

LINA
BARAUSKAITE

ANDERS
WINTHER LINDSTRØM

CLÉMENCE
YQUEL

NORDIC NOIR

How the British fell under the spell of the Nordic Noir TV-series?



THE GUARDIAN



THE TELEGRAPH



THE TIMES



THE INDEPENDENT

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CLÉMENCE YQUEL MASTER THESIS: "HOW THE BRITISH FELL UNDER THE SPELL OF THE NORDIC NOIR TV-SERIES?"
FOR THE CULTURE, COMMUNICATION AND GLOBALIZATION PROGRAMME



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Abstract

We entered the field of Nordic Noir television productions drawn by our personal interest in the TV-series *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen*. This research was carried out in order to examine the reasons for the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series. The research objectives aimed to also discover what possible impact the Nordic Noir TV-series have had on its British audience perception and awareness of Denmark.

This research consists of four sets of data. We started our research by reviewing British press articles discussing the Nordic Noir. Then, we interviewed fifteen British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers, whom have all watched at least one of the TV-series in focus. Additionally, we conducted six interviews with Danish and British tourism and film industry professionals working in relation to the Nordic Noir television productions. Finally, we did four observations of the guided Nordic Noir Tours around the city of Copenhagen.

The research concludes that the UK press attention and word-of-mouth influenced the British to start watching Nordic Noir TV-series; unique characters and suspense plot made them continue once started. Moreover, the TV-series had an influence on the British viewers' awareness of Denmark. However, the fictional picture of Denmark in the shows was not always believed to be complying with the reality. It was also revealed that even if the Nordic Noir TV-series would not serve as the primary reason for the British tourism in Denmark, there is still a potential for film tourism. Finally, we suggested that *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen* could be labelled as 'Scandinavian Dramas'. This notion would encompass the region and genre influence on the TV-series.

This thesis should be viewed as an example analysis of the effects the Nordic Noir television productions had on the British audience. It should serve as background knowledge and preliminary research for conducting further studies into the field.

Key words

Nordic Noir, the UK, motivation, tourism, perception

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Introduction

The Nordic Noir television (TV) productions popularity in the United Kingdom (UK) market has just begun. Many Brits realized that these TV productions could offer them more than their national television. Recent years' discussions about the Nordic Noir television productions are certainly a hot topic both in the Scandinavian and the UK press. What led Danish TV to succeed to such a scale that *The Killing's* Sarah Lund's Faroe Island jumper became a cult among the Brits? Danish TV productions were already successful among the Scandinavian countries and Germany (Forshaw, 2012). However, in the first decade of this century it began breaking the UK market. Several hard-to-pronounce iconic Danish TV characters such as Sara Lund, Martin Rohde, Saga Norén, and Brigitte Nyborg were admirably discussed in the UK. Moreover upcoming Nordic Noir TV-series seemed to be met with equally enthusiastic media coverage.

The Nordic Noir TV-series showed the Brits a different model of society presented in a particular visual manner, linking it to a raw landscape and a cold, rainy climate. Only a few Brits had heard about this part of Europe and even fewer went there (Worral, 2015). Moreover, the Danish language sounded unfamiliar due to the low occurrence within the UK territory. *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen* introduced the Brits to different lifestyles, gender roles and other ways of dealing with political crises. Most importantly, it showed a dark and criminal side of the supposed utopian welfare country of Denmark.

Denmark, with its welfare state concept, world-renowned happiness and liberal laws, turned out to be, in the cold light of reality, not a fairy-tale country. The fiction highlighted another side of Denmark: right-wing politicians, rather strict immigration laws, involvement in the war in Iraq, violent gangs, prostitution, drug problems and political scandals (Forshaw, 2012).

Boredom of living in a utopian welfare society is maybe one of the reasons why Danish TV productions aimed to show its own monsters. Indeed, the most popular TV-series tackled issues of the Danish society. It seemed that each of the series aimed to make a certain political statement or uncover taboos as the series' plots were centred on corrupt individuals and manipulative psychopaths.

Writers and movie producers know that happy and struggle-free characters would not make such good stories as drama, tragedy and danger would. Moreover, when these elements were set in one of the richest and most prosperous societies in Europe, an attention-worthy TV-series plot appeared. Finally, crime and political TV-series were not the most accurate source of information about the Danish society, especially regarding the country's crime statistics and political scene. This was why we wondered if the audience was capable of distinguishing between the life pictured in the TV-series and the reality.

Problem Formulation and Research Questions

We had an interest in researching what circumstances led to the success of Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. We believed that the British enthusiasm about the Nordic Noir went beyond the TV-series and influenced the British perception of Denmark. Furthermore, we also wanted to study if the TV-series influenced the British perception and awareness of Denmark.

In this research, we aimed at gaining a better understanding of the Nordic Noir television production, the reasons for its popularity and the impact it had on the British viewers. We carried out a research on the British Nordic Noir TV-series audiences and Danish and British tourism and film industry professionals. Moreover, we combined this data with observations of the Nordic Noir Tours and the UK press articles linked to Danish Nordic Noir TV-series. This led us to the following research questions:

- *How can we define the Nordic Noir television productions?*
- *Why were the Nordic Noir TV-series successful in the UK?*
- *How have the Nordic Noir TV-series influenced the perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British people?*
- *How have the Nordic Noir TV-series affected the British travel and tourism in Denmark?*

In order to answer these research questions, we began by defining our philosophy of science stance and then we moved to methodological considerations. Afterwards, we set the parameters of our research. Then we presented background information about the Nordic Noir Genre and literature review of previous academic papers written regarding Nordic Noir TV-series. Later, we presented our theoretical foundation for this research.

Then, through our analysis, we compared the results of our collected data. Eventually, we concluded with an assessment of the findings of our research.

Philosophy of Science

The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of the Nordic Noir television productions. In order to achieve this understanding, it is important to define how our knowledge upon this subject was gained and afterwards analysed.

Methodological Stands

This chapter will explain the chosen research design. In addition to this, we will assess the validity of the research and present the methods used to collect data and analyse it. This chapter will also present the methodological choices taken during our research process.

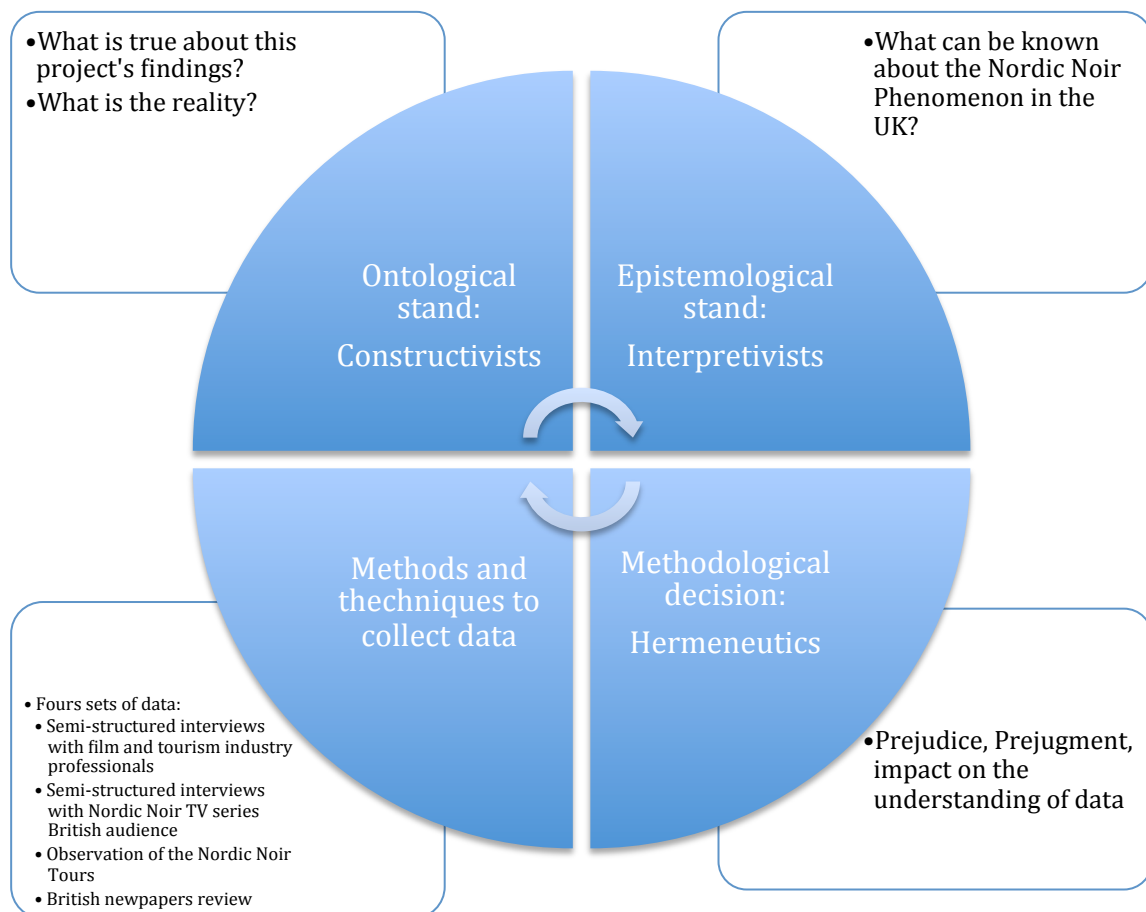


Figure 1: An Overview of this Research's Methodological Stands

Figure 1 presents an overview of the research's methodological stands. The following section will explain the reason for these choices, and additionally their impact on the research findings.

The Research Design

The research design is a strategy to collect data in order to answer the research questions (Polit & Hungler, 1999). A way of defining a research design is to define its crucial aspects: the research strategy, the paradigm of the research and its evaluation (Harwell, 2011).

The Research Strategy

This research intended to discover the reasons for the Nordic Noir TV-series success among British television audience. Furthermore, it aimed to study how *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen* influenced the British viewers' perception of Denmark and their decision to visit the country. Therefore, we believed that in order to gain the best understanding of this subject, the research design had to follow a qualitative research strategy (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Qualitative research allows to *"share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives"* (Berg, 2001, p. 6). The outcome of this research will therefore be based on the already presented four sets of collected data (Figure 1, p. 6).

The Paradigm

Guba defines a paradigm as a *"basic set of beliefs that guides action, whether of the everyday garden variety or action taken in connection with disciplined inquiry"* (Guba, 1990, p. 17). In other words, a paradigm is a set of beliefs or a way of thinking about the world. In this qualitative research, we chose to believe that all humans *"are guided by highly abstract principles"* (Bateson, 1972, p. 320). These principles encompass beliefs of ontology, epistemology and methodology that will be developed in the following subsections (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Guba (1990) defined four different kinds of paradigms: Positivism, Post-positivism, Critical theory and Constructivism. In this research, we chose the constructivist stand. Constructivist researchers try to make sense of, or interpret, the *"meaning others have about the world"* (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). Therefore, (for this research,) we relied on our

interviewees', observation participants and British journalists' subjective perception of the Nordic Noir TV-series and Denmark.

Ontological Beliefs

In philosophical terms, ontological beliefs refer to the study of our existence and the fundamental nature of reality or being (Creswell, 2014). In this research, we believed that there is more than one objective and unique reality. It is individually understood due to the way it corresponds with the context of reality. Therefore, in this research, we stand as constructivists (Guba, 1990).

This research aimed to uncover a meaning of one given situation: The Nordic Noir TV-series success in the UK and the effect on the British audience. As constructivists, we wanted to find out multiple conceptual constructions of perceived reality (Dezin & Lincoln, 2011). Therefore, we only tried to find common patterns among the various ways of interpreting reality.

Epistemology

Epistemology is defined as "*the theory or science of the method and ground of knowledge*" (Stone, 2008, p. 265). In other words, this is the relationship between knowledge and the researcher during the process of discovery. Therefore, it refers to how we came to know what we know (Dezin & Lincoln, 2011). It suggests how impartial the relationship between the researcher and what can be known should be: both, the researchers and their studied population are co-creators of the findings (Guba, 1990). This is why the epistemological assumption for this research is subjectivism. Indeed, subjectivists "*claim that the world is unknowable*" (Ratner, 2008, p. 844). Following this, we created our own view of the world as we see it (Ratner, 2008). Each measure is highly subjective and depends on our interviewees', observations participants' and British journalists' perceptions and on our interpretation of it (Ratner, 2008). The outcome of this project might not become a universal truth but it will reflect our findings about a specific situation during a specific time period.

Methodology

This subsection aims to present how we gathered data in order to understand the world (Creswell, 2014). We chose a hermeneutic approach as the best possible way of approaching our data. As explained by Gadamer (1990), it is important to always verify

if we have not left anything out while processing the data. Hermeneutics acknowledges that each human being interprets the world in his or her own way (Eisner, 1998). Social contexts and practices may influence this interpretation. It is also acknowledged that the collected data is considered and interpreted through the researchers' lens – with our backgrounds acting as an influence.

To do so, we decided to conduct:

- Individual semi-structured interviews with the Nordic Noir TV-series British audience;
- Individual semi-structured interviews with tourism and film industry professionals;
- Observations of British tourists on the Nordic Noir tours in Copenhagen;
- Review of the British press articles coverage of Nordic Noir TV-series and Denmark.

After clarifying our philosophical stand for this research, the next section will explain in details how our data was collected.

Methodology

This methodology chapter will present how we aimed to discover knowledge that was afterwards analysed in connection to our selected theories. Firstly, we will present the methods used to collect the data. Secondly, we will explain how we chose to analyse this data.

Methods of Data Collection

As interpretivists, we knew and accepted that the data reflected multiple realities at the given time it was collected. As a consequence of this, several different methods of data collection were used. This enabled us to collect different points of view upon the researched subject.

As a primary step of our data collection, we made a review of British newspaper articles. It served (us) as background knowledge of how British media perceived the Nordic Noir TV-series. We utilized this knowledge to create the lists of questions for our semi-structured interviews. These interviews were conducted both with the British audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series and with the tourism and film industry professionals. Finally, we conducted participant observations to gain an understanding of the participants' motivations to come to Denmark and of their perception of the country.

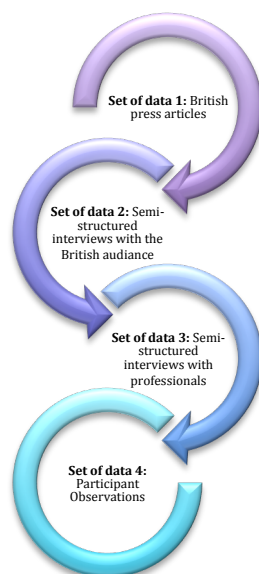


Figure 2: Data Used to Answer the Research Questions

Individual Semi-Structured Interviews

A semi-structured interview is an interview with a list of pre-determined questions or topics used to structure the flow of the interviewees' answers (Berg, 2001). Even if these questions are usually asked in the same and consistent order, the researcher can digress by using follow-up question to probe the interviewees' answers (Bryman, 2012).

Pros and Cons

The main problem of individual interviews is the possibility of not getting honest or logical answers from the interviewees (Bryman, 2012). Another risk is not managing to obtain relevant data due to the researchers' lack of experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Moreover, the researchers have to be aware that their interviewees may raise some unforeseen points. This is why we had to be able to ask the pertinent follow-up questions. Therefore, a large amount of data could be gathered during the interview.

The main advantage of semi-structured interviews is the possibility to bring back the conversation to the researched subject in case the interviewee transgressed too much (Gray, 2004). A final advantage of this method is that it was easy to organize and plan the interview: it could be done by Skype or by phone. This was important since the interviewees and the researchers did not live in the same country.

Reasons to Choose this Method

After reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of using semi-structured interviews, we realized that for our research, the benefits of it were overcoming the disadvantages. The opportunity to probe the interviewees' answers and to get a deeper insight of the new ideas was very valuable (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It was also a good opportunity for us to probe our hypothesis.

Ethical Issues

When it comes to ethical issues regarding semi-structured interviews, respect for the interviewees' privacy is a must. In this research, we did not refer to the interviewees' family names. Therefore, their identities were hardly recognizable. Moreover, we had to obtain an agreement to record the interview (Kvale, 2007).

The Sample

We chose to combine two groups of interviewees: The Nordic Noir TV-series audience and the film and tourism industry professionals. With this approach, we could analyse diverse perspectives on the same subject and get a clear overview of our researched phenomenon.

The British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

We chose to interview the British audience who had watched at least one of the Nordic Noir TV-series: Borgen, The Bridge or The Killing. Age or gender limitations were not considered: the guide of the Nordic Noir Tour in Copenhagen explained us receiving broad age range of tourists:

Dieuwertje Visser *“I really get a lot of young couples, in their twenties, thirties. [...] Sometimes I get families. [...] Group of friends in their twenties and sometimes groups of friends in their sixties or... couples.”* (p. cxvi, 10-12)

In order to find British participants for the semi-structured interviews, two kinds of sample techniques were used. To start with, we contacted British people from our own network. Secondly, snowball sampling was used: we asked our primary interviewees to nominate someone they knew watching the Nordic Noir TV-series. This technique allowed us to start with a small number of initial participants and then expand it (Morgan, 2008).

However, we had to be also cautious about the nature of the results (Saumure & Given, 2008); there is always a risk that snowballing will focus on a narrow group of people. This could have possibly harmed the diversity of the research sample. In order to counteract this negative side of the method, another way to get eligible participants was used: the researchers posted a message on Facebook groups dedicated to the Nordic Noir TV-series:

- Fan of Scandinavian crime and fiction
- Bron - Broen - The Bridge
- Borgen UK
- Forbrydelsen II (The Killing) BBC Four
- Forbrydelsen

- Forbrydelsen II
- Forbrydelsen III

This is how we managed to get different kind of interviewees, with a different social background and education.

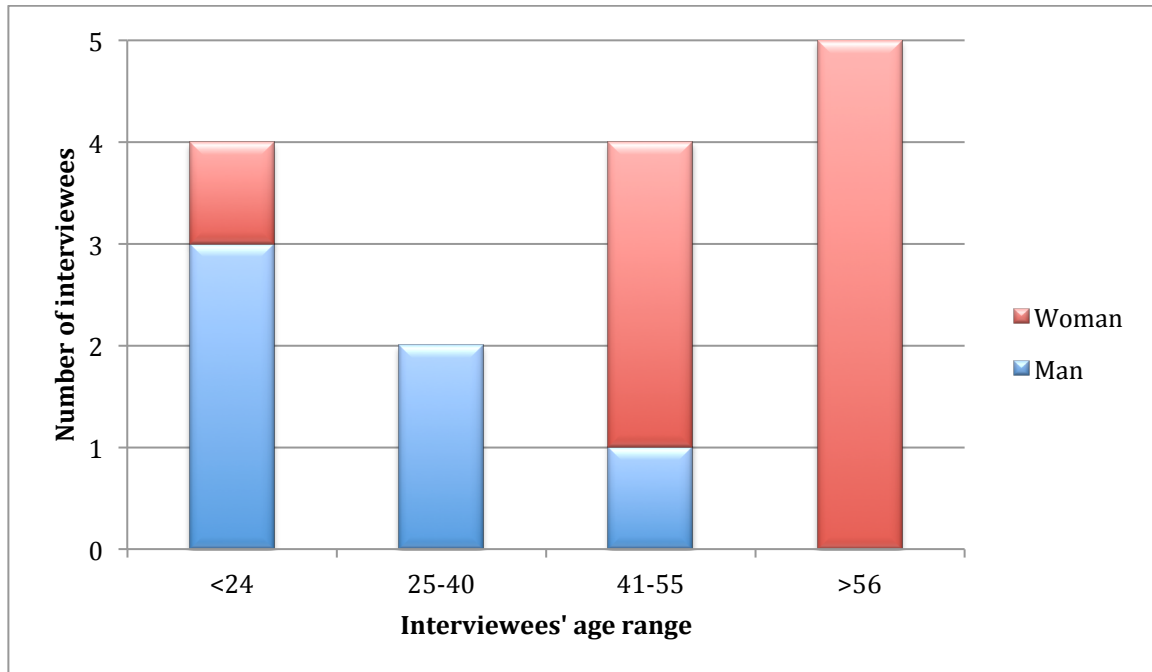


Figure 3: Interviewees, Ranked by Age and Gender

By combining these two methods, we reached fifteen interviewees. Figure 3 presents an overview of the participants in this research; both age and gender are detailed.

The Nordic Noir TV-series Professionals

Six professionals were interviewed:

- **Jon Sadler – The Head of Marketing at Arrow Film**

Arrow Film is the company that distributes Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. They also organise the Nordicana festival. This is a festival dedicated to Nordic Noir-films but also promotes Scandinavian culture in a broader sense (food, design, etc.). We interviewed this professional because his company was the first and the only Nordic Noir TV-series distributor in the UK market. This means that he discovered its commercial potential. The interview with him gave us an idea of Nordic Noir TV-series success in the UK.

- **Bo Ehrhardt - Producer and Production Manager at Nimbus Film**

Two companies are producing The Bridge: a Swedish, Filmlance International and a Danish, Nimbus Film. Bo Ehrhardt is working for Nimbus Film. He takes part in the production of The Bridge together with two other co-producers. Interviewing him gave us an insight into his point of view on why The Bridge TV-series became successful in the UK.

- **Peter Schepelern - Teacher at the Department of Media, Cognition and Communication at Copenhagen University.**

This teacher at Copenhagen University is the author of articles and books about cinemas such as '100 års dansk film (2001), Lars von Triers film (2000), 'danmarksfilmen og filmhistorien (2013). He had a great knowledge about Danish cinema. Having his point of view on the Nordic Noir television productions was a great help defining Nordic Noir. He also gave us his professional opinion on what makes Nordic Noir TV-series unique and why they were successful in the UK.

- **Signe Lüth Di Liberto - Internal Project Manager, Branding at Visit Denmark - Danish Office.**

All Nordic Noir TV-series studied in this research take place in Denmark. Interviewing Visit Denmark seemed suitable for this research because we thought they could have a more precise idea whether the series have had an influence on British tourists visiting Denmark.

- **Ida Katerine Skaarup -Marketing Department of Visit Denmark - British Office.**

Interviewing someone who is working to promote Denmark in the UK gave us a closer insight into the tourism relations between Denmark and the UK. Visit Denmark UK is an organization responsible to form the image of Denmark in the UK. They gave us a general point of view upon British interest in Denmark. It also allowed us to find out whether Nordic Noir TV-series have had an impact on the overall British interest in Denmark.

- **Dieuwertje Visser - Founder of Nordic Noir Tours**

Nordic Noir Tours is a company organizing guided tours in Copenhagen based on the TV-series Borgen, The Bridge and The Killing. It is the only tourist attraction directly linked to Nordic Noir that could be found in Copenhagen. We interviewed

the founder in order to hear her opinion about the film-induced tourists in Copenhagen.

These interviewees gave us a better insight into the researched situation and helped us gather different opinions in order to answer our research questions. As well, by interviewing professionals from different companies, we could cover a broader range of reasons for Nordic Noirs TV-series popularity in the UK.

Conducting the Interview

Questions asked during the interview were based on the British newspaper articles review. The interview guide can be found in the Appendices (p. iii & p. lxxxv). In addition to this guide, dependently on the situation and the context, we used follow-up questions (Kvale, 2007).

As mentioned before, none of the interviews were conducted face-to-face. All the interviews were done by Skype and by phone. One of the tourism professionals answered our questions via email.

Conducting an Interview by Skype

The majority of the interviewees could not be reached personally since they lived out of our geographical area. Therefore, we chose to use Skype as an alternative way of conducting the interviews. As Sullivan (2012) claimed, Skype broadens the range of the interviews as it allows greater sample reachability.

Sullivan (2012) claimed that Skype interviews are very similar to face-to-face exchange of information. However, Ellison explained that Internet interaction even allows the interviewees to express "*their true self*" better (2006, p. 418). Therefore, it was noted that Skype interviews would slightly changed the interviewees' behaviour. Regardless, we believe that a virtual interview could have only positively affected our interviewees: the majority of our Skype interviews were conducted while the interviewees stayed at home, so their personal space was respected.

Conducting an Interview by Phone

Several interviews were conducted by phone due to technical limitation. The phone interviews made it harder to build a strong connection with the interviewee because face-to-face interaction was not possible. As a way to compensate for this, we tried to engage our interviewees by using a dynamic and energetic voice.

Asking Questions by Email

An email interview has an advantage to extend the access of the research participants (Coomber, 1997). The main drawback of this method is a difficulty to ask follow-up questions and deeply explore the interviewee's answers. Moreover, the data collected through this method cannot be spontaneous since the interviewee has more time to think about the answer than during a personal interview. On the other hand, this can be turned into an advantage: the interviewee has time to develop a more explicit answer (Bampton & Cowton, 2002). However, we believed a personal connection was undeniably more useful for our data collection. This is why we only sent our questions by email when the interviewee could not be reached directly.

Observation

This ethnographic method aims to describe the events, behaviours and interactions of a sample in a particular situation (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Observation enabled us to study an on-going situation, which involves "*active looking, interviewing, writing detailed field notes*" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p. 7).

For this research, the observation took place during the Nordic Noir guided tour. This tour is held in Copenhagen and aims to show the locations used in the Nordic Noir TV-series. Two tours are running every Saturday: The Borgen tour takes the tourists around Christiansborg and its surroundings. The Killing and The Bridge tour takes the tourists in and around the Vesterbro area.

Disadvantages of the Observation

For ethical reasons, we decided to conduct an overt observation. This had several weaknesses: by knowing that they were being observed, the tourists might have changed their behaviour. This could have led to the collection of biased data (O'Leary, 2004). Moreover, since we had most of our interviews conducted before doing this observation, there was a possibility that we became less objective to our data (O'Leary, 2004). As interpretivists we acknowledged that our own interests, our culture or previous experiences were likely to shape the way we observed. In order to get the most accurate data, two researchers conducted the observations.

Reason for Choosing this Method

The method of doing observations seemed very relevant for this research in order to test some of the assumptions we got from the individual semi-structured interviews. The principal advantage of the observation was to increase the validity and bring a new outlook of the data collected during the semi-structured interviews (DeWalt & DeWalt, 1998).

Furthermore, this method reduced the risk losing data during the semi-structured interviews: we could look at the tourists' non-verbal expression, behaviour, in relation to the TV-series and how did the tourists communicate with each other (Schmuck, 1997). As Kawulich (2005) claimed, it also enables researchers to become aware of clashes or similarities between what the interviewees said and what the tour participants did.

Ethical Issues

We conducted an overt observation, meaning that the tourists knew who we were and what we were doing. The tour guide presented us to the tourists as students conducting an observation (Gillham, 2000). This allowed us to take notes and to record the tour. As Gillham said, not being under cover does not necessarily bias the observation as far as the observed group does not know too much about the research (2000). Here, explaining that the theme of our research was "The Nordic Noir television productions", revealed neither what we would observe nor what our assumptions were.

Process of the Observation

We decided to conduct semi-structured observation. After conducting the interview we had a checklist of things to observe but we were still looking for unexpected behaviours:

- **Check how the participants interact with each other**

We found it interesting to look at the behaviour of the tourists during the tour both when talking with the tour guide and when answering her questions. That would reveal their interest and knowledge of Nordic Noir TV-series.

- **Observe situations described in the interviews**

The interviewees claimed liking the Nordic Noir TV-series because of their storyline, the singular heroes and the general quality. On the tour, we would

observe which aspects of Nordic Noir TV-series would interest the tour participants.

- **Observe events that interviewees are not aware of**

During the tour, we could look at the participants' reaction when listening to the guide. For instance, when receiving matching information, the tourists' reaction would show if they were already aware of it. This would show to what extent the participants perceived TV-fiction to be reality.

- **Observe the places the guide chose to show and the information to present**

The tour has been running for three years. Knowing this, we assumed that the tour guide had enough experience to design a program according to the tourists' expectation. The information she gave and the places she showed reflect the tourists' interests.

As Goulding (2005) advised, keywords were written down during the observation. However, full sentences were written right after the observation was finished (p. cxxix).

Having now presented which methods we used to collect data, we will now detail what methods were chosen for the analysis.

Press Review

The British press wrote many articles about the Nordic noir TV-series. We believed that they might have had an impact on the success of the TV-series' success and on the perception Brits had on these series but also on Denmark. This was why we decided to write a review of these articles.

In order to do so, we first selected the most influent British newspapers. Four of them were selected:

- **The Telegraph**

The Telegraph's digital version, telegraph.co.uk, attracts over 8 million Internet users every month (i.telegraph.co.uk). This meant, it was probable that good share of the British audience accessed the information the newspaper provided. Moreover, the newspaper attracts middle-aged and middle-class audience (Delaney, 2012).

- **The Time**

This British daily newspaper has a circulation of 396,621. It made it the second-highest profile British 'quality' newspaper (Press Gazette, 2015).

- **The Guardian**

This Newspaper is the UK's most well renowned newspaper, with a history dating back to 1821. Ground breaking news reporting and journalism led the paper to be named 'newspaper of the year' in 2011, primarily in connection with the WikiLeaks case.

- **The Independent**

This British newspaper was launched in 1986, which made it one of the youngest newspapers in the UK. Despite its young age, it was named National Newspaper of the Year at the 2004 British Press Awards.

Method of Data Analysis

This chapter will act as the foundation of our discussion section. It will explain how the collected data was processed and organised in order to analyse it.

Semi-Structured Interviews: A Tape-Based Analysis

For this research the tape-based analysis was chosen (Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech & Zoran, 2009). This means we listened to our recorded data and wrote down relevant parts of the conversations.

Each of the semi-structured interviews lasted between 18 and 45 minutes. It was acknowledged that a rather significant amount of the narratives might not have potential to be fully utilized. This was why we carefully listened to the interviews, firstly highlighting the main themes and, secondly, writing down supportive statements for each of them.

In addition to saving lots of time, this method enabled us to concentrate on the research questions and transcribe only relevant parts of the interviews (Rabiee, 2004). The transcripts of the important parts of the interviews are available to the readers in the Appendix (pp. iii – cxxiix). A USB stick is also enclosed with this research to enable the reader to listen to the full interviews.

Coding

When listening to the interviews, we focused on the key elements that could help answering the research questions (Bryman, 2012). Mills, Durepos and Wiebe (2010) described this step as *“the initial interpretive process by which raw research data are first systematically analysed and categorized”*. A code is therefore created for each single relevant sentence; this is called initial coding (Benaquisto, 2008). At this stage, as advised by many authors, we tried to create as many codes as possible without concern of how they relate to core other (Benaquisto, 2008).

Once this was done for all the interviews; the codes are sorted by corresponding concepts; this is called open coding (Bryman, 2012). Main categories regrouping similar codes are created (Strauss, 1987). According to Mills, Durepos and Wiebe (2010), this stage aimed to find the *“core concepts”* once *“coded data categories and subcategories have been identified”*. Some codes may be repetitive, whereas others may be viewed as less common or at least as a variation of the main code (Benaquisto, 2008). Figure 4 details the coding process as well as its outcomes: the categories.

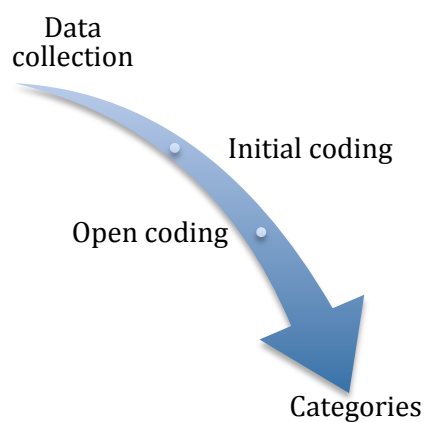


Figure 4: The Coding Process

The common categories which we found emerging among British Nordic Noir audience and tourism industry professionals, are presented in Figure 5:

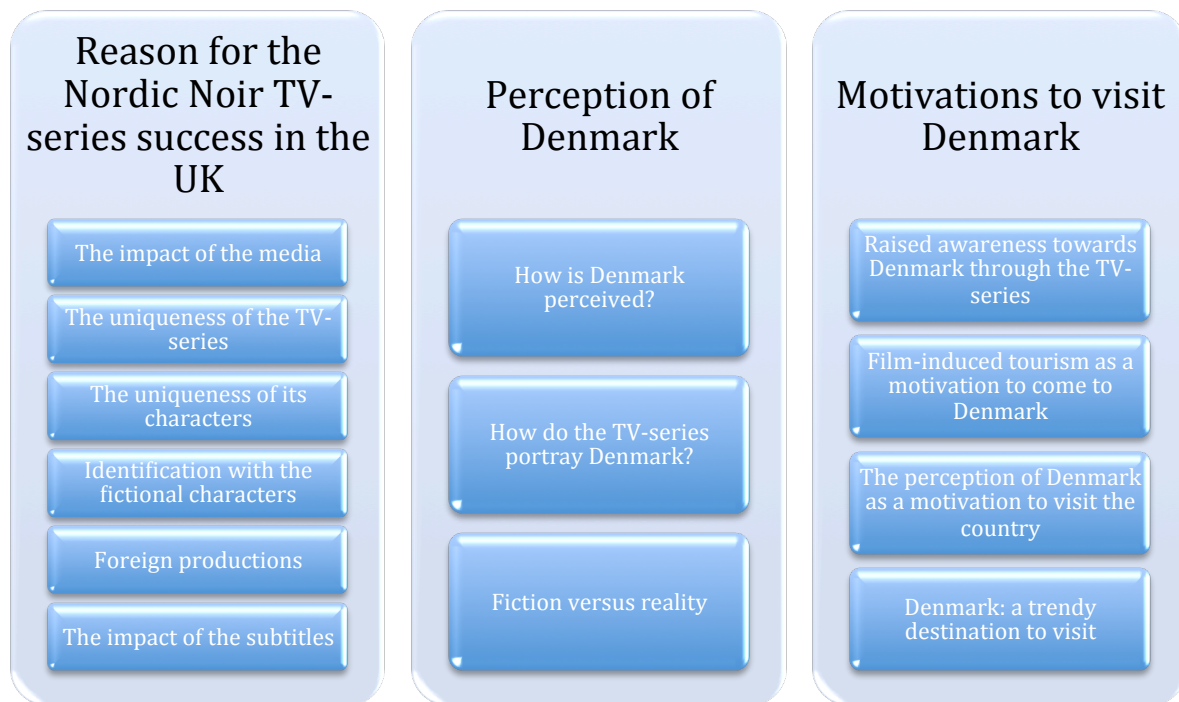


Figure 5: Emerged Categories from the Collected Data

As it can be seen from Figure 5, each category is divided into more detailed subcategories. We acknowledge that the categories were chosen subjectively due to our interpretivists stand when analysing the data.

Observations: A Note-based Analysis

When analysing observations, the researchers should be able to find clashes or similarities with the interviews' results (Kutsche, 1988). Our field notes included three levels of observation analysis:

- The first level was a general observation of what happened during the observation;
- The second level regarded what happened in our eyes. This means a more detailed and focused look at the observation could help the research. This level has to be done with an open mind, so the researcher could find out new unforeseen data (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972);
- The third level consisted of clashing or matching the observations with both theories and data collected with other methods (Kutsche, 1998).

In this section we have explained which methods were chosen to analyse our data. The following section will present the use of collected data.

The Review of British Press Articles

When writing the British press review we focused on the articles written about the Nordic Noir TV-series, the actors of the series, but also the ones written about Denmark since 2011, the year the first Nordic Noir TV-series arrived on the British screen; *The Killing*. When looking for articles in the websites of the newspapers, an overwhelming amount of them were found. In order to effectively utilise the information we found, we decided systematically to ask ourselves whether the content of the articles could answer one or more of our research questions. When retrieving information, we decided to classify it using the codes that emerged from coding the interviews with the British audience's:

- The uniqueness of the TV-series
- The uniqueness of its characters
- Foreign productions
- The impact of the subtitles
- How is Denmark portrayed?
- Fiction versus reality
- Film-induced activities

By using the codes that emerged from the coding of the interviews with the British audience, it helped us to spot right away information relevant for this research. Indeed, the great amount of articles written about the subjects that interested us, presented a risk of being overtaken by the data. The reviews can be found in the appendix (p. cxliii).

The Use of Collected Data

This section provides the reader with an overview of how the collected data was used to answer the research questions.

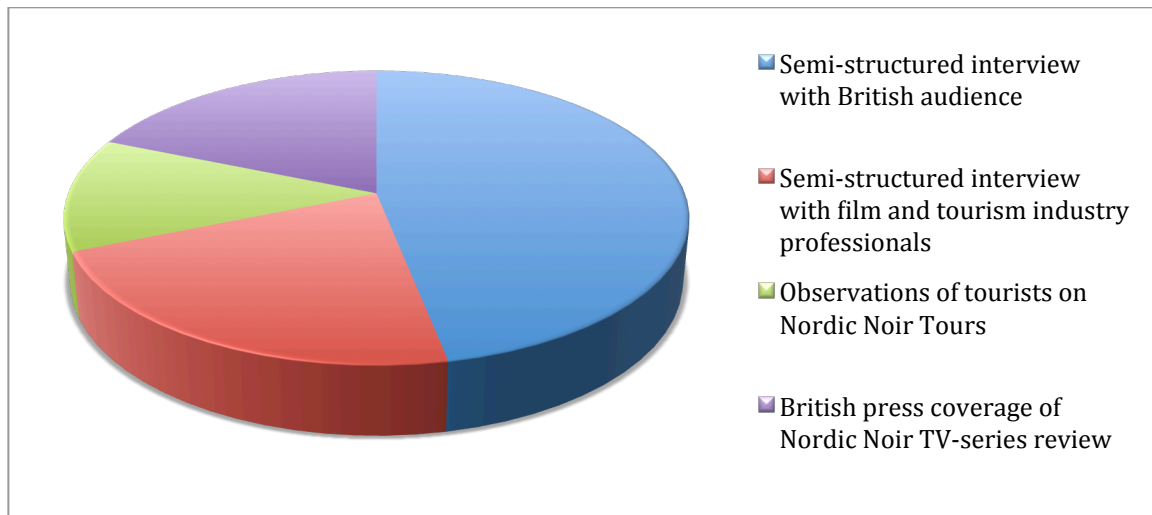


Figure 6: The Proportion of Data Used for this Research

As mentioned before, and as Figure 6 shows, the analysis will be based primarily on the data retrieved from the semi-structured interviews of the British audience. Despite this, each set of data was meant to explain a different aspect of the Nordic Noir television productions. This can be seen in Figure 7:

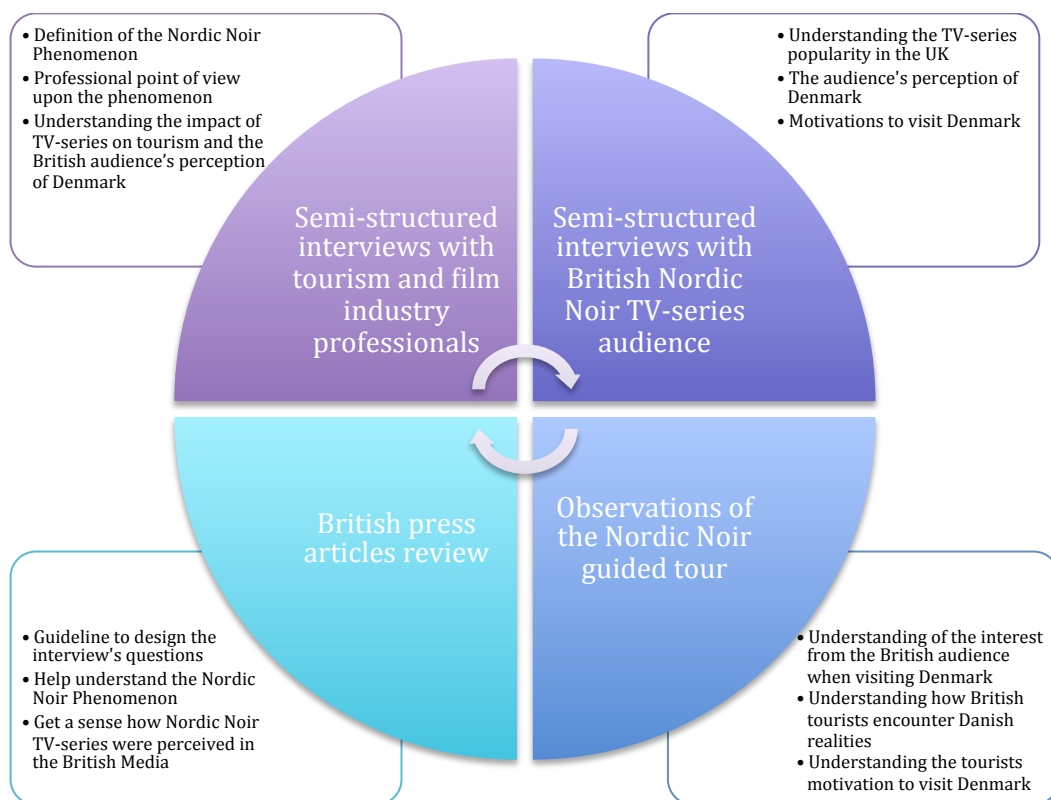


Figure 7: Aim of Each Data in the Analysis

We chose not to separate the theory section from the rest of the research and blended it together with the outcome of our data collected from semi-structured interviews. Therefore, the main theoretical body is implemented into the data analysis, which led us to the results presented in the discussion.

Research Limitations

While the topic of Nordic Noir seemed to receive extensive media coverage in the UK, there are actually very few textbooks or academic publications available regarding this phenomenon. We believe that Nordic Noir TV-series have had an impact on the British TV-audiences. This is why this topic deserves a more focused look and evaluation of the factors which may have led to its success, as well as to the findings of the actual impact it may have had. Therefore, going throughout the literature written upon the Nordic Noir topic motivated us to present a research with a hope of filling a gap of knowledge. Our aim is to better understand the Nordic Noir popularity in the UK roots and consequences.

In order to identify what our research is centred on, our first step involved a preliminary literature review on the subject. We have found several academic papers concerning Nordic Noir TV-series written by student Helle Sjørsløv from Aarhus University who was researching the perception of Denmark developed by UK residents in connection with Nordic Noir. Daniel Hughes researched how the TV-series *The Bridge* reached a huge popularity in the UK despite being a foreign subtitled television production. However, we did not find research concerning the overall Nordic Noir TV-series approach, which, we believe, is part of the reasons for these TV-series success. We also did not find any research on the perceived image of Denmark when watching them and the effect on the British if they choose Denmark as a travel destination.

We have also reviewed the UK press articles in connection with Nordic Noir TV-series and the related topic coverage. The selected articles were taken from influential British newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times*. They served us as research foundation and inspiration. The most apparent way of engaging the article review in our research was leaning on an extent amount of articles in order to base our semi-structured interview questions.

It is important to stress our limitations of the further on presented theories. Our main research focus is factors leading to the Nordic Noir TV-series success in the UK as well as the perception of Denmark they create in the eyes of the British, and whether it influences their traveling to Denmark choice. Therefore, it was crucial to engage several theories on each of these factors. Our chosen theories concern reasons for watching TV-series, developed loyalty to TV-series and the impact of watching TV-series. Furthermore, each of these sections contains smaller sub-sections, which explores various aspects of our theoretical considerations.

We also feel a need to draw an outline of our research methodology. Before a corpus text analysis took place, we needed to establish a methodological framework, which would provide us with a point of departure for the data collection. As our research objectives contain people's perceptions and opinions, we decided to choose two qualitative data collection methods: semi-structured interviews and participant observations. The first one, semi-structured interviews, served as the most valuable asset in our research, and the second tool, observations, was engaged in order to compare interviewees' expressed thoughts with some actual behaviour.

Nordic Noir TV-series' popularity was significant in many overseas markets. However, we believed that our findings would be more consistent and valid if we approached only one population. Knowing that foreign productions always find it hard to join and successfully integrate in the UK television, we found it interesting to focus on the British audience. Therefore, the majority of this research focus involves only British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers and interlinked professionals in British and Danish film and tourism industry.

We conducted fifteen semi-structured interviews with Nordic Noir TV-series viewers and six semi-structured interviews with tourism and film industry professionals, affiliated with Nordic Noir success. These two different types of interviewees were chosen to understand if the effect of Nordic Noir popularity in the UK has changed the Danish or the UK film or tourism industries.

As already mentioned, we have also conducted participant observations in four Nordic Noir themed walking tours in Copenhagen with two different guides in order to see how they present Copenhagen and Denmark in connection to the series. These observations allowed us to meet the tourists who were already familiar with Nordic Noir TV-series

when visiting Copenhagen. This gave us a good look at the people who were willing to do film induced activities due to TV-series influence.

In this section, we have briefly discussed the research limitations we set for ourselves before the process of the unfolding analysis. The following chapter aims to evaluate this research's founding.

Evaluation of The Qualitative Research

As constructivists, we acknowledge that the data collected for this research reflect subjective data at a particular time. In order to ensure that we obtained the most valid data, it was needed to evaluate our research. We used Lincoln and Guba's criteria to assess our qualitative research (1985). Four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability were considered.

Credibility

Bryman (2012) claimed that data collection triangulation would give the most trustful and credible results. Triangulation can be defined as "*multiple data-collection technologies designed to measure a single concept*" (Berg, 2001, p. 5). This was why we used semi-structured interviews, observations and articles in order to answer the same research question. By doing so, we obtained more credible data (Denzin, 1978). After collecting the data, triangulation enabled us to make the data interact, which uncovered clashes or similarities of the different sets of results (Fielding & Fielding, 1986).

Transferability

Transferability relates to the possibility of using our findings to another given situation. Merriam (1998) defined transferability by simply asking a question: is the knowledge extracted from one situation applicable to another? To help the reader to adapt our research findings to a similar situation, we presented the Nordic Noir TV-series and defined its origin. Moreover, we described similar British TV-series aired in the UK before the release of Nordic Noir TV-series. However, findings of a qualitative research reflect only the studied population. Still, we believe that our findings can be transferred to studies and researches focusing on the influence of television.

Dependability

The concept of dependability refers to the research reliability (Bryman, 2012). To ensure that our research is highly reliable, we recorded each phase of the project, such as "*problem formulation, selection of research participants, fieldwork notes, interview*

transcripts, data analysis decision” (Bryman, 2012, p. 392). Throughout the research, we attentively presented the steps we took and the way we analysed the data. This would help the reader to see how the outcomes of our project were achieved.

Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the research objectivity (Bryman, 2012). As researchers we admit the paradox of confirmability in a qualitative research. We are aware of the fact that our prejudices may have influenced the way we formulated and asked questions. Even if this research is qualitative, it is important for us to ensure that we worked in good faith and did all we could not to let our personal values and considerations interfere with our research process (Bryman, 2012).

Generalization

The qualitative study seldom involves a representative number of a studied population (Maxwell, 2008). However, our aim was to gain a better understanding of the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK and how it affected the perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British people and, furthermore, influenced their decision to visit Denmark. This was the reason why we approached only the persons familiar with the Nordic Noir TV-series. Therefore, this study should not be seen as generalizable to the entire population of the UK. More likely, it is only applicable for persons who watched the Nordic Noir TV-series.

In this chapter we have evaluated our research regarding its credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The further chapter will present the research delimitation. It will explain and justify the boundaries set for the research.

Research Delimitations

The field of Nordic Noir provided us with a great deal of topics and subjects to discuss and investigate, consequently we believe that certain delimitations were unavoidable in order to narrow down our focus area and find more interesting results. In this section, we discuss the delimitations we set for our research corpus.

For this research we used quantitative research approach, as we wanted to go in depth into the understanding of Nordic Noir TV-series phenomenal success in the UK. Therefore, we based our research on first hand data collected through semi-structured interviews and observations. Furthermore, we decided not to include any relevant statistics about British television watching and traveling preferences as it could have led us into a misleading summary of others findings.

Throughout the research we noticed that the data we obtained was heavily weighted by female voices, as the largest share of our sample was a female Nordic Noir TV-series viewer. A great female interest in our announced interviews became one of the unforeseen factors in our data collection. We did not have any pre-set requirements to our interviewees regarding to age, gender or nationality, however a great interest of middle-aged women has outweighed men viewers' voices.

This research is restricted to six semi-structured interviews with people who could have expressed professional points of view on Nordic Noir productions and the induced tourism. We found it very hard planning and scheduling the meetings with our potential interviewees. Therefore, the majority of interviews with this sample were conducted via phone calls. We also experienced some neglects from several companies' representatives due to their busy schedules and the research time constraints.

The research is restricted to four observations conducted while joining Nordic Noir walking tours. We believe it could have been very relevant joining the Nordicana film Festival that annually takes place in London. This could have given us a fair amount of new data when meeting British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers and the actual Nordic Noir representatives. However, the festival was scheduled to happen in June, which could not fit into our research time constrains.

The research delimitations section has briefly introduced our readers to the boundaries of the research in terms of researched population, interview and observation settings and time frame. These are all constraints of our study, which were beyond our control.

Literature Review

At the very beginning of our research preparation, we conducted an extensive investigation reading studies and papers written on our field of research.

Nordic Noir and the Danish TV-series have already been studied in various theses and researched papers. We did a review of the researches, in order to understand what they find out and what knowledge was missing. We found three relevant research papers and studies, which made us aware of what exactly our research needed in order to bring new elements to this field of research. These studies will be now briefly introduced to the reader.

Anne Marit Waade and Pia Majbritt Jensen – both associate professors in Media Studies at Aarhus University examined the productions values of Nordic Noir. They argued that it aimed to make Danish TV more attractive for the international market. In ‘Nordic Noir Production Values’, they argued that the essence of the Nordic Noir productions values is essentially Nordic in appearance and at times even Danish. Furthermore, they added that the productions were inspired by earlier Dogma films and was a result of the internalisation of DR (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

Helle Sjørsløv, student at Aarhus University, department of Business Communications, examined the perception of Denmark in the minds of the UK residents in connection with the Nordic Noir. Further more she researched the effect it had on the brand of Denmark. In her Bachelor thesis ‘Nordic Noir and Scandimania – where do we go from here’ Helle argued, that the Nordic Noir aspect was an advantage for Denmark brand as a result of the linkage between Nordic Noir and the perception of Denmark in the minds of the British consumers (Sjørsløv, 2014).

Daniel Hughes, student at Stockholm University, examined why The Bridge became so popular in Britain. He also looked at the impact subtitles had on the British people. This was achieved through both a textual analysis and the British audience’s interviews. Within his master thesis ‘The Bridge: Nordic Noir Breaking Borders and Language Barriers with the British Television Audience’ Hughes argued, that the main factors contributing to the success of The Bridge in the UK are the perception of realism, quality, narrative complexity (Hughes, 2014).

After revising the results and conclusions of these three papers, it was decided that the focus of our thesis would be to examine the overall aspects of Nordic Noir and its popularity in the UK. We also wanted to link it with the effect it had on the perception of Denmark in the mind of the British people, and the willingness to travel there as tourists.

In her bachelor thesis Sjørsløv (2014) touched upon the perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British consumers. This gave us the idea to consider the perception of Denmark in the eyes of British people linked to the Nordic Noir TV-series.

This research will seek to look for a deeper understanding of the success of Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. This notion was not previously been studied before. We also looked at the consequences of this Nordic Noir TV-series success from two angles: The perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British and the British people travel and tourism in Denmark. This research gave us a deeper and broader picture of the Nordic Noir TV-series phenomena and influence in the UK. The findings of our research will provide additional data into the field of Nordic Noir television productions.

Background Information: The Nordic Noir TV-series Versus the British Crime TV-series

We wanted to understand and describe the effect and popularity of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. Therefore, it was important to investigate and account for what the studied population watched before the Nordic Noir TV-series were aired on the British TV and how different the Nordic Noir TV-series were from what the British was used to.

This was why we chose to firstly explain what Nordic Noir television was and where its route began. Secondly, an overview of three different Nordic Noir TV-series broadcasted in Britain will be given, namely those that this thesis will be based on. Thirdly, a clear overview of three British crime, and one political series will be presented. This will allow us to understand what the British people watched in the past. This section will help us to understand and better clarify why the Nordic Noir TV-series became so popular in the UK.

The outcome of this chapter will act as background knowledge for both the reader and the researchers. Combined with the collected data, it will act as a basis for concluding on the popularity and reasons behind the success of Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK.

Film Noir

The Forties and Fifties in Hollywood became known for its Film Noirs, a term given by French critics who linked films to series of crime novels (Cameron, 1992). These films differed from earlier crime films in the main hero's passion and engagement to the criminal world. They showed a hostile society, but differed from films discussing social problems due to their interest in a personal perspective on things. Moreover, in his book Cameron argued (1992) that the mood in such films is often constructed in a pessimistic and gloomy way.

The Film Noir became an accepted critical term in America, however, only in the late sixties (Hirsch, 1981): this happened due to the action shift from studios to the streets of real cities. The greater number of settings and visual styles was no longer rigid and

could better penetrate the viewer's imagination. Finally, new places and surroundings could inspire more crime stories.

Hirsch (1981) highlighted that the Film Noir introduced a new distribution of power between males and females. Furthermore, as everything else in the genre, women's roles acquired a hint of darkness and often a negative image (Hirsch, 1981). Characters' roles shifted from strong to weak, uncertain men dominated by independent but vicious women. Finally, Hirsch (1981) argued, that Film Noir was recognized as one of the most challenging genres in American films.

Nordic Noir

In this section, we will distinguish Nordic Noir TV-series as quality drama. It was seen as a mirror of Scandinavian lifestyle and a reflection of these countries' realities, concerns and values (Thornham & Purvis, 2005). In order to characterize Nordic Noir, in this part of our research we leaned on several authors such as Wade and Jensen (2013), Gray (2013) and Peacock (2012). They analysed this genre and Danish TV-series within it .

Waade and Jensen (2013) argued, that the Nordic Noir TV-series had a set of production attributes such as setting, climate, light or language that serves a strategic but also aesthetic purpose.

Furthermore, the main difference between the Nordic Noir and American productions was that it uses strictly Nordic setting, light, climate and seasonality. However, most importantly it highlighted the gender equality, provincial culture and the social democratic welfare state (Waade & Jensen, 2013). Regarding gender equality, Gray (2014) outlined a strong genre reversal in Nordic Noir: male detectives were represented as emotionally dependent upon women who led the investigations. However, female protagonists were not socially accepted and often unloved (Gray, 2014).

Waade and Jensen (2013) claimed, that Nordic melancholy was another concept linked to the international acclaim of the Nordic Noir. It was mainly expressed in the main characters' inner psychological and personal battle, but also in external settings. The hero or heroine was often struggling with close relationships and her or his personal life

and disappointment in others. Devotion to work made the main characters lonely and misunderstood anti-heroes (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

However, Gray (2014) argued that these socially isolated protagonists pushed themselves to solve cases no one else could. She also reflected on the negative Nordic Noir representation of the inner world of the protagonist. Gray (2014) pointed out complex characters of the TV-series that were often obsessed with their cases.

Forshaw's (2012) insights into the Nordic Noir genre proposed a new representation of the welfare state nations decline as well as political movement to the right in Scandinavia. Gray (2014) drew a comparison between the Nordic Noir and its American sibling the Film Noir by describing it as a mysterious hybrid of crime, political drama and social commentary. Similarly, the American Film Noir proposed its audiences to reconsider the theme of the American Dream, and stressed that "money cannot buy happiness" (Krutnik, 1991, pp. 13-14). Meanwhile, Nordic Noir invited to rethink the image of Scandinavia as a welfare paradise, and look at it as a society full of internal conflicts.

Finally, the aesthetics of the crime itself was one of the main features of the series. Nordic Noir took images of the usually sunny and bright streets of Copenhagen and Malmö and converted them into dark, cold and rainy cityscapes where killers were hidden (Gray, 2014). A rainy and cold season of the year, action that took place more often in the night than in the day became parallel to the protagonists inner worlds. Gray (2014) also gave particular emphasis on the engagement of the shadow and darkness that accompany the murders and their investigations. It allowed for the audience to be taken into a journey through the gloomiest depths of the human psyche.

Summary of the Plot Lines

Scandinavian crime fictions became very popular in the first decade of the 21st century with Stieg Larsson's Millennium Trilogy (Waade & Jensen, 2013). Quickly afterwards, another Swedish TV-series Wallander started to successfully air on British television. After its great success the BBC tried out one more Swedish drama (Peacock, 2012). Finally, the British broadcaster decided to also air the Danish series 'The Killing', which gained a cult-like following for the UK fans (Forshaw, 2012). This sequence of successes

encouraged the TV broadcasters to take it a step further by introducing its audience to a political drama, *Borgen*, and also another Danish crime series, *The Bridge*.

The remainder of this section will introduce the reader with *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen* in order to present specific and aesthetic of the plots.

The Killing

The Killing was considered to be the most successful Danish television export (Waade & Jensen, 2013). It caught particular interest in the UK and showed that it was possible to successfully air non-English speaking TV-series on British television (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

The same authors claimed, that the series' plot to a great extent depended on Danish climate conditions. The plot of the first season focuses on the murder case of a young high school girl called Nana Birk Larsen. The series centered on a detective Sara Lund who investigates the case by meeting and questioning the victim's family and friends. The story revealed that everyone had a motive to kill the girl (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

The series took place in Copenhagen in the autumn when the land was frosty and the weather was cold. The plot was said to start in November and finish three weeks later. The first seasons climax happened in a dark birch forest. As Waade and Jensen (2013) referred to this as was a typical Nordic setting. The series exposed many iconic Copenhagen places such as the Parliament and the police headquarters.

The Bridge

The Bridge was a co-produced series between Danish DR and Swedish broadcaster SVT (Waade & Jensen, 2013). The first season started when a dead body was found on the bridge between Copenhagen and Malmö. The bridge allegorically showed the TV production cooperation between the two countries as well as reflected the region of Øresund. However, it did not only show the links between Denmark and Sweden, but also reflected the cultural and language differences between them (Waade & Jensen, 2013). Scandinavian audiences found the language struggles between the characters funny, as the plot mixed both Danish and Swedish (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

Two detectives solving the murder case were taken from both Danish and Swedish police departments. Detective Martin Rohde, represented the Danish side and detective Saga Norén, served in a Swedish police department. At first sight their characters were

very oppositional. What many found interesting was that the male lead in the TV-series was an emotional and miserable antihero, while the female lead, following Film Noir tradition, was an insensitive, strong character (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

Waade and Jensen (2013) also noted, that besides the usual crime series structure, The Bridge story included critical approaches to the Scandinavian welfare system, police corruption cases, and some criticism of the social, health and political systems. Finally, the authors stressed the importance of the killer's motives.

Many authors (Waade & Jensen, 2013; Gray, 2014; Peacock, 2012) talked about how the Nordic setting and the regional climate, light and language became style elements of the series. One could see recognizable locations of Copenhagen and Malmö in the opening scenes such as Øresund bridge. Lots of action took place in Copenhagen's police headquarters, which by now had become an iconic setting for the Danish crime series (Waade & Jensen, 2013). On the other hand, The Bridge exposed some major fears amongst Scandinavian societies about the decline of their welfare states (Gray, 2014). This idea was stylistically engaged in the series by negative aesthetics such as shadows, weak light and dark urban landscapes.

Borgen

The TV drama Borgen was produced by DR, which was Denmark's largest public broadcaster (dr.dk). Borgen was marketed as a series about life behind politics, the back stage processes and individual dramas affected by political games instead of simply presenting it as a show about politics (dr.dk). The action took place in Copenhagen and focused on the first female Prime Minister of Denmark, Brigitte Nyborg. The title 'Borgen' referred to the Danish Parliament, specifically, the Prime Minister's office. The main characters were a politician Brigitte Nyborg, a spin doctor Kasper Juul and a journalist Katrine Fønsmark (Soetaert & Rutten, 2014). The cameras followed the 'public' figures into their private lives and personal spaces. It would seem that the plot tried to 'humanize' the main characters by uncovering their life stories. During the series, one got to see how hard the characters find it balancing work and personal life.

This series showed the reality of everyday life in modern societies, such as health and family issues. Hence, Soetaert and Rutten (2014) argued that a successful connection to the audience, suggesting why the use of insights into the personal realities of public

figures had become a rather common element in TV-series story lines (Soetaert & Rutten, 2014).

Soetaert and Rutten (2014) used a word 'authentic' (2014) to describe the series and claimed that the original idea of it was to get as close to real politics as possible. However, the major story line focused on backstage stories. While the politicians were dealing with problems that involve economy, business, ecology and media, at the same time TV-series invited to consider how political sphere managed to retain humanity.

British Crime Fiction

The UK had a long and extensive history of crime fiction. From Sherlock Holmes to the modern day detectives, British crime fiction had played an important role in both cinema and television throughout their history (Edwards, n.d.). The great number of crime films produced in the UK proved its popularity. Between 1930 and 1983, one thousand three hundred thirty six (or twenty six percent) of all the released British films were crime dramas (Chibnall & Murphy, 1999).

After the Second World War the police procedural genre became immensely popular, as the focus shifted from private detectives and amateurs, to the police procedural fiction, with professional police officers becoming the main protagonists (Edwards, n.d).

Several common themes connected the following three series, Midsomer Murders, Inspector Morse and Taggart. Firstly, the settings and surroundings were important to the interest and popularity amongst the viewers. Secondly, all of them employed the concept of 'The detective as hero' who acted as a guide into the world of a crime (Turnbull, 2014).

All three series fell into the category of police procedural fiction, as the stories' protagonists were professional police officers. Moreover, they were all amongst the longest running British TV-series, and were all some of the most popular British crime series in recent times. This popularity and life span of the series became the reason to present them in this research paper. We believed, it was important to know what the British audiences watched before the Nordic Noir TV-series started airing in the UK.

Summary of the Plot Lines

We will now present the series, which had the longest crime and political in the UK.

Midsomer Murders

Midsomer Murders in the eyes of Brian True-May (the producer) was the last true bastion of Englishness. While modern day British society in his opinion should be viewed as diverse and cosmopolitan, Midsomer Murders appealed to the nostalgia of the idealised classical Great Britain, a place without much diversity and comprised solely of picture-postcard settings and profound Englishness (Turnbull, 2014). Another important aspect of the Midsomer Murders was the scenery portrayed throughout the series.

Inspector Morse

Inspector Morse was yet another example of a classic British detective series produced for television. Most episodes of Morse began with an opening shot of Oxford, with the old Oxford College as well as churches and traditional English houses shown. Reijnders (2009) argued that the viewers would identify themselves with the fortunes of the detective – which in turn engaged the viewers' personal involvement with the location and characteristics of where the series took place (Reijnders, 2009).

As with Midsomer Murders, almost all episodes of Morse were centered on solving a murder case, with the detective being provided with clues as the episodes went along. The crime scene was influenced by the overall characteristics of the series, with murders often taking place in colleges or old country houses – all very British and classic (Reijnders, 2009). The dramatic effects in Midsomer and Morse were emphasized by the contrast of idyllic settings and the committed crimes (Reijnders, 2009).

Taggart

Taggart took the viewer to Glasgow, Scotland. It portrayed Glasgow as a cold, grey and hard place, unlike the presentation of classical Englishness in Morse and Midsomer Murders (Virtue, 2013). Known by the catchphrase "*There's been a murder*", pronounced in thick Glaswegian accent, the series had a strong focus on the characters, the mood and atmosphere of Glasgow, with less emphasis on correct and authentic portrayal of the actual crime rate and offences committed in real life Glasgow (Virtue, 2013).

House of Cards

The series focused on the Conservative Party politician Francis Urquhart and his rise to power, starting from the last weeks of the downfall of Margaret Thatcher. Francis was pictured as a bitter man, determined to destroy everyone in his way due to his eagerness to be promoted to a position in the cabinet when his party's candidate for prime minister rose to power (Lacob, 2013). The series portrayed a cynical and destructive way of doing politics, as well as the lack of empathy politicians had with each other. House of Cards reflected and portrayed the political scene in the early 1990's Britain, strongly dominated by male politicians (Lacob, 2013).

The Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK

To draw a parallel between the Danish and British TV-series, there were several similarities as well as some differences. Both the Scandinavian Noir series and the British crime counterparts were equally focused on the portrayal of setting, climate, landscapes and the general mood and way of life in the different countries and areas.

When the Scandinavian series focused on the portrayal of Scandinavian culture, melancholy and dark, cold and frosty weather, the British series exposed an idyllic, classical Britain, with its beautiful landscape and old houses. This is where we saw a sharp contrast to the modern Scandinavian architecture highlighted in the Nordic Noir television productions.

When speaking about the main characters, one of the key differences was how the main characters, and the others involved in the investigation, were portrayed. The British TV-series showed the protagonists' human and personal sides, but not nearly as much as it was showed in the Nordic Noir TV-series. Another important aspect of the apparent differences among the series was that the main protagonists in these Nordic Noir TV-series were women. This was a sharp contrast to the male dominated British crime solving.

The main difference between the British series and the Scandinavian counterparts was the length and concept of the series. The British TV productions penetrated their viewers' imagination with one criminal case per one show episode. Whereas, *The Killing* and *The Bridge* detectives investigated a single criminal case throughout one season.

These series took the viewer into a much more thorough and deep explanation of what was going on.

Theory Review

The purpose of this theory chapter is to provide the backbone of our research into the phenomenon of Nordic Noir, its popularity within the UK, its impact on the perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British, as well as its influence on the British peoples' awareness of Denmark as a travelling destination.

In order to effectively answer the research questions, we will use the following theory chapter to enable us to analyse and better understand the collected data.

Firstly, theories about the reason people watch TV-series will be presented. This will help us find out why people watch TV-series. Both the influence of the media and of the acquaintance will be studied. For this analysis section, what we called media is the British newspaper articles. As well, when referring to acquaintances, we meant our interviewees' relatives: their friends, family and people they are in close contact with.

Secondly, we will explain how loyalty is developed when watching TV-series. This section will include theories about the characteristics of a quality TV-series. We will also present theories about viewers' identification with fictional television characters. Lastly, the fascination for darkness, crime and political drama will be addressed. This section helped us find out why the narratives of the Nordic Noir TV-series are so successful in the UK.

Thirdly, we will look at the impact of watching TV-series. This allowed us to find out if Nordic Noir TV-series distorted the perception and image of Denmark in the eyes of the British TV-viewers. Then we will study film-induced tourism and Nordic Noir TV-series influence on their audience's decision to visit Denmark. This will provide us a foundation to understand how people may unconsciously link Denmark to Danish TV-series.

These theories in combination with the data extracted from our interviews, observations and the British press articles, enabled us to answer our research questions. Thus, providing us with sufficient knowledge to conclude whether and what influenced Nordic Noir TV-series have had on their British viewers.

The Reasons for Watching TV-series

A 'fad' is an object that has become popular in a short period of time. However, a fashion or a trend is a phenomenon or an activity that became popular within a larger group of people and over a longer period of time (Douglas, 2009). It is argued that both informational social influence and normative social influence may create a fashion or a fad:

- Informational social influence is something considered as desirable and acceptable by others. The gained information can be derived from others such as family or friends. The media also has an impact on trends by raising people's awareness and attention towards a phenomenon.
- Normative social influence is an adoption of social behaviours in order to be liked and approved by others (Douglas, 2009).

This theories subsection will address the media and acquaintances influence on one's decision to start watching a specific TV-series.

How Media Shape the People's Perception

One of our assumptions is that many articles written singing the praises of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the British press may have influenced the success of those TV-series in the UK. As Kimber and Richardson (1974) claimed, media tend to popularize tendencies among the population. The audience is likely to rely on the information provided by various media sources such as press, even if it did not experienced it for real (Gooch, 1996). According to Noelle-Neumann (1974), mass media influence what people think and how they think. Indeed, Lazarsfeld (1948, p. 249) claimed, "*mass media can affect knowledge, attitudes, opinions and behaviour of individuals.*" This is why the presence or the absence of subjective point of view would impact its audience's opinion. In other words, the way the British press and magazines portrayed Nordic Noir and Denmark, influenced Brits' awareness of the TV-series and the country. Indeed, communication scholars claimed that media disseminates values, believes and ideas among people (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). This meant, the media would not only inform about a new trend, it would also design the public's perception of it.

However, we also want to nuance the notion of media influence. Other studies claimed that the impact of media is not as strong as one could assume. Echoing (1993) claimed

that more than influencing the public; it would strengthen an already existing belief. Finkel (1993) elaborated on this, saying that the media would only strengthen pre-existing opinions. In addition, Zaller (1996) claimed that the media tend to tell people what to think more than how to think about something. Media draws attention to novelty by revealing, identifying and reporting recent trends (Suzuki & Best, 2003). By doing so, it increases the scope of audience for a phenomenon.

Relevance to the Research

It is interesting to find out whether the UK media had an impact on the Nordic Noir TV-series audience. It is also interesting to consider if the media reviews influenced the Brits attitude toward them. Moreover, if considered a trend, the British media coverage may have also increased the audiences' enjoyment of the TV-series.

Conformity & Informational Cascade

Both the newspapers and the society could have influenced perception and understanding of the TV-series in the UK. As addressed previously, the extensive amount of articles written about the Nordic Noir television productions influenced the British population to watch the TV-series. The human aspect of influencing others and following where others are participating is called conformity. For this specific research, we could label this behaviour as a localised conformity, as the spread has likely been confined to the UK (Hirshleifer, 1993).

We believe, that the consumption of the Nordic Noir TV-series may have developed into a form of a uniform social behaviour within a rather large percentage of the British population. It is likely that our interviewees are not only influenced by other people to start watching the TV-series, but in turn also influence their peers to participate in this localised conformity.

One of the main reasons for uniform social behaviour lies within the concept of informational cascade (Seog, 2008). An Informational cascade happens when *"it is optimal for an individual, having observed the actions of those ahead of him, to follow the behaviour of the preceding individual without regard to his own information"* (Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer & Welch, 1992, p.994). An example within our context could be an interviewee reading a very critical review of The Bridge in the UK newspaper. At the same time, he or she discovers that several friends have started watching the TV-

series. He or she decides to start watching the TV-series despite the fact that the only information gotten about the series was a critical review of it. As not to be left out of the friends' conversations, it is optimal for to follow their behaviour. Another possible scenario is that he or she has in fact watched the TV-series but stopped due to finding it boring. However, when realizing the friends are watching it, one starts again – despite the previous feelings towards the TV-series.

Within the context of informational cascade, Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer & Welch, (1992) further argued, *“in a fairly general setting with sequential choices [...] a decision maker will ignore his private information and act only on the information obtained from previous decisions”* (Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer & Welch, 1992, p. 994). The previous decision to watch the TV-series made by the friends in our afore mentioned example, is the sole influence and reason behind our sample watching the series.

Relevance to the Research

Some of our interviewees had no prior knowledge or information in regards to the TV-series. This was why they did not discard their private opinion or knowledge in favour of conformity. They might find it important to watch the TV-series to fit into the conversations and social engagements with their friends and family. This was how they remain a part of the informational cascade.

In this section we considered influences Brits have encountered before or while watching the TV-series. Both the media and acquaintances may have had an impact on it. The analysis of the TV-series audience's interviews, observation and the British press articles review will help us to proceed with an investigation. Having studied why the British started watching the Nordic Noir TV-series, we will now look at the theories about the reasons for developing loyalty to TV-series.

The Developed Loyalty to TV-series

We believe, that watching TV-series plays on natural human curiosity to understanding different situations and how other people respond to it. However, we needed an academic backbone to understand the loyalty to particular TV-series.

The Liking and Viewing of Regular TV-series

In this subsection, we will briefly propose several hypothesis explaining why people start watching television. In addition to this, we will investigate the further effects this engagement can cause when liking particular TV-programs.

Mcllwraith in his study claimed that television produces dependency leading into a chain of various effects (1998). He argued, that television could become a reason to displace other recreational activities, such as socializing. He also talked about how television manages to provide its viewers with high levels of relaxation and less motivation to engage in other daily tasks. He called this effect a “*passive involvement*” of the viewers (Mcllwraith, 1998, p. 373). This could explain why viewers find it easy to engage with the television, and would start following various programs without giving thought to it.

Furthermore, we believe, that TV-series liking rates can differ accordingly to how frequently they are watched. According to Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg (1987), the series, which are watched more regularly by most of their viewers, score more in their liking rates. Moreover, they also claimed that programs demanding attention and focus tend to get slightly higher ratings even if they usually have smaller audiences. Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg (1987) concluded that there is a slight difference between consuming entertainment programs, and programs that are more demanding. In this case, the program does not need to be watched as frequently in order to be liked. The participants in their questionnaires, had to rate demanding and purely entertaining programs. It turned out that people rated demanding programs significantly higher than the purely entertaining ones. This difference reinforced a novel idea: even if fewer people view the demanding programs, they are more enjoyable in comparison to the programs designed for the mass audiences.

The general statement made by Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg was that the tendency to give higher scores to demanding programs reflect social norms: people support programs, which are socially considered to be more “*worthy*” to watch (1987, p. 68). Authors argued, that when watching such programs, the viewers have to put in some effort in order to get a self-gratification. Furthermore, a less demanding program will be perceived as less rewarding. Such TV-series can even be perceived as ‘quality TV’ and bring new perceptions and importance to every day situations (Cardwell, 2007).

Relevance to the Research

Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg's (1987) research results showed that frequent watchers like series much more than less frequent viewers. This means, if our interviewees watched Nordic Noir TV-series routinely and followed an episode by episode, we had a strong liking of the series. Loyalty to particular TV programs could also bring a higher interest in a similar TV production. This could partly explain the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series among the UK television viewers.

The Quality Television Drama

Quality television can be used for marketing and the television industry as their audience has a common set of values and social backgrounds. A distinction is also made between niche and mass audience. Viewers value quality TV, and see it as a form of art (Koivunen, 2014).

This notion first appeared in the 1980's in the United States of America. The American subscription Home Box Office (HBO) started targeting an educated audience who would be willing to watch alternative and unusual programs (McCabe & Akass, 2008). HBO then gave more creative freedom to its scriptwriters and larger budgets for the production. 'HBO-style series' was another way to describe high artistic achievement (Akass & McCabe, 2007). They also adopted a slogan that shows their TV-series differentiation from other productions: "*It's not TV, it's HBO*". They went beyond what was usually done in terms of content, narrative complexity, language and a lot more (Akass & McCabe, 2007).

However, it is rather complicated to define the concept of 'quality TV'. Indeed, almost every discussion related to the notion of quality involves personal judgement and personal taste (Brunsdon, 1990). McCabe and Akass (2007) claimed that they scramble and recombine traditional TV formulas in an unexpected way. They used sophisticated narrative technique and had a cinematic quality in the photography and the settings of the scenes (Akass & McCabe, 2007). When applying Akass and McCabe (2007) provided points to the Nordic Noir TV-series, it appeared that they fit into the definition of quality TV. Indeed, *The Killing*, for example, gives a different turn to crime series by resolving one crime per series (not per episode) (Waade & Jansen, 2013).

Another point is the importance of keeping in mind that the notion of 'quality TV' should not be mixed with 'good television'. As Cardwell (2007) explained, the two notions may

be interrelated but they are not totally analogous. 'Quality TV' may be defined, as a TV-series that for example, is carefully constructed, well acted, well filmed and based on a good story plot (Cardwell, 2007). Yet, this does not mean that the audience will like it. However, 'good television' can be defined as television liked by its audience.

To conclude, 'quality TV' is more about the value to be found in the TV program and the technical performances whereas 'good television' is a subjective concept that needs a positive response from the audience. Lastly, the best way to define 'quality TV' is to define 'non-quality TV'. Postman explained this notion by saying that it *"offers viewers a variety of subject matter, requires minimal skills to comprehend it, and is largely aimed at emotional gratification"* (1987, pp. 88-89).

In each of Nordic Noir TV-series, societal issues are raised to make the audience think about it and eventually react to it. As well, the slow-moving dramas such as *The Killing* or *The Bridge* make the audience try to guess the identity of the criminal. It requires the audience's attention and skills. As Waade and Jensen (2013) said, such programs do not permit multi-tasking and the viewers are made to closely follow the plot.

Relevance to the Research

Through the interviews with the audience, we tried to see whether the Nordic Noir TV-series were seen as quality TV, this could have explained their appeal.

Identification with Fictional Characters

In order to discover why the British audience like watching the Nordic Noir TV-series, the aspect of self-identification with TV characters should be touched upon. We believe that one of the many possible explanations for watching the series may be found in the individual identifying self with the fictional characters. The impact of the identification with fictional characters has become one of the foremost researched fields within the study of media entertainment (Igartua, 2010). Igartua (2010) argued, *"from another point of view, for entertainment to be able to exist, a basic need must be satisfied: the need to come into contact with or relate to media characters"* (Igartua, 2010, p. 347). What Igartua argued for in the quote is a partial explanation to why so many people in the UK found pleasure in watching the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Parasocial interaction, similarity or attraction, are other concepts applied to investigate these interactions happening every time people watch TV-series or movies (Igartua,

2010; Cohen, 2001). Cohen (2001) argued, when watching a TV-series or movies, the audience feel like living the fictional characters' life. Additionally, Igartua (2010) conceptualises the aspect of identification through a fictional character with the following categories:

- Emotional empathy;
- Cognitive empathy;
- Sharing or internalizing the character's goal and absorption (Igartua, 2010).

Firstly, the 'emotional empathy' is defined as the ability to get involved and empathise with the characters (Igartua, 2010). Secondly, the 'cognitive empathy' may be seen as putting one self in the place of the character (Igartua, 2010). Finally, the 'sharing or internalizing the character's goal and absorption' are defined as developing a temporary sensation of becoming the fictional character (Igartua, 2010). If fitting the interviewees' answers, all three concepts are a possible explanation for the popularity of the TV-series within the British population.

As already mentioned, one of the numerous consequences of identifying with fictional characters is the entertainment aspect of watching TV-series or movies. The enjoyment of watching television and movies are directly linked to the identification with the characters viewed on screen (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). Entertainment and enjoyment are not completely tangible concepts: it can vary because the individual personally judges or experiences television or movies. The empathy the viewer has with the fictional characters might be developed depending on the relationship between the identification of the fictional characters and the enjoyment of the fictional stories (Cohen, 2001).

The ultimate consequence of this empathy towards the fictional characters is that the more the viewer identifies with a fictional character, the more the TV-series is enjoyed (Cohen, 2001). We believed this to be relevant to our research: one of the reasons behind the successes of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK is the easiness to identify with their characters.

Relevance to the Research

When watching the TV-series, the British audience came in contact with the fictional characters, and thus, had an opportunity to identify with them. This was why they

considered the series to be entertaining. Attitudes towards the characters and their identifiable traits were investigated during the semi-structured interviews with the British audience. These interviews disclosed the degree of encountered identification.

In the following subsection we will present theories explaining television viewers fascination with dark TV dramas.

Fascination with Darkness

We perceived Nordic Noir dramas as a cold and gloomy interpretation of Danish realities. However, the popularity of the genre urged us to question, what is behind people's attraction darkness. In this subsection, we will discuss theories, which regard people's fascination with 'darkness' and murders in fictional as well as real life encounters.

The shelves of Great Britain's bookshops are full of crime fiction, and hours of crime TV-series are broadcast weekly on various British TV channels. Many find horrifying images of murders appealing, and television allows people to be drawn into these murderous scenarios (Coates & Morrison, 2004). Countless TV-series presenting all kinds of fictional deaths reveal their audiences' fascination with this subject.

Death in historical societies was once perceived as a taboo (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). They also pointed out, that for a long time societies were rather concerned with problems of life, than the subject of death. However, the recognition of death as an essential human condition becomes an attribute in modern society. Indeed, the image of it is willingly consumed through popular culture and medias (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). In our research, we wanted to shed light on Nordic Noir productions, which portray graphic violence. These productions connect the brutal murders with people's fascination for the dark side of human nature. This would mean, that the Nordic Noir TV-series frame deep human fears into their story lines. However, they even took a step further and showed the image of murder in a visually appealing, graphic manner.

Coates and Morrison (2004) further elaborated on the fascination for the dark human nature theme. They suggested, that depictions of brutality and murder draw out audiences' moral outrage, because it can associate being in a similar vulnerable situation. Details of inhuman crimes give people an opportunity to empathize with the

victim, feel the deadliness of the situation and wonder what circumstances might have led to it.

Some may even want to get into the head of the killer and wonder how psychologically damaged one has to be to do something so horrible. Furthermore, Coates and Morrison (2004) theorised an idea about the current society's fascination with murder cases. They attributed it to a fear of violence in a progressive society. The contemporary mind-sets of western people are incapable of understanding the rationality of crime.

Murders show a tragic side of everyday life. They disturb, but at the same time fascinate. Typically unexpected, they show how vulnerable lives are. Murder cases point out the areas where evil is hidden in modern societies. Moreover, it shows how brutal individuals can become in a society that does not even seem to be familiar with violence (Forshaw, 2012). Forshaw (2012) explained that welfare societies seem to be disturbed by terrifying crimes the most.

The fascination with murder subsection gave us a brief explanation of why people's fascination with murder could have become a commercially profitable topic for the TV productions. Coates and Morrison (2004) claimed, that, unfortunately, only very violent acts open society's eyes to the vices that were formed throughout years of silence. This is when societal issues such as anger, ethical tension, mental instability, greed and self-centredness can be seen and discussed. It seems, that such acts of violence give people an opportunity to reconsider the essence of human relationships and societal norms as well as bring them closer together. This was why, when showed on television, it has a unique power to attract a broad range of spectators.

Relevance to the Research

The Nordic Noir was associated with desperate anti-heroes who narrate the stories and tragic story endings (Waade & Jansen, 2013). These two elements among others such as shadows and darkness, strike the psychological chord of the TV-series to make them interesting to their audience. Furthermore, Waade and Jansen (2013) talked about how the Nordic Noir TV-series touch on modern societies' issues, reflecting on its inequality and people's identity crisis. We consider that the success of Nordic Noir with its viewer is linked to our fascination as individuals with the dark and gloomy mysteries hidden deep in nowadays societies.

The Power of the Crime Fiction

In this subsection, we will take people's fascination with darkness and murder a step further and discuss, how modern societies find themselves interested in crime fiction. We believe these factors caused their loyalty to the genre.

The TV crime drama is a part of the media's presentation of crime and criminals. Moreover, they construct an image of reality to its viewers. As most people have little direct experience with crime (Fabianic, 1997), television has full power to form the audience's attitudes and perceptions about it, as well as the locations where the crime takes place. Moreover, it could also raise questions about the norms and conditions in the society where the crime was committed.

The majority of these crime stories attach great importance to the crime and its elements, the detective and the procedure of solving the crime (Fabianic, 1997). Very few stories, if any, focus on the criminal. Furthermore, Fabianic (1997) claimed, that the majority of TV crime dramas fail to portray reality and that there is an intention behind this. Such dramas present criminal behaviour brought on by blind madness and passion, but seldom addresses the social context behind the crimes.

Coates' and Morrison's (2004) pointed out that a rather large proportion of criminal activity is a result of inequality in contemporary society. However, according to Fabianic (1997) the audience would rather see criminal behaviour portrayed as a personal choice. This narrow perspective on blame insists that criminal offenders have complete control over themselves and they are entirely in charge of their individual behaviour. Therefore such criminals would be prosecuted as natural born villains, their actions not related to shared institutions, or the surrounding society and its nature (Fabianic, 1997). However, TV-series are a type of entertainment and are not frequently meant to be realistic. The plots have to be adapted to what the audience wants to watch. The fictional characters are professionally designed to entertain their viewers; therefore people get involved and follow their stories (Fabianic, 1997). A particular, sometimes misleading message can be delivered to the public, simply because it looks more appealing. In connection to the interviews, we could probe whether British people related crimes seen in the Nordic Noir TV-series to Denmark.

Another rather curious aspect of the series is the story line spin where the character that was suspected throughout the series turns out to be unfairly blamed. Similarly, a trustworthy looking person turns out to be a villain. Such story spins at the end of the show excites the viewer due to the opportunity to get ones primary assumptions confirmed or discarded (Cavender, 1998). The major attribute attracting the most attention of the audience is the crime series' ability to invite the viewer to take part in the story. When following the story line, the audience gets the same clues as the detective. This means, the criminal case is analysed together with the story narrators. Furthermore, such participation enables the viewer to reflect on possible solutions for the case. Therefore, as Cavender (1998) summarized, spectators of the TV-series have the opportunity to make equally right or wrong assumptions just as the detective does. This is how the crime series obliges their spectators to keep close attention till the final episodes' scene comes.

Relevance to the Research

In the subsection of The Power of the Crime Fiction we introduced the reader with numerous major crime drama features, which we believed keeps its audience involved and interested. Moreover, as crime TV-series are produced following particular genre conventions, it makes it easier for viewers with particular expectations to follow the plot. Finally, the British television audience has a long lasting tradition of viewing crime genre themed productions. The Nordic Noir TV-series' new approach to crime gender could contribute to the success of these series in the UK.

Fascination of the Political Drama

Borgen became a very popular political drama in Denmark as well as in the UK. In order to understand this popularity, we find it crucial to look into the features ascribed to it. Therefore in this subsection we discuss genre qualities.

Audiences can easily lose excitement watching live-aired politicians' debate every evening on a weekday (Lusher, 2010) Some of the 'new' ideas seem to be so familiar: well-known faces discussing well-known issues. This is why part of the TV audience might start wondering if there is anything more to it worth watching (Lusher, 2010). For the most, the course of governmental affairs is still an unexplored and mysterious field for television. Many perceive political dramas to be beyond the interest of their everyday lives. Only few know and realize what political machinations remain silent and

are poorly exposed in the media. Political dramas appear to introduce society to fictional inside dramas based within politicians' circles. It is worth to note that mainstream television simplifies real time political issues in order to make it more understandable for the viewer (Iyengar, 1994). Whereas, quality political dramas make the story lines much more complicated.

Political issues are typically complex which reduces the public interest (Iyengar, 1994). Many TV channels make political issues more 'entertaining' and comprehensible for a large group of people. However, not all producers of the TV-series aim to earn short-term popularity. They create political backstage stories by using some accurate public realities and sharpening them into fictional stories. Due to relatively plausible political events in the storylines, the audience can more easily relate to current events and locations they are familiar with (Davies, 2014).

Relevance to the Research

TV-series that contain several features, attributed to a good political drama, such as strong protagonist, plot line spins, etc. have the potential to interest an educated viewer (Jensen & Waade, 2013). To understand the reason of Borgen popularity in the UK, we found it interesting to see whether the TV-series had these attributes.

In this section, we introduce theories, which we found relevant when studying how British television viewers developed loyalty to Nordic Noir TV-series. In the next section we will present theories of how TV-series impact its viewers.

The Impact of Watching TV-series

We now have a theoretical background about why would people start watching the TV-series as well as why would they keep watching it. This theory section will study the effects of watching TV-series. Firstly, it will address the difficulty the audience might have to differentiate fiction from reality. Secondly, it will detail how TV-series impact the image of a place. Thirdly, it will explore the TV-series' effect on tourism.

Perceived Reality of the TV-program

Since the Nordic Noir TV-series started to be broadcasted on national British television, there is little doubt that the British public have been exposed to Denmark, Danish

culture. This exposure was bound to make the British audience define and identify Denmark and Danish society through the fictional stories.

This notion of comparing media exposure to real life events and the actual social reality has been coined as 'perceived reality' (Shapiro & Chock, 2004). Perceived reality affects the individual's behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and mental processes by what is being broadcasted (Shapiro & Chock, 2004). These authors defined perceived reality as a belief that fictional characters and situations reflect reality.

Shapiro and Chock (2004) further spoke about how an inexperienced audience has to often decide whether fictional events reflect on the reality. This imagined reality is perceived through mediated, direct and in-direct experiences of the audience's past and present. This imagined reality is then compared to the mediated reality shown on the television, finally providing the individual with a sense of relative reality (Shapiro & Chock, 2004). From this, it can be concluded that British Nordic Noir TV-series audience could have produced its own notion of reality of Denmark.

Overall mediated experiences have a great influence on the TV-series audience. The concept of typicality is linked together with perceived reality and provides another explanation for the actions undertaken by the viewers. In order to determine whether a viewed event on the screen is a typical portrayal of the real world, the concept of typicality enables the viewer to judge if the situation is typical of everyday life within the given context. Typicality refers to "*a judgement about the frequency of the event within a particular context*" (Shapiro & Chock, 2004, p. 678). What this means is, that whenever the TV-series audience views an unfolding event, it automatically decides whether this event is typical for the given situation. The concept of typical is decided individually. Peoples view of the world is shaped by the context in which they experience it' (Shapiro & Chock, 2004).

There is a connection between typicality and the perceived reality. The more typical people find a situation, character or an event, the more likely it is that they will consider it to be valid (Shapiro & Chock, 2004). The more typical stories, characters, settings and overall events unfolding in the TV-series are, the more likely the audience will take this as a relative reality. It will eventually consider the TV-series to be real and authentic.

Relevance to the Research

In this part, two core notions have been developed on the topic of perceived reality. For our research, we wanted to explore whether the British audience perceived TV-series as relative reality of Denmark.

Image Creation

Knowing how a destination's image is created gave us a better understanding of how British people have constructed their image of Denmark. For this research, it is important to define whether the fictional portrayal of Denmark impacted people's perception of the country. As Holcomb (1993) noted, visual medias are more powerful at creating an image in customers' minds than marketing is. The image creation rely both on symbolic and tangible features (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 2000). Media such as TV-series have a big power to create, change or reinforce an image of a destination.

When talking about a location's image, it has to be recognised that the tourist can develop an attachment with a place. The person's prior knowledge and his or her personality determine the affective response (Chen & Phou, 2013). This attachment can be either negative or positive. The location's image also depends on the image broadcasted via various television channels. However, it has to be said that a negative image of a place portrayed in the TV-series does not necessarily impact on the motivation to visit the place. Beeton (2008) used an old saying: 'Any publicity is good publicity'. It explains that even negative image of a location can have a positive influence on tourism (Beeton, 2008). Hirschmann (2000) gave an example of the Titanic. After the movie was released, there was a noticeable interest in boat cruises. The audience of the Titanic was more lifted by the storyline and the romantic part of the movie than the actual tragedy of the boat (Inside Tucson Business, 1998). In addition to this, Riley, Baker and Van Doren (1998) said, that the location does not have to be nice or the story to be conclusive to attract tourists. It appears that the appeal of the story line of Nordic Noir TV-series outweighs negative portrayal of Denmark and Copenhagen (Beeton, 2005). Which means, even if Copenhagen has a disconsolate atmosphere in *The Killing*, according to Beeton (2005) this image did not necessarily have a negative impact on the city in the eyes of the TV viewers.

Relevance to this Research

The way Nordic Noir TV-series are portraying Denmark has an impact on its British audience's image of the country. The previous paragraphs seemed to suggest that the image of Denmark was actually unappealing, but despite that, the exposure to the country through the series had an impact on British motivation to visit the country. This perceived image of Denmark's might have impacted the British motivation to visit the county.

Motivation to Travel

This research also aims to investigate what motivates British people to visit Denmark. This subsection proposes theories in order to explore the subject of the research.

Numerous authors have discussed broadly the effect of film productions on people's traveling choices and perception of the place (Beeton, 2005). Film-induced tourism can be defined as a form of tourism that "*involves visits to places celebrated for associations with books, authors, television programs and films*" (Busby & Klug, 2001, p. 316). Furthermore, the notion of film-induced tourism includes the effect of television, film, series, and media coverage (Heitmann, 2010). For this specific research, we will focus on the TV-series. Busby and Klug (2001) acknowledged an impact of film and TV-series in the decision making process when choosing a place to travel. However, they also claimed that it is difficult to measure and determine how much one can be influenced. In this theory subsection, we are arguing that film productions can influence people's perceptions and choices of travel destinations.

When it comes to the individual's decision making, there are no rules. The individual makes many decisions on a daily basis of which a substantial number are made without knowing exactly why (Pullman, 2015). A number of modern studies focus on a deep understanding of behaviour other than the basic assumption of conscious-centric control over motivation and behaviour (Huang & Bargh, 2014). British people's choice of Denmark as a travelling destination is consciously or unconsciously affected by what they know about the country. This can be rooted stereotypes, media coverage, etc. (Chen & Phou, 2013). Indeed, when studying tourism motivations, it has to be noted that the majority of tourists are not able to describe their motivations for traveling (Roesch, 2009). However, visual media constructs anticipation about a destination and this is how it influences people's travelling choices (Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998). The

image of a destination in people's minds plays a significant role in the travel-decision making process (Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1993).

Unconscious decision-making may be described as *"the result of unobserved mental processes that manifest themselves as preferences, inclinations or tendencies"* (Pullman, 2015, p. 1). Pullman argued, that people are influenced and affected by countless images and perceptions on a daily basis. They unconsciously enables individuals to make decisions based solely on mental process. It has to be noticed that the exposure to external stimuli is connected to the triggering of mental processes. This ends with decisions being made without one's conscious intention or awareness (Huang & Bargh, 2014).

One of the external stimuli could be the television. When watching television, every person is exposed to countless impressions, objects and impacts. Shapiro and Lang (1991) argued, memories and stimuli obtained through television viewing often include the context of the place. Shapiro and Lang (1991) further argued that a person's emotional response to a message received through the television, determines the structure of the memory stored in his or her mind. The memory of a television event, program or advertisement is not only stored with information solely about the event, but also includes contextual information about the program or the event. For example, this could be felt as an emotion when watching a program (Shapiro & Lang, 1991). Finally, the individual will later use these stored messages in order to make real life decisions. It will be based on the event, the contextual information and the emotions (Shapiro & Lang, 1991).

Relevance to this Research

Understanding how Denmark's image is created in people's mind helped us to understand how the Nordic Noir TV-series could have impacted British motivation to travel to Denmark. We assumed, that images from the TV-series have bypassed the consciousness decision-making processes. The interviews will allow us to confirm this hypothesis.

Film-induced Tourism and its Limitations

In the previous subsection, we saw how strong an impact the TV-series could have when choosing a travel destination. Film-induced tourism has not yet had much attention from

the tourism researchers. Since the investigation of human behaviour is rather complex, it is difficult to encompass every individual travel 's motivation to travel (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). However, it has been proven that movies and TV-series do not have as much impact on the audience as advertising. As a consequence, viewers feel they are making their own, autonomous decision when deciding to visit a place seen on television (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). Various elements could make a film location appealing. It can be the scenery, the landscape, the music, the storyline, the identification with film characters or the actors (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). Indeed, as Herbert (1996) said, visiting TV-series settings allows the viewer to link it with the characters they like, and the storyline.

TV-series or movies combined with promotion made by the tourism industry raise awareness about a destination (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). Film tourists may look for authenticity; this means they may seek to make sense of the location by relating it to the TV-series that have watched (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). The degrees of authenticity vary depending on what the tourist seek to see. Three kinds of tourists can be distinguished there:

- Scenic or visual tourists: they are influenced by what they have seen on the TV-series and expect the location to look like what was portrayed on television. They are only interested in visiting the actual location of the TV-series;
- Emotional or nostalgic tourist: they identify themselves with the fictional characters and are influenced by the storyline. As tourists, they seek to experience the location through the story narratives.
- Pure film tourists: the storyline, the setting and the actual location of the TV-series influence them (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011).

In order to make a TV-series' setting a tourist attraction, tourism organisations should engage Internet promotion, movie maps, and guided tours (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). By doing so, the recognition of the setting is increased, and thereby the authenticity of a place. Films or TV-series may raise awareness or increase the profile of a place as a destination to travel to. However, its direct bearing on the actual decision has not yet been proved (Beeton, 2006). As Croy and Walker (2001) noted, film induced tourism is a tool that can be utilized through a strategic development. Many destination authorities take it for granted that film or TV-series will automatically increase tourism in the filmed area (Beeton, 2006).

Among the distinctive kinds of tourism, people mainly partake in cultural tourism, which could be combined with film-induced activities. Indeed, film-induced activities might also give a cultural knowledge of the locations (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011).

Shapiro and Lang (1991) argue that fiction is meant to portray a certain degree of resemblance and connection to the real world. It provides the individual viewers with an access to areas and events that are not available to them in real life encounters. Therefore, such fictional experiences may be as valuable a source of information as actual real-life events.

Relevance to this Research

In this subsection, we talked about how motivation or desire can be created or influenced by the locations portrayed in series. For this research, we used the presented theories to understand whether Nordic Noir TV-series could have an impact on peoples' motivation to visit Denmark.

This theory chapter will be further utilized when analysing the collected data in order to answer our research question.

Analysis

This analysis can be seen as an example analysis. An example analysis presents data that highlights strong tendencies among our interviewees. This analysis will not present the full picture of the Nordic Noir success in the UK and of its effect on the perception of Denmark and on the motivation of doing tourism in Denmark. It will serve as background knowledge for further research into this topic.

This analysis chapter will aim at answering this research's questions. To do so, we interpreted the data collected in relation to the theories we catalogued. Four sections composing this analysis chapter corresponds to the four research questions:

- *How can we define the Nordic Noir television productions?*
- *Why were the Nordic Noir TV-series successful in the UK?*
- *How have the Nordic Noir TV-series influenced the perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British people?*
- *How have the Nordic Noir TV-series affected the British travel and tourism in Denmark?*

In this chapter the four sets of data collected will be analysed. It had to be noted that we collected a great quantity of data. In order to ease the reading of this research, we decided to present only two to three quotes in this section. The chosen quotes were considered the most relevant in order to illustrate each idea we have developed. This did not mean, that other interviewees did not agree with this idea. The reader have to bear in mind, that we chose the notions to be developed either because it stood out from the data, or because a clear majority agreed upon it.

The Reasons for Watching the Nordic Noir TV-Series

The reason for the British television audience to start watching the Nordic Noir are, without a doubt, a broad and multi-layered question to be answered. People are affected in many ways, and it varies on how the individual started watching the shows. Furthermore, we wondered how the TV-series managed to, week by week, keep the audience's interest without becoming repetitive or dull.

The impact of the media and the influence one might receive through interaction with others will be developed in the first subsection of our analysis. We will try to explain how exactly our interviewed British audience started watching the Nordic Noir TV-series. We will also aim to discover whether these popular TV-series established solid roots in the British audience's need for entertainment.

The second subsection will focus on the TV-series uniqueness. In order to reach a conclusion, we will consider the distinctiveness of the fictional characters. Moreover, we will study the effects of the audience's possible identification with them. This will help us to explain why the British people have developed a loyalty to the TV-series. Additionally, we will describe the effects the crime and political genre might have had. Lastly, we will consider if the differences between British and Nordic Noir TV productions impacted on the interviewees' loyalty to the TV-series.

The last subsections will explore the aspects and effects of watching subtitled television and foreign TV productions. These facets will help explain the reasons for watching and liking the Nordic Noir TV-series.

The Impact of the Media on the Brits Perception of the Nordic Noir TV-series

Lazarsfeld claimed that, "*mass media can affect knowledge, attitudes, opinions and behaviour of individuals*" (Lazarsfeld, 1948, p. 249). This was why we found it relevant to look at the UK media attention to the Nordic Noir TV-series. This gave us a clearer insight into the effect the media had on the British population.

In order to understand the effect media had on the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series, we will first look at the impact the British press had on British motivation to start watching these TV-series and on its perception of it. Secondly, we will take a look at whether the Nordic Noir TV-series could be named a 'trend' or a 'fad' and whether the media attention impacted this.

The British Press Articles and their Impact on the Success of the Nordic Noir TV-series

In this subsection we will look at the impact the media had on the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series. First we will analyse the interviews with the British audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series. Second, the point of view of the tourism and film industry professionals will be studied. Finally, the review of the British press articles will give us a more precise idea of its impact on the British Nordic Noir TV-series audience.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

The effect the British media had on spreading information and influencing the British audiences became evident to us after conducting interviews with the Nordic Noir TV-series British audience. When asked *'How did you start watching the TV-series'*, an overwhelming number of interviewees pointed out the British media coverage. It had a profound effect on guiding them into the arms of the Nordic Noir TV-series:

David: *"They gained a lot of attention in the press."* (p. xiv, 7-8)

Mary: *"I probably read <about> it, maybe a newspaper article or maybe a TV review for Borgen."* (p. xvii, 6-9)

Jane: *"I think it was a review in the newspaper that said that it's going to be on and it's worth watching. That's how I started."* (p. xxx, 6-7)

As read in the quotes, the media affected the studied population, and was able to reach number of our interviewees in different ways. The articles and newspapers undoubtedly had a possibility to affect the audience by the way they chose to describe the TV-series.

However, some of the interviewees confessed developing their interest in the TV-series because of the broadcaster's reputation, BBC four:

Rachel: *"I heard about them from BBC. They were aired on BBC and I've also seen the adverts of them."* (p. lvi, 6-9)

Rachel first caught a glimpse of the TV-series on the BBC. Most likely, the impression of the series was positive due to the acknowledged name of the series broadcaster.

Yet we felt that for others such as Sue, the press enlarged her already existing interest in Scandinavian fiction:

Sue: *"I read all the Stig Larsson books. And then, when they <Nordic Noir TV-series> came on television here there was articles in the newspaper. So I read those and it sounded very interesting."* (p. lxxviii, 6-9)

Her existing interest in Scandinavian literature guided her into reading articles, and further into something that she believed to be worth watching. This provided us with some evidence of the degree of influence the media had on creating attention towards the series in the UK.

The media appeared to have a great impact on the British audience's awareness of the Nordic Noir TV-series. The main difference within our interviewees lied in the way they started watching the shows. Lazarsfeld claimed that, *"mass media can affect knowledge, attitudes, opinions and behaviour of individuals"* (Lazarsfeld, 1948, p. 249). This means, that the British media attention could have given more credibility to the TV-series, and as such affected the viewers' perception of them. All our mentioned interviewees appeared to rely on the information the media provided them with. The articles generally had a positive attitude towards the Nordic Noir TV-series, something that might have influenced their readers' expectations towards the TV-series:

Jane: *"I think it <the article> said, it's quite original and different."* (p. xxx, 16-20)

Janice: *"Yes I have <read articles> because they are quite popular here in Britain and they have good reviews."* (p. lxi, 11-15)

Both Jane and Janice noted the appraisal of the TV-series in the press. One may argue that the press should be viewed as a strong factor encouraging British people to watch the shows. As illustrated by the quotes, the enthusiasm and information provided by the British press could have had an effect on our interviewees' perception of the TV-series.

The media played a significant role in the popularity of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. It raised awareness and created a positive preconceived idea in the readers' mind towards the TV-series. Finally, we believe the articles could also have had an ability to strengthen a belief held by those who were already interested in the TV-series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Tourism and Film Industry Professional's Interviews

The interviewees remembered that the press focus on the quality of the programs, the portrayal of the characters and the generally good reviews of the TV-series. In this subsection, we will study the way tourism and film professionals perceived the impact of the British media on the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series.

The film and tourism professionals' interviews shed a light on what was done to promote the TV-series:

Bo Ehrhardt: *"We didn't do anything. Honestly, we focused on doing the show here in Sweden and Denmark, and ZDF does international sales and they promote the show on the different markets."* (p. xc, 16-19)

According to Bo Ehrhardt, the producer of the Bridge, its company did not promote the TV-series; it was the German channel ZDF. We discovered that Visit Denmark engaged several marketing promotions in order to create awareness:

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: *"We sent out press releases [...] also invited media for press trips so we try to influence them."* (p. cxxviii, 9-15)

Throughout the research, we learned that many of the press articles were encouraged by organizations that would benefit from it, such as Visit Denmark and ZDF. The positivity found in the articles was most likely also influenced by them. However, we believe that even if Visit Denmark encouraged the journalists to write about the Nordic Noir TV-series and Denmark, the journalists could still choose their own way of approaching the subject. This is why the positive content of the articles should not be viewed as lowering their credibility. It was likely to believe that the media shaped the interest of the audience by disseminating different values, belief and ideas (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). By writing about Nordic Noir TV-series and Denmark, the media spread a belief that these series were worth watching and the country was worth visiting.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Press Articles

In order to understand how the audience was influenced by the articles written in the UK newspapers, their content had to be studied in this research. Articles from four of the major British newspapers were examined to discover their attitudes towards the TV-series. Judging by our interviewees, it appeared that several newspapers in the UK

played a large role in shaping their beliefs, ideas and actions in relation to the Nordic Noir TV-series. In addition to that, Suzuki and Best (2003) claimed that the media draws attention to novelty by revealing, identifying and reporting new trends. This meant that the articles would also attract the Brits towards of the series by presenting it as a trendy show to watch.

Identifying and reporting on new trends are indeed what several of the British newspapers have done. By explaining: *“How British fell under the spell of Nordic Noir”* (Midgley, 2014), The Telegraph brought awareness to many different facets of the Nordic Noir TV-series. By explaining in detail how the Nordic Noir TV-series became so popular in the UK, it was likely to have an influence on people who have not yet watched them.

In addition to this, an article: *“BBC to follow Borgen with new Danish period drama”* (Perry, 2014), promised that more good quality dramas would be coming from Denmark in the future. This promise may be seen as identifying and reporting a new trend. The continuous influx of Scandinavian series should by now be considered to have become trendy within the UK society.

The influence of the British newspapers was considered to have a major impact on the spread of the Nordic Noir TV-series, as many people used them to get knowledge and guidance.

How to Consider the Nordic Noir TV-series Success in the UK: a Fad or a Trend?

In this subsection, the notion of whether the Nordic Noir TV-series was a fad or a trend will be looked upon. A fad can be defined as an object that has become popular in a short period of time. In contrast to this, a trend is a phenomenon that has become popular within a larger group of people over a longer period of time (Douglas, 2009).

With this in mind, we wondered how the sudden popularity of the TV-series was developed into a long lasting success. The following quotes showed that once the audience watched one of the Nordic Noir TV-series, they started following other similar productions:

Jane: *“But then when I saw the first ones, I then look up for the ones what’s coming.”*

(p. xxx, 6-11)

Bridget: *“And we just started watching The Killing, and then of course it got very famous, it got very popular. And we saw The Bridge when it was coming out, and we watch that from the start.”* (p. xxv, 9-16)

Both Jane and Bridget mentioned how the watching of one of the TV-series increased their interest in other Nordic Noir TV-series. It was likely that they will continuously move on to another related Nordic Noir TV-series:

Mary: *“And I read The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo, that series, before I saw The Bridge or Borgen, so I suppose, yes, that probably paved the way.”* (p. xx, 10-12)

Mary started by reading crime literature associated with the Nordic Noir television productions, and thus she was dragged into the TV-shows. This was a good example of how liking of the genre would influence the individual to seek similar experiences. Due to this, loyalty to the TV-series will be developed over time.

After speaking to some of the professionals connected to the Nordic Noir television productions, it became clear to us that they thought the TV-series had a potential to remain popular.

At first, Jonathan Sadler, the marketing director at Arrow Films, claimed that many people thought that the general enthusiasm for the shows would be over soon:

Jonathan Sadler: *“Lots of people thought that it will be over in a year or two but it seems to be continuing and going.”* (p. cviii, 24-25)

This primary expectation of many people was not confirmed. Indeed, the more Danish TV-series aired in the UK television, the more attention they gained. Based on this, it was likely that the current situation of the genre was not simply a fad. With the continuously influx of shows and programs from Scandinavia, one might argue that there is a sign of a Danish TV-series trend taking place in the UK.

The media draws attention to novelty by revealing, identifying and reporting recent trends (Suzuki & Best, 2003). The press coverage of the Nordic Noir TV-series highlighted their infatuation in the UK and therefore presented them as trendy. This would not only shape the British perception of the Nordic Noir TV-series, but also incite them to keep on watching it. With a variety of Nordic Noir shows starting to run on the British TV from 2011 and onwards, it confirmed our belief in its strong position in the UK. Furthermore, it should be noted that many Brits developed a taste for the Nordic

Noir television productions by either watching the TV-series or reading Nordic Noir books. This made them seek additional experiences within the genre.

To summarize this part about the impact of the medias, on the success of the audience the UK media coverage on the Nordic Noir TV-series had a significant effect on the British audience. As we discovered, the British audience liked these TV-series and therefore developed a great loyalty towards them. Additionally, the press played a paramount role in motivating them to start watching the TV-series, as well as creating and maintaining positive awareness of them. The British press emphasized the quality of the production, the actors' performance and the storyline complexity. By pointing out these specific elements, the British press articles helped the reader noticing the series qualities. This, we believe, enhanced their enjoyment of the TV-series.

After being influenced and having started to watch the series, it solely depended on the individual whether they would want to keep on following them. This fell back to the quality and entertainment aspect of watching the TV-series. This was when we discovered that the enthusiasm for the Nordic Noir TV-series was a continuous trend which continuous to grow. Finally, the media, word-of-mouth and personal communication and interaction online had a great influence on the way the TV-series were received.

The Impact of the Interaction with Others on the Liking of the TV-series

As explained in the previous subsection, the media had a profound influence on why people started watching the Nordic Noir TV-series. Equally, human interaction and socializing are believed to influence people actions. In this case, we believed it to have influenced the British people to start watching the TV-series. In this subsection, we will study how exactly the human interaction could have driven the British Nordic Noir TV-viewers attention to start and continue watching the TV-series.

The human aspect of influencing others, or following in the footsteps of what others participate in, has been labelled conformity. In our research, it should be called a localized conformity: the spread had been confined to the UK (Hirshleifer, 1993).

An informational cascade appears when an individual observes and follow behaviour of the ones who surround him (Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer & Welch, 1992, p. 994). For example, whenever one of our interviewees observed the actions of their peers, he

would follow their footsteps. Examples of what could be called an informational cascade appeared to exist within our studied population. Several interviewees explained that they started watching the series due to conversations with friends, family and colleagues. Yet for others, the online forums and social networks played an important role in influencing them:

Jonny: *“Initially I watched Borgen first. I had a friend living in Denmark who told me it was really cool—and it was on I Scotland at the time on BBC. So I watched it and I really liked it.”* (p. ix, 8-11)

Rachel: *“I watch TV-shows more based on recommendations from friends or reading [...] like on blogs or Facebook. This is how I choose what I watch.”* (p. lxxvii, 6-7)

Both Jonny and Rachel explained that they have been influenced by friends to start watching specific the Nordic Noir TV-series. Rachel’s quote showed some signs of an informational cascade; she watched the shows following recommendations of friends and social media. Another example of how people tend to follow others lies within the statement made by Mary. When asked about her perception of Denmark, she answered:

Mary: *“You see it’s probably not a fair question because I ‘m influenced by Gemma <her daughter> living there... It’s hard to know what my impression would be if... And that’s the other thing, maybe if she wasn’t living in Denmark, maybe I wouldn’t have watched it, you know...”* (pp. xviii-xix, 26-2)

Mary indirectly provided us with a great and honest answer of why she started watching the series. She admitted watching it mainly because of her daughter’s influence, wondering whether she would have watched it otherwise. This was another example of how the informational cascade may influence the individual to follow in the footsteps of others.

Additionally, Lois spoke of another type of engagement and possibly way of affecting others:

Lois: *“There is an organization in Great Britain, I don’t know if you have the same, it’s called The University of the 3rd age. This is for older people and they meet in-group and they teach each other various things. [...] And we were talking in my creative writing group about starting a group just looking at the Nordic Noir. But looking at, you know the novels,*

looking at the TV-series, all sorts of things. I think there is a very wide and general interest.” (p. xlvi, 19-28)

Lois talked about her willingness to share her interest about the Nordic Noir television productions with others. This kind of behaviour was a good example of conformity. Additionally, this may not only have an effect on oneself but it may also lead to the inspiration of others, thus providing them with new knowledge and ideas.

Additionally, it became evident that many interviewees were engaged into discussions on the online forums or social media groups:

Jance: *“I forgot what its called now, under the name of Scandinavian <fans Facebook page> because I like to talk to other people because I noticed, I’ve got some friends and they don’t like Scandinavian novels, they just think I’m a bit strange. Really.” (p. lxii, 5-8)*

Bridget: *“For the second season of The Killing, my husband is looking at Facebook, blogs and things <like that>.” (p. xxv, 20-26)*

Jance spoke of her own online interactions, whereas Bridget commented on her husband’s engagement on the online forums. These interactions should also be viewed as a potentially strong basis for conformity and uniform behaviour. Online forums have the potential to reach many people, as well as provide them with an easy and simple way of sharing values, beliefs and knowledge with other people with the same interest. In connection with the aspect of conformity, John mentioned the success of a Facebook group dedicated to the Nordic Noir television productions:

John: *“One of them got thousand and thousand of members. [...] It’s quite active, really.” (p. liv, 8)*

John talked about one online forum he participated in. With potentially thousands of people engaged, it appeared that Nordic Noir TV-series have a rather strong online foundation for its audience’s conformity.

To sum, it appeared that acquaintances and social media impacted our interviewees willingness to start watching the TV-series. Indeed it appeared that seeing their acquaintances enjoying the TV-series increased their attractiveness in the eyes of our interviewees. It had to be highlighted that social network also played an important role. The audience realised that an online community was a place to share its common interest of the TV-series and thereby it enhanced its commitment.

The Uniqueness of the TV-Series and its Characters

Another plausible reason for the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK lied in how it distinguished from analogous British TV-series. In order to discover which elements of the Nordic Noir TV-series were found unique in the eyes of the British audience, we will first look at the aspects found unique of their production. Secondly we will look at the characters of the Nordic Noir TV-series, we will focus on what characteristics made them different from other TV-productions the British were used to. Thirdly we will analyse the impact the criminal and political genre of the TV-series. We will conclude this subsection differentiating the Nordic Noir TV-series from the British productions.

The Uniqueness of the Nordic Noir TV-series as a Factor of its Success

This subsection will aim to understand what aspects of the Nordic Noir TV-series were different from the TV-series aired in the UK.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

Many interviewees argued that they viewed the Nordic Noir TV-series as of high quality programs:

Sue: *"It's just because it is such high quality. We have very good quality drama here, but it <The Killing> is superior to those."* (p. lxviii, 18-20)

Sue thought that the overall quality of the Nordic Noir TV-series was superior to the British productions. The quality of the TV-programs was likely to have influenced the enthusiasm of the people watching the series. It was rather complicated to define the concept of 'quality TV'. Indeed, almost any discussion related to the notion of quality involves personal judgement and personal taste (Brunsdon, 1990). McCabe and Akass (2007) tried to define this notion as they claimed that quality TV scramble and recombine traditional TV formulas in an unexpected way. It uses sophisticated narrative technique and has a cinematic quality in the photography and the settings of the scenes. Several of our interviewees had strong opinions about the Nordic Noir TV-series quality:

Tanya: *"What do I like about them? The story line is excellent. I think the suspense is excellent too. [...] The acting is excellent."* (p. lvi, 11-13)

Lois: *"The stories were intriguing, particularly in The Killing, you could never guess who did it because they have, you know 10 different choices. So you're like 'Oh maybe it's him!,' 'no, it's him!'"* (p. xliii, 18-20)

These were examples of two interviewees who praised the story line of the series. Both explained the way they experienced the plot of the shows. Intriguing stories, suspense and great acting were some of the highlights of the TV-series. The overwhelming majority of our interviewees felt the same way. The story line was broadly viewed as thrilling and captivating. The audiences' attention was continuously held throughout the series. Furthermore, as mentioned by McCabe and Akass (2007), good cinematic quality is one of the criteria in quality television. This was what Lois paid attention to.

An additional perspective on exactly what some of the interviewees found fascinating about the TV-series, is the overall connection to the characters portrayed in the shows:

Tanya: *"I think the way they portray relationships, the story line, the very strong characters... I think that is what keeps me interested."* (p. lvii, 8-9)

Tanya thought that the good plotline and the characters kept her attention. This incited the audience to keep watching the TV-series.

Following Akas and McCabe (2007), we could claim that Nordic Noir TV-series can be defined as 'quality TV': because of their narrative technique, suspense, character development, actors and the story length.

Additionally, several of our interviewees commented on the way the TV-series were built:

David: *"I think they tend to be distinguished by having a single plot line <Scandinavian series>, in UK series every episode is a different story. The Scandinavian series has a richness of characters, story and detail due to a long story running."* (p. xiv, 18-23)

David thought, that the long running span of a season, gave richness to the TV-series, which added to its uniqueness. The Killing, for example, brought a new twist to crime series by resolving one crime per series, with a long-spanning run (Waade & Jansen, 2013). When aired, the Nordic Noir TV-series was different from what had been seen before on British television.

Postman (1987) explained that non-quality television “offers viewers a variety of subject matter, requires minimal skills to comprehend it, and is largely aimed at emotional gratification” (1987, pp. 88-89). In contrast to this definition, the Nordic Noir productions used plot line complexity, which required extensive focus from the audience. Each episode of *The Bridge* and *The Killing* created story complexity by uncovering different layers of the investigation process. This was why their audiences had to pay great attention to the series. As a consequence of this, the viewers developed a great loyalty towards the TV-series. It also had to be noted that such a manipulative storyline was rather unusual and unique for the British audience.

To conclude this subsection, the quality of the Nordic Noir TV-series and the duration of the stories made them unique in the eyes of its British audience. This was why we thought that this uniqueness was another factor explaining its success in the UK.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Tourism and Film Industry Professional’s Interviews

Within the previous subsection, we discovered that the British audience found the quality and uniqueness of the TV-series in its plot line and its characters. Film industry professionals elaborated on this:

Bo Ehrhardt: *“So when we want to make what we think is quality, the audience has to believe that the characters are real persons.”* (p. lxxxix, 3-6)

In order to create a quality TV-series, the film producer of *The Bridge* focused on making the characters realistic. One may argue that well developed characters increase the audiences’ enjoyment of the TV-series.

Additionally, Peter Schepelern, the professor in media studies provided us with his view on whether he would consider the Nordic Noir TV-series to be of good quality:

Peter Schepelern: *“I would consider that this TV-series is quality TV of course. [...] The Killing, especially with its visual side, is artistically interesting.”* (pp. xcvi-xcvii, 24-20)

In his mind, artistically made TV-series was seemingly considered to be of a high quality. In accordance with McCabe and Akass (2007), this is something what goes with the definition of quality television mentioned in the previous subsection. According to the film industry professionals, the artistic approaches to these TV-series are their major

attribute. This was a differentiating element of other similar British productions, adding uniqueness to the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Observations Conducted During the Nordic Noir Tours in Copenhagen

During the observations, it became apparent to us that the participants found the TV-series to be unique. They displayed a huge interest in everything related to the Nordic Noir TV-series, something that was expected due to the nature of the tour. On the other hand, it could not be known completely if the participants had actually watched the TV-series beforehand, or if they were just curious about it.

The engagement and questions asked determined that they had in fact watched the series before participating. They displayed a large knowledge about characters, plot and settings. The uniqueness of the TV-series goes hand in hand with the concept of quality television. 'Quality TV' may be defined, as a TV-series that for example, is carefully constructed, well acted, well filmed and based on a good story plot (Cardwell, 2007).

When observing the participants in the Nordic Noir tours, it became apparent to us that the participants indeed seemed to judge the shows and the characters as being of high quality.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British press articles

The review of the British articles gave us a clear picture of the way the TV-series were perceived by British journalists. Many articles described them as well-acted shows, having good story lines. We saw this as key elements of a quality television program. Indeed, quality TV may be defined as carefully constructed productions, which are well acted, well filmed and based on a good story plot (Cardwell, 2007). Some newspapers went as far as saying that "*the Danish make (probably) the best TV drama in the world*" (p. cxlvi, 9) and "*make superb TV*" (p. cxlvi, 10). The British press enthusiasm about these TV-series showed that the journalists were not used to productions of similar quality.

In connection with the belief, that for good quality to be present, the productions have to be well constructed and filmed, the British press also gave a good argument for this to be present. With: "*Midsomer Murders in Denmark: British TV goes Nordic.*" (Crace, 2013), it may be claimed that for them to seek influence in Denmark, the Danish way of doing television should be viewed as good quality.

Uniqueness of the Fictional Characters and the Identification with Them

In addition to the uniqueness of the TV-series, the characters and their portrayal were one of the primary influences for our interviewees to keep watching and enjoying the TV-series. Good character development enhanced the British audience's liking of the TV-series. In this part, we will analyse three sets of our data. Firstly we will look at the interviews conducted with the British audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series. Secondly, we will investigate the interviews conducted with the tourism and film industry professionals. Thirdly, we will study the British press articles about the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

It became apparent in the audience's interviews that the characters stunned them:

Connor: *"Saga...she is great. She is just so... I think to a British eye she is so...outrageous in the way she is."* (p. xxxvii, 13-14)

Connor was not the only one of our interviewees who felt Saga to be a special character. Indeed, many interviewees made comments about her personality, describing her as *"direct"* (p. xx, 24), *"interesting"* (p. xxxii, 7), *"cold"* (p. lxxx, 6-9) etc. It seemed that she was a kind of character everybody had different feelings about. Saga Norén is by far not the only character within the Nordic Noir TV-series that has attracted the attention and emotions of our interviewees.

Other interviewee viewed Martin Rohde as a remarkable character:

Bridget: *"I think it was the relationship in The Bridge which was the interesting side of it, the relationship between Saga and Martin. He was an interesting one."* (p. xxvi, 11-13)

She labelled Martin as an uncommon male character. Moreover, she found the relationship between Martin and Saga interesting. The development of their relationship was one of the major aspects that kept the interest of the audience. Another strong element of the series was its unusual and different characters. Saga was portrayed as insensitive and cold. These characteristics usually attributed to a male detective. In sharp contrast to Saga, Martin was seen as weak and emotional.

Birgitte Nyborg from Borgen was also noticed as a strong and interesting character by our interviewees:

Mary: *“The characters in Borgen and particularly the prime minister, like all the difficulties that she had in her personal life, her children, and you felt it was real, you could relate.”* (p. xviii, 15-17)

In opposition to the unusual character of Saga Norén, Birgitte Nyborg was named as a very realistic character portrait. The audience could easily relate to her life: she had issues with her kids, her husband and trouble to find an equilibrium between her professional and personal life; It was especially noted by the British female audience. In order to be entertained, the audience had to be in contact with or relate to fictional characters. This is how the audience would develop a positive relationship and even an identification with them. This would increase their liking of the TV-series.

Our interviewees also became interested in Sarah Lund, the detective from The Killing:

Sue: *“I do like Sarah Lund in The Killing because she doesn’t have many social skills.”*
(p. lxix, 1-3)

Sara Lund’s lack of social skills appeared to be a main reason for the liking of the character. It made her rather realistic.

The general idea emerging from this was that all three TV-series were praised for their unusual portrayal of their main characters. Our interviewees found it uncommon and fascinating. In general, the characters were found to be unique, with personality traits and life patterns easy to relate to. Moreover, the effect the watching of the TV-series had on the interviewees was a strong identification with fictional characters. The ability to relate with the fictional characters elaborated on the enjoyment of the Nordic Noir TV-series.

The identification with fictional characters became one of the primary researched fields within the study of media entertainment (Igartua, 2010). Here, the concept of what entertainment was in our minds directly linked to the identification with the fictional characters. Igartua argued that *“for entertainment to be able to exist, a basic need must be satisfied: the need to come into contact with or relate to media characters”* (2010, p. 347). What this quote meant was, that the audience seek to relate with the fictional characters.

As described in the previous subsection, many of our interviewees saw the Nordic Noir TV-series characters as different compared to what they were accustomed to. Consciously or unconsciously, several of our interviewees showed signs of having a personal and sometimes emotional connection with the characters:

Jack: *“I like the main figures, they seem to be quite understated. They seem to be quite relatable [...] they seem to be quite tangible in a sense.”* (p. lxxii, 8-10)

Jack had a strong connection with the characters of the show. Cohen argued that the interaction between the audience and the fictional media characters are a mechanism *“through which audience members experience reception and interpretation of the text from the inside, as if the events were happening to them”* (2001, p. 245). It seemed the characters’ vulnerability made them more real and increased Jack’s empathy. Jance elaborated on it by saying that she felt a very strong connection with the overall Nordic Noir TV-series:

Jance: *“I can’t explain it. [...] I can’t say there is a particular reason. [...] It seems they were just made for me. [...] Perhaps I should have been a Scandinavian, I don’t know.”*
(p. lxii, 21-23)

She claimed to feel like the Nordic Noir TV-series were made for her, she even felt Scandinavian. The ability to have this strong connection with the TV-series showed us, how easily relatable the programs were to the audiences.

Igartua (2010) conceptualised the aspect of identification through fictional characters with the following categories:

- Emotional empathy
- Cognitive empathy
- Sharing or internalizing the character’s goal and absorption

The emotional empathy is defined as *“the ability to feel what the characters feel and become effectively involved in a vicarious way”* (Igartua, 2010, p. 348). One of the examples of this was Bridget, who spoke of her connection with Sarah Lund:

Bridget: *“Even though she is a cop she looks vulnerable. And also because she is impulsive you feel like protective towards her because she doesn’t always take the right decisions I would say, it makes you feel protective.”* (p. xxvi, 18-20)

Bridget felt strongly connected with Sarah Lund. Sarah Lund increased Bridget's empathy and engagement to the fictional story.

The second concept is the cognitive empathy. It may be seen as "*adopting the point of view of or putting oneself in the place of the characters*" (Igartua, 2010, p. 348). This aspect was only seen in one of the interviewees:

Jance: "*I'd love to be one of them <the characters> [...] Probably this is what I would like to be.*" (p. lxiii, 7-9)

Jance confessed relating to the fictional characters; she could even imagine herself becoming like one of them. This showed that well developed characters could have a profound effect on the audience.

Lastly, sharing or internalizing the character's goal and absorption was defined as the following: "*having the sensation of becoming the character or a temporal loss of self-awareness and imagining the story as if one were one of the characters*" (Igartua, 2010, p. 348). This was observed in one of the interviews:

Jack: "*She <the prime minister> was very much the underdog [...] so I think there is quite a underdog mentality, and ourselves in the UK we also quite like the underdog mentality.*" (p. lxxii, 23-25)

We could easily understand from this, one reason for the popularity of Borgen in the UK. In this example, Jack generalized that the British population might like the series due to a shared mentality with its fictional characters. It was likely that this could have served as a foundation for the British audience's involvement into the series.

The other consequence of this empathy towards the fictional characters is that "*the greater identification is likely to lead to greater enjoyment of the messages*" (Cohen, 2001, cited in Igartua, 2010, p. 350). It appeared that our interviewees enjoyed the TV-series partly because of the self-recognition in the fictional situations.

To conclude, many interviewees felt connected with the characters. The audience perceived the fictional characters as "*real people*", and thereby recognized themselves in the stories. In addition, we believe that the portrayal of the characters played a major role in the TV-series success in the UK.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Tourism and Film Industry Professional's Interviews

When it came to the uniqueness of the Nordic Noir characters, Bo Ehrhardt, explained that the characters' complexity was of great importance to them:

Bo Ehrhardt: *"It was very important for us to <show the character private and professional life> that gave it really big quality. First of all we had the lead characters, they are the most important to us-and what happens to them."* (p. lxxxix, 9-16)

According to Bo Ehrhardt, the strong leading characters were of great importance to them. It appeared that the well-developed characters of the TV-series were one of the factors motivating the audience to watch *The Bridge*. One might argue that the team behind *The Bridge* noticed this interest and applied it in the production.

The way the characters are portrayed is a decision made by the producers and the writers of the TV-series. It was thus likely to believe that the fictional characters were intentionally made to serve as a bond between the audience and the stories plot:

Bo Ehrhardt: *"So when we want to make what we think is quality, you have to have believable characters, real persons. So when speaking about Martin in *The Bridge*, yes there has been put a lot of thought and energy from the writers into creating a real character and not just a police officer at work."* (p. lxxxix, 3-6)

Bo Ehrhardt, spoke about the process behind Martin Rohde's creation. As mentioned in the subsection Identification with Fictional Characters, the ability to relate with fictional characters received a positive response from the audience and increased their interest in watching the TV-series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Press Articles

The British newspapers highlighted the uniqueness of the characters. The British press were in general focused on the fact that many of the protagonists of the Nordic Noir TV-series were in fact women.

Gilbert (2012) spoke of how the female leads *"exports the impression that the Danish society is a lot more equal than most"*. Additionally he highlighted how rare it was to see *"strong, multi-faceted and (crucially) more mature female protagonists"* (cxliv, 11-13) in television. Additionally, Sara Lund is described as a *"dour, humourless, asexual, closed down, depressive and obsessional"* character (Billen, 2011).

Following Akas and McCabe (2007) we could claim that Nordic Noir TV-series could be defined as 'quality TV': because of, amongst many other things, character development and actors. In the case of the British press, they seemed to have an extensive focus on the female protagonists.

Many journalists praised Sidse Babett Knudsen, the main actress in Borgen (p. cxliii, 27). The other said that Sara Lund in The Killing did a "*perfect*" interpretation of a detective narrator (p. cxliv, 1-2). The British newspapers emphasized how real the fictional characters were and praised the quality of the Nordic Noir TV-series. Indeed, this emphasis on the reality of the characters is something, which Igartua (2010) found important. He argued that, "*from another point of view, for entertainment to be able to exist, a basic need must be satisfied: the need to come into contact with or relate to media characters*" (Igartua, 2010, p. 347).

The large emphasis on the media characters in the British press undoubtedly had an effect on the reader's perception the fictional characters. It was likely that the increased focus increased the audience's attention to the fictional characters, which led to further identification with them and increased the enjoyment of the TV-series.

To sum, the uniqueness of the characters and the identification with them appeared in the eyes of the interviewees, the British newspapers as well as various film professionals. The characters were seen as very complex and differently portrayed than what the interviewees had been used to in British TV-series. They found the characters easy to identify with, which meant a higher degree of enjoyment when watching the TV-series.

The British press articles emphasized the female protagonists. It recognized the TV-series uniqueness as well as their strong and unusual characters. The film industry professionals also classified the Nordic Noir TV-series by their plot lines and good character development through the series as one of the major reasons for their success.

The Fascination with the Criminal and Political Genre

We believed that the long and strong history Brits have with crime fiction might have paved the way for the Nordic Noir TV-series success. Knowing that political and crimes TV-series had a long running span in the UK, the broadcaster decision to air Nordic Noir TV-series corresponded to the strong British appetite for this genre.

The major attribute of the crime genre that attracts the most attention of the audience is its ability to invite the viewer to participate in the story. When following the story line, the audience gets the same clues as the detective. This means, the criminal case is analysed together with the story narrators. Furthermore, such participation enables the viewer to think about possible solutions for the case. The spectator of the TV-series has an opportunity to make equally right or wrong assumptions as the detective does (Forshaw, 2012). This was how Jane explained her interest in the crime series:

Jane: *“Well I suppose, it’s solving the mystery, isn’t it? And looking for clues to find what has exactly happened. And it must be that people find it quite intriguing.”*
(p. xxxi, 9-12)

One of the strengths of crime fiction is the ability to invite its audience to participate in the investigation. Jane confessed getting involved in the story by considering and trying to guess various crime scenarios.

Murder cases point out where the evil is hidden in modern societies (Forshaw, 2012). Welfare societies seem to be the most disturbed when crimes happen: The more welfare and security the individual possesses, the less likely they are to experience a trauma, or become a victim (Coates & Morrison, 2004).

Lois: *“It’s really far fetched. It could never happen in real life. You know you couldn’t really have the events that happened in The Bridge for example. Where you have this person that is getting his plan, who is killing the people in extreme ways, with poison and ... that couldn’t happen in real life! But it didn’t matter. It didn’t matter on bit because it was greatly done.”* (p. xliii, 22-26)

Lois could not relate herself with the events portrayed in The Bridge. According to her, this could not happen in real life. Her belief lied in her cultural and social experiences shaped by her living in a country with a functioning welfare system. This explained why some people found the crime genre fascinating but unrealistic.

Political dramas appear to introduce society to fictional inside dramas based within political circles. It was worth remarking that mainstream television simplifies real time political issues in order to make it more understandable for the viewer (Iyengar, 1994). Giving the audience access to backstage political stories might be one of the reasons for Borgen popularity in the UK.

Jonny: *“In Borgen you got the balance between working and family. You got the political reality.”* (p. x, 7-10)

Jonny considered Borgen as portraying the political realities of Denmark. The TV-series gave him an insight into political secrets and machinations and raised his curiosity.

We demonstrated that crime and political drama were appealing the audience differently. The crime drama took the audience by the hand and walked the viewer through the investigation, which increased the audience’s involvement into the plotline. The political drama gave its viewers a new perspective on the backstage of political realities. The viewer got an idea of how the life of important public figures was. The Nordic Noir TV-series had qualities corresponding to British crime and political genre traditions, which could have served as their primary motivation to start watching the Nordic Noir TV-series.

The Differentiation from British Series

When looking at the Nordic Noir TV-series and their British counterparts, it soon became obvious to us that there were many differences between them. Differences might explain why people were loyal to the Nordic Noir TV-series. In order to fully understand why the British people showed an interest in the Nordic Noir productions, it was important to clarify what kind of TV-series they were used to watch in the past.

In this subsection of the analysis, we will focus on the main differences between the British productions and the Nordic Noir productions.

To start with, some interviewees noticed several similarities between the two productions:

Jack: *“ It’s actually pretty impressive to be honest, it was filmed in the same high standard as BBC set themselves for their drama.”* (p. lxxiii, 4-6)

Jack spoke about the high standard of filming in both of the productions. Knowing that the interviewee perceived the BBC as having high standards regarding its productions qualities, this served as a measurement of the quality of the Nordic Noir TV-series. Jack named the Nordic Noir TV-series to have the BBC productions quality. This quote showed one common attribute between Nordic Noir and the British TV-series. This increased the Nordic Noir productions values.

However, most of the interviewees found the Nordic Noir and British TV-series different from each other. We believed their originality encouraged people to watch them; they were a new approach to a well-known genre. The interviewees saw differences in the way the plot and stories unfolded:

Sue: *“British dramas [...] are quite typical, because I do watch a lot of those, and the more you watch you can always guess who’ done it.”* (p.l xviii, 23-25)

Lois: *“The stories were intriguing, particularly in The Killing, you could never guess who did it because they have, you know 10 different choices. So you’re like ‘Oh maybe it’s him!’, ‘no, it’s him!’.”* (p. xliii, 18-20)

When asked ‘What are the differences between the Nordic Noir and British TV-series?’ Sue thought that the intrigues of the British productions were more predictable. According to Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg (1987), viewers tend to like demanding program more than the ones that are easy to follow and predict. This meant that she appreciated the complexity of the Nordic Noir TV-series. Lois felt that, while watching *The Killing*, she could never guess who the murderer was. The intrigue kept her in a constant suspense. This difference partly explained the inclination to watch the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Another difference was the fact that the Nordic Noir TV-series was considerably longer than their British counterparts. Whereas most British TV-series had a new story for every episode, the Nordic Noir TV-series stretched their story over the whole season. Our interviewees noticed one of the primary advantages with the longer running span:

David: *“I think they tend to be distinguished by having a single plot line <Scandinavian series>, in UK series every episode is a different story. The Scandinavian series has a richness of characters, story and detail due to a long story running.”* (p. xiv, 18-23)

The main advantage according to David was the possibility for the producers and writers to develop the stories and the plot. The extended running time enabled them to add complexity to their plotline, focusing on the mood and the settings. As mentioned, the plotline of the Nordic Noir TV-series was one of the main attributes found to be captivating.

A summary statement made by one of the interviewees when asked if she thought that a similar British productions could achieve the same popularity as the Nordic Noir

productions, the answer was clear *“No, no, I don’t think so.”* (p. lxv, 16-18). This honest answer summarized the general feeling of differentiation between British and Nordic Noir TV-series.

In this subsection about the Uniqueness of the TV-series and of its characters, we got a rather clear understanding of whether the Nordic Noir TV-series were perceived as unique in the UK.

In the eyes of our interviewees, and thus a segment of those watching the shows in Britain, it was clear that the TV-series are immensely popular. The plot lines were considered captivating, exciting and never dull. They were considered to be full of details and very involving.

The characters were liked for their uncommon or sometimes odd characteristics and behaviour. The TV-series were praised for their insight into the lives of the characters. They felt connected with the fictional characters to the point they could even identify with them.

Finally, the Nordic Noir TV-series was considered to be superior to British productions in both its quality and plotline. Its uniqueness belonged to its complexity and multi-layered aspect.

The Effect of Subtitled TV and Foreign TV-series

Miller (2009) claimed, that most English speaking people would not watch foreign movies due to the subtitles, causing them ‘inconvenience’. The major reason for this: Reading while following the plot requires more attention than just following something that is in one’s native language. However, she further elaborated on the idea that non-English productions are worth as much attention as the ones coming from the English-speaking countries.

The final concept we will touch upon in this subsection of our analysis is the possible effect of watching subtitled TV-series. We had several assumptions about what effect subtitles could have had on the viewers’ perception of the British Nordic Noir TV-series. We believed, that the subtitles could have been perceived as inconvenient or, the opposite, could have created more attention to the series. The analysis of the interviews with the British audience will first help us to get a clearer view on their experiences

watching subtitled television. In addition, we will analyse the opinion of the film and tourism industry professionals.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

We realised that some interviewees perceived a subtitled productions to be an indicator of a higher quality:

Jance: *“I think one needs a certain amount of intelligence to watch them. Certainly because you have to watch it with subtitles, secondly, there is always an intrigue in the background.*

[...] You got so many things going on. You have to try watching and read on the side.”

(p. lxvi, 1-5)

Jance perceived the subtitles to be demanding; she noted that it was not easy to focus on reading subtitles while following complex stories. We realised Jance did not find subtitled programs a pleasant watching experience as it demanded extra attention and focus. As Waade and Jensen (2013) said, such programs do not permit multi-tasking and the viewers are made to closely follow the plot. Moreover, Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg (1987) claimed, demanding programs still tend to get a high degree of liking from their audience. Their viewers are made to pay more attention to the plot line, which on the other hand is how they tend to get more engaged into the story. Indeed, Connor and Jack spoke about the need for concentration:

Connor: *“It makes you very focused on what they are actually telling to each other.”*

(p. xxxviii, 19)

Jack: *“Well I’ve watched films with subtitles before and generally speaking [...] you do have to spend more time concentrating.”* (p. lxxiii, 7-9)

Subtitles arguably required more focus in order to not miss the twists and turns in the stories. This need for maintaining focus was also rewarding since it provided the viewer with a more complete and thorough picture of what was happening on screen. It enabled the audience to deepen themselves in the stories, thus generating a better understanding of the subtitles and of the plot line. A final consequence of this is the possibility to even develop and maintain the viewers’ loyalty towards the shows.

We cannot argue that in the eyes of the Brits, the subtitled productions could be linked to the notion of quality:

Jonny: *“Just because it’s subtitled doesn’t necessarily insure quality.”* (p. xi, 3)

Jonny did not see subtitles as feature of television quality. On the other hand, Jack saw why some people would take it as quality simply because it was foreign and subtitled:

Jack: *“Maybe those who are less educated on the media... I could imagine that for those who don’t watch that many foreign films or foreign productions, then yes I could be seen as <a feature of quality >.”* (p. lxxiii, 10)

What Jack claimed was, that the perception of subtitled television is different from individual to individual. Several of our interviewees experienced watching foreign productions before starting watching the Nordic Noir TV-series. This was why the subtitles did not negatively affect their interest in the Nordic Noir TV-series. It may have even enhanced the positive experience. Frost (2011) claimed that *The Killing* was paving the way for a trend of subtitled European TV-series. It proved that it was possible for overseas TV-series to be successful in the UK even if subtitled. The Nordic Noir TV-series could have challenged English ‘language of advantage’ (Jensen & Waade, 2013):

Tanya: *“I like watching foreign films anyway. [...] I quite like watching foreign films and hearing different languages.”* (p. lvi, 14-15)

To sum, we observed that it was mainly our interviewees’ television watching habits that had an effect on how subtitled Nordic Noir TV-series were perceived. The subtitles served as a tool to increase the audience involvement and focus on the plotline, thus creating enhanced loyalty towards the series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Film Industry Professional’s Interviews

In this subsection, we will analyse the professionals’ point of view of the effect the subtitles had on the Nordic Noir TV-series audience.

In connection with the aspects of quality television it became evident that people did not necessarily view subtitles as a quality mark. However, some of the film industry professional considered the subtitled TV-series programs to appear more intellectual:

Jonathan Sadler: *“I think people felt a little bit special, a little bit like they were being something in worth while rather than watching some trash on TV.”* (p. cvii, 7-9)

Jonathan Sadler, the director of the company that distributes the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK believed that there was a connection between watching the subtitled foreign television and the enhancement of self-perception. He believed that some people would feel special by watching the subtitled TV-series. Barwise, Andrew and Ehenberg (1987) argued that when watching demanding programs that require the viewers' effort, enhanced self-gratification were created. Following Jonathan Sadler, the subtitled Nordic Noir TV-series could be considered as demanding programs. This was why we believed that some of the British audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series got higher self-perception by watching the TV-series.

Jonathan Sadler also claimed, that the British audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series felt that the foreign TV-series could be perceived as exotic:

Jonathan Sadler: *"They thought that it <Nordic Noir TV-series> it felt a little bit exotic."*

(p. cvii, 10-15)

Hearing a foreign and no well-known language appeared to add exotism to the Nordic Noir TV-series. In the eyes of Jonathan Sadler it made these TV-series more attractive.

Finally, Bo Ehrhardt, the producer of the Bridge, explained how extraordinary it was for subtitled shows to gain popularity in the UK:

Bo Ehrhardt: *"We have made feature films for twenty years, and one of the most difficult places for us to sell a Danish language film, even if we have won a price in Cannes or a big festival, we can never sell it to the UK because they don't want to see anything with subtitles."* (p. xc, 1-5)

The quote revealed a struggle when it came to selling Danish language productions in the UK. Bo Ehrhardt found it surprising that the Nordic Noir TV-series could get that much success in the UK. It proved that the subtitles were not an obstacle to the success of foreign language productions in the UK. We can conclude that the Nordic Noir productions qualities overcame the language barrier.

In this subsection, we showed that generally subtitles were not perceived as an attribute of the TV-series. Moreover, even if the audience did not necessarily enjoyed watching subtitled TV-series, it increased its focus and thereby enhanced its liking and loyalty towards it. Additionally, the British audience positively welcomed the Nordic Noir TV-series despite the traditional resistance of the subtitled television programs in the UK

market. Finally, some even thought, that the subtitles added a certain value and feeling of authenticity.

Results of the Analysis of the Reasons for Watching the Nordic Noir TV-series

This section analysed the reasons behind the Nordic Noir TV-series success in the UK.

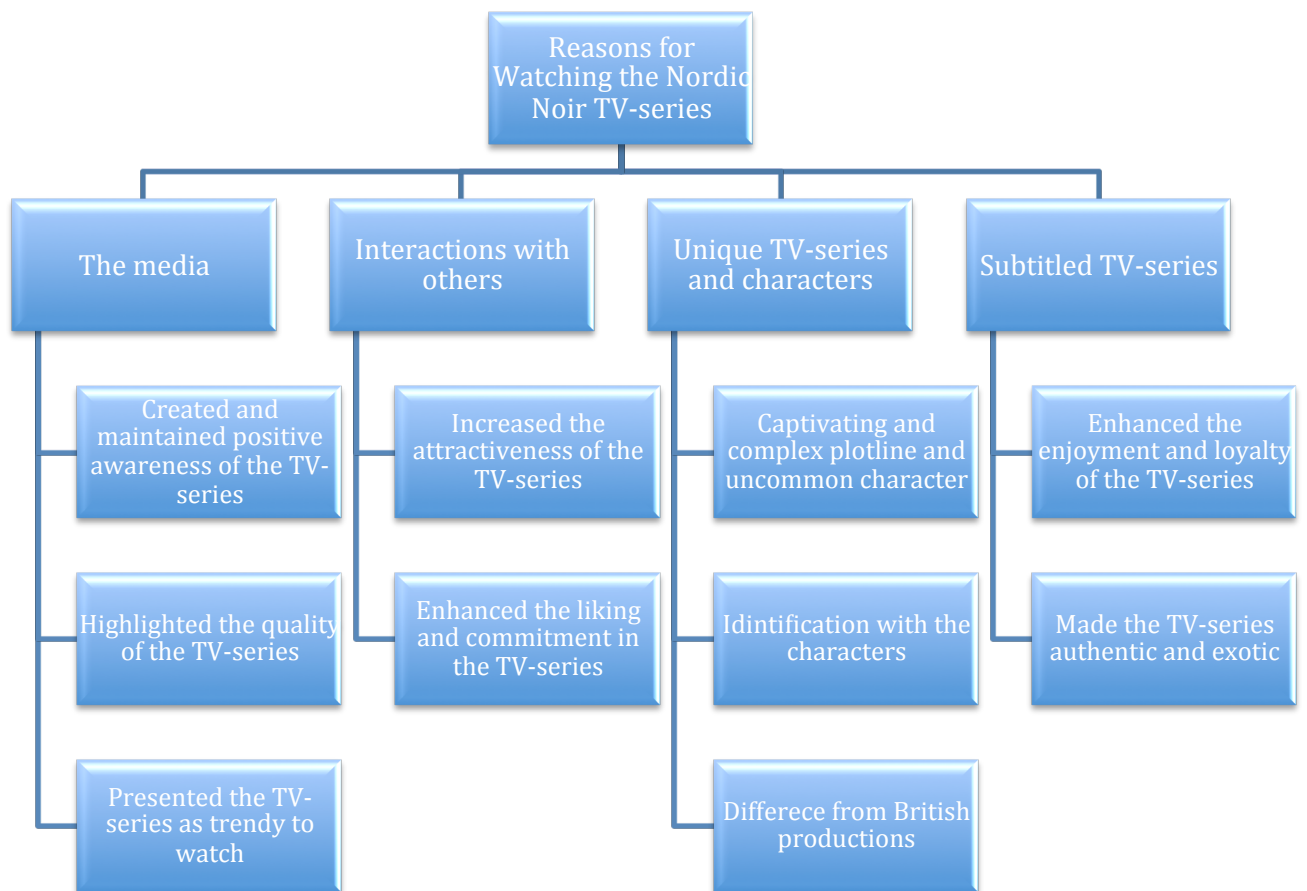


Figure 8: Reasons for Watching the Nordic Noir TV-series

First, we noticed the British press positivity regarding Nordic Noir TV-series. It praised the characters' complexity, the well thought-out plotline and remarkable visual productions. By highlighting these qualities the British press enhanced the Brits enjoyment of these TV-series. The reviews could shape the British audience perception of the TV-series as it was unconsciously compelled to notice the named qualities. The

British press highlighted the success the Nordic Noir TV-series received in the UK presenting them as a new nation's trend. We saw acquaintances and social media influence as another aspect of the Nordic Noir TV-series success. Indeed, seeing the acquaintances liking of the TV-series increased one's motivation to continue watching them. This could also enhance the audience commitment, as it would conform with the peers' hobbies, in our case, the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Our interviewees found the Nordic Noir TV-series different from the British productions, which they were accustomed to. They particularly valued the uncommon personality of the characters and the plotline complexity. This was what the British audience noted as the greatest quality of the TV-series. For us, these were the elements that linked the TV-series with a notion of uniqueness, differentiating them from the British television productions.

We lastly analysed how the subtitles affected the British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers' experience. Indeed, we had to note that this success of the Nordic Noir TV-series challenged the idea that the foreign language productions hardly succeed in the UK. The Danish TV-series managed to transform the subtitle reading experience into one of their productions values. The audience perceived it as adding a focus to the plotline thereby, enhancing involvement and therefore creating the viewers loyalty.

The Nordic Noir TV-series Influence on the Image of Denmark

In this section, we will analyse the impact watching Nordic Noir TV-series had on its British viewers' perception of Denmark. Our analysis leans on several theoretical assumptions, mainly provided by Shapiro and Chock (2004), Chen and Phou (2013), Hung *et. al.* (2012). Their academic papers will enable us to analyse how Denmark was perceived in the eyes of the Brits. Moreover, how they perceived it when watching Nordic Noir TV-series and how they separated reality from the seen fiction. The findings of this section led us to understand if the image of Denmark changed after watching Nordic Noir TV-series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

For this analysis subsection, we asked our interviewees to describe the image of Denmark they had. This information allowed us to understand how the image they had in their mind was constructed.

When we asked our interviewees what their first thoughts about Denmark were, we heard many positive responses. For example, Jonny named the Danish society as *"forward thinking"* (p. xi, 8) and *"progressive, well functioning"* (p. xi, 4). David elaborated on this idea by adding that he thought of Denmark as a *"well-functioning social democracy"* (p. xv, 6-7). Jance spotted and named the country's environmental qualities:

Jance: *"I always think that it seems to be quite green [...] I mean not grass [...] recycling and lots of bicycles, people who are going to stop traffic and things like that. Seems like a very clean country, people, most people speak English, people seem to be very pleasant."*
(p. lxiv, 10-15)

Jance raised the aspects of Danes' environmental consciousness and friendliness. Chen and Phou (2013) talked about destination image and destination personality. They named them as two different but related concepts. Destination image, according to them, involves subjective knowledge of a destination, while destination personality refers to a brand personality. These quotes embedded both concepts: Jonny, David and Jance talked about the image of Denmark's personality. However, Jance was the only one reflecting on Denmark's image by highlighting its cycling and recycling habits. Our interviewees had a personal perception of Denmark rather than knowing precise facts.

This was why we could conclude that they had a lack of knowledge about the country. Regardless of this, their assumption about Denmark was mainly positive.

Several of our interviewees' answers allowed us to conclude that family members or acquaintances living in Denmark might have had an influence on their perception of the country:

Mary: *"Probably before she <her daughter> went to Denmark, I kind of thought of it as a place where things were very organized, and people had a good life. And, you know, there was a lot of farming. Agriculture was probably important. Before she went, I actually didn't think too much about it as a design place [...]. I thought of it as an eco-friendly place where people cared for the environment."* (p. xix, 3-8)

This statement showed, that Mary learned new things, such as Danish design, after her daughter moved to Denmark. Another interviewee, Will, confessed, that everything what he thought about Denmark now was *"mostly influenced by the Danish <people>"* he knew (p. xxii, 23). He elaborated on the idea he had about Denmark:

Will: *"A lot of nature, also a very modern country where the people are quite progressive and have this nice way of communicating to each other."* (p. xxii, 24-27).

What caught our attention was, that in his answers, Will mainly focused on society and communication between Danes. Further on we heard him pointing out the *"solidarity between people"* (p. xxii, 29). There, we found another example of the country's image personality: Will found the idea of Danish solidarity to be personally appealing. Furthermore, knowing that he had close and positive encounters with people from Denmark, we assumed his willingness to develop a stronger relationship with the country he had yet not been to (Chen & Phou, 2013).

Other interviewees claimed finding Denmark very culturally alike to the UK:

Louis: *"Danish people [are] very similar to British people"*. (p. xlvi, 9-10)

Sue: *"I don't think it's too different from here"* (p. lxx, 13)

According to Chen and Phou (2013), perceived similarities 'like at home' with a location can also build a strong emotional relationship and a positive perception of the country.

Seemingly the only negative prejudice our interviewees expressed towards the image of Denmark was the country's relationship to alcohol. David (p. xv, 6-7) and Rachel (p.

lxxvii, 1-8) mentioned it. However, Jane objected the idea: *“I was thinking Norway was being full of alcoholic depressors [...] but probably not Denmark”* (p. xxxi, 25-26). As we have already learned, our interviewees found it hard to distinguish Denmark from the rest of Scandinavia. Therefore, this quote was important because it showed Jane treating Denmark as different from its neighbouring countries. However, David and Rachel’s link between Denmark and alcoholism showed a negative side of their perception of the country. Interestingly, high alcohol consumption did not outweigh the positively perceived features. They focused on the society’s openness, social activity and consciousness. For example Sue claimed seeing it as *“a nice country”* which seemed to *“have a high standard of living”* (p. lxx, 9-12). Jack elaborated further:

Jack: *“It comes very broadly under the Scandinavian dream, the very liberal people, the very ecologically minded. The individuals are quite friendly and also quite reserved and humble.”* (p. lxxiii, 19-22)

Jack’s image of the country was combined from many different features. MacKay and Fesenmaier (2000) discussed, how multidimensional a destination image could be. As a result of these underlying value dimensions, people notice sharing the same beliefs, attitudes and customs with another society. This could be expressed through similarities between British and Danish lifestyle, work and leisure. Strong cultural relativism, according to MacKay and Fesenmaier (2000), sometimes suggests less judgment for other cultural traditions. This could explain why alcoholism was not stigmatised as a society’s problem. It rather made the overall image of a perfectly functioning society unordinary. We realized, that our interviewees saw Denmark as a society that liked to *“have fun”* and *“party a lot”* (p. lxxvii, 1-8) but still remained fully functioning.

Overall findings of this analysis section showed that Denmark was perceived positively. Even some seemingly negative features of the society did not deteriorate Denmark’s image. This meant that in the eyes of British TV-viewers, Denmark had a strong and respectable image. We found out that our interviewees had a strong perception of Denmark’s destination personality. In connection to a destination’s image and personality, for example bike usage and people’s friendliness, the interviewees developed an overall positive emotional link to the country.

In this section we presented the image of Denmark our interviewees developed through their personal experiences, interests, and external influences such as communication

with people from Denmark. The next subsection of our analysis will present how the British audience saw Denmark's portrayal in the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Denmark's Portrayal in the Nordic Noir TV-series

In this section, we will analyse how the British viewers perceived Denmark when watching Nordic Noir TV-series. This section will serve as a foundation for the further analysis subsection, which will explore whether the viewers could separate the fictional image of Denmark from its reality.

We asked Vanessa what image of Denmark she perceived when watching *The Bridge*, she answered by noticing its *"bleak landscape"* giving her a feeling of the country's *"open and desert"* landscapes. As well, she thought the *"the weather was always bad"* (p. lxxxiii, 17-18).

Connor thought that the people in the country were *"very spread over"* (p. xli, 7-9). The first impressions about Denmark that Connor and Vanessa expressed were related to its landscape, its urban surroundings and its weather. This seemed to correspond to Nordic Noir productions values discussed by Waade and Jensen (2013). They pointed out that bleak colours and dark grading aimed to create a particular feeling of 'Nordic melancholy'. This would connect viewers' emotions to human vulnerability and would distinguish the series from similar genre productions.

Jonny distinguished his images about Danish society in *The Killing* and *Borgen*: *"From the shows alone, with The Killing, was a bit more serious, which I took as the show was trying to keep a serious tone, portraying more Danish people as more serious"* (p. xi, 24-27). However, in *Borgen* he *"got a more all-round impression... It is basically really the same as any other country. You've got serious people, jovial people; you have intelligent and not so intelligent <people>"* (p. xii, 1-3).

The first quote corresponded to Nordic Noir's plot values presented by Waade and Jensen (2013). However, the second quote regarding *Borgen* showed that Jonny got a better overview of Danish society when watching this TV-series. Most of *Borgen* viewers pointed out that the series showed Denmark as a welfare state. Holcomb (1993) argued, that medias have a great power to create an image in customers' minds. Therefore, *Borgen* viewers got an image of Denmark as a bright, well-functioning, eco-friendly biking society. This image clashed strongly with the image of Denmark viewers received

after watching Danish crime series such as *The Killing* and *The Bridge*. We will elaborate on this in the next paragraph.

Several of our interviewees like Will and Rachel had only watch *The Killing*. Their perceived image of Denmark was affected by the surroundings of a vicious murder story. For example, in the series, Will viewed Denmark only as a “*dark and deserted and miserable place*” (p. xxii, 20-22). Nevertheless, we concluded that, as Waade and Jensen (2013) discussed, the TV-series productions qualities served their purpose. The audience perceived the plot settings in the light of darkness. What David saw of Denmark when watching the series is a great example of it:

David: “*I guess the impression you get is [...] cold temperatures and cold emotions, darkness, paranoia, a permanent threat of alcoholism.*” (p. xv, 20-22)

From this quote we witnessed David’s emotions watching the series, embracing a feeling of the Northern seasonality (Forshaw, 2013). Gray (2014) said that the use of shadows and darkness in *The Killing* and *The Bridge* led its audiences on a journey into the darkest depths of human nature and psyche. In contrast to this, *Borgen* gave an insight in the political backstage, using Danes daily life situations. For political dramas, the risk was to loose the viewers’ engagement because it could have been found as too complex to follow (Iyengar, 1994). This explained the strong effect the TV-series had on the viewer’s imaginations when seeing many daily real life situations. Furthermore, it could build an emotional relationship with the series. As Chen and Phou (2013) explained, familiarity with images seen on the TV screen can give the viewers a stronger image of the destination, something that can inspire various ideas and impressions about a country. *Borgen* created an appealing image of Denmark due to its combination of many Danish life style features and dramatic political stories (Chen & Phou, 2013). The viewers, reflecting on their background knowledge of Denmark, associated many TV-series episodes to the actual realities of the country. As a consequence of this, the viewers perceived the fictional political stories as being close to reality. In contrast to this, the stories of *The Killing* and *The Bridge*, focusing on brutal murders, did not have much effect on the viewers, because they had a strongly positive preconceived image of Denmark.

In the next subsection, we will talk how Nordic Noir TV-series viewers separated fiction from reality.

Fiction Versus Reality

In this subsection we will analyse the impact the Nordic Noir series had on British perception of Denmark. Waade and Jensen (2013) discussed that Nordic Noir TV-series had gloomy and dark settings; they also portrayed members of a troubled society, and social issues. Knowing that, television productions have a great influence in creating an image of a country and its society (Lazarsfeld, 1948). We wanted to find out whether the British audience was capable of separating fictional images of Denmark from its reality.

We asked our interviewees to describe how they perceived Denmark's portrayal in the TV-series. Before watching the TV-series, Vanessa had the image of Denmark's landscapes as *"more undulating, more colour, and brightest sky, more blue sky and sunshine"* (p. lxxxiii, 21-23) than how the TV-series portrayed it. She expressed her surprise seeing the countries being pictured as lacking of nature and green landscape. That clashed with her preconceived idea of Denmark before watching the series. Shapiro and Chock (2004) spoke about how the audiences have to deal with seeing images that they are not familiar with on the TV screen. They claimed that the more typically the people, events and locations are portrayed on the TV screens, the more realistically they will be perceived. As one of the reasons for this, Shapiro and Chock (2004) said that a person would be more likely to be influenced by the media when he is familiar with the information presented, than when it is something he has a lack of experience with. This meant that Vanessa could not relate to the image of a colourless and depressing Danish landscape. This was why she was not persuaded by it, and did not believe the visual information embedded in the fictional Nordic Noir story.

Additionally it had to be noticed that even if portrayed negatively, the audience would not necessarily get a negative image of the country (Beeton, 2006):

Rachel: *"So you get an impression that it's dark and cold all the time. But I wouldn't say, that it pictures Danish people in a bad way because I know it's fictional. But, at the end of the day bad things happen everywhere. So I know that it's fictional but it doesn't paint the people in a bad way."* (p. lxxviii, 13-16)

Rachel saw that the TV-series pictured Denmark with rather negative features but she distinguished the fiction from the reality. Moreover, she thought that the way they portrayed Denmark could be applied to any country. It could not become a

distinguishing attribute of Denmark. Furthermore, the interviewee's point was that despite the dark fictional image of the country, its society was not presented negatively.

Connor found it hard to reflect on the actual situation of Danish society since the TV-series *"focus is towards [...] criminal events, investigations"* (p. xxxvii, 20-22). When watching the TV-series, Connor did not think he could have gotten a good insight into the Danish realities. To him, the TV-series focused on criminal investigations and had little focus on a broader picture of Denmark. Connor, like Rachel, did not perceive criminal events as a reflection of Danish society. Fabianic (1997) explained, that to keep the viewer more focused on the story line, crime stories put a great emphasis on the crime and investigation procedure and gives vague details about the crime context. When looking back at the programs he had watched, Connor could only remember the crime investigation. During the interview he could not remember any societal issues that arose in the series. This was why he did not get the feeling that he could have learned anything about Denmark.

It seemed that the darkness of the series also overwhelmed Rachel's focus: *"it's just really dark. I think it paints Denmark in this really dark light"*. As she has visited Denmark before, once she saw the series, she thought that Denmark was *"really not like that"* (p. lxxvi, 1-5). Rachel's personal experiences when visiting Denmark did not match the image of the country showed on the TV-series. This differed from Vanessa, who did not have any direct experiences with Denmark. She only assumed what the country looked like, whereas Rachel could compare both, the real experiences of the country and the fictional image of it. According to Beeton (2008), since Rachel already had an idea about Denmark when visiting it, she could not relate the TV-series to reality. Therefore, Denmark's portrayal in the light of darkness was perceived as a strongly fictional image. Jane elaborated on this: *"Well I have been to Denmark. Its image in the TV-series is not exactly what you see when you are there"* (p. xxxiii, 21-23). Similar to Rachel's, Jane's direct experiences with Denmark had an effect on the way she perceived it on the TV-series. She could not relate the fictional image of the country to the one she had experienced personally.

When asked about her image of Denmark in the TV-series, Bridget answered, that she thought, *"Scandinavia is a rather safe place instead of a dangerous place"* (pp. xxvi- xxvii, 25-4). This quote once again showed how previous experiences and background

knowledge could have outweighed what was seen in the TV-series. Furthermore, Bridget pointed out that she perceived these series as a fictional drama, not necessarily reflecting on positive features of the country (pp. xxvi- xxvii, 25-4). This was why she was not trying to read too much into the series. Several other interviewees like Connor (p. xl, 11) or David (p. xv, 23-26) claimed the same. Jance said, *“I am hoping that I got a sense to know, that that country <Denmark> is not like that”* (p. lxiv, 23-24). She neglected negative features attributed to Denmark in the series. The interviewees mainly focused on the fictional story line rather than considered how it could have reflected on the real society.

Shapiro and Chock (2004) also said, that people perceive TV-productions to be more realistic if they can connect it to their daily life situations. This would explain why interviewees who saw Borgen connected its plot to the Danish political situation.

Mary: *“Then I suppose, there was some of the issues in Borgen, you had a very conservative character, who was anti-immigration [...] I suppose the kind of the fear of, maybe, Muslim terrorist... And then you were like wondering: is that typical or is that stereotypical?”*
(p. xviii, 4-9)

Because of her educational background, Mary expressed her deep interest in political dramas. She saw some of the issues of Danish society in Borgen as a possible reflection of reality. In the TV-series Mary saw fear of terrorism and anti-immigration laws – subjects rather frequently debated in current media coverage. This was why she could have gotten a sense that the series reflected real life scenarios. Iyengar (1994) claimed that political dramas tend to reflect real time political issues. We saw that the TV-series audience were much more likely to connect Danish political drama than crime stories to real life situations.

Another interviewee discussed the notion of entertainment:

John: *“I’m not sure if people watch them because they want them to reflect on Danish society. [...] They are good stories, you know. Psychology and a lot of depth and people... want to be entertained.”* (p. lii, 9-10)

Fictional stories and characters are professionally designed to entertain the viewers (Fabiac, 1997). Therefore, TV-series can contain various plot lines, which are not aiming

at reflecting reality, but rather to penetrate the viewers' imagination. This was why John perceived the series as nothing more than a way to entertain people.

In the previous subsection we learned, that the British viewers overall perception of Denmark is strongly positive. This may explain why it could not be outweighed by a visually unappealing, dark image of Denmark in *The Killing* and *The Bridge*. Moreover, the viewers tended not to believe that criminal events portrayed in the series represent actual realities in the country. This meant they saw the criminal narratives as an exception to the norms of Danish society. We concluded, that these Nordic Noir TV-series, were perceived as a form of entertainment without looking beyond the story line.

However, their perception differed when talking about Borgen, which they found to be a possibly accurate image of the political and social situation in Denmark. Our assumption was that the British audience found Borgen more similar to their daily lives. This was why it was seen as more realistic. On the other hand, *The Killing* and *The Bridge* with their dark gritty and sinister story lines made people doubt their likeliness to happen in the real life.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Tourism and Film Industry Professional's Interviews

This section of the analysis will aim to uncover film and tourism industry professionals' opinions regarding the way Nordic Noir TV-series portrayed Denmark. The findings of this section allowed us to understand whether the image of Denmark showed on the TV-series could have changed its British viewers' perception of the country.

Perception of Denmark

In the previous sections, we talked about how British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers perceived Denmark. For this section of the analysis, we asked film and tourism representatives to express their professional opinions about how they thought Denmark was perceived by Brits. This analysis part helped us realize what the film and tourism professionals thought about British people's perception of Denmark.

When talking to Dieuwertje Visser, Nordic Noir tour guide and Signe Lüth Di Liberto, visit Copenhagen representative, we got a feeling that from their point of view, Brits perceive Denmark as an unknown land:

Dieuwertje Visser: *"I think it's kind of an unknown country to many people.... It's small you know... So they hear about the welfare state [...] I don't think people know whole more than that Lego and bacon is from here."* (pp. cxiii-cxiv, 26-3)

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: *"It <little Mermaid and bacon> seem like it's what they associate with Denmark. Like I said before, the knowledge is low and lower than what you would think because Britain is not that far away from Denmark. But it is still a new destination for them."* (p. cxxvii, 20-26)

These quotes highlighted how unknown Denmark was in the eyes of the British people. Most of them, would only relate the country with stereotypical images such as bacon, Lego and the Little Mermaid. To a large extent, the Nordic Noir TV-series did not seem to play a significant role in the Brits perception of Denmark. It had to be noted that the image of Denmark did not have a negative connotation. However, Ida Katerine Skaarup's experience showed, that British tourists had a very unfavourable idea about Denmark:

Ida Katerine Skaarup: *"A common belief amongst British tourists is that Denmark is a very cold place and expensive place."* (p. cxx, 23-24)

She mentioned two subjective attributes of Denmark's image in British minds: high prices and unpleasant weather. Opposite to this, Bo Ehrhardt thought there were several well-known and even admirable aspects of the country in the Brits minds:

Bo Ehrhardt: *"I think our welfare system is admired and the fact that we have very little class difference and basically anybody can go to university. [...] This is something that is a little bit exotic and fantastic about Scandinavia for the people in the UK."* (p. xci, 1-6)

Bo Ehrhardt: *"The lifestyle and the interior design and architecture. Something that's clean and it's simple. And there is a movement in the Western world about looking inside going for the simple life... You know, what are your values in life etc. and in some strange way I think this resonates well with the Scandinavian way of living."* (p. xci, 7-11)

Bo Ehrhardt emphasised the high Danish standard of living as well as the simplicity of Danish lives, which in the eyes of the British was admirable and attractive. He chose to

call Denmark “*exotic*”, having in mind that it was different from the UK. Furthermore, he thought Brits acknowledged Denmark and gave positive attributes to it.

To sum up this chapter, we could conclude, that tourism and film industry professionals’ opinions about the British perceptions of Denmark differed due to their focus on different features of the country. The tourism industry representatives claimed, that Denmark is hardly noticeable in the UK tourism market. However, the film industry representative thought that the British recognised Denmark quite well.

In this subsection of our analysis, we explained the Brits’ perception of Denmark in the eyes of the film and tourism professionals. The following subsection will analyse what image of Denmark they experienced in the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Portrayal of Denmark in the Nordic Noir TV-series

In this subsection, we will analyse the film industry professionals’ opinions of how Nordic Noir TV-series portrayed Denmark.

When asked how our interviewee perceived the Denmark portrayed in the TV-series, Peter Schepelern said that what was displayed in the TV-series was “*a fresh new look on Copenhagen as a hellish location*” (p. xcv, 28-29). Jonathan Sadler took this idea further: “*it is a totally different look on the region, you know, quite dark stories with this strong female protagonists*” (p. cvii, 16-21). Chen and Phou (2013) discussed, that a person’s prior knowledge determines an affective response to what is seen on the screen. Therefore, a prior familiarity with Denmark could have changed the way viewers saw Denmark in the Nordic Noir TV-series. For instance, viewers who had some prior knowledge about the country before they saw the TV-series could have perceived them as ‘a fresh new look’. On the other hand, the TV-viewers who had very little knowledge about the country could have seen the series as a reflection of the actual reality.

Peter Schepelern made another point, saying that a strong plotline can attract the audience:

Peter Schepelern: “*You started at the bottom of society and you go all the way up to the rulers, to the politician and they are so rotten, all of them. I think that, combined with the holding images of such a nightly Copenhagen feeling of so decade of diversity and depravity gave the special feeling for the series.*” (p. xcv, 20-26)

He explained that the dark image the Nordic Noir TV-series created could have made these series unique. According to him, this dark image of Denmark became a positive feature of the TV-series. Beeton (2008) explained how a good story line can outweigh any bad image of the location. Elaborating on this we could claim, that Nordic Noir TV-series viewers could be lifted by a good story line despite the fact that the location was not portrayed in an appealing manner. In addition to this, the location does not have to look visually attractive to create a positive image (Beeton, 2008). In the Killing and The Bridge, Copenhagen was presented as a gloomy and dark place. However, due to the story line its viewers could have perceived it as meaningful and culturally rich place.

Peter Schepelern elaborated that:

Peter Schepelern: "In Scandinavian Nordic Noir, you would see the Scandinavian society seemingly well functioning democratic, humanistic and then, when you dig deeper, you will see a lot of awful secrets hidden. You could say that it is an element in all the suspenseful fiction that the things are different from what they look but I think that it is basically what Nordic Noir films are doing: we have these friendly looking location and then there is a dark secret buried." (p. xcvi, 12-17)

In this quote, we saw Peter Schepelern's insight into the hidden story lines. However, Shapiro and Chock (2003) claimed, that people are often unmotivated to put much thought into a media story. This allowed us to assume, that the viewers who did not watch the series closely could have possibly missed the message originally hidden in the plot. Therefore, only the facade of the story could have been seen. This would mean, that a dark side of Denmark and the city of Copenhagen could only have been perceived.

To sum up this subsection, we discovered that the professor at the Institute of Media, Cognition and Communication, Peter Schepelern and the Marketing Director at Arrow Films, Jonathan Sadler perceived Nordic Noir TV-series as high quality drama sending underlying messages to its viewers. Moreover, their insights into the plot of the stories, proposed that the Nordic Noir TV-series intentionally portrayed Denmark as a dark and gloomy location in order to strengthen the story plot. We could also conclude, that the way the TV-series were perceived by their viewers to a great extent depended on how closely the stories were followed by the viewers. Moreover, their prior knowledge of Denmark impacted the way they perceived the country in the TV-series.

In this subsection, we analysed how the film industry representatives saw Denmark's image portrayal in Nordic Noir TV-series. In the coming subsection we will summarize how the fictional stories reflects on the actual Danish reality.

Fiction Versus Reality

In this last subsection we will consider tourism and film industry professionals' opinions about how Denmark in fiction differentiate from Denmark in reality.

We asked our interviewees, which features of the Nordic Noir TV-series reflected on Danish realities. Dieuwertje Visser thought, *"Borgen is quite accurate in many ways"* (p. cxiv, 5-6). Moreover, she thought that the tour participants *"like to get to know about Denmark and the country through the series because they find it easier to relate to it and they can recognize things"* (p. cxv, 24-27). This was what she tried to show when guiding people on the tours: *"Yeah, I really try to put links between the fiction and the reality"* (p. cxiv, 14-17). We also asked her what questions she would receive most often from tourists, she answered: *"I get asked about how does it work between Swedish and the Danish. [...] How do they communicate?"* (p. cxv, 19-23). As mentioned in the previous analysis subsections, Chen and Phou (2013) claimed, that people would rather get answers penetrating their imagination and interest. As it could be seen from Dieuwertje Visser's experience, her tourists expected to hear fictional stories linked to the real life encounters. The Nordic Noir TV-series viewers expected the stories they watched to match reality. The tour participants found it easier to connect to the city of Copenhagen by listening to familiar stories from the TV-series.

However, we could not claim, that the viewers perceived fiction as reflecting on reality to a great extent. Dieuwertje Visser: *"People know that it is fiction"* (p. cxiv, 4). Indeed, Jonathan Sadler elaborated on this idea even further:

Jonathan Sadler: *"It's very grim, it's unappealing, you know, going down the areas with graffiti and lots of crimes. You wouldn't think that it is particularly appealing but people can separate the two, the realities in terms of travel."* (p. cviii, 13-16)

Jonathan Sadler claimed that the audience could separate the fictional image of Denmark from its reality. This meant that the audience would not link Denmark with the crime and the dark settings portrayed on the TV-series. The tourism and film industry professionals expressed their belief that the TV-series viewers managed to separate

fictional stories from the Danish realities. Whereas, Fabianic (1997) argued, that since most people have little direct experience with crime, television has a free hand to shape the audience's perception. Indeed, it could also create an image of the norms and conditions of the society where the crime is committed. This was why we believed we saw a clash between the professionals and the academics' points of view. In order to find an answer, we looked at Shapiro and Chock (2009) research. They claimed that perceived reality from the TV-stories could be filtered in order to enhance critical viewing. This meant, that even if British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers did not have a direct experience with Denmark, they would manage to distinguish most of the real and unreal characteristics of the TV-series story lines. According to Shapiro and Chock (2009), it seemed likely that when processing media stories people are unwilling to devote a lot of thought to make judgements about perceived realities. We thought that the notion of typical and atypical elements could be used in this context. Atypical things can be defined as items that are plausible but are not a necessary part of the story. On the other hand, embedding typical elements in an unreal story makes it appear to be more real. This was why the typical and atypical elements embedded in the television stories enabled the viewers to make contextually appropriate judgments with a minimum of mental effort.

It had to also be noted that the tour guide found Borgen reflecting many Danish realities. Therefore, these links were a rather important part of her Borgen tours. According to Jonathan Sadler, *The Killing* and *The Bridge* TV-series had a rather unlikely chance to be perceived as a reflection of the reality of Denmark. This was why we could conclude, that even though tourists participating in *The Killing* and *The Bridge* tour tended to connect sites in Copenhagen to the ones seen on the television, they had low expectations in finding out whether the TV-series truly corresponded to the reality of Denmark. One of the major reasons for this was a combination of typical and atypical events engaged in the story plot. Too many atypical TV-series features were perceived as unrealistic for the given location, Denmark.

In this subsection, we analysed the opinions of tourism and film industry representatives about how British viewers perceived the Nordic Noir TV-series. The next subsection will analyse data extracted from observations with regards to Nordic Noir tour participants' perception of Denmark.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Observations Conducted during the Nordic Noir Tours in Copenhagen

In this subsection we will analyse data retrieved from the observations conducted Nordic Noir Tours in Copenhagen. It will allow us to discover how the British Nordic Noir tour participants perceived the fictional TV-series stories and whether they found them applicable to the Danish realities.

Fiction Versus Reality

This subsection of our analysis will examine how the city of Copenhagen and Denmark was portrayed in the Nordic Noir tours. We believed, that the guided tour had a great power in giving its participants a new perception of the fictional situations seen on the TV-screen. Guided tours are often, or almost always, the guide's interpretation of the reality (Bruner, 2005). This was why when conducting the observations we had a close focus on how the tour-guide presented the city of Copenhagen in connection to the Nordic Noir TV-series. Another thing that interested us was how, according to the tour-guide, fictional stories were actually influenced by the Danish realities. Finally, we looked into the tour participants' reactions in order to spot if their perception of Denmark and the TV-series matched the information provided by the tour-guide.

Bruner (2005) explained how tourists seek peak experiences. Therefore, many tours are designed to provide the highlight of the locals' lives. The tours we observed were not an exception: It took us by the hand into the most frequently seen locations in *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen* (p. cxxix, 22; p. cxxx, 2; p. cxxxiii, 1; p. cxxxiv, 14). The Parliament, the city hall and the police headquarters were shown in every tour we observed.

It seemed, the backstage stories mattered more than the actual visual appearance or historical facts of the buildings. Each of the locations shown gave the participants an insight into how the places were used in the TV-series. However, Shapiro and Chock (2009) argued, that people do not necessarily seek for thorough answers on what they viewed on the television. They continued saying, that people only need interesting answers to continue processing the material. The interviewees' reactions to the stories told by the guide varied from tour to tour. We noted a common tendency to be surprised when realizing that the actions of several important TV-series scenes were filmed in studios and not in the actual buildings (p. cxxix, 24-25; p. cxxx, 2-3; cxxxiv, 24-25). This

was when, participants revealed their prejudices. Their surprise proved that it conflicted with their preconceived notions of Denmark. An example for such reactions would be when the tour guide explained, that Saga did not speak Malmö Swedish because she was from the northern part of Sweden. The participants were very surprised about it (p. cxxxvii, 10-12).

Another example of this was when one of the tours' participants falsely recognised the City Hall as being the place where Birgitte and Bent used to meet for secret conversations. Shapiro and Chock explained (2009), that individual behaviour, attitudes and beliefs are effected by what is seen on the TV. When reacting to the new information, the tour participants unconsciously showed, that they thought the TV-series corresponded to the reality. Unconsciously expressed astonishment showed which parts of the TV-series they perceived as being real.

The tour guides' focus shifted from the film series settings to the actual everyday life situations of the Danes. Cycling was one of the most highlighted attributes of the Danes' lives (p. cxxxiii, 25; p. cxxxviii, 1-2). She also talked about how biking is promoted in to Danish politics and how only few politicians drive. Moreover, she noted that Brigitte would always bike to work. However, due to security reasons she had to stop doing it after becoming the Prime Minister (p. cxxxiii, 25-27). This comment gave an idea of how accurate and detailed to the political realities Borgen actually was.

Shapiro and Chock (2003) in their study looked at how particular elements of the TV productions can be perceived. They also studied how the combination of typical and atypical elements shapes the viewers' understanding of the reality. In this context, a female Prime Minister, for the Brits could be perceived as an atypical character: British people haven't had a female Prime Minister since Margaret Thatcher. However, political stories and daily life images of Copenhagen residents might be found as typical elements of the story. Observations showed, that participants interlinked typical and atypical things they saw on the TV-screen. This had an effect on the way they perceived the general situation in Denmark.

As we learned from the tour participants' questions, several people in the Borgen tour were wondering about the prostitution situation in Denmark (p. cxxix, 19-22), meanwhile, others were interested in hearing about the welfare state model (p. cxxxv, 3-7). These questions proved us that Borgen viewers developed some interests in Danish

realities. Leaning on Shapiro and Chocks' (2009) assumptions, people compare fictional stories with the real life situations. However, they can still find an interest in something that they have not necessarily experienced personally, for example a welfare system or prostitution.

Finally, we noted that the Borgen tour provided its participants with many insights into the fictional stories in connection to the reality of Denmark. In contrast to this, The Killing and The Bridge tours mainly focused on giving information closely linked with the TV-series. This was why this tour took the people into the 'most dangerous' area of Copenhagen (p. cxxxvi, 24-25).

In the sunlight, Copenhagen did not look anything like what was displayed in the TV-series. However, the stories of the visited sights corresponded to the TV-series theme: The murder and crime. We got a feeling that the horrific crime scenes seen in the Danish TV-dramas did not have any effect on the participants' perception of the area explored on the tour. According to Shapiro and Chock (2009), the tour participants perceived crime scenes seen on the TV as atypical features of Danish society because most likely they did not associate the country with strong negative features. Moreover, before joining the tour, its participants had already familiarised themselves with Copenhagen. This was why they could evaluate if the city had any of the dangerous features seen in the TV-series.

The Killing and The Bridge tour guides' stories mainly focused on their main characters rather than the plot lines. We heard several questions about Saga Norén and Sara Lund. Tour participants found the main characters' stories very fascinating and involving. According to Busselle and Bilandzic (2009), Davis, Hull, Young and Warren (1987), the audience's capability to connect and identify themselves with the fictional characters is one of the biggest joys of watching TV-series or movies. This can even lead to identification with them, which can in turn give rise to curiosity towards their backstage stories. This interest in Sara Lund and Saga Norén revealed to us the tour participants' intense emotional bond with the characters. This may have been one of the factors for joining the Nordic Noir tour.

To sum up the subsection, the Borgen tour was linking the TV-series with the actual life situations. The tour guide emphasized how realistic the series were, reflecting real life in

Copenhagen. The Killing and The Bridge TV-series got a lot fewer comparisons with the real life encounters.

In this analysis subsection, we studied the Nordic Noir participants, their tour guide interactions and conversations during the tours. It helped us to discover possible reasons for why people joined the tours. Moreover, we got a sense of whether the tour participants' expectations of the reality corresponded to the information presented by the tour guides. In the next subsection of our analysis we will focus on the newspaper articles and their coverage in regard to the genre of Nordic Noir and its popularity.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Press Articles

In this subsection of data retrieved from the British articles we will discuss what the Nordic Noir British viewers perceived to be a new knowledge about Denmark.

What the British Learned from the TV-series?

We believed the British media had an important role in the popularity of the Nordic Noir TV-series' in the UK. Therefore, it was important to look at how the British press portrayed the series. We also wanted to see which attributes of the TV-series were emphasized, in this way influencing the readers' perception of Denmark.

The majority of articles labelled Danish Nordic Noir TV-series as a Scandinavian drama. It showed how strongly Scandinavian countries were linked to each other, and how it created a particular regional brand. According to MacKay and Fesenmaier (2009), the power of media has a huge influence on the consolidation of the image of a location. This was why Denmark's identity exposed in the public media articles affected its readers' ideas on what Denmark really was.

British newspapers considered Denmark to be a country known for producing goods of high quality. Reading the articles, one could have gotten a feeling that, everything Denmark produced and exported, seemed to be of a high standard and trendy (p. cxlvii, 1-3; 14-20). For Kimber and Richardson (1974), the media tends to popularize trends among the population. Elaborating on this idea, these positive qualities of Denmark could have created a strongly positive destination image in the readers' minds. The wording used to describe Denmark had a rather colloquial tone, for example "cool", "Scandi Fever" and its audience was "hooked" and "obsessed". Zaller (1996) claimed that the media tend to tell people what to think. Knowing how words can influence their

readers, it can be established that such media coverage gave a sense of Denmark as a being relaxed and easy-going nation.

The more frequent the released information about Denmark by the British newspapers was, the stronger message it could have brought to the people's minds. Moreover, this image seemed to be more realistic over time (Kimber and Richardson, 1974). This could even develop a socially shared set of beliefs (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) about Scandinavians as "*almost nearly perfect people*" (p. cxlvii, 17). Therefore, it could be perceived, that everything coming from the region would be admirable and acceptable.

Moreover, many articles provided readers with information about Danish "*hot Gastronomy*", "*classic design*", "*most wanted fashion*" and sent an idea that these Nordic countries have never "*been as fashionable*" (p. cxlvii, 14-18). Lazarsfeld (1948) expressed an idea, that mass media can affect opinions of individuals. This was why when reading similar content articles; Brits could have created a very positive image of Denmark and all the Scandinavian region.

The UK media brought a close look into the female leading characters' importance in the Nordic Noir TV-series (p. cxliv, 7-8). It even considered that this was a reflection of Danish society. Leaning on Greenwald and Banaji's (1995) idea, this was how another stereotype about the socially aware and equal society could have been maintained: "*the impression, that Danish society is a lot more equal than most*" (p. cxliv, 8-9).

To summarise, the frequency of the media coverage regarding particular stories can play an important part in influencing judgments about the perceived reality. As the UK media chose to positively portray the Scandinavian region, its readers experienced a very strong and positive message about Denmark. This message impacted the country's image in the eyes of the British people.

In this subsection we studied the message the UK media sent to its British audience in regard to Denmark's image. The findings will now be discussed in the next subsection.

Results of the Analysis of the Nordic Noir TV-series influence on the Image of Denmark

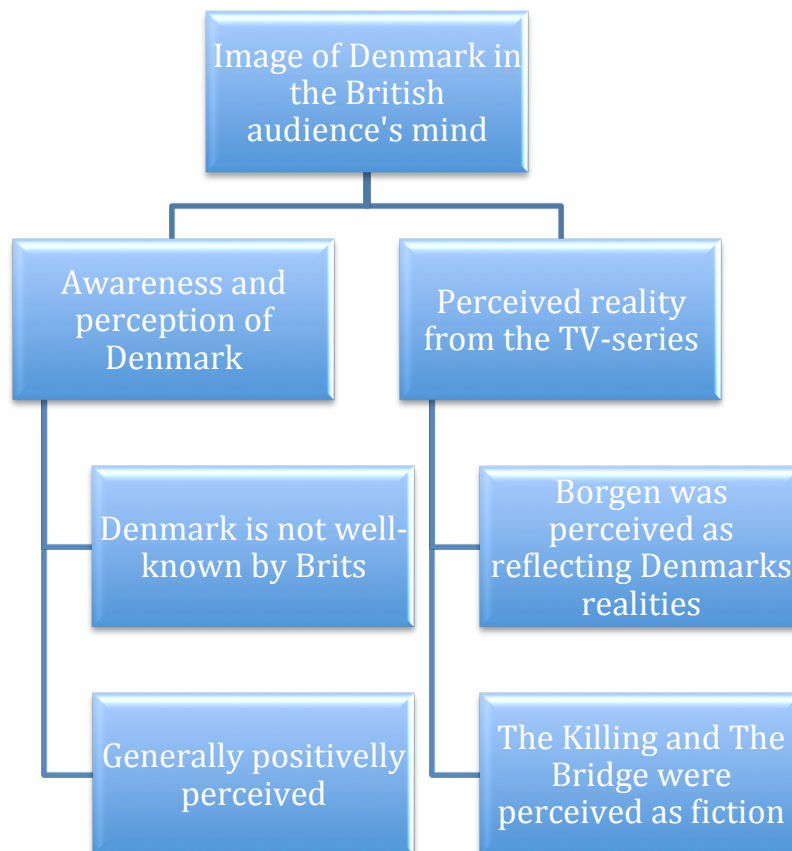


Figure 9: Image of Denmark in the British Audience's Mind

The previous subsections analysed the results of our four sets of collected data. The findings of the first analysis section demonstrated how British viewers of the Nordic Noir TV-series perceived the country of Denmark. Moreover, whether or not this perception has been influenced by the TV-series they watched. The second set of findings demonstrated how Danish and British tourism and film industry professionals saw Denmark's portrayal in the Nordic Noir TV-series. In addition to this, it was analysed if they found that it affected the British perception of Denmark. The third section of the analysis showed our findings while observing participants on Nordic Noir guided tours. This data section enabled us to draw a conclusion on whether or not the Nordic Noir TV-series were perceived as more true to life. Finally, the fourth set of data permitted us to see how Denmark and the Nordic Noir TV-series were regarded in the UK media.

The Overall findings of the British audience showed that Denmark is not well known, but generally positively perceived. After hearing about many positive aspects of Denmark, we concluded that in the eyes of British TV-viewers the country has a strong and respectable destination personality and image. However, we had to point out that tourism and film industry professionals had different opinions regarding the British perception of Denmark. One group considered there to be vague perceptions of Denmark in the British daily life. According to them, the country is related to only a few rather meaningless stereotypes. However, film industry representatives emphasized that Denmark is very positively perceived and even admired by the Brits. The absence of negative connotations of Denmark in the interviewees' voices showed that even if interviewees confessed not knowing a lot about it, they had a positive emotional link to the country's image. Contrary to this, tourism industry professionals are claiming that an ordinary Brit, who has probably never seen Nordic Noir TV-series, would only connect Denmark with words such as 'Lego' and 'bacon', which have neither positive nor negative connotations.

However, people watching Nordic Noir TV-series could have become more aware of Denmark and the information presented on various media platforms. As we saw in our section about British press-articles review, a great portion of British media coverage shed light on Denmark using positive and applauding words. As a consequence of this, people aware of the Nordic Noir TV-series could have possibly been influenced by media coverage and therefore developed a deeper knowledge about Denmark.

We experienced that familiarization with images showed on the TV-screen influenced the Nordic Noir TV-series viewers' understanding of how real the series were. Therefore, Borgen, due to its focus on ordinary Copenhageners life situations, created a realistic image of Denmark in the eyes of its audience. This was also confirmed by our conducted observations. On the tours, we could spot people's reactions to the new facts about locations and series. More than once, the participants openly showed their disappointment when their insights into the TV-series were not confirmed as the real backstage stories was revealed. It was evident that even when people were able to separate fiction from real life events, some aspects of the TV-series were still perceived as real.

Moreover, we learned that the general perception of Denmark in the minds of the British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers was not negative. Indeed, the plots of *The Killing* and *The Bridge*, of brutal murders and criminal activities, did not have a strong effect on influencing the viewers' perception of the reality of crime in Copenhagen. Elaborating on this, one of the film industry representatives talked about the underlying messages in the plots of *The Killing* and *The Bridge*, which could be applicable to all humans, not just one particular nation. Therefore, as noted by one of the interviewees, these crime series were not just Danish dramas; they were 'human dramas'.

This discussion part concluded the analysis section of British Nordic Noir TV-series viewers' perception of Denmark. In the next section we will analyse and discuss the impact of the Nordic Noir TV-series on the British peoples' motivation to visit Denmark.

The Impact of the Nordic Noir TV-series on the Motivation to Visit Denmark

Before writing about the impact of the Nordic Noir TV-series on tourism in Denmark, we felt a need to highlight how challenging it is to understand tourists' decision-making process. Indeed, people are usually not aware of the influences behind their motivations (Roesch, 2009). The majority of people would not be able to clearly explain their choice to choose Denmark as a travelling destination. When saying that tourists are unaware of their motivations to visit a place, it also means that they are unaware of the reasons behind their feelings towards this place (Pullman, 2015). This was why we did not only collect data from the British Nordic Noir audience. We also interviewed tourism and film industry professionals, conducted observations on the Nordic Noir tours and studied British press articles written about the Nordic Noir television productions. In the last subsection we will discuss overall results of our collected data.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Audience of the Nordic Noir TV-series

In this subsection of the analysis, we will first take a look at how the Nordic Noir TV-series could have raised awareness of Denmark among the British audience. Then, we will thoroughly discuss whether the image of Denmark on the TV-series would serve as a motivation to visit the country. We will look at the impact of other factors influencing the choice of Denmark as a traveling destination. Afterwards, we will discuss how British press articles about the TV-series impacted on the motivation to visit Denmark. Lastly we will try to figure out if the TV-series had a direct impact on the viewers' will to come to Denmark.

Raised Awareness Towards Denmark Through the TV-series

After watching the TV-series, our interviewees developed a stronger awareness of Scandinavia: they paid closer attention to the news about this region. When asked if they started noticing more Scandinavian things interviewees confirmed:

Jance: *"Yes, it had to."* (p. lxxv, 4)

Vanessa: *"I think there was already some level of interest but yes, it has added to it – watching the series."* (p. lxxxiii, 15-16)

We realised that the Nordic Noir TV-series created either a new interest or added some curiosity towards Scandinavia. When saying, “*it had to*”, Jance meant that the watching of the TV-series automatically increased her attention towards Scandinavia. Vanessa admitted that she was already interested in this region. Following the TV-series increased this interest and drew her attention towards Scandinavia and Denmark. By having a higher interest towards this place, the audience’s attention would be more easily caught by any information about Denmark. However, it had to be noticed that the raised awareness of a place does not directly impact the motivation to visit it (Beeton, 2006). The TV-series brought attention on Denmark by showing its landscapes, inhabitants and culture. This would not have necessarily motivated people to visit the country but it could have entered into the motivational process when choosing the holiday’s location. We believed, the increased knowledge of Denmark became one of the factors motivating people to visit the country.

In the next section, we will develop the idea that film-induced tourism activities could be another factor for visiting Denmark.

Did Film-Induced Tourism Motivated People to Come to Denmark?

After interviewing the British Nordic Noir TV-series audience, we could divide them into two groups of tourists. The first group was of people who would see Denmark as the location where the TV-series took place. In the second group were the people who were more interested in cultural activities in Denmark.

The first group were the people whose main motivation was to visit locations connected to the settings of the TV-series. According to Bolan, Boy and Bell (2011), they could be called scenic or visual tourists:

John: “*It was The Bridge what encouraged me to go and visit. I did the two tours. [...] The Bridge tour in Malmö and then the Nordic Noir tour in Copenhagen.*” (p. li, 9-11)

John was the only interviewee whose visit to Copenhagen was mainly motivated by the TV-series. Seeing the TV-series inspired the majority of his activities.

Other interviewees also showed a great interest in film-induced activities but this would not be their primary motivation to come:

Jance: “*Probably I would want to go to all the places, definitely!*” (p. lxvi, 21-24)

Jance revealed she would like to visit every place seen in the TV-series. She was also very enthusiastic about the idea of participating in the Nordic Noir guided tours (p. xxxv, 4). Many other interviewees felt the same way: Jack (p. lxxiv, 25-26), Connor (p. xl, 21-23), Mary (p. xx, 1-3), Tanya (p. lix, 27), Rachel (p. lxxviii, 3-5), Vanessa (p. lxxxiv, 1-4) or Lois (p. xlvi, 21-23). However, we would distinguish them from the scenic or visual group because their main interest in Denmark would not be the locations of the TV-series. They would be more willing to explore the country, its culture, landscape and food. We would define them as cultural tourists:

R: *"If you come back to Denmark, what would she like to see?"*

Jane: *"Certainly like to see a bit more of the country. [...] In the TV-series it looks absolutely beautiful. And...certainly would like to stay in Copenhagen for a while."* (p. xxxiv, 22-26)

Lois: *"I'm really interested in food, Danish food is wonderful."* (p. xlvi, 10)

Even though Jane and Lois were interested in the setting of the TV-series, it would not be their main motivation to visit Denmark. This meant they would combine cultural activities and sightseeing, with film-induced activities. Of course, seeing the location portrayed in the TV-series would improve their experience of the travel and be appreciated by the tourists, but it would not be a satisfactory end in itself:

Mary: *"We didn't say: 'Oh I must go to see the parliament today' it was just like: 'Oh yeah this is where it is.'" (p. xix, 24-25)*

Will: *"I wouldn't mind walking passed, what's it called, the City hall. Because ok, now I have seen that now often enough in The Killing. But it wouldn't be my priority. I wouldn't change my day just to see it."* (p. xxiv, 3-5)

Both Mary and Will said that they would not change their trip's program only because of the TV-series setting. As a consequence, we cannot claim that Nordic Noir TV-series would be the only motivation to visit Denmark but it raised the viewers' interest in this country.

In this subsection we saw that for most of our interviewees, film induced activities would only be a motivation to visit Denmark if combined with other tourism activities. We saw that the absolute majority of our interviewees could be defined as cultural tourists. They would seek to firstly explore the country itself and only then, try to recognise the locations seen on the TV-series.

In the next subsection we will talk about how the image of Denmark created by the Nordic Noir TV-series motivated its viewers to visit Denmark.

The Image of Denmark in the Nordic Noir TV-series: Did it Appeal to People?

The creation of an image of Denmark through the TV-series had already been treated in the previous section of this theory chapter. In this subsection, we will link it to the impact the TV-series had on the motivations to visit Denmark. When watching Nordic Noir TV-series, most of the interviewees claimed that it portrayed Denmark as a “cold” (p. xv, 21) and “dark” (p. xxi, 26) country. However, interviewees tended to link the image they had of Denmark to their desire to visit the country:

Jance: *“I’ve seen it on TV-programs [...] It looks a very nice country to go to. I am sure I would feel safe.”* (p. lxxv, 1-2)

Connor: *“Just to go back to my impression [...] from the TV-series of what Denmark is like. It seems to be a very... quite wealthy country. [...] It seems very clean. Seeing that sort of very distinctive design. [...] I do remember some nice landscapes and amazing views.”* (pp. xl-xli, 26-4)

When thinking of Denmark, Jance had an image of a “nice country”, which was repeated by many other interviewees. Despite two interviewees, Rachel (p. lxxvi, 1-5) and Will (p. xxiii, 21-22), it appeared that this image was mainly positive and that they wanted to visit this country. Beeton (2008) explained that even if a place is portrayed negatively in a TV-series or in a movie, it might still increase the will to visit this place. The TV-series portrayed Denmark differently to how it was commonly seen: a wealthy country, clean, green, with a great social system. The TV-series portrayed Denmark as a dark, dangerous and mysterious place. This uncommon portrayal of the country intrigued people and made them more curious to visit Denmark. The image of a destination in people’s minds impacted their motivation to travel (Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1993). Challenged by an unexpected image of Denmark, this increased their will to visit the country and encounter the reality themselves.

Messages and images of Denmark seen on the TV-series were stored in the audience’s brain and could have played a role when having to make a decision in real life (Shapiro & Lang, 1991). These messages and images of Denmark could also have been shaped by the emotions felt when watching the TV-series. The Nordic Noir TV-series was seen as

“quality TV” (p. xlvi, 7), “so good” TV-series (p. xlii, 15), or even “marvellous” ones (p. xliii, 5). Since the audience enjoyed watching the TV-series, it unlocked a positive response towards the country (Chan & Phou, 2013). Moreover, it could have made them think more positively about traveling to Denmark.

The attraction of Denmark depended on the fact that Nordic Noir TV-series became trendy, as developed in the first section of this analysis, The Reasons for Watching the Nordic Noir TV-series. In the next section, we will link it to the motivation to visit a place.

Denmark as a Trendy Destination to Visit

In addition to raising awareness of and creating a new image of the country, we believe the TV-series also launched a trend to visit Denmark. As demonstrated in the first section of this chapter, Nordic Noir TV-series can be considered as trendy to watch. Interviewees also noted that visiting Denmark became as trendy as watching the Danish TV-series:

Rachel: “Probably many people realized they could do it <visit Denmark>. Many people thought that visiting Denmark is quite expensive because it is not in the euro zone but they <British bloggers and journalists> showed, that it wasn’t so expensive.” (p. lxxvii, 23-24)

This quote revealed two things. First, it showed that the TV-series attracted the media attention to Denmark as the articles did not talk not about the TV-series but also about the country where the plot took place. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) said that media spreads values, beliefs and ideas. When portraying Denmark as a nice destination to visit, British press articles designed and popularized a trend among the population. Media created a belief that it was trendy to go there and increased the motivation to visit the place.

The second idea in this quote was that the media changed people’s prejudices about Denmark. When reading blogs and articles about the country, people received new information and unconsciously revised their preconceived idea of the country. As Suzuki and Best (2005) claimed, media draws attention to novelty by reporting new trends. By doing so, it increased the readers’ awareness of Denmark. As Kimber and Richardson (1974) claimed, the media tend to popularize trends among the population. The increased attention towards Denmark inclined people to consider travel there

(Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer & Walch, 1992). People tend to follow the footsteps of others; this is also called conformity (Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer and Walch, 1992). Which meant that perceiving Denmark becoming a popular travel destination, it would have added extra motivation to do the same.

As a conclusion, we could not claim that the TV-series directly influenced the British people to visit Denmark: However, it was a combination of several elements. The watching of the Nordic Noir TV-series raised the British audience's attention towards Denmark. As well, the TV-series created a positive mental image of the country in the audience's mind. When writing about Denmark positively, the British press articles reinforced this mental image. The press coverage also created the impression that Denmark was a trendy destination to visit. By doing so, it increased the audience motivation to visit Denmark.

Interviews with professionals from the tourism industry, observations of the Nordic Noir Tour and the analysis of the British press article will help us to confirm the conclusion of this subsection.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Tourism and Film Industry Professional's Interviews

In order to get a better understanding of the Nordic Noir television productions, it was decided that we interview both tourism and film industry professionals. As stated before, people are not always aware of the reasons behind their choices. To understand the impact the TV-series had on Brits' motivation to visit Denmark, it was interesting to have the tourism and film industry professionals' point of view.

Raised Awareness Towards Denmark Through the TV-series

Both film and tourism professionals claimed that the TV-series raised British people's awareness towards Denmark:

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: *"I think that what Danish TV-series and films can do on a market like Great Britain, where they do not know a lot about Denmark, is that it creates some knowledge and awareness."* (p. cxxvii, 11-13)

The interview with the internal project manager in Denmark of Visit Denmark, Signe Lüth Di Liberto, showed clearly that British awareness of Denmark is very low. Brits do not know much about this country and do not necessarily relate it with the TV-series.

She claimed, “13% <of British tourists> that are associating Denmark with film” (p. cxxvii, 8-9). This percentage was much lower than we expected after investigating this phenomenon. She claimed that the raised awareness towards the country did not directly affect tourism. However, other professionals disagreed:

R: “So you think that Nordic Noir TV-series may influence people to visit Denmark?”

Jonathan Sadler: “Oh, definitely and it has done; we’ve seen that.” (p. cviii, 3-5)

Bo Ehrhardt: “I think it’s not *The Bridge* alone, I think it’s all the Scandinavian shows <that attract more foreign visitors to Denmark>.” (p. xci, 14-17)

According to the professionals from the film industry, it seemed there were no doubts that the TV-series impacted tourism in Denmark.

The only common point between these two different opinions was that the TV-series increased awareness towards Denmark. Our interest was to know whether they acted as a motivation to visit Denmark. Huang and Bargh (2014) helped us find this out. Indeed, when exposed to an external stimulus, it triggers a mental process that ends up with an unconscious choice. Denmark could have been chosen because the Nordic Noir TV-series made the audience more aware about the country. The audience was not necessarily urged to visit Denmark when watching the TV-series, but it Denmark a consideration as a destination to visit. The following quote confirmed this idea:

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: “But I wouldn’t say that a lot of the British would come to Denmark only because of the TV-series. It would be one factor among others to travel to Denmark.”

(p. cxxvii, 13-14)

In addition to the TV-series, other factors pushed them to go to this country. In order to make sense of this quote, it was very interesting to look at what the British audience did when visiting Denmark.

The Different Kinds of Film-Induced Tourism

Another motivation for the Nordic Noir TV-series audience to come and visit Denmark was the need to make sense of the things they saw on the TV. The founder of the Nordic Noir tours, noticed this aspect:

Dieuwertje Visser: *“I think they like to get to know about Denmark and the country through the series because they find it easier to relate to it and they can recognize things.”*
(p. cxv, 24-27)

She claimed that tourists enjoyed recognising locations they saw on the TV. They were able to relate to it and to create a meaning. A chance to recognise the location seen on the TV-series could encourage them to visit Denmark.

Professionals described two distinctive kinds of tourist. First, the ones that have a broad interest in Denmark:

Jonathan Sadler: *“There were lots of people that wanted to come and see you know these actors and producers and film makers and TV producers and writers, together fused with a sort of Scandinavian culture aspect with the food and drink and you know, home wears and design.”* (p. cviii, 19-22)

Ida Katerine Skaarup: *“Yes, there has been a growing interest in Danish design, fashion and the biking culture.”* (p. cxxii, 8-9)

These two quotes highlighted one main idea: Jonathan Sadler and Ida Katerine Skaarup claimed that Brits visited Denmark because of a combination of the TV-series and the cultural aspects of Scandinavia. Ida Katerine Skaarup claimed that the British interest in Denmark includes the Danish design, food and its culture. When visiting the country, they would not only dedicate their time to Nordic Noir TV-series related activities but they would also spend some time discovering other aspects of Denmark. In other words they would be called cultural tourists (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011).

Second, the professionals also claimed that there was a group of devoted tourists among Nordic Noir TV-series audience in Great Britain:

Bo Ehrhardt: *“The tourist industry contacted us because they are contacted by hotels and tourist etc. that wants to go and see the locations of The Bridge for example.”*
(p. xci, 20-22)

Dieuwertje Visser : *“There is definitely a tourism segment into it <film production>.”*
(p. cxvi, 6)

Ida Katerine Skaarup: *“There has been interest from British tourists on this matter <Nordic Noir TV-series> e.g. locations for The Killing, Borgen and The Bridge.”*
(p. cxxii, 5-6)

The producer of The Bridge, Bo Ehrhardt, said that the tourism industry is designing programs to target film tourists. Tourism industry tried to design trips that fit these tourists' expectations. Dieuwertje Visser, claimed that there was a whole segment of film tourism in Denmark. Moreover, Ida Katerine Skaarup acknowledged people's interest into TV-series locations. This idea was reinforced when she talked about Visit Denmark's website, where they *“link the TV-series with locations that tourists can visit in Denmark.”* (p. cxxviii, 7-8). This revealed the audience's interest in film-induced activities. As Bolan, Boy and Bell (2011) claimed the Internet promotion, movie maps, and tours should be organised by the tourism organisations to increase the amount of film tourists. The Nordic Noir tours had a positive impact on the tourists' interest to come to Denmark. As Busby and Klug (2001) claimed, TV-series play a role in the decision-making process when choosing a place to travel. The opportunity for doing film-tourism induced activities was an additional motivation to come to Denmark. It can be concluded that TV-series would not be the only motivation to visit Denmark but one among others. The tourists would also see it as an opportunity to discover Danish culture, food and landscape.

The Image of Denmark: TV-series Creating a Preconceived Idea of Denmark

Despite the grim portrayal of Denmark in the TV-series, it appeared that the British audience perceived it positively. This had a positive impact for the motivation to visit the country:

Jonathan Sadler: *“I think people can really separate the two things, you know to separate the fact that is a dark story and suddenly there it is obviously an advert for going to Denmark or Sweden if you watch The Bridge for example.”* (p. cviii, 6-12)

What is interesting in this quote is that the TV-series appeared to promote Denmark. As Holcomb (1993) claimed, images in a customer's mind are stronger than any marketing strategy. TV-series have the power to create, reinforce or change a destination's image

in people's minds (MacKay & Fresenaer, 2000). When knowing so, it clearly appeared that showing Danish landscapes, cities and inhabitants shaped a specific image in people's minds. The next two quotes reinforced this idea:

Jonathan Sadler: "*Having people realize that, you know, Copenhagen is a beautiful city and etc. They can separate the fiction from the reality.*" (p. cviii, 17-18)

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: "*Film industry has a big potential to brand Denmark.*"
(p. cxxviii, 21-22)

Signe Lüth Di Liberto's quote highlighted the potential TV-series had to advertise Denmark overseas. As well, Jonathan Sadler explained that despite the TV-series portrayal of Denmark as dark and corrupted, people managed to build a positive image of the country. The audience saw beauty in the gloomy portrayal. When seeing Denmark in the TV-series, the audience got an indirect experience of this country. They accumulated and stored an image of Denmark, which would have a role when choosing a place to visit (Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1993).

Advertising makes people feel they are forced to do or think something. The TV-series was a more subtle way to make people think that Copenhagen was a "*beautiful city*" (p. cviii, 17), which in a later step served as motivation for them to visit. Signe Lüth Di Liberto claimed that TV-series were not the main element motivating people to visit the country. However, they created a new strategy related to the film industry, meaning that the country's tourism sector could benefit from the Nordic Noir TV-series.

Denmark as a Trendy Destination to Visit

As claimed in the first section of this analysis chapter, the Nordic Noir TV-series and Scandinavia became trendy in the UK. Media attention could be named as one of the major reason for this. Visit Denmark tried to incite British media to write about Denmark:

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: "*We sent out press releases and we also invite media for press trips, so we try to influence them.*" (p. cxxviii, 11-12)

The success of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK encouraged Visit Denmark to benefit from it. They aimed to draw attention from the TV-series to the country. As Kimber and Richardson (1974) claimed, the media tend to popularize trends among the population. Moreover, the audience relies on the information provided by the press (Gooch, 1996). It

meant that the articles about Denmark in connection to Nordic Noir TV-series strengthened the country's image.

In addition to the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series, other aspects of Denmark got lots of attention in the UK:

Ida Katerine Skaarup: *"We can say that British tourists are interested in the food culture in Denmark/Copenhagen especially since Noma in 2010. [...] Also, the fact that Copenhagen is a "liveable city" [...]. Brits also visit Denmark due to design and architectural interests, fashion etc."* (p. cxxi, 6-12)

Ida Katerine Skaarup thought that having the best restaurant in the world, the status of the world's happiest country or even the recognition of its design, had also attracted the British press attention to Denmark. We believed that the generally increased attention to the Scandinavian region combined with the Nordic Noir TV-series aired on BBC, raised the British awareness towards Denmark. Thereby it increased the audience's motivation to visit this country. The interviewed professionals emphasised the increased amount of British tourists in Denmark:

Ida Katerine Skaarup: *"Great Britain is the largest non-Scandinavian market for Copenhagen."* (p.cxx, 4-5)

Dieuwertje Visser: *"It seems to me that <the British> people are very interested in Denmark and Danish series and Copenhagen."* (p. cxiii, 8-11)

The two tourism professionals who have a close relationship with the British tourists both noted an increased amount of British visitors in Denmark. Dieuwertje Visser claimed that Danish TV-series, Denmark and Copenhagen interested the British tourists. What we concluded from the interviews with the professionals was that the TV-series combined with media coverage of Denmark raised awareness towards the country and could have increased their motivation to visit Denmark.

To sum this subsection, the interviews with the professional showed that the TV-series had an impact on its British audience's motivation to visit Denmark. Before the series aired, Brits were not well aware of Denmark. However, the TV-series was not the only factor that drew the British audience attention towards the country. At the time that the TV-series aired, Denmark attracted the British press attention by getting international recognition for its lifestyle and culture. As a consequence, it raised the British people's

awareness about more general features of the country, thereby increasing the motivation to visit it.

In the next section, we will look at the observations conducted during the Nordic Noir tours in order to get a deeper understanding of the motivations Brits had to visit Denmark.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the Observations Conducted During the Nordic Noir Tours in Copenhagen

In our observations we aimed to understand what interested the Nordic Noir TV-series audience when doing tourism in Copenhagen. We focused on the British tourists taking part in the Nordic Noir tours. In order to get a better understanding of their motivation to come to Denmark, we listened to the questions and their reactions.

We realised that the majority of the observed British tourists came to Copenhagen for a weekend (p. cxxix, 11). Several tourists took part in both Nordic Noir tours, which means they dedicated their entire Saturday afternoon, from 2pm to 5:30pm, to Nordic Noir related activities (p. cxl, 9-10). We considered this enthusiasm for the tours as a proof that the Nordic Noir TV-series played a particular role in their motivation to visit Copenhagen.

Another noted aspect was that most of the tourists had a favourite character from the TV-series (p. cxxxiii, 8-9; p. cxxxviii, 18-19). This showed a high level of affection towards their characters. Several scholars showed that this is directly linked to self-identification with the fictional characters (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). This self-identification makes the viewers emotionally attached to the show and sends a positive mental link to the location where the plot takes place. Individuals will use these stored messages when making a real life decision. In our given situation it would be Nordic Noir TV-series viewers coming to Denmark.

The Different Kinds of Film-Induced Tourism

People tend to give meaning to what they saw on the TV-series. We observed that when seeing the Parliament in the Borgen tour, tourists became very excited about it: to them, it was an iconic location (p. cxxx, 6-7). We saw that the TV-series gave the building a new meaning (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). We believed that the possibility to recognize some of

Copenhagen's locations could have motivated the British tourists to choose Denmark as their travel destination.

Moreover, we also paid attention to what the guide presented during the tour. As we knew that the tour ran for over three years, we assumed it was designed according to its participants' interests. We noted that the tour guide did not only talk about the Nordic Noir series but also some aspects of Danish culture and history (p. cxxxiv, 22-23; p. cxxxv, 5; p. cxxxvii10-13). That gave cultural meaning and values to the TV-series' setting (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). Tourists' questions were not always linked with the TV-series, they also asked for information about the Danish culture. These two elements showed us that even if tourists took part in a film-induced activity, they were also interested in cultural sights. We concluded that stories linked to the TV-series were not the only motivation to go on the tour.

After we have analysed our observations' results, we will now analyse the British press articles written in regards with Nordic Noir TV-series.

Analysis of the Data Retrieved from the British Press Articles

In the previous subsections we mentioned the press articles' impact on the Brits' motivation to come to Denmark. In this subsection, we will look at the content of these British articles to understand how they portrayed the Nordic Noir TV-series. This will help us to analyse their impact on tourism in Denmark.

The Image of Denmark: TV-series Creating a Preconceived Idea of Denmark

British press highlighted the country and region of the Nordic Noir TV-series origin. That could have acted as a trigger in people's minds when considering Denmark as a traveling destination. British articles noted some appealing qualities of Denmark: "*Hot Gastronomy*", "*Classic Design*", "*Most Wanted fashion*" (p. cxlvii, 14-16). This kind of vocabulary describing Denmark could have increased a positive and admirable feeling towards the country and its produce.

Holcomb (1993) claimed media are very powerful to create an image in people's minds. Finkel (1993) also said that the media would strengthen pre-existing opinion. This was why we believed that the positive article added a great value to Denmark in the British minds. When taking real life decisions, individuals use stored images based on specific events, contextual information or the emotions felt at that time (Shapiro & Lang, 1991).

When reading these positive reviews about Denmark and the Nordic Noir TV-series, the readers felt curious; they wanted to know more about it and eventually visit Denmark.

The imagined notion of reality evolved into relative reality in the reader's mind (Shapiro & Lang, 2004). This obliged us to consider how British press articles portrayed Denmark. An article claimed that Nordic Noir TV-series were an "*entertaining and informative companion*" (p. cxlvi, 15-16). The underlying notion was that the TV-series were reflecting the Danish realities. This meant that by watching Nordic Noir TV-series people could learn about the country. Another article named Denmark as a "*cool*" country (p. cxlv, 20). It could have created a perception of Denmark as a fashionably attractive country.

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) claimed that media spread values, beliefs and ideas. This meant that after reading the articles, the Nordic Noir TV-series audience found the country attractive and considered visiting it.

In addition to this, the big amount of reviews both on Denmark and on Nordic Noir TV-series made us think that Denmark could have become a trendy destination in the eyes of the Brits. The British articles highlighted the passion Brits had for Nordic Noir TV-series. Articles claimed that it "*attained cult status through word of mouth*" (p. cxliii, 14-15) and that it started a "*Scandi Fever*" (p. cxlv, 23-26). Articles also spread the message that "*Nordic noir has never been as fashionable*" in the UK (p. cxlvii, 16-20). Iyengar and Kinder (1987) claimed that more than informing people, media design new trends, and strengthen public awareness towards it. Articles made Denmark a top-of-mind destination.

Film-Induced Tourism

British press articles highlighted that Denmark's portrayal in the TV-series had a notion of authenticity. They portrayed Denmark as a country where equality between man and woman was higher than in other places (p. cxliv, 7-9). It was also claimed that the Danish language reflects the Danish society's norms (pp. cxliv- cxlv, 27-1). We believed that these comparisons made the readers feel that the TV-series could reflect certain aspects of reality. This made the audience curious to verify the reality, which could serve as a strong factor motivating people to visit a place.

To conclude this subsection, the media raised awareness of Denmark by drawing a special attention from the Nordic Noir TV-series to their country of origin. Moreover, the positive overviews of the TV-series and Denmark had an impact on the audience's motivation to visit the country.

Results of the Analysis of the Impacts of the Nordic Noir TV-series on the Brits Motivation to Visit Denmark

This discussion part will present an overview of our analysis section.

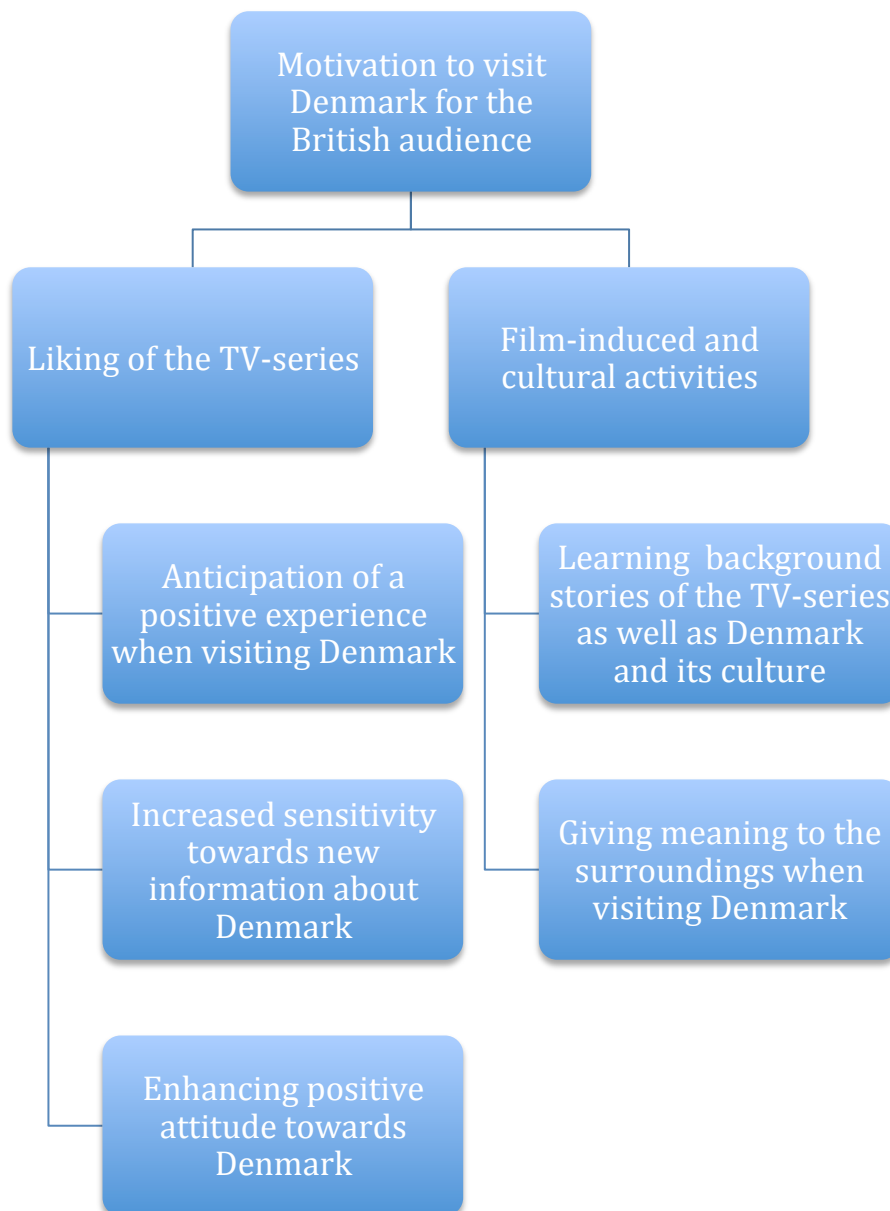


Figure 10: The British Nordic Noir Audience's Motivation to Visit Denmark

This figure gave a visual overview of the founding of this section of the analysis. The British audience regarded the watching of the TV-series as a positive experience. This

encouraged the viewers to know more about the Nordic Noir TV-series. As the article review showed, press strongly linked the TV-series with Denmark. As the interviews with the tourism professional showed, the general British population did not have a broad knowledge about Denmark; this was why the large press coverage increased their awareness. Furthermore, Nordic Noir TV-series audience would be even more sensitive to the information about Denmark. Since, the press articles regarded Denmark mainly positively the audience could have developed curiosity and willingness to visit it. Moreover, as the British audience had a positive experience watching the Nordic Noir TV-series they would assume that visiting Denmark would also be a positive experience.

The motivation to visit Denmark was also connected with film-induced tourism. For the majority of the interviewed British viewers, film-induced activities did not serve as the main motivation to visit Denmark. The interviews with tourism professionals confirmed that the TV-series were not the primary motivation to visit Denmark. However, our observations showed that lots of British tourists participated on the Nordic Noir guided tour. It was observed that tourists were not only curious about the TV-series but also about Danish history or culture. This was why we defined these tourists as cultural tourists. We could conclude that the British Nordic Noir audience would not visit Denmark essentially because of the TV-series, but also because of its curiosity about the country and its culture. Yet, the Nordic Noir TV-series was strongly linked with the British decision to come to Denmark. The expectation to relate the fictional settings with the real locations and to make sense of it, would give a motivation to travel.

The Definition of Nordic Noir

Nordic Noir: a term that has been used to describe TV-series, movies and literature originating in the Scandinavian countries in recent years. But what exactly does this term encompass? What are its overall characteristics?

We started this research guided by scholars Thornham and Purvis (2005) and Waade and Jensen's (2013) definition of the Nordic Noir television productions. Thornham and Purvis (2005) talked about how Nordic Noir productions reflected Scandinavian realities, concerns and values. Waade and Jensen (2013) elaborated on the notion that Nordic Noir productions also highlighted equality, provincial culture and the social democratic welfare state. In addition to this, they have a set of productions attributes such as setting, climate, light or language that served a specific aesthetic purpose (Waade & Jensen, 2013).

However, when we went further into the research we realized that our definition of Nordic Noir did not encompass the whole phenomenon and was lacking accuracy for our research. This is why in this section we will propose a more precise Nordic Noir definition. To do so, we will look at different attributes of the genre, focusing on the TV-series *The Bridge*, *The Killing* and *Borgen*.

Unique Productions Features

One of the attributes linked with the so-called Nordic Noir TV-series was their quality. The interviewed British audience praised the complexity of the plot line, the well-acted characters and productions values:

Connor: *"Yeah, I think it's just the way that everything is so... it's constantly something going on. [...] As the mystery is so over the top."* (p. xxxvii, 9-12)

Tanya: *"I think it's because of the characters. [...] Also the photography the music, I think the production is really really good."* (p. lx, 17-19)

Jonny: *"I like the storylines, they were really well developed."* (p. ix, 16)

Connor said that every time he watched a new episode, a new mystery was coming out, increasing the story's complexity. Tanya praised the characters as well as the productions values. Jonny liked a well-developed storyline.

An interviewed film industry professional agreed on this notion of quality:

Jonathan Sadler: *“The other aspect of it, is the fact that these series were incredibly well made, incredibly well written and incredibly well acted. So there was a quality probably not seen before in the UK, or not for a long period of time.”* (p. cvi, 22-25)

Jonathan Sadler claimed that the studied TV-series were unlike anything the British audience was used to. Every aspect of the series from the script to the production was thought through and carried out in great detail.

The British press also highlighted the notion of quality. Measure (2013) used adjectives such as *“subtle”, “neat”, “elegant”* or even *“brilliance”* (p. cxliii, 25-26); Wilsen (2012) highlighted the fact that even the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, found Danish drama to be a *“very good television”* (p. cxlvi, 6-7). They also used wording such as *“subtle”* and *“brilliance”* to praise the plotline and the well-developed characters.

To conclude, we saw a tendency to use quality as a distinctive standard in the production of these TV-series. The way they were produced and written is a part of our new definition of the genre.

The Scandinavian Touch

A commonly mentioned attribute of the TV-series was their country of origin. The British press especially emphasized it. For some, these series were *“a blast of fresh Nordic air”* (p. cxliii, 20-21). Another journalist claimed that a *“Scandi Fever”* was spreading in the UK; he even called it a *“Danish delirium”* (p. cxlv, 24-26). For many, the origin of the TV-series was a part of their identity.

One of our interviewed film professionals agreed on this:

Bo Ehrhardt: *“Nordic Noir is basically Scandinavian crime. For us it is the tone we tell stories.”* (p. lxxxviii, 3-5)

Bo Ehrhardt concluded that the way these TV-series were made has followed the Scandinavian film tradition. He noted that the TV-series production crews came from the same film school. Therefore, the Nordic Noir television productions were not a particularly new phenomenon in Scandinavia. However, it was not seen before in the UK.

Furthermore, we encountered the interviewees' claims about how the TV-series engaged the Scandinavian society and criticism about it in the story plots. The Nordic Noir TV-series aim to uncover what lay underneath this seemingly ideal society:

Peter Schepelern: *"I think Nordic Noir, you would see the Scandinavian society seemingly well functioning democratic, humanistic and then, when you dig deeper, you will see a lot of awful secret hidden."* (p. xcvi, 12-14)

To conclude, the TV-series were closely related to Scandinavia. The regional values were reflected in the film production manner and the stories of the plotlines.

The 'Noir' aspect

The 'noir' aspect emphasized in the interviews and in the British press articles:

David: *"There is such an emphasis on the darkness and the misery of the places shown."* (p. xv, 15)

Peter Schepelern: *"When we look at The Killing [...] I think the main point was to show Copenhagen and also some surroundings as a dark, as a gruesome and austere place."* (p. xcv, 9-20)

The British press articles claimed the TV-series portrayed Denmark as *"always dark and rainy."* where *"the sun never shone and the star never smiled"* (p. cxlvi, 13-14). They also pointed that one can never predict Scandinavian dramas because *"Scandinavians see no limit to violence in crime series"* (p. cxliv, 22-24).

This was when we started doubting that the definition of Nordic Noir might be suitable for the TV-series Borgen, as it was a political real life drama. We did not perceive it having this 'noir' aspect in its plot. Some of the interviewed Nordic Noir TV-series audience had the same feeling:

John: *"They are very different series, I think, The Killing and the Bridge are very different from Borgen."* (pp. l-li, 24-2)

John separated Borgen from The Bridge and The Killing. However, he did not further explain why he felt those TV-series belonged to separate categories. The professional interviews revealed more.

They thought that not all of the programs coming from Scandinavia should be viewed as Nordic Noir:

Signe Lüth Di Liberto: *“I think that there have been a shift in the last one or two years. As to... instead of Nordic Noir it's going more to 'Scandi Drama', like a new word.”*

(p. cxxviii, 23-28)

According to Signe Lüth Di Liberto, to be more precise, the recent Scandinavian film productions should be called a “*Scandi Drama*”. As an example of this, she named the TV-series *The Legacy*, which she thought, did not include a central characteristic of the ‘noir’ aspect.

Results of the Analysis of the Definition on the Nordic Noir TV-series

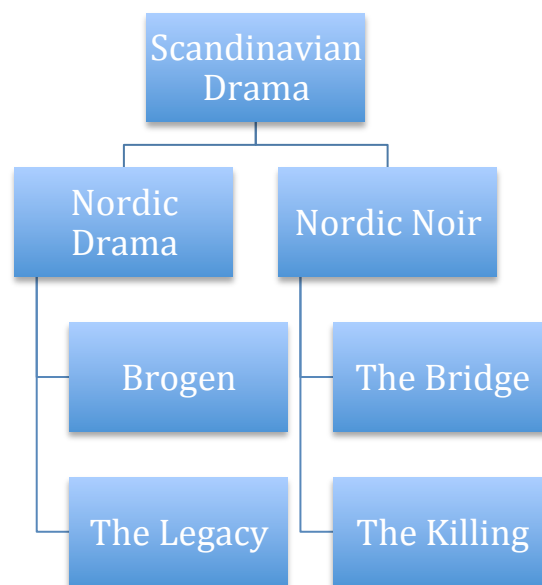


Figure 11: Categories of 'Scandinavian Drama'

This figure visualises our new definition of Scandinavian Drama.

As a conclusion of this section, we could claim that the TV-series produced in Scandinavia can be labelled as quality TV-series: they all have a strong story plot, well-developed characters, and strong productions standards.

Furthermore, they all raised Scandinavian societal issues. All these TV-series can be labelled as ‘Scandinavian dramas’. This notion encompasses the region’s influence on the TV-series. Moreover, this label includes family, political or crime drama TV-series.

We would put the TV-series including the 'noir' aspect such as *The Killing* or *The Bridge* in a subcategory called 'Nordic Noir'. It would reflect on the place of origin and on the dark atmosphere.

The Legacy and *Borgen* would fall into a subcategory called 'Nordic Drama'. It would put the emphasis on the TV-series' origin as well as their genre. We engaged the TV-series *The Legacy* in the Figure 11 to elaborate on Signe Lüth Di Liberto's idea that *Borgen* was followed with similar themed Scandinavian productions. This was why there was a reason to claim why we could see 'Nordic Drama' subcategory emerging in the Scandinavia drama.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine the reasons for the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. Furthermore, we also wanted to discover what possible impacts the Nordic Noir TV-series have had on its British audience perception and awareness of Denmark. To enable us to draw a conclusion, the various results of our analysis sections have to be put together and concluded upon. This conclusion is comprised of four research questions, raised to answer our problem formulation.

The results of our first section of the analysis, 'Reasons for Watching Nordic Noir TV-series', enabled us to draw a conclusion on the research question concerning the success of the Nordic Noir TV-series in the UK. It was discovered that one of the primary reasons for the success in the UK was the paramount influence the positive media attention towards the TV-series. The attention shaped the British motivation for engaging the TV-series. Additionally, the interaction between the British people in online and real life encounters, further increased the awareness and the positive perception of the TV-series.

Our interviewees found the Nordic Noir TV-series different from the British productions, which they were accustomed to. The length of the shows, the unusual characters and the story line suspense, were all factors that the audience found to be signs of high quality. The duration of the series enabled the

producers to thoroughly develop the characters and the plots, and as such increased the audience's interest.

Despite the anomaly of the characters, the interviewees found them easy to identify with. This identification with the fictional characters had eventually led them to an increased enjoyment and devoted loyalty to the TV-series. In contrast to the interviewees' enthusiasm for watching the TV-series, one of the interviewed professionals raised a question. The producer of *The Bridge*, Bo Ehrhardt, confessed that in his experience the UK had always been the hardest country to sell Danish language productions to. This was due to the British reluctance to watch subtitled television. However, the interviewed audience did not express particular inconvenience with reading subtitles. This proved that the Nordic Noir TV-series had overcome this barrier, due to its uniqueness compared to the British film productions: The story line suspense and unusual characters. This was why we could claim that as long as the TV-series were of a certain quality, the subtitles would not matter.

The results of the second analysis section, 'The Nordic Noir TV-series Influence on the Image of Denmark', allowed us to conclude on how the Nordic Noir TV-series influenced the perception of Denmark in the eyes of the British people. We learned that Denmark was generally not well known. Our interviewees could not easily distinguish Denmark from the rest of Scandinavia. However, Scandinavia was perceived very positively. Therefore, the existing awareness of Denmark was positive. The analysis of the British press articles review showed that Denmark was seldom distinguished from Scandinavia, but an overall image of the region was portrayed in a very idyllic and admirable manner.

We learned that the TV-series brought some awareness of Denmark to their British viewers. It became clear to us that they did not perceive the reality of *The Killing* and *The Bridge* to be a mirror of the actual reality of Denmark. In *The Killing* and *The Bridge*, the negativity, the darkness and the overall gritty portrayal of Denmark did not convince the British viewers that what they saw was a reflexion of the reality of Denmark, but were convinced that it was fiction. On the other hand, the British saw *Borgen* as a truly trustworthy picture of the

real Denmark. The largely positive preconceived image of Denmark seemed to outweigh the fictional portrayal of Denmark in *The Killing* and *The Bridge*.

The results of the third section of the analysis, *The Impact of the Nordic Noir TV-Series on the British Motivation to Visit Denmark*, permitted us to make a conclusion on how the Nordic Noir TV-series have affected the British travel and tourism in Denmark.

We discovered that the British press strongly related the Nordic Noir TV-series with Denmark. The praised quality of the TV-series was linked with their country of origin. This provided the audience with a generally positive image of Denmark, which is believed to have created a positive image of Denmark as a travel destination. This will likely make the tourists expect a positive experience when traveling to Denmark and act as a motivation to visit.

Another factor we expected to motivate British to visit Denmark was film-induced tourism. To our surprise, the film-induced tourism did not seem to be a motivating factor for the interviewees. Even if they expressed their willingness to join film-induced activities, it would only be so if they were already in Copenhagen on cultural tourism. This means, that film-induced tourism would primarily only be considered in combination other reasons for visiting Copenhagen or Denmark. Despite this, a single interviewee actually visited Copenhagen inspired by the Nordic Noir TV-series, which means there is a potential for film tourism. This potential has also been noticed by Visit Denmark as they have prepared a marketing strategy concerning film tourism.

In the fourth section of the analysis, we define the Nordic Noir television productions. As a conclusion of this section, we suggest that *The Killing*, *The Bridge* and *Borgen* can be labelled as 'Scandinavian dramas'. This notion encompasses the region's influence on the TV-series. Moreover, this label includes several genres such as historical, political, criminal, dramatic TV-series. 'Scandinavian drama' genre would consist of two main categories; 'Nordic Noir', 'Nordic Drama'. The TV-series such as *The Killing* and *The Bridge* we would include into the category called 'Nordic Noir'. This would reflect on the place of origin and the dark atmosphere. *Borgen* would fall into in the category called

'Nordic Drama'. It would put the emphasis on the TV-series' origin as well as their genre.

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