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Convergence of Place and Plot

Investigating the Anatomy of the Crime Scene

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Crime scenes are constituted by a combination – or rather a convergence or blending – of a place and a plot. They constitute the major starting point for any crime story, be it fictional or factual. This article offers an understanding of this type of 'plotted places' and takes a closer look at narrative and performative practices in the investigation of crime's place and actions[1].

The crime scene is a place which has been in a certain state of transformation at a certain moment in time, the moment at which the place constituted the scene for some kind of criminal events which has been embedded as *narrative fragments* in the shape of a variety of marks and traces which may be read and interpreted in order to reconstruct the course of events. From this follows that a crime scene may be understood as an *augmented place*.

The article starts out by explaining the concept of augmented places and argues that places may be augmented through several different narrative strategies for embedding stories into a certain place and among which *staging*, *fictionalization*, and *physical alteration* will be dealt with in depth here as a means for explaining the anatomy of the crime scene. And furthermore, the article – inspired by Lefebvre's concept of spatial practice (Lefebvre 1991) implying that certain types of spaces limit and shapes our ways of thinking and acting – puts forwards the idea that the way we perceive and experience augmented places is by applying a *performative* practice through which *simulations* of the embedded narratives are acted out in time and space. This performative practice through which a specific virtual (in the sense of potential or possible) story space and a specific plot are being simulated is part of the way a crime scene is decoded and the narrative of the crime is being (re-)constructed. In light of this understanding of crime scenes as augmented places, the article conducts a short analysis of how the crime scene of the initial murder in the first episode of the Danish TV series *The Killing II*[2] is constructed and how its various traces and clues are used to reveal and retell the crime which initially has taken place. In the end of the article, this analysis will

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[1] Parts of this article have earlier being presented in Sandvik & Waade 2008, Sandvik 2008, Sandvik 2010.

[2] *Forbrydelsen II*, Danmarks Radio (Danish national TV corporation) 2009. The series was airing while I wrote this article and I had only seen the first episode before writing the analysis. The analysis of the construction of the scene of the crime would have been different if it was conducted on the background of the entire series in which several murders take place at different locations thus introducing not just one but several crime scenes. It is fair to believe that the series will be material for several analyses in the future and Gunhild Agger has – as so often before – been playing the role as frontrunner and half-way through the series conducted a substantial analysis of the series' suspense-creating realism and connection to the actual political situation in Denmark in her article "Pressen, plottet og den sure pasbetjent" (The press, the plot and the grumpy border police officer), see: http://www.kommunikationsforum.dk-/artikler/pressen-plottet-og-pasbetjenten .

be broadened by applying knowledge about how real-life crime scene investigations are carried out and will highlight some differences and similarities between real life crime scene investigations and the ones found in crime fiction.

Construction and perception of places

The chair and the lamp lying on the floor in the victim's apartment suggest a heavy fight and the narrative of a murder as a result of passionate, affective actions. Then detective Sarah Lund places both chair and lamp upright and places the latter in front of the former turning the set-up into that of an interrogation and changing the narrative of the crime into a possible story of the murder as a result of torture and cold-blooded execution. The chair and the lamp are here encodings in a place which has been augmented with a certain narrative – the crime. And depending on how these are decoded the narrative may be read and interpreted in a way which either clouds the investigation or – as it seems in this first episode of *The Killing II* – leads to revealing the nature of the murder.

In this article I will argue that the anatomy of the crime scene is that of an augmented place. But in order to discuss this we need to understand how places in general and augmented places specifically are understood in this context.

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 has history and organic social (or natural) rhythms instilled by a long duration of time and use (Augé 1995). It is situated here and now – unmediated and anthropological (see later). 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. So as opposed to places, spaces connote the virtual, the potential and the transformative (Law & Hetherington 2000). Fair and square: places are 'real' and spaces are 'imaginations'.

Of course this is a much too simple approach when it comes to our way(s) of perceiving the world and one of my arguments in this article 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 Azeroth in *World of Warcraft*.

To broaden the perspective of space and place we can apply Lefebvre's argument in *The*

Production of Space (1991) that spaces may be simple, natural but they may also – as is the case with e.g. urban spaces – be results of a complex social construction which affects spatial practices and perceptions: "(Social) space is a (social) product [...] the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action [...] in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (op.cit., p.26). Without limiting myself to the Marxist context of Lefebvre's thoughts, I would like to argue that media play a crucial role in this process of spatial construction and that the above mentioned mediated worlds as a specific type of constructed space relate to how media shape today's space(s) for social interactions, the construction of communities and rules of conduct, as well as the construction of identities.

Ever since Meyrowitz wrote *No Sense of Place* (1985), his ideas about how the (at that time) new media influence our perception of time and place have been widely debated within media research. This article would like initially to agree with the points being put forward by Meyrowitz that "the evolution in media […] has changed the logic of the social order by restructuring the relationships between physical place and social place and by altering the ways in which we transmit and receive social information" (Meyrowitz 1985, p. 308), but at the same time I want to point out that today's new media are not just (re)shaping our sense of place but actually producing new types of places and new types of spatial experiences. Scannell (1996, p.172) has claimed that mass media create a "doubling of place" between the space represented in media and the space in which the media content is perceived, and Meyrowitz himself has in his recent work pointed out, that we experience locally through our bodies, but what we experience may derive from a variety of different spaces brought to us through media:

> Today, with hundreds of TV channels, cable networks, satellite systems, and millions of computer web sites, average citizens of all advanced industrialized societies (and many not so advanced societies) have images in their heads of other people, other cities and countries, other professions, and other lifestyles. These images help to shape the images elsewhere from which each person's somewhere is conceived. In that sense, all our media – regardless of their manifest purpose and design – function as mental "global positioning systems". […] although most intense interactions continue to take place in specific physical settings, they are now often perceived as occurring in a much larger social arena. The local and the global co-exist in the glocality. (Meyrowitz 2005, p.24-25)

The new media – and first and foremost digital media – have given us a variety of media generated and mediated environments (various 3D-worlds from *World of Warcraft* to *Second Life*) as arenas for a wide range of social, political and economical activities. But while media research in the 1990s tended to regard these activities and their mediatic environment as of another order than the 'real world' – as an exotic *cyberspace* – the media evolution in the new millennium has made it increasingly clear that the borders between online and offline places and activities are blurred and dissolved and that physical and mediatized places are becoming intertwined.

In the age of digital mediatization[3] and especially with the emergence of social media and with its strong emphases on online communities and online worlds it becomes increasingly difficult to see places only as unmediated locations in the physical (off-line and not-mediatized) world. When it comes to an online world like e.g. *Second Life* it becomes evident that we here have a 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 symbiotically connected to the off-line world. This is – according to media researchers such as Lev Manovich and Jay David Bolter (Fetveit and Stald 2007) – an example on how digital culture in the new millennium differs from that of the 1990s. In the 1990s 'new media' were seen as something producing a new 'sense of place' (cf. Meyrowitz 1985), 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 are regarded rather as parts 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" (Fetveit and Stald 2007, p. 149).

I would like to argue that – in the same way as with the relation between online and off-line worlds

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[3] I use the concept of mediatization according to Stig Hjarvard's definition: designates the process through which core elements of a social or cultural activity (for example, politics, teaching, religion and so on) assume media form. As a consequence, the activity is, to a greater or lesser degree, performed through interaction with a medium, and the symbolic content and the structure of the social and cultural activity are influenced by media environments and a media logic, upon which they gradually become more dependent" (Hjarvard 2008, p. 13).

– the lines between places and spaces are blurred, that places (or 'natural spaces' according to Lefebvre's terminology) and spaces, which are results of (social) constructions (Lefebvre 1981) are part of the same continuum and that when it comes to our perception even the most authentic of places are constructed; they are mediated and mediatized. On the level of reception a place is not just something in itself – a natural space – with an *anthropological* status as Augé describes it – it is due to our perception 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. And as Meyrowitz would argue, this perception process is increasingly connected to our use of media and especially new media (the internet and mobile phones). We both draw upon online information and communicate our own experience through internet-applications such as Facebook, Twitter, Flikr, Google Earth together with mobile phone embedded technologies like sms, mms, GPS, mp3-players and so on. New media enable us to communicate our experiences encountering actual places and exchange them online and in real-time with friends, family and the rest of the online world (Molz 2004). In this sense we may say that our conception of actual places transforms them into radical version of what Augé calls non-places:

> If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places: instead these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of 'places of memory' and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position… a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral" (Augé 1995, p.77-78)

To Augé non-places are typical places like malls and airports (self-referential systems of meaning without any particular connection to a specific history or culture: global phenomena without any rooting in any specific locality), but his notion of places characterized by changing and transitory significance may also be applied to an understanding of how our perception of places is dependent on how we embed our own and other's stories into them. Following this line of thinking we might claim that 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), and it initiates a certain type of *spatial practice* (Lefebvre 1991), that of the tourist; a *touristic practice*. 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). As such this is in the line of Ning Wangs three types of authenticity in touristic experience: objective, constructive, and existential authenticity:

> Objective authenticity involves a museum-linked usage of the authenticity of the originals that are also the toured objects to be perceived by tourists. It follows that the authentic experience is caused by the recognition of the toured objects as authentic. As such, there is an absolute and objective and objective criterion used to measure authenticity. […] By constructive authenticity it is meant the result of social construction, not an objectively measurable quality of what is being visited. Things appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic but because they are constructed as such in terms of points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or power. […] existential [authenticity] involves personal or intersubjective feelings activated by the liminal experience, people feel they themselves are much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life, not because they find the toured objects are authentic but simply because they are engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from the constraints of the daily. (Wang 1999, p.351-352)

Obviously, uses of media relates to all three types of experience in that objective authenticity relates to how places are represented through media (e.g. travel magazines, documentaries), constructed authenticity relates to how places are not only being mediated but also mediatized (e.g. guided tours using mobile media, see below), and finally: existential authenticity relates to how the tourist uses media as an important element in shaping the touristic experience through individual storytelling and staging of self (e.g. the use of mobile phones to upload pictures and personal comments on a personal blog, on Google Earth, Twitter, and so on).

I will like to purpose that these and other forms of media-based representation and production

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*; an informational, aesthetical and/or emotional enhancement of our sense and experience of place by means of mediatization[4]. We understand places through media (e.g. Lonely Planet, Google Earth, travel literature and so on), we use media to construct places (using cameras, mobile phones, GPS, maneuvering through 3D-structures by means of an interface and some kind of avatar in a computer game, and so on), and media shapes our experience of places (guided tours, theme parks, computer simulated worlds like the ones found in computer games, and so on). Thus augmentation in this context implies that "places and spaces, places and non-places intertwine and tangle together. The possibility of non-places is never absent from any place" (Ague 1995, p.107).

Augmented places and the anatomy of the crime scene – explaining the concept

The term spatial augmentation is related to the concept of augmented reality, which surfaced in the last half of the 1990s as a research and design field within computer system design best described as an attempt at developing 'out-of-the-box' systems embedding computational powers into the physical environment:

> At the beginning of the 21st century, the research agendas, media attention, and practical applications have come to focus on a new agenda – the physical – that is, physical space filled with electronic and visual information. The previous icon of the computer era – a VR user traveling in virtual space – has been replaced by a new image: a person checking his or her email or making a phone call using a PDA/cell phone combo while at the airport, on the street, in a car, or any other actually existing space. (Manovich 2006, p. 221)

As such the new mobile and globally networked media constituting this augmented reality changes the ways in which we communicate and interact with each other and with our surroundings. No matter if we are at home, at work, engaging in social activities 'out on the town' or travelling to other parts of the world we have the possibility of being online, interconnected, updated – or as Meyrowitz puts it:

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[4] I apply a pragmatic use of the term augmentation here, defining it mainly along the lines of ICT-design in which augmentation is the process in which physical space – by means of computer technology - is embedded with various types of dynamic information.

as more of our interactions and experiences have become mediated through radio, TV, telephones, email, and other devices, we can now transport most of our nexus of interactions with us wherever we go. (Meyrowitz 2005, p.26)

Augmentation of actual places – that is the process of "overlaying the physical space with […] dynamic data" (Manovich 2006, p.223) – 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 a number of ways (Sandvik & Waade 2008). In this article I will focus on spatial augmentation through the use of *staging*, *fictionalization*, and finally (when it comes to crime scenes): *physical alteration*.

1.

Augmentation may take place as a process of *staging* in which the place constitutes a scene for the performance of 'true' stories, that is re-enactment of some actual events which are – according to Wang above – recognized as objectively authentic. This is the case when London's East End 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 is staged in such a way that it gives way for an image of dim gas lights and dark alleys where defenseless prostitutes were easy targets for Jack's razor-sharp scalpel. In the line of Michel de Certeau's theory on how stories transforms spaces into places[5], the staging of the Jack the Ripper-story runs through and organizes urban space of today's London and thus changing it into a specific place with a specific atmosphere and a specific plot: the scene of the crime.

Augmented places as places which are staged (or conceived of) in a way so they may be perceived as having 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 these 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 place in which the speech was

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[5] *L'invention du quotidien*, Paris: Inédit 1980. Cited from Ringgaard 2009, p. 10.

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 augmented place 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 place could be augmented with a lot of different narratives (cf. 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 fictional stories. We know this from a variety of novels and movies especially within the field of crime fiction, one of the more significant in recent years being Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code,* which has made the way for a variety of Da Vinci Code-tours (cf. www.davincicodetours.co.nz). When tourists embark on one of these tours, they are taken on a guided walk through parts of the actual places working as 'scenes of the crime' (Milan, Paris, Scotland…) in Brown's novel, but following the trails laid out not by some historical person or chain of historical events (like in the case of the Jack the Ripper-tour above) but by fictional characters and their actions and thus the actual places have become augmented as a result of fictionalization.

An excellent example of this type of augmentation of place may be seen in Henning Mankell's use of Swedish small town Ystad as storyspace for his books on chief inspector Kurt Wallander and how this is put into use by the local tourist industry. For the readers of Mankell this actual location which is used as crime scene, have become augmented: Wallander's Ystad is 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. As argued by Sandvik & Waade (2008, p.8) the *concept* and the imagination of Ystad as a city and physical, geographical location, can hardly be distinguished from the crime stories and the popularity of Wallander's Ystad. Here the concept of the crime scene may be regarded as one aspect of Ystad as location that illustrates this mediated and media specific spatial production. It is not crime scenes containing 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; a transformation which is being used as a branding strategy[6] both on a local, regional and national level thus converging the fictional and the real in a way which is emblematic for this type of augmented places.

The ways of augmenting places described above relates to specific places which are emotionally enhanced by ways of fictionalization. But augmented places may also be the result of certain *categories* of places being used as specific settings in books, movies, TV series, especially within the crime fiction genre, which may inflict on how we later perceive these types of places. This, I will argue, is to some extent due to a strong sense of place and high degree of realism which seem to be 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 Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (Warner Bros. 1982). As described above, popular crime series are using actual places – typical the modern city: "Simenon's Paris, Hammet's San Francisco, Chandler's or Connelly's Los Angeles, Burke's New Orleans, Padura's Havana, Rankin's Edinburgh […]" (Ringgard 2009, p. 1) – 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: 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. Still, the introduction of a fictional plot into this realistic reconstruction of actual places, changes the way in which we

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[6] It may be argued that place branding should represent yet another strategy of augmenting places somewhere between narrativization and fictionalization, but to me there is more to place branding than just augmenting. Place branding is about changing the very characteristics and story of an actual place. As pointed out by André Jansson in his paper "Filling the Void: Urban Renewal, the Transitional Gaze, and the Discourse of Fatefulness" (p.2) at the NordMedia 07 Conference (Helsinki August 16th-19th 2007) place branding "must be understood as more general, abstract processes of mediation through which spatial phantasmagoria are channelled" and is due to "an interplay between emotional-representational dimensions": on the one hand (with reference to Goffman) "an experience of standing at a crossroad with significance for one's life biography" and on the other hand "a mode of spatial interpretation, creation and appropriation, through which the transitional potential of a certain place is accentuated" and which is "tied to the tropes of futurity and progress, articulating what a space *might become*".

perceive these places. 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.

The strong sense of place, however, and what we may call *site-specific* realism is also at stake when we regard the ways in which places understood not as specific places (e.g. Oslo) but as categories of places like American suburbia, small town communities, the English countryside all have been exposed to augmentation in the shape of narrative displacement, estrangement and various strategies of *demonization* (see Anne Marit Waade's article in this anthology). The realistic description of these various categories of places is blended with fictional surplus of atmosphere and fantastic events which change their characteristics. From David Lynch' movie *Blue Velvet* (De Laurentis Entertainment Group 1986) to TV series *Desperate Housewives* (ABC 2004-) suburbia has been reconstructed not just as quiet, sleepy outskirts but as places with a dimension of creepiness added to them, their polished surfaces hiding deranged people and activities. TV series *Twin Peaks* (ABC 1990-1991) reconstructed the small town community as a mysterious place where things and people are not what they seem, and the same strategy was used in the movie *The Blair Witch Project* (Haxan Films 1999). The English countryside is no longer just idyllic houses, rose gardens, nice inns and so on; augmented by the TV series *Midsummer Murders* (ITV 1997-) 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, and keeping the protagonist chief inspector Barnaby and his assistant(s) just as busy as their colleagues at NYPD.

3.
Crime scenes are constituted by a convergence of a plot and a place in a way which may be related to Bakhtin's concept *chronotope* defined in his essay "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel" (Bakhtin 1981) as the blending or intertwined relation between time and space in narratives: "Those things that are static in space cannot be statically described, but must rather be incorporated into the temporal sequence of represented events and into the story's own representational field" (op.cit. p.251). As such this structure relates to what we may understand as the double plot of the crime story: "We get two stories in one: The story about the solving of the crime at the same time reveal the crime itself" (Ringgard 2009, p. 2). Both are closely linked to the crime scene as a place which has been augmented through *physical alteration*. In the line of thoughts put forward by Marco Modenesi in his net-article "Streets, Alleys, Dead Ends and Boulevards: Maigret and the

Parisian Space"[7], places (the crime scene as well as other sites connected to the crime) work both as routes for the persons conducting the investigation and as coordinates for the crime itself. The places are as such not just settings for the plot; they generate the plot in that they have been embedded with narrative traces which may be read, (re)enacted and reconstructed.

The crime scene is a place that has been in a certain state at a certain moment in time, i.e. the moment at which the place constituted the scene for some kind of physical activity, which has changed its nature. As such, the place has been encoded so that the particular 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 constitute (DNA) codes, which can be decrypted and deciphered, in the same way as traces of gun powder, bullet holes or physical damage are signs to be read and interpreted. Thus the place carries a plot (a narrative), which at first is hidden and scattered and has to be revealed and pieced together through a process of investigation and exploration with the aid of different forensic methods, eye-witnesses and so on; - through reading and interpretation.

During her investigation the detective's ability to perform 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. Thus the crime scene may be understood as an augmented place, meaning that we are talking about a place, which has received a certain surplus of meaning, a certain kind of narrative embedded into it.

In the first episode of the second season of the Danish crime fiction TV series *The Killing II* the main protagonist, Sarah Lund, who – due to a highly problematic investigation process in season one – has been dismissed from the crime investigation unit, is called in to review and give her opinion on a new murder case in which a female lawyer has been found in the Memorial Park (Mindelunden) in Copenhagen, stabbed to death and tied to one of the poles used by the Nazis for executing people of the resistance during the WWII occupation. As sometimes is the case in real-life murder cases, the site where the body is found is not the same as the scene of the crime; the forensic investigation shows that the victim's body has been dragged to the site and tied to the pole after she is dead.

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[7] See http://www.trussel.com/maig/marcom.htm. Here quoted from Ringgaard 2009, p. 3.

The crime scene is the victim's apartment. Here a lot traces embed the place with an emotional and narrative surplus of meaning. The victim has been attacked and stabbed several times, there are traces of fighting and the furniture has been kicked about. The leaders of the investigation interprets the various traces as a narrative of a murder committed in a rage and suspects the victim's divorced husband, who reported the crime. But things do not add up. The suspect does not have any history of violence, and the idea of the passionate murder does not explain how only one of the 20-23 stab wounds on the victim's body was lethal or why the body was placed in the Memorial Park. Thus the augmented place needs to be read in a different way, which of course is what Sarah Lund does. By rearranging the furniture she changes the scene from one of passionate actions to one of torture and execution: The victim has been tied to a chair and tortured to make her say something and then she has been stabbed to death. And as a result of this operation and Lund's ability to perform logical reasoning and deductive thinking, a specific clue – the cellophane wrapping of a video cassette found on the floor – can now be fitted into the narrative: The murder is not about passion and rage, it is about making a statement and therefore the murderer(s) has/have videotaped the event.

Due to her way of performing her investigative action – and actually altering the place – Sarah Lund can suggest a narrative of a political motivated murder which also explains the specific finding site: the murderer(s) is/are sending a political message (which proves to be true when the recording of the murder turns up in the shape of (what appears to be) an Islamic fundamentalist video file on the Internet at the end of the episode).

Perceiving augmented spaces: simulation as performative practice

Perception of augmented places as described above implies a specific type of spatial practice (a touristic practice) including a strong element of performativity: The place comes into being through our performance (actions, movement, navigation…). As we will see, this performative element implying the active use of the recipient's body and navigations through physical space as a central part of the reception (and thus construction) of place is present in most of the augmentation strategies presented in this article. If you go to London and buy one of Soundmap's Audio Walks you get to download a tour on your mp3-player in which "narrators will give you the ultimate guide of the area they love" and you get to "hear the stories and secrets of the streets and be immersed into a world of music, interviews and sound effects" (www.soundmap.co.uk). The same type of spatial augmentation by means of staging can be found in Copenhagen Audio Walks enhancing

your experience of a walk through the city by applying various stories and facts to various places you encounter as you move your body through the urban space (see www.audiowalks.dk). The system tells you where to go, which route to take, but it is for you to perform the walk itself and operate the system according to the instruction to get the various tales and historical facts delivered in the right places.

It can be argued that the actual perception and experience of touristic practices such as 'murder walks' in connection to either real or fictional crime events (as described above) may be seen as simulation of places and spatial experience: the participating tourists are performing navigational operations which simulates those of the murderer (e.g. Jack the Ripper) or the investigating detective (e.g. Wallander). As a result of their performative actions the tourists are connecting themselves to the various plots of the augmented places they encounter, often in complex ways where historical facts are blended with fiction (as in the case of Ystad above), folklore and with tales told by other participants in these types of staged events. Thus the place is reconstructed in a way which bares references not just to their historical factuality, but to a variety of other sources. The tourist visiting the sites for the plot in *The Da Vinci Code* (both novel and movie) engages in a performative activity in which she encounters e.g. the Scottish Rosslyn Chapel through the experience of the actual chapel as well as through the fictional conspiracy laid out by Dan Brown, which results in her making an entry on her travelling blog looking like this: "Rosslyn Chapel was built in the 15th century, and though it was 150 years after the Knights of the Templar, the chapel overflows with their symbols and is supposed to echo the layout for Solomon's Temple. The chapel features Masonic symbolism, was featured in the Da Vinci code and was built by the Sinclair clan, a family who supposedly came from the bloodline of Jesus"[8].' As such this blend of different narratives are perceived as a new type of reality; a simulation of an actual place augmented by fictional narratives which – according to the blog-post above – is experienced as authentic.

The performative aspect of perception of augmented places through simulation may be radically advanced in cases where we do not just encounter the place as spectators but also are given a specific role in the narrative experience. 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,

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[8] See http://frankiediane.blogspot.com/2008/07/rosslyn-chapel-and-da-vinci-code.html. I got a hint about this particular blog from Swedish scholar Maria Månsson who is dealing with the concept of convergence in touristic practices as the ones found in Da Vinci Code Tours in her work, see: "Negotiating Authenticity at Rosslyn Chapel", in Britta Timm Knudsen & Anne Marit Waade (eds.). *Re-investing Authenticity. Tourism, Place, and Emotion*. Bristol: Channelview Publication 2010.

altered or manipulated. When we are looking these types of augmented places 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. This performative practice through which the embedded narrative of a place is simulated may be further augmented by the use of costumes and props and also by the use of various media technologies such as mobile phones containing instant messaging, camera, GPS and mobile internet creating what Manovich has called a *cellspace* constituted by:

> cellspace technologies (also referred to as mobile media, wireless media, or location-based media) delivering data to the mobile physical space dwellers. Cellspace is physical space that is 'filled' with data, which can be retrieved by a user via a personal communication device. Some data may come from global networks such as the internet; some may be embedded in objects located in the space around the user. Moreover, while some data may be available regardless of where the user is in the space, it can also be location specific. (Manovich 2006, p. 221)

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 the 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 with what is experienced by Michael Douglas' character in David Fincher's *The Game* (PolyGram Filmed Entertainment 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*.

Pervasive games derive from the trend within computer design which seeks to develop augmented reality systems whose processes are not just defined to the mediated space of the computer, its screen and interface but which are transgressing 'the box' and become embedded in the physical environment in the shape of ubiquitous computing, tangible interfaces, wearable computers, intelligent buildings, intelligent spaces, context-aware computing, smart objects and so on. Here physical reality and computer mediated reality become mixed and the same type of mixed

reality is what we find in pervasive games which may be defined "game spaces that seek to integrate the virtual and physical elements within a comprehensibly experienced perceptual game world" (Walther 2005, p.489). In a game like Alive Mobile Game's *Botfighters* (2001) 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 with GPS (global positioning systems) 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 which 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.

One of the basic characteristics of crime fiction is that solving the crime is more important than the crime itself. As readers or spectators, we are engaged in the detective work of police officers from the homicide divisions and forensic experts of the CSI-team, and on the level of reception we partake in the investigation, trying to figure out the crime before the investigators. The tension-building in this type of fiction is connected to how the investigation is conducted, what challenges and obstacles are encountered along the way, the time pressure and so on. This type of fiction includes an explorative investigation of the crime scene, interrogation of witnesses and suspects which all in all construct a picture of the crime and who might have done it.

This plot structure found in crime novels, the crime movies or the crime TV series in which exploration and puzzle-solving are major characteristics of the type of games described above, but with the important extra feature that in the performative simulations in games we are no longer readers or spectators but participating agents in the investigation. The narrative structure allows us to explore and interact with a certain type of narrative spatiality which is constructed – or at least comes into being – by ways of our agency and our integrative and controlling operations.

The reason for talking about simulation here instead of representation is that especially when it comes to playable narratives and the kinds of augmented places that we encounter here, these are not 'just' represented to a reader or a spectator, they are acted out by us as players. As players we conduct a specific type of spatial practice in that we participate in a simulation of actions and events as if they were real. And this is exactly what the crime scene reconstruction does: In the same way as the player puts herself in the role of the game character (the avatar), the profiling expert of the investigation team places herself in the role of the criminal, trying to gain insight into the criminal's psychology, way of thinking and reasoning and so on (like detective LaCour does in the Danish TV series *Unit One* (*Rejseholdet*).

Simulation as narrative strategy implies a specific type of spatial – and performative – practice which is well known in crime scene investigations in the performing of reconstructions of how the actual crime may have happened. In the same way as *touristic* spaces (places augmented by staging or fictionalization) as described above imply a *touristic* practice, the crime scene as a *forensic* space (a place augmented by physical alteration) imply a specific *forensic* and *investigative* practice. Using simulation as a narrative and performative practise implies that the investigators play the roles of potential murderers, helpers, victims, witnesses in order to reconstruct the chain of events (the crime) in time and space. In crime fiction TV series (as well as other types of crime fiction) crime scenes are reconstructed and interpreted by the investigators through narrative and performative practises through which a specific virtual (in the sense of potential or possible) story space and a specific plot is being simulated. The way in which this is conducted varies from series to series and range from more colourful and para-psychological based methods of investigation in series such as *The Profiler* (NBC 1996-2000) and *Medium* (NBC/CBS 2005-) to more realistic practises such as those found in series like *Unit One* (DR 2000-2003) and *CSI* (CBS 2000-)[9]. But what they have in common is that the anatomy of the crime scene is portrayed as that of an augmented space which may be investigated and interpreted by suggesting narrative scenarios and by performing simulations of the criminal events which (may) have *taken place*.

Concluding remarks: real-life crime scene investigation

A comparative analysis between crime scene investigation described in crime fiction and real-life csi-procedures e.g. conducted by the real 'unit one' of the Danish Police Force's Forensic Center

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[9] A substantial study on the realistic focus on forensic techniques and methods in crime fiction TV series has been conducted by Elke Weissmann in her PHD-dissertation *Crime, the Body and the Truth. Understanding the Shift towards Forensic Science in Television Crime Drama with the* CSI-*franchise*, University of Glasgow 2006.

(Rigspolitiets Kriminaltekniske Center) reveals some major differences between the two[10]. The emotionally enhanced narrative which is found in crime fiction TV series (as well as in the heavily dramatized crime documentary genre with series like *Medical Detectives*/*Forensic Files* (TLC Networks/Tru TV 1996-)) are not part of the average crime scene investigation. The main task for the forensic technicians is to secure the crime scene as well as the site where the victim's body har been found (the scene of the crime and the finding site is not necessary the same, as was the case in the first episode of *The Killing II* as described above). Here police detectives are not even admitted entrance to the crime scene before the technicians have concluded their work, collecting, preserving and cataloguing various traces like fingerprints, bloodstains and so on. Thus, the dramatic work of the detectives, who suddenly find new traces and clues for instance by raising a chair and a lamp as Sarah Lund does, are not part of a real-life crime scene investigation. However, if you consult the home page of the Danish Police and have a look at the section for crime scene investigation, you will find that the Forensic Center uses a dramatic format when presenting their work: Here you find a highly dramatized story about a role-playing game used for training and in which the technicians of the forensic team and their way of acting and communicating could have been part of an opening episode of a series like *The Killing II* (see: http://www.politi.dk-/da/servicemenu/baggrund/KTCoevelse_reportage_21092007.htm)

And focusing on similarities between fictional and real-life crime scene investigation, it may be added that the same type of performative narrative practice as the ones portrayed in crime fictions may be at stake when the forensic technicians are using *luminol* to detect traces of blood by using ultra-violet light or they conduct blood stench analysis in order to reconstruct e.g. gunshots, kicks and blows to the victim. The analysis thus shows similarities between real-life and fictional crime scene investigations: Also in real-life practices reconstruction and interpretation of the crime scene is conducted by investigators (here: crime scene coordinators) who's task it is to decide how the investigation should be carried out. The crime scene coordinator organizes the work and divide the crime scene into different sections to ensure that all the various traces embedded in the place may be collected, preserved and documented for later interpretations as well as matching with various data bases for e.g. fingerprints and DNA.

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[10] Reference: the leader of Danish Police Forencis Center Region North (Kriminal-teknisk Center Region Nord), Henning Sørensen: "Briefing about the Forensic Center and how the police specifically conduct their work on the crime scene [Orientering om Kriminalteknisk Center og hvordan politiet konkret arbejder på gerningsstedet], talk given at a seminar on crime and communication arranged by the Danish research project "Crime fiction and crime journalism in Scandinavia", November 30th 2007

Interpreting the crime scene as an augmented space as described in this article, is a crucial part of a crime scene coordinator's operations: The spatial practice consisting of reading and analyzing the place is part of the investigation and creating a mental image of the crime helps the crime scene coordinator to determine how the investigation should be conducted and on what it should be concentrated. This practice of investigating a crime's space and actions – the *chronotopian* convergence or blending of place and plot – is best described as a *narrative* but also as a specific spatial – and performative – practice; a systematic – and expertise based – work of imagination through which the interpretation of the place (the crime scene) is producing the plot (the crime) and through which *simulations* of the potential criminal actions are *performed* (if not physically, so mentally) in order to reconstruct the events which have *taken place* and – physically, informational, emotionally – have changed the crime scene as an actual place into an *augmented place*.

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