



Local, National, Transnational

Ŷ Gwyll/Hinterland as Crime of/for All Places

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The term 'transnational' has become a buzzword in the study of television and its cultural encounters.¹ A quick Google Scholar search for 'transnational television' provides over 2,500 hits, from an early UNESCO report in 1982 to a handful of articles and book chapters in the 1990s, to a real explosion in the 2000s and 2010s. Such a development suggests a level of discomfort on the part of the academic television studies community to continue to use the term 'globalisation' which has become associated with connotations of unequal power relations that are heavily skewed towards the dominant, American industry. At the same time, it also recognises that the operation of television is extremely complex as far as its relation to nation states, international encounters and global economies are concerned.²

Considering the number of publications, it is interesting that many authors only define the term vaguely, if at all. The few exceptions all come to similar conclusions; however, there remains a level of ambiguity. The UNESCO report *Transnational Communication and Cultural Industries*

(Guback and Varis 1982), following an earlier UNESCO document (1974), uses 'transnational' largely in relation to communication corporations that operate internationally and control foreign markets. Such 'transnational corporations' (TNCs), however, would be classed as part of 'globalisation' in Jean Chalaby's (2005) short discussion piece. Here, Chalaby tries to map a paradigm shift in the internationalisation of media, indicating that transnationalisation, in contrast to internationalisation (the expansion of national media) or globalisation (the integration of now internationally operating media), provides a form of globalisation from within, but also a differentiation of global media: on the one hand, diasporic audiences know two media cultures and hence operate with an 'ironic stance to cultures' that moves 'them beyond the frames of national society' (Robins and Aksoy 2005, 36, cited in Chalaby 2005, 31), and on the other hand global media conglomerates are increasingly organised around national or regional head offices that are given significant power to operate independently, allowing for greater regional or national specificities.

Giselinde Kuipers (2011) defines 'transnational fields' of cultural production in order to grapple with the complex relation of national or regional regulation and cultural distinctions within global power structures and struggles. Drawing on Bourdieu (1993) and Crane (2002), she comes to the conclusion that 'transnational fields' as a term allows us to recognise that the world is not simply dominated by American culture but that regional centres and peripheries also shape the exchange of programming. She argues that

this perspective enables us to move beyond the opposition between cultural imperialism and local appropriation, or homogenization versus heterogenization, that has long dominated studies of cultural and media globalization. As this analysis shows, national institutions do not disappear. Rather, national and transnational fields increasingly intersect. National fields maintain their own dynamics and relative autonomy even when incorporated into a transnational arena. (2011, 55)

Kuipers recognises that, for us to really capture how television operates, we need to move beyond binary understandings of national versus global or international, but see that television is often both at the same time (see also Georgiou 2013). It was for similar reasons that I chose to use the term 'transnational' for my own book (Weissmann 2012). Borrowing from diaspora

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studies, I rejected the simple focus on the national in television and instead followed in particular Hilmes's arguments (2003, 2012) that both British and American broadcasting were defined in their national specificities through the constant transnational comparison between the two countries, indicating that the national and international/transnational are deeply enmeshed. Due to this relationship, Roland Robertson (1995) argues for the adoption of the word 'glocalization'. In an extensive analysis of discourses used around the term 'globalization', he highlights that whenever the global is invoked, the local is also defined. Global and local are therefore intricately linked and actually unimaginable without each other. However, in television studies, the term 'glocalization' has largely become associated with the format trade and its ability to localize global content, which is why I here want to continue to use the term transnational. By adopting this term, I follow closely in the footsteps of the work of Andrea Esser (2002, 2007; Esser et al. 2016) who similarly uses the term in order to emphasise the intersection and interconnections between the national and global, and indeed the co-existence of homogenisation and heterogenisation. Discussing her concerns in relation to the widely accepted notion that cultural proximity is a guarantor of success, she encourages the academic community to move away from 'cultural essentialist arguments' (2007, 167) and demands 'empirical rigour to expose local-global complexities' (ibid.). In her own work, she has largely investigated this in relation to television formats, including how audiences draw on national-transnational frameworks to make sense of talent shows (Esser et al. 2016). As Esser et al. show, whilst audiences might still be conceptualised as national, viewers actually interpret programmes within the duality of banal transnationalism as well as banal nationalism—constantly comparing and contrasting programmes with versions that are either perceived as national or transnational. Here, I hope to add to this work, by investigating the production, distribution and reception history of one television drama that was marked as intensely local and transnational *at the same time*.

Many articles based on these definitions that share the wish to transcend the binary of global/national, often nevertheless focus their analyses on the distinctions between these fields *as they are*.³ But television might be more complex yet. In addition to the national and international, there are also different localities within one nation that demand representation. In Europe, this is largely regulated both nationally (through national broadcast law and policy) and internationally (through EU directives and

funding, see McElroy 2016). It is this level that needs further incorporation into our discussion of transnational relations.

This chapter attempts to highlight how the relation between the local, the national and the transnational is played out in one case study, namely *ŷ Gwyll/Hinterland* (S4C, BBC, since 2013). Again, we see that crime drama is especially capable of bridging these realms (Turnbull 2014, 2–3), proving itself extremely adaptable (Stougaard-Nielsen 2016; Russo and Stenberg 2016). As in Nordic Noir (Stougaard-Nielsen 2016), the local in *ŷ Gwyll/Hinterland* is constructed as a particular attraction for local, national and international audiences. However, as the series moves from channel to channel, and country to country, the local is assimilated in such a way as to make it palatable to different national audiences. In what follows, I draw on archival research and textual analysis to argue for television's multiple allegiances that are in a constant play of transformation as programmes cross local, national and supra-national boundaries. In many ways, I will tell three stories: how *ŷ Gwyll/Hinterland* is claimed first for the local, then the national and finally the transnational realm.

ŷ GWYLL FOR REGIONAL WALES

Historically, regional production—including for the three smaller nations of the United Kingdom—Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland—was part of the remit of ITV. As Andrew Crisell (1997, 84) points out, 'though it owned and operated the television transmitters the [regulator Independent Television] Authority did not itself make programmes but allocated a number of regional franchises on a fixed term basis—initially nine years—to various programme making companies ("the contractors")'. The result was regional franchises that largely stayed in the hands of the same contractors, though changes did occasionally upset the status quo (Johnson and Turnock 2005). The Welsh franchise was one of those that did see quite a bit of change: originally serviced by Television Wales and West (TWW) it combined the south-western edge of England around Bristol with Wales, a geographical area with two distinct identities, the latter of which is based partially around its minority indigenous language (Crisell 1997, 126), but also more generally around its imagined national identity (Blandford and Lacey 2011).⁴ The Welsh geography, however, presented quite a few problems as the original transmitter did not manage to reach the West or indeed the North of Wales, the latter of which was originally serviced by the Manchester-based Granada company. It was only

in 1962 that a second transmitter allowed for all of Wales to receive television. This led to a further franchise, namely Wales West and North Television Ltd (WWN or Teledu Cymru) which only operated between 1962 and 1963 before it was taken over by TWW (Medhurst 2004). As Jamie Medhurst (2004) highlights, many assumed that the commercial franchise would fail as it lacked the populace to sustain a profit-making business that was partially based on Welsh-language programming. It also presented a specific understanding of the Welsh nation that was perceived as controversial by some authors and stakeholders in broadcasting. After WWN's financial collapse, TWW only broadcast 5 hours a week in Welsh, which increased to 7 hours a week when Harlech Television (HTV) took over the franchise in 1968. In addition, by the 1980s, the BBC provided 7 hours of television programming and 65 hours of radio programming in Welsh (Howell 1992, 222). As Creeber (2004, 31) argues, during the 1970s, 'Welsh speakers felt virtually ignored by a TV network that did little to represent or reflect their particular language, culture or concerns.' The resulting frustration led to an active campaign that ensured the setting up of an independent authority for Wales when Channel 4 was introduced to the broadcast spectrum in the UK, creating the Welsh-language channel Sianel Pedwar Cymru (better known as S4C, see also McElroy and Noonan 2016).

S4C therefore is centrally concerned with addressing a particular part of Wales, namely the Welsh-language minority, while at the same time providing 'entertainment, information and inspiration, and [reaching] the widest possible audience across a range of contemporary platforms' (S4C 2017, 5). It received its funding partially from advertising revenue and partially—originally—from an annual government grant which in 2011 amounted to £90 million (S4C 2011). As the Government aimed to reduce its expenditure in the name of austerity, the responsibility of the grant was largely transferred to the BBC who in 2016 ring-fenced £74.5 million of licence fee income until 2022, whilst the government promised to review its own spending cuts of S4C grants in 2017. Such funding structures indicate that broadcasting continues to be understood as central in supporting the continuation and indeed expansion of minority languages and their connected regional or national identities and must therefore remain a public service. Considering the relationship of the minority language with Welsh national identity (Andrews 2006) and that most Welsh language speakers live in Wales (around 560,000 compared to approximately 10,000 in the rest of the UK, see Office of National Statistics 2011), S4C

therefore needs to be understood as servicing primarily that territory. Importantly, there are also specific heartlands, namely those that WWN used to address, where Welsh is spoken more frequently than in the more populous south of Wales. The programming of S4C, then, is intensely local: although supported by national institutions such as the BBC and the government, it is aimed at a specific community whose language identity is deeply enmeshed with a specific Welsh national identity (Medhurst 2004).

The production history of *Y Gwyll* suggests that the series closely fits into and serves this community: it is made in Welsh for S4C by Fiction Factory, a small independent production company based in Cardiff with a history of making English- and Welsh-language programmes for S4C and BBC Cymru Wales. It received £215,000 in 'repayable business finance' funding from the Welsh Government to ensure the project will be produced in Wales' (Media Insider 2013). In addition, it is often held up as exemplary by the Welsh Government as a television programme that attracted significant inward investment into Wales (e.g. National Assembly for Wales 2014). The series can thus be co-opted in two ways for Wales and its nation: first, because it uses the Welsh language and therefore helps to make it more widely available as a language in use, thus connecting Welshness to a specific linguistic project, and, second, because it is economically successful for Wales as a geographic nation, thus conceptualising Wales not just in linguistic and cultural terms, but also as an economic enterprise.

This enterprise is also successful because it precisely reaches beyond the traditional economic centre of Cardiff and surroundings. *Y Gwyll* was originally conceived to represent the Wales outside of its south-eastern belt. Welsh viewers have often perceived Cardiff and its surroundings as dominating Welsh programming (Blandford and Lacey 2011) and have called on broadcasters to widen its representation. Series producer and writer Ed Thomas also stresses how important the move into Aberystwyth and its surrounding regions was to the series' production. He states in an interview with *The Killing Times* that a series shot outside of Cardiff can actually be more authentic in its use of Welsh:

The stories come out of the area and people feel the stories are about family, soil, blood, belonging... all the kind of stuff that fits with what I know about Wales. So we were really clear: the only way we could do something like *Hinterland*/*Y Gwyll* in both languages and make it authentic for the Welsh

language audience—who are very particular—was to make it be really specific. We picked Aberystwyth in Ceredigion because we believed that Welsh is spoken enough there and the landscape... it has a big, little country feel. (Thomas cited in TKT 2015)

What is interesting in this quote is the degree of slippage between language and place. Thomas frames the series for a crime-enthusiastic, international audience as authentically Welsh because of a) the relationship between language and region, and b) the relationship between regional landscape and stories. In addition, he suggests that the Welsh-speaking audience were at the centre of his considerations in terms of idea development. As a result, *Ŷ Gwyll* is presented as ‘authentically Welsh’ because of the intertwined concerns of where it is set, who it appeals to and what stories it tells. Such a construction of story authenticity with, primarily, specific viewer appeal and, secondarily, setting allows for the series as a whole to be claimed as Welsh. This, however, might be problematic (as I will discuss further below), due to the emphasis on tourist images of Wales that are clearly offered by the series as well and which might lead to an element of distancing from the ‘authentically local’.

In its local story then, *Ŷ Gwyll* is ‘of Wales’ in that its production was part-financed by the Welsh Government and based in one of its specific geo-linguistic regions. But it is also ‘for a specific part of Wales’ in that it centrally takes part in the construction of Wales as a nation in which Welsh is a national and regional language, a nation that is economically enterprising in attracting inward investment, and a nation in which the specific regional landscapes are deeply entwined with the stories they tell. As far as the latter is concerned, Les Roberts (2016) suggests that *Ŷ Gwyll* is more successful than *Broadchurch* in providing a view onto the landscape that can be claimed as authentic because the landscape acts as character and is left significantly more semiotically open. Thus, for Roberts, in *Ŷ Gwyll*, as in *Broadchurch*, the landscape is the setting of a crime scene and its images are connected to a specific narrative. However, in addition, *Ŷ Gwyll* emphasises the landscape as a place in which people live *and* a place that can appeal to tourists and can be framed through particular images. Whilst this is certainly true if we understand *Ŷ Gwyll* as a textual construct, this understanding might become more complicated yet when we consider the series’ use by and move to other broadcasters.

HINTERLAND AND ITS NATIONS

While *Ŷ Gwyll* can—and is—claimed as an example of local or regional/‘small national’ production, it is important to understand the series also as nationally Welsh and British. Again, this becomes evident when we investigate its specific production and distribution history. *Ŷ Gwyll/Hinterland* was also made for the BBC. The closing credits give similar prominence to the two executive producers of S4C and BBC Cymru Wales, suggesting equal creative input of the two broadcasters. BBC Cymru Wales, of course, is still focused on servicing the Welsh audience; however, this is here understood to be significantly more diverse than for S4C. BBC Cymru Wales addresses the more general audience that is, however, defined by its location in the national boundaries of Wales. Hence, there is a distinction to be made between S4C as regionally and linguistically national (focusing on a specific part of the nation) and BBC Cymru Wales as geographically Welsh. In addition, it was to be expected that the BBC—which is currently in the midst of a funding crisis as its licence fee has been frozen for six years, leading to real-term cuts of approximately 26 per cent (Freedman 2016, 124)—should and would exploit such a relatively high-end production for additional audiences via its other channels. In the end, it was shown on BBC Four, which attracts a more cosmopolitan, well-educated and middle-class elite which is largely located in the different urban centres of the UK (Ward 2013; Andrews 2016).

BBC Four places itself at the border regions of the British nation: while enclosed by the boundaries of the British broadcast territory, BBC Four’s audience is understood to be internationally mobile and open to foreign-language programming, with the revised Charter statement of 2011 indicating that BBC Four’s role should indeed incorporate the exposure to foreign content (Ward 2013, 252–253). Indeed, *Hinterland* joins a schedule on BBC Four that is dominated by international crime programming, including the Swedish *Wallander* (TV4, 2005–2013), *The Killing* (DRI, 2007–2012), *Bron/Broen* (SVT1, DRI, 2011–18), *Inspector Montalbano* (RAI, 1999–) and *Engrenages* (Canal+, 2005–). On BBC Four, *Hinterland* is repositioned as cosmopolitan–European, but of British origin.⁵ Interestingly, *Hinterland* actually achieved its biggest audience on BBC Four, where on average nearly 700,000 viewers saw the series (BARB 2017). This compares to approximately 50,000 on S4C (BARB 2016) and 240,000 on BBC One Wales (BBC Cymru Wales

2016). The use of *Hinterland* on these different channels indicates that the two co-producers, S4C and BBC Cymru Wales, were very aware that the series needed to appeal to a range of audiences *within Britain*,⁶ and the series does so in part through its textual structure.

Unlike the celebrated Nordic crime dramas to which it is sometimes compared, *Hinterland* is not serial in structure, but rather follows the traditional episodic format that is well-established in crime drama. However, each episode is again split up into two: in its original broadcast on S4C, episodes are shown on two evenings in hour-long instalments. As S4C shows adverts, this translates to roughly 45 minutes per part of the two-part episode. Such a splitting up of episodes is well established in British crime drama—the ITV drama, *Cracker* (1993–2006), for example, followed the same structure, as does *Silent Witness* (BBC, 1996–). Viewers of BBC One Wales watch the series in a similar fashion. Only BBC Four shows the series in 90-minute single-part episodes, suggesting a changed address that emphasises an audience used to consuming 90-minute-long films.⁷ But even the two-part episode structure indicates a level of distinction: the crime dramas shown in such a way have traditionally been identified with ‘quality’ (Brunsdon 1998): other than *Cracker*, written by acclaimed television auteur Jimmy McGovern, the programmes shown in such a way also include the celebrated *Prime Suspect* (ITV, 1991–2006).

As both *Prime Suspect* and *Cracker* make evident, crime drama has been a privileged site in British crime drama to address issues affecting the nation (Turnbull 2014, 2; Brunsdon 1998, 223). In this respect, *Hinterland* joins the long line of crime dramas that, as Turnbull (2014, 35–41) convincingly argues, started before *Dixon of Dock Green* (1955–76), but is often thought to have begun with *Z-Cars* (1962–78) (ibid., 49) and that address the ‘state of the nation’ (Brunsdon 2010, 18). Again, *Hinterland* must be understood as speaking to the nation: as Ed Thomas indicates, he felt that Wales needed a TV detective so its voice could be heard both nationally and internationally (Frost 2014). In addition, he emphasises that the series was conceived as a love letter to a disappearing Wales⁸—namely rural Wales, suggesting an understanding of Wales as increasingly urbanised (ibid.; TKT 2015). Indeed, *Hinterland* sets up an opposition between the rural hinterlands of Ceredigion, where most of the crime happens, and Aberystwyth, where the police station is located. This is perhaps most evident in series 3, episode 2 which also emphasises the difference between the hinterland and Aberystwyth through a clear gender binary: the hinterland is dominated by traditional

patriarchal masculinities who struggle to come to terms with their loss of role in this changing world. Here, it is a man in his thirties who has lost his business, his substitute job, and then his role as husband and son, who kills a man who has mocked his masculinity. This is opposed to a more female-centred city to which his estranged wife and son have moved and where she clearly makes a decent enough living to afford one of Aberystwyth’s beautiful Victorian town houses. This opposition of hinterland dominated by traditional masculinities and feminised modern town is at the heart of all of *Hinterland*’s stories and speaks directly to the changing nature of Wales as a traditionally patriarchal nation (Andrews 1996).

Overall, the series must also be understood as nationally Welsh because it was also made for BBC Cymru Wales, and because it represents not just a specific region, but speaks to a larger shift in Welsh national identity. Importantly, such a focus is understood to be of interest also to people beyond the confines of Wales, namely the BBC Four audience which consumes this as a local representation of a British–European identity.

HINTERLAND AS TRANSNATIONALLY EUROPEAN FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION

The British–European identity that *Hinterland* speaks to is also part of its production history. While Fiction Factory was the instigator of the series, and S4C the original broadcaster who pledged 40 per cent of the budget, Ed Thomas (cited in TKT 2015) makes it very clear that other financial contributions had an impact on the series’ development in terms of considering international audiences. Key to this was the involvement of All3Media as co-producer and distributor. One of Britain’s super-indies, who also distribute the internationally extremely popular *Midwinter Murders* (1997–) (Redvall 2016), All3Media helped Fiction Factory access European funding by finding international interest in around 12 European countries, enabling Fiction Factory to apply to the European Union and their MEDIA Programme (BBC News 2014). For its first season, this meant that Fiction Factory received €45,000 in development money and €500,000 in production costs, amounting to a total of 15 per cent of the overall budget for the first season (ibid.). Similar funding was also available for the third season (Creative Europe Desk UK 2015). Aims of the MEDIA programme and its replacement, Creative Europe Desk, have been to strengthen the ‘European audiovisual sector, respecting and reflecting Europe’s cultural identity and heritage’ and ‘to increase the

circulation of European audiovisual works inside and outside the European Union' (EACEA 2014). The mix of focus on production, representation and distribution suggests a recognition that film and television need to come out of local cultures; but also a wish to make such representations more widely available in order to facilitate greater cultural integration within Europe and beyond. Thus, the EU clearly stimulates the double belonging of cultural artefacts produced for both local and international consumption.⁹

In terms of its European sensibility, *Hinterland* has most often been associated with Nordic Noir and its adaption into the British television system as 'Celtic Noir' (Creeber 2015) where it is classed alongside dramas from other parts of the British margins. As Stougaard-Nielsen (2016) points out, however, Nordic Noir is itself transnational in its origin, drawing on Anglo-American predecessors but making them distinctly local by emphasising Scandinavian settings and focusing on the break-up of the welfare state, leading to rather gloomy and dystopian stories. Creeber (2015, 24–25) argues that Nordic Noir as a result is defined 'by a rather slow and understated pace, the dialogue often sparse, monosyllabic and the lighting frequently muted [...] Arguably, such techniques move television away from its sometimes slavish reliance on dialogue and towards a more visually oriented aesthetic as a whole'. The foregrounding of image in sweeping landscape shots is indeed central to both the Scandinavian series which, however, often focus on urban landscapes (Agger 2013), and *Hinterland*. In the latter, the landscape that is emphasised is that of the hinterlands of Ceredigion in winter with its brown and red colours, though the urban landscape, largely represented in greys and blues, also plays its part. Ruth McElroy emphasises that the way the landscape is presented involves both the local and the transnational:

There is a fascinating negotiation of contradictions going on here as places on the one hand, are being marked and shot as distinctly local in order to cut through in the globalised TV industries, whilst on the other, their aesthetic sensibility (wide angle shots cinematically showing bare and evocative landscapes, for example) come to be increasingly seen as a measure of their transnational appeal. (McElroy 2013)

Thus, the landscape in *Hinterland* has both the potential to signify the local and include the transnational, precisely because it seems to mirror Scandinavian crime drama in its aesthetic sensibility. Thomas (cited in

TKT 2015), however, points to a further influence, namely the plays of Sam Shepard who similarly connects the landscape to stories of the breakdown of family values, national myths and social cohesion. What this points to is how landscape can come to mean different things in the production and reception of a series. But it also highlights that inevitably dramas operate within the duality of national and transnational as producers, distributors and audiences constantly interpret what they see through the recourse to other (national-transnational) dramas (see also Esser 2016, Esser et al. 2016).

Hinterland, then, was also internationally successful, being sold to 150 territories (Williams 2016)—which it achieved largely through its global distribution deal with Netflix. In Europe, however, *Hinterland* was also shown on broadcast television channels, including the Danish public service broadcaster DR as well as the German ARD where it replaced a popular talk show during the summer months. In Germany, it attracted even bigger audiences than in the UK—on average 4.4 million for its first season. Here, the series was significantly indigenised: it was given a new title (*Inspector Mathias—Mord in Wales*) which was in line with other British imports on German television (*Inspector Barnaby for Midsomer Murders*, *Mord auf Shetland for Shetland*). Like other imports it was dubbed into German and hence lost the specific aspect of Welsh-language identity that was still recognisable even in the BBC Four version which included some Welsh dialogic. But most importantly, the look onto the landscape became that of the tourist, being reduced to the view of the rural landscape. The ARD website (n.d.) pointed to the 'raw' and 'sparse landscapes' of the hinterlands and connected such a view with 'insights into Welsh culture'.¹⁰ Landscape and culture appear intricately linked in this reframing of *Inspector Mathias*.

This view becomes exaggerated in the press reception of the series. Most reviews emphasise the sparse landscape as a main attraction of the series (e.g. Hupertz 2016). Sylvia Staude of *Die Frankfurter Rundschau* uses perhaps the most poetic language:

Where sheep and crows say good night, where the land is bare and houses rot in the sharp sea wind, where the locals don't open their mouths and the recently arrived apparently soon adapt to the level of silence—that is 'Hinterland' [...] What is exceptional is that the landscape is the main character: the rough coastline around Aberystwyth, the brown pastures and peaty ditches, the low grey sky and the wide beaches that are however hardly used for swimming. (Staude 2016)

Here, several German stereotypes about the British margins are drawn on: first, there is the emphasis on the empty landscape that is largely populated by sheep—a trope that was translated into the German murder mystery novel *Glenkil* in which sheep play the detectives (Swann 2007). Interestingly, sheep feature very little in the imagery of *Hinterland*, so they are clearly an imagined addition. Second, Staude discusses the silence of the inhabitants. This connects to German stereotypes about British ‘word scarcity’ (*Wortkargheit*, Bertuch 1816). In addition, there is the weight given to the bad weather—here indicated by pointing out that the beaches are ‘hardly used for swimming’, the grey skies and, as the title of the article states, ‘the sun never shines here’. This description is offered despite the fact that *Hinterland* itself often frames the rural landscape against pale blue skies. As a whole, this article—and similar reviews—reimagine what they see through a specific cultural lens, thereby localising the landscape for German consumption.

Overall, *Hinterland* clearly also sits within the transnational, and specifically European and American, realm where stylistic and topical influences can be located. As the series is exported, however, it becomes re-localised through a particular tourist lens that skews some of the meanings offered by the series.

CONCLUSIONS

Y Gwyll/Hinterland is therefore a particularly useful case study to exemplify how complex the relation between the local, the national and the transnational is. Clearly, in terms of production history, the series was made for all three realms and as a result includes significant textual negotiations that mark them. In the locally Welsh realm, it is the focus on the Welsh language and outside-of-Cardiff production that support claims of it being ‘authentically local’. In the realm of the Welsh national, it is the focus on the depiction of the struggle of traditional patriarchal masculinities against new urban, feminised modernities that speak to its specifically Welsh national identity. However, such stories are also of interest to the British-European elite which is addressed by BBC Four. Finally, in the transnational realm, its focus on the landscape which, as Roberts (2016) highlights is semiotically open due to its centrality in the narrative, can be claimed both in relation to its closeness to Scandinavian crime drama and American theatre. But, precisely because it is so semiotically open, it can also be reimagined through a tourist lens as it is assimilated into a different national context.

What this case study highlights, is that in an environment where transnational productions are the norm, we need to be careful in our understanding of regional or national or transnational belonging. *Y Gwyll/Hinterland/Inspector Mathias—Mord in Wales* is clearly not just transnational, but also intensely local and national. In this respect, understanding the production history and situating it alongside the text and its reception can help us to unravel some of the complexity of cultural belongings.

NOTES

1. And not just there. As Andreas Ficker and Catherine Johnson (2010) highlight, a similar turn to ‘transnationalism’ as the buzzword to dominate academic debate can be found in the discipline of history.
2. I am deliberately refraining from using a phrasing that suggests that the world of television has increasingly become more complex, as research (e.g. Himes 2003, 2012; Ficker and Johnson 2010; see also the rest of the volume of *Media History*, 16.1) has indicated that television has never simply operated within the confines of the nation as is often suggested in more introductory histories of television or broadcasting.
3. Kuipers (2011) recognises regional centres as an intermediate field between the global and the national.
4. Blandford and Lacey draw on Anderson’s much-cited *Imagined Communities* (2006) but also Castelló et al. (2009) to emphasise that nations are constantly reproduced ‘through an unending succession of discourses and practices circulating through or emerging in the societies in question’ (ibid. 48–49). This is how I, too, want to understand nations: not as pre-existing entities but as conceptualisations that are constantly remade.
5. In many ways, this can be understood to be close to the form of British identity that was increasingly expressed in the wake of the Brexit vote by people who wanted to remain in the European Union and was particularly noticeable in urban areas and the Celtic fringes—i.e. Scotland and Northern Ireland, but also sections of Wales.
6. That broadcasters differentiate between different audiences within one nation is also highlighted by Esser (2016) who uses the findings from her empirical research into format producers in Germany in order to emphasise the fallacy of essentialising ‘national audiences’ in research on format adaptations and television studies more generally.
7. Hannah Andrews (2016) points to the fact that the biographical drama *Burton and Taylor* (2013) emphasised quality and respectability and suggests that in part this is as a result of the convergence between television and film in biographical drama.

8. It is interesting that he calls this a love letter to the disappearing Wales, a theme also represented by the recurring trope of the look onto the painting of *Salem* by Sydney Curnow Vosper (1908) which, according to the description of the Lady Lever Art Gallery (2017) which owns the painting, has become an icon of Wales. Both this trope and the representation of traditional masculinity in *Hinterland* suggest a deeply critical stance towards this traditional Welsh identity.
9. For a discussion of how this internationalisation of local or national drama impacts on their production see Jensen et al. 2016; Raats et al. 2016.
10. All translations by the author.

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