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Abstract

Visiting the settings of popular media products has become a growing niche within the tourist market. This paper provides a content-based explanation for the popularity of one specific example: the TV detective tour. Three popular TV series from different linguistic regions of Europe were analysed, each of which has led to substantial tourist numbers: Inspector Morse (Oxford), Wallander (Ystad), and Baantjer (Amsterdam). The results show that the tourist attraction of the TV detective programme is due in part to its topophilic character. First, 'couleur locale' is extremely important to the narrative setting of the detective programmes; the narratives elaborate on existing tourist gazes. Second, the narrative development is characterised by a process of investigation and tracking. By taking the tour, viewers can walk in the detective's footsteps and relive the storylines. Finally, the TV detective genre promises the viewer/tourist an acquaintance with the thrilling, 'guilty' landscapes of the TV detective.

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We understand a place and a landscape through the historical and personal narratives that are marked out within it and that give that place a particular unity.

- Jeff E. Malpas (1999: 186)

Everything's guilty here, every tree.

- Armando (1998: 10)

On a pleasant summer's day, a visitor to Exeter College, one of the oldest colleges in Oxford, has a good chance of coming across a group of tourists. Of course, there is nothing unusual in this: most colleges attract a constant stream of tourists. But these visitors are not looking at the lovely, neo-Gothic chapel or the view of Radcliffe Square. Instead, they are pointing their cameras at a corner of the lawn, an apparently insignificant bit of grass. It is also striking that the normal chatter of tourists has given way to a solemn silence, where the only sound to be heard is the clicking of camera shutters. What's happening here? This is the exact place where Inspector Morse - the main character in the television series of the same name - was struck down by a heart attack. In the last episode of the detective series, which was popular around the world, Inspector Morse collapsed, at just this spot on the lawn of Exeter College, to pass away several hours later in a local hospital.[1]

The TV detective tour

For more than ten years, the Inspector Morse Tour has been one of the most popular tours in Oxford. Despite the fact that the series ended in 2000, every year a steady stream of around 3'500 tourists still pay to follow in the footsteps of the rather sombre, melancholic Inspector Morse and his assistant, Lewis.[2] Taking approximately two hours, the tour takes the tourists past the most important film locations in the centre of Oxford, from fictional crime scenes to Morse and Lewis' favourite pubs. The link to Morse is visibly honoured in some of these locations. Thus, the Randolph Hotel has a special 'Morse Bar,' whose walls are covered with photographs of the actors in the company of Colin Dexter, the author of the Morse series.

The Inspector Morse Tour is no isolated incident, and similar tours can be found in other cities. For example, Amsterdam has its own Baantjer Tour, organized by a local tourist company. During this two-hour walk, tourists visit various locations from the popular <u>Baantjer</u> TV detective series. Every year around 3'000 tourists from the Netherlands, Belgium and France get to know the old centre of Amsterdam in this way.[3] Similarly, Ystad, a small city in the south of Sweden, was the setting for the detective series <u>Wallander</u> for a number of years, and as a result has developed into an important tourist attraction. According to the local Tourist Office, high numbers of tourists come for the semi-commercial Wallander Tour, visit the Wallander Studios, or explore 'Wallander's Ystad' on foot, using a specially-developed Wallander city map. Seen from the perspective of the local Tourist Office, Wallander has created an important opportunity for place promotion.[4]

In some cases, instead of a permanent tour, tourists are invited for a one-off or even an annually recurring event. In October 2007, the Belgian village, Halle, organized a 'Witse Hunt,' inspired by the TV detective programme Witse. In the neighbouring city of Ghent, the setting for the police series Flikken, a 'Flikken Day' was organized for the tenth time this year. The public broadcasters, the municipality of Ghent, and local police and emergency services cooperated to produce this huge event. More than one hundred thousand visitors were treated to a mix of 'Flikken Games,' meet-and-greets with the actors from the series, parades, street performances, and various demonstrations by the emergency services.[5]

Strictly speaking, the fact that tourists are drawn to the scene of a fictional detective is not a new phenomenon. An early example of this would be the British 'urdetective' Sherlock Holmes, whose supposed home Baker Street 221[b] already attracted visitors at the beginning of the 20th century (Wheeler, 2003). In a more general sense, TV detective tours are part of a longer tradition of literary tourism. In her book The Literary Tourist (2006), the British literary scholar Nicola Watson describes how a fascination developed in the 19th century for the graves of famous authors, the houses where they were born, as well as the settings they described in their works: Shakespeare's Stratford-upon-Avon, Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford, and the Bronte sister's Haworth (cf. Seaton, 1998; Hardyment, 2000).

Nevertheless, the current TV detective tours distinguish themselves from their historical predecessors in scale. In the 19th century, literary tourism was limited, with some notable exceptions, to a relative small group of lovers of literature (Watson, 2006: 131-200), whereas each of the contemporary TV detective tours attracts thousands of tourists every year. These tours, and similar tours based on other popular genres, provide the

framework within which many people get to know a new city such as Oxford, Amsterdam or Ystad. This can no longer be considered a rare activity, but rather a widespread phenomenon: a growing niche in the global tourist market, variously labelled as 'TV tourism', 'movie tourism', 'movie-induced tourism' or 'film-induced tourism' (Beeton, 2005).[6]

Little is known about the popularity of these TV detective tours. Influenced by post-modern philosophies about hyper-reality (Baudrillard, 1981) and de-territorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), communication scholars have, for a long time, predominantly emphasised the virtual character of our media culture. The general argument goes that post-modern individuals can no longer distinguish between what is real and what is not because of the excess of media images to which they are exposed. Even more, the virtual media world has become their most important frame of reference. According to this argument, people would no longer need to travel, since they could experience 'virtual tourism' just by watching television (Gibson, 2006). Based on these prevailing theoretical models, it is difficult to explain why people make the effort to travel to a place with which they are already familiar from the media (Rojek, 1993a: 69-72).

Despite this, in recent years, increasing attention has been paid to tours based on TV series or films. For example, studies have described the attraction of the set of Coronation Street at Granada Studios near Manchester (Couldry, 2000) and the Manhattan TV Tour in New York (Torchin, 2002). Other scholars have focused on the popularity of Blade Runner in Los Angeles (Brooker, 2005), Braveheart in Scotland (Edensor, 2005), the X-files, Smallville and Battlestar Galactica in Vancouver (Brooker, 2007), Harry Potter settings in

de UK (Iwashita, 2006), and sites where The Lord of the Rings was shot in New Zeeland (Tzanelli, 2004; Beeton, 2005).

In addition, studies have described the effects of these tours on the local community. For example, Mordue (2001) interviewed residents of Goathland, after the village became a tourist hotspot as a result of the British TV series Heartbeat. Similarly, Beeton (2005: 123-9) looked at the effects of tourism in Barwond Heads, the Australian village that served as the backdrop for the popular movie, Sea Change.

Each of these studies has provided an important contribution to our understanding of this new research field. But still little is known about the role of media content: which characteristics of TV serials or movies act here as a trigger, that could motivate viewers to visit the settings? Our current understanding of this subject is limited to speculation (cf. Beeton, 2003: 25). Thus, Cohen (1986, quoted in: Beeton, 2005: 25) suggests that a film apparently only leads to tourism if the setting is clearly present in the foreground. According to Riley and Van Dooren (1992), not only does the landscape have to play a central role in the story, but the development of the protagonist also needs to be directly connected with that same landscape. A last suggestion is offered by Couldry (2000), who proposes that the popularity of the set of Coronation Street might be due to the fact that the series has run for a long time and that regional identity plays an important role in the plot.

Consulting studies that specifically focus on genre characteristics, in this case TV detectives, do neither provide an answer to the questions posed above. The available work on detective fiction is limited to the historical development of the genre (Roosendaal, 2002; Knight, 2004; Siegel, 1993; Symons, 1992; Mandel, 1984) and its ideological significance (Pyrhönen, 1994: 81-114; Davis, 2001; Gramsci, 1985: 369-374; Knight, 1980), in

particular on the level of gender (Betz, 2006; Markozwitz, 2004; Munt, 1994; Thomas, 1995) and nationalism (Mukherjee, 2003; Reitz, 2004). In these studies, the importance of place and localisation has remained in the shadows, with a few sporadic exceptions (Hausladen, 1996; Craig, 1998; McManis, 1978).

Procedure

In order to find answers to the questions posed above, this article presents an international comparison between three popular TV detective programmes from different language regions in Europe. Selected are those TV detectives that have motivated the highest numbers of new tourists in their respective language regions: Inspector Morse, Wallander and Baantjer. Although there are tours based on other TV genres, such as comedies or dramas, this paper is restricted to the TV detective genre. This restriction makes is possible to focus on specific genre characteristics that could motivate viewers to visit the settings.

The Inspector Morse series, produced by British ITV, developed an international reputation as a model of quality television. It is estimated that more than a billion people have seen one or more episodes of this series at some point (Adams, 2007). In all, 33 episodes of Inspector Morse were made, first broadcast between 1987 and 2000. The Swedish police series Wallander consists of some 22 episodes, produced between 1994 and 2006, with different actors and created by different production companies. At the moment of writing, Wallander is especially popular in Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, but the British adaptation of Wallander, broadcasted on Channel 4 in 2008/2009, will perhaps also stimulate British viewers. Finally, the Dutch series Baantjer was produced by Endemol Productions; the 123 episodes were first broadcast between 1995 and 2006. Baantjer was

the most-watched TV series of the past decade in the Netherlands, and it has also been broadcast in Belgium and France. Notwithstanding their differences in storyline and setting, <u>Inspector Morse</u>, <u>Wallander</u> and <u>Baantjer</u> follow the same, familiar patterns of classic detective fiction: each episode is an account of a murder investigation, whereby the viewer is gradually provided with the same clues as the detective.

Six episodes of each series were chosen at random.[7] This selection, consisting of approximately 27 hours of video, was watched in three sittings of nine hours each. A log was kept, with comments focussing on the question: How is the landscape presented and what narrative function do these pictures provide to the rest of the story? How are these representations related to the more general fields of popular and tourist culture? After the viewings, the research notes were compared in terms of differences and commonalities, leading up to the analysis by way of induction. For example: it was noted how in each episode, the detectives were repeatedly shown walking and driving through the surroundings, resulting in the category 'movement'.

Couleur locale

On the screen, an afternoon sky, beneath it corn fields stretching as far as the eye can see, with only a few lonely trees between the fields. Next, two children are seen bicycling down a path through a forest. They are going to an old farm, hidden in the rolling landscape. The children's voices are full of innocence, but the accompanying piano music and the neighing of a horse make the scene somehow threatening. Our expectations are fulfilled: in the dark stables, the children discover the body of the stable hand.

These are the opening shots of the <u>Wallander</u> episode 'Den svaga punkten'. Other episodes open similarly with a wide shot, sometimes combined with a pan or tilt of the camera. We see meadows and fields stretching forever, winding country lanes, an empty beach, or dark clouds blowing in from the ocean. Sometimes an episode starts with pictures of Ystad, the provincial town in southern Sweden that forms the setting for the <u>Wallander</u> series. These shots also have the qualities of a postcard, presenting a broad panorama, with church towers and gables of old houses poking sharply against a clear blue sky and the ocean already visible at the edge of town.

The fact that each episode starts with a panoramic view of the surroundings is not unique to <u>Wallander</u>. The same occurs in the other detective programmes. Apparently, before the story can begin, it has to be situated somewhere. For example, most episodes of <u>Inspector Morse</u> open with a view of Oxford, with the ancient colleges and churches rising above the roofs of the traditional English houses. On the horizon, the gentle, rolling hills of Oxfordshire can be seen. <u>Baantjer</u> also invariably starts with a bird's eye view of Amsterdam in the early morning, with the recognizable step gables and bell gables of the old centre of Amsterdam. As a rule, these panoramic views are repeated at the end of the episode. Just before the credits appear, we see Wallander walking on the beach, or Inspector Morse going into the streets of Oxford. In fact, <u>Baantjer</u> literally ends with the same pictures as it started with, except that morning has given way to night.

The décor of the programmes is not randomly chosen, but made up of well-known icons of local identity. The bell gables on the canal houses are a *pars pro toto* of Amsterdam. The same can be said of the wide fields and wintry fir forests of southern Sweden, as well as the gardens and ancient streets and colleges of Oxford. This local

atmosphere is intensified by the representation of stereotypical weather conditions: the stories of <u>Morse</u> take place under a blue sky, with an occasional English shower, while the <u>Wallander</u> series is characterized by sombre lighting, chases in the snow, and the long twilight that is so typically Scandinavian. The detective programmes thus take place in a landscape which will be familiar to most viewers, domestic as well as international (cf., Thomas, 1995: 3).

What explains this recognition? According to Harvey (1973), every individual possesses a geographic imagination. Each of us carries an imaginary map of the world with us in our head, which we use to position ourselves with regard to other regions, countries, and continents. Even though we have usually not actually visited these places, we can still bring a picture of them to mind. Of course, this picture varies from person to person, but it still has a number of common sources, such as schoolbooks, novels, and—not least— popular media. Films, news broadcasts, TV series, comic books, games, current events programmes all help create an image of the world around us. Every day, billions of media users are mentally brought to places where they have never been, whether that be the Central-America of <u>Indiana Jones</u> or the Tibet of <u>Tintin</u> (cf. Crouch et al., 2005: Jansson, 2002).

The strength of the geographic imagination is that it brings unity to something that in fact has no unity. There is, of course, no such single place as 'Africa' or 'Tibet.' These places are simplified to a few recognisable stereotypes, which are constantly repeated in a variety of media, thus settling into our imagination of the world. In the case of positive stereotyping, as is the case of Amsterdam, Ystad and Oxford, such a location can develop into a tourist 'must see'. Studies of tourism speak of a 'tourist gaze:' a cultivated manner of

looking at landscape that is supposed to be typical of the tourist. According to Urry (2002), tourists continuously seek an image that they actually already carry with them in their heads. In this sense, the tourist is comparable to a semiotician - he or she collects and analyses images (Culler, 1981).

All three of the investigated TV detective programmes take advantage of the 'tourist gaze' of Amsterdam, Ystad and Oxford. The characterisations of the protagonists serve to further support this (cf. Lukinbeal, 2005; Higson, 1996; Schama, 1995; Sydney-Smith, 2006: 84). This is particularly clear in Wallander. The image of the lonely, abandoned fields of southern Sweden blend remarkably well with the character of the detective, Kurt Wallander, suffering from loneliness, a drinking problem, and a midlife crisis. When he is at his loneliest, we find him on the beach of Ystad, staring out to sea. In a similar way, the cultured, historic and academic environment of Oxford fits seamlessly with the intellectual, somewhat snobbish character of the British detective Morse.

By placing the story in a setting that is recognisable to most spectators, not only is the diagesis (the 'world' of the story) clearly demarcated, but the credibility of the series is raised across the board. The plots may be fictional, but the events could also actually have occurred—they could literally have taken place. This realistic setting is essential to the central theme of the investigated TV detective programmes. The moral questions concerning the dark side of interpersonal contact that arise in Morse, Wallander and Baantjer come into its own in a believable and recognisable setting. Of course these three detective programmes are not alone in this: the place-specific quality appears to be a common feature of the detective genre (cf. McManis, 1978: 320; Cavender, 1998: 87-90).

In fact, the first detective story ever, written by Edgar Allen Poe in 1841, was based on a 'Parisian' (though fictional) street name: <u>Murders in the Rue Morgue</u> (Goulet, 2007).

Not only do the TV detective programmes reproduce the existing 'tourist gaze'; they also contribute to it at the same time. In tourism studies, following Urry (2002), much emphasis has been placed on the visual character of landscape experience. The importance of stories and other non-visual associations to the process of meaning-making has been underestimated. As Schama wrote in <u>Landscape and Memory</u> (1995), people feel attracted to specific landscapes, because these landscapes are identified with specific fantasies, stories or memories. Jeff Malpas takes a similar position in his book <u>Place and Experience</u> (1999), arguing that individuals and groups develop an image of themselves and their past on the basis of narratives, which are in turn rooted in specific spaces. In other words, people are 'topophilic' creatures: they are intrinsically bound to specific landscapes (Tuan, 1974).

In the case of <u>Morse</u>, <u>Baantjer</u> and <u>Wallander</u>, many viewers will feel involved with the plot. Some may even identify themselves with the fortunes of the detectives. This personal involvement radiates off onto the locations where the programmes take place - even more so because the <u>couleur locale</u> appears to be so important to the plot, episode after episode. The landscapes that are portrayed are, as it were, 'injected' with narrative meaning. They become the focal point for processes of imagination and identification. Thus, not only do <u>Inspector Morse</u>, <u>Baantjer</u> and <u>Wallander</u> confirm the established tourist gaze, but they also turn Oxford, Amsterdam and Ystad into meaningful narrative landscapes. This makes the investment in travelling to these cities doubly valuable.

On the track

The landscape in the opening shots also plays an important role during the course of the episode. The detectives in <u>Inspector Morse</u>, <u>Baantjer</u> and <u>Wallander</u> are always on the go, travelling from suspect to police station to pub to the next suspect. We repeatedly see Morse's red Jaguar zooming through the landscape, over country roads and down lanes, on the way to the homes of suspects and witnesses. The scenes in <u>Baantjer</u> and <u>Wallander</u> are almost identical. For the TV detective, the landscape is a realm that contains certain secrets, which means that it needs to be passed through and investigated, in search of truth and justice (cf. Sparks, 1992: 126; Davis, 2001: 137-138).

The scenes where the detectives take to the street on foot are comparable. Viewers are offered a <u>semi-wide shot</u> of the street scene: chatting students wandering through the narrow streets of Oxford with books under their arms, with a bookshop or a pub in the background. In the case of <u>Baantjer</u>, the viewer gets bicycles and trams ploughing their way through the hectic inner city of Amsterdam, passing herring sellers and window prostitutes.

The police investigation appears, in other words, as an unending movement through the narrative space (cf., Sparks, 1992: 127). In this way, the TV detective programme shows a strong similarity to a certain kind of tourism. People taking a tour are also constantly on the move. They cross the landscape in hired cars, by train or by bicycle, on the way from attraction to attraction. Day trippers are of a similar order, visiting a city and spending the day wandering through the town, across squares and down lanes (Urry, 2006).

For these tourers and day trippers, the detective programme offers an ideal point of reference. They are, as it were, taken by the hand by a famous inhabitant, one who understands the local conditions and provides access to local secrets (cf. Tuan, 1985: 57;

Hills, 2002: 148-9). For example, the visitor to Ystad can obtain a map at the tourist office which lists all the locations from the <u>Wallander</u> films: places where a body was found, Wallander's favourite <u>konditori</u>, his home, and of course the police station. The <u>Wallander</u> film studios can also be visited, allowing the tourist to wander through Wallander's living room and office, or even to sit, briefly, in the inspector's chair.

By following the character's tracks meticulously, the story can be relived and at the same time supplemented with new sensory impressions. Viewers who have identified with the detectives can now follow in their footsteps. The desire to be 'close' to the character seems to play an important role. For a few tourists, this desire might go one step further. An earlier study (Seaton, 2002) suggested that some types of tourism present characteristics of metempsychosis: a spiritual journey, whose goal is to get into the skin of another, charismatic person, and ultimately become one with their soul. It is not impossible that a charismatic individual of this kind could actually be a fictional character (cf. Smith, 2003, quoted in: Karakurum, 2006: 25).

The crime scene

As is typical for the genre of detective fiction, almost every episode of <u>Inspector Morse</u>, <u>Baantjer</u> and <u>Wallander</u> centres around solving a murder case. The detective work starts at the crime scene: the location where the body was found. The detective collects clues at the scene, clues which will guide him through the rest of the story. Such crime scenes also play an important role in the various tours. For example, the Baantjer Tour in Amsterdam pays considerable attention to a niche on the outside of the <u>Oude Zuiderkerk</u> (Old South Church), where a dead street person was found in the episode 'De Cock en het lijk tegen de

Kerkmuur'. This scene is even literally re-enacted, with the help of an Amsterdam street person who has been hired by the organisation.[8] During the Inspector Morse Tour, as well as the Wallander Tour, tourists are taken past basements, hotel rooms and alleyways, for no other reason than that a fictional murder case was set here. What accounts for the attraction that these 'crime scenes' exert?[9]

At first sight, the crime scenes seem to differ too much to reach a single answer. In <u>Wallander</u>, bodies are found in the countryside: on the beach, near the harbour, or on a farmstead. In <u>Inspector Morse</u>, the murders take place in colleges or in old country houses. And finally, in <u>Baantjer</u>, the crime scenes have a much more modern, big city feel: parking garages, film studios, cellars, tunnels, and apartments. In those terms, the setting of the murder scenes differs from series to series.

However, what all these different murders have in common is the dramatic effect that takes place. The murder creates a sudden break with the everyday. The <u>Inspector Morse</u> episode 'The Daughters of Cain' provides a good example. In this episode, the spectator is first offered a stereotypical picture of Oxford: students rowing on the Thames on a lovely, summer's day. While the boats are tied up, one of the students finds a plastic bag bobbing against the shore, with the body of a grown man inside. The peaceful scene has suddenly changed into a murder scene. Compare the opening scene of the <u>Wallander</u> episode 'Täckmanteln'. As the daughter of Kurt Wallander walks through the woods, she exclaims: 'It's so beautiful here!', just a few minutes before she will discover a lorry full of dead bodies.

Setting the scene this way makes it possible to emphasise the drama of the murder. The world is turned upside down. With the arrival of the police and the coroner, the space

is literally taken over. The red and white police tape cordons the murder scene off from the rest of the surroundings. With this, a crucial reversal seems to have taken place: the pastoral landscape of Oxford or Ystad (or the good-natured naughtiness of the Amsterdam landscape) suddenly becomes a 'guilty landscape.'

The term 'guilty landscape' was introduced by the Dutch artist and writer Armando (b.1921) in the 1970s. Armando spent his youth in the vicinity of Camp Amersfoort, which served as a Polizeiliches Durchgangslager (Police Transit Camp) during the Second World War. What surprised Armando after the war, and what continued to influence him during his career as an artist, was the fact that this former war zone had acquired such a proper, peaceful feeling. The natural beauty was so luxuriant that it seemed impossible that murder and torture could have taken place here. But the woods around the concentration camp had witnessed horrible war crimes, and were, according to Armando accomplices. They constituted, in other words, a 'guilty landscape' (Armando, 1998).

The power of the term 'guilty landscape' is that it assigns an active role to the landscape. Just like people, landscapes can harbour guilt. Of course, at first sight this appears to contradict sound reason, as the landscape is generally seen as the passive recipient, or as something that needs to be tamed. Still, when he assigns an active role to space, Armando is joining a philosophical movement that has long been part of Western thought, though it is true that it was never a dominant school. Different phenomenological philosophers, from Heidegger to Merleau-Ponty, have pointed to the importance that place has in the experience and observation of reality (Malpas, 1999: 1-18). Events take place because they can find a space somewhere, and because there is a place in which the event can come to be. As Marcia Cavell (1993: 41) reasoned, even the most abstract fantasies and

philosophies are never totally separate from physical reality. An event always comes into being somewhere, rooting itself 'in the only place it can, here, in the midst of things'.

Landscapes can play an active role in the way human beings experience reality, but this doesn't mean that every landscape is equally important. Some landscapes or spaces appear to be more 'active' than others. The power of a landscape clearly rises to the surface when events occur which generate negative associations. Think of old war zones, such as Camp Amersfoort, or places where major disasters or serious traffic accidents have taken place. Although the 'guilty landscape' frequently has few physical indicators that remind us of its past, the place will always retain an important, sometimes even traumatic, significance to the survivors and others who were involved.

Fictional stories about gruesome murders or accidents can also make a place active. In Western folklore, there is a long tradition of legends regarding 'haunted' spaces: abandoned houses, cellars, cemeteries or lakes, which are supposed to have their own, evil force (Ellis, 1989).[10] This narrative tradition reappears in literature, as well as in film and television culture (Hausladen, 2000). These sorts of stories, widely known, told and remembered, contribute to making the landscape active.

In this context, the distinction between 'real' and 'fictional' stories does not seem to play such a large role. More than this, the liminality between fiction and reality appears to be precisely part of the attraction of these locations. In the case of Baantjer, it is worth mentioning that many of the episodes were based on actual events, which the author, Appie Baantjer, had experienced during his lengthy career as a police inspector. The Baantjer Tour pays frequent attention to the author's background, and the links between fictional and actual murder cases are continually made. It is not so much that 'reality' is brought in to

emphasize the authentic character of the detective programme: there appears instead to be a reciprocal reinforcement. The real locations become more 'authentic', with the stories based on reality providing insight into it.

Conclusion

This paper has provided a content-based explanation for the popularity of the TV detective tour. Based on a textual analysis of Baantjer, Inspector Morse and Wallander, we can conclude that the tourist attraction of the TV detective programme is due in part to the 'topophilic' character of the genre. The experience of place has a central role in detective programmes. More specifically, there are three narrative characteristics which stimulate the desire to travel.

First, couleur locale seems to play an important role in detective programmes. In each of the investigated programmes, the opening shots locate the action in a landscape familiar to the viewer: Baantjer in Amsterdam's Red Light District, Inspector Morse in the elitist Oxford, and Wallander in the abandoned fields of southern Sweden. The programmes repeat icons of regional identity in order to raise the social-realistic content of the series. In this way, the detective programmes refer to the existing 'tourist gaze' regarding these cities, while at the same time contributing something to it. This makes the cities Oxford, Amsterdam and Ystad not only recognizable, but at the same time meaningful landscapes.

Second, the visualised landscape plays an important role in the development of each individual episode. To solve the murder cases, the inspectors in Baantjer, Inspector Morse and Wallander are constantly on the move. Such continuous movement through the narrative space resonates with the activities of the tourist. People on tours and day trippers

are themselves on the road most of the time. For them, travel is primarily a kinaesthetic experience, based on physically moving on. Taking the TV detective as a point of departure opens up a logical means of exploring the city or region. The tourist follows in the footsteps of his or her beloved inspector, criss-crossing the local community, looking for signs and clues. The intimacy is palpable, since the inspector could, so it seems, suddenly appear around the next corner. In an extreme burst of metempsychosis, the tourist could actually become the inspector.

Finally, TV detective programmes are characterised by an obsession with the physical. Each individual episode has a crime scene as a point of departure, from which the search for clues starts. Whether in Inspector Morse, Wallander or Baantjer, these places are presented as everyday locations, which are suddenly transformed into a macabre counter-world by the discovery of a body. The tourist is able to visit these locations, and there, from a safe vantage point, to make the acquaintance of the guilty landscape of the TV detective: a complex junction between the diagetic world of television and the 'real' world outside. For a moment, the tourist enters an intriguing shadowland - an area of tension between fantasy and reality, between spirit and body.

Notes

1. This research was funded by a Veni-Grant from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research NWO.

2. Figures based on correspondence with the Oxford Information Centre. Correspondence available for inspection on application to the author.

3. Figures based on estimates by local guides. Correspondence available for inspection on application to the author.

4. Figures based on correspondence with the Ystad Tourist Office. Correspondence available for inspection on application to the author.

5. Figures based on official numbers from the Flikken Dag Organisation Committee, see http://www.flikkendag.org/ [downloaded on 30/06/08].

6. Although figures relating to the worldwide impact of TV and film on tourist behaviour are scarce, there is ample anecdotal evidence that, from the 1980's onwards, more and more tourists visit the locations from their favourite TV serial or movie (Beeton, 2005: 20-40).

7. The following episodes were chosen at random: from Inspector Morse, 'The Way through the Woods', 'The Daughters of Cain', 'Cherubim and Seraphim', 'Day of the Devil', 'Deadly Slumber', and 'Twilight of the Gods'; from Wallander, 'Den svaga punkten' ('The Tricksters'), Fotografen ('The Photographer'), Täckmanteln ('The Container Lorry'), Luftslottet ('The Castle Ruins'), Blodsband ('The Black King'), and Hemligheten ('The Secret'); and from Baantjer, 'De Cock en de moord op het bureau' ('De Cock and the Murder in the Office'), 'De Cock en de reclamemoord' ('De Cock and the Advertising Murder'), 'De Cock en de motorclubmoord' ('De Cock and the

Motorcycle Club Murder'), 'De Cock en de moord in het Kremlin' ('De Cock and the Murder in the Kremlin'), 'De Cock en de moord op de wallen' ('De Cock and the Murder in the Red Light District'), and 'De Cock en de moord uit angst' ('De Cock and the Murder of Fear').

8. Hiring a street person to perform a fictional, dead street person can be labelled as a form of 'ostension:' the re-enactment or performance of stories in real life (Ellis, 2001).

9. The attraction to tourists of crime scenes has been remarked on before, among others by Rojek (1993b: 137-145) and Lennon and Foley (2000), but in these cases it always related to <u>actual</u> murders and suicides.

10. Haunted houses also have the power of attracting tourists, as the existence of various 'haunted' hotel guides shows. For example, see <u>www.hauntedhotelguide.com</u> for a list of haunted hotels, castles and inns in the UK.

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