of *Non uccidere*, *Bella da morire* presents another and slightly more balanced attempt to 'translate' Nordic Noir's genre variation into the Italian context. In the narrative, the tough and solitary police detective Eva Cantini (Cristiana Capotondi) returns to her native town Lagonero (literally *dark lake*). The imaginary Lagonero differs from the original ideas presented during the writing process that staged the story near lake Como in Northern Italy. As the screenwriter Gravino recalls: 'We had set the story in a more British world. We imagined a very gray, rainy, foggy lake, [...] a location that immediately referred to Nordic and British tales, which immediately placed the series in this great trend.'<sup>33</sup>

The eventual locations became lakes Albano and Bracciano, combined to create a unique fictional lake. Although they are closer to Rome, the specific representation of these more Mediterranean locations avoids the pitfall of visual stereotypes and, indeed, adds some Nordic nuances. As director Molaioli claims:

*The suburbs have been often represented only as a reassurance, a little false place. Here, there were suburbs to tell too. Economic reasons led us to shoot close to Rome, but I was fond of the original idea of Nordic suburbs and I have tried to conceive the locations as Nordic: although illuminated by the sun, they are never completely clear and limpid. Therefore, while remaining close to Rome, we have moved away from the concrete geographical places.<sup>34</sup>*



'In our first ideas', continues producer Cotta Ramosino,

*The Nordic-European model was also reflected in the locations, and the idea was to describe Northern Italy by the lake. The water and the lake have always been important, and we have managed to maintain them by using the lakes near Rome. In order to reach this slightly Nordic atmosphere, we have created a place that does not exist: a fictional lake but with recognizable, real elements, faithful to the original Nordic inspiration.<sup>35</sup>*

Running through these arguments regarding producing at peripheral locations, we find a sometimes embedded, sometimes explicit authenticity claim: although some series have been remarkably influenced by international genre stylistics, the sense of real places and representative storylines permeate the placement strategies of the series. This complex relationship between influential intertextuality and authenticity also imbue, as we shall see below, the recent localisation trends in series produced for and broadcast by Danish TV 2.

Fig. 3: *Bella da morire* reworks Nordic Noir's genre variation into the Italian context by telling the story of the tough and solitary police detective Eva Cantini (Cristiana Capotondi) returning to her native town Lagonero.







## EXPLORING DANISH PERIPHERAL LOCATIONS<sup>36</sup>

Even if TV 2 as a broadcaster was born with regional obligations, and even if the break-through television series was a crime drama in the Danish periphery, it took over a decade before the regional shift in TV 2 dramas kicked off. Surprisingly, the broadcaster neglected to follow up on *Strisser på Samsø's* significant audience success. A decade later, three crime series premiered on TV 2. *Anna Pihl* (2006-8), *Blekingegade* (2009) and *Den som dræber* (2011) all take place in Copenhagen, though *Anna Pihl* directs attention towards peripheral Copenhagen (the so-called Western District). The watershed was, however, the engagement of Katrine Vogelsang in 2011 as head of fiction at a time when broadcasters realized that television series was a significant asset in the ensuing digital turn of television viewing. Her regional philosophy quickly impacted series produced for TV 2, including *Badehotellet* (2013-), their absolutely most popular television series. This historical drama is set in the Northern Danish periphery around the popular tourist town Skagen, although primarily shot in studios in Copenhagen and selected exterior scenes and breakers on-location.

Earlier the same year, TV 2 premiered the successful crime series *Dicte* (2013-16), adapted from novels and characters by the crime writer Elsebeth Egholm. Although set in Aarhus, the second largest city in Denmark, the series put focus on provincial Denmark and included, already in the international promotion material, a heavy accentuation of spatiality. The material, for instance, refers to *voyeur-breaks* as a visual concept: 'We will implement a more stylised visual layer showing the city as it appears in-between the street and the rooftops in order to get a distanced gaze into people's homes. The visual layer is meant as transitional and ambient images that embrace the city and reminds us of the life lived around our characters.'<sup>37</sup> Flanked by efficient locative imagery from Aarhus, *Dicte* appears as much framed by place as by character in the promotion leaflet.

After *Dicte's* success, fuelled by the prerequisite to boost international co-funding for increasingly expensive television series, crime narratives

Fig. 4: *Badehotellet* is a comic period drama, but the peripheral imagery — a contemplating character with back turned towards the camera standing at the *literal* periphery — is part of the title screen of the series, too.





have since been the most profiled genre in the broadcaster's fiction portfolio. As stated by Pernille Bech Christensen, executive producer at TV 2, 'crime is clearly still the genre that works best. It is the easiest one to co-produce.'<sup>38</sup> Two miniseries, *Kriger* (2018) and *Efterforskningen* (2020), take place in Copenhagen, while the long-form crime series *Greyzone* (2018) is situated in a North-European transnational space motivated by the co-production model between primarily Denmark, Sweden and Germany. Since 2015, the broadcaster's five additional crime series in different ways implement Danish peripheral locations, enabling local municipal financial and practical support for all five productions. Coastal municipalities and resultant coastal landscape imagery are common features of all five series: *Norskov* (2015-17) was produced on-location predominantly in Frederikshavn in Northern Denmark; *DNA* (2019-) was a large-scale Danish-French co-production, but the series involved profiled on-location shooting in northern Denmark; both *Sommerdahl* (2020-) and *Alfa* (2020) contain settings in Northern Sealand, Helsingør and Gripskov, respectively; and *Hvide Sande* (2021-) is shot on-location in primarily Hvide Sande on the Danish west-coast. Often producers claim authenticity when asked about the effect of peripheral on-location shooting, e.g. Thomas Radoor, Nordisk Film's executive producer on *DNA*: 'This "the local is global" has been widely used, but I still think that there is more to it. I think that we are suckers for authenticity and that we have become more conscious about "bullshit". I think that we have become better at recognizing a story that feels real.'<sup>39</sup> The *authenticity claim* frequently reverberates in close association with the emotional experience of something original and prominent about a new, fresh location. This includes the opportunity for characters to have a 'fresh' start as well; for instance, the development material for *Hvide Sande* refers to the peripheral location as 'the geographical version of a "factory reset".'<sup>40</sup>

The two productions *Norskov* and *Hvide Sande* share a number of remarkable similarities. As the only two long-form Danish series so far, they have both been shot entirely on-location in and around small coastal towns, based on what Hansen and Christensen (2017) refer to as *stories from below*: stories echoing real stories discovered by researching the topography, demography and local identity of a place. In early development material (dated April 2012), *Norskov*'s creator and scriptwriter Dunja Gry Jensen indirectly makes the authenticity claim: '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.'<sup>41</sup> Morten Rasmussen, producer on *Hvide Sande*, highlights a reversed development process for the series: 'Normally, we start developing story and character, subsequently finding locations for the narrative and universe. This time it was in reverse order.' Per municipal association to Aarhus as the Municipal Capital of Culture in 2017, 'writer teams were invited to Hvide Sande with the set assignment to





Fig. 5: Translocal imagery in *Norskov*, once again a contemplating character standing at the literal periphery, marking the darkened liminality of the location.

create a fiction series based on the area's nature, culture and population.' The result was 'a strong foundation for an original, international series with local anchorage.'<sup>42</sup> In this way, on-location shooting and *stories from below* resonate with the embedded reference to authenticity. At the same time, it appears clear from statements like these that the physical movement of stories to peripheral, coastal locations induced an opportunistic possibility to discover new, untold stories.

In both cases, the creators spend considerable time sourcing local narratives and atmospheres, either by travelling to and researching the locality (as the creator of *Norskov* did), or by actually spending time living in the area (as the writers of *Hvide Sande* did).<sup>43</sup> In this way, municipal participation in local crime productions serves an opportunity to contest the territorial stigmata sometimes attached to peripheral locations,<sup>44</sup> while also establishing a reasonable opportunity for enriching tourist activities and local place branding. In such cases, there are obvious benefits for the creatives as well as the local environment with an interest in attracting such a production. Creatives behind both *Norskov* and *Hvide Sande* stress the remarkable opportunity to uncover stories that they were unable to come up with themselves, while there are natural obstacles, including basic challenges of the local weather conditions. For instance, producing sunny *blue sky crime* in Hvide Sande during the coldest summer in 29 years created some trouble for the *Hvide Sande* crew. During a local online premiere event for the series *Hvide Sande* (May 2 2021), the producer Morten Rasmussen maintained that the challenges were clearly outweighed by the local support (including hiring a location manager with local knowledge for the production) and the effect of on-location shooting:



*We were met with open arms out here, which makes a difference, because so many gifts come from working on location. You get a 360° space to work in, and you get an authenticity, which is hard to create in a studio. [...] You can feel these gifts throughout the series. You can feel that we are in a real place.*

During the same event, the municipal head of culture Per Høgh Sørensen highlighted the intense participation of 1,400 local extras and hundreds of volunteers working for the series, stressing how such participation establishes local pride and community building. In fact, something similar took place during the local production of *Norskov*, which shows how new television series — expensive as they may be — also involve a hidden economy of precarious labour and voluntary participation. Essentially, when creatives highlight the additional uncovered expenses for shooting at distant or peripheral locations, local production holds a conspicuous difference from the production environments in production hubs where it is not as effortless to engage a local free labour-force. Such production stories about visual gifts and helpful local volunteers are, however, widespread realisations from on location television production in peripheral Danish areas. In the public invitation to the *Hvide Sande* premiere event, it was stressed how the final premiere of *Hvide Sande* shows that ‘Western Jutland equals a vigorous drive and the art of pulling together’, which is a sense of community that reverberates through many local Danish television productions.

## COMPARING ITALIAN AND DANISH PERIPHERIES

Despite obvious differences in the institutional histories of Rai and TV 2, and the apparent variations in Danish and Italian demographics and topographies notwithstanding, it becomes clear from the above that there are striking similarities between Italian and Danish location strategies in crime series produced by or for the PSBs. Although no direct collaboration between the two broadcasters or between production companies in the two countries has appeared, we see highly noticeable parallels between the stylistic and narrative results in the series produced as well as in the *raison d'être* behind the production and location strategies for the series presented above. Rooted in PSB obligations to represent the entire composition of the nation, both Rai and TV 2 have purposefully motivated serial content in the peripheries of the countries, resulting in an increasingly multi-faceted and varied location awareness in representing rural and urban areas. Here, the indicative point is that the lack of direct co-production links between Italy and Denmark points towards a more general movement especially in TV crime series, but also in TV serial content in general.



The representational intention in using peripheral locations in TV series is often flanked by two additional and associated motivations embedded in the location strategies. On the one hand, producers often express a wish to avoid stereotypical portrayals of the series' settings and in this way circumvent the heavy connotations often tied to the production hubs of the productions cultures through years of utilizing the same locations, cities and settings for TV content. On the other hand, creatives regularly reveal an experience of 'freshness' tied to new, fallow locations, which for them — and intentionally also for audiences — results in an ambient sense of authenticity. In this way, producers and creatives establish a sharp distinction between the originality and authenticity of peripheral locations *and* the stereotypical character of conventional and mundane drama settings. Essentially, this is both a neutral way to describe the ambience of the location strategies behind contemporary TV series as well as a salient part of outspoken branding strategies behind the exposure of the series, including the cultural and economic conditions behind the production.

Depicting the local colour of a specific location has, conceptually, been closely entangled in this contradistinction between showcasing something real(istic) and authentic, on the one hand, and the stereotypical pitfalls of turning places into commodities, on the other.<sup>45</sup> Wedged between these assumptions regarding peripheral locations, we need to pose an obvious question regarding the authenticity claim: What happens to authenticity when otherwise unassociated productions exploit peripheral locations in such a similar manner? As the stylistic treatment of the locations are very much alike, such artistic creations of authenticity give the clear impression of moving towards stereotypical or formulaic representations of peripheries in Italy, Denmark and elsewhere. Is it, then, possible to maintain the authenticity claim when 'authentic' seems to become a translocal conventional style?

This is, in fact, a very complex question that needs to be untangled in two stages. Firstly, we need to stress that the 'freshness' often mentioned by creatives refers to the unmediated places, i.e. the new locations discovered as untainted by mediation. In other words, the authenticity claim maintains newness based on the places' lack of mediation, which then embraces an intricate idea about how mediation may tamper with authenticity. Secondly, what we notice in the Italian and Danish examples (as well as other European examples) is that it is not the places *per se* that are caught in this complex web of authenticity and mediation; rather, it is the *way* that a place is stylistically treated, e.g. the overall impact of Nordic Noir stylistics on European television crime series. In this way, the translocal vocabulary of television style becomes a common, transcultural language, establishing an international way to tell stories about very different places from the cold North to the warm South.



## PERIPHERAL LOCATIONS IN EUROPEAN TV CRIME SERIES

Despite media systemic differences and maybe through very similar location strategies, places in Italy and Denmark rarely used for large scale international co-productions are now to a greater and greater extent supplementing the production hubs, as local production of television crime series appears to be a trend across Europe. As we suggested throughout the article, this European tendency may be interpreted at two distinct and yet deeply interrelated levels.

At the level of production strategies, and besides the well-researched positive impact (both in social and economic terms) of audiovisual productions on territories, the increasingly important role of regional funds and independent producers (and their international networks)<sup>46</sup> must be stressed. As Barra punctually observes about current trends in Italy, 'the producer takes a share of the business risk, develops ideas, submits them to its partners, acquires intellectual properties and collaborates with top authors, showrunners, head writers, directors and actors. The broadcaster relinquishes part of the control and acts as project and team leader.'<sup>47</sup> Something very similar characterizes the circumstances around series production for TV 2 in Denmark. Represented by the Italian and Danish cases above, this increasingly dynamic audiovisual landscape connecting the national with the regional (and the international) may be extended across the continent. At the same time, the PSBs' utilization of expertise and creative skills from a stimulated media industry may also have an aesthetic impact, promoting the above mentioned 'televisual Europe of regions' associated with a shared, translocal place imagery.

Perceivably, such a locally and internationally rich dialectic may also prevent the shared, translocal TV aesthetics from becoming a formulaic translocal style and may even foster a perceived sense of authenticity. In this respect, the cooperation between national and regional players may reinforce the relationship between fresh visual identities, innovative narratives and complex story-worlds, which are genuinely grounded — rather than merely situated — in peripheral locations. Most importantly, this rich cooperation may also facilitate a conceptual transition from a 'glocal' to a 'translocal' perspective. Where glocalisation predominantly refers to the localization process in format trade,<sup>48</sup> translocalism may suggest a different strategy where stories originate from the distinctive features of their settings (stories from below), while still succeeding in circulating internationally, thanks to the familiar and recognizable frames represented by popular genres (and especially the crime genre).

Given its popular and engaging plots, the crime genre may also strengthen the social, economic and political implications of placing stories in peripheral locations. At the same time, such processes foster



stories that are also about *being* in the periphery with particular reference to experiencing borders, i.e. what we have previously termed 'external liminality'. In this regard, the European dimension becomes even more relevant. In many cases, peripheral areas (with relation to the nation's both geographical and symbolic centre) are also border areas, close to the frontiers between two states: In all these cases, the cultural representation of internal marginality corresponds to a tentative opening towards external areas. The story of *Rocco Schiavone*, for instance, unfolds in the Aosta Valley region, bordering with France to the West and Switzerland to the North; *La porta rossa* is set in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region, sharing a frontier with Austria to the North and Slovenia to the East. In both cases, the cross-border dimension is thematized in the plot.

Other examples engage more strongly and directly with borderline issues and tensions, thus stressing the continental (more than national) negotiation of peripherality and demonstrating that the double marginality of peripheral locations can resonate further on a continental (and even trans-continental) scale, and may represent a challenge in the European audiovisual sector. The Finnish crime drama *Sorjonen*, for instance, set in the city of Lappeenranta, focuses on Russian border, the Spanish-French crime series *Hierro* (Moviestar+/ARTE, 2019-) deals with the geopolitical complexities of crime and immigration on the Canaries outside the African coast, and the Polish series *Wataha* tackles the issue of Eastern European migrants into Poland through a setting at the Ukrainian border. Other cases, although not specifically set on the boundary between national states, use peripheral locations to elaborate on the geopolitical role of Europe. The Icelandic tv series *Ófærð*, for instance, negotiates the island's intermediary Atlantic position between Europe and North America, while the Belgian series *La trêve*, filmed in the Ardennes and set in the imaginary small town of Heiderfeld, addresses the relationship between Europe and immigration through the investigation on the death of Driss Assani, a young African football player in the local team.

## CONCLUSION

In this article, we have understood *peripheral locations* as a creative stimulation of stories about internal and external liminality as well as a practical decision to produce television series in the periphery away from the geographic and symbolic centre of the nation. Through analyses of two otherwise directly unassociated production environments, i.e. Italian and Danish television industries, we have emphasized an increasing attention towards producing television crime series not only away from the production hubs but in the literal peripheries. By creatives, the result is often referred to as 'fresh' locations and as a way to gain access to new and untold stories. In other words, we see a new creative stimulation through



the liminality of the practical locations for the specific television series.

The choice to analyse Rai in Italy and TV 2 in Denmark, respectively, has been to uncover very similar trends in television industries, despite the fact that we have not yet seen direct collaboration or co-production of television fiction between neither the two broadcasters nor the two countries. However, this article clearly shows that the two production environments share an aesthetic vocabulary as well as an interest in perceived authentic, local stories about crime and regional cultures.

At the same time, our research for this article indicates that the similarities between localisation processes in Italy and Denmark allude to a general tendency in European television crime series. At a time marked by 'too much TV',<sup>49</sup> new stories springing from new peripheral places contribute to a differentiation process on a potentially saturated marketplace for television drama. Popular television drama in general and crime series in particular appear to be mapping Europe by scrutinizing and recording unheeded stories from places that rarely get the screen time that they may deserve.



# Notes

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<sup>2</sup> Massimiliano Coviello, Valentina Re and Luca Barra, 'Innovative Use of Peripheral Locations in Italian Crime Narratives: The Case of *La porta rossa*', in *Location Marketing and Cultural Tourism: Crime Narratives as Destination Branding*, ed. by Cathrin Bengesser, Kim Toft Hansen and Lyngge Stegger Gemzøe (DETECT Horizon 2020 research report, 2020, pp. 59–64) <https://www.detect-project.eu/deliverables/> [accessed 9 February 2021]; Massimiliano Coviello and Valentina Re, 'Translocal Landscapes: *La Porta Rossa* and the Use of Peripheral Locations in Contemporary Italian Tv Crime Drama', *Academic Quarter*, 22 (2021), pp. 1–19.

<sup>3</sup> *Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. by Setha M. Low and D. Lawrence-Zúñiga (Hoboken: Wiley, 2003). Setha M. Low, *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Robert A. Saunders, *Geopolitics, Northern Europe, and Nordic Noir: What Television Series Tells Us about World Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020).

<sup>5</sup> Kim Toft Hansen and Anne Marit Waade, *Locating Nordic Noir: From Beck to The Bridge* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

<sup>6</sup> Pei-Sze Chow and Stine Agnete Sand, 'Regional Screen Ecosystems at the Peripheries: Production and Talent Development in Tromsø and Aarhus', *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema*, 10.2 (2020), pp. 169–189 (p. 170). Regarding relationships between audiovisual production and economic development in smaller Italian regions, most research focus on the film sector, e.g. Marco Cucco and Giuseppe Richeri, *Il mercato delle location cinematografiche* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2013) and Giulia Lavarone, *Cinema, media e turismo* (Padova: Padova University Press, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Sue Turnbull and Marion McCutcheon, 'Quality vs Value: The Case of *The Kettering Incident*', in *A companion to Australian cinema*, ed. by Felicity Collins, Jane Landman and Susan Bye (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), pp. 391–415 (p. 206).

<sup>8</sup> Saunders, p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Anne Marit Waade, 'Screening the West Coast: Developing New Nordic Noir Tourism in Denmark and Using the Actual Places As Full-Scale Visual Mood Boards for the Scriptwriting Process', in *Locating Imagination. Popular Culture, Tourism and Belonging*, ed. by Nicky van Es, Stijn Reijnders, Leonieke Bolderman and Abby Waydorf (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 99–117. For an overview about the relationships between Italian landscapes and television dramas, see *Geo-fiction. Il volto televisivo del Belpaese*, ed. by Teresa Graziano and Enrico Nicosia (Roma: Aracne, 2017).

<sup>10</sup> Kim Toft Hansen and Jørgen Riber R. Christensen, 'Local Noir and Local Identity: *Norskov* and the Spatial Implications of Branded Content', in *European Television Crime Drama and Beyond*, ed. by Kim Toft Hansen, Sue Turnbull and Steven Peacock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 213–231. Most research in Italy focus on the relationship between national and regional identities and on the film sector, see for instance *Cinema e identità italiana*, ed. by Stefania Parigi, Christian Uva and Vito Zagarrìo (Roma: RomaTrEPRESS, 2019). A general overview related to Italian TV dramas is provided in Milly Buonanno, *La fiction italiana. Narrazioni televisive e identità nazionale* (Roma-Bari:





Laterza, 2012). Further specific insights can be found in Luca Barra and Marco Cucco, 'Tra "orribile pubblicità" e attenzione globale. Gomorra – *La serie e il rapporto problematico con il territorio*', in *Universo Gomorra. Da libro e film, da film a serie*, ed. by Michele Guerra, Sara Martin and Stefania Rimini (Milano-Udine: Mimesis, 2018), pp. 67–80; and *Cinergie, Global Italy: rappresentazioni transmediali dell'italianità*, ed. by Giuliana Benvenuti, Giacomo Manzoli and Rita Monticelli, 18 (2020).

<sup>11</sup> S Giorgio Avezzi, 'Italian Fiction as Viewed from a Distance: Anomalies in the Correlation Between National and Regional Success', *Series*, 6.1 (2020), pp. 91–106.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> For an overall population of almost six millions people, approximately ten Danish seasons of TV series are produced each year, while for a population of sixty millions people, around forty seasons are produced for Italian audiences. Source: Gilles Fontaine, Marta Jimenez Pumares and Christian Grece (2018): *The production and circulation of TV fiction in the EU28. Television and VOD*. European Audiovisual Observatory, p. 19. <https://rm.coe.int/the-production-and-circulation-of-tv-fiction-in-the-eu28-television-an/1680946229> [accessed 20 April 2021].

<sup>14</sup> In 2019, the overall Italian audience share was 35,7% for Rai, 31,6% for Mediaset and 7,2% for Sky Italy. The three main players represented the 85% of the total revenues in the Italian TV sector. Source: AGCOM, *Relazione annuale 2020*, pp. 137 and 134, <https://www.agcom.it/documents/10179/4707592/Allegato+6-7-2020/983e88a4-16cf-48b7-b618-f3c9ae06fa2b?version=1.1> [accessed 7 May 2021]. In the same year, the overall Danish audience share was 36% for DR, 40% for TV 2 and 10% for the commercial NENT group. In Denmark this means 76% public service based broadcasting, including TV 2's all-commercial activities. Source: *TV 2 Danmark – Public Service Redegørelse* [https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user\\_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Medier/Tv/Landsdaekkende\\_tv/Public\\_Service\\_redegoerelser\\_2019/Public\\_service-redegoerelse\\_2019.pdf](https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Medier/Tv/Landsdaekkende_tv/Public_Service_redegoerelser_2019/Public_service-redegoerelse_2019.pdf) [accessed April 20 2021].

<sup>15</sup> Quotes about the legal obligations for TV 2 are taken from *Tilladelse til TV 2 DANMARK A/S til at udøve public service-programvirksomhed 2019-2023*, pp. 3–4, [https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user\\_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Medier/Tv/Landsdaekkende\\_tv/Public\\_service-tv/TV\\_2/Public\\_service-tilladelse\\_2019-2023\\_-1.pdf](https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Medier/Tv/Landsdaekkende_tv/Public_service-tv/TV_2/Public_service-tilladelse_2019-2023_-1.pdf) [accessed 22 April 2021]. The quote about Rai has been translated from Italian and taken from *Separate and Consolidated Interim Financial Statements as at 30 June 2020*, p. 18, [https://www.rai.it/dl/doc/1608662040653\\_Rai%20-%20RFS%202020%20UK.pdf](https://www.rai.it/dl/doc/1608662040653_Rai%20-%20RFS%202020%20UK.pdf) [accessed 7 May 2021]. See also *Nessuno escluso* <http://www.rai.it/portale/Nessuno-escluso-86dc82f3-3f7a-4f7a-9b06-bf21e4185832.html> [accessed 9 February 2021]. For the term BVOD (broadcaster video on demand) see Christian Grece, *Trends in the VOD market in EU28*, European Audiovisual Observatory 2021 <https://rm.coe.int/trends-in-the-vod-market-in-eu28-final-version/1680a1511a> [accessed 7 May 2021].

<sup>16</sup> The most recent documents regulating the relationship between Rai and the Italian government are: *Affidamento in concessione del servizio pubblico radiofonico, televisivo e multimediale ed approvazione dell'annesso schema di convenzione*, 2017 [http://www.rai.it/dl/doc/1544541789953\\_GU%20Concessione\\_170525.pdf](http://www.rai.it/dl/doc/1544541789953_GU%20Concessione_170525.pdf) [accessed 9 February 2021] and *Contratto di servizio 2018-2022* [http://www.rai.it/dl/doc/1607970429668\\_Contratto%20di%20servizio%202018-2022.pdf](http://www.rai.it/dl/doc/1607970429668_Contratto%20di%20servizio%202018-2022.pdf) [accessed 13 June 2021].

<sup>17</sup> See APA (Associazione Produttori Audiovisivi), *2° rapporto sulla produzione audiovisiva nazionale*, 2020 <https://ricerche.apaonline.it/ricerca/la-produzione-audiovisiva-nazionale-valori-economici-tendenze-e-sfide-di-un-settore-in-rapido-sviluppo-2020/> [accessed 9 February 2021].

<sup>18</sup> Luca Barra, 'Commissari, camorristi, e poi ancora commissari. Modelli produttivi e distributivi della fiction italiana crime contemporanea', in *Sulle tracce del crimine. Viaggio nel giallo e nero Rai*,



ed. by Maria Pia Ammirati and Peppino Ortoleva (Roma: Rai Libri, 2020), pp. 177–188 (p. 186) (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>19</sup> *Nessuno escluso* <http://www.rai.it/portale/Nessuno-escluso-86dc82f3-3f7a-4f7a-9b06-bf21e4185832.html> [accessed 9 February 2021] (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>20</sup> Fabio Guarnaccia, 'Intervista a Eleonora Andreatta', *Link*, 23 (2018), pp. 15–24 (pp. 19–20) (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>21</sup> TV 2, 'Tilladelse til TV 2 DANMARK A/S til at udøve public service-programvirksomhed 2019-2023', (2018), p. 3, [https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user\\_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Medier/Tv/Landsdaekkende\\_tv/Public\\_service-tv/TV\\_2/Public\\_service-tilladelse\\_2019-2023\\_-1.pdf](https://slks.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/SLKS/Omraader/Medier/Tv/Landsdaekkende_tv/Public_service-tv/TV_2/Public_service-tilladelse_2019-2023_-1.pdf) [accessed 9 February 2021].

<sup>22</sup> TV 2 2020, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Kim Toft Hansen, 'Glocal Perspectives on Danish Television Series: Co-producing Crime Narratives for Commercial Public Service', in *Danish Television Drama: Global Lessons from a Small Nation*, ed. by Anne Marit Waade, Eva Novrup Redvall and Pia Majbritt Jensen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 83–101.

<sup>24</sup> Vogelsang, Katrine. Interview conducted by Kim Toft Hansen (the quote has been translated from Danish). TV 2, Copenhagen, 4 November 2015.

<sup>25</sup> All series mentioned in this section have been broadcasted by a Rai channel.

<sup>26</sup> See Avezzù, p. 92.

<sup>27</sup> Rigosi, Giampiero. Interview conducted by Luca Bara, Federico Pagello and Valentina Re. Bologna, 7 May 2019. Balanzone is a *Commedia dell'Arte* regional 'mask' (the quote has been translated from Italian). A special thanks for his support to Federico Poillucci, head of the Friuli Venezia Giulia Film Commission.

<sup>28</sup> Manetti, Antonio and Marco. Interview conducted by Monica Dall'Asta, Federico Pagello and Valentina Re. Bologna, 29 August 2019 (the quotes have been translated from Italian).

<sup>29</sup> Carmine, Elia. Interview conducted by Massimiliano Coviello. Siena, 19 January 2020 (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>30</sup> Tini, Maurizio. Interview conducted by Massimiliano Coviello and Valentina Re. Roma, 14 May 2019 (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>31</sup> See the Facebook private group 'Fan della porta Rossa' <https://www.facebook.com/groups/715798332149168/> [accessed 9 February 2021].

<sup>32</sup> Available on RaiPlay [accessed 9 February 2021].

<sup>33</sup> Gravino, Filippo. Online interview conducted by M. Elena D'Amelio and Valentina Re, 24 November 2020 (the quote has been translated from Italian). A special thanks for their support to Karen Hassan and Giada Giannecchini from Cattleya.

<sup>34</sup> Molaioli, Andrea. Online interview conducted by M. Elena D'Amelio and Valentina Re, 8 December 2020 (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>35</sup> Cotta Ramosino, Laura. Online interview conducted by M. Elena D'Amelio and Valentina Re, 15 December 2020 (the quote has been translated from Italian).

<sup>36</sup> All series mentioned in this section have been broadcasted by a TV 2 channel.

<sup>37</sup> Undated concept leaflet for the *Dicte series*, courtesy of Miso Film.

<sup>38</sup> Christensen, Pernille Bech. Interview conducted by Kim Toft Hansen, Anne Marit Waade and Vilde Schanke Sundet (the quote has been translated from Danish). TV 2, Copenhagen, 24 September 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Radoor, Thomas and Trin Hjortkær Thomsen. Interview conducted by Kim Toft Hansen (the quote has been translated from Danish). Nordisk Film, Valby, 2 November 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Quote taken from an internal development document entitled 'Arenas Hvide Sande', courtesy of



Michael Rasmussen, Deluca Film. The quote has been translated from Danish.

<sup>41</sup> Kim Toft Hansen and Jørgen Riber Christensen, 'Norskov and the Logic of Place: The Soft Effect of Local Danish Tv Drama Production', *Series: International Journal of TV Serial Narratives*, 3.1 (2017), pp. 11–26 (p. 14).

<sup>42</sup> Lone Leth-Larsen, 'Vestkysten danner rammen om TV 2s nye krimiserie "Hvide Sande"', <https://omtv2.tv2.dk/nyheder/2020/06/vestkysten-danner-rammen-om-tv-2s-nye-krimiserie-hvide-sande/> [accessed 9 February 2021].

<sup>43</sup> Jensen, Dunja Gry. Interview conducted by Kim Toft Hansen and Jørgen Riber Christensen. Nørresundby, 16 September 2015. Klarlund, Anders. Interview conducted by Kim Toft Hansen, online, 12 February 2021.

<sup>44</sup> Jørgen Riber Christensen and Kim Toft Hansen, 'Territorial Stigmatisation and the Negotiation of Place: Tainted Locations in Danish Television Documentary', *Academic Quarter*, 17 (2019), pp. 10–22.

<sup>45</sup> See *Locating Nordic Noir* (pp. 30–32) for the complex genealogy of local colour.

<sup>46</sup> See Cineregio (European network of regional film funds), <https://www.cineregio.org/>; CEPI (European audiovisual production association), <https://www.cepi-producers.eu/> [accessed 9 February 2021].

<sup>47</sup> Barra, p. 186.

<sup>48</sup> This is a point raised in Elke Weissmann, 'Local, National, Transnational: *Y Gwyll/Hinterland* as Crime of/for All Places' in *European Television Crime Drama and Beyond*, ed. by Kim Toft Hansen, Sue Turnbull and Steven Peacock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 119–37. However, see Hansen pp. 85–88 for a further development of glocalisation as a concept for researching international TV series.

<sup>49</sup> Amanda D. Lotz, *Portals: A Treatise on Internet-Distributed Television* (Ann Arbor, Michigan Publishing: 2017), unpaginated. Maize Books.