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Sandvik, Kjetil; Waade, Anne Marit

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Crime Scene as Spatial Production On screen, Online and Offline

Kjetil Sandvik
MA, ph.d. assistant professor, Film and Media Studies Section, Dept. of Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen, Phone: +45 3532 8119, Mobile: +45 2494 4770, E-mail: sandvik@hum.ku.dk

Anne Marit Waade,
MA, ph.d. associate professor, Institute of Information and Media Studies, University of Aarhus, Phone: +45 8942 9269, Mobile: +45 3172 7606, E-mail: amwaade@hum.au.dk

Abstract

Our field of investigation is *site specific realism* in crime fiction and spatial production as media specific features. We will analyze the (re)production of crime scenes in respectively crime series, computer games and tourist practice, and relate this to the ideas of emotional geography. The use of Swedish town *Ystad* as location in Henning Mankell's crime novels and as film locations in remediating the novels into movies is turning the actual town into a virtual crime scene for visiting tourists. In the computer game *Dollar* the adaptation of Liza Marklund's crime universe remediates Stockholm as a virtual interactive space in which the player moves around to find the murderer. In the pervasive game *Botfighters* actual towns are used as game worlds and communication, tracking and positioning technology as navigational tools as part of the gameplay.

Using a distinction between places as locations situated in the physical world and spaces as imagined or virtual locations as our point of departure, this paper investigate how places in various ways have become augmented by means of mediatization. Augmented reality represents processes of mediatization that broaden and enhance spatial experiences. These processes are characterized by the activation of users and the creation of artificial operational environments embedded in various physical locations. In this paper the idea of augmented spatial practice is related to the ideas of *site specific* aesthetic and emotionalization of place in respectively physical, mediated and imagined places.

Introduction: places and spaces

A place may be defined as a location situated in the physical world – a certain room, building, town, a forest, mountain, lake, desert – it is there and thus inhabiting some kind of authenticity. It is situated here and now – unmediated. And as such it may be experienced and perceived. A space on the other hand may be defined as an imagined location, a virtual location. A space is the idea of a certain place as it is mediated and communicated to us in various ways. Fair and square: places are 'real' and spaces are 'virtual'. Off course this is a much too simple approach when it comes to our way(s) of perceiving the world and our main argument in this paper is that even the most authentic of places, the most 'realistic' of places are both experienced and imagined. As are fantastic locations; the fictional worlds of novels, movies, computer games are not just imaginations, they are actual experiences for the reader, the spectator, the player whether we are talking about Middle-Earth in Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* or Azzeroth in *World of Warcraft*.

In the age of digital mediatization and especially with the emergence of Web 2.0 with its strong emphases on online communities and online worlds it becomes increasingly difficult to see places as unmediated or only as location in the physical (off-line) world. When it comes to an online world like e.g. *Second Life* it becomes evident that we here have an computer-mediated online world which to its users is experienced as an actual place (for commercial, cultural, leisure activities) and which in various and complex ways is symbiotic connected to the off-line world. This is – according to media researchers such as Lev Manovich and Jay David Bolter (Fetveit and Stald (eds.), forthcoming) – an example on how digital culture in the new millennium differs from that of the 1990'ies. In the 1990'ies 'new media' was seen as something separate, a new and strange world, a 'cyberspace' situated somewhere else and of a completely different character than what we – using a very problematic term – call 'real life'. Today cyberspace and real life is rather part of the same continuum, which also may be seen in new forms of human-computer interaction, in new ways of exploring relationships between the physical world and computer mediated worlds as seen in new research fields like 'augmented reality' and 'pervasive computing'. There is a lot of interaction going on between online and off-line spheres: the flow of experiences, norms, ideas and so on goes both ways between these different worlds. And this is – as Jay David Bolter puts it – because online worlds are part of 'real life',

not separated from it:

> All these online environments reflect the physical and social worlds in which they are embedded – with all their contradictions. So it isn't surprising that there are vast economic forces at work there too... But also that individuals find ways to work around and through these forces. (ibid.)

We would like to argue that – in the same way as with the relation between online and off-line worlds – the lines between places and spaces are blurred, that places and spaces are part of the same continuum and that when it comes to our perception even the most authentic of places are mediated and mediatized. On the level of reception a place is not just something in itself – it is embedded with a surplus of meaning deriving from what we have read, heard and seen about the actual place, deriving from how we imagine this place. We do not just experience e.g. Katmandu in itself, we do so as tourists who have created an image of the Nepalese capitol from Lonely Planet, travel programs, romantic notions of Eastern culture and spirituality, and from the tales told by other tourists and thus we are part of a "mutual process of structural *site sacralization* and corresponding *ritual attitudes* among tourists" (Jansson 2006, p.28). The actual place is thus transformed into a *touristic space*, which is a space that is "both socio-material, symbolic and imaginative" (op.cit. p.28-29). Following this line of argument, the experience of places will always be connected to various forms of mediatization which define and frame the way we experience and how we define ourselves and the roles we play in connection to this experience. As Jansson points out, tourists will "engage in the representational realms of marketing, popular culture, literature, photography and other sources of socio-spatial information" and use this mediations not only to develop "a referential framework for the planning of a trip, but also a *script* for how to *perform* and perhaps reconfigure their own identities within the desired setting" (op.cit. p. 13-14).

We will like to purpose that these and other forms of mediatization of places which are both connected to mediation of the actual place on the one hand and to the mediatization of our experience of this place on the other can be seen as a process of *augmentation*, that is an enhancement of our sense and experience of place by means of mediatization: we understand places through media (e.g. Lonely Planet, fictions and so on), we use media to construct places (using cameras, mobile phones, GPS and

so on), and media shapes our experience of places (guided tours, theme parks and so on).

Crime scenes as augmented places

To elaborate on this process of augmentation we will use the forensic term *crime scene* as a model for understanding augmentation of places. Being part of a three year Danish research project on *Scandinavian Crime Fiction and Crime Journalism* (2007-2009), this paper may be regarded as a first attempt at understanding how we perceive and construct crime scenes as a specific type of places in real life, in fictions and other media formats, - a work in progress so to speak. We are especially interested in how places and spaces are represented and how places are both deconstructed and reconstructed in crime fiction and journalism as well as in real life police investigations. We are interested in the crime scene as a cultural concept witch is connected to a certain historical and criminological heritage as well as to popular culture. A strong sense of place and high degree of realism is crucial to crime stories. Fictional crime stories do not unfold in fantastic worlds (or they do so very seldom): they may take place in the past or in the future, but they always carry a contract of realism even when it comes to a sci-fi film noir movie like Riddley Scott's *Blade Runner*. And the most popular crime series in Scandinavia at the time is using actual places as their setting and the characteristics of these places, which are described in details, are playing a crucial role to the way these crime stories are told (see Agger 2004, Waade 2005): It is e.g. of great importance to the stories told in novels by Norwegian author Anne Holt that they take place not in some fictional larger city, but in an specific part of Oslo, with its very own demographical and historical conditions.

The strong sense of place and what we may call *site-specific* realism in Scandinavian crime fiction is connected to the fact that there often is a biographical bond between the author and the location chosen for the stories told: Anne Holt is herself living in Grünerløkka, she has been working as a chief of police at the same precinct as her protagonist Hanne Willumsen. The same proximity between author and the place chosen as crime scene can be found between e.g. Gunnar Staalesen (Varg Veum-series) and Bergen, Henning Mankell (Kurt Wallander-series) and Ystad, Liza Marklund (Annika Berglund-series) and Kungsholmen (Stockholm). In these cases it becomes evident how actual places and fictional (imaginative) spaces

are blended and how the actual locations are constructed as augmented places.

Furthermore we are interested in the role played by different types of media, that is crime scene as mediated reality (journalistic mediation through news papers, crime magazines on TV and so on), crime scenes as fiction mediated through novels, movies, TV series, computer games, and finally crime scenes (both fictional and historical) as remediated in tourism practice. We will regard these different ways of mediatization as strategies for augmenting places, which may take place on various levels including both place-space transformations and space-place transformations. Some of these levels will be presented in the following section.

Remediation of crime scene as augmented spatial practice

An actual crime scene is a place we have not experience ourselves. It means that the phenomenology of crime scenes has to be a process of reconstruction, resetting, retelling, replaying and imagining a place and an action. In other words, crime scenes are primarily imagined or mediated. A crime scene also includes an illegal action and sometime also a dead person (at least one). In that sense, crime scenes are dealing with legacy, moral and humanity in society. In other words, crime scenes as well as crime fiction are reflecting norms and normality in a certain culture at a certain time.

The English term *crime scene* indicates a scene and a stage, and the term include a specific spatial quality in which something happens - an action, an event or a story takes place. In other words time and space are related and constitute the action. We will underline the time dimensions of mediated and mediatized spaces; visual representations might be seen as two-dimensional images, and three-dimensional representations include narratives, performances and actions. In other words a crime scene includes a set and a plot.

A crime scene is a place which has been in a certain state at a certain moment in time, the moment at which the place constituted the scene for some kind of criminal activity. As such the place has been encoded in the way that the certain actions and events which have taken place have left a variety of marks and traces which may be read and interpreted. Traces of blood, nails, hair constitutes (DNA)codes which can be decrypted and deciphered, in the same way as traces of gun powder, shot holes, physical damage are signs to be read and interpreted. Thus

the place carries a story which at first is hidden and scattered and has to be revealed and pieced together through a process of investigation and explorations with the aid of different forensic methods, eyewitnesses and so on; - through reading and interpretation. During her investigation the detective's ability to make logical reasoning and deductive thinking as well as to make use of her imagination is crucial to how the crime scene is first deconstructed and then reconstructed as a setting for the story (that is the actions of crime). By decoding this reconstructed place the story itself is also reconstructed: the crime is being solved, the murderer revealed.

Using the crime scene as a model for understanding augmented places then implies that we are talking about a place which has gotten a certain surplus of meaning, a certain kind of narrative embedded into it.

Augmentation of actual places – that is the process in which a place is changed into a 'crime scene' – implies that the characteristics of these places have been enhanced in that a certain mode, atmosphere or story has been added to them as extra layers of meaning. This may happen in at least four different ways.

1. Augmentation may take place as a process of narrativization in which the place constitutes a scene for the performance of 'true' stories. This is the case when London Eastend is functioning as a setting for *Jack The Ripper Tours* which allow tourists to partake in guided city walks following the blood drenched trail laid out in the actual streets of late 1800 London by the first known serial killer in history. As a result of the guide's narration and the navigation through these streets and along historic buildings like Tower of London, the modern highly illuminated city gives way for an image of dim gas lights and dark alleys where defenseless prostitutes where easy targets for Jack's razor-sharp scalpel. But this type of augmentation may also happen in a process where an actual place constitutes a setting for new stories. This is what happens with the global art project *Yellow Arrow*. Here you are invited to put up small yellow stickers at different locations in an actual city and then upload a personal story with connection to the chosen location. The arrow-sticker is provided with a certain sms-number so that others who come across your yellow arrow can use their mobile phones to read the story you have chosen to augment this certain location with.

Agumented places as places which have some narrative embedded into them may be found in different cultures and different historical periods. Native Australians (aborigines) believe that *songlines* run through the landscape telling the story of their

ancestors and how the land came into being, and by following this narrative trails these stories can be retold. The mnemonic method known as *memory theatre* can be traced back to the Antiquity. Here speeches were memorized by linking the different parts of a speech to well-known and recognizable architectural features of the hall in which the speech was to be given. By scanning the variety of statuary, friezes, articulated columns within the hall, the rhetorician skilled in this art (Ars Memori) could remember the different aspects of his speech. The hall then would provide the order and a frame of reference which could be used over and over again for a complex constellation of constantly changing ideas. Thus the same hall could be augmented with a lot of different narratives (see Yates 1966). In today's popular culture we also find augmentation of place by the means of narrativization in theme parks. Not unlike the Memory Theatre, the theme park becomes a memory place whose content must be deciphered:

> "The story element is infused into the physical space a guest walks or rides through. It is the physical space that does much of the work of conveying the story the designers are trying to tell. […] Armed only with their own knowledge of the world, and those visions collected from movies and books, the audience is ripe to be dropped into your adventure. The trick is to play on those memories and expectations to heighten the thrill of venturing into your created universe." (Carson 2000)

2. Augmentation of places may also happen through fictionalization. Here the actual place is working as a setting for fictions as seen in Henning Mankell's use of Swedish small town Ystad as storyspace in his Wallander-books, in Gunnar Staalesens use of the city of Bergen as a noir-setting for his tales about private eye Varg Veum, and in the way Liza Marklund constructs a Stockholmian underground as a stage for her protagonist, criminal reporter Annika Bengtzon. For the readers of Mankell, Staalesen and Marklund these actual locations which are used as crime scenes, have become augmented: Wallander's Ystad is – as we will demonstrate later – interacting with and blended into 'real-life' Ystad and actually changing the identity of the actual small town. Tourists visiting Ystad visit at the same time a real and a fictional town and telling the two apart is quite difficult. When tourists visiting Bergen attend a *Varg Veum Tour* they are taken on a guided city walk through parts of the actual town but following the trails laid out not by some historical person or chain of events (like in

the case of Jack the Ripper above) but by fictional characters and their actions and thus the actual places have become augmented as a result of fictionalization.

3. The ways of augmenting places described above relates to specific places which are emotionally enhanced either by ways of narrativization or fictionalization. But augmented places may also be the result of certain *types* of places being used as settings in books, movies, tv-series which may inflict on how we later perceive these types of places. Suburbia, small town communities, the countryside are examples of types of places which has been exposed to augmentation in the shape of displacement, estrangement and various strategies of demonization. From David Lynch' *Blue Velvet* to tv-series *Desperate Housewives* suburbia has been reconstructed not just as quiet, sleepy outskirts but as places with a dimension of creepiness added to them. *Twin Peaks* reconstructed the small town community as a mysterious place where things and people are not what they seem. English countryside is no-longer just idyllic houses, rose gardens, nice ins and so on; augmented by the tv-series *Inspector Barnaby* and its fictional Midsummer County the countryside is also a potential high crime area with murder-rates exceeding most cities, the population taken into account.

An interesting case here would be US small town Burkitsville which was demonized by the web-campaign and movie *The Blair Witch Project*. *The Blair Witch Project* was fiction presented as reality. The projects website told the story about three film-college students gone missing in the woods around Brukittsville, Maryland while exploring the myth about the witch from Blair, a town situated where Burkittsville is today and which was allegedly abandoned by its inhabitants after a series of mysterious murders and disappearings which was believed to be caused by a witch's curse. The website reconstruct the story of the city of Blair and the myth about the Blair Witch as well as it contains reports on the police's investigation of the three missing students, the recovery of diaries and docu-videos (which made up the *Blair Witch Project*-movie which premiered in theatres months after the release of the website) shot by the student as they were hunting the witch (and obviously themselves being hunted). Everything here – apart from Burkittsville itself – is fiction. But this fiction enhanced the actual city of Burkittsville with an aura of mystery which the town itself afterwards has been using as a brand. Even though there has never been any witch, missing students or abandoned city, tourists visiting Burkittsville can

attend guided *Witch Tours* in the area where the story about the three missing students takes place (see http://www.burkittsville.com/).

4. Finally augmentation of places may happen in the form the palimpsest, that is the overlayering of an actual place with some kind of fictional universe creating a kind of *mixed reality* in which the place has a status both as an actual location in the physical world and as a storyspace. Here we find cultural phenomena like different kinds of role-playing games in which a physical space is being used as a setting for the game itself. But unlike the stage-set in the theatre or the film-set in movie-productions the place itself has not been constructed, altered or manipulated. When we are looking at augmentation as palimpsest we find that the actual places (the specific town quarter, the specific street, the specific café) as well as not-participating people just happening to be present at the time of the game are included as a setting without being staged. But to the participating players the chosen quarter, street or café are more than just locations in the physical world, they are embedded with a certain meaning (narrative, emotion etc.) and thus part of the game fiction being played out. The use of costumes and props is also part of this augmentation. This is the case with so-called 'in-crowd' role-playing games which typical take place in urban areas like *Vampire* Live, which is played out every once-a-month in the centre of Danish town Århus:

> In April 2003 *Vampire Live* […] takes place different locations such as Café RisRas locatied in the center of the old quarter in Århus. The "plot" unfolds over a period of several hours in the basement around a tabletennis-board and some ordinary café tables and different role-players come and go. What is interesting is that not everyone is as much "in character" as you could expect. Actually we can observe different degrees of being in the game. One character, Kasper Bencke, is trying to get in contact with the Duke while some money transactions take place between a couple of mafia-looking persons and other role-players present quite peacefully are playing backgammon like ordinary café guests. A group of girls and a young man is planning their wedding, discussing the menu, guest lists, and beside the number of brides-to-be their discussion appears "realistic". (Knudsen 2006, p.320)

Another example of this type of augmented places which are constituted by a kind of mixed reality is so-called pervasive games in which actual places are symbiotically

fused with information- and communication technology such as mobile phones containing instant messaging, camera, GPS and internet. An example of a game in which both game universe and gameplay have become ubiquitous and embedded in the player's physical surroundings could be Electronic Arts' adventure game *Majestic* (2001). Here the gameplay and the way in which the game story is constructed include receiving mysterious phone calls in middle of the night, getting anonymous e-mails and attending fake websites. *Majestic* was promoted as the game which 'will take over your life' and was aiming at producing a game experience in lines of what is experienced by Michael Douglas' character in David Fincher's *The Game* (1997). And even though the game actually flopped and was taken off the market not long after its release, *Majestic* forecasted the trend within game design which today is known *pervasive gaming*, - games like *Botfighters* (2001) in which the game design contains possibilities for using physical places as game universe offering a gameplay including a combination of tracking and site-specific interaction between players both online using advanced mobile phones and off-line battling each others in the streets. In *Botfighters*, the player "shoots" other gamers located in the same physical area with the help of mobile phones including positioning technology. A downloadable java-client also makes it possible for a radar display and graphical feedback to be shown on the mobile phone.

In these cases the mediated, virtual space is collapsed into the physical, real place (and vice versa). Because the game is pervasive, that is penetrating the physical world, and ubiquitous, that is potentially present everywhere, the fictional game world becomes a part of the player's physical environment, and at the same time the physical environment is becoming part of different mediated spaces ranging from the GPS' graphical representation of the physical environment and the player's position in this environment and SMS and e-mails as communication channels for navigational information to websites containing online-dimensions of the game universe.

We will in the following sections use some of these strategies of augmenting places as a starting point for investigating how crime scenes may be constructed and take a closer look at aesthetical and technological approaches to crime scenes as places which are augmented through different types of mediation and mediatization which inflict how we perceive and behave when encountering them. We will present an extensive analysis and discuss mediatization of crime scenes as a touristic practice

using Henning Mankell and Ystad as case. And finally we will wrap up this paper by looking at crime scenes as mediated performative and interactive spaces using the computer game *Dollar* which is based on the characters and universe in Liza Marklund's book series about crime reporter Annika Bengtzon, and also put forwards some thought on the relationship between body and place when it comes to interactive spatial experiences.

The death in Ystad

To illustrate and enhance our analytical argument and perspectives, we will take the reader to Ystad, a small place in Southern Sweden, an apparently innocent and quite village at the coastline, mainly known as the port of departure to the Danish island Bornholm. Somebody would even say it looks like a boring place with risk of confusion to any small places at the countryside where life and development stands still. This small town has become the main location in the crime fiction about the miserable inspector Wallander written by one of the world's most popular and bestselling novelist, the Swedish author Henning Mankell. Mankell spends half the year living in a farmhouse 20 km from Ystad, and rest of the year he lives in a village in the East African country Mozambique. Mankells view on the small town Ystad is based on both an exhaustive and sensed knowledge about the topography and people of Ystad and the region, as well as looking at the town and the Swedish culture from abroad in which he relates the town to global culture, economy, geography and crime.

In the following, we will explore the death in Ystad and how crime scenes and crime fiction has produced Ystad as place. In our presentation of Ystad as case and mediated place, we will describe the city as respectively *geographical location*, *film location* and *tourist destination*. Our idea is that these three aspects of Ystad as location are linked to each other and influence on and reinforce each other as well as they exist only in the light of each other. It might be difficult to follow our argument that Ystad as geographical location wouldn't exist if not the stories of Wallander were existing, but our idea is that the *concept* and the imagination of Ystad as a city and physical, geographical location, hardly can be differed from the crime stories and the popularity of Wallander's Ystad. On behalf of this analytical distinction, we will go on with the concept of crime scene as one aspect of Ystad as location that illustrate this mediated and media specific spatial production. It is not crime scenes of actual

crime acts, but rather crime scenes in crime fiction and crime series about Inspector Wallander, that transform the city into an augmented place and an emotionalized and embodied spatial experiment.

Like the death in Venice, the twin towers in N.Y. or the Alps in Switzerland – it is difficult to think about the cities and the countries without recognizing images from the movie, television, newspapers or commercials. It is precisely the same with Ystad. This is what is described as the iconography of certain places and destinations, and in tourism management literature and tourism marketing it is a question of the relations between destination image and destination reality (e.g. Ooi, 2005, Beeton, 2006).

Historical transformations of Ystad as geographical place

Ystad is located at the southern coastline of Sweden, close to historical towns as Lund and the boarder to Denmark. In 12th century fishing families settled in the mouth of the river Vassa, and this was the he beginning of the city. Later a Franciscan monastery was build and founded in the city, and in the 17th century export of oxen become an important source of income. In the 1890'ies, Ystad was established as a garrison town and the different military units, anti-aircraft batteries and an armored division (www.ystad.se), and the city was for a long time associated to the military both to the city's own citizens and their local identity, as well for other citizens and visitors. In the 20th century, the military garrison was closed and tourism became and increasing industry in the city as well in the area, and at about 1950 ferries started to run to the Danish island of Bornholm and Swinoujscie in Poland connected the city to the world around in different ways. As a new feature the city has now been promoted as "film-city", and on the homepage of Ystad one can read:

> Ystad was one of the pioneer-cities in film in Sweden at the beginning of the 20th century, and it now re-establish its position as a film-city of importance. (www.ystad.se, 07.08.2007)

In 2004 Ystad Studios was established on parts of the grounds of the closed garrison. One might say that he image, the concept and the landscape of the city have been through three transformations: from fishing to oxen export, from agriculture to military base, and from military base to tourism. If we also include the latest

transformation, the landscape has become a commodity in itself used as film location and for local film productions.

Ystad as film location

Scandinavian crime fiction has experienced an explosive expansion and global interest since the 1990'ies, and the tradition of Sjöwall and Wahlö's crime series from the seventies and their left wing political engagement has inspired many crime authors since, not only in Sweden as the case with Mankell, but as well in Norway and Denmark. Scandinavian crime fiction has become an important export product both as books, TV series, movies and DVDs. E.g. Mankell's novels has been translated into 37 languages and he has sold nearly 25 millions books, his ten books about inspector Wallander has been adapted for screen in different productions, and during the last three years Skåne Film has produced another 13 films for both television and global DVD market about Wallander based on new script concepts developed by Mankell himself[1]. German readers and viewers are a main market for Scandinavian crime fiction as well as the Scandinavian countries export among themselves. Regarding the question of how media is producing places, one might say, that the extent of the production and consumption of Scandinavian crime fiction represent in itself Scandinavia as geographical region and culture, both on a general level because the series represent media production and authors from Scandinavia, and also because many stories stage specific towns, villages and landscapes in the Scandinavian countries.

When looking at Ystad and the production of Wallander crime series as a specific case, we will argue that there are at least six modes of representation and spatial production going on: firstly, Ystad is used as location in Mankell's crime series, secondly Ystad is used as film location in the series and film productions, thirdly there are a spatial transformation going on in the process of adapting the books for screen, in which e.g. the producer choose other places than what is described in the book, or the places look different from what the reader have imagined by reading the books. Fourthly the visual filmic representation of Ystad in the crime series includes a specific mimic representation that resembles an actual sensuous and bodily

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[1] "*In the footsteps of Inspector Wallander*", tourist promotion material, Ystad Kommune, 2005, http://www.ystad.se/Ystadweb.nsf

experience as well as moving pictures have their own media specific aesthetics and bodily effects. Fifthly, on a cultural political level there are also a spatial production of Ystad going on in the fact that the production of the new Wallander films have give rise to a local production company (*Yellowbird Film,* recently sold to *Zodiak Television*) establishing of local production facilities (*Ystad Studio*) as well as a regional film production foundation (*Film i Skåne*). The film production facilities and th e actual film productions stage and promote Ystad and the region as actual places, landscape and destination. Sixthly, there are another representation or rather transformation process going on, in the case that the actual places and landscapes become commodities for both tourist marketing, tourist experiences as well for film production. *Öresund Film Commission* has e.g. established a location database where film producers can collect places and landscapes online. Here you are able to choose between beaches, landscapes, houses, landmarks, army sites, modern architecture, public buildings, city looks etc., and as in other online trade features, you can put the images in your shopping basket: "*Feel free to browse through hundreds of spectacular locations from Southern Sweden and Greater Copenhagen area, select your favourites adding them to your basket or download them as PDF-files*" (http://www.oresundfilm.com/location_database/, August 2007).

In 2006 the Swedish communication concern *Cloudberry Communication*, made a rapport for the local and regional government in *Skåne*, in which they argue that film production is a creative industry for regional growth and development (*Cloudberry Communication,* 2006). Their economical prognosis include a high regional profit, film production increase the number of yearly employees and might increase the numbers of visitors by an average of about 54% over the next four years. Every single image in the movies that represents Ystad contains hardcore economical value by promoting the city and the region.

Ystad as film location and the Wallander film production as case includes in other words an extensive way of mediating and representing the city, in which the new local film museum *Cineteket* even reflects and stages in their recent exhibition (March 2007): they show how different sites and landscapes in the Wallander series have been chosen and perhaps manipulated to achieve certain spatial and representation effects and how the production as well as the museum itself is an

integral feature of the comprehensive economical market of sites, landscapes and spatial productions:

Exhibition at Cineteket in Ystad on the commodification, staging and remediation of places and landscapes in the region (photo: Waade, 2007)

The complex representational process and interpretation of spatial production, spatial re-mediation and mediatized places are central issues when dealing with media geography, and in the following we will try to sort out different aesthetical and media technological elements that reinforce the complexity of how places and spatial experience are produced, mediated and imagined. In the case of Wallanders Ystad, it is obvious that it is not at simple question of what are the actual and real places, and what are the mediated, staged and fictional places, but rather it illustrates that both the crime books, the Wallander films, the tourist promotion and the tourist practice are dealing with an ongoing play with *spatial representational effects*. It represents a sophisticated play with representational levels and relations related to actual places, in which reality, fiction and tourist's performative actions are integral parts.

Ystad as crime tourism destination

When it comes to tourist practice and Ystad as tourist destination, the list of representational effects could be even doubled or tripled. In this case, the spatial imagination of Ystad thorough the Wallander films offer a certain physical, sensuous and performative action in which you are able to experience sites, landscapes, buildings, food, streets and crime scenes with your own body and you can enter the fiction universe of Inspector Wallander as it was real. A growing tourism has followed the popularity of Mankell's stories on print as well on screen. As we have seen it with other film tourism cases, e.g. *Lords of the Rings* and *The Da Vinci Code*, there is a market for tourists that want to visit places they have read and heard about and there are many people that want to see and feel the places themselves. This brings

embodied, ritual and performative aspects to the mediation and media related production of places. Of course Ystad as destination include more than Wallander tourism, but the crime fiction play a central role in the promotion of the city.

As tourist there are different possibilities to see and experience the place yourself, e.g. "Wallander package" that offer you to eat the same place as Inspector Wallander, see his home and the city he lives in, and even stay at hotel that you have seen in the films. You can also participate in a murder-walk in which you play the role of a detective yourself, and there are guided tours in the production design of the films as well as the exhibition at Cineteket close to Ystad Studio. There are different equipments and services to help you to recognize, remember and reproduce different the sites and scenes form the books and the films, e.g. an online guide you can download to your cell phone, the local tourist information offer a homepage with an extensive material, maps, plays, films and information about the films stories, production and places as well as there are several guidebooks you can get for free or buy, e.g. "In the footstep of Inspector Wallander" (2006) published by the local government or "Wallanders Ystad" (2004) published by the local newspaper that includes nearly 60 pictures from specific sites in the city that are used as external locations in the books.

In the footsteps of inspector Wallander: Information material and online entertainment presented at the Tourist Information site, www.ystad.se. The numbers of the map are referring to sites and sequences from the books about Inspector Wallander.

Mankell's crime fiction about Wallander and the film productions have had an great impact on Ystad as city and destination, and as we heard when we visited a bookstore in Malmö to buy Swedish crime bestsellers, the bookseller sighed and said that "now

almost every small village and city in the region tries to discover their own local brand crime writer, so that they can start promoting their place and make movies".

Regarding the case of Wallander's Ystad, it illustrates what Jansson describes as respectively *scripting*, *navigating* and *representation of* places (Jansson, 2006). Representation of places means how places are mediated and presented in media, scripting places is how places are conceptualized and imagined, and navigating places means how people operate, act and perform on actual places through their imaginations, expectations and knowledge about the place. This way of understanding and analyzing the production of mediaspaces, corresponds to Lefevbre's distinction between production of space, representations of space and spatial practice (presented in Ek, 2006) and mediated place, mediatized place and mediatized sense of place (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006) as well as the distinction between corporeal tourism, mediated tourism and imagined tourism (Waade 2006). Scripting places is related to imagined tourism, representation of places is related to mediated tourism, and navigating places to how the tourist perform in actual places and produce space.

The crime series of Wallander's Ystad is mediating the city by using the city as film location and represents the city by audiovisual and linguistic referential codes, but the series also is conceptualizing and scripting the city; it produce imaginations, expectations and virtual places in the mind of the readers and the travelers and it offers an fictional universe and narrative framing to related the physical place to. When it comes to navigating the place, crime tourist and film tourist's act in certain ways in the city[2]. The crime tourist perform like an detective, reconstruct and reproduce the place through his knowledge about the different crimes stories, crime scenes and fictional persons. The crime tourist use memories, guidebooks and maps to navigate and produce the spatial experience, as well as he/she can follow certain staged *murderwalk* and guided tours to reconstruct certain sites, plots and actions. Navigating places is not only about seeing and bodily experiencing places through fictional concepts, it is also consuming places in a very concrete way: when you eat the food that you have seen the murder or the inspector have eaten or drink the same drinks, and you do it at the same place and exactly the same table in the cafeteria as the inspector did, it represents an immediate, non reflective bodily experience.

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[2] This perspective would be obvious to develop by empirical studies on tourists and visitors in Ystad.

Besides sensing the place (seeing, smelling, tasting, hearing, feeling) you also act and perform in relation to the place, as well as your body digest and consume the place.

Guided tours in Ystad Studio and the setting of the films: visitor sitting in Wallander's old sofa in his living room, reading the local newspaper (photo: Waade 2007).

Film tourists in Ystad might have some of the same motivation and experience expectations to visit the city, and they might perform and navigate in the same way as crime tourists, but instead of reconstructing the plot and the sites in the stories, they are focused on how the crime films are produced: how filmic effects and location are chosen, used and eventually manipulated, how the setting was produced, how the production team worked, how people in the city were involved in the production etc. Both Cineteket, guidebooks and guided tours at Ystad Studio offers this kind of information and experience. In many connections, you would not differ between the two types of visitors, but in this context one might say that they represent two different spatial productions: the first tries to reconstruct the crime stories spatially, the latter tries to reconstruct the *production* of the stories nd where it took place, as at meta communicative or meta production approach. Both film tourists and crime tourists are concerned about the actual places used in the films and the stories. The augmented spatial experience covers respectively scripting, navigating as well as mediating places, and how the three strategies reinforce and influence on each other.

Staging death on screen and off screen
As stated in the beginning of this paper a crime scene includes a set and a plot, and this quality influence on the tourist's spatial re-production. We will pinpoint three characteristic strategies of staging crime scenes by using the examples from he two films; firstly *site specific aesthetic strategies*, secondly the production of *spatial affects* and thirdly the production of *spatial referential representational effects*. In a

general way of the cultural function of crime fiction, one might say that the plot fascinate, engage and involve the reader/viewer in the process of finding out "whodonnit", the genre reflects ethical and moral questions about right and wrong, good and evil, solidarity and betrayal, responsibility and revenge as basic values in a society (Klitgaard Povlsen, 2006). In that case the social impact of crime fiction as cultural phenomenon manifest and reflect the cultural cement in a certain society, as the church or local rulers used to do. In that way it has been a popular genre for authors with political and social critical engagement, and such a strong engagement is characteristic for the Nordic Crime fiction tradition. When it comes to the location used in crime fiction, we will suggest that the main function is to relate the plot and the moral questions to the reality of the reader/viewer, both in time and place. This is again related to the series format of crime fiction, in which the fictional universe of the story develops over time and turns into a real world for the viewer/reader. This close relationship that establishes between the reader/viewer and to the main figures and the places in the story, is one of the reasons why people want to visit and see the places themselves. Realism in the crime fiction as genre is in other words not only a stylistic characteristic of the genre, it also have an overall educative cultural function regarding the viewer/reader/visitor: to recognize and aesthetically reflect ones own life and society, and next to perform and act on behalf of this reflections and values. In this perspective, the relations between the respectively *representation* of places, the *scripting* of places and the *navigation* in places are closely linked to each other.

Regarding the aesthetical aspects of staging crime scenes, we will underline a) the audiovisual spatial mediation strategies, b) the plotting strategies, and c) the mapping strategies. There are many ways of using and staging a crime scene through music, sound, images, camera and cutting, and the presenting of a crime scene on screen is typically related to the narrative structure, e.g. in *Blodsband* we see the first murder on the boat during the first seconds of the film, and in this way it is used to catch the viewer's attention and to establish a dramaturgical exposition scene *in media res.* In our examples the camera don't give an overview of the crime scene (except the sport arena), but rather we se glimpses and dark images to let our fantasy and imagination work. This is a typically audiovisual feature in crime fiction as well as in other action genres (Grodal, 2003a). The imagination is important in crime fiction as well as for crime tourists: when you se the tracks and follow the footsteps of the murder, you have to imagine how the crime scene was like or could be. The crime

scenes on screen can be indicated (like in the container or the stable), they can be explored (like the sport arena) or they can be pretended (e.g. when the viewer follows the murders eyes on a young boy in a swimming bath as he was the next victim). These ways of staging places create certain expectations, images and emotions that are relate to the specific place. The audiovisual staging of crime scene reflects the places in different ways: by using well known visual icons of a specific place (e.g. the monastery, the sport arena, or the church in Ystad as the opening scene), by transforming anonymous places (e.g. a container, Bankomaten/ATM) into crime scenes, or by using contrasts like changing idyllic, picturesque and innocent places (e.g. churches, peaceful landscapes, private homes) into evil crime scenes. When it comes to the mapping of places, this is a specific feature that is genre specific and reflects the crime investigation in which maps and modern technology are used to recognize crime scenes and track down criminals (Waade 2004). The process of mapping crime scenes is also corresponding to the way the camera is used in the episode, e.g. how the viewer can recognize a place by short glimpses. Beside narrative and audiovisual aesthetical strategies, we will pinpoint the cartographic strategies that mark crime fiction as genre in which mediatization of places is reflected.

Secondly, the mediation of crime scenes is not only a question of aesthetical and technological strategies, but also the emotional impacts on places and spatial production this brings. Crime scenes are referring to dramatically, deadly and cruel actions, they are filled with anxious and exiting feelings that influence on the viewers/readers bodily experience, and they are used (both by the producer and the reader/viewer) to achieve these emotional effects as a genre specific communicative intention. Emotions are typically related to dramaturgical and narrative strategies, but in this connection we will underline the emotional effects of places and crime scenes in particular. As already mentioned, the way of transforming innocent, picturesque and familiar places into evil arenas for mass murders and cruel killers, is a way of demonizing idyllic places and the contrasts brings emotional effects in itself. E.g. the farmer house with young families, playing children and quite winter landscape transforms into a crime scene for a brutal mass murder, panic and revenge. Touristic post card images like the Monastery, the bright beach in Ystad, the friendly summer landscapes of Southern Sweden and the boats in the harbor, turns into scaring sets for heartless perpetrators and scenes of crime. Nostalgic places that bring memories from good old days, personal experiences or picturesque scenes, are contrasted by human

depravation and social decomposition. One might argue that crime fiction include an emotional geographical aspect, in which suspense, affects and bodily excitements are related to the places, the crime scenes and the spatial transformations that take place.

Our last issue is the *referential representational effects* that mark crime fiction as genre and which as already mentioned include a spatial aspect. This effects is about how actual places are mediated and used as crime scenes, and also the referential play between what is real and what is fiction, this kaleidoscope of representational references that are reflect and staged both in the series as well as in crime tourism. At the home page the Tourist Information tourists are invited to investigate and decode the real places of the stories and they promote the city by inviting tourist to experience the places themselves:

> **That's right! This IS where the flower shop was!**
> *It's true, the flower shop was on the corner of Pottmakaregränd and Västra Vallgatan,*
> *at least that's what it says in one of Henning Mankell's books. Indeed, everyone who*
> *has read about Kurt Wallander in The Fifth Woman knows this!*
> (www.ystad.se/Ystadweb.nsf)

The referential effect is related to the concept of staged authenticity. Authenticity in tourism practice is not so much a question of what s true or not by an object or a place, but rather the authentic effect one can achieve by visiting or seeing a place (Wang 1999). Morten Kyndrup is analyzing films, photography and art objects, and he suggest to look at representational effects instead of representation as such (Kyndrup 1999, p.161). He is pinpointing different representational effects, based on the communication model of Roman Jakobson in which ale the functions of a communication is included: sender, receiver, message, context and code is included. Kyndrup is focusing on: a) referential representational effects regarding references to the world as material, b) creative representational effects regarding references to the producer and the artist (e.g. signature, picture of Mankell in the book etc), c) genre specific representational effects, and d) functional representational effects regarding the *connotative* function of Jakobson's communicative model, e.g. how the crime reader thought narrative strategies gets involved and investigate the plot and the crime scenes together with the inspector. In crime fiction one can argue that all the different representational effects is at stake, but the referential representational effects plays a

certain role, especially when it comes to references to actual places and locations. The staging of crime scenes both on screen and off screen turns the places into emotionalized experiences, sensuous and coded places, that is augmented places which reinforce the referential representational effects.

When it comes to online crime scenes, that is crime scenes which are mediated through various types of computer games, an extra dimension extra dimension has been added in that they are interactive and play-centric: in the computer game crime scene the place is not just being experienced, here both set and plot embedded in the crime scene is being performed.

Crime scenes as performative and navigational spatial practice: Marklund's Dollar

The crime mystery Dollar has been written especially for the PC by Liza Marklund using the crime scene settings she uses in the crime series about crime reporter Annika Bengtzon. In the computer game though you do not get to play the famous reporter, but become a part of Stockholm police as the chief of investigation in a case about a millionaire heiress who has been killed at one of Stockholm's fashionable
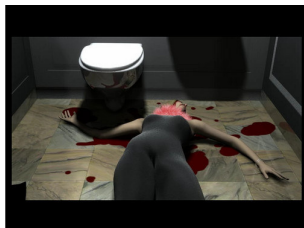
hotels. In order to fulfill this task you must comb various parts of the Swedish capitol and interrogate several more or less suspicious people. By doing so, you start to reconstruct the story about the victim who was a well-known person in Swedish high society as she was to inherit a large business empire. She was a person with many enemies and who many would like to get rid of. And as is the case with any murder story by Marklund the crime is intertwined in a complex web of political and financial conspiracies, games of power and shady activities like trafficking and prostitution. And a lot of the suspects and others you encounter throughout your investigations got plenty of reasons to keep information from you.

Even though Dollar may be compared to an adventure game like e.g. *Myst* where the main gameplay is based on exploring the game world end solving puzzles and thereby constructing the story of the game, in this game you don't get to perform

the adventurous tasks yourself. You are dependent of your CSI-assistants to perform forensic work and interrogating suspects, eyewitnesses and so on. It is your task to decide what these assistants should do and to collect and analyze the different information they provide you with and by doing so trying to piece the over all picture together by reconstructing the movements and actions of the victim and potential
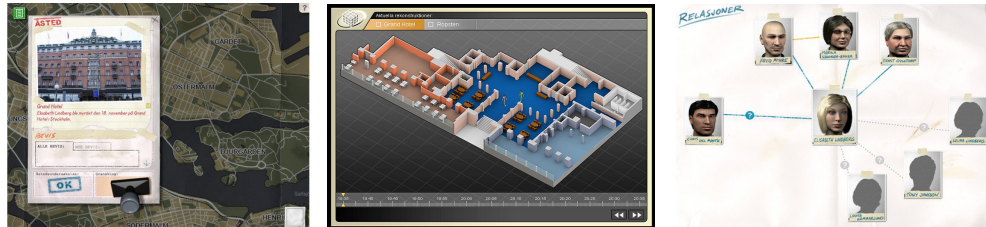
murderers, using different maps, reconstruction models, diagrams displaying how different people involved are connected to each others an so on. The plot laid out by Marklund is complex, labyrinthic, using a variety of different location and containing blind alleys, false scents and misleading information. Your choices are crucial to how your investigation develops and to whether you will succeed at solving the crime.

This is the core logic of the interactive and play-centric setup found in computer games: the story has to be performed by you instead of narrated or shown to you, and a vital element in this performative story is that your performance not just (re)construct the story, it also (re)construct the spatial environment it takes place within. Even though you don't get to move around to the different locations in Markslund's *Dollar*, you use your assistants to do so and you may also use the different tools mentioned above, like e.g. a computer program to model and thus reconstruct the hotel in which the murder took place and this is how you by making choices, selecting and analyzing information, reconstructing locations and patterns of action and movement make the crime plot as well as its setting unfold as a result of your partly spatial performance.

Plot and place as interaction

Traditional fictions (I use the word fiction to avoid the more biased word 'narrative') – that is most types of fiction within literature, films and theatre – make use of a communication model describing a transition of a message (a fiction) from a sender (author, playwright, director) through a medium (novel, movie, performance) to a recipient (reader, spectator) who interprets the message. This is all in all a one-way kind of communication and even though a fiction may be interpreted in various ways

depending on its complexity and openness, the fiction itself is not influenced by the various interpretations. Even though the reader or spectator is invited to get seduced by the plot and to empathize with its characters she is always distanced from the fiction's setup and development as such. Traditional fictions are fixed entities; they are 'told' – even when they unfold in real-time in front of its audience like in the theatre (Cf. Bordwell 1985).

All computer game fictions present themselves as interactive and – to use a term coined by Celia Pearce (2002) – as play-centric. They are interactive in that they are constituted by interactions between a fictitious world and a plot structure (how ever complex and multi-threaded) and player's action within and in relation to this world and structure. They are play-centric in that this interaction between game and player uses role-play as its primary mode. Computer game fictions come in many shapes and forms – 1st person shooters (*Counter-Strike*), adventure games (*Myst-*series), strategy games (*The Sims*), vast fictitious online-worlds, which work as arenas for improvisation with player-designed characters (*World of Warcraft*), but their differences aside they all have one thing in common: role-play and participation in some kind of story-producing process or "production of […] events" (Klastrup 2001).

Fiction-based computer games present themselves as fictitious worlds into which the player is invited to play along the story-line and is offered a role as a character in the plot. This is the case whether the player engages in playing the part of the space soldier in *Halo*, the assassin in *Hitman*, the adventuring heroine in *Tomb Raider* or she puts on the role as creator of systems; families, cities, empires in *The Sims*, *SimCity* or *Civilization*. And in a MMORPG like *World of Warcraft* this role-playing mode has been extended to the degree that the player can create her own unique character using the creative tools the game has to offer and by using this character she can create her own story-lines together with other player-characters and non-player characters (NPCs) within the framework of the fictitious world of Azzeroth.

Interactive and play-centric fictions differs from traditional fictions in that they offer a dramatic plot in which the player gets to perform a role in the plot structure contained in the game: She is no longer merely spectator, but is projected into the game's fiction world and into the player character, which may be pre-defined like the Lara Croft-character in *Tomb Raider* or defined by the player herself like in *Ultima Online*. A fiction being interactive and play-centric thus implies that the

fiction is not a closed and static system brought to a reader or spectator but that it offers an open structure in which the recipient is invited inside as participant, as player. And this *playing-along* is the most important mode of reception in computer game fictions. When Celia Pearce (2002) points out that game designers are disinterested in 'storytelling' and rather engages in creating a compelling framework for play this does not necessarily imply that stories are inferior elements in game design. Rather it implies that stories in games are placed in the service of the game as tools for the game itself. Interactive and play-centric fictions are played out and the player therefore performs a crucial part in the dramatic story-line:

> "Instead of narration and description, we may be better off thinking about games in terms of narrative actions and explorations. Rather than being narrated to, the player herself has to perform actions to move narrative forward: talking to other characters she encounters in the game world, picking up objects, fighting the enemies, and so on. If the player does not do anything, the narrative stops." (Manovich 2002, s.214)

The point is that the fiction contained in a computer game invites the player inside to play along and is dependent of her presence and actions. But at the same time as the player is invited inside and thus sees the interactive fiction of the game from within (be it in 1st or 3rd person perspective), the game demands that she can apply a double perspective on her play: She has to be a part of the interactive fiction and at the same time regard the rules, navigational operations, game logic – in short: the interface and the gameplay, which defines and makes the dialogue between recipient and fiction work. The player is both participant and spectator even when it comes to types of computer games in which the player is 'physically' immersed with the game universe (games that run on different kinds of Virtual Reality-platforms such as panoramas and caves).

The interactive and play-centric dramatic fiction found in computer games dissolves the line between spectator and fiction, which is why it is not to correct, as claimed by Brenda Laurel (1991), that interactive systems (regarded as theatre) imply that the audience (the users) enters the stage and becomes actors. It is meaningless to talk about actors and audience in the traditional sense. There is no point outside the game from which an audience is intended to watch and therefore there is no-one for

an actor to act to. A game is not meant to be watched like a theatre performance. The central issue in a game is to play. This involves different demands on the interactive and play-centric fiction than on traditional fictions, which are meant to be read or watched. Narrative contingency, psychological character development, depth in characters as well as story plays to some extent a minor role compared to possibilities for the recipient to play a role *within* the story. The point is not to discover, reveal or to read for the plot (Cf. Brooks 1984), but to *play the plot*.

The player's positions and double perspective
Marie-Laure Ryan (2001) has elaborated on the four types of interactivity described by Espen Aarseth in his cybertext book (1997, p.62-65). She formulates four different positions for the player to inhabit when encountering an interactive fiction: The player can either 1) operate inside the fictitious world and with the use of a character (an avatar) explore this world, 2) operate inside the fictitious world and with the use of a character influence this world, 3) operate outside the fictitious world and from this position explore this world, and 4) operate outside the fictitious world and from this position influence this world. In position 2 and 4 the player is invited to become a part of the fiction in an ontological sense in so far that she has become an influential agent in the very being of the fiction. Thus these four positions describe respectively an internal-exploratory, an internal-ontological, an external-exploratory and an external-ontological mode of interactivity. Though we may find interactive fictions and virtual worlds that may employ just one of these four player positions and interactivity modes (examples may respectively be a visit to the internet version of art museum Louvre, a 1st person shooter like *Doom*, a hypertext fiction like *Afternoon* by Michael Joyce, and a strategy game like *SimCity*), these four positions and modes may also be regarded as different aspects of the complexity of reception and role-play in interactive and play-centric fictions. They may describe the characteristics of the player's double perspective: The player has to operate as an agent and as an interpreter both inside and outside the fiction. This seems to be what Ceilia Pearce is talking about when she states that a play-centric fiction both functions in an *experiential* mode in which the fiction evolves as a result of the 'conflict' embedded in the fiction and the way this 'conflict' is being played out and experienced by the player and in a *performative* mode in which the fiction is perceived and interpreted during the game and as an integrated part of the game. The performative aspect is

constituted by the fact that the player's reception and interpretations is making the fiction and thus the game evolve in the sense that the interpretations constantly makes re-entries into the fiction as what enables further actions made by the player. The interpretation is thus not separated from the fiction but integrated into it in the way same way as is the case with *the open work* described by Umberto Eco: The reception of the work makes the work come into being (Eco 1989).

We will elaborate some more on the player's double perspective and the different positions which the player may inhabit when engaging in an interactive and play-centric fiction and how this inflict upon how places are constructed and performed and thus experienced. There are two types of montage simultaneously at work in theatre performances (Cf. Ruffini 1986) and which may also be found in the types of computer games described in this essay. On the one hand there is a vertical montage (or *mise-en-scene*), which is constituted by the various visual elements offered to the eye of the recipient; landscapes, buildings, interiors, characters, clothing, lighting and so on. In computer games this type of montage is even more complex in so far that it also is constituted by different interface features like displays showing score, lives, ammunition and health left, maps of the game world etc. In some types of games this montage includes partly a window displaying the game world itself (the place containing the game's actions and events) in which the player navigates her character, partly a list of different skills, belongings and experience points possessed by the character and also the 'paper doll' that functions as a tool for further character development.

On the other hand there is a horizontal montage in which the fictitious sequences of actions and events follow each other on a time line. This montage is constituted by the player-characters navigation in the fictitious world of the game and the actions the player makes herself or actions being done to her and events she may experience: The basic elements in computer game fictions are "movement through space and […] the conditions motivating this movement" (Grodal 2003b, s.37). Thus the horizontal montage to a great extend is created by the player herself but is controlled and framed by the interactive structure and player-position included in the game's rules, which the player has to understand and relate to in order to create the montage of actions and events on the horizontal axis. This is one of the most important characteristics of interactive and play-centric fictions: the way in which the player navigates and spatially moves through the narrative structure:

"The navigation through 3D space is an essential, if not the key component, of the gameplay. […] In Doom and Myst – and in a great many other computer games – narrative and time itself are equated with the movement through 3D space, the progressions through rooms, levels, or worlds. […] these computer games return us to the ancient forms of narrative where the plot is driven by the spatial movement of the main hero, traveling through distant lands to save the princess, to find the treasure, to defeat the Dragon, and so on." (Manovich 2002, s.214)

In contrast to fictions found in novels, movies and theatre performances the *contract of fiction* found in computer games is not limited to guiding the reader/spectator or regulating the room for possible interpretations (Eco 1979) but includes rules governing how the player may interact with the game and its fiction and is as such imperative in order to make it possible for the player to play the game at all. The player must understand the interface and gameplay in order to get a satisfactory game experience. And when looking at the game's fiction and how it may be 'read', it is important to be aware of these rules because they are an implemented part of this 'reading'. When we analyze a game's interactive fiction we analyze a dynamic structure that evolves as we analyze and interpret it. We analyze our own actions according to the rules of the game and to our positions as players in the game universe and according to the game characters we operate as well as we analyze the story (or stories) emerging from our actions. And what makes this analysis the more complex is that our interpretations constantly and recursively re-enter the game itself as new starting points for further dramatic action and development.

Putting the body into place – some closing remarks
As cultural phenomena computer games are related both to play and games as such and to the performative arts (like theatre) and thus computer games introduces a strong bodily dimension to how they are experienced. As fictions they are not being read or watched, they are played and as such they are dependent on the player's direct and physical actions and this is how computer game fictions in many ways simulate our behavior in 'real life'. Janet H. Murray has explained that computer game fictions

more than anything else present themselves as dynamic, narrative processes which are embodied by the computer and played out as a result of the player's performative agency:

> Whereas novels allow us to explore character and drama allows us to explore action, simulation narrative can allow us to explore process. Because the computer is a procedural medium, it does not just describe or observe behavioral patterns, the way printed text or moving photography does; it embodies and executes them. And as a participatory medium, it allows us to collaborate in the performance. (Murray 1997, p.181)

Thus the experience of plot and place in computer games relates to the human bodily conception of being situated in our surroundings, what Torben Grodal labels our "first-person experiences" (Grodal 2003b, p.42). Here movements in three dimension is what constitutes our reception of the world and thus also our conceptualization of the world in which even not-physical events and phenomena are being conceptualized by the use of spatial metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). It follows that the way a computer game engages not only the player's cognitive apparatus but also her body is vital as to how plot and place in computer game fictions are experienced:

> Computer games and some types of *virtual reality* are the most perfect media for total simulation of our basic first-person story experiences, because these media allow a full PECMA-flow[3] by connecting perceptions, reasoning and emotions. Motor and pre-motor cortex and feedback from our muscles focus our audiovisual attention and enhances the experience with a 'muscular' reality which produces 'immersion' in the player. (op.cit. p.38)

Engagement of the player's body takes place on several levels in computer games, ranging from the virtual physicality inherent in the player's *immersion* in the game universe and her presence by substitute (*telepresence*) which is found in the player's control over the game character and game story to the tactility in encountering and operating the games interface. This emphasis on the body is also articulated in various forms of transgressions of the computer mediated world into the physical place which

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[3] PECMA-flow: perception, emotion, cognition, motor action (op.cit., p.36).

can be seen in how many computer games have surround sound which expands the fictional universe compared to what is shown on the computer screen, but also in new types of interfaces which with the use of cameras and other censor technology includes the player's body as a navigational tool. And similar transgression may be found in so-called 'out-of-the-box' games (pervasive games) in which the game universe no only appears as computer made and mediated but also as embedded in the physical environment and in which the player's body becomes a part of this game universe and thus playing a game becomes a performance constituted by role-play and choreography. As such computer games may be regarded as part of a certain *performative turn* (see Jones 1998) in our culture which – in opposition to the *linguistic turn* (see Rorty 1967) which regards the world as text and the *visual turn* (see Mitchell 1994) which regards the world as picture – regards the world as a stage for our actions and bodily investments (Knudsen 2006). As such computer games become a certain way of representing the world – places and spaces and everything in between – which may be described as a *performative realisme* (ibid.) which also may be found in the spatial practices of crime tourists described earlier and in which there are no recipients in the traditional sense, only agents, only participants who's bodies have been inscribed in the action and events in time and in space.

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