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Co-Producing Crime Narratives for Commercial Public Service

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Chapter 5

Glocal perspectives on Danish television series

Co-producing crime narratives for commercial public service

Kim Toft Hansen¹

Since the late 1990s, we have seen television drama production in Denmark move away from mostly national funding schemes, to much more composite funding practices. Alongside the international attention paid to Danish television series, dramas have attracted increased international co-production and co-funding opportunities, a general phenomenon in the television industry referred to as ‘transnationalism’ (Weissmann 2012; Bondebjerg et al. 2017). Concurrently, however, new local film and television funding options have sprung up in Denmark (and elsewhere), to attract productions that may create what the local West Danish Film Fund calls ‘cultural reference’ to local areas represented by the local fund’s criteria ([West Danish Film Fund 2018](#)). The result is not a diminishing national role in funding television drama, but the nationally-oriented funding practices of television series has been supplemented by concurrent local and transnational funding opportunities (including SVoD players), which means that the financial composition of television drama production has become increasingly complex.

In this chapter, I argue that theories of transnationalism do not fully explain these trends in contemporary television production/funding practices. I claim that instead, the concept of *glocalization* offers perspectives that explain the co-existence of local, national, regional, and global players in television drama production. Crime series have been central components of internationally distributed Danish television drama, and the funding composition of crime series appears exceedingly *glocal* (Hansen and Waade 2017), so for that reason, this chapter focuses on commercial PSB television crime series. I use two recent TV 2 crime series, *Greyzone* (2018–) and *Kriger/Warrior* (2018), as examples of glocal television drama production and relate these to qualitative interviews with key informants during the autumn of 2018². As a global lesson from a small nation, these series and TV 2's cumulative history of crime drama production indicate increased international collaboration and challenges as a common and general *raison d'être* for commercial PSB television production.

Although drama produced by DR, Denmark's traditional public service broadcaster (PSB), also illustrates a tendency to attract international co-funding for drama production, this development is even more multi-layered for the 'commercial' PSB, TV 2. Still, most of DR's dramas are established as in-house productions (although these are increasingly co-funded, too), whereas from the outset, TV 2 was governed by what Danish PSB regulation refers to as the *enterprise model*, which means that the broadcaster must buy all content, apart from news production, externally. The intellectual property (IP) of the dramas produced for DR normally lies with the broadcaster, whereas the creative rights for dramas broadcast on TV 2 often belong to the production company/ies, which means that the production company has a slightly less restricted hand in setting up the funding for these series. For this reason, international and local funding opportunities seem to further affect the dramas broadcast on

commercial, rather than traditional, PSB. For this reason, I focus on series broadcast and co-produced by TV 2 in this chapter.

Theories of glocalization and transnational television

Television scholar Elke Weissmann points out that ‘in television studies, the term ‘glocalization’ has largely become associated with television format trade and its ability to localize global content, which is why I here want to continue to use the term transnational’ (Weissmann 2018, 119). Arguably, in television studies there has been a tendency to employ ‘glocalization’ in this way, although Weissmann stresses that scholars who use ‘transnationalism’ instead wish ‘to emphasize the intersection and interconnections between the national and global’ (119). According to sociologist Victor Roudometof, ‘it is necessary to conceptualize transnational interactions as taking place among people and institutions in two or more separate nation-states’ (Roudometof 2016, 125), that is, the transnational is a level above the national. This means that, even if glocalization has been associated with mostly format trade in television studies, the concept includes the potential to specify sociologist Roland Robertson’s point about the ‘simultaneity of universal and unique impulses’ in acts of communication (Esser 2014, 83). This goes hand in hand with Robertson’s understanding of glocalization as having a ‘connotation of spatiality’ (Robertson 2014, 20), and its dimensions include local, national, regional, transnational and global perspectives simultaneously. So, although Weissmann is correct in describing transnationalism as dealing with ‘the complex relation of national or regional regulation and cultural distinctions within global power structures and struggles,’ ‘transnational’ as a concept still logically fails to inscribe the important dimension of the local or sub-national and may oversee that a television drama may be ‘marked as intensely local and transnational *at the same time*’ (Weissmann 2018, 121).

Television drama funding schemes have increasingly tended to involve transnational collaboration. In the Nordic region, the transnational television agencies, Nordvision and Nordic Film & TV Fund, are the prime transnational players in co-funding television drama production, and since the early 1990s, co-production and pre-buy agreements among both traditional and commercial television Nordic broadcasters have become a conventional way to co-finance expensive drama production. As a result, it is now almost unthinkable to produce television drama in the Nordic region without transnational collaboration. However, in this same period several local agencies sprang up across the Nordic region in a counter-trend to the increasing transnational strategies (Hansen and Waade 2017, 145–57). Such funding does not seem to ‘pull’ productions in opposite directions; instead, local and transnational funding appear side by side as ‘natural’ funding opportunities for television production. In Denmark, the Copenhagen Film Fund is a representative case, since they invest ‘in international productions with Danish co-producers or production service companies’ ([Copenhagen Film Fund 2019](#)), that is, though a locally-based Copenhagen agency, they are involved in transnational co-productions only.

In his broad definition of glocalization as ‘a twin process,’ Roudometof envisages different scales of social phenomena such as economic and institutional arrangements: ‘On the one hand, institutional and regulatory arrangements shift from the national scale both upward to supranational or global scales and downward to the scale of the individual or to local, urban, or regional configurations. On the other hand, economic activities and interfirm networks become both localized or regionalized and transnational’ (Roudometof 2016, 33).

Scholastically, Roudometof visualizes the scalar hierarchy of ‘space forms’ as a circular model running from local to global: local > national > regional > glocal > global (32).

However, I argue that the glocal is illogically positioned as an intermediary between the

regional and the global. Instead, I argue that the glocal is a *consequence* of – and not *part* of – processes that oscillate between the local and the global, including the intermediate national and transnational opportunities.

[Insert Model 5.1 here]

Model 5.1: The scalar hierarchy of glocalization.

In model 5.1, I reworked the logic underlying Roudometof's scalar hierarchy to demonstrate how, at least in television production, glocalization is the result of networked activities and funding solutions involving collaboration among production companies, screen agencies, broadcasters, and other co-funding bodies from a local to a global level. Instead of replacing transnationalism with glocalization, I perceive transnationalism as embedded in the same logic as supranational collaboration that involves two or more production and funding bodies, which means that the transnational, which functions above the national, runs from the national to the global. As a result, both regional (e.g. Create Europe) and global (e.g. Netflix) players appear transnational, but perform at different parametric positions (more or less transnational). The logic of the model must not be understood as a linear system that goes from local to increasingly transnational. Instead, the geopolitical rationale behind it addresses how media policies and production interests at all levels co-exist, and may be activated simultaneously, but all levels do not have to be present in any given production. As Roudometof notes, 'The scales of economic networks and institutional arrangements are recast in ways that alter the geometry of social power' (Roudometof 2016, 33). For instance, television production may represent transnational interests from local funders, such as a local harbour co-financing the TV 2 drama, *Norskov* (2015–17) in order to attract international workforce (Hansen and Christensen 2018). In table 5.1, I have listed examples of production and funding opportunities at each scalar level, and also indicated the need to distinguish

between creative and financial collaboration (Hansen and Waade 2017, 152). In many cases there is a gradual transition between co-creation and co-financing, and from ‘the majority co-producer’ to the ‘minority co-producer’ (Hammet-Jamart et al. 2019, 13), but for the sake of clarity in this chapter, ‘co-production’ refers mostly to creative collaboration, whereas ‘co-funding’ indicates financial collaboration.³

[Inset table 5.1 here]

The funding history of TV 2’s crime dramas

Danish commercial PSB has changed dramatically since DR’s monopoly ended in 1988. Today, TV 2 is still the only commercial PSB player on the Danish market, fully funded by subscriptions and advertising revenue, and all television dramas are produced by independent production companies. The public service remit for TV 2 has been marked by a national discourse from the start, including its representation and dissemination of Danish culture, language and heritage. At the same time, TV 2 is required to ‘provide a wide societal coverage of Denmark and, hence, reflect the cultural diversity [...] in different parts of the country’ ([Ministry of Culture 2014](#)). Essentially, TV 2 is a national–local broadcaster, and the funding of its first two crime dramas illustrate this constellation very well. *Blændet* (*Blinded*, 1992) was a three-episode miniseries produced by Metronome Productions for TV 2, and TV 2’s first long-series endeavour for was *Strisser på Samsø* (*Island Cop*, 1997–98), produced by Per Holst Film for TV 2. Both series illustrate TV 2’s enterprise model, as the broadcaster ‘ordered’ a production from an independent production company (defined as production *for* TV 2 by a production company). After the turn of the millennium, dramas broadcast on, and produced for TV 2 moved towards transnational co-production and co-funding. Increasingly, traditional and commercial Nordic PSB broadcasters pre-buy and co-fund Danish commercial public service drama, and Nordic and European transnational funding programmes enter the

funding schemes. The significant transnational venture into co-funding TV 2 dramas emerged with the three-season crime drama, *Anna Pihl* (2006–8), produced by Cosmo Film for TV 2, though co-financed by Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Finnish, Slovenian, and Estonian broadcasters, alongside the European MEDIA programme. Hereafter, we saw a gradual transition from the *enterprise model* to a *co-production model* (defined as TV 2 co-producing drama *with* one or more production companies and broadcasters). Although not all-pervasive, this shift is evident in the end-credits of the dramas produced since the end of the 2000s, where the most common phrasing is ‘produced by’ a production company ‘in co-production with TV 2,’ for example, *Blekingegade (The Left Wing Gang, 2009)*, *Den som dræber (Those Who Kill, 2011–)* and *Dicte* (2013–16).

Alongside transnationalizing drama funding schemes, new local screen agencies entered the arena. *The Left Wing Gang* was the first TV 2 series to include local funding, in this case from the Swedish Film i Väst and Trollhättan Film, whereas private industrial and public municipal co-funding of television drama became customary with *Dicte* and thereafter. As a Miso Film production, *Dicte* marks a significant change in the financial composition with local funding (The West Danish Film Fund, the municipality of Aarhus, Filmby Aarhus, and Central Jutland Region), national funding (The Public Service Fund and various national PSBs, including TV 2 and the German ZDF), and regional funding (Nordic Film & TV Fund and the MEDIA programme). The SF Film production, *Norskov*, involved a similar collaboration scheme, and *Dicte* and *Norskov* were TV 2’s first television drama ventures into advertiser-funded programming (AFP), specifically as part of a collaboration with local municipal and private funding opportunities (Hansen and Christensen 2018). Flanking this development, the funding scheme for the third season of the dramedy series, *Rita* (2012–17), included similar strategies, including TV 2’s first direct collaboration with global player,

Netflix, which demonstrates that this is not just a crime drama funding scheme, though the crime genre appeared as the ‘first mover’ in funding complexity. As a result, the years until *Dicte* and the two last seasons of *Rita* are those in which glocal funding (from the local to the global) really influenced TV 2, and the period since the turn of the millennium has since been marked by a glocalization process.

The creative responsibility of dramas broadcast on TV 2 alters as we enter the phase in which the production companies co-produce *with* rather than *for* TV 2, emphasized by TV 2 now having two different contract models for enterprise productions and co-productions (Qvist 2019). At the same time, the production companies have started setting up more complex transnational co-production arrangements with increasing funding from national and transnational screen agencies and various geographically adjacent broadcasters and production companies (mostly Scandinavian and German). According to TV 2’s programme coordinator, Janne Nygaard Mogensen, ‘at TV 2 Fiction today we enter into a lot more co-production agreements than enterprise agreements. The number of co-production agreements have been steadily rising’ (Janne Nygaard Mogensen, e-mail to author, December 17, 2018). This gradual shift since the late noughts to today is confirmed by Katrine Vogelsang (2018), head of fiction at TV 2, and Lisbeth Qvist (2019), head of legal affairs at TV 2. Both dramas analysed below both display TV 2’s co-production agreement.

Co-producing *Greyzone* and *Warrior* with TV 2

Two recent crime dramas, *Greyzone* and *Warrior*, were co-produced by TV 2 and external production companies, and both series demonstrate that co-production, rather than the enterprise agreement, is the continuing trend. *Greyzone*, co-produced by Cosmo Film and TV 2, was the first large-scale transnational co-production with TV 2 as an important co-

producer, together with Swedish TV4. According to Pernille Bech Christensen, executive producer at TV 2, ‘*Greyzone* was our first really international co-production,’ with TV 2 and TV4 as ‘delegate broadcasters,’ that is, they were allowed to ‘give notes and take part in the creative process during production and development.’ However, with respect to the national discourse around the public service remit, Christensen emphasizes, ‘TV 2 only enters into international co-productions if there is a clear Danish angle’ (Christensen 2018). Rasmus Thorsen, Cosmo Film’s main producer and the creator of the series, revealed that in practice, all co-production partners had the opportunity to ‘give notes’ (that is, present their comments), but it was mainly TV 2 and TV4 that availed themselves of this opportunity. ‘TV 2 was, so to speak, the closest partner, and you could say that they wore the Yellow Jersey regarding external notes. However, TV4 supplied both me and TV 2 with notes, and then, together with TV 2, I would work through notes from ourselves, TV 2 and TV4. In constructions like this there is a lot of notes’ (Thorsen 2018). Such a development method highlights the remarkable changes associated with producing commercial PSB television drama since the 1990s ‘Today, there is really no traditional public service production anymore,’ says Thorsen, ‘it has all become co-productions, and that complicates matters. If you look at it from a European perspective in relation to large projects, besides pure streaming projects, then this is the reality. It’s similar to the way that feature films were produced fifteen to twenty years ago. This also means that there are contractual relations in all directions and a lot of regulations’ (Thorsen 2018). Thus, the historical development outlined above is also a story of the generally increased complexity of television drama production and funding.

[Insert Image 5.1 here]

Greyzone’s international profile is significantly emphasized by the locations in the series, such as Frankfurt’s central business district, ‘Mainhattan’ (Copyright: Cosmo Film).

The screen agency funding for *Greyzone* also reveals the glocality of the production, that is, from local (Copenhagen Film Fund), national (The Public Service Fund in Denmark and Swedish Film Institute), and regional (Nordic Film & TV Fund and Creative Europe) sources. Although some parties rarely used their right to ‘give notes’, the creative co-production partners included production companies (the Swedish SF Studios, British ITV’s production company ITV Studios, and the German Nadcon) and Northern European PSBs (Danish TV 2, Swedish TV4 and their SVoD-service, C More, Norwegian NRK, and German ZDF). The series’ narrative and the funding scheme reinforce the impression of Bondebjerg’s (2016) notion of *natural transnational cop stories*, that is, the story itself does not spring from the necessity for funding, but from an internationally-born story about transnational investigation in Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. For Pernille Bech Christensen, ‘the crime genre appears to be the easiest one to co-produce. It has something to do with humour that has its difficulties; comedy does not travel as well as crime’ (Christensen 2018). According to Thorsen, ‘the positive angle to this is that if you have an international story, then you don’t have to force the narrative and the creative process in order to make it work. You could say that it has Denmark at the centre, then you have Norway to the north, Sweden is east, England is west, and Germany is south. Basically, the series is financed only by neighbouring countries – and I guess that it would have been very different if we had had French money too’ (Thorsen 2018). Although, there *is* also ‘a French connection’ in Danish drama production (Hansen and Waade 2017, 222), the foregoing statement indicates that co-production partners are (still) primarily found in close geographical proximity, even though production arrangements have become increasingly transnational. The funding parties range from local to transnational, but *Greyzone* is distinctly transnational from funding, narrative,

and stylistic perspectives. The Copenhagen Film Fund leaves a local mark, but their funding objective is ‘targeted at qualitatively and financially interesting international film and TV productions for international distribution,’ underlining their activities as markedly transnational ([Copenhagen Film Fund 2019](#)). In the series, Copenhagen is portrayed as an international Scandinavian hub that provides easy access to business environments in Northern Europe, rather than as a local capital.

From a comparative perspective, the foregoing glocal portrayal of Copenhagen applies to the six-episode miniseries, *Warrior*, which is also set in Copenhagen, although the centre of attention is perhaps less flattering: internationally-organized crime and drug smuggling. *Warrior* was not funded from the local level, but the series’ stylistic treatment of Copenhagen stresses that glocalization may also be treated at a ‘textual’ level, through the way that a setting and locations are chosen during production development. Thus, the textual aspect of glocalization builds on literary theorist Svetlana Boym’s perception of the glocal as ‘a culture that uses global language to express local colour’ (Boym 2001, 67), which, in the case of *Warrior*, means using globally recognizable television aesthetics in the treatment of local places. This was the intention of creator, co-writer, and director Christoffer Boe from the outset (as in many of his feature film productions): ‘Very often, I write my scripts for a specific location. I know precisely where it should take place, and if I don’t, it’s a matter of seconds before I know what we’re looking for. For *Warrior*, I was looking to expand my own use of Copenhagen, so it was a lot of work. Together with cinematographer Jacob Møller and various location scouts we went around, looking at 3 to 400 different places’ (Boe 2018). Although the series was not locally funded, the series’ setting is strikingly local, compared to *Greyzone*. For director Boe, ‘it was an attempt to create a changing and developing Copenhagen. In *Warrior*, I have a character that talks about how Copenhagen was built on

slave trade, which creates a historical frame around a less romantic Copenhagen – a Copenhagen that is built on trade, force and muscles’ (ibid.). Although the series’ localization appears to be simultaneously local and international, the production company, Miso Film, found it more difficult to co-finance: ‘This is probably one of those series that I have pitched to most TV stations in Europe. German, French, Spanish, English, Scandinavian and so forth,’ says Peter Bose, Miso Film’s producer on *Warrior*. ‘It is probably also the series about which I, most frequently, have heard that “it sounds exciting, but we cannot go into that. We cannot really see what you want to do” – we have had a hard time understanding this, since our vision have been quite clear from the start’ (Bose 2018). As a narrative, *Warrior* is specifically local television drama, although the funding scheme for the series was national, regional, and global.

Warrior’s financial model was based on TV 2’s co-production model, with Miso Film co-producing the series *with* TV 2. In addition to being a trans-Scandinavian company, Miso Film is also co-owned by the British-based Freemantle, a subsidiary company owned by the RTL Group, which gives the series a potentially global reach (for *Warrior*, Freemantle handles the international sales, and has co-financed the production). The series is co-funded by the Danish Public Service Fund (national), Nordic Film & TV Fund (regional), and development funding from the EU MEDIA programme (regionally European), offering a national-to-global reach through the co-funding partners. However, owing to the lack of early pre-sales, *Warrior* never received production support from MEDIA. Despite the difficulty of getting broadcasters on board, the Norwegian NRK and the Finnish YLE, both traditional PSBs, finally co-financed the drama. Miso Film also co-produced earlier feature films and miniseries with directors’ privately-owned companies, for example, Ole Bornedal’s 4Fiction for the miniseries *1864* (2015), and the film, *Dræberne fra Nibe* (*Small Town Killers*, 2017);

Warrior is also co-produced by director Christoffer Boe's private company, Monovision, altogether supplying such productions with artistic auteur connotations. For this reason, the series' creative side featured a close collaboration between Miso Film and TV 2, with Boe as the creative force and attraction. According to producer Peter Bose, the focus on the miniseries format has a significant effect on attracting talent: 'What is interesting with miniseries is, the way we see it, that it is a way to attract proficient talent. They cannot simply sign up for six-seven seasons – and when we do a miniseries, it is for a shorter period. It's faster. In this way, the result rather appears as a work of art, typically the way a feature film would' (Bose 2018). This point of view is supported by Katrine Vogelsang, who declares that the miniseries is one among a range of new market strategies (Vogelsang 2018), and Pernille Bech Christensen emphasizes that this format made it possible for TV 2 to attract 'auteurs' such as Christoffer Boe for *Warrior*, and Bille August for *Lykke-Per* (*A Fortunate Man*, 2018) as directors (Christensen 2018). Lastly, the final contributor to the budget, Netflix, pre-bought *Warrior* after the series was greenlighted by TV 2, and after Freemantle entered with significant support, giving Netflix the rights to global SVoD distribution, including Nordic distribution one year later than TV 2 (Bose 2018).

[Insert Image 5.2 here]

The auteurist implications of *Warrior* were evident in the way the series was promoted as 'Christoffer Boe's Kriger,' in the lead-up to the 2018 premiere at the CPH PIX film festival in Copenhagen, for example (Copyright: Miso Film).

The outcome of the above-outlined collaboration on television series is drama with a local sensibility, but with narratives that simultaneously seek out and confront themes that may have universal appeal (for instance, through Netflix). Although presented through an explicitly Northern European geography, the plot of *Greyzone* revolves around terrorism,

which has been a source of global intimidation for years, and despite its unequivocally Copenhagen-based narrative, *Warrior* tells a recognizable story with a transnational reach, which addresses personal loss, the life of soldiers, and organized crime. In co-productions such as *Greyzone* and *Warrior*, and increasingly through the narratives of the crime dramas co-produced with TV 2 since the middle of the 2000s, local narratives of everyday existence are recounted through the lenses of global challenges and internationally recognizable aesthetics.

Making SVoD ‘frenemies’

The complex funding schemes for commercial PSB drama production described above present well-known challenges to transnational co-productions (Hammet-Jamart et al. 2019), but the presence of SVoDs as financial collaborators on both *Greyzone* and *Warrior* deserves discussion. Netflix and HBO Nordic were introduced to the Danish market in 2012, and today Netflix is the most popular SVoD service, but in recent years other competitors have gained Danish and Nordic market shares, including the pan-Nordic platform Viaplay (with its first ‘original’ drama production in 2016) and the Swedish TV4-owned C More service (first ‘original’ in 2017), and the quad play service, YouSee (first ‘original’ in 2018). TV 2 launched online streaming in 2000, but in 2012, in the middle of the rise of streaming services in Denmark, they changed their name to the SVoD TV 2 Play. Recent 2018 statistics from a report from The Agency for Culture and Palaces (2018, 24) indicate a rapidly-changing market, with Netflix as the leading SVoD (44% subscribers) and HBO (23%), YouSee (22%), Viaplay (22%), TV 2 Play (21%) competing for subscribers at similar level, whereas C More still plays a modest role on the Danish market (7%).

In an SVoD market such as that described above, C More and Netflix as co-funding of *Greyzone* and *Warrior* may appear paradoxical. In the Nordic region, such co-productions began with the Norwegian NRK–Netflix collaboration on *Lilyhammer* (2012–14), so the TV 2 situation is not new, but has historically raised a range of issues (Sundet 2017). Even though *Warrior* will remain as content on TV 2 Play, subsequently the series will be available for Danish Netflix subscribers, with the result that the long shelf life of this television drama will be devalued by exposing the content to a competitor's subscribers. According to Rasmus Thorsen, *Greyzone* will not be available to Danish subscribers of C More, and the Danish C More platform has not yet become a serious competitor in the Danish market, although in Sweden, *Greyzone* 'was the most popular TV-series on C More to date' (Thorsen 2018). Thus, *Greyzone* becomes part of TV4's C More (the Swedish equivalent of TV 2 Play) strategy to attract subscribers and revenue in Sweden, which could – in a transnational business economy – indirectly challenge TV 2 Play's position in Denmark. Regarding integrating Netflix as a pre-buyer, the question is really whether or not TV 2 would cannibalise its own content by collaborating with stronger streaming competitors.

Pernille Bech Christensen touches on national and international challenges in the SVoD market, and stresses that fierce competition is a reason that TV 2 has been – and will be – involved in co-productions, but she also indirectly highlights financial pooling and shared risk-taking as obvious benefits: 'We have an actual demand for more fiction, but our finances do not suffice. Co-production is, then, an obvious way to offer more fictional content for less money. Such productions are often higher production value than if we were to produce content with what we have internally available at TV 2. It's something that we're very happy about, but we haven't done much of it yet' (Christensen 2018). Here, Christensen discusses co-production in general, and not co-producing with SVoD services specifically, although

Katrine Vogelsang specifically mentions SVoD competition: ‘Of course, they are competitors, and then we start competing with our own content, but the way to avoid that is to find common ground. Though, when we meet with them, they call themselves “frenemy”’ (Vogelsang 2018). The ‘frenemy’ status of SVoDs is not only an obvious competitive challenge related to market shares, it is simultaneously a notable illustration of the present and accelerating transition from linear television to pay-per-view content streaming, and finally, it is also representative of the contemporary challenges to PSBs. It may not be as great a challenge for traditional PSBs in Denmark, since DR provides free VoD content, but commercial PSB needs to compete in a market with a growing number of players with an increased global revenue base, on the one hand, and on the other hand, they still need to provide public service content that lives up to the national public service remit and expectations. When competing – and co-producing – with global commercial market players, the situation becomes quite complex, and Netflix, for instance, might regard such collaboration as ‘a lovely publicity campaign on TV 2’s main channel during prime time, which is why we have to insist on keeping long hold-back periods,’ says Katrine Vogelsang (Vogelsang 2018). Viewed from the perspective of global SVoD players, co-producing national content is a glocal strategy, since for them this is a shared risk, and a way to co-produce less expensive content for a transnational platform.

As outlined in TV 2’s 2016–17 financial report, the ‘purely’ commercial side of TV 2 without public service obligations (including TV 2 Play), increasingly supports and finances PSB programming (TV 2 2017, 40). According to the report, the funding deficit of all TV 2’s PSB programming has been covered by TV 2’s commercial activities, and together, TV 2’s activities have yielded a profit. Ramsey presents a similar case related to British commercial PSBs: ‘the current public service television system functions both for the benefit of the

audience and for the commercial PSBs' (Ramsey 2017, 650). In general, this means that commercial PSBs, such as the Danish TV 2, have been able to stay above water in the increasingly competitive global market during the 2010s, and one strategy for achieving this with television drama production has been to become 'frenemies' with a range of competitors, that is, increasingly co-produce series in order to provide more fiction-based content for both linear and SVoD television.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that the glocalization process dates back to local representation in the 1990s, which – based on TV 2's local obligations – created a basis on which they established the local–national negotiation of identity through dramas. TV 2's obligation to express Danish cultural diversity, and, later, the new funding opportunities presented by local screen agencies, made TV 2's dramas increasingly local, compared to dramas produced by DR. After the turn of the millennium, several new co-production/co-funding opportunities grew significantly in their importance for TV 2, and finally, new SVoD players have established themselves as both challenges and opportunities – so-called 'frenemies' – for production companies producing for/with TV 2, creating a local-to-global content scenario. However, this highlights a logic of television drama production funding in Denmark – and elsewhere – that is changing rapidly transition, and PSBs are working hard to find a place in a new glocal and commercial drama market. If a lesson may be learned from Danish commercial PSB production history, it would be that the cases presented here and the general market situation are historically and currently affected by similar transnational developments in other small nations (e.g. other Nordic countries)The production history also presents a range of concerns addressed by larger, more dominant PSBs in Europe.

Glocalization, as a twin process that involves local-to-global shifts, has re-configured the production of commercial PSB drama, and will do so increasingly in the near future. The challenges of co-production and/or with SVoD services may appear to be threats to an established public service system, but to maintain user loyalty, SVoD players have recently started to increase the production of local content for national audiences (Imre 2018; Hansen forthcoming). Even if global players appear to be an indispensable global force, both Netflix and HBO have been able to establish themselves in specific countries and regions by producing locally relevant content, and Viaplay clearly seeks a pan-Nordic identity in many of its original drama productions. This may be a way to keep one step ahead of possible national policy changes that may require local production from foreign players. Recently, however, transnational players have attracted funding from the Danish Public Service Fund, which shares some values with both traditional and commercial public services, that is, ‘originality, significance and quality in terms of content, form and style’ (DFI 2019). In other words, in the late 2010’s, producers for ‘purely’ commercial SVoD players such as HBO Nordic and Viaplay have increasingly applied for national public service funding, which indicates that TV 2’s drama production, within the intensely competitive environment is being pulled towards an increasingly transnational approach, because we have already seen the first notable steps towards drawing transnational players in a more national public service-oriented direction.

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³ For further information about co-production terminology, see Bondebjerg (2016), Hansen and Waade (2017, 145–59), and Hammet-Jamart et al.'s edited volume (2019). Hansen and Waade (2017) also discuss the concepts embedded in the scalar model presented here.