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Lund, January 2010
Erik Hedling, Olof Hedling, Mats Jönsson

Erik Hedling, Olof Hedling and Mats Jönsson

Mapping the Regional: An Introductory Note

in many respects, this book functions as an academic GPS, mapping more than two centuries of Swedish media representations, while slightly altering the direction with each new chapter. Encompassing anything from written travelogues in the eighteenth and nineteenth century via literature, press, feature films, documentaries and TV programmes to contemporary video activism on the Internet, *Regional Aesthetics* navigates us through a variety of media landscapes that have changed significantly in both form and content. Our exclusive focus on Swedish imagery should not, however, be seen as a narrowing factor. On the contrary, we are firmly convinced that our discussions are just as relevant to other contexts. So, regardless of your origin, background, position and place, we hope that "you'll always know exactly where you are and where your next turn is" while reading the following pages.

Now, you may ask why we choose to publish an anthology such as this right now, when digital, virtual, glocal and social media appear to have taken over as the predominant forms of communication. One significant, perhaps commonsensical, reason is that the media of all periods and genres always need to be put in historical perspective if they are to be comprehended in any depth. And naturally, the activities and responses triggered by this output also need to be scrutinized individually, in relation to each other as well as over time. Contemporary techniques can, in turn,

shed new light on how issues of space, place and location have been dealt with medially in the past.

For instance, being posted on a digital social network with images of yourself, your friends, family and home is no longer an implicit request that you may choose to act on or disregard. Instead, you now constantly need to meet the never-ending bombardment of non-negotiable preconditions if you wish to remain included on these virtual – and increasingly predominant – media platforms. Websites such as Facebook, Flickr, and Twitter comprise some of the most telling examples of this massive contemporary trend, and their apparent success suggests that, in the future, we by all accounts will be confronted with even more advanced conceptions of space and place. Indirectly, however, this development also hints at the possibility that analogous media networks have existed in the past.

If we remain in the present, there are numerous examples of websites on the Internet that skilfully operate globally around the clock. Many of them have had – and will probably for a foreseeable future continue to have – a tremendous impact on the ways in which particularly younger generations think about their immediate and distant environments. With regard to the questions posed in this volume, one must thus continuously ask oneself whether future generations will experience a diminishing need for spatial belonging owing to even more elaborate and far-reaching social media. Or whether the development will be the opposite: Will the mediated identity assembly we see on the Internet today eventually fade out and lead to a renaissance of geographically located identity making and social interactions of a more traditional nature?

Our analytic journeys through past and present media landscapes attempt to answer questions such as these. The analyses have been made significantly easier to pursue thanks to the ongoing digitization of various media archives around the world, but also thanks to the never-ending stream of publications on aesthetic and spatiotemporal topics within the various academic fields addressed here. One such early study contains Raymond Williams' examinations of literary portrayals of the country and the city in Britain from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries (Williams, 1973). From our Swedish perspective, Williams' most relevant observation in that work is when he concludes that his material "was being formed, in a shadowed country, under the growth of industry and the cities. It is a persistent imagery…" (Williams, 1973: 196). And indeed, the regional aesthetics of Sweden that we explore below has also been persistent, both as contemporary source material and as media utterances in their original time and place. Moreover, Williams' idea of "a shad-

owed country, under the growth of industry and the cities" is in our view a highly accurate description of Sweden during the past two or so centuries. Not surprisingly, many of the texts analyse how the rural and urban landscapes were aesthetically mediated during these formative years.

The more contemporary scholars that have inspired us all advocate an interdisciplinary approach to studies of "communication of place" that mixes in-depth analysis of specific phenomena with a general understanding of human forms of representation. Accordingly, the nineteen chapters regularly combine textual close readings with historical contextualization. By using such an approach, we believe that the crucial moments during which the aesthetics of Sweden's media output were either consolidated or challenged will become easier to perceive and examine. Moreover, such an approach will help us ascertain how various forms of "persistent imagery" have influenced the communication of place from and about Sweden.

Nations, Regions, Sovereignty

Although predominantly historical in outlook, all texts have been exclusively written – and later on revised – with the present volume in mind. This means that they have been conceived during a period in Swedish history marked by complex geopolitical affiliation. Accordingly, this is also a book about another form of change, pertaining to the increasingly vague significance of concepts such as the national, the regional, the local, the global, and the glocal. Among the several reasons for this territorial and geopolitical confusion is the recognition that national sovereignty is in decline as a regulatory force in global coexistence. Therefore, the fact that the viability of cultural or national insularity has been seriously undermined also needs to be taken into account. This has become particularly obvious in economic and financial matters, aptly exemplified by the 2002 introduction of the euro, which now spreads a continentally converging aesthetics by way of daily monetary transactions. In one fell swoop, this transformation wiped out twelve formerly more or less autonomous national currencies, hence preventing individual governments from pursuing the independent monetary management that was previously a distinct and often employed form of national positioning (in the present context, the visual positioning on the coins and notes can still be noted as an implicit yet not unimportant manifestation of attempts at sustained sovereignty).

British social scientist and geographer Allen J. Scott presupposed this tendency already a decade ago when he concluded: "What does appear to be occurring at the present time is a certain dislocation of the bonds that

have hitherto held national economies and sovereign states together as the twin economic and political facets of a single social reality" (Scott, 1998: 5). Being drawn to questions concerning the regional, however, Scott concurrently noted that the aforementioned developments "have not only *not* undermined the region as the basis of dense and many-sided human interactions [...], but in many respects have actually reinforced it" (Scott: 4).

Just as Scott talks about holding sovereign states together, one may perhaps refer here to Benedict Anderson's famous, but by now perhaps somewhat worn, dictum about nations as imagined communities and discuss regions in similar ways. In any event, this is exactly how several of the approaches used below address the complex intertwining between concepts such as the national, the regional and the global. And in all of them, aesthetic concerns are dealt with in some way or another.

For instance, the aesthetic artefacts that we consider – be they works of literature, products of the press, TV programmes, films, Internet postings or something else – at times use Anderson's national imagining as a comparatively unproblematic whole. In these cases, the specific nation and its citizens are essentially set apart in relation to other countries or the rest of the world. More often, however, regional and local areas are the focus of the investigations, on occasion sketched from a national model, but primarily understood as varyingly independent territories – either based on a multifaceted understanding or in conflict and competition with other domestic places and self-conceptions. In still other instances, it is the relationship of these areas to a global world or to more limited foreign entities that comes under scrutiny. Consequently, several of the following chapters deal with Swedish perspectives on the world beyond the national borders, which of course in itself also entails a fair bit of self-imagining. On the other hand, when Sweden is imagined from abroad in, for instance, a British or German television series, the envisioning may appear as something experienced through a distorting mirror, at least for those living in the particular places depicted.

In our title, the term region is used in what may appear to be a rather liberal sense. Thus, use of the word is not exclusively coupled with a geographic area on a sub-national level, such as an administrative division or district. And even if such territorial mapping occurs, there are cases where the writer is concerned with media representations of indefinite or vast areas that are aesthetically distinguished by certain more or less unique features. Because all approaches comply with the various definitions of *region* found in most contemporary dictionaries, there was no cause for us to be less tolerant.

Another reason for placing this particular word at the centre of our book is the multilayered and complex representation of it in both the new and the old media. The ways in which Swedish media have represented and conceived of the *region* during the past two hundred years have indeed changed repeatedly in scope, depth, style as well as meaning. Thus, in much of today's geopolitical rhetoric, the region is the message. Just consider the ways in which almost every part of the contemporary developed world prides itself with interactive websites that present the local area and heritage to global audiences. Conversely, the Internet is also saturated with websites that allow each and every one of us to go wherever we wish whenever we want. Phenomena such as "The Virtual Tourist", "The Digital Tourist", "The Virtual Traveller", "The Virtual Vacation", and "Virtual Tours" constitute examples of such new and rapidly expanding niche markets, which repeatedly change our conceptions and uses of place and space. However, they obviously also influence the ways in which we relate and get used to the aesthetics of these virtual locations. Because we aim to put such contemporary manifestations in a historical perspective, some of the following chapters deliberately use the term *regional aesthetics* in a more traditional sense. In these texts, regional aesthetics becomes a label where relationships between the immanent qualities of certain representations and the locations they were either received in, produced at or depict are interrogated. In texts dealing with more recent expressions, however, regional aesthetics becomes more of an umbrella term, employed to typify inherent features in artefacts and works produced in a post-national and more virtual world where, alas, "the region is the message".

Our own journeys through the Swedish media landscape took about a year and a half to complete. Some were made in order to achieve a better understanding of contemporary regional representations, others to pinpoint a few of the many forerunners. That being said, we quickly decided against presenting the results chronologically. Instead, the overall theme of the book ended in a geographically oriented structure, with three main parts covering foreign locations, the Swedish nation, and the southern county of Skåne, respectively. In each of these sections, the focus lies on spatial and aesthetic considerations at different times in history and in different forms of media.

The Globe

In "Representing Sexual Transactions: A National Perspective on A Changing Region in Three Swedish Films", Mariah Larsson analyses three Swedish

films about sexual transactions between Swedish men and former Soviet women, made over the past ten years and set in the Baltic states. *Torsk på Tallinn* is a mockumentary and *Buy Bye Beauty* more of a documentary, both made for television; *Lilya 4-ever* is a prestigious fiction film. Larsson's argument is aimed at the connection between these films and the passing of two new and radical laws pertaining to sexuality in the Swedish parliament. The laws and the films both related to the potentially negative aspects of sex.

In "*The Last Dog in Rwanda*: Swedish Educational Films and Film Teaching Guides on the History of Genocide", Tommy Gustafsson scrutinizes the construction and explanation of the massacres in Rwanda by way of teaching materials, produced for and supplied to schools by the Swedish Film Institute. The teaching materials consist of guides to respected English language films such as *Hotel Rwanda* and *Shooting Dogs* and also the Swedish short *The Last Dog in Rwanda*, all made in the twenty-first century. Here, Gustafsson critically analyses the teaching materials and refers to a long-standing ideological division in Sweden between valuable and commercial films. These particular films were recognized as valuable, but their proclaimed value as such came to shadow the historiographical problems they created.

In "*John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads*. Images of Sweden in American History", Ann-Kristin Wallengren dissects one Swedish image of the classic battle between the ironclads. In 1862, with the American Civil War raging, the Monitor and the Merrimack fought for naval supremacy at Hampton Roads in southeastern Virginia, the struggle ending in a draw. The image studied here was constructed by a classic 1930s biopic about John Ericsson, the Swedish engineer behind the ingenious armoured ship the Monitor. In the film, former film director Victor Sjöström – of international fame – plays Ericsson, who is held up not only as a genius of his time, but also implicitly and symbolically as a person who represents the modern virtues of the emerging Swedish welfare state of the 1930s.

How other countries are represented in Swedish films of the past 30 years is the topic of Anders Marklund's "Beyond Swedish Borders: On Foreign Places in Swedish Films". Here, he covers a wide range of films, from modern classics such as Kay Pollak's *As It Is in Heaven* to rare action movies like Harald Swart's *Hamilton*. Marklund remarks that the country visited in the films often reflects on either the genre or the general generic mood. In Pollak's melodramatic work, romantic Salzburg in Austria is used to emphasize the ongoing love relationship, whereas in Swart's espionage thriller, Russian Murmansk in the former Communist Soviet Union represents darkness, threat and a world of crime.

In "Regions of Globalization. The Asian City as Global Metropolis in a Swedish Travel Magazine", Emilia Ljungberg explores some distinctive features of the Swedish travel magazine *RES*. Drawing on the theories of media scholar David Morley, Ljungberg claims that the privilege of the contemporary elite as a matter of choice resides in the possibility of moving between the local and the global. The importance of this dialectic is apparent in the magazine, where, for instance, the local is often connected to the qualities of what is perceived as a retreat. The global, on the other hand, is represented primarily by the big city and to an increasing degree the Asian metropolis, cities such as Tokyo, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. The journalistic travel texts in *RES* are characterized by their aim to find a subtle balance between the local and the global.

The Nation

In "Seacrow Island: Mediating Arcadian Space in the *Folkhem* Era and Beyond", Anders Wilhelm Åberg employs the term "Arcadian space", here derived from the work of the poet Göran Printz-Påhlson and indicating the strong idyllic overtones of certain rural surroundings. Åberg accounts for the swift emergence of vacation homes in Sweden in the 1960s, also for the working and lower middle classes, something that was made possible by the social engineering of the welfare state. One of the most popular sites for these second homes was the Stockholm archipelago. It was also here that the enormously popular Seacrow Island cycle was set, both as a television show and on the big screen. Åberg analyses the ideology behind the Seacrow Island stories and also connects these tales to other popular representations of the archipelago.

In "Just Television: *Inga Lindström* and the Franchising of Culture", Patrick Vonderau studies the extremely popular German television series *Inga Lindström*, premiered in January 2006 and still transmitting. The episodes are all stories of a certain form of melodrama, with German actors playing Swedish characters and with a setting in the Swedish region of Södermanland, covering southern Stockholm and the adjacent countryside. Here, Vonderau addresses the modern media practice of creating franchises and studies how *Inga Lindström* employs the established German television strategy of staging melodramatic performance on pastoral foreign soil, and how these televised movies have also served to promote Swedish landscape resulting in increased tourism.

In "Film in Falun – Falun on Film: The Construction of An Official Local Place Identity", Cecilia Mörner draws on film scholar Peter Bill-

ingham's notion of "geo-political inscriptions" in order to identify and mark the tension between the obvious conceptions of a place and the ideological structures that underlie them. She employs various images of the city of Falun in central Sweden – DVDs and also public film screenings organized by the local museum – to differentiate between the two levels. Thus, the Nobel laureate Selma Lagerlöf is constructed by the official discourse to be an exclusive part of Falun's cultural heritage, whereas Swedish literary history generally connects her to the neighbouring region of Värmland. Mörner also presents some more striking examples of this kind of regional appropriation.

In "Cinema, Memory and Place-Related Identities: Remembering Cinema-Going in the Post-Industrial Town of Fagersta in Bergslagen", Åsa Jernudd makes a unique contribution to the book by employing a sociological method to investigate the historical role of cinemas in the small former industrial town of Fagersta and its surroundings in central Sweden. Jernudd presents her in-depth interviews with fifteen residents of Fagersta, all of them with memories of a cinema culture of the past. Based on the interviews, Jernudd lays bare various social tensions regarding, for instance, class, and she also manages to create an alternative history, both regarding the role of the cinema as institution and the decline of the industry on which Fagersta was entirely dependent.

In her chapter "Regional Conflicts: From the Merchant's House to the 'People's Home'", Ulrika Holgersson addresses the Swedish film *The Maid*, directed in 1946 by Åke Ohberg and based on adaptations of three novels by Harald Beijer. The film stars Eva Dahlbeck (later of Bergman fame, particularly in *Smiles of a Summer Night*) and tells the story of a young countrywoman – Brita – of humble origin, who is employed as a housemaid in a bourgeois Stockholm home. Through various plot developments, Brita eventually marries Greger (George Fant), the son of the house, in spite of the different forms of resistance from people in the environment. Here, Holgersson notes the self-evident dimension of aiming for class equality. There are, however, many other complicating dimensions, which also are addressed.

In "The Multitude of Celebratory Space: National Day Celebrations and the Making of Swedish Spaces", Magnus Rodell puts the annual celebration of Sweden's National Day on 6 June under scrutiny. Rodell emphasizes three different spatial structures in which these celebrations take place: nostalgic space, confrontational space and official space. His empirical material derives mostly from the celebrations in Stockholm in 2005, but also from a rare occasion when violent confrontations occurred

between neo-Nazis and radical left-wing groups in Skellefteå in 2009. Another example is the 2009 celebrations in the northern town of Boden, situated in the north of the vast region of Norrland, which borders on Finland. Here, the National Day marked the end of the Cold War and new missions for the military in a town that was traditionally one of the most densely garrisoned in northern Europe.

Patrik Lundell, in his "Regional Aesthetics in Transition: Ideology, Infrastructure, and History", elaborates on the intellectual history of travel literature on the fertile region of Östergötland, situated some hundred kilometres south of Stockholm. Lundell reads the travel literature from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, discovering a journey basically from flat land to flat land. By this he means that the laudatory descriptions of the plain were briefly exchanged for a discovery of the mountainous parts of the southern part of the region at the turn of the nineteenth century. With the construction of Göta kanal, an enormous channel project linking western and eastern Sweden, and flowing through Östergötland, the writers returned to the flat land. The channel was opened in 1832.

The Region

In "Crime Scene Skåne: Guilty Landscapes and Cracks in the Functionalist Façade in *Sidetracked*, *Firewall* and *One Step Behind*", Ingrid Stigsdotter contemplates the first season of the Kurt Wallander films (all made in 2008), produced by the BBC and directed mainly at a British audience. Drawing on a variety of cultural theorists such as Giuliana Bruno and Jonathan Culler, Stigsdotter analyses the role of the Swedish landscape of Skåne, the setting of the original novels by Henning Mankell as well as of the BBC television adaptations of them. Here, Stigsdotter unveils a dialectic between the need for the producers to make the landscape appear familiar to British viewers and at the same time adding to it the exotic allure of Sweden.

Olof Hedling's "Murder, Mystery and Megabucks?: Films and Filmmaking as Regional and Local Place Promotion in Southern Sweden" also turns to the Kurt Wallander detective stories. The novels are set in Skåne and the city of Ystad. So is the regional film production centre whose activities are at the core of this analysis. Here, the first thirteen instalments of the Swedish Wallander cycle were produced, and Hedling pursues his argument studying the role of the films in the local tourist trade in Ystad. The question about the cultural and financial effects, how-

ever, is not easy to answer, even if Hedling concludes that the city of Ystad has, after all, built up an appeal that is largely dependent on the workings of its film industry.

In "Lund: Open City?: Swedish Municipal Mediation 1939–1945", Mats Jönsson studies how the university city of Lund in southern Skåne was captured on film during World War II. The films examined are two extracts from contemporary newsreels, filmed and shown at the time in regular cinemas, and an amateur film, shot and screened privately by a local cinematographer. The newsreel films were made in 1939 and 1944, respectively, and the amateur film coincided with the fall of Germany and peace in May 1945. All of the films concentrate on parts of Lund that were central to the city's cultural heritage, such as the cathedral and the university. Drawing on theories of nationalism, the author analyses how these iconic elements were at the very core of creating a celebratory style in local documentary.

In "'On the Rocks': The Scanian Connection in Ingmar Bergman's Early Films", Erik Hedling focuses on some early Bergman films set in the hilly landscapes of northwestern Skåne, particularly the hilltop of Kullaberg, which juts dramatically out into the sea. Bergman made his first film, *To Joy,* here in 1949, and he continued with *Sawdust and Tinsel*, *A Lesson in Love*, and, finally, his masterpiece *The Seventh Seal*. In the first three films, the stony landscape was employed in order to conjure up threatening feelings of erotic deceit between husband and wife, in the fourth, *The Seventh Seal*, the rocky shoreline depicts the hostile nature of existence itself.

In "From Patriotic Jigsaw Puzzling to Regional Rivalry: Images of the Swedish Nation and its Regions", Fredrik Persson accounts for the history of nationalistic tendencies in the region of Skåne, a county seized by the Swedes from the kingdom of Denmark through the peace treaty of Roskilde in 1658. Here, Persson discusses history in terms of a construct, employing the term identity creation drama to analyse the various historiographical artefacts. At the core of Persson's interest is the recent television drama *Snapphanes*, a lavish and costly story of Scanian guerrillas fighting Swedish authorities at the end of the seventeenth century. Persson unveils traces of a regional nationalism related to contemporary European discourses on finance and politics.

In "Video Activism 2.0: Space, Place and Audiovisual Imagery", Tina Askanius studies the Internet and particularly texts revolving around the 2008 European Social Forum that took place in the city of Malmö. The overall approach is to study how Malmö as a locality was debated on the

Internet. Here, Askanius addresses several issues of, for instance, globalization, media activism and even political resistance. Although Sweden was the host nation of the event, the media texts dispersed – with Malmö at the core – were not only concerned with local issues, but instead pertained just as much to Europe and the rest world as well. Indeed, there was a merger of transnational movements in a flow showing that contemporary media activism is neither local nor global.

Ann Steiner, in "Town called Malmö – Nostalgia and Urban Anxiety in Literature from the 1990s and 2000s", focuses on Sweden's third largest city Malmö, which has been the centre of Skåne for centuries. The city went through some drastic transitions in the 1980s and 1990s, from being a major Swedish industrial site to a place mostly for business and higher education. The most obvious changes to the cityscape were the building of the bridge to Denmark and Copenhagen and the erection of a two-hundred-metre-high skyscraper called Turning Torso. Steiner analyses various examples of literary fiction from Malmö, unveiling nostalgia for times gone by as well as chilly recognitions of the contemporary reality.

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The Globe

Mariah Larsson

Representing Sexual Transactions: A National Perspective on A Changing Region in Three Swedish Films

around the turn of the millennium, three Swedish films were released, all dealing with sexual transactions between Swedish men and women from the former Soviet Union. Produced some ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and Soviet Communism, *Torsk på Tallinn* (Tomas Alfredson, 1999), *Buy Bye Beauty* (Pål Hollender, 2001) and *Lilja 4-ever* (*Lilya 4-ever*, Lukas Moodysson, 2002) all seemed to relate to certain post-Cold War anxieties, pitting the welfare state of Sweden against what is perceived as the misery of the post-Soviet region.

The point of the present paper is to examine these three films and discuss how sexuality becomes the focal point for a national anxiety regarding a changing region and a changing world. I will do so by reading them as a discourse on sexual transactions across national borders, a discourse marked by a national postcolonial anxiety. The argument made here is based on three factors: first, the relation between Sweden and the former Soviet Union, especially the Baltic states, as a postcolonial relation; second, the fact that the releases of the films are framed by two changes in Swedish law regarding sexual transactions; and third, the national gendering of these sexual transactions.

Although the three films in different ways tell stories about, or in one case lets the audience glimpse images of, other countries, I will argue that their main point is to say something about Sweden. The Other, in these films, is used as a mirror for self-reflection. Moreover, two of them explic-

itly take place in the Baltic states – Estonia and Latvia, respectively – and the third, albeit located "somewhere in the former Soviet Union", is largely shot in Estonia. Nevertheless, they are, as well, financed and produced by Swedish or Nordic companies and funding agencies. By looking at the production context for *Lilya 4-ever*, which lacks Russian production interests, film scholar and Slavonist Lars Kristensen has claimed that, in spite of its language, the intention of the film "is to portray cultural concerns that largely address the Nordic context" (Kristensen, 2007: 4). This, I would claim, is true of the other two films as well. In that sense, the discourse of the films can be regarded as a postcolonial discourse from a Western point-of-view. Postcolonial scholar David Chioni Moore argues that the entire former Eastern European and former Soviet area except Russia – "the giant crescent from Estonia to Kazakhstan" – is postcolonial, "subject to often brutal Russian domination (styled as Soviet from the 1920s on) for anywhere from forty to two hundred years" (Moore, 2006: 17). Quite apparently, the history of the Baltic states is fraught with colonial and national issues. Furthermore, although Moore points out Russia as the great colonizer in the post-Soviet area, regarding the Baltic states, the Swedes are no innocents either.

Additionally, the films were framed by two changes in Swedish law that had to do with sexuality: In 1999, a new law against the buying of sexual services, "sexköpslagen" (the "sex-buying law" or the "sex purchase law"), came into effect, and in 2002, another new law was passed against human trafficking for sexual purposes.

This essay separates the phenomenon of prostitution from the discourse of prostitution, or more specifically in this case, the discourse of sexual transactions across national borders. Thus, the issue is not real sex workers or real trafficked persons, their experiences, and how they relate to the films or to the laws. Neither will I examine whether or not these films tell actual "true" stories – they all relate to reality in different and interesting ways. One is a pseudo documentary, one a documentary, and the third is based on a true story. Yet the objective of the essay is not to compare the accounts of the films with actual facts and figures regarding wife-import, sex-tourism, and human trafficking for sexual purposes. Rather, the aim is to demonstrate how the sexual relations are staged and portrayed in these films as a way to respond to a national anxiety interspersed with a vague sense of guilt on behalf of Sweden. The laws on sexual transactions are not used to determine whether they have been successful or whether they were the correct response to an actual situation, but rather to indicate the presence and urgency of these issues in the public discourse at the time.

Although written from very different perspectives, two essays about *Lilya 4-ever*, one by film scholar Olof Hedling and the other by literary scholar Sven Hansell, both still point to certain factors that, in the film, seem to explain the destiny of Lilya: the expanding international role of the US, bad or non-existing social welfare institutions that can counter the forces of capitalism, gaps in economic income, and a lenient attitude towards the sex trade and globalization (Hedling, 2004: 331, Hansell, 2004: 101). As I have argued elsewhere, Hedling's essay regards the film's analysis of social and economic structures as being in line with a hegemonic Swedish Social Democracy, whereas Hansell's piece interprets the same logic of the film as subversive from a gender perspective (Larsson, 2006: 247). Nevertheless, the fact that two different scholars, independent of each other and from different positions, extrapolate the same logic from one film underscores the quite univocal and unambiguous character of *Lilya 4-ever*: There is not much room for other interpretations. For the purposes of this article, I would like to use the conclusions of the two essays by Hedling and Hansell as a starting point. This is in order to claim that there was at the time a domestic anxiety concerning the development of what was sometimes called "galloping capitalism" within the former Soviet Union and the dissolving national boundaries that were a consequence of Sweden's entry into the European Union in 1995.

This claim is further reinforced by some conclusions drawn by sociologist Annelie Siring in a report on prostitution. Having worked with how the sex-buying law is understood, discussed, and implemented by police and social workers, Siring infers that the law is often regarded as a means to thwart human trafficking for sexual purposes and as a way to start unravelling other types of crimes (Siring, 2008: 327–356). In the reports that preceded the law, it was predicted, on the basis of developments in other countries, that Sweden's entry into the European Union, as well as the fall of Communism and the Soviet states, might lead to an increase in prostitution as well as the trafficking of (in this scenario) women for sexual services (Siring, 2008: 335). Accordingly, in this respect, the law can be regarded as an attempt to regulate what social anthropologist Laura María Agustín has labelled "informal migrancy" and especially sex trade migration across the national border, to impose domestic control in a world perceived as increasingly global (Agustín, 2007: 10–53). Working from the perspective of the migrants themselves, Agustín points out that it is extremely difficult for migrants without the necessary background (i.e., citizenship in a relatively wealthy nation) to enter into the US or the EU. Additionally, British social scientist Arthur

Gould claims, on the basis of official reports, newspaper articles, and interviews with women from Swedish political parties, that two main objectives of the Swedish sex-buying law were gender equality and the threat of migrant prostitution (Gould, 2002).

Finally, the ambivalence of the feelings of anxiety and guilt in these films is inscribed not only onto sexual relations, but also and more specifically, onto the body of the woman. More or less apparently, the (young) female body forms the locus for the Swedish sense of responsibility as well as the sense of how the "weaker (sex)" falls victim to large historical and global economic movements. The sites of exploitation in these films are, firstly, the places where the sex is negotiated and carried out, and secondly, the female body on which – it is understood – the sexual activity is performed. Here, one can add that the cinema or living room in which these events are screened can be regarded as a third site of exploitation, where the filmmakers may or may not be exploiting the sensationalism of their subjects. Nevertheless, the post-Soviet body is gendered female and as such, exploitable by male, capitalist, and global forces.

Three Films about Sexual Transactions across Borders

At first glance, the three films I have chosen to focus on appear to be very different. *Torsk på Tallinn* is a pseudo documentary made by the popular comedy group "Killinggänget". It was shown on Swedish public service television (SVT) in 1999, and was one of "Fyra små filmer"/"Four small films", a series of one-hour films produced by the group. Like the other films, it was characterized by a dark, ironic, and challenging humour, as well as a clever story construction, and the fact that the same actors played more than one character. In a style influenced by mockumentary characteristics, *Torsk på Tallinn* tells the story of a number of men who embark on an arranged bus trip to Estonia, with the explicit purpose of matchmaking with Estonian women. The film introduces the men, shows some of their everyday lives and has them talk into the camera, telling the audience about their hopes for the trip. Most are looking for some companionship; one, however, is very explicit about his single aim to "dip it". Then, it follows them to the "picturesque suburb" of Paldiski, outside of Tallinn.

Through speed dating, the men are expected to each hook up with a woman, after which there is a loud and drunken party. The next day they leave to return to Sweden. Only one of the men has succeeded in picking up a potential fiancée who follows him to Sweden, although the "dipper",

Micke, has quite unexpectedly fallen in love with Svetlana, the wife of Lembit, the Estonian partner of the bus trip manager, and stays in Estonia with her. The film has a subtitle stating that it is "en liten film om ensamhet"/"a short film about loneliness". This references Polish filmmaker Krzysztof Kieslowski's "Dekalog" (1988–1990), in which some films were titled "Krótki film o…"/"A short film about…". The other three films in Killinggänget's series of four also begin their subtitles with the same phrase. Moreover, the word loneliness quite adequately describes the theme of this film. As one of the users on Internet Movie Database plainly advices: "Never, ever see this movie alone, single, dumped or depressed" (Internet Movie Database: *Torsk på Tallinn*). The film straddles a fine line between comedy and tragedy and is really more about Swedish loneliness, or rather lonely Swedish men, than about Estonian women or the practice of wife-import.

In 2001, *Buy Bye Beauty* was shown at the Gothenburg Film Festival. It is perhaps the weirdest of the three films discussed here. This documentary by reality TV celebrity and artist Pål Hollender describes the situation in Latvia, where Hollender boldly states that Latvians are doubly exploited by the Swedish industry – as cheap labourers and as prostitutes. The wages paid to those working for Swedish (and other Western) companies are so low that Latvian women have no choice but to sell sexual services, which in turn is taken advantage of by Swedish (and other Western) business men on location. The statements made in the documentary are scathing enough, actually causing diplomatic trouble between Latvia and Sweden (Raubiško, 2001). However, Hollender takes his own agenda one step further: He pays some of the women participating in the film to have sex with him, on camera. The scenes were allegedly filmed by Hollender's wife (Ölmqvist, 2001). Thus, the documentary ends with the self-righteous and indignant documentarist committing the same crime that he has accused Swedish business men of committing, which of course is his (albeit blatant) point. *Buy Bye Beauty* caused an inflamed controversy in Sweden and was consequently shown on TV3, at the time the most low-brow of Swedish television channels and not part of public service SVT.

Finally, the most well-known of the three films discussed here, *Lilya 4-ever* by maverick auteur Lukas Moodysson, is "based on a true story" and presents the narrative of a 16-year-old girl, Lilya, somewhere in the former Soviet Union, who is abandoned by her mother. Desperately trying to cope on her own, she sells sexual services at a night club and is later lured by what to her seems like a nice young man to go to Sweden and

work picking vegetables. Not surprisingly, he is just a front for a trafficking organization, and as soon as Lilya arrives in Sweden her fake passport is taken away from her, she is locked into an apartment, raped, and forced into prostitution. The film ends with her suicide.

Although different in quality, in ideology, in mode of production and in genre, all three films have some stylistic similarities (for instance, hand-held camera and a documentarist "look") and, in one way or the other, deal with sexual transactions between Swedish men and women of the former Soviet Union. In *Torsk på Tallinn*, it is the matchmaking of Swedish men and Estonian women that may or may not lead to wife-import. The subject of the film is lonely men, and they are through and through depicted as lonely, socially handicapped, quite pitiful, and not exactly classical boyfriend material. The galloping capitalism in the film is not necessarily pinned on Estonia and Estonians, but rather on Percy Nilegård, a cynical small-time entrepreneur who is a recurrent character in Killinggänget's comedy acts, and who in this film is the manager of the bus trip. The country to which they travel could actually be any country with a lower GDP than Sweden. However, there is a subtext in which the audience can glimpse the "other side" of the story, glimpses that are filled in by our expectations or stereotypes of the situation and motivations for these women, by the site of the match-making arrangement, and the travel agent's Estonian companion.

In *Buy Bye Beauty*, the focus is on sexual tourism, Swedes who go abroad to enjoy the freedom of travel and the luxury of being rich in a country where the Swedish currency has more purchasing power than at home. This issue has recently, due to the passing of a law in Norway that makes it possible to prosecute Norwegians who have bought sex abroad, been discussed in Sweden, with some voices suggesting that such a law could be valuable in Sweden, too (Olsson, 2008). In the TV debate following the screening of the film on Swedish television, Hollender was accused of breaking Swedish law by paying for sex. Hollender defended himself by stating that making pornographic films is not illegal in Sweden and that he had paid the women to have sex with him on camera.

Lilya 4-ever deals with the inflammatory topic of the sex slave trade – which in Sweden was long commonly known as trafficking, although trafficking according to the UN is a much wider concept (United Nations: What is human trafficking?). Although the sex-buying law was introduced with the argument that it would enhance gender equality and curb violence against women (cf. Månsson, 2001, Svanström, 2006), one of the effects of the law has been that it functions as a means to thwart traf-

ficking. As Siring concludes in her report, many police regard the law as an instrument to keep trafficking at bay. As argued by Hedling in his essay on the film, *Lilya 4-ever* neatly fit into a kind of hegemonical Swedish Social Democracy and was used both abroad, by politicians to campaign against the sex slave trade, and domestically, shown to young people in high schools and to young men doing their military service (Hedling, 2004: 327–328). Internationally, the intent was to raise the alarm about trafficking, and domestically, it was to "inoculate" young men against becoming sex buyers (Hedling, 2004: 327).

Sex, Prostitution and the Other

The sex-buying law was part of a number of legislative measures aiming to counteract violence against women. Two public investigations preceded the legislation, one specifically on prostitution, the other on violence against women.[1] The investigation on prostitution in fact suggested that the selling as well as the buying of sexual services should be made illegal. However, as a result of the responses to the investigation, the government criminalized the buyers of sexual services, that is, the "tricks" of the sex workers. The new law followed a certain logic: on the one hand, sex work was not regarded as a trade fit for a welfare society, but on the other, there was a hesitation to incriminate the sex workers themselves because it would further victimize them ("Kvinnofrid", 1997/1998: 55: 104). By making it a crime to pay for sex, the intention was to change the focus from the sellers of sex to the buyers of sex, and consequently, the law became known as the sex-buying law. It had already been a crime to procure sexual services and to provide a place for prostitution, but from January 1, 1999, the only person still legally involved in prostitution was the sex worker.

The law has been quite aggressively debated. Although its intent was to thwart violence against women and to sustain a project of gender equality in Swedish society (Månsson, 2001: 135–136), objections from different perspectives have been voiced. One general objection has been that the law is not efficient: it does not stop prostitution but forces it underground, which makes the sex workers more susceptible to the hazards of the trade, such as rape, abuse, and even murder. Another objection, voiced by for instance social anthropologist and queer scholar Don Kulick, has been that the law reinforces a normative sexuality and reproduces the notion of Swedish sexuality as natural and progressive (Kulick, 2005). Although problematic in some respects, Kulick's essay on the sex-buying law nonetheless makes an important point, namely the national con-

struction of a "good" sexuality. A third objection, raised by among others social anthropologist Petra Östergren and recently also notoriously by historian of ideas Susanne Dodillet, has been that the opinions of the sex workers themselves have never been taken into account, a point that has been disputed in an inflamed controversy after Dodillet's dissertation *Är sex arbete?* (*Is sex work?*) was published (Östergren, 2006, Dodillet, 2009).[2]

Although the sex-buying law, as Siring notes, functions to counteract trafficking (Siring, 2008: 335), it was not regarded as sufficient by the Swedish government, which in 2002 introduced a new law specifically against human trafficking for sexual purposes. The investigation preceding that decision declared that there were many different laws – besides the sex-buying law, for instance the laws against abduction and against the procuring of sexual services – that could be used as instruments against trafficking. However, the investigation maintained the need to strengthen the legal means to combat the international sex slave trade (SOU, 2001:14: 459). In the case of human trafficking for sexual purposes, an image of the Other in the shape of the former Soviet Union and its satellite states takes shape during the reading of the report. It describes the huge political changes these nations have undergone and explains that unemployment is abundant, that social welfare institutions have been forced to close and that there is a demand for sexual services in the richer part of the world (SOU, 2001:14: 421–422). Actually, in the paragraph in question, the report concurs, almost word for word, with the readings performed by Hedling and Hansell of the narrative logic in *Lilya 4-ever*. Furthermore, it fits neatly in with the documentarist's analysis in *Buy Bye Beauty*. And, although not as explicitly, it coincides with the underlying implication of *Torsk på Tallinn*.

The Exploited Other

In *Torsk på Tallinn*, actually both the men partaking in the bus tour as well as the Estonian women can be said to take the role of exploited Other. The men because they in some sense fall outside of a heteronormative sexuality by being alone instead of married in a society where coupling – heterosexual or homosexual, although most often heterosexual – is the norm. Social anthropologist Lissa Nordin has studied single men living in the far north of Sweden and analyses, in an essay, their situation from a queer perspective (Nordin, 2005). She states that their situation is problematic because any way they turn, they are regarded with suspicion,

and perhaps especially so if they tried to find a partner abroad. Recounting the experiences of one man who, after frequent trips to Russia, married a Russian woman, she states that the respective motivations for both spouses were assumed to be other than love. The villagers held it to be true that the Russian woman, a school teacher, had duped him into marrying her, some were even positive that she had been a prostitute (Nordin, 2005: 41–44). This suspicion is essentially an underlying assumption in *Torsk på Tallinn* as well.

In a study of Russian women in Scandinavian media, Alexandra N. Leontieva and Karin Sarsenov present *Torsk på Tallinn* as an "illustrative example" of how men who look for companionship with women from the former Eastern Europe and Soviet Union are made into "a laughing stock" (Leontieva and Sarsenov, 2005: 141–142). All the men on the bus trip – perhaps with the exception of Micke, the "dipper" – are regarded somewhat from a distance. Although we, the spectators, laugh in recognition of the characters, they are still in some sense removed from us. This is in part an effect of the ethnographic quality of the supposed documentary, but also of the use of cleverly constructed character stereotypes. As a large part of the audience knows from having seen Killinggänget's earlier productions, Percy Nilegård, the manager of the bus trip, is a cynical small-time entrepreneur, and in this film he exploits the lonely Swedish men as well as the Estonian women. This is evident as soon as the film starts, and as it progresses, this becomes more and more apparent, even for those who are not familiar with the Nilegård character. In a bizarre scene, he and the bus driver lock the travellers into the bus on the car deck of the ferry to Estonia. The scene underlines the cynicism of Nilegård, especially as, at the time of the film's release, the memory of the foundering of the ferry Estonia in 1994, when almost one thousand people died, was still relatively fresh in the minds of the audience. While the bus windows become misty with condensation, Roland, who seems like the most romantic of the men, draws hearts on his window pane. Arriving in Estonia, the bus passes through the beautiful streets of Tallinn; however, the hotel is located in what is described by Nilegård as the "picturesque suburb of Paldiski".

Paldiski is also the location on which a large part of *Lilya 4-ever* was shot. It used to be a nuclear submarine base during the Soviet era and was abandoned in the mid-nineties. Now, only approximately 4000 people live there. Like Chernobyl, there are websites devoted to pictures from Paldiski, as in some kind of abject fascination for the drab archaeology of the former Soviet Union.[3]



Paldiski – barbed wire

Large, desolate buildings in various stages of ruin, derelict homes, and apartment houses, seemingly in desperate need of renovation, provide ample opportunity for anyone with the intent to depict the former Soviet states as a present-day hell on earth. In both *Torsk på Tallinn* and *Lilya 4-ever*, the images from Paldiski seem to reek of misery and the stale smell of decades of Communism – piles of trash, cheap materials, mildew, transpiring people in synthetic suits, and environmental pollution. It is as though the people living there have been abandoned just like the buildings. As Kristensen notes in his essay on the film: "The post-Socialist decay portrayed in *Lilya 4-ever* – the grey housing blocks, the courtyard's muddy look, the derelict marine base – all register as despair on the faces of the characters, which in turn rouses the viewers' empathy and desire to rescue the film's victims" (Kristensen, 2007: 5).

Because *Torsk på Tallinn* focuses on the men, the film only offers hints of what the lives of the women might be like. There are three women in particular who stand out: Lule, the woman who follows one of the men back to Sweden; Svetlana, the wife of Lembit, Nilegård's Estonian partner; and



Paldiski – house with wooden balconies

Eda, the love interest of the main character, Roland. At the beginning of the film, the men have expressed some of their hopes and expectations for the trip to the camera, so the audience understands, in some sense, what their motivations are. Like Nordin states in her essay about single men, they have a feeling that it is better not to be alone (Nordin, 2005: 35–36). When told, on the bus to Estonia, that the ratio is 3:1 in their favour (that is, three times as many women as men), they cheer. Regarding the motivation of the women, the spectator has to guess. Of course, Paldiski would be reason enough to want to leave, and although the film provides a quick look at Tallinn, Paldiski becomes like a synecdoche for the former Soviet Union – and even more so in *Lilya 4-ever*, which states in the beginning that it takes place "somewhere in the former Soviet Union". This "somewhere" is a universalizing cue – it is not one particular and especially dull place because it could be anywhere in the former Soviet Union. That Lilya grabs her chance to leave when she gets it is unsurprising, even though she is warned by her younger friend Volodya, who later in the film himself "leaves" by committing suicide.

In *Torsk på Tallinn*, the Estonian women seem to have dressed up in their best clothes, which (even in 1999) are out-of-date and also look a bit like what a woman of a slightly older age would wear. The exception is Svetlana, whose clothes look like another stereotype of the former Soviet woman's dress: she wears stilettos in patent-leather, white panty hose, a leather (or patent-leather) mini-skirt, and a white jacket with shoulder pads. Svetlana also provides a clue to the motivations of the other women – her husband bullies her and at one point in the film, he slaps her. Again, the film offers stereotypes, this time of a backward and poor nation where getting out might seem like the better alternative for young women. As Leontieva and Sarsenov note, dating agencies that specialize in match-making women from the former Eastern Europe and Soviet Union with Western men reinforce such stereotypes by presenting the women as more traditional and eager to please than their Western sisters are (Leontieva and Sarsenov, 2005: 141). Lule, who is the only one who actually leaves, can also – from the few scenes we see her in – be interpreted as very determined to leave and accepting the best possible offer of the men.

Nevertheless, one important motivation for the women who do, in reality, leave for an uncertain future in an EU nation is the fact that they have extremely few chances in their hometown or home country. All the uncertainties and dangers of living as an illegal immigrant in one of the EU countries may be preferable to living at home (Agustín, 2007: 45–46). This is definitely the case as it is depicted for Lilya in *Lilya 4-ever*, although Agustín claims that women migrants are usually aware of what kind of jobs may be open to them in an informal or illegal system (Agustín, 2007: 30–36). In the sex crime investigation that preceded the law on trafficking, it is frequently underlined that even though some women may know that they will work in prostitution, the conditions under which they will be working are unclear (SOU, 2001:14: 422–423). In the film, Lilya is depicted as an extreme victim, since she has no idea. Even though Volodya warns her about the intentions of the young man who has offered to take her to Sweden, Lilya seems youthfully unaware about what might be in store for her.

Exploited Sites/Sites of Exploitation

The shooting location for two of the three films, Paldiski, not only has a history from the Soviet era, but Paldiski is one of Estonia's cities that had a Swedish name during a certain period of history. It was called Rågervik.

Located on the coast of Estonia, it borders on an area inhabited by Estonian-Swedes who immigrated from Sweden to Estonia during the middle ages and later during the years 1561–1710 when Sweden controlled Estonia. Thus, Paldiski functions on two levels – one, as a site of the Other and, in the case of *Lilya 4-ever*, as the synecdoche of the entire former Soviet Union, and two, as a direct link between Sweden and the Baltic states. It is most likely that the second level did not occur to the filmmakers when they chose the location, or to the larger part of the audience. Consequently, it is not probable that there was a conscious point to be made by choosing that location, other than that it was conveniently nearby and looked its part. Nonetheless, Sweden's relation to the Baltic states as well as to the former Soviet Union is complex and problematic. Historically, a large portion of the Swedish colonial expansion project stretched to the east, and during the Cold War, Sweden as a neutral "middle way" nation was not only geographically but also ideologically located in between NATO and the Warsaw pact.

Except for the emphasis on the "former Soviet Union" in *Lilya 4-ever*, no historical events are explicitly highlighted in the films. Nonetheless, in all three films, the choice of region and in two of them, the choice of location, form an abstract subtext to the very tangible action. The films may very well evoke a general and indistinct Swedish sense of unease, complicated relations, something problematic and, perhaps, a vaguely felt guilt regarding the Baltic region. Furthermore, this abstract subtext has its counterpart in the sense of homelessness that accompanies the exploitation of the Other. All three films underline the more or less homeless character of the sites of sexual transactions.

In *Torsk på Tallinn*, neither the men nor the women are at home, they meet on neutral ground. This neutral ground is the forlorn hotel in Paldiski, where the hard surfaces make all sounds echo and the attempts at decorating the room are quite futile. Its hotel rooms, additionally, are not only anonymous but have a bunker-like quality. The toilets are located behind shower curtains within the rooms. In cruel contrast with the romantic dreams conjured up by Percy Nilegård, this setting enhances the loneliness and the pointlessness of the sexual transactions taking place.

In *Buy Bye Beauty*, the final sexual transactions between the Latvian women and Pål Hollender also take place in anonymous, albeit more comfortable, hotel rooms. A point is made that the cost per night of the hotel room equals three Latvian monthly incomes. *Lilya 4-ever*, on the other hand, uses several settings for the sexual transactions – the night club in Lilya's home country, the hotel room in which she has her first

customer, the apartment, stripped bare of everything except the most necessary furniture, the car in which she is driven around. Most importantly, Lilya herself is orphaned and homeless, abandoned by her mother, driven from her home by her selfish aunt, placed in a run-down apartment and finally kept by her pimp in a foreign land. The montage that shows her encounters with the Swedish tricks presents various locations, some of which are homes – she sees the first man in his apartment and there is an upper-class male in his own house – but some of which are, for instance, what seems like a bachelor party in a swimming hall. However, the fragmented approach – apart from transferring Lilya's disoriented experience to the spectator – seems to be making the point that these things can happen anywhere and that any man may be a trick.

All three films underline the language barrier between Swedish men and Estonian, Latvian or Russian-speaking women. In *Torsk på Tallinn*, there are interpreters to assist during the speed-dating, but having to communicate through a translator in only a few minutes obviously leaves something to be desired. In *Buy Bye Beauty*, the language is sometimes English, sometimes English with a translator. The voice-over narration, spoken by Hollender, is also in English and the film is subtitled in Swedish. And in *Lilya 4-ever*, Russian is the language through most of the film, subtitled in Swedish. Spoken Swedish is almost only heard spoken by the tricks and by the ambulance personnel in the last moments of the film. For a Swedish audience, the strategy of *Lilya 4-ever* might entail a distancing effect in relation to their own language when a person with whom they are supposed to empathize speaks a foreign language and the "bad guys" speak Swedish.

Furthermore, in the scene showing Lilya at the house of the upper-class man, he is clearly trying to stage a paedophile scenario in which she is a little girl doing her home-work. Here, he speaks to her, instructing her, in Swedish, and she responds in Russian, the inability of either part to understand one another protecting Lilya as well as illustrating her ultimate homelessness.

The Female Body and Loss of Identity

As I stated at the beginning of the article, the ambivalent sentiment of fear and guilt concerning the post-cold war scenario can be regarded as projected onto sexual relations and more specifically the (young) female body. In a sense, the women in all three films in one way or another fall victim to large historical and global processes. Sex is the way of portray-

ing this victimhood. *Torsk på Tallinn* complicates this analysis, as one could say that, in this film, all participants in the bus tour and the match-making – with a few exceptions – are victims of the ruthless business men who take advantage of their loneliness and desperation. However, in all three films, sexual intercourse forms important cross-over points, in which sex becomes a pivotal event. This cross-over point happens in *Torsk på Tallinn*, too. The events unfolding during the film's climax, the loud and drunken party, end with Roland finding his love interest Eda in bed, not with any of the Swedish men, but with the presumed Serb or Yugoslav Slobodan (ironically, the name means "freedom" but to a Swedish audience at that time it was most probably associated with Slobodan Milosevic, then president of Yugoslavia).

The film provides clues as to how Eda ends up with Slobodan and also, considering Roland's character, it seems that the course of events is inevitable. Roland tries to intervene in a problematic situation and gets stuck in the basement with the bus driver for some time, during which either Eda gives him up and settles for Slobodan instead or Slobodan moves in and proves a more proficient seducer than Roland. Nevertheless, whichever way one wants to interpret the sequence, the act is in a sense a betrayal, but by whom and of what is unclear. When Roland is walking around in the hotel corridor calling for Eda, extremely loud sounds of sexual activity are coming from Micke's and Slobodan's room. Interrupted by Percy Nilegård, Micke and Slobodan open the door and reveal that Svetlana and Eda are in the room. Surprise as well as affection is reflected in Roland's and Eda's faces and in their voices. However, Eda is brusquely pushed back into the room by Nilegård who shouts at Micke for "banging Lembit's wife".

Again, in *Buy Bye Beauty*, the act of sexual intercourse seems to be like a cross-over point. The discourse on exploitation, sexual tourism and prostitution, although quite agitated, is removed at some distance from the viewer. However, Hollender's sex scenes with the women throw the economic reality of the situation blatantly in the viewer's face. Preceding one of the sex scenes is an interview situation with a woman and her boyfriend. They discuss relationships, and they seem to be in agreement that a man should be able to look after his woman. The boyfriend strongly expresses his desire to protect his girlfriend. There is an abrupt cut to the sex scene between her and Hollender, with the boyfriend present in the room. Insidious as this juxtaposition of dialogue and image is, one could contend that he is, in fact, protecting her by controlling that she is not harmed during the intercourse. However, most people looking at that

juxtaposition will probably conclude that it illustrates the ultimate failure and futility of the young man's idealism. In all the sex scenes, the camera briefly shows the faces of the women, the expressions of which quite clearly underline the tragedy and emptiness of the whole situation. They do not look sad, angry, or disgusted, instead they look like their minds have been transported somewhere else. Although the version that most people in Sweden saw was censored through a blurring of the genital areas,[4] and although – or perhaps because – the scenes were very short, they still conveyed a palpable abject feeling through the use of sound and the close-ups of faces.

Lilya 4-ever contains more scenes of sexual transactions than the other films. Elsewhere, I have argued that the use of POV camera in the montage sequence, which shows Lilya with a number of different tricks, functions in three different ways. Through the subjective camera, the tricks' features become slightly contorted, which makes them look a bit grotesque, emphasizing the nightmarish quality of the montage. Furthermore, because Lilya is not shown in the montage, one could say that she is not objectified or eroticized by the camera's and the audience's gaze. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it illustrates the loss of identity and subjectivity Lilya experiences in Sweden (Larsson, 2006: 256). We cannot see her, so in a sense, she is not "there". Her passport has been taken away from her, she does not speak the language, and her agency has been taken away from her too. Bit by bit, her personal identity is eliminated.

Albeit in different ways, all three films turn sexual intercourse into a highly emphasized event, saturated with significance outside the purely physical bodily action. It is the point – or in Lilya, several points – in all films in which the Otherness, the outside status of the women (and the men in *Torsk på Tallinn*), and the exploitation are at their fullest. That Lilya throws up, after her first experience at prostitution in her home country, is not only shown in order to express her own disgust and nausea at what happened, but also to demonstrate the film's ideological point that sexual transactions harm the actual bodily self of the woman performing them. Very likely, the diversity of the tricks Lilya encounters in the montage sequence is intended to show a (stereo)typology of Swedish males – the lonely, older man, young men at a bachelor party, and the upper-class pervert. Just as the Swedish poster campaign from 2002 displaying a group of men and stating "One out of eight men has bought sex at some time" implicitly asked the viewer whether he or she can make out which of the men could be a presumptive sex buyer, *Lilya 4-ever* seems to state that anyone – or rather, any male – can be a sex buyer, a trick.[5]

Early in *Buy Bye Beauty*, Hollender as the voice-over narrator explains to the viewers that in Riga "nothing is what it seems to be". The cute old ladies selling vegetables in the market square are all controlled by one business man, the police force is corrupt, the taxi drivers make more money from mediating encounters with prostitutes, etc. Scenes from night clubs, restaurants, the streets and interviews are recurringly intercut with a shot of Riga's rooftops, with a setting or rising sun in the cloudy background, as if the film is trying to remind us that, although it looks quite nice (perhaps even "picturesque"), nothing is what it seems.

Conclusion

In sum, I would contend that it is no coincidence that the sex-buying law and the law against human trafficking for sexual purposes were implemented during the same few years as these films were released. Both the laws and the films indicate the same national anxiety, but whereas the films express that anxiety, the laws attempt to contain it. The anxiety deals with some kind of fear of a national contamination: that the problems over *there* (galloping capitalism, non-existing welfare systems, etc.) will contaminate and affect us *here*, for instance obstruct progress in issues of gender equality. Leontieva and Sarsenov quote an observation by Norwegian folklore scholar Stein Mathisen, who maintains that the former military threat has become a hygienic problem and the soldiers are not Russian men anymore, but Russian women (Leontieva and Sarsenov, 2005: 139). The threat is embodied by prostitutes or imported wives from the former Soviet states – female sexuality becomes something that is both feared and viewed as being in need of protection. Furthermore, what is apparent in these films is that the depicted sex is bad. In *Buy Bye Beauty* and *Lilya 4-ever*, it is physically bad sex for the women, and at least morally bad sex for the men. In *Torsk på Tallinn*, the sex is morally bad. This ties in with Don Kulick's argument about the national construction of a "good" sexuality. Since 1955, when the practice of mandatory sex education started in schools, sexuality has been a small but important part of the Swedish welfare project (Lennerhed, 1994, cf. Kulick, 2005). Looking at how the Swedish Institute reacted to and used the concept of "Swedish sin" that began to circulate in the world in the 1950s, historians Nikolas Glover and Carl Marklund detect a tendency in the Institute's publications to construct the issue of sex in Sweden as a matter of rationality, realism, democracy, and equality between the sexes (Glover & Marklund, 2009). According to this self-reflection, it is not "sin" at all,

it is rather the opposite. Swedish sexuality is morally sound. This provides a historical background as to why the national anxiety surrounding world political and economic developments focuses on the sexual aspects of globalization, especially concerning itself with the fate of women and children.

During the 1970s, a strong push by the women's movement further reinforced the equality theme of the national narrative of sexuality (Kulick, 2005: 80–81). A strong influence of radical feminism saturated Swedish policy-making with an ideology of gender equality, which in its turn is based on a kind of essentialist feminism from the 1970s. This is quite clearly expressed in the legislation on prostitution (Gould, 2002: 202–205, Kulick, 2005: 81–82, 94–97).

However, and in addition to this, the phenomenon of connecting a national anxiety concerning globalization to the fate of women and children is not new or incidental: Historian Ann Hallner has compared the discourse surrounding the white slave trade in the early twentieth century with the discourse of trafficking almost a hundred years later (Hallner, 2009). In his essay on *Lilya 4-ever*, Hedling explains that the film can be regarded in the light of a melodramatic film genre from the silent era, the "white slave-trade films" like *Traffic in Souls* (George Loane Tucker, 1913) and *Den hvide Slavehandel* (Alfred Lind, 1910) (Hedling, 2004: 324–325). Although Hallner does not mention the films of the 1910s, it seems as though the discourse of white slave trade as well as the discourse of trafficking contains a handful of films as well as articles, speeches, and laws. That these national or social anxieties are expressed in films is thus not a coincidence either.

Again, I want to underline that this essay concerns the discourse of sexual transactions across national borders, not the actual phenomenon. As a discourse, these three films tapped into a general apprehension concerning the global movement of female migrants, dissolving national boundaries, and sexual behaviours. Additionally, they specified the Other as a post-Soviet woman by locating the sexual transactions in the former Soviet Union, and in two cases particularly and explicitly in two of the Baltic states, consequently evoking a particular Swedish (perhaps Nordic) ambiguous fear and paternalism. What Kristensen notes about *Lilya 4-ever* is actually applicable to the other two films as well. The Nordic countries, according to Kristensen, "foster a Russian Other against which their own national identities are projected" (Kristensen, 2007: 8). In the case of these three films, though, I would identify the nationality of the Other as more ambiguously post-Soviet, in some cases explicitly Baltic.

The significance placed on the act of sexual intercourse also locates the sexual transactions on the female body. Thus, in the Swedish imagination, as materialized in these three films, a kind of distorted colonial perspective can be discerned. Through this perspective, the former Soviet Union is connected with the (young) female body and a female sexuality that is exploited by the larger forces of capitalism and globalization.

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endnotes

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1 SOU 1995:15 (investigation on prostitution) and SOU 1995:60 (investigation on violence against women). According to Annelie Siring, prostitution has been officially investigated in 1910, in 1981, and in 1995. Siring, 2008: 334.

2 The huge controversy concerned how Dodillet had used some of her empirical material, the investigations of prostitution made in the 1970s. Those investigations contained, among other things, interviews with several sex workers. See for instance Kajsa Ekis Ekman, review, *Dagens Nyheter* 2009-02-20, http://www.dn.se/dnbok/bokrecensioner/susanne-dodillet-ar-sex-arbete-svensk-

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3 See for instance http://hem.bredband.net/hansfredriksson/paldiski/ (2009-04-08) or http://www.adam-jones.net/?album=paldiski (2009-04-08). For images of Chernobyl, see for instance http://reactor4.be/photos_of_the_forbidden_zone.php?gallery=104-chernobyl (2009-04-08).

4 Because the film was shown on UK-based TV3, it would have been illegal to show the genital areas during intercourse.

5 The poster is reproduced in black and white in Kulick, 2005, p. 74.

Tommy Gustafsson

The Last Dog in Rwanda: Swedish Educational Films and Film Teaching Guides on the History of Genocide

throughout a hundred years of history, the film medium has mainly been associated with entertainment and leisure rather than with information and knowledge. The exceptions here are the documentary genre and certain films that are in some way considered valuable, by virtue either of their artful composition or their subject matter. Parallel to this view runs the general belief that films have the ability to influence their audience when it comes to matters of morality, emotions, and above all violence, underlined by the fact that, throughout the past and all around the world, the film medium has constantly been subjected to numerous forms of prohibition and censorship. Nonetheless, in recent years more acknowledgement has been given, in scholarship and in society, to the commercial feature film as a significant purveyor of knowledge. Film scholars Elisabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden have called this new insight *global cine-literacy*, as this development indicates that "film rapidly is displacing literature (in particular the novel) as the textual emblematization of cosmopolitan knowing and identity" (Ezra and Rowden, 2006: 3).

However, obtaining knowledge and information through moving imagery is neither a new phenomenon nor an unproblematic one. For example, Sweden has a long tradition of using film material in public school education. As a way to heighten the film industry's tarnished reputation, commercial film companies began lending documentary features and shorts to schools already in 1921 (Gustafsson, 2007: 49). This practice

continued until Swedish public service television's (SVT) educational section (UR) started to produce and televise programs directly to schools in 1961. In addition to this, the practice of lending films was decentralized through the creation of local audiovisual centers (AV-centraler), which still supply schools with audiovisual educational material.

In accordance with this tradition, the Swedish Film Institute (SFI) has produced some 500 downloadable film teaching guides designed to be used by teachers and pupils in schooling at most levels in the Swedish compulsory school system. These film teaching guides include a summary of the film in question, a historical background pertaining to its subject matter, and thoughtful queries related to its narrative and theme intended to form a basis for classroom discussion (SFI, 2009a). Nonetheless, the main focus of these film teaching guides is on the film's content, ignoring almost entirely how these films convey a subject in terms of editing, sound, mise-en-scène or, for that matter, which genre the films belong to. The films themselves are therefore not approached as subjectively crafted media products, but are instead perceived, from a teaching perspective, as more or less accurate retellings of historical events or contemporary issues.

The basis for this somewhat uncritical attitude can be said to originate in the Swedish Film Institue's (SFI) goal to support the production, distribution and exhibition of *valuable film* in Sweden. That is, SFI:s principle of selection implicitly guarantees the quality of these films (and film teaching guides) as more valuable than other, often more commercially successful and popular films that pupils in fact actively choose to see, and that thus constitute an important part of their everyday life (Rizzardi, 2009: 4-5, 9-10, 15). The discrepancy between what is regarded as valuable films and commercial films is to some degree expressed as the difference between what is and is not to be considered art. What is more, this division affects the reception of films that are marketed or financially supported by SFI. At the same time, however, it limits the ways in which these film teaching guides can be used as teaching aids, as the term valuable film carries with it a strong sense that these preferred films are indeed accurate in their treatment of their subject matter in a rather naive way.

What we have here then is nothing less than a canonization of knowledge and information through the use of imagery, at the same time as the media construction of this imagery is largely allowed to go by unchecked. But what does this canonization, and the didactic approach attached to it, imply on a cognitive level? How, and under what conditions, does entertainment transcend the merely diverting and become important knowledge? Or is this even a possible prospect?

Genocide and Film

Genocide, and knowledge of genocide, is a subject that has been given special attention in Sweden in recent years. A 1997 school survey disclosed that an alarming number of Swedish youths were not convinced that the Holocaust actually had taken place. As a consequence, the Swedish parliament launched a huge information campaign in 1998 to inform about the history of the Holocaust and the processes underlying it. The campaign was made permanent with the establishment of the Living History Forum in 2003, a government organization falling under the Swedish Ministry of Culture with instructions to promote tolerance, democracy and human rights "[w]ith the aid of lessons from history", first and foremost via histories of genocide (The Living History Forum, 2009a). A substantial part of the organization's activities are aimed at schools, including teacher training courses and the production of educational material. And although the Living History Forum do not produce art *per se*, they nevertheless released a VHS-tape entitled *Bilden av Förintelsen* (*The Image of the Holocaust*, 1998) with excerpts from Holocaust films to be used in the schools in collaboration with SFI (The Living History Forum, 2009b).

Although the occurrence of genocide is highly uncommon in real life, it has become a relatively common narrative in film and television productions, in particular pertaining to the numerous representations of the Holocaust over the past 30 years. The nominal breakthrough came with the success of NBC:s TV miniseries *Holocaust* (1978), which was broadcast in the US and most Western European countries and received tremendous ratings in 1978 and 1979. Prior to 1978, representations of genocide were all but absent from the screens, with only a few rare and explicit exceptions, such as the two Polish films *Ostanti etap* (*The Last Stage*, Wanda Jakubowska, 1948) and *Ulica Graniczna* (*Border Street*, Alexander Ford, 1948), or the documentary *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, Alain Resnais, 1955) – a film that was heavily censored in Sweden with no less than nine cuts, mostly concerning archival footage of mutilated corpses (Statens biografbyrå, 1958). In addition to this, some thirty American and European films were made in between 1945 and 1978 where the Holocaust figured in the background of the main narrative, for example in films like *Die Letzte Chance* (*The Last Chance*, Leopold Lindtberg, 1945), *Sterne* (*Stars*, Konrad Wolf, 1959), *Exodus* (Otto Preminger, 1960) and *The Odessa File* (Ronald Neame, 1974). However, the Holocaust was generally considered to be a sensitive issue at best, and at worst, an impossible

subject or even a subject that, for reasons of morality, could not be exploited in the arts in the aftermath of World War II. The latter, and clearly dominant, attitude was expressed by a number of influential intellectuals, such as Theodor Adorno and Eli Wiesel, and applied irrespective of whether the artistic representation concerned films, paintings or novels, as it was claimed that a conventional dramatization of the Holocaust would inevitably lead to mere trivialization (Zander, 2003: 261–263). The exceptions were more intellectual films such as *The Damned* (Luchino Visconti, 1969) or *Night Porter* (Liliana Cavani, 1974), i.e. films that failed to reach a wider audience, and that thereby had a limited effect on the historical consciousness of the Holocaust (Loshitzky, 1997: 2).

Besides the sense of trivialization and a fear that the Holocaust could be turned into a Hollywood theme park, there are several reasons, some carrying more weight than others, for this often fierce antagonism toward an explicit rendering of the Holocaust that keep the subject away from the screen. Film scholar Miriam Bratu Hansen points out, among other things, the problems associated with the limitations of (classical) narration, and the question of cinema subjectivity in her study on *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, 1993):

> A fundamental limitation of classical narrative in relation to history, and to the historical event of the Shoah in particular, is that it relies on neoclassicist principles on compositional unity, motivation, linearity, equilibrium, and closure – principles singularly inadequate in the fate of an event that by its very nature defies our narrative urge to make sense of it, to impose order on the discontinuity and otherness of historical experience (Hansen, 1997: 80–85).

The strong sentiment that genocide, especially the Holocaust, is an event that to all intents and purposes is impossible to make sense of within the realm of the arts does have several implications in this instance. First, it clashes forcefully with the persistent notion of the Enlightenment's faith in the power of knowledge, that is, "if only people knew, they would act" (Cohen, 2007: 185). Second, because this notion also constitutes the guiding principle for the production and even existence of genocide films and film teaching guides, it creates a contradiction in objectives. The reluctant attitude has in fact contributed to thwarting the creation of public memories of genocides, which in turn have led to a situation in which genocides can and are overlooked as historical events, or mythologized and even reduced, as in revisionist histories of the Holocaust. When these

two alternatives are weighed against each other, the question must be raised as to whether silence really is the better option, not least in light of the fact that audiovisual media have been the primary vehicle for imparting historical knowledge and remembrance in the twentieth and twentyfirst centuries (Toplin, 2002: 60–61).

The overall attitude towards the Holocaust can be exemplified by political theorist Hannah Arendt's often quoted phrase "banality of evil", coined at the Eichmann trial in Israel in 1961 (Arendt, 1996). This prosaic elucidation is symptomatic, in that it does not explain anything, but instead reduces the Holocaust to an act of irration, clearly part of the paradigm in which the Holocaust is perceived as unexplainable. However, as Hansen asserts, the Holocaust has predominantly been dependent on mass-mediated forms of memory (Hansen, 1997: 98). Following the enormous impact of the TV series *Holocaust,* the Holocaust became the genocide narrative *par excellence*, quickly developing into an accepted and even normalized subject. After 1980, the production of Holocaust or Holocaust-related films virtually exploded out of its previous semi-suppression. As a consequence, the number of feature films and feature-length documentaries produced between 1979 and 2009 has by now exceeded 250 and is still growing. Now, the question is not *if* but *how* genocides are depicted and rationalized within film and television narration.

By comparison, other genocides, such as those committed in Belgian Congo 1884–1908, German South-West Africa 1904–1907, Armenia 1915, Indonesia 1965–1966, Cambodia 1975–1979, and East Timor 1975–1999, have in no way spawned an equal number of films, with only singular exceptions such as *The Killing Fields* (Roland Joffé, 1984) and *Ararat* (Atom Egoyan, 2002), or *The Year of Living Dangerously* (Peter Weir, 1982) where the genocide acts as a backdrop. Even atrocities committed against minorities other than the Jews within the realm of the Holocaust – *the Porajmos* (the Romani people genocide), the persecution of homosexuals, or the murdering of some 3 to 4 million Soviet prisoners of war in 1941/1942 – are hardly ever discussed in public. Accordingly, these genocides are also not made into commercial docudramas or broadcast repeatedly as documentaries on prime-time television. The ultimate consequence is that they have remained absent from public memory, and are therefore hardly part of any global, European or national historical consciousness. The danger of this non-memory can be illustrated by the continued and open discrimination of the Romani people in European Union member nations such as Italy, Hungary, Romania, Czech Republic, and Slovakia (see, for example, Sniegon, 2008: 173–211).

The one exception to this absence is the growing number of films produced in recent years that represent the Rwandan genocide. Thus far, six feature films, at least two dozen feature-length documentaries and numerous documentary shorts have been made, making the Rwandan genocide the most audio-visually recreated genocide, second only to the Holocaust. Together these films have formed a powerful audiovisual historical memory of the Rwandan genocide. First, because all these films in one way or another have been made with the purpose of informing and spreading knowledge about an "unknown" genocide. Second, because they emphasize a moral viewpoint aimed at the failure of the Western powers to intervene. Third, because these films, fictional or factual, draw from the same type of *emblematic* images to illustrate, rather than to explain, the genocide *per se*. In other words, collectively these films work to communicate the message that the events in Rwanda constituted a horrific episode in human history that never *ever* can be allowed to happen again, similar to the intention and message of most Holocaust films. Then again, the films on the Rwandan genocide are still in the midst of development. The films produced thus far only fit into two genres, that of the solemn drama and the factual documentary – the expected genres for films dealing with genocide – whereas Holocaust films have outgrown these genres and at this point have the ability to be rendered as action films, exploitation films, and as straightforward comedies. The most notable example of the latter genre is Roberto Benigni's *La Vita è Bella* (*Life is Beautiful*, 1997), which was warmly greeted all around the world, but also ferociously criticized as a revisionist Holocaust film that even was said to justify the extermination of the Jews in the twentieth century (Niv, 2003). However, with the exception of high profile films such as *Schindler's List* and *Life is Beautiful,* most films on genocide are not criticized, but are instead embraced as important mediators of the past, often solely on the grounds of their grave subject matter. That is, they are in accordance with the position taken by SFI with regard to the process of selecting films of value for school education. Films on the Rwandan Genocide, albeit fewer in number than Holocaust films and (still) contained within a narrower generic spectra, are therefore rarely condemned as inappropriate films based on how they treat the subject, because the subject *per se* seemingly has the power to override any objections.

Here, attention will be given to a case study on how the history of the Rwandan genocide is constructed and explained, that is, how it is taught within the Swedish educational tradition of visual imagery. The first part of the present study will concentrate on two film teaching guides pro-

duced by SFI in connection with the acclaimed feature films *Hotel Rwanda* (Terry George, 2004) and *Shooting Dogs* (a.k.a. *Beyond the Gates* (US), Michael Caton-Jones, 2005). The second part will focus on the equally acclaimed Swedish short film *Den sista hunden i Rwanda* (*The Last Dog in Rwanda*, Jens Assur, 2006).

Learning about Genocide: Film Teaching Guides on Genocide

Hotel Rwanda was not the first commercial feature film to portray the Rwandan genocide, but there should be no doubts about the fact that *Hotel Rwanda* has become the quintessential film on the Rwandan genocide, which all succeeding filmic dramatizations must relate to in one way or another, in the same way as *Holocaust* and *Schindler's List* now constitute the archetypical dramatizations of the Holocaust. Although celebrated, with three Academy Award-nominations and twelve international film prizes (IMDB, 2009), *Hotel Rwanda* has been subjected to stark criticism as a film that made no serious effort to explain the genocide, that shies away from explicit violence, and that advocates a happy and upbeat ending which "strikes a false note [. . .] because it actively encourages uninformed viewers to conclude that with the RPF [Rwandese Patriotic Front] about to capture Kigali, the genocide will soon come to an end" (Adhikari, 2006: 290–291). In fact, Mohammed Adhikari's critique of *Hotel Rwanda* runs parallel to the critique aimed at Holocaust films, as it both points to the choices that filmmakers must make and draws attention to the limitations of classical narration when it comes to explaining and constructing audiovisual history out of the past, especially pertaining to the requisite "happy" ending of the film. Furthermore, the fact that Adhikari uses the term "uniformed viewer" in relation to this commercial film stresses the unequal relationship between the media product and its audience. However, at the same time it also demonstrates the position *Hotel Rwanda* has obtained in the canon of celebrated genocide films. In other words, Adhikari's harsh critique should be understood in light of the fact that *Hotel Rwanda* is not only the archetypical recreation of the Rwandan genocide, but is also perceived, as a result of this position, as an accurate historical recollection by most viewers. What is more, this specific viewer position could only arise because the Rwandan genocide was unknown to the public by 2004, ten years after it took place. This is also the position taken by the film's director, Terry George, when he relates his reason for making the film in the first place (Scanbox, 2005). The em-



Video cover of Hotel Rwanda.

pirical question of whether the Rwandan genocide really was unheard of before the making of *Hotel Rwanda* is outside the scope of this study, while the *notion* that it was forgotten still holds interest, as this supports what sociologist Stanley Cohen has called the *denial paradox*. This paradox concerns how the West responds to atrocities and suffering in "third world" countries, that is, how the very act of denial reveals that the person/organization/country actually did know, otherwise there would be no need to deny anything (Cohen, 2007: 5–6). Furthermore, the notion that the Rwandan genocide was unknown pinpoints the conflict between the well-meant purpose to inform and bring knowledge to an "uninformed" public and the, by necessity, adapted historical recreation of the past that occurs in all films that make use of history. With this in mind, just how do SFI's film teaching guides approach this tension between knowledge and distorted portrayals of history?

The main idea behind the film teaching guides is to provide a more detailed background to the film's narrative, that is, to guide the "uninformed" pupil by posing thoughtful questions and giving recommendations for further reading, but also by suggesting other films on the subject. Of the two film teaching guides that deal with the Rwandan genocide, *Hotel Rwanda* was the first to be produced and therefore no such recommendations are included in the film guide when it comes to other films, even though there already existed several feature length films on the subject by 2005. Based on this, one can draw the conclusion that the Rwandan genocide really was "unknown" and that *Hotel Rwanda* acted as a breakpoint for historical recollection in Sweden. This ignorance is also something that clearly permeates the film teaching guide on *Hotel Rwanda*, which bears the marks of a scamped piece of work. To begin with, the film teaching guide contains no fewer than thirteen historical errors, ranging from the misspelling of the Rwandese president Juvenal Habyarimana's name, to stating that Habyarimana became president already at the in-

dependence in 1962, when he in reality took power after a *coup d'état* in 1973 (Lagerström, 2005: 1–2). A more serious note, though, is that the author's ignorance influences the film teaching guide in a most unfortunate way. The paragraph containing a historical account of Rwanda begins with the statement that: "The history of Rwanda is, like most of Africa's history, not very well documented". In accordance with this, the author stresses the tension between Hutus and Tutsis, implying that it is an old one, only inflamed by German and Belgian colonialists (Lagerström, 2005: 2). This is far from accurate, because the history of Rwanda is fairly well documented (see, for example, Newbury, 1988). Another thing to note is that a great deal of the historical account is actually based on *Hotel Rwanda*'s narrative content, explaining the many historical inaccuracies, and only to a limited extent on sources other than the film, and these sources are almost solely various Internet sites (Lagerström, 2005: 5).[1] This not only destabilizes the critical perspective these film teaching guides should provide, but it also emphasizes the dependency on *Hotel Rwanda* as a valuable film, and in accordance with this, as an infallible historical account in itself. What is left, then, are the proposed discussion issues, which are divided into four main sections: "A divided nation", "The world's betrayal", "The involuntary hero", and "The film's dramaturgy". The first three sections deal exclusively with the film's historical narrative. The first part, "A divided nation", begins as follows:

> Supposedly literature on Hitler and World War II's extermination of the Jews was found among highly positioned government members, involved in the preparation of the genocide. This tells us that there actually existed a prearranged plan to regulate the "Tutsi problem" [---] Compare and discuss the similarities and differences with the way that Nazism demonized a part of the population. They did have a far more advanced propaganda apparatus at their disposal, but their way of blaming all problems on the Jews, and comparing them to vermin such as rats, sounds similar (Lagerström, 2005: 2).

It is no surprise that the Rwandan genocide is compared to the Holocaust, especially as the protagonist in *Hotel Rwanda*, hotel manager Paul Rusesabagina, resemblances Oscar Schindler in *Schindler's List*, a comparison to which explicit attention is drawn in the film teaching guide. However, the way in which this comparison is undertaken leaves much to be desired. By implying that Nazi literature inspired the genocide, expressing surprise about the fact that there was a plan for what must be considered the most

rapidly executed genocide in modern history, and then downplaying the Rwandese capacity for propaganda, clearly indicates that the author – and the film teaching guide – is caught up in obsolete colonial discourses that regard Africa as a backward and immature continent. Hence, the genocide is clearly depicted as an irrational and spontaneous act, even though its origin and rational planning are well documented and can be traced back to the drawing up of the Bahutu Manifesto in 1957 (The Black Past, 2009) and the creation of the Hutu Ten Commandments in 1990 (Melvern, 2003: 25–26). Furthermore, sweeping statements, such as "Before the genocide, the separate peoples lived together in what can almost be described as stability" (Lagerström, 2005: 3), continue to be made throughout the text, which are cases in point of what Cohen describes as *ethnic amnesia*, which refers to that fact that the West, and its media, have simply ignored the fact that genocidal massacres, resulting in tens of thousands of casualties, have tormented Rwanda, and its neighboring country Burundi, repeatedly since just before the independence in 1962 (Cohen, 2007: 137). The suggested questions are similarly often put on a personal level: "Why are people so cruel?" and "Think about how you would act?"

However, there are also some important questions raised that deal with the silence, in the media and the political sphere, during and after the Rwandan genocide, yet again in comparison to the Holocaust: "The extent of the Holocaust was not made clear until the end of the war, but from Rwanda there were TV images and constant reports from the UN. In spite of this nothing was done! Continue to think about what could have been behind this passivity: fear or simply ignorance?" (Lagerström, 2005: 3).

The film teaching guide on *Hotel Rwanda* closes with a short discussion on the film's dramaturgy, focusing on the narrative perspective with a single protagonist and claiming that it looks like a "Television film" (Lagerström, 2005: 5). One of Adhikari's most serious allegations against *Hotel Rwanda* was that it omitted practically all genocidal violence. According to director Terry George, this was a deliberate tactic used to draw more people to the cinemas – *nota bene* not to make more money, but to inform more people – and in that perspective, showing explicit genocidal violence was seen as contra-productive (Scanbox, 2005). The film teaching guide also touches upon this subject, unfortunately by asking the leading question: "Has the film succeeded in the form of address is uses for an audience that would probably never go and see a film about genocide?" (Lagerström, 2005: 5).

The second film teaching guide, on British produced *Shooting Dogs*, has a number of similarities to the one on *Hotel Rwanda*. In fact, much of the historical information is the same as in the first film guide – only six

historical errors this time, however – which is why it seems probable that the author has based much of it on the previous one, most notably in that the recommendations for further reading consist of the same Internet sites. Nonetheless, the film teaching guide on *Shooting Dogs* – divided into the sections "How could it happen?", "A European perspective", and "The Role of the media" – does have a more investigative approach to the subject, most clearly concerning the fact that *Shooting Dogs* is a media product, and not an unbiased historical account of the events in Rwanda. Instead of employing dubious generalizations, this film teaching guide tries to create a more penetrating discussion through questions concerning, e.g., whether it is a problem that the film is told from a Eurocentric perspective, leaving Rwandans in the background. In addition to this, the media's role is scrutinized:

> One of the reasons why the media's coverage did not reach out and stir up opinion could be the lack of knowledge of what really went on, what the underlying causes were, the result being that no understanding could be created. In order for an event to be picked up by the media, it must fit into the dramaturgical matrix on the basis of which the media work – preferably with a clear conflict between a "good" and an "evil" party (Österholm, 2006: 3).

The second film teaching guide focuses more on journalists' individual responsibility. After all, the world did turn a blind eye on Rwanda. In *Shooting Dogs*, one journalist explains that she is not affected by the atrocities in the same way she was in Bosnia, which caused the author of the film teaching guide to pose the important but difficult question of why "We have a tendency to disregard catastrophes in the Third World. Don't we care? Do distance and cultural differences mean we have less empathy?" (Österholm, 2006: 3).

One other important feature that crucially separates this film teaching guide from the previous one is the lack of comparisons with the Holocaust. As an alternative, the author chooses to position the Rwandan genocide in relation to contemporary and contextual events, such as the humanitarian crisis – some say the ongoing genocide – in Darfur. This raises the questions of whether the Rwandan genocide is to be considered unique in the same way as the Holocaust is often claimed to be, and in addition, whether it is beneficial or even practical to compare these two genocides with each other, as is done in the film teaching guide on *Hotel Rwanda*. Even though comparison is a useful didactic tool in teaching in most cases, the Holocaust has a tendency to engulf and supersede other subjects when they occur side

by side, as exemplified by the overlooked atrocities committed against minorities other than Jews in the realm of the Holocaust during World War II. As we have seen, the comparison in the film teaching guide on *Hotel Rwanda* was highly problematic when it came to the author's attempt to identify the *raison d'être* behind the Rwandan genocide, an attempt that only ended up in rationalizations that in fact reduced the historical event, rather than explaining it in any adequate way.

To sum up, both film teaching guides have their shortcomings regarding the question of how to make use of film material in school education. However, the least obvious shortcoming is perhaps that neither of the films in these film teaching guides are questioned at all on aesthetic grounds or concerning their historical content. Thus, from a teaching perspective, the events portrayed in these films could literary be understood as a slice of reality, an understanding that is created and then sustained through the focus on historical content, but also through the narrow selection of films and supplementary sources independent of these films. The consequence is a canonization of knowledge, guaranteed by SFI's credibility, which in some cases perpetuates murky colonial ideas about Africa. In fact, the whole continent turns into a single aesthetic region, both culturally and politically. This should not be interpreted as a critique aimed mainly at the films themselves. These are, after all, commercial products with a series of different limitations attached to them, but, nonetheless, with an exceptional ability to create awareness. Rather, the predicament arises when these films are employed as if they were accurate historical accounts of the Rwandan genocide.

In line with this state of things, the film teaching guide on *Shooting Dogs* also includes, not surprisingly, *Hotel Rwanda* among its recommendations, thereby further reinforcing its canonized status. In addition to *Hotel Rwanda,* only one more film is recommended, the Swedish short film *The Last Dog in Rwanda*, which in this context indicates that this film is in some way able to mediate valuable knowledge about the Rwandan genocide.

A Film about Genocide?

Besides *The Last Dog in Rwanda*, only two additional films have been produced in Sweden that deal with the Rwandan genocide: The television documentary *Ramp om historia – Rwanda* (*Ramp on History – Rwanda*, 2003) produced by UR, and another short, *The Mothers of War* (Maria Rinaldo, 2009), financed by SFI. *The Last Dog in Rwanda* is included on a DVD compilation together with an interview with the director, Jens Assur, the above

mentioned UR-produced documentary, and a folder containing information on the films, an essay on the Rwandan genocide written by a journalist, and finally a short eyewitness account from the genocide. This package is part of a pilot project launched by SFI and UR on how pedagogical film material can be designed and used in school education (SFI, 2009b).

The Last Dog in Rwanda was aired on SVT in 2006, but its main distribution route, and claim to fame, came through screenings at international film festivals where the film received a string of prizes, among them the prize for best short narrative at Tribeca Film Festival, and the Grand Prix at the Clermont-Ferrand International Short Film Festival, both in 2007 (SFI, 2009c). All this attention has also catapulted Jens Assur to a career in Hollywood, where he is currently directing his first feature film, a thriller called "Close Far Away" (Unsigned, 2008). On the surface, *The Last Dog in Rwanda* seems to be an ideal choice to use in education on the Rwandan genocide. Explicitly, owing to its subject matter, and implicitly, as it was financed by SFI and UR on the basis of the manuscript, and thus included in what SFI calls "the most qualitative and professional of the regionally produced short and documentary film" (Hedling, 2008: 268).[2] *The Last Dog in Rwanda*'s status as an educational film, however, has never been called into question. This is essentially because it was supported as a film on genocide right from the start by crucial Swedish players, such as SFI and UR, and subsequently sustained by the reception it got on the international film festival circuit, where the festival's inherent capacity to legitimate, evaluate, and detect quality (Hedling, 2008: 275) became a self-fulfilling prophecy guaranteeing the film's historical accuracy and educational value. Yet the fundamental question remains: To what extent does a celebrated film such as *The Last Dog in Rwanda* have to say about the Rwandan genocide *per se*?

This is a summary of the film: Rwanda in May 1994. Two Swedish journalists, a reporter named Mats and a photographer named David, are traveling in an area secured by RPF. The two journalists look at a corpse lying in a schoolyard in front of a statue of Jesus, a smaller replica of the Jesus the Redeemer statue in Rio de Janeiro. The reporter says that it would look good if the corpse had its arms stretched out like the statue in the background. David complies, pulls out the corpse's arms and takes a photograph. This is followed by a lengthy flashback in which David tells us that he has always loved war. As a boy, he was impressed with a cousin's collection of war toys and constantly played war. During his Swedish compulsory military service, he chose to enlist in the special ops, where an exercise in interrogation technique went wrong, leading to acts of cruelty.



David (Jonas Karlsson) photographing the corpse with the Jesus statue in the background.

David photographs corpses floating by in a river. The journalists notice a pile of machetes that have been left behind. Before they leave, they ask the guide to take a byline picture while discussing the options for installing a new kitchen back home in Sweden. On the road they listen to heavy metal music. The journalists visit a RPF military headquarter, asking for interesting places to go see. The military offer them an escort and they decline. In spite of this, a young boy, John, goes with them. As they travel through the war-torn countryside, they see women and children on the run. During a break they witness how John shoots a dog. They visit an assembly place for wounded and killed. An injured man smiles as David takes his picture. David tells him to stop smiling.

The journalists visit a school. Corpses are lying in one of the classrooms. David has trouble taking pictures. He enters the school yard, taking photographs of two corpses while he accidentally steps on another one. Their escort shoots another dog, and Mats explains that they have to shoot the dogs; otherwise they would eat the corpses. David continues to randomly walk around in the school, eventually finding an abandoned child in a locker. They take the child with them in the car. After a while they are stopped by a group of armed men belonging to the militia Inte-



The three boys sitting in a boat with helmets, playing D-Day at Normandy.

rahamwe. An aggressive quarrel breaks out. Suddenly the guide is hacked down with a machete, and all the others in the car are shot and killed.

As the summary shows, the Rwandan genocide merely acts as a background to another story and other issues. The viewers are not given any factual information on the genocide, but are instead presented with parts of the journalistic folklore that has arisen around the genocide, such as slipping on rotting corpses (Ericsson, 2006: 7), and emblematic images that have come to visually characterize the genocide, such as bloated corpses floating by in a river and machetes covered with dried blood. Besides disclosing certain media logics, *The Last Dog in Rwanda* is mainly concerned with the male fascination for violence, posing questions about how this fascination is connected to the mechanisms underlying bullying in general, which then, on an even more problematic level, is compared and even equated to the genocidal violence. This visual equation is embedded within the film narrative, but it is also reinforced by the interview included on the DVD in which the director claims that the genocide was not governed by hate, but by lust (Assur, 2006). Assur, who had previously worked as a news photographer for several years, specializing in war zones such as Bosnia, Somalia, Serbia, and Rwanda (Kronbrink, 2006),

continued to repeat this notion as a mantra in several interviews in connection with the film's premiere at Gothenburg's International Film Festival in February 2006, stating that, "What separates serious acts of violence committed in war from bullying in Sweden is only a question of which legal and moral norms prevail at the moment", even claiming to have support for his ideas from "modern research on the subject" (Unsigned, 2006. See also Forsell, 2006).

This pop-psychoanalytical attempt to explain the genocide, by creating a bridge between the recognizable and the unfamiliar, is in some ways noteworthy although it is, once again, made from a very Eurocentric perspective. In retrospect, it certainly seems to have been a winning concept among the film's financiers and film festival juries around the world. It is also the cultural prestige achieved, rather than any pedagogical qualities, that turned *The Last Dog in Rwanda* into a so-called educational film. Symptomatically, *The Last Dog in Rwanda* is recommended in the film teaching guide on *Shootings Dogs* together with the archetype of Rwandan genocide films *Hotel Rwanda*, thus further reinforcing its alleged educational value (Österholm, 2006: 3). In addition, *The Last Dog in Rwanda* turns up on the short list of recommended films, again coupled with *Hotel Rwanda* and the above mentioned TV documentary, in the only educational document on the Living History Forum's site that concerns the Rwandan genocide (The Living History Forum, 2009c: 19). In other words, this is a clear example of how audiovisual historical knowledge and information become canonized *as* knowledge and information through what in reality is an evaluation of audiovisual art criteria, which then tend to supersede the film's possible pedagogical shortcomings and historical inaccuracies, owing to the fact that it has been singled out as a *valuable film*.

Some Conclusions

Teaching genocide through the use of films and film teaching guides can be highly problematic, particularly when the films utilized are turned into mediators of unchecked historical accuracy. This criticism should not be attributed to the film productions themselves, as they are most often commercial products with one central aim: to generate a profit at the box office. For this reason, the films deploy a range of narrative and economic strategies that typically clash with the notion of historical accuracy on several levels. It is also through such strategies that these films are able to have a tremendous impact on the public's historical consciousness, thereby creating awareness and serving as a starting point for a wider discus-

sion on the subject portrayed. However, the Swedish way – via its powerful oligarchy of media players SFI and SVT – of teaching genocide through the use of film material is paradoxical in some respects, as SFI and SVT shy away from the commercial aspects, in deference to the guiding principle of *valuable film*, at the same time as they embrace some commercial films on the basis of their subject matter. The selection of films does have a nationalistic feature to it, as the term valuable films tends to be linked to Swedish productions to a higher degree, as exemplified by *The Last Dog in Rwanda*. But this is also a question of simple accessibility, as Sweden's production of genocide films only amounts to a mere permillage of the total global production, out of which the vast majority are undoubtedly commercial film and television productions. Consequently, instead of criticizing the commercial structures of the film industry and its output, the critique should be aimed at the institutions that preside over the production of films and inadequate film teaching guides, because it is these governmentally approved film teaching guides that in fact, in this context, authorize the historical accuracy of the films in question.

Although most European film institutes or national agencies have some sort of educational section, they do not have a governmental organization that deals solely with genocide as Sweden does, a fact that further emphasizes the governmental influence behind this educational enterprise. What is more, if we compare SFI with the British Film Institute (BFI), two significant differences can be distinguished that clarify just how the Swedish impetus is somewhat askew. First, BFI does not have the same sort of system of film teaching guides on specific and recommended films or subjects. In this way, the canonization of historical-factual knowledge obtained from audiovisual imagery is opposed. Second, BFI has a rather different focus on how to use film material in school education, as they primarily emphasize areas such as film history and how film works as an art form (BFI, 2009). This in is stark contrast to SFI, which primarily concerns itself with a film's content and not how a subject is conveyed through style and narration.

There are some reasons for the situation in Sweden that are worth pointing out. The government-issued curriculum for education at all levels within the Swedish compulsory school system states that the implementation of independent reasoning among pupils is one of its most important goals, not least in relation to media of all sorts. "Pupils shall train themselves to think critically, to examine facts and their relationships and the consequences of different alternatives" (Skolverket, 2009: 5). This statement confirms clearly that the didactic profile for SFI's film teaching guides

is outdated, especially when compared to current Anglo-American literature on film in school education (see, for example, Constanzo, 2004; Gerster, 2006; Marcus, 2007). I believe that this outdatedness can be attributed to some specific historical circumstances that have governed the official, and sometimes public, attitude toward the film medium in Sweden. As in all other countries at the beginning of the twentieth century, perhaps with the exception of the US, the official Swedish attitude was extremely hostile toward the rapid expansion of the film medium. For instance, Sweden was the first country to officially inaugurate harsh governmental censorship of films in 1911. After World War I, European countries started to regulate and support their own domestic film industry to protect it against Hollywood, which literally took over the global film market. This was an economic defense but also a cultural one, a stance against the so-called Americanization of the world. In Sweden, however, such state intervention did not occur until 1963, when SFI was established to produce, distribute and exhibit valuable film, i.e. at the same time as European art cinema was flourishing. What separates Sweden from other European countries is that the connection between the commercial film industry and film as an art form did not take place on an institutional level until 1963. Up until then, the film medium was officially perceived as a commercial enterprise, thus not as an art form on the same high level as the novel or the theatre. Consequently, for the better part of 40 years, the film medium was seen as insignificant in comparison with other art forms. The aftermath of this preconceived notion still affects the public dialogue and the handling of film in Sweden. Accordingly, the creation of a term such as *valuable film* should in fact be understood as a defense against this lingering biased attitude, as a sign of low cultural self-esteem. This is also one reason why a film like *The Last Dog in Rwanda* can be hailed as a great film on genocide, and even be transformed into an educational film, as this act in itself works to legitimate the film medium in Sweden as a whole. In this specific situation, it is obviously difficult to criticize a film selected as valuable merely on the basis of its subject matter, especially if that subject is genocide.

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endnotes

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1 One explanation for this sorry reference list may be the fact that by 2005 only one book, in the constantly growing body of literature on Rwandan genocide, had been translated into Swedish, namely Linda Melvern's *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* (2000), which was translated into Swedish in 2003. To date, only two additional books have been translated: Philip Gourevitch's *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed with our Families* (2000) and Jean Hatzfeld's *The Strategy of Antelopes: Rwanda after the Genocide* (2009), both in 2009.

2 Beside SFI and UR, *The Last Dog in Rwanda* was co-produced by the only vertically integrated film company in Sweden, Swedish Film Industri (SF), and the regional film centres, Film i Väst and Film i Västernorrland.

Ann-Kristin Wallengren

John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads. Images of Sweden in American History

john ericsson was an engineer and inventor born in simple circumstances in 1803 in the province of Värmland, Sweden. He displayed an early interest in technique and machines, and as a young officer, he worked with measuring and mapping the northern part of Sweden. In 1826, he moved to England where he worked with steam boiler construction and with what he became famous for: propellers. All these efforts were not financially profitable though, and in 1839, Ericsson left for America, partly because of the better opportunities to develop his work there, and partly to escape his creditors and avoid being taken to court. He stayed in the US for the rest of his life and among his many inventions, he is most well known for constructing the ironclad warship Monitor, used by the Union Navy in the battle of Hampton Roads during the American Civil War. He died in his home in New York in 1889, and today numerous memorials and monuments in both Sweden and USA honour Ericsson (Goldkuhl, 1961).

In 1937, the Swedish Film Industry (Svensk Filmindustri), the most influential production company in Sweden, produced the film *John Ericsson – segraren vid Hampton Roads* (*John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads*, Gustaf Edgren). Some argue that the film is one of the decade's most glorious tributes to Swedish genius (Qvist, 1995). Principally, it stages the course of events surrounding the ironclad warship and the battle, and connects Ericsson's personal life to this event. The USS Monitor was

vital in the combat against the ships and ironclad warships of the Confederate Navy, notably the USS Virginia, more widely known under its earlier name, Merrimac, in the battle of Hampton Roads in March 1862. In that way, the USS Monitor contributed to the final victory over slavery. The battle of Hampton Roads was important for the Civil War: if the Confederate warship Merrimac had succeeded in sailing up the Potomac River, it would have threatened Union supremacy (Åberg, 1994). According to some of Ericsson's biographers, he actually became something of a US national hero, at least for a brief moment, and he was celebrated in American papers. People with an inclination for commercial earnings took the opportunity to make some money by producing and selling Monitor cigars and Monitor hats; even a special dance was composed named the Ericsson galop (Goldkuhl, 1961). The battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac can probably be considered undecided, but in the historical discourse, the Monitor has been put forward as the winner. In the film, however, Ericsson is depicted as the winner of the entire American Civil War.

The primary reason for producing the film was to celebrate the tercentenary of the arrival of the first Swedish immigrants to Delaware (Qvist, 1995). Another was to meet the devastating critique against the Swedish film culture, which the year before had been debated at the notorious Concert Hall meeting in Stockholm (Qvist, 1995). However, of equal importance was to produce a film that in terms of its morals, politics, ideologies, and even its pedagogy adhered to the ideals of the Swedish welfare state, which began developing during the 1930s. A fourth contributory reason was to produce a film that could unite the nation during a period when weapons started to rattle around Europe, even if that may not have been totally conscious or deliberate.

In all these motives for producing this specific film, Swedishness is at stake, Swedishness is the centre around which all the different reasons revolve. Furthermore, the theme of Swedishness operates on different levels: from the personal, to the regional and to the national. On the one hand, it is about specific Swedish personal characteristics, but on the other, it is also about what kind of Swedes and what kind of society the new Swedish welfare state encouraged and aspired towards. The character John Ericsson embodies all the reasons for the film's production as well as all these different aspects of Swedishness. One point of interest here is how the film creates the ideal Swedishness as located, or born, in the specific Swedish region where Ericsson grew up, Värmland, as well as connects this region to Sweden as a whole. That is to say, in the film, the

abstract features of Swedishness are apprehended as promoted by the materiality of place, but also fostered by Ericsson's adolescence in poor conditions. The film is a veritable marketplace for analyses of national identity, but I will concentrate here on Swedishness in the growing welfare state coupled with the notions of class, nation and modernity, and whiteness. The film is thus not only a film about John Ericsson; above all, he became a tool for asserting and narrating about these other things that were important to the Swedish agenda in the 1930s.

In the discussion about the film, I use the concept "region" in relation to different aspects that build upon one another. Basically, we have the county of Värmland, the province where Ericsson grew up, as a provincial region and part of Sweden. Sweden in its turn is a part of Europe; Sweden is accordingly a European region. Finally, Europe can be considered a region in the world, here particularly compared to the North American region (Hjort and Petrie, 2007). The subchapters in the article adhere to these different aspects of region, starting with the provincial region. First, some words about the motives for making the film.

Why Make A Film about John Ericsson?

As I see it, the film about John Ericsson was primarily a vehicle meant to meet the ideological and political needs of the 1930s. However, the explicit reasons for making the film did not have much to do with discussions about the dawning Swedish welfare state, but these reasons were nonetheless just as ideologically significant. As mentioned above, the choice to make this film was a part of the celebration of the first Swedish immigrants' arrival in Delaware 300 years before. This is important as a context for the advocating of Swedishness in the film. The Delaware immigration movement was a colonial enterprise, and people were more or less forced to go there. New Sweden, as the region in Delaware was called, was actually used also as a convict settlement (Åberg, 1988), and Queen Kristina, the reigning Swedish monarch, considered sending all Swedish "vagrants" to Delaware (*Nu*, 1937).

The number of immigrants to Delaware is negligible compared to the number of Swedish immigrants to America in the nineteenth century, but it is clear that the Delaware immigration, officially sanctioned by the state, is the only Swedish immigration to America that has been celebrated. This fact can perhaps be a question of class and power considering the cinematic representation of the common immigrants. The later mass exodus was a movement totally embraced by common people and even

counteracted by the political and intellectual elite. The Delaware immigration, on the other hand, was an invention of the authorities and continues up to this day to be acknowledged as the start of the emigration, regardless of its authoritative and colonial overtones (Henricsson and Lindblad, 1995). In Swedish narrative films contemporary with the film about John Ericsson, the common emigrant, most often emanating from the working class, is usually portrayed negatively and even as ridiculous, and the films highlight the idea that the emigrant should have stayed in Sweden. On the other hand, and in accordance with the power and class ideology of the Delaware celebration, national pride accompanies the genius and educated man who is successful in America.

Equally important as a production context and as a background for the construction of Swedishness is the Concert Hall meeting, which was a debate about the standard of the Swedish film in the 1930s. In this debate, many critics maintained that the Swedish film culture was at its lowest point ever. For example, one of the angriest critics argued that the Swedish cinema crushed political efforts towards general education, and suggested that films must turn to Swedish values and Swedish reality (Björkman, 1937). The head of the production company Swedish Film Industry answered that the company at that very moment was looking into the possibilities of making a film about the engineer and inventor John Ericsson. He asserted, like a premature epigone of film theorist Siegfried Kracauer, that Sweden was one of the countries that could make films that "were an expression of the Swedish spirit" (*Frågan blev med nej besvarad*, 1937). Following that debate, it is reasonable to talk about a wave of Swedishness in the Swedish cinematic culture, a "neonationalism" as one scholar put it, a wave that was arguably introduced by *John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads* (Qvist, 1995). For a Swedish film at that time, the film about John Ericsson was also a very expensive and lavish production.

Class and Region

The film is about and presupposes Ericsson's origins in the lower classes, and arguably, an important reason for this emphasis was the political and ideological spirit at the time of the production. In the film, the issue of class is connected to John Ericsson's personal characteristics, and it is his rather simple origins – in what is viewed as one of the most Swedish regions in Sweden, the province of Värmland – that explain his personality. The film repeatedly accentuates that he is a man of the people, and that

he has always worked hard and purposefully. A short lecture about Ericsson begins the film, pictures from his native region are shown, and the rural nature and simple buildings become a kind of metaphor for Ericsson the person. Class, geography and character become presuppositions of each other. Likewise, it is stressed that regardless of the long time he spent abroad, he remained spiritually connected to the region of his childhood.

In his book about Swedish conceptions of the landscapes of Sweden, historian of ideas Jakob Christensson writes that since the beginning of the nineteenth century, two landscapes have been regarded as particularly Swedish, and one of them is Värmland (Christensson, 2002). This notion is maintained by several cultural manifestations, such as the novel and the screen adaptation *Gösta Berlings saga* (*The Legend of Gösta Berling*, 1891 respectively 1924) by Selma Lagerlöf, and the extremely widespread song *Värmlandsvisan* (*The Song of Värmland*) written to a popular drama in the 1820s and sung by the famous Swedish tenor Jussi Björling at the end of the film.[1] Christensson actually writes about *John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads*, saying that Ericsson's origin in this particular region was probably essential in the decision to make the film, and he emphasizes that a Danish newspaper regarded the film as primarily tourist propaganda (Christensson, 2002). Curiously, Victor Sjöström, formerly an international film director, who plays the leading role and the director Gustaf Edgren both came from Värmland.

The depiction of Värmland as Ericsson's origin geographically as well as in terms of class is emphasized throughout the film's soundtrack. Sweden or Swedishness is characterized through Swedish folk songs, whereas everything specifically connected with America is expressed through more official and solemn music, such as marches and military songs. This structural division is manifested already in the title music. That is to say, the Swedish music in the film suggests the popular, the regional and the individual and the American music the national, the official and the collective. As we shall see, this stylistic and narrative device has consequences and corresponds to the reception of the film in the respective countries.

The idealized class origin and the characteristics connected to Ericsson are further highlighted and accentuated through another character in the film – Charlie Pettersson. He is from the same region as Ericsson and a childhood friend of the inventor, but still a working-class man employed as a sailor. He also embodies some supposed Swedish characteristics such as honesty, uprightness, loyalty and dutifulness. Even the

producers admitted in the cinema programme that the purpose of Charlie was to stress the popular aspects of Ericsson's life.[2] Charlie plays the accordion, he is a humorous counterpart to Ericsson and a member of the crew on the Monitor, where he is vital to the victory over the Merrimac, in that he, in opposition to the American officers, loads the canons with as much gunpowder as Ericsson had prescribed. Thus, two Swedes win the American Civil War, one engineer and one representative of the lower classes. This represents cooperation over class barriers, which was a recurrent theme in the films made at the dawn of the welfare state. In this way, the political dimensions of the Swedish welfare state are reinforced, a tendency further strengthened through Sigurd Wallén who plays the role of Pettersson. Wallén repeatedly played characters with social democratic sentiments, and he represented a popular and down-to-earth type of man. The fictional friendship between John Ericsson and Charlie Pettersson reinforces the notion that Ericsson remained Swedish in his heart and soul and that his personality did not change, regardless of the fact that he spent almost his entire adult life in the US.

Engineering, Culture, and the Swedish Welfare State

If working class and personal characteristics are coupled with the provincial region as discussed above, then engineering, culture and middle class are coupled to Sweden as a European region, or Europe as a region in opposition to the US. Being an engineer, and with the specific characteristics attributed to him, the Ericsson character is very much a figure that can be connected to the Swedish welfare state. Engineering as an occupation and the social engineering of the welfare state can be understood as two sides of the same coin. Ericsson's working-class background and the personal characteristics attributed to him were strongly accentuated already when his remains was delivered to Sweden in 1890 (Rodell, 2004). In Swedish newspapers of the late 1930s, terms like "an ordinary man", "purposefulness", "hard work", and "the self-made man" were used abundantly to explain his success. These terms were connected to a Swedish sentiment, but they can be regarded as a perfect definition of the concept of the American dream as well. The newspapers discussed personal characteristics in terms of self-sacrifice, rationality and a sense of the practical, and reported that he regarded his work as a mission and proudly did things his own way. These characteristics fit together with the Swedish self-image as well as with characteristics that the Swedish cinema often embraced. The aphorism "Swedish steel is hard to break" sum-



Old Swedish friendship over class borders. Charlie Pettersson and John Ericsson.

marizes the main elements mentioned above, an aphorism that Ericsson himself uses in the film.

Thus, Ericsson came from a working-class background, but he worked his way up to be a highly regarded engineer and inventor in America – a successful personal story well suited to underpinning the ideologies of the Swedish welfare state. As some scholars have argued, from the end of the nineteenth century, the general view of engineers and inventors was that they were symbolic representatives of a modern Sweden. In the 1930s, at the beginning of the Swedish welfare state period, there was no longer any need to make feature films about kings and royalty – the welfare state demanded other types of heroes (Rodell, 2004). Of course, royalties were still represented in films, but they were no longer the heroes they used to be (Qvist, 1995). The engineer became one of these new heroes, and many films in the 1930s and 1940s depict an engineer as the saviour of and the ideal man for Swedish society (Qvist, 1995; Furhammar, 1998). In a way, Ericsson is ascribed a royal position and stature through, for example, Victor Sjöström's imposing interpretation of the character and through the visuals that provide a framework for the introductory scenes from Ericsson's childhood and adolescence: pictures with flags, flowers and a well-known presenter behaving and speaking with an official ethos.

Historian Thomas Kaiserfeld has argued that it is interesting that the film *John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads* puts forward the engineer as a national symbol during these troubled political times (Kaiserfeld, 1991). He writes that the engineer, as part of a collective myth, was playing the role of the hero who had brought Sweden to its current position as an industrialized nation. This is probably true, but Kaiserfeld seems to forget that Ericsson is a Swedish-American, and that he pursues his career abroad, mostly in the United States. In the Swedish as well as in the overall European conception of the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century, the US was the nation that fostered technological progress and, somewhat in contrast to Europe, regarded technology as the main feature of modernity (Alm, 2002). Despite the fact that a nation like Sweden also used technology extensively in the development of the modern state, the general opinion was that America's love of technology had meant the sacrificing of other values, such as culture and humanity.

Furthermore, the American valuation of engineering is often connected solely to economic benefits, whereas Ericsson's work as an inventor, as depicted in the film, is connected to the aim of peace and equality. In the film, John Ericsson as a Swede becomes a kind of amalgamation between the European and the American, in that he is a brilliant inven-



A presentation worthy of a king.

tor but uses his inventions in the interest of peace. America as a place becomes important in providing the opportunity to work with technology, but Sweden as a European region becomes necessary for the narrative in order to couple technology with humanity and idealism.

Perhaps in order to clarify that Sweden is a region that shares the cultural aims of Europe, Swedish self-esteem is further developed through the film's depiction of other prominent Swedes in America. The Swedish singer Jenny Lind, introduced in the United States as "The Swedish Nightingale", performed with great success in American concerts at the beginning of the 1850s. She turns up in the film at a concert where she, among other things, sings an old Swedish nursery rhyme that is supposed to remind Ericsson (even though he is absent from the concert) of his childhood in Sweden and more specifically in Långbanshyttan. For the cinema audience, this song parallels the beginning of the film when the same song accompanies images of a cradle holding the baby John Erics-

son. Another Swedish singer heard in the film, as mentioned earlier, is Jussi Björling, who had his international breakthrough in New York at the Metropolitan in 1938 (Åstrand, 1975). In accordance with the class ideology discussed earlier, only distinguished men and women who have had success in the United States are highlighted as representatives of Sweden in an American context. In the cradle of the Swedish welfare state, and in a film celebrating the early Swedish exodus to America, the emphasis is rather surprisingly on the traditional and elitist bourgeoisie and not on the classes that constituted the vast majority of the emigrants. It is perhaps even more surprising that these ideas were put to the forefront during the social democratic regime.

Nevertheless, apart from this, the film is also about a European region's relation to the US and the emphasis on technological and cultural success in a country that, at the time of production, was regarded by some as more or less culturally barbarian. The slight anachronism in using two singers from different centuries, one diegetically placed and contemporary with Ericsson and one contemporary with the cinema audience and thus not part of the diegesis, only further accentuates the unbroken chain of Swedish success. However, the songs that both Lind and Björling sing are associated with Ericsson's childhood in the County of Värmland in Sweden and in that way, both these very famous singers become anchored to the regional.

Swedishness and Race

In this and other films, Swedishness, in terms of both explicit policies and more vague characteristics, is constructed and understood as morally and ethically superior to other nationalities and cultures. Although this is a film about Ericsson's life during the 1860s, Swedish traits are portrayed as timeless and eternal, even if they are also in accordance with the policies of Swedish society in the 1930s. One trait that is repeatedly attributed to characters in Swedish films during this period is uprightness and a feeling for justice. In one scene in the film, Ericsson publicly defends a slave that is being beaten by his white master, and one of his closest friends is a highly ranked military officer in the Confederate Army. This is another example of the spirit of understanding and agreement that was typical of the Swedish welfare state as well as typical of the film's depiction of Ericsson – he has friends over class borders as well as over ideological borders.

Ericsson is thus depicted as being against slavery and as fighting for the Union. This was also the official Swedish position during the Civil

War. Many Swedes also lived in the northern states and volunteered in the Union Army (Åberg, 1994). The Swedish welfare state and the Social Democratic Party have constantly tried to maintain this ideology – Swedes as peace lovers and defenders of oppressed peoples. However, this ideology has suffered from constant contradictions, above all concerning race and ethnicity. This becomes obvious in the Swedish cinema culture, which is intoxicated by xenophobia, and *John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads* does not differ a great deal from the ordinary Swedish film in this respect. Even if the film in some scenes presents resistance against slavery, this does not prevent it from articulating racist ideas.

During recent years, some scholars have argued that the ideology of the Swedish welfare state can be connected with racism in some instances (Emilsson, 2009: 191). The concept of whiteness is useful here. In the racial conceptions in the film, the African-American characters are treated in a slightly patronizing way in that, even if they have the same position as their Swedish or American counterpart, they are treated as someone inferior, as servants, and some generalizing jokes are made on their behalf. Despite the fact that people of African origin have lived on the North American continent far longer than Swedes have (with the exception of the rather few Delaware-Swedes), the Swedes are depicted as more American than the African-Americans. For example, the African-Americans speak with an accent and the Swedes do not. This could perhaps be overlooked were it not for an Italian-American character, significantly enough a theatre compere, who also speaks with an accent. Thus, African-Americans and Italians have not been integrated into American society as well as have the Swedes in the film's ideological world. According to historian David Roediger, Italians, not to mention Africans, were not viewed by Americans as really being part of white America (Roediger, 2005). Swedes, Germans, and other northern Europeans, on the other hand, were considered white. Italians and other southern Europeans became white, that is, came to be regarded as worthy Americans, primarily thanks to the labour movement, New Deal reforms, and a rise in home buying. By portraying African-Americans and Italian-Americans in this way, the film, which so demonstratively is a creation of and for the Swedish welfare state, adheres to this American conception of whiteness. Swedishness also embraces whiteness; a white helps another white to defeat slavery. Through this emphasis on white supremacy, the film re-inscribes itself into the Anglo-Saxon cultural region that was considered racially superior, by the Americans as well as by the Swedes.



The white as superior. Ericsson's secretary and the messenger with hat in hand.

Back to the Native Soil

Ericsson spent a considerable part of his life outside Sweden, mostly in the US, but he kept frequent contact with Sweden. For example, he often participated in debates in Swedish newspapers (Goldkuhl, 1961). Curiously, he often expressed his disapproval of the emigration to America; he thought that one should not abandon Sweden. In many letters to his relatives, he wrote about his love for his native country. Notably he wrote a sentence that in the historical writings about Ericsson has become widely spread and that is used in the film: "I prefer that my remains rest under a heap of gravel in Swedish soil than under a marble monument in this country (i.e. America)".

Nevertheless, despite his view that one should not leave one's native country, Ericsson himself did leave and America became the refuge where he could develop his technical inventions. Although in a way he was too sophisticated a mind for Sweden, the film repeatedly expresses that he suffered from homesickness and depicts him listening to the aforemen-

tioned Swedish folk songs. He does not want to return to Sweden because, as he says, he does not want to lose his native country as he remembers it in his dreams. The discrepancy and collision between conceptions of the old home country and modern Sweden in reality is also a rather common theme in Swedish films about returning Swedish-Americans.

However, Ericsson's Swedish traits remain, and throughout the film his character is depicted as impregnated with Swedishness. He explicitly states that his actions are influenced by Swedishness, and his sentiments for Sweden become even more prominent towards the end of the film as well as towards the end of his life. In the final sequence of the film, the American branch of the Society of Värmland celebrates Ericsson with singing and flags. It is in this sequence that Jussi Björling sings *The Song of Värmland,* although we do not see Björling in the picture. The scene gathers the most important qualities in the film: the regional, the Swedishness, the popular, and in a way Swedish superiority through a couple of famous Swedes who represent technology and culture. To a person like the cinematic John Ericsson, permeated with the Swedish ideals that flourished in the 1930s and for decades to come, the national and regional location of one's final resting place is essential. The imagined pictures that flow through Ericsson's mind seemingly inspired by the song connect with the beginning of the film and the location of the origin of his Swedish characteristics. Different pictures of nature in Värmland, a church, simple houses and still lakes represent reminiscences in Ericsson's mind into which we gain insight. In the film, Värmland is a region associated with life and emotions, whereas America is solely a place for work and warfare. Especially the music in the film communicates these ideas, as discussed above.

The cinematic narrative is surrounded by birth and death, and these are in turn connected to the region of Värmland. In the song as well as in the mind screen, the native soil is glorified, and the native soil is the equivalent of life in Ericsson's mind. The soil and the country become antropomorphized – "The national soil is made human" (Medved, 2000: 83). The return of the corporal remains becomes a metaphor for a spiritual reunion, a motif quite common in films about the return of expatriates of various nationalities (Rains, 2007).

Reception in Sweden and America

In the interpretation furnished above, I have explored how the cinematic narrative constructs Swedishness and Swedish traits as connected to



Celebrating Ericsson with ° ags and Swedish songs.

and directly born out of the geographical place, here mostly the Swedish region of Värmland. In addition, I have shown how the film deploys several motifs connected to ideology and policies in the dawning welfare society, and how the film places Sweden as a region in Europe and at the same time depicts Swedes as well-reputed members of modern American society, while still trying to uphold the specifically Swedish as an ideal standard. All this is communicated through both style and narrative.

Now, in my interpretation I have taken for granted that Swedishness is the obvious subject matter of the film. However, is this presumption necessarily true? I will conclude with some remarks concerning the reception of the film by critics in Sweden and the US. What is conspicuous is that each country regarded the film as a homage to their respective nation. Although the reception in both countries regards the film as a celebration of their respective nation, there are differences in the level of appreciation. Just as Swedish music in the film suggests the popular, the regional, the individual, and the American music suggests the national,

the official and the collective, the critical writings emphasize the same in their interpretation of the national significance of the film.

The Swedish critics emphasized the Swedishness and the typical national characteristics: honesty, hardiness, stubbornness, practicality, idealism, dauntlessness and true kind-heartedness. Besides the usual discussion concerning the advantages or disadvantages of the achievements of the actors, the critics repeatedly return to assertions about the Swedishness of the film and the genuine Swedish quality. Although some critics rightfully consider the film too chauvinistic in its assertion that the battle was decisive for the American Civil War, this is considered less important in light of how the film manages to accentuate the national. The Swedish-American press emphasizes in its advertisement that Ericsson originated from Värmland, that the film is about the "assiduous, self-sacrificing and unpretentious creator of the Monitor", otherwise they write mostly about Victor Sjöström and his career. To sum up, Swedish critics, and perhaps the Swedish audience, primarily noticed and appreciated the film's depiction of Swedish characteristics, feelings, region and nation, all elements intertwined with one another. In my view, the music contributed greatly to this reading of the film.

The American critics, on the other hand, regarded the film as an American drama, and as the first American drama to be produced in Europe. By no means is the film interpreted as Swedish, and if the Swedish critics considered the film to be a tribute to Sweden, the Americans conceived of it as a tribute to America. In the marketing of the film in the United States as well as in the critical writings, it was stressed that it was the first film produced by one country as a goodwill gesture towards another country. Many critics also described the film as well made. Even if the language was Swedish, the Americans considered it an American film in many respects and often the film is entitled The *Great* John Ericsson. The idea that the film's mission was a gesture of good will on the tercentenary celebration was not pure invention. In order to make this clear, and probably also to clarify this to the unaware American public, the film seems to have been produced in two versions. The Swedish diplomat, Count Folke Bernadotte, introduces the American version, tells about the jubilee, and then greets the American people (advertisement about the film in *Time* no. 38).

Obviously, the American critics regarded the film as American because of its treatment of American history, and this part of the history was of course very decisive for the development of the American nation. Some very prominent Americans are characters in the film, for example Abraham Lincoln and several naval officers. Corresponding to the Swedishness of the



American history. Ericsson demonstrates the Monitor to sceptical American naval of¹cers.

film and its emphasis on the region and connected significations as discussed above, the US was in contrast represented as official, national and collective, and the music both expresses and constructs this interpretation.

In most cases, the American critics wrote positively about the film. As an example, the *New York Times* wrote that as far as they knew, this was the first foreign film to deal with American history (*New York Times*, 1938). With refreshing self-depriciation, the critic wrote that the American public is so used to American films depicting the history of other nations, that it is "a blessed shock to find ourselves on the receiving end for once." (*New York Times*, 1938). The paper also wrote ironically about the idea that two Swedes were responsible for the total victory of the Union in the Civil War, but so did Swedish critics. All American critics found it peculiar that the characters are speaking Swedish – obviously, the film was perceived as so American that the Swedish language seemed discordant. One critic expressed the opposite opinion; the *Los Angeles Evening News* wrote that the film was so good "that it hardly seems incongruous

to see an American drama enacted by Europeans in a foreign tongue" (*Evening News*, 1938). The *New York Times* also found the film technically up to Hollywood standards, and that the players were first rate. The writer of the article had a very positive attitude towards the good-will gesture and meant that this was far more important than discussions about who won the war. Not all critics were that overwhelmingly positive though. William Boehnel of The *New York World Telegram* was less positive and generous. He found the film so "appallingly inefficient, at times ludicrous, the pictures naiveté is so pronounced" that he doubted the producers were serious (*New York World Telegram*, no date).

John Ericsson: Victor of Hampton Roads was a Swedish nationalistic film about the Swede, or the Swedes, who wins the American Civil War through Swedish qualities and the Swedish talent for invention. I am quite convinced that, to Swedish viewers at the time, this would be very clear, just as it is very clear in my interpretation that this is a national chauvinist film that served the Swedish politics and ideology of the time. However, the Swedishness and the national and regional aesthetics that for us seems so conspicuous were hardly perceptible to the Americans. The images of Sweden and the Swedish imagery in this film seem to be merely a Swedish conception. On the other hand, in the American conception, this is a film about American images and American imagery. You can find both aspect in the film, depending on your perspective. Perhaps the national identity and national characteristics are located only in the mind of the beholder.

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endnotes

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1 According to Wikipedia http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ack_V%C3%A4rmeland,_du_sk%C3%B6na (20090818), this song is more likely to be known in English speaking countries as *Dear Old Stockholm* through among others Stan Getz and John Coltrane, who have paraphrased it extensively.

2 Actually, Charlie Pettersson is a real figure although not a friend of Ericsson. He worked on the Monitor and loaded the canons with double portions of gunpowder, exactly as in the film. See Åberg, 1994.

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Beyond Swedish Borders: On Foreign Places in Swedish Films 1980–2010

most of the time, Swedish films are firmly located in Sweden, both in the sense that they have Swedish audiences, and that their stories are set in Sweden. This is quite normal – and perhaps also rather natural – for a minor national cinema such as that found in Sweden. There are, however, a number of occasions where filmmakers find it useful to locate parts of the story beyond Swedish borders. Sometimes these foreign locations are rather close, in neighbouring Scandinavian countries, and sometimes they are quite far away. One may wonder what filmmakers are adding to a film when they go to the extra trouble of shooting scenes abroad, and what meanings these scenes may offer viewers. What purposes may the inclusion of foreign places in a film serve? And what places are selected to achieve this in such a way that it becomes as clear as possible to viewers?

Shaun Moores has discussed the experience of watching television in terms of "going places" – at least imaginatively – and goes on to suggest that if "broadcasting is able to 'transport' viewers and listeners to previously distant or unknown sites [...] we need to specify the kind of 'journeys' that are made" (Moores, 1993: 365–366). Such imagined travels and their different functions within Swedish film are what will be studied here. The main task will be to point out how different themes and storylines are developed in relation to journeys outside of Sweden, and how different foreign places are used in relation to different modes or genres. In short, what kind of imaginary travel guide or atlas do these films offer viewers?

A fairly limited set of films will be used in order to make the study coherent: Swedish films made between 1980 and 2010, with a fairly wide theatrical distribution in Sweden, taking place in contemporary society and including scenes set abroad.[1]

Returning Home from the Big World

Several successful Swedish films use provincial towns to achieve a sense of contrast – between the backwardness of the small town and the modern life of the big city, or between a peaceful, sound community life in the countryside and a swirling, but perhaps isolated, postmodern globalized life. Such contrasts can be efficiently communicated with simple means, using dialogue, as in *Fucking Åmål* (*Show Me Love*, Lukas Moodysson, 1998), where the main character Elin finds that her hometown Åmål is lacking in comparison with Stockholm, or using different places within Sweden, as in *Masjävlar* (*Dalecarlians*, Maria Blom, 2004). However, on a few occasions the big world is not big enough in Sweden, and filmmakers create contrasts by placing parts of the action in other countries.

Så som i himmelen (*As It Is in Heaven*, Kay Pollak, 2004), one of the most successful Swedish films of the past decades, is firmly placed on Swedish soil. The film explores how the inhabitants of the small fictional village Ljusåker, somewhere in northern Sweden, grow as individuals and turn into a caring community with the help of Daniel Daréus, a world-famous conductor who has decided to settle down there. Although most of the film takes place in this village, the plot both begins and ends in other countries. The first sequences establish the life and lifestyle of Daniel, showing how demanding and successful he is as a conductor, and how busy he is. After a concert in a rainy city somewhere in Europe, he sits exhausted in a taxi. His manager fails to cheer him up:

– We're on the top now, Daniel!
– I wasn't satisfied in Berlin…
– You're fully booked for the next eight years.
– Do you mean that you know what I will do in eight years?
– Yes, Philadelphia.

Daniel despairs, feeling trapped in an exhausting life that doesn't offer him anything of any real value. During the next concert, in Milan, he collapses from a heart attack, his heart being "completely worn out". The



Through a glass darkly: transitory views of people and places.

following images show Daniel travelling through a winter landscape in northern Sweden and his voice-over contemplates his situation: "For the first time in my life, my calendar was completely empty" and "I don't know why I returned to the village of my childhood." Indeed, it is a bit difficult to understand what he is expecting – he is not returning to any person he knows or remembers, any specific place he wants to visit, and his childhood memories seem quite dark. However, it is easy to understand the contrasts the director wants to establish with this introduction; the successful, but far too busy, dissatisfied and geographically promiscuous life Daniel has led will be contrasted with inner growth and peace and a potentially sound community life in his childhood village (Heller, 1995).

The major part of the film tells the story of Daniel slowly fulfilling his dream of creating music that can open people's hearts. During this process, he himself is also changing, realizing that there are simpler and more valuable joys in life than receiving standing ovations after concerts conducted in the most important temples of music. When his manager, towards the end of the film, asks him how he could fulfil his dream with the people of this small village, Daniel replies, with surprise, "They love me. And I love them." Such a feeling of love or sense of belonging, one

should conclude, wasn't really possible in his earlier life when he was a postmodern traveller in the big world.

Perhaps the film could have remained within this village and this life until the end, but it seems that Pollak couldn't find a satisfactory way to close the story there. Instead, Daniel and the church choir he leads go to Salzburg (Austria) in order to participate in a music festival. For Daniel, the journey is a return to the world of big concerts and cities he once belonged to, a world he now only temporarily and reluctantly agrees to visit. He is afraid of this world and happy with his modest life in the Swedish province. However, Pollak denies him this life. Daniel dies in Salzburg, before he can make it to the choir's concert. The final images of the film show Daniel dying – with a smile on his face – on a bathroom floor in the concert building, followed by images of a field of ripe barley, where Daniel has returned to his childhood and is searching for himself as a young boy. In the final moments of his life, Daniel finds this past version of himself and embraces him, finally able to return to what was lost to him for so many years.

For the choir, the journey to Austria will be the final proof of the strength of their restored community – a strength that seems able to take them anywhere. Pollak even suggests a greater community of open-minded persons: During the choir's performance and under a visually prominent banner, "Let the People Sing", everyone in the concert hall is united in a spontaneous unison song.

Such an ending, with a restored community and a nostalgic return to an irretrievable past, seems suitable for this highly melodramatic film, and in line with Linda Williams' discussion of a return to a "space of innocence":

> Melodrama begins, and wants to end, in a space of innocence. [. . .] Gardens and rural homes are the stereotypical locuses of such innocence. The narrative proper usually begins when the villain intrudes upon the idyll. The narrative ends happily if the protagonists can, in some way, return to this space of innocence, unhappily if they do not. Often the ideal space of innocence is posited in American stage melodrama as the rural 'Old Kentucky' home – the maternal place of origin. This quest, not for the new but for the old space of innocence, is the fundamental reason for melodrama's profound conservatism. (Williams, 1998: 65)

This applies not only to *As It Is in Heaven*, but to *Änglagård* (*House of Angels*, Colin Nutley, 1992), another of the most successful films in Sweden. Here

it is Fanny and her friend Zac who return to House of Angels, the 'Old Kentucky' home, a farm she inherits in a small village she has never seen, but where her mother grew up and her grandfather lived until he died. As in *As It Is in Heaven*, a contrasting modern, international, big city life is shown in the very first image, and later suggested in dialogue. Although Nutley is much more nuanced than Pollak, there is a clear dialectic between the potentially villainous urban postmodern life and the potentially good space of innocence located in the Swedish countryside. It is interesting to note that both films are unable to end the story with the protagonists living in this traditional world: Daniel dies, and *House of Angels* closes with Fanny and Zac returning to their life in the cities of Europe. However, Fanny and Zac leave with a promise to return to the village, and her roots, next summer: A final oscillation between nostalgia for continuity and desire for a successful life in the modern globalized world, clearly appreciated and very likely shared by contemporary audiences.

Finding Family

Compared with Daniel's journey in *As It Is in Heaven* and Fanny's in *House of Angels*, most films studied here describe an opposite trajectory, with a beginning somewhere in Sweden, an outward journey and a return home. These journeys, and the experiences they offer audiences, may be quite diverse. Here, two films will be discussed where characters leave their Swedish homes in order to look for family in other countries.

In *Änglagård – andra sommaren* (*House of Angels – The Second Summer*, Colin Nutley, 1994), the sequel to *House of Angels*, Fanny convinces the two elderly brothers Gottfrid and Ivar that they should travel to Sven, a third brother whose existence they didn't know about earlier. Sven lives in New York City in a luxurious flat on Park Avenue, and this is where most of the second half of the film is set.

The sequences in New York serve a few narrative functions, which are emphasized in this foreign setting. Fanny and Zak fight and eventually break up, leaving each of them without a firm place to stand. Also, and more importantly, after having enjoyed meeting his new-found brother, Gottfrid suffers a heart attack and dies. Although his death is sad, the film suggests that for Gottfrid, it came at a point when his life was complete. Just like Daniel in *Så som himmelen,* death reaches him far away from his home, when he is happy, and when he feels that he has accomplished something valuable. In both films, establishing contacts between provincial persons and the big world is seen as valuable.



Overcoming differences. Helping the country cousin practising local culture – attempting to hail a NY cab.

Before these events, however, much of the time in New York is used for comedy, adding to the emotional range of the film. The comedy is based on the neatly constructed and emphasized differences between the brothers, differences that have less to do with culture and personality, than with class, lifestyle and the fact that the Swedish brothers are inexperienced travellers. Indeed, they seem to have remained within walking distance from their home and village throughout their lives. They are overwhelmed by the skyscrapers, the Statue of Liberty, and they wonder about the watery American coffee and taste of peanut butter. To Gottfrid and Ivar, Sven's world is exotic. The only references they have to a world like this are what they have seen on TV: "We've seen it [the Statue of Liberty] lots of times on TV" and "What we have seen on TV is nothing compared to this", they say. Viewers will be familiar with this feeling, but still smile with amusement at the two sweet brothers and their all too obvious inexperience with a world like this. Viewers will also be able to understand them as open-minded persons, who are willing to expand their horizons beyond the village and the television, who are interested in meeting new persons, places, cultures and ways of living. This open-mindedness is important, as it bridges gaps between the small village and

the big city, between traditional and modern lifestyles, and between generations. To viewers who are more like Fanny and Zak and who no longer have that much contact with their roots, this should be comforting. It seems that the film is less about Gottfrid and Ivar's journey to New York to meet their brother than about providing viewers with ideal elderly fathers – or grandfathers – firmly and happily placed within the innocent space of tradition and a family's geographical past, but at the same time interested in and open-minded towards the life of younger generations, living in a more modern world (Marklund, 1999).

Another film with a similar trajectory and motif is *Tsatsiki, morsan och polisen* (*Tsatsiki, the mom and the policeman*, Ella Lemhagen, 1999). The film, which seeks to go slightly beyond superficial images of foreign countries, revolves around the young school-boy Tsatsiki, who lives with his single mother in a Stockholm suburb. More than anything else, Tsatsiki wants to go to Greece and meet his father, whom he has never met, a Greek fisherman his mother fell in love with during a vacation.

Just like the elderly brothers in *House of Angels – The Second Summer*, Tsatsiki is leaving his home and everyday life – certainly a decent life, but perhaps a bit uneventful – in order to finally get to know a family member he has never met. In the case of Gottfrid and Ivar, we never know what expectations they had – only that they were overwhelmed once they arrived in America. With Tsatsiki it is different. His optimistic dreams are clearly foregrounded: He has his snorkelling equipment and postcard images of Greece hanging on the wall, next to an aquarium with colourful fishes and a picture of his father, a young man smiling happily at the camera (and Tsatsiki's mother) with a spear and a freshly caught octopus in his hands. Before going to bed Tsatsiki puts on his mask, touches the picture and says: "I hope I get to see you soon. Good night, dad!" It is rather clear that the person, the place and the roots that Tsatsiki imagines, longs for, and wants to know more about, are idealized. He is not prepared for reality. When Tsatsiki and his mother eventually come to Greece and get their first distant view of Tsatsiki's father, they are both shocked and hide before he can see them; Tsatsiki's father looks more like a rugged beggar than the smiling young man in the picture. Still, Tsatsiki's wish to connect with his father is stronger than the first disappointment, and he understands that only by meeting his father will he be able to see beyond optimistic imaginations and a hasty first impression. Tsatsiki observes his father working, approaches him cautiously, and soon enough the two have become friends. Like in *House of Angels – The Second Summer,* differences and uncertainty have been overcome.



Imagining and reaching for a father and a foreign culture.

When it is time for their departure, Tsatsiki's father has brought him a spear that he wants him to keep as a memory and to practice fishing with. Tsatsiki declines, suggesting that he would rather return to Greece and use it there together with his father. Both seem happy about their developing father-son relationship. Tsatsiki thus refuses a tourist approach – removing objects from the place where they belong, and turning something useful into a souvenir – and instead he aims for a longer and more profound relationship with the foreign culture and his unknown father.

This attitude of Tsatsiki and the brothers of *House of Angels – The Second Summer* and the attempt to integrate cultures are clearly different from the majority of Swedish films of any genre taking place abroad.[2] In fact, both films show that family (brothers, fathers) may exist in foreign places, and that this allows a different relationship to these places than just being an outsider. Their willingness to reach for this unknown family in foreign places presents Tsatsiki, Ivar and Gottfrid as models for everyone

wishing to understand cultures from another perspective than that of the tourist, and to appreciate differences between persons in our own society.

Migrant Experiences

Most Swedish films focus on characters from Sweden, and it is rare to show journeys, or indeed any experiences, of non-Swedish characters. However, growing awareness of the relevance of the world surrounding Sweden – partly due to changing migration patterns with, for example, war refugees and a globalized labour market – has been accompanied by a few films about migrant experiences. This is the case in *Lilja 4-ever* (*Lilya 4-ever*, Lukas Moodysson, 2002) and *Zozo* (*Zozo*, Josef Fares, 2005), two films that offered audiences rather dark viewing experiences, but that nevertheless managed to attract surprisingly large audiences. *Lilya 4-ever* is about Lilya, a teenage girl who leaves her desperate life in the former Soviet Union only to find herself in an even worse situation as a sex slave in Malmö (Sweden). Eventually she commits suicide by jumping off a bridge. *Zozo* is about a young Lebanese boy, Zozo, who loses his family in the war in Beirut, but manages to reach his grandparents who are living in a small Swedish town. The films point to harsh living conditions in today's world, and to the difficulties our globalized world has yet to solve in a satisfactory way.

Both films begin their stories with the destruction of a safe home and family. Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli have pointed to the importance of home in "narratives of migration, in which the journey is often set in motion precisely by a utopian desire for a new home, and is frequently marked by the sense of irreparable loss of the former home" (Mazierska and Rascaroli, 2006: 147). This search for a better life and a utopian home is common to both films, as are Lilya's and Zozo's lingering memories of what they had before they left.[3] In a less general way, however, the films are quite different.

Fares partly based *Zozo* on his own experiences of life and the war in Beirut, and on his coming to Sweden as a boy in his early teens. The first half of the film takes place in Lebanon. Early sequences trace the daily life of Zozo and his family as they are preparing to leave the country and join Zozo's grandparents in Sweden. Scenes from Zozo's school, from the streets and from the family's flat are often mildly comical, before outbursts of gunfire and explosions disrupt the mood and every possibility of a decent life. The destruction becomes painfully clear when Zozo's home is suddenly hit by a grenade that kills his family, and when Zozo



Mergin realities. Memories of war invading a Swedish schoolyard.

has to find his way out of the war-scarred city and country. The second half of the film takes place in a small town in Sweden, the utopian peaceful country far away that his grandfather has told him about in taped messages. Although Zozo lives with his grandparents, and they take good care of him, he struggles with the memories of his lost family – in particular of his mother – and has troubles in his new Swedish school.

In an important scene at the very end of the film, Fares merges Zozo's past and present experiences. In this scene, Zozo and his Swedish friend Leo are bullied by some older boys in the school yard. Zozo defends Leo and a fight begins, which is followed by a surreal grenade attack of the schoolyard, with explosions, pupils panicking and, later, by Zozo's mother walking up to him, comforting him, and by his family waving to him from a distance. Here Fares inserts a foreign reality into a Swedish context, which allows him to illustrate the memories so important to Zozo's identity, and to offer (Swedish) viewers a visually striking way to understand a conflict such as that in Lebanon, and refugees' struggles to deal with past traumas (and with a new culture). After this first version of the scene – with violence, explosions and Zozo's family – Fares continues with another version, one in which Zozo decides to walk away with his friend, instead of fighting with the provoking boys. Fares lets the young boy make a decision that suggests that he is ready to move on with his life

in a direction that he himself can control, and that Zozo is able to break with the patterns of violence he knows both from Lebanon and Sweden. Fares thus places a great deal of responsibility on the individual – and here indeed a very young one – and optimistically suggests that individual strength and wisdom may be the foundation of a more peaceful world.

Although her situation is not as life-threatening as Zozo's, and her home is not attacked by grenades, Lilya's life in the former Soviet Union in *Lilya 4-ever* is certainly not much better. In the beginning, Lilya is hopefully looking forward to going to the US with her mother, but when her mother leaves without her, and lets Lilya fend for herself, Lilya's life and prospects appear as miserable as the decaying area she lives in. She is thrown out of her run-down flat by a relative, has no money and hardly anything to eat, and her best comfort is to inhale solvents together with Volodja, a young boy in a similar situation. Moodysson offers no images providing hope or comfort.

When Lilya meets Andrey she falls quickly in love, and happily believes his promises of a better life together with him in Sweden. As Mazierska and Rascaroli point out in a discussion on *Lilya 4-ever* and the British film *Last Resort* (Pawel Pawlikowski, 2000), this gives Lilya a further motif – apart from survival and finding a better life – to leave her home: "Although economic reasons certainly came into Tanya [*Last Resort*] and Lilya's trips (the Western fiancées' perceived wealth must have played its part in the process of falling in love), the trips in these films are romantic quests, which is usually seen as a privilege of the prosperous Westerners" (Mazierska and Rascaroli, 2006: 146). The romantic quest serves both to explain Lilya's decision to leave her friend Volodja, and to make her destiny in Sweden appear even crueller, if this is possible. It soon becomes clear that Andrey never intended to join her in Sweden. Instead, Lilya is taken to a poorly equipped flat. She initially tries to arrange it as best she can – tidying it, and unpacking the only memory she brought from her home: a framed picture of an angel. Her attempt is in line with what David Morley discusses regarding migrants, namely that "the house comes to function particularly strongly as a sanctuary and nucleus of identity" (Morley, 2000: 51). Lilya, however, will never be able to transform her flat into a home and a place of relief. It soon turns out to be a prison where her body is sold to punters. Lilya will be confined to this space, as a traveller "almost detached from an outside reality" (Mazierska and Rascaroli, 2006: 147-148) – a traveller, whose journey will never take her to the place she desired.

Both *Lilya 4-ever* and *Zozo* make migrant problems visible, but in rath-

er different ways. Moodysson's film has Sweden fail as a Utopia – Sweden offers no more possibilities than the ruined home Lilya left – and formulates a critique of society that viewers will have to respond to. Compared with this bleak outlook, Fares' film, although certainly not presenting Sweden as a place without problems, offers its audience a rather comforting feeling that the problems that do exist might be solved. In both films, a young person is left on his/her own, without significant help from any institution representing a modern welfare state or a transnational organization such as the United Nations. Zozo's ability to handle his difficult experiences accounts for the optimism that the film contains, an optimism that makes the film less disturbing to watch, but that also make viewers less aware of the need to act. Lilya, on the other hand, is a girl, older, and unable to survive in the world today, and there are no images or actions that can offer lasting comfort.[4] Although different, both films use foreign settings, and experiences related to them, to present significant insights with great empathy.

Comical Visits to Other Countries

A journey does not only mean reaching new places. It also means leaving one's home, daily life and social situation, it means leaving places where one, to some degree, feels belonging, compassion, and where one can make a contribution. It means leaving well-known values, identities and ideologies. Moving a character away from all this and into a new, foreign setting is important in films of all genres. However, it may be used to other ends than those discussed thus far.

There are a number of films in which the uprooting of a character is used for comic effect. *House of Angels – The Second Summer* certainly touched on this, but it is especially typical of the films in the "Package Tour" cycle, a series of films created by Lasse Åberg and Bo Jonsson, which are among the most popular films ever in Sweden. The different journeys in the cycle are well aligned with trends in Swedes' vacation habits and, more generally, with a desire to safely experience what lies beyond one's daily life. Indeed, *Sällskapsresan* (*The Package Tour*, Lasse Åberg & Peter Hald, 1980), the first film in the series, fittingly begins with the credo that "Swedes don't travel to something, they travel away from something" – here referring mainly to the cold Swedish climate. The second film of the cycle, *Sällskapsresan II – Snowroller* (*Charter Trip 2*, Lasse Åberg, 1985), may serve to exemplify a few characteristic traits. A group of Swedes travel together, here on a skiing trip to the Austrian

Alps, a destination that had become a very popular place for vacation at this time. The narrative is quite unfocused; the characters meet and interact in a number of situations typical of ski resorts. There are some aspiring romances, and the film ends with a wedding. Characters have no particular goals or projects – they are, after all, on vacation – and instead the plot consists of a series of episodes, gags and motifs related to the characters and to the particular setting. A final, and quite important characteristic of these films is that, although they take place in countries other than Sweden, the characters are never meant to get involved in foreign cultures and societies. Indeed, there are rather few occasions when Swedish characters show any interest in, or interact with, the local culture and people. The function of journeys in these films is to move a group of Swedish characters from places where they belong, isolate them in a foreign place, and observe their interactions.

Many locations used in these films are closely related to Marc Augé's notion of non-places, i.e. places that only loosely are part of local traditions, norms and practices, and that therefore could be said to relate as much – or as little – to the travellers as to the locals (Augé, 1995). This un-rooted, fairly neutral ground may explain the sketchy depiction of local culture. In *Charter Trip 2,* the brief glimpses of traditional culture that can be sensed beyond non-places like the hotels and the lifts are limited to comical situations such as when an old woman, who apparently lives on the top of the ski run, puts on her slalom skis and speeds away to buy Apfelstrudel from the local bakery. Her effortless movements seem to imply that this is part of her culture (or even nature). As a contrast, the Swedish protagonist who watches her is strikingly misplaced in this setting, and especially on a pair of skis. Obviously, the purpose here – or elsewhere in these films – is not to offer an accurate depiction of local culture, but to use stereotypes and prejudices to create contrasts, astonishment and, as here, situations with a comical dimension.

Important in these films, as in *House of Angels – The Second Summer*, is that several characters are rather inexperienced travellers, and perhaps somewhat slow or naïve. They make mistakes and misunderstand people and situations. The humour this leads to relies on audiences aware of basic cultural differences and therefore able to recognize situations and problems, and to feel that they would never really make similar mistakes. These viewers are able to observe the inexperienced travellers from an enlightened and indulgent position, and they may enjoy feeling worldly and distinguish themselves from other "tourists".

Someone who certainly considers himself worldly is Morgan Pålsson

who, together with Robert Flycht, is the protagonist in *Morgan Pålsson – Världsreporter* (*Morgan Pålsson – World Reporter*, Fredrik Boklund, 2008). Here, the film will serve to illustrate the geography of Swedish knowledge (or lack of knowledge) of foreign places, as seen in prejudices, stereotypes and out-group jokes.

Morgan is a foreign correspondent for SVT, the Swedish public service broadcaster, and Robert is his cameraman. The film begins by placing Morgan and Robert in Klaipeda (Lithuania), in a brief sequence showing a navy vessel arriving with some officials. It is a grey, cold place and, according to Morgan, of no interest or importance. The sequence introduces Morgan's incompetence and his goal to become SVT:s correspondent in Washington, a more prestigious place to a journalist than Lithuania. Instead of getting that assignment, however, they are sent to the fictional Middle-Eastern country of Matobo, where the largest part of the story takes place. Here, there is a military *coup d'état*, supported by an Afghanistan terrorist group that wants to get access to an abandoned weapons depot and send bombs to major Western cities.

Both places are chosen and depicted in a stereotypical way, according to the needs of the plot and the perceived distance from Swedish audiences. The filmmakers have commented that they wanted to tell a story about the two journalists and SVT, but felt that they "also needed this outside world, with terrorists, Matobo, the election and all of that" (*Morgan Pålsson: Världsreporter*, 2008). Regarding Lithuania this location was chosen "in order not to be in Sweden. Because we wanted them to be in a foreign correspondent situation. But what was, then, the closest reasonable place for Morgan Pålsson? Therefore we chose a Baltic state, in order to create contrasts" (*Morgan Pålsson: Världsreporter*, 2008). The filmmakers' idea to choose places at the right distance within audience awareness, and the usage of these places, is in line with Zygmunt Bauman's argument regarding the "far away", as summarized and quoted by David Morley:

> The far away, by contrast, often connotes a space of anxiety and hesitation, in so far as it is a world where 'things happen which one cannot anticipate or comprehend and would not know how to react to once they occurred: a space containing things one knows little about, from which one does not expect much, and regarding which one does not feel obliged to care.' As Bauman argues, as a result of the typical mode of the representation of these distant others to us via the mass media, the people of this faraway world are often closely associated with a world of trouble – of social and natural dis-



Immersed in another culture? Swedes failing to understand and communicate in a foreign country.

> asters, murders, epidemics and the breakdown of social order. (Morley, 2000: 183)

Indeed, the world of Matobo is based on this kind of general negative association; a desert landscape to be filled with stereotypes and prejudices, such as suicide bombers, a fake crucifixion, a *coup d'état* and terrorists. In a characteristic scene, Morgan, Robert and their guide get lost in the desert when they are looking for terrorists. They are stopped by armed robbers, and when Morgan interferes with Robert's negotiations, they are left to die in the desert. Just as in *Charter Trip* 2, and other comedies of this kind, the interaction is quite unnatural and superficial, and nothing much is communicated about local practices or identities.[5]

The film's coda takes place in New York, and this is the only foreign place the film gives a reasonable representation of. Robert is signing a book he has written, he meets Morgan and the film ends with them walking away together in a non-emblematic, non-tourist setting. Here, for the first time in the film, they appear to be at ease, as if they finally reached a place where they belonged. New York, it seems, lies less far away in the Swedish imagination than seemingly peripheral countries like Lithuania

or even the non-existent Matobo. It is clear that all foreign places are not equally foreign.[6]

Swedish Experts Solving International Problems

Crime and action films use foreign settings in a different way than do the comedies just discussed. The journeys often reach further away – measured either in geographical distance or in viewer awareness – and they have a clear purpose; something should be achieved during the journey. Along with this come more goal-oriented narratives, other kinds of characters, as well as more and different interactions with non-Swedish characters. An example as clear as any is *Hamilton* (*Commander Hamilton*, Harald Zwart, 1998). The Swedish James Bond-wannabe Carl Hamilton was well established from earlier films and television productions and from a series of novels by Swedish author Jan Guillou. In this film, Hamilton's missions take him to the Murmansk area in Russia and the Libyan desert. These places are seen as being out of democratic control, and offer both local and global criminals and terrorists good opportunities to pursue their evil agendas, in this case the smuggling of nuclear missiles.

Hamilton and similar characters are quite different from the ones in the comedies, not only because they are goal oriented, but also because they possess valuable abilities, often such that are independent of place. Just like Daniel and Fanny discussed earlier, the heroes of these films can be seen as the kind of experts that can put their knowledge to use in any corner of the globalized world. Hamilton is, for example, able both to communicate with persons in different languages and to kill them in different ways, if possible using modern technology that he, of course, also masters. The interaction with another culture/society is not – just like in the comedies – intended to achieve greater understanding. Instead it is motivated by the project that has to be completed. Place and culture, then, are rather to be controlled and conquered, frequently in a brutal and spectacular way.

The places that are most characteristic of these films are those that can motivate and possibly justify actions that audiences would prefer not to associate with their own country. These places might have a legal system that appears weak or corrupt, making it pointless to obey the laws, or, alternatively, the laws may be overruled because of the mission's great importance and the seriousness of the situation. It seems justified that the hero uses violence or engages in other criminal activities. Such places are normally located slightly beyond Swedes' normal travel destinations,



A Swede as an expert traveller leaving a recently "solved" problem.

but still firmly within the reach of standard conflict- and problem-oriented international news reporting. This allows the places and events to appear relevant, topical and fairly realistic – i.e. in line with television news – but still not so close to audiences that they will feel genuinely concerned or threatened.

In crime/action films that are slightly less absurd than *Commander Hamilton*, events may take place even closer to Sweden, in major (Western) European cities associated with financial, juridical and political power. *Den tredje vågen* (*The Third Wave*, Anders Nilsson, 2003), for example, moves criminals and heroes around the continent to cities like The Hague, London and Munich. Significantly, although such a film certainly implies that Sweden too has serious problems to face, the geography of the story suggests that the most threatening situations, the causes of the problems, and their solution are to be found in other countries. Again, this may appear realistic – at least to a domestic audience – but above all it allows audiences to leave the cinema without being too upset about the state of their own country. Sweden appears to be basically sound, though occasionally touched by evil influences from abroad. Luckily, these influences may be rather successfully countered by Swedish

experts travelling to other parts of the world to solve international problems.

Brief Scandinavian Excursions and Movies on the Road

Sweden's neighbours Denmark, Finland and Norway are occasionally seen in Swedish films. Situated rather close, both geographically and in terms of audience knowledge and familiarity, these Scandinavian countries will serve slightly different purposes than the places discussed so far. It appears that the region is not exotic or internationally important enough to be the preferred playground for action travellers such as Carl Hamilton, or foreign enough for rooted characters such as Stig-Helmer in the *The Package Tour* cycle. Rather, these countries have found their way into films as a suitable backdrop for relationship dramas and comedies.

These Scandinavian excursions are often fairly short, rarely lasting more than some fifteen minutes. In *Adam & Eva* (Måns Herngren & Hannes Holm, 1997), for example, Eva has left Stockholm and her ex-boyfriend Adam for a new job in Copenhagen. In a few quick images where she and her new boyfriend walk and play around romantically in sun-lit touristic settings, her new and happy life is depicted. Soon afterwards Adam goes to Copenhagen in an attempt to get Eva back. Now, the distance and the journey to Copenhagen are more important than the actual place, because they underline how far, literally, Adam is from getting Eva back, and how desperate his attempt is.

A slightly longer sequence takes place in Norway towards the end of *Sånt är livet* (*Such is Life*, Colin Nutley, 1996). In dramatic, but also quite comical scenes, a number of contrasts are established and played with: between Norwegians and Swedes, between tradition and modernity, between countryside and city life, between different generations, etc. In order to achieve and play with these contrasts, Nutley playfully associates Norway and Norwegians with a number of negative connotations such as coldness, death/infertility and patriarchy. Apart from their comical purpose, these scenes allow the main character Tintin to make a decision where she chooses independence, and not the traditional family life she had always dreamt of. Tintin's refusal of this dream reflects a desire to engage in a life full of complexity and difficulties, rather than escape into a secure, traditional role as a mother/housewife in a nowhere land.

Interestingly, in *Alla älskar Alice* (*Everyone Loves Alice*, Richard Hobert, 2002), another film partly taking place in Norway, the young protago-



On the road to nowhere? A cold journey towards an undesired home in Norway.

nists Alice and her brother Pontus have a similarly cold impression of life in this country. Their mother has separated from her husband and taken them from Stockholm, and their father, to settle down in Norway with her sister. The children cannot find anything comforting in this new situation. Alice, in particular, misses her father. In a heavy-handed and symbolic way, Hobert adds a heard of Icelandic horses to the film. They are supposed to cheer Alice up, but when she learns that Icelandic horses, once they are exported from Iceland, are never allowed to return, she immediately identifies with them, asking sadly: "When will they get to meet mother and father?" In Alice's mind, Norway is equivalent to an undesired exile – for her as well as Icelandic horses – far away from the loving home and a caring relationhip with both parents.

Neighbouring Nordic countries are mainly used for rather unspectacular purposes – often with symbolic meanings given places and landscapes – such as using these relatively familiar foreign settings to suggest a possible change in a person's life in a way that appears fairly realistic. Some differences can be sensed. Norway – and in particular the western region, which is used in the two films discussed – appears as a fairly depressing alternative for one's future life. Finland, in *Klippet* (*The Scam*, Jan Halldoff,

1982) and *Två killar och en tjej* (*Happy We*, Lasse Hallström, 1983), is the setting of a rather failed search for something (money, inspiration) that can make things better at home in Sweden. Denmark appears in a more positive light, as a place where one can search for persons one desires to meet – an old or actual loved one, or a missing father, in *Drömmen om Rita* (*Dreaming of Rita*, Jon Lindström, 1993), *Adam & Eva* and *Macken* (*The Gas Station*, Claes Eriksson, 1990) respectively. However, not even when these persons are found will the desired relationship recover, and happiness be restored. Denmark, in these films, is instead a place of broken illusions.

Two of these films, *The Gas Station* and *Dreaming of Rita,* are road-movies, a rather rare genre in Sweden and one that rarely crosses Swedish borders. *The Gas Station* contains a rather uninteresting visit in Copenhagen, whereas *Dreaming of Rita* uses the journey to orchestrate a "message of the open future and fascination for the unknown" (Eyerman and Löfgren, 1995:77). *Inter Rail* (*Inter Rail*, Birgitta Svensson, 1981), a teenage road-movie on trains, also briefly passes through Denmark on a fairly depressing journey (where Eva seeks to get closer to her boyfriend, but eventually fails), with rather traditional stops in Amsterdam, Barcelona and Berlin. The most interesting road-movie, *s/y Glädjen* (*s/y Joy*, Göran du Rées, 1989), should also be mentioned here, although Scandinavia is only sensed on the horizon. In one of the film's two interwoven stories, a young family sails away on a sailing boat towards an unattainable better life together, a journey that ends in tragedy in the Bay of Biscay, rather than in the West Indies and the happiness they were searching for. In this film, the sea that the family travels on (and the desired destination) is at the same time highly symbolic and devastatingly concrete. A stormy sea, disagreement about the course, and a boat without a rudder offer a very clear image of the ways in which this family is lost.

Although rather different from one another, it is clear that these films – both the road-movies and the Scandinavian journeys – are largely about exploring the main characters' identities and relationships. Displaced from familiar settings and everyday activities, these explorations gain clarity and strength. Moreover, by locating the stories in places that still are rather nearby and fairly familiar, the films avoid placing too much emphasis on the foreignness of another culture.

Concluding Remarks

It should be clear that the majority of these films taking place beyond Swedish borders have not attempted to reach a high level of realism; they are not

documentaries depicting Swedes' contacts with foreign peoples, countries and cultures. Still, they are not unrelated to reality. Accepting genre requirements and avoiding elaborate exposition, these films rely on the knowledge, experiences and prejudices viewers are likely to have concerning foreign places. Using this to locate stories in a way that makes sense to audiences, the films have their own way of documenting how Swedes see themselves in relation to the world surrounding them. This is, however, not a document of the real world, but of imaginations aligned with Swedish audiences.

To conclude this outline, a few observations of a more general character should be made. First an attempt is made to organize the representations and uses of locations geographically. Comparing these films with the distribution of values throughout the world, in a synthesis such as the one offered by the World Values Study (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005), it is not surprising to find that these films associate countries scoring high on "survival values" with problems of different kinds. Especially two regions are foregrounded: the former Soviet Union/Eastern Europe, and the Middle East/Northern Africa. A rather wide range of stories and experiences are located to these two areas. In the Soviet Union/Eastern Europe, films as different as *Lilya 4-ever*, *Livvakterna* (*Executive Protection*, Anders Nilsson, 2001) and *Jönssonligans största kupp* (*The Jönsson Gang's Greatest Robbery*, Hans Åke Gabrielsson, 1995) can be found, and similar representations and uses are also placed in the Middle East/Northern Africa: *Zozo*, *Täcknamn Coq Rouge* (*Code Name Coq Rouge*, Pelle Berglund, 1989). Two films even use both of these regions: *Commander Hamilton* and *Morgan Pålsson – World Reporter*. The genre most often used in these areas is the crime/action film, but it is clear that a wide range of films draw on the perception that these regions are unstable and filled with problems.

Films with a greater focus on stories concerning relationships tend to travel to other places, more similar to Sweden's "secular-rational" and "self-expression values" (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Such places are also rather well established in Swedes' holiday travels. Mediterranean cities and resorts are used in several films, ranging from comedies such as *The Package Tour* and *Jönssonligan på Mallorca* (*The Jönsson Gang on Majorca*, Mikael Ekman, 1989), to romantic melodramas, *En film om kärlek* (*A Film about Love*, Mats Ahren, 1987) to more serious dramas, *En sång för Martin* (*A Song for Martin*, Bille August, 2001), and finally even to the odd crime/action film, *Vendetta* (Mikael Håfström, 1995). Other places, such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Austria/Switzerland are used for similar purposes and also reflect common travel patterns. And, as discussed above, Scandinavian countries also belong to this group.

Second, it should be pointed out that the choice of places changes a bit during the period studied. To some degree, this is related to changes in the real world, something that should not be surprising if one accepts the idea that films are aligned with audience knowledge and prejudices. The most notable change is that the former communist countries of Eastern Europe began appearing in Swedish films in 1995, six years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In these films, the region appears highly unstable, with poverty, changing values, weak governments, and with the presence of representatives of organized crime eager to exploit the situation. Another change worth noting is that both the neighbouring Nordic countries and the Mediterranean (and especially the Spanish isle of Mallorca) are overrepresented in films made during the 1980s and the early 1990s. It seems as if Swedes' horizons widened a bit – beyond the closest neighbours and the best established charter destinations – following the fall of the Berlin Wall and Swedes' slowly awakening interest in the European project (Sweden became part of the EU in 1995).

A third observation that can be made is that not everyone has the same access to the road in these films. James Clifford has noted that "the marking on 'travel' by gender, class, race and culture is all too clear. 'Good travel' (heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, ennobling) is something men (should) do. Women are impeded from serious travel. Some of them go to distant places, but largely as companions or as 'exceptions'" (Clifford, 1997: 31). This is true also of these films. In crime/action films and in comedies, all major travellers are men. Within crime and action films, a great number of films have been made with the characters Carl Hamilton, Martin Beck, Johan Falk and Kurt Wallander as protagonists. Within comedies, Stig-Helmer and the all-male Jönssonligan band make up a large part of the films. The only woman who is as consistent a traveller as the men just mentioned is not a character but an actress: Helena Bergström, who appears in a number of films made by Colin Nutley. It is characteristic that Bergström's characters travel within other genres – semi-serious relationship dramas – than men do, and that Bergström's films are about relationship crises, rather than the professional quests that many of the men are involved in when they travel.[7] It is worth pointing out that this gender difference does not only relate to journeys – in general, women are clearly underrepresented in major film roles that do not focus on relationships.

It may be suggested that these films, taken together, offer something like an atlas or a guidebook, edited to suit the perspectives of Swedish viewers in a changing world. The outline presented here has pointed to a

variety of uses that Swedish filmmakers have made of places located beyond Swedish borders. These uses range from humorous explorations of cultural differences to important acknowledgements of problems in the world today. Specifying these uses and observing how they are located allow us to understand, a little better, the imaginary journeys that Swedish audiences are invited on – and willingly accept – in each of these films.

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1 History films are not included, as the interest here is in how the contemporary world surrounding Sweden is imagined. This excludes films such as *Arn – Tempelriddaren* (*Arn – The Knight's Templar*, Peter Flinth, 2007), *Jerusalem* (Bille August, 1996), *God afton, Herr Wallenberg* (*Good Evening, Mr. Wallenberg*, Kjell Grede, 1990). Regarding the "fair distribution", this criterion is approximated by including films with more than 50,000 tickets sold. These conditions apply to some 40 films.

2 Another film worth mentioning here is the Tsatsiki-sequel, *Tsatsiki – vänner för alltid* (*Tsatsiki – Friends Forever*, Eddie Thomas Petersen, 2001). A quite different film, but one that also contains the search for an unknown father, is *Macken* (*The Gas Station*, Claes Eriksson, 1990), a road movie where two adult characters search for their father, and eventually find him in Copenhagen. This film does not say anything regarding cultures meeting.

3 It is worth noting the fundamental differences between Lilya and Zozo and characters like Daniel in *As It Is in Heaven* and Fanny in *House of Angels* who are also, in a sense, lacking a home. In their case it is, of course, a matter of post-modern rootlessness, rather than a hostile reality denying them a place worthy of being called home.

4 A film with related concerns is *Före stormen* (*Before the Storm*, Reza Parsa, 2000). Although a highly interesting film, its audience was too limited for the film to be included here. Other films, usually crime films, relate to migration in different ways. One example is *Den tredje vågen* (*The Third Wave*, Anders Nilsson, 2003), where international criminal organizations smuggle refugees. In such films, the theme of migration remains in the background.

5 It should be pointed out that, as can also be seen in similar films, Sweden and Swedish characters are also rather stereotypically depicted. Morgan has a habit of communicating his cultural identity by mentioning names like ABBA, IKEA, etc. A behaviour that appears to be in line with the "intense fetishisation of the images of their lost homeland" characteristic of persons in exile (Morely, 2000: 49).

6 A number of other films share the characteristics discussed here. Interestingly enough most are from the 1980s or early 1990s: *Svindlande affärer* (*Business is Booming!*, Peter Schildt & Janne Carlsson, 1985), *The Gas Station*, *Den ofrivillige golfaren* (*The Accidental Golfer*, Lasse Åberg (& Peter Hald), 1991) and *House of Angels – The Second Summer*. The travels in the Jönssonligan cycle also share characteristics with expert travellers in crime films: *Varning för Jönssonligan* (*Beware of the Jonsson Gang!*, Jonas Cornell, 1981), *Jönssonligan på Mallorca* (*The Jonsson Gang on Majorca*, Mikael Ekman, 1989), and *Jönssonligans största kupp* (*The Jönsson Gang's Greatest Robbery*, Hans Åke Gabrielsson, 1995).

7 There are almost no exceptions to this: only male protagonists may have professional reasons to travel. The closest to being an exception is *Nina Frisk* (*Nina Frisk*, Maria Blom, 2007). Also, when women travel there are almost always important relationship issues at stake. Exceptions here are films like *Drömmen om Rita* and *Män som hatar kvinnor* (*The Girl with the Dragon Tatoo*, Niels Arden Oplev, 2009).

Emilia Ljungberg

Regions of Globalization: The Asian City as Global Metropolis in A Swedish Travel Magazine

globalization has become one of the most used buzz words worldwide, but rather than having any fixed and stable meaning, globalization is a bundle of highly contested concepts, which makes it both pertinent and fruitful to study. I am interested in how globalization is given an existence and shaped through texts that make use of the word. The central question is how globalization is defined and written into existing geographies, i.e. how it reshapes and redefines established perceptions of places and place-bound identities. My material consists of texts that can be placed in the category of travel writing. This is because descriptions of travel have traditionally dealt with issues that are central in globalization discourses, issues such as mobility, hybridity, intercultural contact and the transgression of borders. Furthermore, travel writing as a genre has the function of presenting the world to the reader, of giving it shape and explaining it, while at the same time mystifying it.

Scholars of colonialism have explained the extent to which travel writing during the colonial era was a vital part of the imperial project, in that it both explained and defended imperial ambitions for the European home audience. Today, travel writing is participating in the task of defining the concept of globalization. Part of this task is to create a map of a globalized world, in which some places are presented as central regions of globalization. It is this attempt at making a map of the global era that will be the focus of my study. The present article consists of three parts;

in the first part, I discuss how *RES*, the particular Swedish travel magazine under scrutiny, utilizes globalization as a concept and how a dichotomy of local/global places is constructed. I then go on to describe the construction of a few Asian cities as global places, and in the third part, I discuss the specific Swedish perspective on the Asian metropolis that the writers of *RES* represent.

Local/Global Places in a Lifestyle Magazine

The material consists of articles in a Swedish travel magazine called *RES* (*Travel*). The magazine was launched in 1981 under the name of *Resguide* (*Travel Guide*) by Eva and Magnus Rosenqvist and changed its name to *RES* in 1994. At present, 6 issues are published annually. It is my hypothesis that *RES* became a so-called lifestyle magazine during the time period I have chosen to study, from 1994 to 2008, and especially from 2001. It is difficult to find an exact definition of the phenomenon of lifestyle media, but the anthology *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste* includes articles about home make-over shows, celebrity cookbooks, teenage magazines and stress management texts. What they all have in common is a focus on self-improvement and the desire for higher social status as well as the construction of identities through consumer products and definitions of taste (Bell and Hollows, 2005).

For a lifestyle magazine with travel as a niche, globalization is both a possibility and a threat, which is evident in the texts I have studied. Globalization is perceived as positive because it is imagined to create a world that is available for consumption as well as a shared consumer culture. The implied reader of the magazine is a cosmopolitan for whom travel is central in identity construction. Hence, the new globalized world that the writers of *RES* imagine is mainly celebrated, but it also contains threats, the most urgent for the magazine being homogenization, because a travel magazine is dependent on the idea of a world full of diverse, exotic and exciting places to discover.

As a reaction to the perceived threat of homogenization, the local is given centre stage. It is necessary that the new exciting metropolises of globalization have an opposite in something local, traditional and stable. In the 2001 anthology *Fönster mot Europa*, ethnologist Jonas Frykman writes that the local rather than the national has become the foremost counterforce and antithesis of globalization. When the nation is challenged by globalization processes, the local emerges as a potent symbol of authenticity that has been preserved over time. Frykman writes that

regions are perceived as having "personality, life and a 'soul'", which the nation state lacks (Frykman, 2001: 89). Regions are also seen as being more "genuine, original and ancient" than the nation.

Elite identities in the global era are sometimes imagined to be separated from any local place. Well-known scholars such as sociologist Zygmunt Bauman and anthropologist Marc Augé both imagine a group of travelling businessmen and – women embodying the new globalized world by being constantly on the move between different world cities. Their only stable locales are highly standardized international hotels, conference venues and financial centres. Media scholar David Morley, on the other hand, argues that the true privilege of the global elite is not that of being constantly mobile and only inhabiting spaces of mobility such as airports, international chain hotels and business areas. According to Morley, what characterizes the elite of today is rather the ability to freely and voluntarily move between the global and the local. Morley writes: "The ultimate issue is not who moves or is still, but who has control – both over their connectivity, and over their capacity to withdraw and disconnect. It matters little whether the choice is exercised in favour of staying still or in favour of movement" (Morley 2001: 199). Thus, I argue with reference to Morley that local and global places can be mutually constructive, each depending on the opposite and both equally important for the identity of the elite cosmopolitan. This is evident in the travel magazine in focus in my study.

In *RES*, local places are associated with tradition and closeness to nature, as well as being places for relaxation and harmony. One typical local place is the so-called "retreat", a telling word for spa hotels where the stressed traveller can leave both his or her high-powered job and all the problems of the world behind. The retreat as a local place connects the idea of harmony with nature and age-old traditions with a less stressful way of life. It is important to note that the local place is constructed in connection to the global; a stay at a retreat is something the traveller has to deserve by virtue of his/her position in a globalized world order. In an article about retreats, one writer claims that "only those who are extremely sought after can be expected to have an extreme need to be left alone" (Svensson, 1999). Indulging in the relaxation offered by the local place is justified by it being a retreat from the excitement, stress and homogenization of the global. In an article about the Yunnan province, another writer leaves the airport, with stores selling Coca-Cola and Kentucky Fried Chicken, to reach Lijang, "the city where time has stood still" (Pascalidou, 2008). While local places are associated with tradition, sta-

bility and village life, global places are large cities defined by mobility, change and the visible presence of global capital.

Global places

During the 1990s, and even more so during the 2000s, the global centres that the savvy traveller described in *RES* must know and experience are increasingly located in Asia. This shift does not imply that Western metropolises disappear from the pages of *RES*, they are still presented as desired destinations. However, the texts about New York, Paris and London do not express the same sense of encountering something new or of a shift in the world order, as is revealed in the articles about Asian metropolises. New York has long been the very symbol of modernity and the future, but in *RES*, Asian cities have to some degree supplanted the Western metropolis as capitals of the future. Asian cities such as Hong Kong, Shanghai and Tokyo become the central regions of globalization, more dominant as places for aspirations and dreams about the global than the US is. However, only a few Asian places gain this position on the world stage as it is constructed in *RES*. In the 2000s, Tokyo is the most prominent city in this context, followed by Hong Kong and Shanghai. Other cities mentioned are Bangkok, Seoul and Kuala Lumpur. Occasional texts also mention New Delhi and India. There is often no clear demarcation between the capital (or other major cities) and the nation or region as such, for example Tokyo is often made synonymous with Japan.

During the time period that I study, the focus shifts from China to Japan. From 1994 to 1997, when the sovereignty of Hong Kong was transferred from Britain to China, this event is given considerable space, even though the so-called handover itself is often downplayed, while the economic development of Hong Kong becomes the main theme. China, often represented by Shanghai, is continuously covered by the magazine, but from the turn of the millennium it is Tokyo that is *the* metropolis of the global era, as described in *RES*.

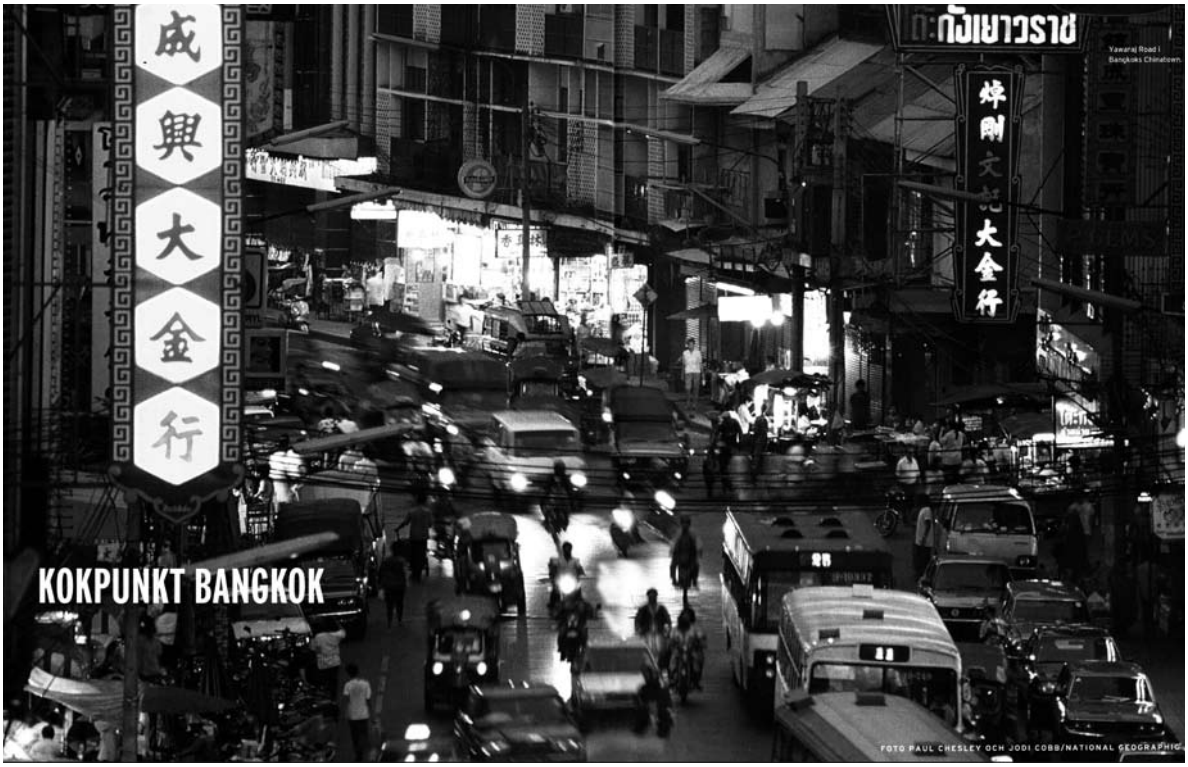
In June 1999, Tokyo makes its debut as a destination in the magazine, having hardly been mentioned earlier. The article is written by Johan Lindskog, who later becomes editor of *RES*. Over the course of a few years, the city becomes one of the main attractions, covered both in lengthy articles that purport to offer a general grasp of the destination and in shorter texts on specific aspects, such as the Tokyo art scene or newly opened hotels and restaurants. Tokyo's position as the global



96 hours in Tokyo.

metropolis *per se* is evident in the increasing attention the city gets after it is introduced as a destination in 1999, as well as in the hyperbolic style of the texts that mention the city. Once Tokyo has been introduced, it is added to the group of world cities, such as London, Paris and New York, that are constantly monitored. In 2009, a blog about Tokyo, written by a Swedish freelance journalist, is introduced on the magazine's website. There is of course some variation in the ways the Asian countries and cities are represented. For example, the Chinese political system has a strong influence on the description of China, but the similarities and recurrent tropes are dominant in the representation of a globalized Asia.

Economic success is the main reason why these countries and cities are constructed as global places, and within this overarching theme, a few tropes are recurrent in the texts. First, Asian capitalism is characterized by being rapid and uncontrolled. The economic success of Asian countries is perceived as making them equal to Europe and in some cases even



Boiling Bangkok.

more advanced, which is represented as a cause for concern. Finally, the Asian metropolises represent the future and, from a European perspective, this is seen as being both beneficial and detrimental. In addition, a common feature of the representation of Asian global places is that they are places of consumption, and the production of consumer goods, and the prominence they are given is closely connected to the fact that *RES* becomes a lifestyle magazine during the time period studied. The ideal reader should be knowledgeable about Asian brands and patterns of consumption.

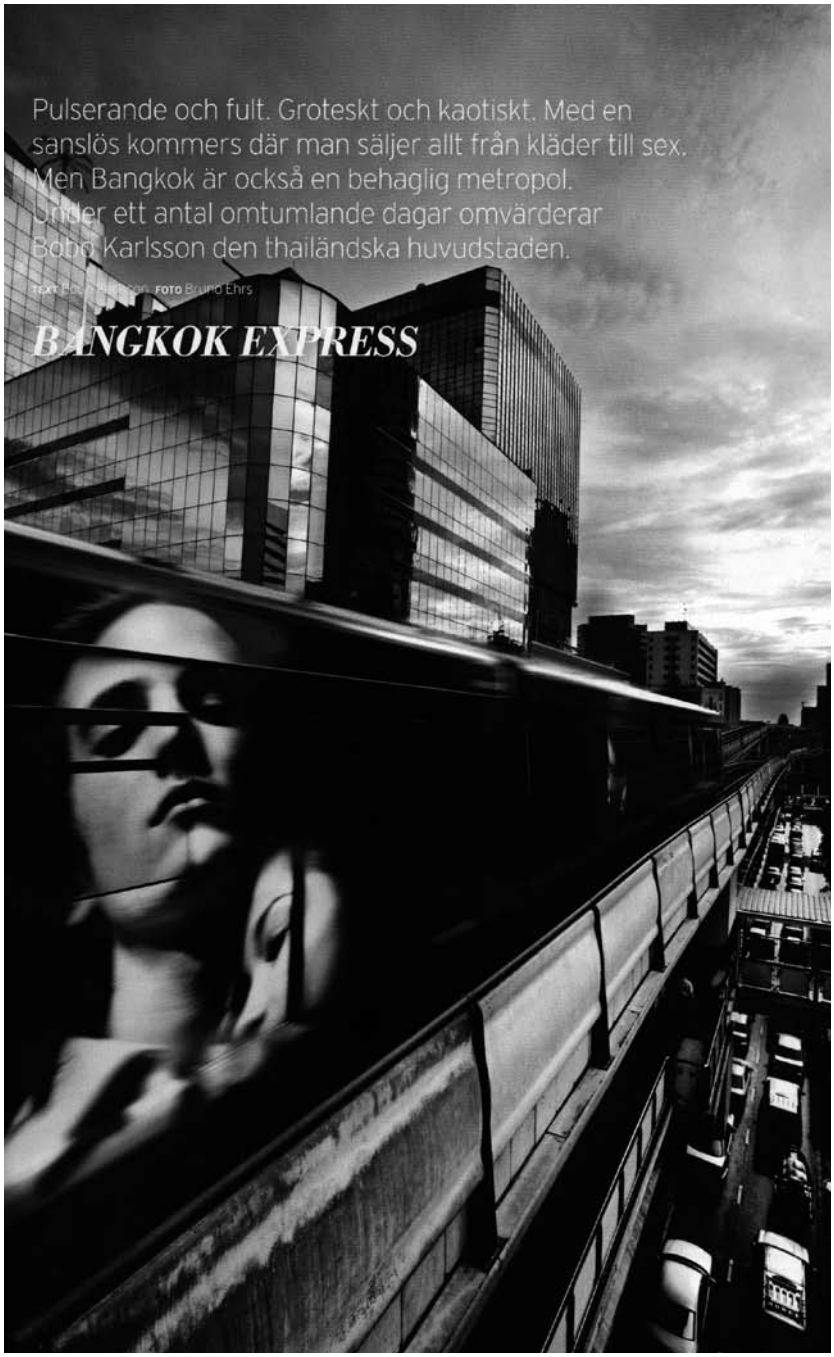
A key feature of the representation of Asian global places is the depiction of them as uncontrollable megalopolises, a notion that is conveyed visually as well as in writing. The most common image that accompanies the articles about the Asian metropolis is an aerial image depicting a panoramic view of the city centre, of Tokyo, Shanghai, Hong Kong or Seoul. Pictures such as these are used on the first pages of the article and are of-



ten allowed to cover a whole spread, so that the urban sprawl stretches out over the pages and is depicted in all its vastness. Sometimes the reader gets closer to the city so that the chaos of traffic, mixed with the huge crowds, is clearly visible, and in one article about Bangkok, the reader is even placed on street level in the initial image. The aerial shot emphasizes vastness, while the street view connotes chaos. But no matter how close or how faraway the city gets to the viewer, the general impression conveyed is that of chaos and constant movement.

Transportation and traffic become recurrent objects when the photographic gaze of *RES* looms over the new global metropolis, for example a traffic jam on a night-time street in Taipei or a sea of bicycles in Shanghai. An article entitled "Bangkok Express" is illustrated by an image of a speedy skytrain. The train is placed in the centre of the image, located over a congested highway and towering over it is a gleaming complex of glass skyscrapers that reflect the sky (Karlsson, 2006). The threatening placelessness of globalization inherent in the many pictures of highways and traffic jams can be lessened by making sure that there is a clearly visible symbol of the exotic included in the image, most often a street sign with non-Western characters.

It is possible to distinguish between images that display specificities that make it possible to identify the destination and images that display placelessness. An article from December/January 2000–2001 called "Boiling Bangkok" ("Kokpunkt Bangkok") is illustrated by an image of Yawaraj Road in the Chinatown of Bangkok, covering the whole spread (Källman, 00–01). The picture is panoramic, but is nonetheless so close to the street that the reader can identify signs both in Chinese and in Thai, as well as details such as bar signs and street vendors. The reader is presented with a distancing bird's eye view, but one that also allows for the experience of being present at a specific place. The completely placeless is exemplified by an article about Tokyo illustrated by the typical panoramic spread depicting the city. However, in this photo, the city is shot at such distance that very few individual buildings are identifiable and there are no landmark buildings in sight. The title of the article, "96 hours in Tokyo" ("96 timmar i Tokyo"), is in small print and discreetly placed in the upper right corner. More than illustrating Tokyo, the image depicts an anonymous metropolis. The impression of placelessness is further enhanced by the fact that the image is in grainy black and white. The picture of the skytrain in Bangkok, mentioned above, is another example of placeless images. Even though the reader comes much closer to the city in this image, in comparison to the image of Tokyo, there are no visible



Bangkok Express.

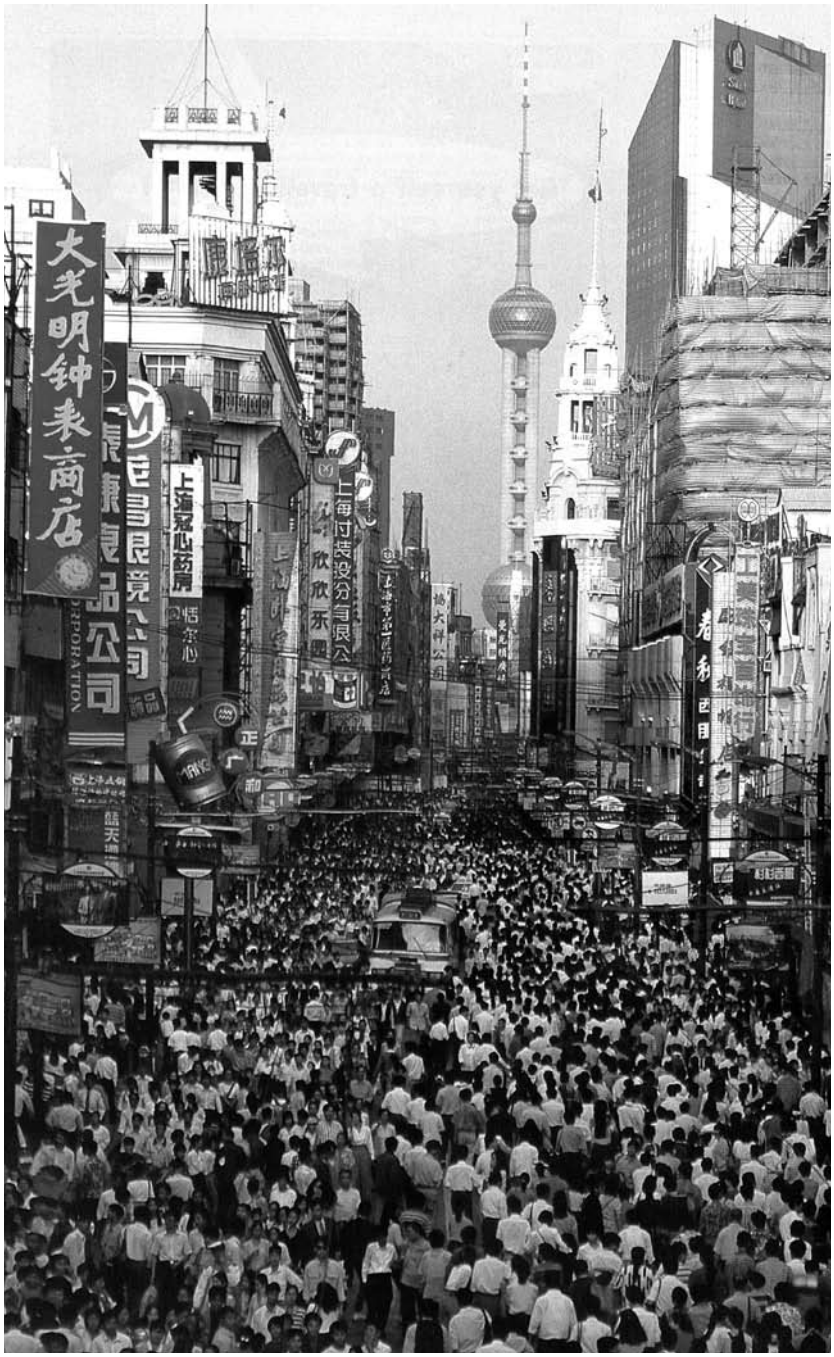
place markers. In the centre of the image, painted on the side of the sky-train, are the faces of a young man and woman with Western features.

The images illustrating the articles about Asia exemplify the balance that must be upheld between the fascination for global modernity and the need to present something local, specific and exotic. Images further into the text can be a mix between depictions of the typical and exotic and the global, such as a sumo wrestler in Tokyo or a Buddhist monk in Bangkok next to the image of a shopping mall, but the initial image is often exclusively the panoramic city photo.

In *RES*, the wild capitalism of Asia is materialized in the image of the skyscraper. The rise of Asia on the world stage has brought about new landmarks that function as highly visual symbols of global capital, one example being the Oriental Pearl Television Tower of Shanghai and the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur. The Petronas Towers were constructed in 1998 and signalled the start of the construction of high profile skyscrapers in Asia (Höweler, 2003: 18). Before the construction of Petronas, this type of building was characteristically Western.

The construction of Asian skyscrapers is repeatedly interpreted through metaphors that connote aggressiveness and a lack of control. In an article published in 1995, Shanghai is described as growing "wildly" (Löfström, 1995). Likewise, in an article about Beijing, published in 1996, the writers claim that the construction of office buildings and housing in the city is "furious" (Engqvist and Leijonhufvud, 1996). Other words describing the construction boom are "raging" and "anarchic" (Edwardsson, 1996). The proliferation of construction sites is also interpreted as a deplorable lack of nostalgia on the side of the Asians, who fail to appreciate the value of historical buildings and cityscapes. A metaphor similar to that of the wild city is the metaphor of the organic city. Anders Rydell's Seoul is a "gigantic, soaking wet octopus" (Rydell, 2007) that the travel writer cannot control.

The feverish building boom of the global metropolis is interpreted as the symptom of a feverish capitalism that is driven by a money-crazed culture as well as by the individual inhabitants. Under the headline "The Correspondent", Göran Leijonhufvud writes a one page-article about Taiwan, titled "Each and everyone is his own boss" ("Var och en är sin egen chef"). Besides writing for *RES*, Leijonhufvud worked as a correspondent for *Dagens Nyheter* (*The Daily News*), one of the two national broadsheets in Sweden, recurrently from the early 1970s to the early 2000s, while living either in Hong Kong or mainland China. His article about Taiwan, published in May 1996, focuses on the "rapidly growing"



Shanghai street scene with oriental pearl TV tower in background.

middle class and the "feverish" housing speculation. Leijonhufvud argues that the feverish economy is embodied by the Taiwanese when the writer claims that in Taiwan everyone wants to be his or her own boss. The writer exemplifies this claim with Wei-Hsin, a middle-aged family man who is working for a Taiwanese cable TV company. When the writer meets him he is overly excited and the reason for this is the crisis between China and Taiwan. The crisis has put Taiwan in the spotlight and Leijonhufvud writes that Wei-Hsin is using the opportunity to make money by acting as a "fixer" for foreign journalists. According to the writer, this is due to Wei-Hsin's constant occupation with business opportunities. Wei-Hsin sees "dollar signs in every situation" which, the writer continues, is a spirit that "seeps through the whole island". This idea of a culture in which every individual, as well as society as a whole, is fixated on money is recurrent in *RES*, and it is central to the construction of a new relation between Asia and the West.

In her 2001 dissertation on the myths of globalization in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Tokyo, Tsung-Yi Michelle Huang emphasizes how the Asian global metropolis is a conscious construction brought about by the governing elite in order to attract global capital. According to Huang, due to the reorganization of space that follows the arrival of global capital in these cities, ordinary citizens have been forced to move away from the city centres, into the cramped housing of the suburbs. Huang claims that the workings of global capital destabilize and restrict the life space of ordinary citizens, thus colliding with the myth of globalization and its promise of vast vistas of open space and unrestricted mobility. It also collides with two central myths in *RES*, the idea of the capitalist fervour of the average citizen as the driving force behind the growing metropolis and the idea of Asian capitalism as something wild and organic.

The idea that global capitalism in Asia is fuelled by money-crazed citizens who, in their wild chase for business success, display a complete lack of nostalgia hides the struggle over space between the average citizens and the governing elite within Asian societies. But it also hides the complicity of the travel writers in the reorganization of space. The destruction of age-old housing in the city centres of the Asian metropolises and the construction of skyscrapers do not only cater to the needs of international business travellers, but also to the needs of tourists. The writers are thus in fact lamenting a process that is in part carried out for their own benefit. While insisting on representing the Asian construction boom as anarchistic and haphazard, the writers of *RES* hide the fact that this development is the consequence of a highly conscious effort on the part of

the governing elite, in countries such as Japan and China, to launch their cities as global metropolises.

Differences and Similarities

The construction of the Asian metropolis as the global place *par excellence* creates a few ambivalences and contradictions that the writers are faced with. Through their economic success and changes in lifestyle, Asian countries are seen as having become equal to the West. Asia thus comes closer to the writers' own culture. However, there is also a need to keep a distance, to gape and be seduced, but at the same time to criticize and reconfirm that Asia is still different. The dichotomy of a liberal West that places the individual first and a traditional East in which the collective is everything, between the dynamism of the market and the stagnation of traditional life, and between original and copy, must be both revised and defended at the same time.

One way to make a distinction between East and West is to use the idea of fanaticism, which is prevalent in the texts about Asian capitalism and the building boom mentioned above. This idea also contains the image of the fanatical worker. In an article from 2008, Jörgen Ulvsgärd writes about destinations just outside Tokyo. The first part of the article is set in Tokyo, and Ulvsgärd describes the hectic life of the Japanese office worker. In the Shinjuku subway station he encounters "the very symbol of the hurried modern man". He also writes about workers who have to sleep in the office because their suburban homes are hours away. Ulvsgärd says that the destinations presented in the article are visited by the Japanese themselves; it is where they go to relax from their jobs and from the stress of Tokyo. At a hotel in Hakone, he talks to the hotel owner who says that "the Japanese who come here to take a break do so just so that they can work even harder". The overall impression conveyed through the text is that Japan is similar to the West, only a little bit worse. The Japanese work hard and occasionally leave the city to relax, but they do so only in order to work even harder, while it is implied that a Westerner would relax just for the sake of relaxation. The reader can both identify with the busy lifestyle of the Japanese and be horrified about the extreme expressions it takes.

This play with similarities and differences is also prevalent in the texts that focus on consumption. The repeatedly expressed conclusion in these texts is that the Asians are better shoppers, and that this is the cause of European inferiority.

In his article about Tokyo from 1999, Johan Lindskog quotes a friend who says that "the American chains have difficulties in Japan. They can't keep up." His friend continues:

> young Japan gets tired fast and demands something new. McDonald's have a problem because they have a rigid concept on a market that demands constant change. [...] The giant has been forced down on its knees and they [McDonalds] have hired special chefs to cook up the most imaginative hamburgers, one after the other. Everything to satisfy the most demanding market in the world.

Hence, one of the most typical symbols of Western capitalism, McDonald's, has had to change their concept to cater for the Japanese market. Furthermore, it is Japanese consumers who have come to symbolize the constant craving for novelties that characterizes capitalist consumption. Likewise, in her article "Hello Tokyo", Johanna Swanberg writes that Tokyo fashion is one of the world's most shifting.

A similar expression of superiority can manifest itself through the spending power of Asian consumers. This is the theme in an article from the June issue of 2007. The text starts with the story of a Swedish couple on holiday in Kuala Lumpur who visit a Dior store to purchase a pair of shoes. However, they are unable to attract the attention of the shop attendants because a large group of Japanese tourists have entered the store at the same time. The Swedes describe their discomfort when they discover that they are considered second-rate customers because they are Europeans. The title of the article is "Europe – the sweatshop of luxury" ("Europa – lyxens sweatshop"), and the writer, Anders Rydell, claims that now European luxury goods are produced in Europe, but increasingly consumed in Asia. Due to the economic boom there is a growing market for luxury items in Asia, and the ultimate sign of wealth for the newly rich Asians is European products and brands such as Versace, Gucci and Dior.

The article expresses the idea that Asians are "beating us at our own game" in their consumption of luxury. The writer claims that "the Asians have raced past the old world and consume luxury at a rate that we can only dream of". Rydell also argues that Asians have a different taste in luxury, they are more attracted to "flamboyant and extravagant glamour" and the manufacturers follow their demands. Hence, for the writers in *RES*, the behaviour of the Asians, in relation to consumption as well as production, is similar to behaviour in the West, but also ever so slightly

extreme. However, this comment about the difference between European and Asian taste is a minor aspect of the text, where the main argument is that Asians are outdoing Europeans as consumers of luxury.

Not only are Asians better consumers of trends and fashion, they are also producers and arbiters of global trends. An article from the March issue of 2008 is entitled "Designed in China", obviously playing with the well-known label that reads Made in China, with its strong associations to mass produced and cheap products of low quality. The journalist encourages the traveller to "forget markets with fake goods, DVD vendors and cheap knickknacks. Come along on a tour of connoisseur shopping through the charming design district of Shanghai". According to the journalist, it is the fact that these goods are no longer characterized by being mass produced and cheap that marks the difference. The word "design" connotes originality, quality and exclusivity. The writer claims that in the design shops one should not try to haggle. Haggling will often be met by "a smile and a 'sorry, this is of top quality'" (Kvanta, 2008).

In sum, the new role as global metropolis that is given to Tokyo and other Asian cities evokes the need to redefine how Asia differs from Europe even where it might seem similar. Paradoxically, it is in roles in which, according to the writers in *RES*, the Asians have become most like Westerners – as consumers with a constant craving for novelties, trends and brands, and as stressed salary men – that they are also the most foreign. In their attempts to grapple with the differences and similarities between Asia and Europe/the West, the writers of *RES* can also use their Swedish nationality to emphasize a distance to Asia.

Swedish Writers in Global Places

In the construction of a cosmopolitan traveller, nationality is downplayed and supposedly emptied of meaning. In *RES*, nationality is rarely mentioned, but at the same time the home culture of the writers is of course always the implicit norm against which they measure the foreign. This home can be defined as Sweden, Europe or the West, and the identity of the writers can shift between being Swedish and being European or Western, depending on the context. The Swedish identity carries slightly different connotations than the broader European identity, and can be used to make the felt contrasts between the West and Asia clearer.

One text in which the nationality of the writer (and the readers) is mentioned explicitly is Agneta Engqvist's article about Hong Kong from 1994, titled "Countdown" ("Nedräkning"). While writing for *RES* in

the 1990s, Engqvist was also employed as a correspondent for *Dagens Industri* (*Today's Industry*). Despite the title of the article, the emphasis of the text is not put on the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong, but on the contrast between the rich and the poor. Hong Kong is, according to the writer, a city full of contradictions. Some of the high-rise buildings that are "shimmering in white and gold" make even Manhattan look dirty and old-fashioned, but they stand in contrast to the extremely dirty slums. However, the writer explains, few other than Swedes react strongly to this extreme polarization of rich and poor, "the Chinese themselves see the opportunities. The city is teeming with millionaires and billionaires." Even though Sweden is not mentioned more than in the previously cited quote, it continues to be present as a comparison when Engqvist goes on to write that in Hong Kong "there is no social security, but neither are there any significant taxes." Hong Kong becomes the opposite of the writer's country of origin, where the negative aspects of capitalism are supposedly cushioned by the political system and by the supposed solidarity felt by the inhabitants. The Chinese are instead impressed by "the three Ms: money, Mercedes and mobile phones." The moral aspects of the writer's arguments are obvious and Sweden's role as a land of social justice and equality is emphasized in comparison to the glaring inequality of Hong Kong.

This juxtaposition of Asian injustice and Swedish sentiments of equality can also regard gender roles. In his article about Tokyo from June 1999, Johan Lindskog exposes what he sees as the clear differences in gender equality through conversations between himself, his girlfriend and Yumiko, a young Japanese woman. Lindskog writes:

> Yumiko is confounded over the fact that a man knows how to use a vacuum cleaner. At first she thinks that Anika [the writer's girlfriend] is lying. But Anika tells her that I iron as well. And do the dishes. And the laundry. Yumiko looks at us with bewildered eyes. She can't believe it's true. Really? Then she looks at me. – But what about you? Your pride?

In Tokyo, there are also young women dressed up as little girls "but wearing the clothes of a prostitute." According to Lindskog, this "Lolita porn-style", which he finds deploring, is the dominant fashion trend in Japan.

In her 2005 dissertation *Imaginary America*, Amanda Lagerkvist studies Swedish images of the US from 1945 to 1963, and describes various versions of a specifically Swedish gaze in travel writing. One such gaze is the Linnean gaze, the gaze of the natural scientist who experiences the

foreign with distance and rationality. According to Lagerkvist, the Linnaean gaze constitutes a Swedish tradition of constructing an elevated and neutral position that stands outside the world (Lagerkvist, 2005: 105). This specific gaze is also a claim to innocence in that it is supposedly purely scientific and therefore lacks any imperial ambitions. For the Swedish Linnean gaze, this separation of imperialism and scientific pursuits is strengthened by the fact that Sweden was largely unsuccessful in colonizing the non-European world.

The perspective of the writers in *RES* is far from the scientific rationality associated with the Linnean gaze, but what they share with this gaze are the claims to innocence connected to a specific Swedish identity. In *RES*, the writers can withdraw from their Europeanness in order to claim a more innocent Swedish position when this is desired. Engqvist writes that Hong Kong is the city that proves Kipling wrong, East and West can meet but, she continues, she is sometimes "the target of Chinese coolness or peevishness", despite the fact that she "has nothing to do with the British manner of superiority" (Engkvist, 1994).

A similar position is claimed by Mårten Blomkvist in his article about Hong Kong, published in January/February 1997. Writing only a few months before the so-called British handover of Hong Kong to China, which took place on the 1 of July that year, this is naturally the theme of the article. Blomkvist jokingly interrogates into his own feelings about the demise of the British Empire, which implicitly represents European superiority in general. Blomkvist can take a European viewpoint and construct a European "we" in relation to the "them" of Hong Kong. He writes for example "In Europe we have a tendency to regard houses as being fairly stable. We think that it's a complex business to build them, contemplate it carefully before we get to it, and imagine that the result will stand for decennia to come". In Hong Kong, the writer explains, this is not the case. He is also writing from the perspective of a European in his constant evoking of the British Empire, one who is uncertain about whether or not he can express nostalgic sentiments about the era of colonialism. The colonial world that is rapidly disappearing is somehow familiar in contrast to the new global Hong Kong of booming capitalism and gleaming skyscrapers.

Simultaneously, he is not British and can therefore afford to effortlessly distance himself from the Empire when needed. Just as for Engqvist, the innocent nature of the Swedish gaze allows Blomkvist to withdraw from any problematic aspects of a European heritage of colonialism by emphasizing that this is more specifically a British heritage. Hence, the

nationality of the writers in *RES* is often used to mark a clearer distance to Asia than what can be done with a European identity.

What the writers of *RES* grapple with in their representation of Asian capitalism, consumer patterns and the construction of skyscrapers is of course not merely an image of Asia, but one that is infused with European/Swedish anxieties and desires. It is thus in equal measures an image of Europe and Sweden that is constructed. The growing importance of the concept of globalization makes it necessary to rework older definitions of the relation between Europe and Asia and to redefine a European/Swedish identity and place in the world.

To the mid-twentieth century travellers that Lagerkvist studies in her dissertation *Imaginary America*, the US was the undisputed symbol of modernity as well as of the future. America was also seen as a representative of both the positive and negative aspects of modernity. For the late twentieth and early twentyfirst century writers writing for *RES*, Asia has to some extent inherited this position as the feared and celebrated location of a utopian/dystopian future. Asia is invested with hopes and anxieties similar to those that the US was invested with in the twentieth century, while needless to say there are also crucial differences. Moving the location of the future from the West to the East gives rise to a fundamental ambivalence. Paradoxically enough, to the writers in *RES,* Asia as a central region of globalization is both almost identical to the West and utterly foreign, and this paradox evokes both fascination and dismay.

The new role of a few Asian metropolises on the world stage presents a specifically difficult task for a travel magazine such as *RES* in its attempt to map a globalized world. In the description of a new global Asia, there is a clash between older definitions of the East as traditional and timeless and newer conceptions of Asian mobility and change. There is also a shift in the perception of power relations between East and West that gives rise to a contradictory combination of fascination and dislike. The writers of *RES* are primarily positive about the economic success of the Asian metropolises, just as they are primarily positive about globalization as they perceive it. They indulge in the expressions of a global consumer culture, such as designer boutiques in Shanghai, while the consumption patterns of a new Asia are also threatening. In their way of shopping just as in their relation to work, the Asians are described as being both very similar to the Western writers and at the same time extreme in their demand for novelties and luxury items and in their pursuit of business opportunities.

In their depiction of the global metropolis, the writers (and photog-

raphers) of *RES* are also faced with the task of finding a balance between the global and the local, which is evident in the use of images that accompany articles about Asian metropolises. Most of the images contain a few signs that present the reader with something specific and exotic, but there are also a few examples of images that lack anything specific to the destination in question. In sum, the relation between the West and a new Asia is a pertinent aspect of globalization discourses as it is expressed in travel writing, because it highlights the balance that must be upheld between the homogenous and the exotic, and between the similarities and differences that characterize geographically as well as culturally defined regions.

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The Nation

Anders Wilhelm Åberg

Seacrow Island: Mediating Arcadian Space in the *Folkhem* Era and Beyond

in 1967, the year after I was born, my father built a small cottage at Rådmansö in Roslagen, the northern part of the Stockholm archipelago. This place has become the centre of my childhood memories. My early life, as I remember it, and an entire structure of feeling are defined by the experiences of travelling to the cottage by car on weekends from the outskirts of Stockholm where we lived, preparing the cottage for the season at Easter after a long winter with only the occasional visit, spending seemingly endless summer days there with my mother or grandparents, my father coming for the weekend and for the few weeks of summer vacation, later preparing the cottage for winter, the last weekends in autumn picking mushrooms, taking a farewell leap into the bitterly cold sea.

In a sense, these memories and experiences are not strictly personal and private. On the contrary, they are probably quite typical. Owning or long-term renting of a small cottage slowly became a viable option for people in the working and lower middle classes in the twentieth century, and increasingly from the mid- to late 1950s, through the 1960s. From a certain point of view, building the cottage in Roslagen – albeit in a fairly unfashionable part of it – can be construed as a strategic step in upward social mobility. Culturally, this move mimicked, on a small scale, the appropriation of the archipelago as leisure space, which was undertaken almost exclusively by the propertied classes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Pihl Atmer, 1987: 111–115). In economical terms it was an investment. Consequently, my parents sold the cottage in

1979 to facilitate the move from a rented apartment to a house in a well-to-do residential neighbourhood.

Alongside these socio-economic pressures and possibilities figures the culturally over-determined, as it were, choice of setting for leisure activities. The needs that building and vacationing in a cottage in the Stockholm archipelago responded to were in no way *sui generis* or mutely operating in the subconscious of, say, my own father. As Swedish ethnologist Orvar Löfgren consistently argues in *On Holiday* (1999), the ideal practices and spaces of vacation have been constructed and mediated for centuries, thereby contributing to the mindscapes of vacation that he envisions as essential to the vacation experience:

> Simultaneously moving in a physical terrain and in fantasylands or media-worlds, we create vacationscapes. Personal memories mix with collective images. The view down at the beach, the little cottage by the meadow, the sunset over the cliffs, these are sceneries constantly framed, packaged, and promoted, shaped by at least two centuries of tourist history (Löfgren, 1999: 2).

Mediating the Stockholm archipelago as a domestic Arcadian space has a long-standing tradition. Since the late nineteenth century, the Stockholm archipelago has been frequently featured in paintings, literature, popular songs and films, making it one of the regional Swedish landscapes that typify Sweden – other prominent landscapes in this context being, for example, Dalarna (Dalecarlia), Värmland and the landscapes surrounding lake Vättern (Björck, 1946: 38–69; Christensson, 2002: 12f and 62ff; Löfgren, 1993: 89–101). Arguably the most popular, widespread and influential mediation of the Stockholm archipelago – possibly rivalled by some of the songs by Evert Taube – are the TV series, feature films and books about Seacrow Island,[1] scripted and written by Astrid Lindgren. Their production and initial releases are virtually concurrent with the peak in democratization of the cottage culture in the 1960s, and they, I would argue, epitomize the mediation of the archipelago as Arcadian space, while they also feature ideal practices of vacation and leisure.

In the following, I will examine the construction of the ideal vacation in a domestic Arcadian space in the TV series and the films, as well as the reception and further circulation of this mediation.

The Seacrow Island Phenomenon

The Seacrow Island texts have occupied, and continue to occupy, a central position in Swedish popular culture. The inaugural release was the airing

of the 13-part TV series *Vi på Saltkråkan* (*The Children of Salty Crow*, Olle Hellbom, 1964) January through April 1964, each instalment running slightly less than 30 minutes. It was an immediate success with the audience. According to a survey conducted by Swedish Public Service Television (PUB 17/64), the episode "Midsommar på Saltkråkan" was viewed by 60 per cent of the entire population and received an approval rating of 95 per cent. It was also frequently alluded to and commented on in the press – at a time when TV series of this kind did not receive serious critical attention in the Swedish newspapers – in the form of celebrity journalism that treated the young actors as budding child stars and the instant darlings of the people. The series was followed by the release of the novel *Vi på Saltkråkan* (*Seacrow Island*, Astrid Lindgren, 1964). The success of the TV series brought about the production of four feature film sequels, and an additional theatrical version edited together from the TV series: *Tjorven, Båtsman och Moses* (*Tjorven, Båtman, and Moses* a.k.a. *The Little Girl, The Dog, and The Seal*, Olle Hellbom, 1964), *Tjorven och Skrållan* (*Tjorven and Skrållan*, Olle Hellbom, 1965), *Tjorven och Mysak* (*Tjorven and Mysak*, Olle Hellbom, 1966), *Skrållan, Ruskprick och Knorrhane* (*Skrållan, Ruskprick, and Knorrhane*, Olle Hellbom, 1967) and *Vi på Saltkråkan* (*The Children of Salty Crow*, Olle Hellbom and Olle Nordemar (editor of the theatrical version), 1968). The first four feature films of the series were all among the ten top grossing films of the decade. *Tjorven och Skrållan* was outgrossed only by another comedy set in the archipelago – *Att angöra en brygga* (*Docking the Boat*, Tage Danielsson, 1965) – and two films with sexploitation appeal: *Jag är nyfiken – gul* (*I Am Curious – Yellow*, Vilgot Sjöman, 1967) and *Ur kärlekens språk* (*Language of Love*, Torgny Wickman, 1969). The Seacrow Island franchise also includes picture books and, more recently, a Seacrow Island-scape at Astrid Lindgren's World theme park in Vimmerby.

The original TV series has been re-run on Swedish Public Service Television in 1967, 1970, 1973, 1986, 1991, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2008. The four feature films were edited and re-released as the twelwe-part TV series *Så här går det till på Saltkråkan* (*Life and Times at Seacrow Island*) in 1977. This series has been re-run in 1980, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2009. The newspapers have continued to print "Where-are-they-now" stories about the former child stars, at least into the 1990s. This sustained presence suggests not only that the Seacrow Island texts are modern, popular classics, but also that they have attained the status of TV rituals. They are a mediated part of the "experience of summer" in Sweden, much like the TV re-runs of *It's a Wonderful Life* (Frank Capra, 1946) have become a ritualistic part of the "experience of Christmas" in the US.

The basic plot of *Vi på Saltkråkan* concerns the vacationing Melkersson family, their arrival on Seacrow Island, their attempts to adapt to the way of life of the local islanders, their growing love for the island and the people inhabiting it, and finally their struggle to avoid being evicted from the house they are sub-letting when it goes on the market. They are able to buy the house when, *deus ex machina*, Melker, the father and an author by profession, obtains money from the unexpected sale of one of his books. This plot unfolds during one summer vacation, a short Christmas vacation and (part of) the next summer.

The principal characters are Pelle Melkersson (about 7 years old), his two older brothers Johan and Niklas, their 19-year-old sister – and stand-in mother – Malin, and their father Melker. Mrs. Melkersson is dead (she died during childbirth when Pelle was born, the book version reveals). The people of Seacrow Island include, first and foremost, Tjorven, a sturdy girl of Pelle's age, and her dog, a St. Bernard named Båtsman (which means boatswain). Tjorven has two older sisters, Teddy and Freddy, and a father and mother who run the island shop. There is also old man Söderman, a local, and his small granddaughter Stina, who is visiting for the summer.

The basic plot spans over several episodic sub-plots suitable for the TV format: Tjorven and Stina acting as old man Söderman's maids, the older children getting lost in the fog on a boat trip, Malin being courted by the tourist Krister at the midsummer festivities (but preferring in the long run, of course, the local school teacher Björn), the older children catching two thieves, Pelle getting a pet rabbit, and so on.

The feature films maintain this structure – indeed, they work quite well in the TV version *Så här går det till på Saltkråkan*. The TV series and the films are essentially multi-protagonist works, but over the years, the narrative focus tends to shift from Tjorven and Pelle to Malin's daughter Skrållan, as indicated by the film titles.

Seacrow Island as Arcadian Space

I derive the concept of Arcadian space from the poet and literary scholar Göran Printz-Påhlson, who develops it in his discussion of "the poetry of place" in the works of poets such as Seamus Heaney, Derek Walcott and John Matthias from the early 1970s onwards (1995: 63–86). Modern manifestations of Arcadian space, thus, belong to a pastoral tradition presenting the *genius loci* of rural environments. As noted by Raymond Williams, modern pastorals are part of an "escalator" of backward-looking idealization of the rural and negative representation of urban environ-

ments, which go back to the Greek poet Hesiod, standing at the beginning of Western culture, already looking back to a lost Golden Age (Williams, 1973/1975: 9–14). Printz-Påhlson makes the crucial point that Arcadian spaces tend to bind individual myths of childhood and origin – often in the form of cliché but emotionally saturated memories such as those presented at the opening of this text – together with collective myths of utopian or ideological significance (1995: 12f).

The Seacrow Island texts in no way *invented* the archipelago as a domestic Arcadian space. Famously, author August Strindberg took a satirical view of the somewhat backward way of life in the Stockholm archipelago in *Hemsöborna* (*The People of Hemsö*, 1887), which coincided with – and thematized – the growing interest of the propertied classes in the archipelago as a recreational space. The stories of the popular author, painter and cartoonist Albert Engström spread widely the comic stock character of the quirky and cunning islander – *The Rospigg* (alluding to the thorns of a rose and the vernacular name of the northern part of the archipelago, Roslagen).[2] The paintings of Axel Sjöberg, Albert Engström and, to some extent, Bruno Liljefors represented the landscapes and animal life of the region. Many poems and popular songs of Evert Taube excelled in specific – often explicitly geographically located – impressions from the Stockholm archipelago, of meadows rich with flowers in the morning dew, the salty winds, the sun setting over the bay etcetera. Taube has therefore been considered the Master of the Archipelago Waltz, a predominantly Swedish and Finnish genre (Matz, 1997: 36 and Brolinson, 2007: 35f). Taube frequently made reference to the pastoral genre and Arcadian myth, addressing, for example, the sweet girl Rosa as a Muse of Helicon in "Rosa på bal" ("Rosa at the ball", *Sjösalaboken*, 1942).[3] These are but a few central, often cited and widely known points of reference in the topicalization and mythification of the archipelago in Swedish art and popular culture.

In the cinema, as film scholar P.O. Qvist (1986) has demonstrated eloquently, a powerful trend of agrarian-romatic idealization of the rural is visible in the rural film genre, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, perhaps as a reaction against the intense modernization and urbanization of the post-war decades. One of the subgenres Qvist distinguishes is the Archipelago Film, featuring dramatic films, such as several remakes of *Hemsöborna* (1919, 1944, 1955 and 1966), but mainly consisting of comedies in the Albert Engström tradition (Qvist, 1986: 120f).

Finally, common to most expressions of this rural trend, and positively essential to depictions of the archipelago as Arcadian space, is the theme of summer. This may appear to be quite natural. Sweden is a cold and

dark place for most of the year. The short summer offers a blissful repose from the hardships of winter, which starts early in the autumn and ends late in spring. Unsurprisingly, appreciation of summer, memories of summers past, and longing for summers to come have been prominent for centuries in speculations about and constructions of the national characteristics of the Swedish people (Broberg, 1991: 671ff; Sundbärg, [1911] 1991: 759). Hence, all forms and genres of Swedish art overflow with lyrical renditions of summer.

The Seacrow Island texts work safely and effectively within these traditional and generic borders. Melker Melkersson's final words in the TV series, after obtaining the house on Seacrow Island, make explicit the legacy to the pastoral tradition, and are probably readable as Astrid Lindgren's *credo*:

> Yes, it's a dream all right. I get to keep it all. My children get to keep their summer dream, and live their summer life, the sweet, secret and wild. The life that Man can experience only when he is a child, and forgets when he grows up and no longer has the same right to Paradise.

This pastoral ideal, nostalgically highlighting Arcadian space as the space of childhood, is supported by a typically pastoral pattern of composition, consisting first and foremost of the structuring opposition between Arcadian space and its Other (the urban, complex, corrupt, inauthentic, etcetera) (cf. Halperin, 1983: 61–70 and Kylhammar, 1985: 21–25). This is humorously articulated when the locals make quips at city people and shake their heads at Melker's repeated, ineffectual attempts at anything practical. The basic plot, of course, concerns overcoming this opposition, the Melkerssons entering Paradise and becoming a part of it. At this point, at the end of the TV series, the opposition is sharply rearticulated. A man comes to buy the house. The Melkerssons risk eviction. The buyer is the fat and arrogant Karlberg, a company manager. He is the token capitalist, accompanied by his snotty daughter and her ridiculous dog (a *poodle*!). They don't even want the house, only the land on which to build a *bungalow*, which is marked in the dialogue as a distinctly alien element in this traditional milieu of red cottages and fishermen's homesteads. In this otherwise lighthearted story, the portrait of these outsiders borders on the hateful. This pivotal scene clearly depicts Arcadian space on Seacrow Island as national (vs. foreign) as well as traditional (vs. modern/capitalist).

Many have criticized Hellbom's adaptations of Astrid Lindgren's stories for being bland and overly idyllic (cf. Janson, 2007: 60–92). But in the Seacrow Island cycle, there is trouble in Paradise. Especially in *Tjor-*

ven, Båtsman och Moses, harrowing moments of death, guilt and loss dilute the sweetness of the summer dream. Pelle's beloved pet rabbit Jocke is brutally killed by a fox. Tjorven's dog Båtsman is wrongfully accused of the deed. Tjorven's father Nisse explains to his devastated, almost catatonic daughter that her dog must be put down, and takes Båtsman for a final walk in the forest, his gun on his back. Granted, all ends well, but it takes a prolonged last minute rescue sequence and a final moment of uncertainty – a gun is fired out of frame, by a hunter as it turns out – before we get to that point. Far from squaring with the near critical consensus that these films are simply too "nice", this preoccupation with existential extremes further embeds them in Arcadian myth, which incorporates threatening death and terminal loss via the Orpheus myth and the recurring motif of "Death in Arcadia" (cf. Printz-Påhlson, 1995: 16–28 and Panofsky, 1936/1982: 307ff).

Arguing along the lines of film scholar Martin Lefebvre, one may claim that the visual aesthetics of the Seacrow Island texts frequently transform setting into landscape (Lefebvre 2006: 28ff). That is, the spectator is invited to enjoy the spectacle of the landscape as such, in excess of its narrative function. Furthermore, the landscape of Seacrow Island is composed and presented in close adherence to a pictorial tradition rooted in Swedish provincial, national romantic painting from around the turn of the century, 1900, which has been widely disseminated and mediated in school books, picture post-cards, posters, pamphlets from the Swedish Tourist Society, tapestries, and, of course, the cinema. Thus, Seacrow Island is situated in what ethnologists have called the Swedish "national landscape" (Löfgren, 1993:89ff and Frykman, 1993:180ff). The represented surroundings connote values and historical conceptions of "Swedishness" in much the same way that representations of Monument Valley in westerns connote the spirit of the frontier and manifest destiny in the US. This transcendence of narrative function occurs in three principal types of compositions: 1. Low angle shots framing figures in close-up under a towering, blue sky; 2. Cutaways to close-ups of animals or plants; 3. Carefully composed representations of the surroundings on Seacrow Island. The landscapes in this recognizably national pictorial idiom are also clear examples of the trans-national category of the picturesque. They seem suited to satisfying a tourist gaze trained to appreciate conventionally beautiful views through hundreds of years of discourses of tourism, which have turned natural surroundings into picturesque sceneries. The representation of the Seacrow Island landscape has, in short, the qualities of a picture post-card from the Stockholm archipelago.



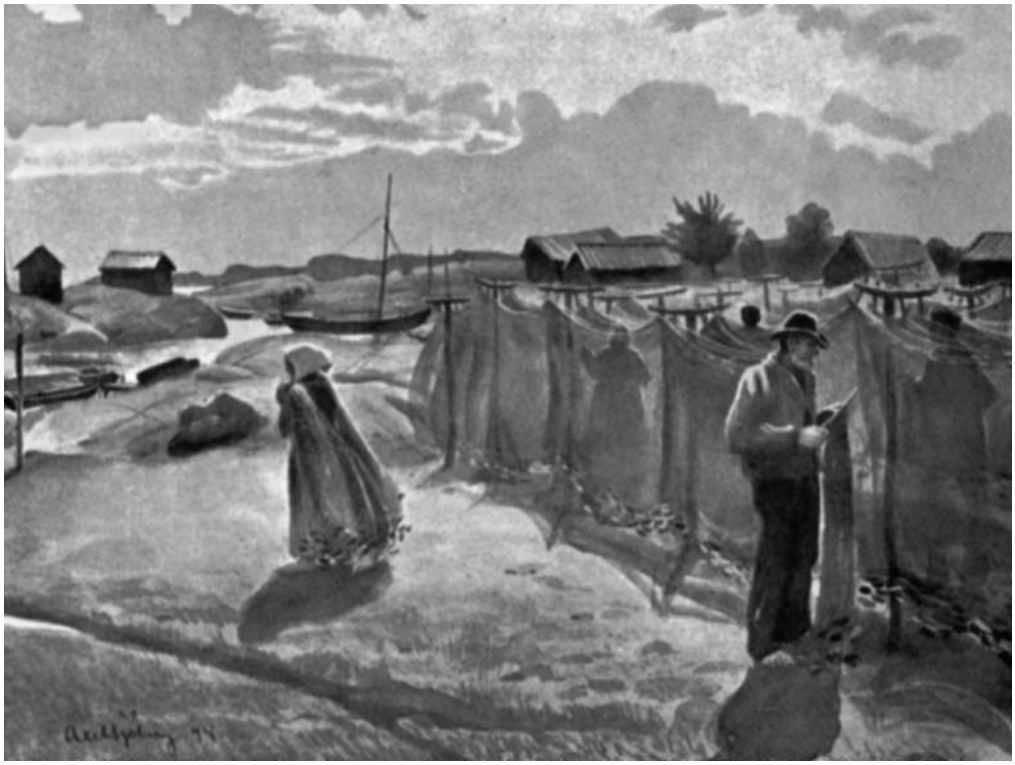
Low angle shot framing Tjorven under a towering blue sky in Tjorven, Båtsman och Moses.





Cutaways to animals and plants frequently exceed any obvious narrative function. They represent, rather, aspects of the wondrous Swedish nature. Excerpts from Tjorven, Båtsman och Moses and Tjorven och Skrållan.





A picturesque scenery in Tjorven, Båtsman och Moses displays a clear af¹nity with Swedish provincial painting from around the turn of the century 1□00. Here Axel Sjöbergs Gistning av °undrenät på Långviksskär (Drying the nets at Långviksskär, 18□8).

I would hypothesize that the visual attraction of this picturesque version of the national landscape goes a long way towards explaining the sustained success of the Seacrow Island texts. As media scholar Ingegerd Rydin has demonstrated, Swedish Public Service Television other big venture into family entertainment fiction in the early 1960s, the TV series *Villervalle i Söderhavet* (*Terry in the South Seas*, Torgny Anderberg, 1963), was considered a disappointment, and it has had very limited circulation after its first airing. This occurred despite the fact that *Villervalle i Söderhavet* is very similar to the Seacrow Island series in several respects (Rydin, 2000: 131f). It is narratively and structurally similar, telling the story of a family coming to an island, trying to adapt to the local way of life. It has a similar outlook on society, the family and children, and it even features quite remarkable similarities in the characterization of some of the protagonists and exploits the visual attraction of the distinctive, beautiful surroundings of the islands in question. The significant difference actually seems to be the respective settings of the two TV series, a "national" versus a "foreign" setting.

The Seacrow Island setting, then, is manifestly and centrally a setting for the family vacation. Workers' right to vacation was legislated in Sweden at the end of the 1930s. There were concerns that this would not, in fact, lead to the intended and ultimately productive recreation of the workforce, but instead to excessive drinking and loitering. Efforts were made, by the labour movement and employers alike, to foster ideals of a sufficiently active, recreative mode of vacation, including mild exercise, fresh air and possibly some development through education. One may speak of the formation of an ideology and pedagogy of vacation characteristic of the early *Folkhem* era (cf. Wicklin, 1997: 67). This was exploited by, and extended into, popular culture, not least in the form of films, often comedies, telling stories of vacation. Vacation films could in fact be distinguished as a prominent sub-genre of Swedish cinema, including some of the most widely seen and discussed films over the decades, from *Pensionat Paradiset* (*Paradise Inn*, Weyler Hildebrand, 1937) in the 1930s to the *Sällskapsresan* cycle (the *Package Tour* cycle, directed by Lasse Åberg) in the 1980s. These films make fun of – and therefore also negotiate, define and teach – the do's and don'ts of various forms of vacationing.

Historically, one of the predominant forms of vacationing came to be travelling to a vacation home – owned or rented – in the countryside, preferably by the southern east or west coast of Sweden (Löfgren, 1999: 122ff). Cottage communities expanded, while hotels and boarding houses emptied. By the 1970s, there were half a million vacation homes in a population of slightly more than eight million Swedes (Löfgren, 1999: 124).

This is a comparably high number, indicating that cottage culture engaged large parts of the population, and had spread across class borders to a certain degree. Though still restricted by economic opportunity, the summer cottage has definitely become one of the culturally dominant "fantasy spaces" of vacation, in Sweden as well as internationally:

> It is a utopia shaped by several kinds of longings. First of all it is the nostalgia for paradise lost, the idea of a golden age, when summer life was simple and affordable, and families took long vacations. Such longings feed on the many descriptions of "traditional" summer life of wonderful picnics, sailing, straw hats, and white linen dresses (Löfgren 1999: 149).

Seacrow Island has become *the* description (and fantasy) of cottage culture in Sweden. When it appeared, it charted the ethos and praxis of contemporary vacation life, pinpointing very precisely some of the central themes of contemporary, "real", cottage culture: the importance of longing, of comings and goings; the cult of simplicity, and the imperative of abstaining from modern conveniences; the cult of the cottage itself (its name, its history, its unchanging appearance); the imperative of becoming as local as possible (cf. Löfgren, 1999: 131–154).

As demonstrated above, this representation of contemporary vacation life in the early 1960s has a retrogressive thrust on almost every level, anchoring Seacrow Island in Arcadian myth, in childhood, ideologically in a pastoral and traditional (vs. modern) set of values and sentiments, formally in a dated pictorial idiom, both of the latter inflected along the lines of the discourses of nation and nationalism in the late ninteenth century.

"One of the Most Swedish Things We Have": Paradise Regained, Again and Again

Writing in the year 2000, columnist Anders Björkman launched an attack on *Vi på Saltkråkan* for being slow and artistically inept. He starts his iconoclasm by stating, correctly, that "Tjorven, Båtsman and uncle Melker belong to the rank of great personages in Swedish popular culture. Vi på Saltkråkan has the status of an unassailable work, considered one of the eternal re-runs" (Björkman, 2000). This attack is testimony to the fact that the Seacrow Island texts have a continuous reception history spanning more than four decades.[4] One of the dominant themes of this reception is the ongoing nationalization of the texts. In fact, the commentators immediately picked up on the nostalgia and "Swedishness" of the TV series and

films, and this became the principal way to frame other noticeable traits and characteristics. It became a reading strategy, as it were, common to those in favour of the TV series and films, and their adversaries.

The official opening of *Tjorven, Båtsman och Moses* took place at Sweden's most famous first run theatre, the Röda Kvarn in Stockholm. It was a grand, well-publicized gala opening. It coincided with, and was a part of, the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Barnens dag (Children's Day). King Gustaf VI Adolf was present and met the cast. He was reported, among other things, to have scratched Båtsman behind the ears. This reflected the less publicized, but often reported popularity and impact of the TV series earlier the same year. It also set the tone for the event, framing the film as something of national importance.

One of the leading critics at *Expressen*, poet and editor Lasse Bergström, was beside himself with enthusiasm, stating that the film was "the best family film in the world". He lyrically described his pleasure as an adult experiencing that "/. . ./the film's poetry and scents of summer light and archipelago reside in the passage between a wintry present and the land of childhood. Returning to this land in the company of Astrid Lindgren is blissful. It is no longer the memory of those long summers of sparkling sunlight. We are almost there" (Bergström, 1964). In a slightly cooler, albeit affirmative vein, his colleague at *Aftonbladet* noted that "We peak into a Rousseauan paradise that has preserved the entire set of values of innocence" (Schildt, 1964). The reviewer in *Dagens Nyheter* was more critical, and wrote about *Tjorven, Båtsman och Moses*: "The Swedish island in the archipelago is like a dream, and like in a dream, the sun always shines. One can't help but wonder whether there are more important dream worlds for children in 1964" (Holm, 1964). She is even harsher when treating *Tjorven och Skrållan* the following year, criticizing the "/. . ./idealization of a way of life that became unrealistic a long time ago". She concludes that the film deals with contemporary reality "elated to an idyll." (Holm, 1965). These comments suggest that Seacrow Island was essentially *never* thought of as anything other than a nostalgic utopia.

The national theme is ubiquitous. The reviewer at *Aftonbladet* chides *Tjorven och Skrållan* for its "blue and yellow sentimentality" (Börge, 1965). His colleague at *Upsala Nya Tidning* praises the cinematography of the same film for its perfect rendition of "the Swedish vacation paradise" (I.Å. 1965). The reviewer at *Svenska Dagbladet* amasses references to the issue of nationality in her comments on *Tjorven och Skrållan*, talking about Skrållan as "a folkhem idol", about Astrid Lindgren as a "national monument" and about Louise Edlind (playing Malin) as "propaganda for Sweden" (Jolan-

ta, 1965). The weekly *Idun/Veckojournalen* headlined their cover story on Kajsa Dandanell (playing Skrållan) in the summer of 1967: "Skrållan – the most Swedish summer girl in her third film". The review of *Skrållan, Ruskprick och Knorrhane* in the weekly *Vi* aptly states that the Swedish summer holiday has become one of the most conspicuous national stereotypes (along with the Swedish "sin"), picturing Swedes as "a kind of noble savages who prefer to enjoy Paradise in the archipelago" (Nordberg, 1967).

The continued publicity on the Seacrow Island texts may be analysed in three separate phases. The first runs throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. It is characterized by the relative proximity of the original airings and openings of the TV series and films. The focus is overwhelmingly on where-are-they-now stories, and of reminiscences of the great love recently lavished on them, how much "people" rejoice in seeing them again. There is a sense of taken-for-grantedness in the comments, only the odd remark on the issue of the continuing relevance of the Seacrow Island texts.

By the late 1970s, there is evidence of the political and cultural turn of the preceding period. *Så här går det till på Saltkråkan* is viewed as exotic, as standing out in stark contrast to the current output for children. A columnist in *Dagens Nyheter* wrote: "No. 'Seacrow Island' could never be recorded today as children's television. It shows no social problems in multi-storey building areas. It does not mirror how the closing of industry plants affects local communities, and it does not depict the conflicts experienced by children in a divorce" (Svedberg, 1977). Similarly, *Svenska Dagbladet* noted the anomaly of a "sweet and sunny, pretty funny story about kind people in a nice environment". There were: "No pointers, no progressive thoughts, no attempts to activate, no struggle against sex roles" (Wik-Thorsell, 1977). The columnists mean this as praise. However, all the familiar references to nation or "Swedishness" are conspicuously absent. I have found no pronounced political criticism of the Seacrow Island texts in the material surveyed from the late 1970s, but in the rather polarized political climate of the time, the quotes above could be perceived as dangerously and flippantly liberal or right-wing. Surely, many regarded *Så här går det till på Saltkråkan* as utterly reactionary.[5]

The sequence of re-runs continued into the 1980s and 1990s. In a where-are-they-now story from 1986, Maria Johansson (Tjorven) made the perspicacious remark that: "It seems as though the series is supposed to be part of the upbringing of Swedish children" (Lindström, 1986). On the occasion of the 1991 re-run, Swedish Public Service Television issued a publicity sheet to the press, launching the series as vintage television: "Astrid Lindgren's and Olle Hellbom's tale of summer vacation/. . ./has

become one of the most Swedish things we have." The newspapers took the bait, and in 1991 and 1993 (when the publicity sheet was re-issued), this characterization of the TV series was repeated in some of the articles covering the re-runs. Thereby, the metamorphosis from appealing children's television to an important part of the Swedish cultural heritage was completed and codified in the public discourse.

In this third phase of the reception of the Seacrow Island texts, the topics of nostalgia and nation are emphasized. In a fairly typical article from 1991, a journalist describes the twofold nostalgic appeal of *Vi på Saltkråkan*. She remarks that it is quite probable that everyone in the age range 30–35 years has seen the series. This, one might add, is bound to be an underestimation (or, rather, only part of the truth). Owing to the all-age appeal of the Seacrow Island texts, I would hazard to guess that, by 1991, a very significant share of the entire population had memories of watching at least some part(s) of them. The journalist moves on to reminiscences of watching the TV series as a child, together with the other kids and mothers in the neighbourhood, gathered in the home of the nearest owner of a TV set, drinking lemonade. Over these memories, she layers the memories of the representation of Seacrow Island: "Vi på Saltkråkan gave us the image of a true summer paradise. An idyllic image, to be sure. And at the same time completely irresistible!" (Valtonen, 1991: 8).

The blending of these idylls (the "real" and the represented) is indicative of a process whereby the original Arcadian space of Seacrow Island becomes part of Arcadian spaces in individual memories, and thereby an integral part of the collective memory of the space of childhood shared by generations of Swedes, and extendable into the future to the extent that the Seacrow Island texts retain their appeal and continue to be aired and screened.

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endnotes

1 In the English language material about the TV series and films, Seacrow Island (Saltkråkan) is often referred to using the more literal translation 'Salty Crow', and in the production sheets from Sveriges Television (Swedish Public Service Television) the English title of the original TV series is 'The Children of Salty Crow'. I have, however, chosen to use the name of the fictitious geographical location coined by Evelyn Ramsden in her translation of the book from 1968.

2 Staffan Björk (1946: 44) suggests that Strindberg's and Engström's work stimulated the growing interest in vacationing in the archipelago.

3 Taube's Arcadianism was fairly universal. He found Paradise in different parts of Sweden and the world. However, his archipelago waltzes with motifs from the Stockholm archipelago did in fact popularize the image of the Stockholm archipelago as a peculiarly Swedish Arcadia, as evidenced in: "Calle Schewens Vals", "Dansen på Sunnanö", "Sjösala vals" and "Vals i Furusund".

4 I have surveyed a comprehensive sample of reviews and articles published in the major newspapers in Stockholm (*Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Expressen*, *Aftonbladet*, *Stockholmtidningen*), as well as a small sample of reviews and articles from weeklies and local newspapers.

5 There is clear evidence that the Swedish political left criticized Astrid Lindgren's work generally in the 1970s for being reactionary or politically counterproductive, from a left-wing point of view.

Patrick Vonderau

Just Television: *Inga Lindström* and the Franchising of Culture

l e a ma t t son w a n t s to change her life. Having worked in Stockholm for years, the young physician plans to settle down in the countryside. In a response to one of Lea's ads, Johanna calls, a retiring doctor aiming to sell her well-established medical practice in the idyllic small town of Svenaholm. On her way to the appointment with Johanna, Lea almost collides with a pick-up steered by Mikael Lovand, the manager of a tree nursery. It is love at first sight. Lea continues on her way only to rescue another man named Per, who just met with an accident while jet skiing on Lake Mälaren. After having undergone some artificial breathing, Per falls in love with Lea. Coincidentally, he also turns out to be Mikael's little brother and the inept junior partner in the otherwise booming tree nursery business. Meanwhile, Lea has arrived in Svenaholm and made a deal with the still youthful Johanna who wants to change her life, too, by marrying the affluent widower Erik, who by just another coincidence turns out to be Mikael's and Per's father. It already looks as if both women just hit the jackpot, had it not been for an age-old family secret suddenly threatening to destroy all these dreams…

What first might appear to be almost a parody of the "melodramatic imagination" in its attempt to bring into the drama of a woman's existence the higher drama of moral forces (Brooks, 1991), in fact was one of the most successful German made-for-television movies of the past decade. *Das Geheimnis von Svenaholm* (*The Secret of Svenaholm*) attracted 7.35



Lea Mattson enjoys the Swedish country life: Julia Bremermann (right) in "Das Geheimnis von Svenaholm"

million viewers on its first transmission in January 2006 and still 5.95 million when it was aired again one year later. Moreover, it did not come alone, but formed part of an indefinite series consisting of 28 movies so far, drawing an average of 6 to 8.2 million returning viewers and a market share of up to 22 percent. *Inga Lindström*, as the programme series is called, is thus not only firmly established in its Sunday evening prime-time slot. The series is also highly successful in selling Sweden as a place of German longing and belonging. With German-speaking characters named Gudrun Moberg or Olof Sund strolling around fictitious places like Svenaholm, *Lindström* may even appear to be a colonialist fantasy to Swedish audiences – as a "magic carpet" provided by a televisual apparatus transforming German subjects virtually into "armchair conquistadores" (cf. Stam & Spence, 2006: 110). Taking a somewhat less polemic stance, the present essay proposes to analyse *Lindström* and the apparatus producing both the series and its consuming subjects in the context of franchise capitalism.

Franchising is about licensing; it is based on an arrangement in which the owner of a concept enters into a contract with an independent actor, or franchisee (Keane and Moran, 2008). The latter uses a specific model to sell goods or services under the former's trademark. Franchise capitalism, in turn, is ostensibly all about the recognition of sameness, as it globally reproduces and replicates Starbucks or Disneyworld as much as *American Idol*, *Survivor*, *Big Brother* or *Dancing with the Stars*. Now, *Inga Lindström* certainly has not been produced with the intention of transferring a TV programme format to foreign markets. It rather adapts to an international format that has long been available, that is the Sunday evening, prime-time television movie (cf. Perren, 2009). In the framework of this format, however, *Lindström* replicates cultural forms and formats of storytelling on two different levels. First, on the level of formatting, *Lindström* merely reproduces a successful formula of setting melodramatic love stories with established and younger German performers on foreign territory. In Germany, this formula was arguably established by author Rosamunde Pilcher, whose bestselling love stories have been adapted to and branded for public broadcasting since 1993. Apart from being an author name, i.e. the pseudonym of German author and screenwriter Christiane Sadlo, "Lindström" then designates a brand of public broadcasting exoticism just specific enough to be differentiated from programme series such as "Rosamunde Pilcher" or "Utta Danella". Sadlo had actually scripted televised adaptations of Pilcher's romances for Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF) before starting to work on the Lindström series in 2003, and the Pilcher formula of setting romance in Cornwall clearly paved the way for ZDF's engagement in the project. From the perspective of formatting, then, "Sweden" and "England" are interchangeable landscapes of desire. Second, *Lindström* also produces sameness on the level of transmedia storytelling, that is storytelling across multiple forms of media that creates a number of "entry points" through which consumers can become immersed in a story world (Jenkins, 2006). *Lindström* not only replicates design styles of, for instance, print advertising campaigns in its pastoral, idealizing references to Sweden, its diegesis also ties directly into the world of goods and services, merging media and consumption experiences. As a brand of public broadcasting entertainment, "Lindström" has in fact been explicitly exploited for regional place promotions in the Swedish province of Södermanland, where most of the Sadlo stories have been set. In the remainder of this essay, I will briefly study *Lindström*'s role in the franchising of culture by focussing on those two levels.

Branding Happiness

Over the past decades, German public broadcasting has certainly not been at the forefront of the international format trade. *Inga Lindström* is, in fact, rather symptomatic of the working of the partially privatized German television industry, which has long been known as the biggest European importer of formats. In Germany's "dual system", format development is carried out by private players rather than public ones. SevenOne International (the sales house of ProSiebenSat1), for instance, was reported to have brokered deals for about 60 percent of all international versions of German shows launched between 2006 and 2008 (Frapa Report, 2009). It comes as no surprise, then, that *Lindström* caters to a model of television entertainment deemed outdated in most other countries, the made-for-television movie. In order to understand the series' specificity, one first has to have a closer look at this format.

In the US, television's economic, cultural and institutional roles have shifted markedly from the classic network era into the present digital age. This shift has been closely observed by industry players worldwide, given Hollywood's high level of corporate integration and international reach (cf. Scott, 2005). One indicator of that change is precisely the made-for-television movie. With the networks' authority waning over recent years, broadcasters in the US have been focussing more on upscale, quality audiences and tent-pole programming, i.e. reality shows and edgier fictional content (Perren, 2009: 162–164). New fictional series have been testing the boundaries in terms of sex, violence, and language, thereby addressing an audience of younger viewers (and young professionals) who are highly desirable to advertisers. The made-for-television movie, on the other hand, has been viewed as unfit for coping with this development for a number of reasons: due to its targeting of less attractive demographies, the diminishing profit margins for the independent production companies involved, and the difficulties in recycling the movies on other platforms (Perren, 166). As a consequence, made-for-television movies as a genre have been associated with taste cultures that are out of touch with today's dynamic media environment. According to Alisa Perren, both the genre and its audience became marginalized as the formula of soft, reassuring, and indistinctive television entertainment increasingly wore off (Perren, 168).

While made-for-television movies have all but disappeared from the US networks since 2005, they allegedly saw an upswing in German public broadcasting when *Lindström* appeared at about the same time. So how does this particular series of German made-for-television movies relate to

international trends in format development? One obvious answer to this question would be to point to the Swedish television market, which despite its similarities in terms of institutional history would no longer valorize *Lindström*'s romantic escapism as a form of "quality television". While Swedish television's institutional "audience image" (Gans, 1957) depicts viewers as having similar interests in the tent poles of live programming and the experience of participation associated with formats such as *Idol* or *Survivor*, conclusions drawn in production and programming differ markedly between Sweden and Germany. *Lindström* here becomes a case in point, as the series' implicit audience collides with Swedish viewers' assumed demands for credibility in terms of genre and original language.[1] In its specific realization of the made-for-television movie, then, *Lindström* indeed reflects not only a distinctive taste culture hardly acceptable in the very country it diegetically refers to, but the programme series also primarily reflects the present state of the German "televisual apparatus".

Since 2003, *Inga Lindström* has been produced by Roland Mühlfellner for Bavaria Fernsehproduktion, which oversees all of Bavaria's Munich-based TV production activities. Bavaria Fernsehproduktion is one of the many TV companies of the Bavaria Film entertainment group. Over the course of six years, no vital changes have been made to the original Sadlo formula, apart from a small, probably passing experiment with comedic subplots in one of the 2009 episodes. Each year, five 90-minute movies are turned out, with a TV release in winter, spring or autumn guaranteeing interest in the attractions allegedly offered by the Swedish summer (cf. Levinson and Link, 1983: 74–76). In terms of production values, Lindström regularly employs veteran TV performers such as Karin Dor or Reiner Schöne side by side with "blonde, pretty Sweden girls [Schwedenmädels] from Germany", among them "shooting stars" like Julia Bremermann or Bettina Zimmermann.[2] Most of the shooting has taken place in Sweden, and the use of sets at the "original location"[sic] in the Sörmland region around Mariefred and Nyköping has not only proven to save costs, but also largely contributed to the intended "authentic" movie look and feel of the series.[3] Yet the choice of the movie format and the constancy of its formal realization cannot be attributed to quota or Bavaria's production strategies alone. It rather reflects the institutional conditions of TV production in Germany. For *Lindström* has been commissioned as a programme series by ZDF, with line producer Alexander Ollig and programme director Claus Beling being in charge. Production decisions firmly rest on ZDF, which in 2007 even took over 50 per cent of Bavaria Fernsehproduktion. The latter's parent company Bavaria Film

is already owned by fellow public broadcaster ARD, and the annual revenue of the Fernsehproduktion unit with its 75 million euros (about 3 per cent of the total German TV market) grants additional benefits to public broadcasters in Germany's dual system. With a combined annual budget of some $7 billion Euros, and through companies like Bavaria or Studio Hamburg, ARD and ZDF outweigh commercial rivals (Meza, 2007).

The consistency of the *Lindström* formula, then, relies not least on anti-competitive moves and a fee financing system that allows German public broadcasters to sidestep the risks of independent commercial production. In this view, the *Lindström* made-for-television movies are indicative of a risk-averse production environment and the mutual interdependence of market structure and innovation in television industries (e.g., DiMaggio, 1977; Miller and Shamsie, 1999). Certainly, the Sunday evening prime-time formula has recently been slightly rejuvenated to the effect of introducing "modern romance" to the already available portfolio of *Lindström*, *Utta Danella*, *Das Traumschiff*, or *Kreuzfahrt ins Glück*. Yet this "modernization" just resulted in adaptations of more kitsch queens such as Dora Heldt, Katie Fforde or Joanna Trollope, in some extra "fresh talent" and more "most fascinating places", among them South Africa and Long Island. As Birte Dronsek, responsible editorial manager, sums up the "face-place-romance" formula: "The ZDF Sunday evening movie carves out an alternative space to which one eagerly returns in order to feel happy."[4] To understand that particular brand of "happiness" and the *sense of place* it pretends to build on, one needs to take a closer look at *Lindström* itself.

All of *Inga Lindström*'s 28 episodes so far resemble each other quite closely. As made-for-television movies, they offer suitable viewing for the whole family, B-level stars, and a predictable storyline without cognitive or emotional challenges. There are no narrative arcs across episodes or even seasons, as every episode sets a new story with different characters in that same diegetic universe called Sweden (cf. Mittel, 2006). In marked contrast to the current hype surrounding niche-targeted, prime-time drama serials produced by US cable broadcasters, *Lindström* appears to be "just television" (Perren, 2009: 168): too indistinctive to be long remembered and very easy to understand and follow. The narration eludes any form of reflexivity and conceals narrative discourse in order to focus the viewer's attention on the storyworld, or more precisely: character relationships. The "multiplicity principle" allows for the minimization of expository information by drawing from a large repository of melodramatic stock situations and characters (Thorburn, 1976). With story premises often getting involuntarily close to parody – a woman unex-

pectedly inherits a light house in *Die Frau am Leuchtturm* (*The Woman at the Light House*, 2004), for instance – the dramaturgy employs a set of a few returning devices. As in the example mentioned at the very beginning of the essay, conflict is mostly from the result of past, unresolved incidents and only revealed partly, later to be resolved by the female protagonist in the context of a present life-changing situation. Conflict thus only serves to delay an expected positive outcome, which regularly brings closure to two intertwined plot lines, one involving a good man, the other the good (or even better) life. Stories unfold slowly as part of a classic dramatic structure and against the background of conventional oppositions such as town vs. city or father vs. son/mother vs. daughter, while the storyworld is kept small enough to motivate chance encounters at any time without the loss of narrative probability, consistent with the needs of television's narrative economy.

Thus firmly set within the conventions of TV melodrama, *Inga Lindström* nevertheless modifies this programme type through its understanding of viewer psychology. It is precisely the series' take on its audience that allows us to explain the functionality of Sweden as a convenient backdrop. *Lindström* aims at appealing to viewers in search of Sunday evening "happiness", and this directly reflects back to the series' appropriation of melodramatic conventions. For melodrama has traditionally connoted, in Peter Brooks' terms, "extreme states of being, situations, actions; overt villainy, persecution of the good, and final reward of virtue; inflated and extravagant expression; dark plottings, suspense, breathtaking peripety" (Brooks, 1991: 58) – none of which form part of the *Lindström* experience. The latter omits strong emotionalism and overtly moral polarization by situating the story precisely in a territory unlike the harsh worlds of conventional melodrama. As scriptwriter Julia Neumann explains, writing *Lindström* episodes is done without a "format bible" or a pre-defined storyline, but rather requires rule of thumb knowledge of what she calls a "dramaturgy of reassurance" ("Beschwichtigungsdramaturgie").[5] In this context, Sweden stands for a world not of heightened emotional intensity, in which both physical and moral strength are constantly tested, but rather a world in which moral virtues are permanently confirmed. If the melodrama in general is all about the socialization of the deeply personal, then Sweden's intended psychological function as narrative setting is to represent a social world in which the personal and the social always already overlap: The way one lives in the ordinary world and the moral drama implicated by and through one's existence become identical. Consequently, *Lindström* shows social types that offer subject positions for working through a consensus of gen-

dered acceptable behaviour.[6] Fictional reference to "Sweden" is, thus, part and parcel of the series' basic affect management, although fiction is by no means the only source this reference is taken from. The *Lindström* version of Sweden even openly collides with the country's presence in another highly popular, but by far darker format of German television entertainment, *Mankells Wallander* (from 2006). Instead of treating *Lindström*'s setting as a way of representing Sweden, I would therefore suggest that we understand the "Swedishness" evoked by the series as signifying sensory pleasure as such. Over the past sixty years or so, German audiences have become familiar with Swedish people, lakes, forests, coastlines and summer cottages and learned to recognize them as pleasurable; for the target groups of *Lindström*, these images are expected to fulfil a "signal function", implying the promise that the story will be, in effect, sensuously pleasant and reassuring (cf. Ang, 1991: 476). Yet as indicated above, the repository from which such images are taken extends beyond the mere televisual (or even audiovisual); it comprises consumer goods like cars (Volvo) and furniture (Ikea), food, the services of the tourism industry, and even children's literature (Lindgren).[7] If *Lindström* aims at evoking pleasures of reassurance, then it clearly does so with regard to viewers as consumers.

This brings us to the second level of this argument, the level of transmedia storytelling. *Lindström* has in fact created multiple entry points for immersing consumers in its storyworld and vice versa. On the one hand, the series has been accompanied by a broad variety of merchandise, including books, CDs and DVDs. For instance, the ZDF merchandising division (ZDF Enterprises) has released four DVD box sets of the "Inga Lindström Collection" with a total of twelve episodes, a photo book (*Enchanting Sweden - On the Trail of Inga Lindström*, authored by ZDF's programme director Claus Beling),[8] a large number of *Lindström* novels and audio CDs with TV performers reading those novels.[9] On the other hand, viewers of *Lindström* also have been strategically immersed into Sweden's world of goods and services. As a brand, "Lindström" has been used for cross-promotions with the Swedish tourism industry, most notably Visit Sweden, Visit Nyköping, Sörmlands turismutveckling AB and eleven Södermanland municipalities joining forces under the umbrella organization "Inga Lindström Country".[10] Initiated by Josefa Höglin, coordinator of tourism at the municipality of Nyköping, this collaboration has been established in order to profit from movie-induced tourism, as reports indicated that ZDF's *Rosamunde Pilcher* was leading large numbers of German tourists to Scotland and Cornwall.[11] A variety of marketing approaches have subsequently been directed at potential German tourists, most notably a website entitled

"Inga Lindström auf den Spuren" ("Following Inga Lindström", ingalindstrom.se). This website mainly consists of a map listing towns and buildings that have been used as "original locations" in particular episodes, such as Mariefred, whose town hall served as a police station in *Auf den Spuren der Liebe* (*Following Love*, 2004). Apart from places that were used in the *Lindström* movies, the map also contains a number of less explicitly movie-related sights and tourist venues, among them Trosa Stadshotell or Taxinge Slott. That is, *Lindström* has been used as a reference demonstrating that Södermanland is indeed worth visiting, thus literally re-mapping this province as a more distinctive and ultimately "Swedish" region. Because Sörmland had not been regarded as a central region for tourism prior to the *Lindström* movies precisely owing to its unspecific landscape (Göthlin and Holmström, 2009), one might indeed speak of transmedia storytelling and the emergence of a new aesthetic that engages consumers in the production of experience (cf. Jenkins, 2006: 93ff).[12]

Making Culture

Franchise capitalism involves processes whereby cultural forms are reproduced and replicated, creating economic value and arguably also cultural likeness. In this sense, ZDF's investment in the made-for-television movie may be seen to contribute to the making over of everyday life globally. Not so much due to its reduction of countries to generic backdrops, but rather because of the strategic conjunction of fiction and tourism, the expected outcome of which lies exactly in a muddying of regional specificity – tourists exploring Sweden by "following Lindström" are expected to transpose the generic likeness of melodramatic fiction onto the experience of regions as different as Sörmland or Cornwall. According to cultural critics, this may lead to a "kind of diversity within a certain kind of homogeneity" (Mitchell, 2000: xvi). *Lindström* seems to support this view, as both the series' form and its adoption by the Swedish tourism industry are working towards making "culture" accessible. The process of making culture is the work of institutions such as television; it is here that the work of making culture is enacted and through which the work it accomplishes is performed (Bennett, 2007: 34). Thus, analysing the work of making culture means attending to processes of classification and ordering to which varied practices are subject and through which their "culturalness" is conferred on them. In Tony Bennett's view, culturalness "involves the production of specific relations between the objects and practices that are thus brought together" (Bennett). Under-

stood as a set of procedures, designs, management approaches, and services, the process of *franchising* culture then extends the work of culture to the degree that things, texts and humans are made economically valuable in the ways they operate on and in relation to each other through the *likeneness* that has been historically produced between them.

It certainly would be one-sided to describe the franchising of culture as a linear process whereby Otherness is devaluated or, on the contrary, sameness is experienced as simply reassuring (cf. Keane and Moran, 2008). What the *Lindström* case demonstrates, after all, are a number of contradictions and tensions indicative of the process of franchising culture. Both the series and the regionally induced movie tourism in Sörmland are based on easy accessibility in terms of price, intelligibility, and "culturalness". Thus, the accessibility of *Lindström* is mirrored in the easy access to the region, which is provided by Ryanair at Skavsta airport since April 2003. Ryanair's presence at Skavsta and the possibility of re-channelling existing tourist flows from the airport into the region were in fact the very starting point for the "Following Lindström" initiative (Göthlin and Holmström, 2009). Yet the process of engaging viewer-consumers in the creation of the *Lindström* experience also entailed entities hitherto understood to be incommensurable. How does *Lindström*'s social world of mild antagonisms and subdued passions match the pleasures expected by Ryanair's target demography, for example? How is the psychological and moral setting of *Lindström* to be translated into consumption decisions? And how does the *Lindström* audience's alleged interest in re-experiencing the same landscapes, stories and emotions over and over again relate to tourism's need for constantly promising new and distinctly different experiences? Both ZDF's *Lindström* and the Nyköping marketing plan refer to a viewer-consumer's *agencement*, preformating the space of consumer's choices in close interaction with them (Callon, 2008: 36). This space of "distributed calculation" (Callon), however, encompasses too many variables to be easily steered by any individual agent involved. The franchising of culture, then, will remain a more open process than the narrative order of *Lindström*'s melodrama implies.

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endnotes

1 Interview with Göran Danasten, programme director for SVT, 28 September 2009. *Lindström* has not been airing in Sweden regularly.
2 Press releases, Bavaria Film, *Produktionen der Bavaria für das ZDF* (2006, 2008).
3 Ibid.
4 Press release, *ZDF – Verzaubern erlaubt! Neue Reihen am Sonntag versprechen moderne Romantik*, 18 September 2009.
5 Interview with Julia Neumann, scriptwriter for the *Lindström* episode "Die Tochter des Admirals" (2009), 5 October 2009.
6 According to Neumann, this especially reflects on the conventional set-up of good and bad male characters.
7 For this, studying Bavaria's press releases is most instructive, see www.bavaria-film.de (10-10-09).
8 Claus Beling: *Bezauberndes Schweden – Auf den Spuren von Inga Lindström*. Cologne: Egmont, 2009. This book arguably "provides an in-depth look at the individual landscapes peculiar to each region in a way more commonly seen in travel guides. The author has photographed places that served as film locations for the German TV adaptations of Inga Lindström's novels, but other places not featured in the TV films can also be seen in the book" (publisher's description).
9 For more merchandise, search shop.zdf.de (10-10-09).
10 The collaboration included Nyköping, Oxelösund, Trosa, Flen, Strängnäs, Mariefred, Eskilstuna, Nynäshamn, Söderköping, Norrköping, Örebro and Arboga.
11 Cf. Olof Hedling's paper in this volume and the literature on "movie-induced tourism", e.g. Busby and Klug, 2001; Reijnders, 2009; Hudson and Ritchie, 2006.
12 Numbers of visitors are reported to have increased since 2007, bringing in ten per cent more hotel overnight stays, an increased number of day visitors and increased tax revenues.

Cecilia Mörner

Film in Falun – Falun on Film: The Construction of An Official Local Place Identity

in some current studies on geographical identities, local identity is theorized as something different from national or regional identity. While national and regional identities are regarded as constructed and available through mediation only, local identity is assumed to occur within the everyday life of a particular community (Aronsson, 2004: 133). Local identity is thus thought to be lived, rather than understood and experienced through various kinds of representations. Yet local identities may be more or less consciously constructed into representations as well, not least through visual media. Furthermore, even if that which is regarded as the local identity of a specific place is indeed part of the lives of some inhabitants, it is not likely to be shared by everyone living in the same geographical area.

The present article deals with the construction, through visual media and media events, of the official place identity of Falun – a Swedish town of approximately 35,000 inhabitants situated "in the heart of Sweden".[1] Falun will be used as a case study of how an official local place identity is constructed through films, public film screenings and exhibitions, and it will be argued that the construction rings true for some of the town's inhabitants, but remains incomprehensible or, at least, unattractive to others.

There are several constructors of Falun's official place identity. I will focus primarily on one of the most active ones – at least when using visual media as a means of construction is concerned – namely Dalarna's

Museum (Dalarnas Museum), the county museum. I will begin with a brief survey of some theoretical concepts that concern place identity and the ideology of place, and an equally brief presentation of my method. This will be followed by a presentation of Falun and the people who, so to speak, have licence to construct the town's official place identity, and a short account of the most current myths involved in the construction. I will then illustrate this construction by discussing a couple of local films, three DVDs produced by the museum and public film screenings as well as other activities at the museum.

Methodology

Today's sense of place identity – of that which the inhabitants of a particular location may be attached to – is said to be based on the history of place in combination with contemporary changes (McDowell, 1999: 97).[2] Like cultural heritage – i.e. the mediation of history and changes – local place identity corresponds to local needs (Aronsson, 2004: 209, Turtinen, 2000: 12). Local place identity is not, as some would maintain, necessarily based on shared language, appearance, habits, culture, personalities and so on, or on shared citizenship or the willingness to conform to certain laws and protect national borders (Österberg, 1998: 14–15), but rather on the more or less temporary needs to which globalization gives rise.

It goes without saying, however, that needs vary among inhabitants of a local place, as different things make sense to different people in different ways, depending on personal history, life style and so on. Virtually any geographical place is contested and bound by power relations that determine who is "in" and who is "out" (Massey, 1994: 5), and a particular official local place identity is not likely to please or even be recognized by all of the place's inhabitants. Rather, an official local place identity is constructed for the purpose of gaining or maintaining power over other potential place constructions, and to attract groups and individuals, such as new inhabitants and visitors, who do not yet recognize a particular place identity. Furthermore, while some constructors of place identity may be motivated by temporary needs, others, not least museums, are inclined to be more conservative, clinging to what is assumed to be a more "pure" and "appropriate" identity, and using history rather than contemporary changes as their major lodestar.[3]

Inhabitants' idea of their own space – the ways in which they construct it as a place and distinguish it from the rest of the world – is said to

be important to the understanding of a particular local identity (Jonsson, 1998: 31). Yet in order to ascertain an *official* local place identity, we have to look for the people who have the power not only to do the constructing, but also to make the construction visible and accessible to others. By studying authorized mediations of cultural heritage – such as those taking place at Dalarna's Museum – it is possible to reveal what representatives of early cultural studies would have called a place's *preferred* identity (in accordance with, for example, 'preferred meaning', Hall, 2003: 228), i.e. an identity that is communicated at a hegemonic level and is promoted as the correct one, regardless of whether or not it corresponds to the sense of identity shared by the majority of inhabitants.

In what follows, I will focus on what film scholar Peter Billingham calls *the geo-ideological inscriptions* of the objects of study. Billingham uses the geo-ideological – a concept similar to Michel Foucault's heterotopia – to highlight the dialectic of literal notions of place, on the one hand, and the ideological markings of these places, on the other hand, i.e. the more or less intended connection of places to certain ideas and symbolic values (Billingham, 2000: 4–5). The method was designed to be used in ideological interpretations of cities in television dramas such as "Cops", "Tales of the City" and "Queer as Folk", but the focus on geo-ideological inscriptions seems to be appropriate for other kinds of visual representations as well, such as in the present case, for representations that have been selected and produced to construct and maintain a certain interpretation of that very place.

In order to illuminate the construction of the official place identity of Falun, I will point out and analyse the geo-ideological inscriptions in a drama documentary about seventeenth century Falun, a documentary which deals with the last miners in Falun in the 1990s and three DVDs containing films, slide shows and, in one case, a quiz about the town. Last but not least, I will comment on the official place identity communicated at four public film screenings at Dalarna's Museum, two of which took place in 2007 and two in 2008, as well as some other observations of geo-ideological inscriptions of the town. Thus, I will analyse both visual media and media events. The geo-ideological inscriptions will be related, in turn, to the myths of two other geographical areas: Dalarna and Bergslagen. Whereas Billingham focuses directly on the geo-ideological inscriptions of particular locations, I will expose two different "layers" of geo-ideological inscriptions of one and the same place, arguing that the inscriptions of the two larger territories are re-used in the geo-ideological inscriptions of the town.

Falun

Falun is the political, administrative and educational centre of Dalarna, one of the 21 counties in Sweden. Among other things, the city is home to the county governor and the greater part of Dalarna University College (Högskolan Dalarna). In many respects, it is a typical Swedish bourgeoisie town (especially in comparison to its "red" neighbour, the town of Borlänge, with its conspicuously large steelworks and paper mill). In addition, Falun is the host of the annual Swedish Ski Games and the hometown of "The Battle", an international snowboarding competition, which mark it as a place for sports.

This is of only minor interest to Dalarna's Museum and other constructors of Falun's official place identity, however. The local tourism authority – Visit Falun – mentions the town's sports facilities on its website, but what really seems to count in the overall hegemonic construction are rather the city's history and its location in two different, partly competing regions: Dalarna and Bergslagen. The emphasis on Falun's historical significance is connected with the fact that Falun was declared a World Heritage Site in 2001 by UNESCO for the town's well-preserved mining area. A special council – the World Heritage Council – was founded in Falun in 2002. Along with representatives from Dalarna's Museum and Visit Falun, the council includes representatives from the Stora Kopparberget Foundation (Stiftelsen Stora Kopparberget) – the foundation that owns and runs the now defunct Falun Mine, as well as related properties – the local government administration in Falun (Kulturförvaltningen), Falun World Heritage Association (Världsarvet Faluns Vänförening), and others. In co-operation with the Association for Liberal Education in Falun (Humanistiska föreningen i Falun) and the local library, among others, the council strives to market Falun as a historically vital town that is worth a visit for anyone who cares about the past, and to keep it on UNESCOs prestigious list of world heritage sites. This ambition affects the construction of place identity: Falun is presented above all else as *old* (Mörner, 2008: 360).

The Myths of Dalarna and Bergslagen

While I argue that the official place identity of Falun is founded on history rather than contemporary changes, I assume that its construction is based on myths as well as historical facts in order to correspond to a contemporary *idea* of local history (Isacson and Silvén, 1999: 7; Lowentahl, 1996: 3;

Nora, 2001: 365–389; Timothy and Boyd, 2002: 87). Both Dalarna and Bergslagen are used to construct an old-fashioned sense of Falun in visual media. Dalarna (literally "the valleys") has been an icon of Swedish folklore since the end of the nineteenth century, when wealthy people from Stockholm and other cities went north to enjoy the fresh air, the spectacular landscapes and the "authentic" life of peasants as well as the Sami people in the northwest part of the county.[4] This early example of national mass tourism has developed into a global phenomenon that takes place mainly northwest of Falun, around Lake Siljan, in the picturesque towns of Leksand, Mora, Orsa and Rättvik, and alongside the Dalälven river. Today's international tourists are primarily advised to visit these areas, where they are said to be able to experience genuine midsummer feasts, local handicraft and beautiful scenery (Discover Dalarna's website 30-09-09). Located about 50 kilometres east of Lake Siljan, Falun is a bit off the tourist track, but it can claim its share of the Dalecarlian folkloristic charm and cultural prominence thanks to artists Carl and Karin Larsson's (1853–1919; 1859–1928) so called folk-art home in the village of Sundborn outside the town – a destination that is also recommended on tourist websites.[5] As I will show, the construction of Falun's official place identity includes geo-ideological inscriptions of not only the Larsson family, but also other traces of typical Dalecarlian phenomena.

Bergslagen (literally "the mountains' laws") adds a different flavour and is used to an even greater extent. This region is not an administrative division, but is rather defined by the historical importance of mining and the metallurgic industry (mainly iron, copper, lead and silver) in an area that includes parts of five different counties: Dalarna, Gävleborg, Västmanland, Värmland and Örebro. The geo-ideological inscriptions in the visual representations and overall discourse of Falun do not have a great deal in common with the far-from-prosperous Bergslagen of today, however. Due to the closing of mines and smelteries, today's Bergslagen is struggling to construct a new place identity in an attempt to keep its inhabitants from moving away, to attract new ones and to develop the region as a tourist destination (Jakobsson, 2006: 17–42). Marketed as "mystic – popular – creative" (Bergslaget's website), today's Bergslagen does not yet have a clearly defined identity, and has therefore not developed the strong connotations needed for successful geo-ideological inscriptions. Nor is the idea of the "bruksanda" – a particular mentality that is supposed to have governed social and economic relationships within the mining industry, especially during the first half of the twentieth century[6] – used in the construction of Falun's place identity. Rather,

it is the Bergslagen of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that proves to be useful – a period that, according to the myths, belonged to strong, hardy and self-sacrificing miners, the "bergsmän" or "mountain men", i.e. the head miners who held shares in the mines and who supervised the miners' work, as well the handful of male geniuses who developed the mining industry.

As I will demonstrate, it is a combination of the warm and inviting myths of Dalarna, on the one hand, and the wild and "masculine" myths of Bergslagen, on the other, which gives rise to a contemporary official place identity for Falun through visual media and media events.

The Geo-Ideological Inscriptions of Falun

What is most striking about the geo-ideological inscriptions that construct the official place identity of Falun, then, is the combination of the gentle myths of Dalarna and the harsh myths of Bergslagen. Yet equally striking is the focus on *skills*.

Dalarna contributes to the construction of Falun's place identity by supplying a connection with art and artists. For example, the fact that Carl Larsson, perhaps the best-known and most popular of Swedish painters, spent winters in Falun with his family at the turn of the past century is used to the town's advantage. His paintings can be seen everywhere in shops, including the one at Dalarnas's Museum, on postcards, trays, placemats, etcetera. It should be noted that Dalarna's Museum is supposed to cover the county as a whole and that Carl Larsson's inclusion in the county museum does not necessarily connect him to Falun in particular. However, because Larsson lived in Falun it is only natural that he is used in the construction of the town's place identity. Another example is Einar Norelius (1900–1985), a notable illustrator of Swedish folklore stories as well as folklore stories from other countries. The DVD *Falukrönika III* (*Chronicle of Falun III*, 2008) contains a documentary about him. Norelius was born in Falun and spent most of his life in the city and the nearby village of Bjursås, so his appearance in the DVD is not surprising.

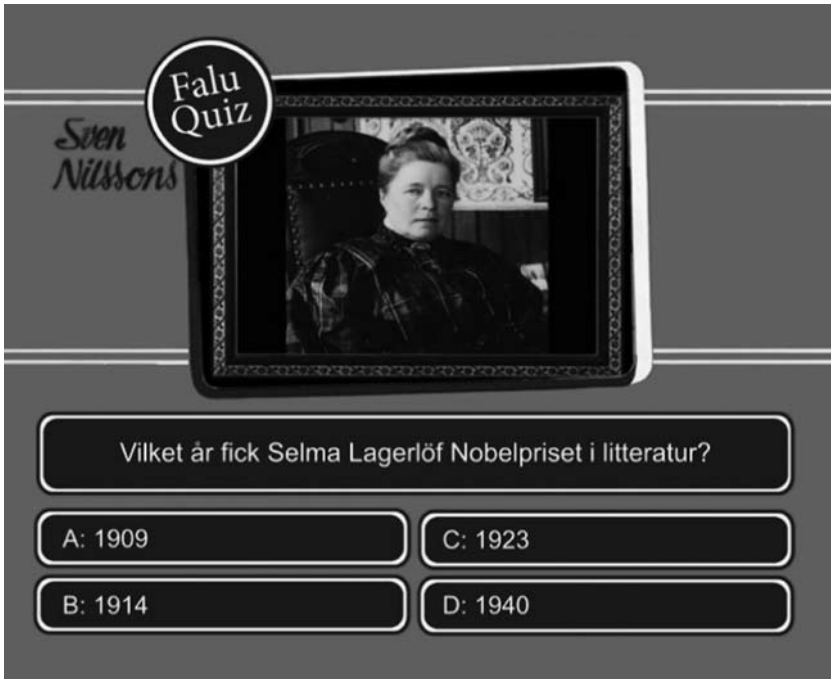
Perhaps more surprising is the fact that the 1909 Nobel Prize-winning author Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940) is used in the marketing of the city (Mörner, 2008: 360–361) as well as in the construction of the town's place identity. Lagerlöf is usually associated with the estate of Mårbacka in the county of Värmland, west of Dalarna, where she grew up and where she spent her final years. Yet, Dalarna's Museum goes to great lengths to convince us that Lagerlöf – who lived in Falun for several years – should be



Construction of Falun's place identity through art: Painting by Einar Norelius (1900–1985) shown in Falukrönika III (Chronicle of Falun, 2008).

associated with this town instead. For example, in a computer-generated imagery (CGI) section of the DVD *Falukrönika I* (*Chronicle of Falun I*, 2005), the curator of Dalarna's Museum argues in a voiceover that because Lagerlöf had her breakthrough as a novelist in Falun, and because this is where she spent her most productive years, Falun and the Dalecarlian nature must have been vital to her success (Mörner, 2008: 360–361).

Another example is an entire room at the museum that is devoted to an exhibit on Lagerlöf and contains a reconstruction of the study where she wrote such works as *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (*The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, 1906–07). The fact that the original study was located in her manor house in Falun is strongly emphasized and even mentioned in a brief presentation of the museum in English on its website. In addition, the museum's drama teacher occasionally plays the role of the famous writer, as, for example, on the hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Lagerlöf's birth in 2008. Furthermore, the very first question on the "Falun Quiz" in the DVD *Falukrönika II* (*Chronicle of Falun II*, 2007) is: "Vilket år fick Selma Lagerlöf nobelpriset i litteratur?" ("In what year did Selma Lagerlöf receive the Nobel Prize?", my translation).



"In what year did Selma Lagerlöf receive the Nobel Prize?": The "Falun Quiz" in Falukrönika II (Chronicle of Falun II, 2007).

Given that the subject of the DVD deals with Falun exclusively, the quiz clearly connects the celebrated author to the town.

Lagerlöf could be interpreted as, for example, a cosmopolitan traveller or a strong-headed libertine who had at least a couple of passionate lesbian love affairs, as is done in a dramatized mini series produced by Swedish Television Ltd (Sveriges Television AB) and entitled *Selma*, which was aired on television in 2008. Yet Dalarna's Museum has chosen to represent her in a way that fits into the overall idea of Dalarna as a place of folklore, local enthusiasm and innocence. She is presented as *the children's* Lagerlöf; a storytelling 'grandma' inspired by the fairy tales and myths of the region, who expresses a deep love of the local natural surroundings. She is depicted as perhaps somewhat mysterious and secretive, but also loving and kind. For example, according to the programme of the hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary celebration of Lagerlöf's birth on 23 November 2008, coffee was served with "Aunt Lagerlöf's shortbread" ("Kaffe och Tant Lagerlöfs mördegskakor"). The fact that the regional characteristics used to inscribe Lagerlöf in Falun via Dalarna fit

into the overall idea of many other regions – and that Lagerlöf's genius was originally explained by her affinity for Värmland (Nordlund, 2005: 41) – is concealed from us.

The wish to link Lagerlöf to the nature of Falun is apparent in the DVD *Falukrönika I*. In a section about the novelist's different homes in Falun, excerpts from some of her letters (she wrote daily to friends and relatives) are read by the museum's drama teacher in a voiceover. The passages selected give us the impression that the view from her window was of utmost importance to Lagerlöf and that she preferred to be outdoors, among the flowers in her garden. This view of Lagerlöf (or "Selma", as she is usually referred to in narratives about the city's significance to her) is repeated in a booklet about the novelist's years in Falun, which was published in 2008 by the Falun local government administration (Alexanderson, 2008). As a result, at the same time as Lagerlöf adds lustre to the town through her international success (Mörner, 2008: 360), she is paradoxically used as a Dalecarlian geo-ideological inscription in the representation of Falun.

Other geo-ideological inscriptions are combinations of Dalecarlian myths and the myths of Bergslagen. One example is a film, produced in 2003–2004 and shown and sold at the Mine Museum in Falun, entitled *Kopparbergets folk* (*People of the Copper Mountain*, Mats Carlborg and Ritha Eriksson, 2004), a 20 minute-long educational film intended to raise interest in the lives of miners in seventeeth century Falun. It was filmed using CGI with actors in a blue screen studio, and the sound track contains new music with an unmistakably Dalecarlian touch, composed and conducted by Hållbus Totte Mattsson, a well-established, contemporary multi-instrumentalist folk musician who lives in Falun. The film has no obvious story format, but consists of "snap-shots" of the miners' hard living conditions. This message is conveyed through monochromic images of a barren, smoky landscape, through rhythmical but melancholy music and through the ragged clothes and dirty, miserable faces of the actors: it is obvious that the lives of the miners and their families were anything but glamorous. The film suggests that these people where determined and tough. The characters address the viewers directly in Dalecarlian dialect, and in a contemptuous as well as boorish manner. A woman talks scornfully about the foreign gentlemen who administrate the mine, and a coughing and laughing man tells about a miner who could not find his way home in the smoke and ended up with the wrong woman, who, for her part, could not tell the difference between this man and her own husband because they were equally dirty.



"Strange people arrive here. They are gentlemen from foreign countries": Kopparbergets folk (People of the Copper Mountain, 2004).

Another male character, sitting in a dark inn, tells a story about a miner who beat a bailiff and was punished by having to run the gauntlet. The latter is expressed visually while the man continues speaking in a voiceover. All in all, the film creates an impression of a bunch of dirty, cursing and drinking miners. On the other hand, we are told by an anonymous voiceover that the miners did not allow themselves to curse or behave badly while working in the mine. This was primarily due to their belief in a supernatural female being who was supposed to rule the mine and was easily offended,[7] but also because it was important to be quiet in order to avoid caveins. We are also told that the work in the smelteries was complicated and took years to master. Thus, the miners are not represented solely as an obstinate mob, but also as a serious and skilled group of workers.

The latter aspect is repeated in *Porträtt av sju gruvarbetare i olja* (*Oil Portrait of Seven Miners,* Mats Bjurbom and Torbjörn Lindqvist, 2004) – a film that has been broadcast on Swedish Television once and shown repeatedly at film screenings in Falun, for example at the local library



"Be quiet!": Kopparbergets folk (People of the Copper Mountain, 2004).

during the documentary film festival Nitra on 7 November 2008. This film, which contains strong connotations to Bergslagen, tells the story of the creation of a portrait by painter Lisbeth Lind Boholm, which hangs in the Falun Mine Museum. The portrait was the film directors' idea. Eleven years after the mine had closed down, Mats Bjurholm and Torbjörn Lindqvist gathered seven former miners to capture a portrait of "the pride of the miners and their memories of the harsh job in constant darkness, which gives rise to a feeling of solidarity and comradeship that is rare above ground" (from the programme of a public screening of the film – my translation) at the same time as the same miners were immortalized by Lind Boholm. The film includes interviews with the miners in which they express their sense of emptiness and loss of meaningful employment following the closure of the mine. One of them is filmed on duty underground, thus further emphasizing the difficult and dangerous life as well as the skills of the miners.

The importance of the miners – and thus the identity of Bergslagen – has been further emphasized at some public screenings of older, local

documentaries at Dalarna's Museum. The films shown vary, but many of them depict different mining and smelting processes. One example is *En hytta och en smedja* (*A Smelting-House and a Smithy*), which was originally shot in 1918 by Bristol Wickström with some additional parts shot by Bristol Wickström and Gustav Boge in 1926–27, but which was re-edited in 1956 and provided with a new soundtrack by Dalarna's Museum and the local government administration in 2002. At a public screening on 18 March 2007, the film presenter repeatedly called attention to the skills of the workers in the films – a fact that was met with considerable approval by the audience.

The approval is noteworthy. There were approximately 40 people in attendance and the atmosphere was familiar: the presenter addressed members of the audience by their first names. Knowledge of different smelting techniques as well as of the various places outside Falun that are mentioned in the film seemed to be taken for granted. No one objected, and it seemed that the audience had previous knowledge of every detail shown in the film. It could be argued that the people who attended the screenings were interested in the smelting techniques and that the friendly discussion that took place between the presenter and the audience had nothing to do with the construction of Falun's place identity. Yet it is obvious that it is precisely the geo-ideological inscriptions that matter, and that the aim of showing and watching films is related to a strong wish to confirm and discuss Falun as an important site of hard work in mines and smelteries. Thus, it seems that this particular film screening contributed, either consciously or unconsciously, to the promotion of a particular image and characterization of the town.

Something similar has occurred during other public screenings at Dalarna's Museum. On 21 October 2007 and 8 November 2008, the DVDs *Falukrönika II* and *III* respectively were released. These films do not exemplify the myths of Bergslagen, but rather Dalecarlian myths. The routine before, during and after the screenings was similar to that at the screening of *A Smelting-House and a Smithy*. The audience enthusiastically discussed the importance of the DVDs, and most of them seemed to be familiar with their content even before having seen them. Furthermore, at a public screening arranged by the Association for Liberal Education in Falun on 9 December 2007, of some of the films included in a DVD packed with geo-ideological inscriptions of both Dalarna and Bergslagen, produced by Dalarna's Museum and entitled *Dalarapsodi (Rhapsody of Dalarna*, 2004), the president of the association praised the curator of the museum for his insistence on highlighting the history of Falun on film.

Once again, everyone in the audience agreed. Generally, there seems to be a strong desire for visible evidence of Falun as a mixed zone marked by the two regions.

On the other hand, there are examples of geo-ideological inscriptions that are not approved of at all. A rather stunning case is the screening of *Kibbutzen i Falun* (*The Kibbutz in Falun,* Torbjörn Allard, Mats Carlsson Lénart and Björn O Henriksson, 2008) – a film about a kibbutz that was founded in Falun in 1939 – on 9 November 2008 at the museum as part of the regional documentary film festival Nitra. A large part of the audience (unlike the film's producer, who was present at the screening) focused on the history of Falun – what it looked like in the late 1930s and early 1940s; who was living where and so on – rather than on the fates of the young Jewish children who found a temporary refuge in the town while fleeing the Holocaust. Thus, it seems that a narrative of refugees is a geo-ideological inscription that is not desirable.

The Subjects of Falun's Official Place Identity

In order to understand the preferences of the film screening audience and their affinity for visual media content that communicates the official place identity of Falun, we should consider the fact that it is more or less the same individuals who attend virtually all public screenings of local documentaries. Most of them are in their late 60s or older and the majority are men.[8] Most of them are members of the Association for Liberal Education in Falun or Falun World Heritage Association, or both. Thus, most of them have strong attachments to the constructors of the official local place identity, and all of them share the preferences of the constructors. One might say that they have been *formed* for several years to watch and perceive the town of Falun in the same way: as a place of historically essential value because of its close ties to the folklore of Dalarna and the mining skills of the men of Bergslagen. In other words, the DVDs and film screenings, along with other official visual representations of Falun, primarily address the initiated – those who interpret the geo-ideological inscriptions in a preferred way simply because they are allied with the constructors. This initiated group generally form a rather small – smaller than the about 20 per cent of inhabitants who are expected to be interested in culture and local history (Aronsson, 2004: 155) – but tight informal "expert panel", which has a tie of mutual dependence to the authorities. The constructors of Falun's official place identity serve the needs of this panel at the same time as the panel's approval is vital to

the constructors' on-going confirmation of the place identity through – among other things – visual media and media events.

This, in turn, suggests that the official place identity of Falun presented through visual media may only ring true for a few inhabitants – and that the town probably has many other, competing identities that do not have access to the public sphere, at least not to the same extent as the hegemonic identity does. There are many reasons to respect the efforts to promote Falun as a place of historical significance. The accumulated knowledge of local history found at institutions such as Dalarna's Museum is profound and indisputable. The county museum as well as the mine museum co-operate with the local schools in an effort to develop an interest in local history among children and youth. The local papers also contribute by publishing articles about Falun's history. For example, each issue of the weekly *Färgstarka Falun* (*Colourful Falun*) contains an article, written by a staff member of Dalarna's Museum, describing the history of a certain part of town, and the Falun World Heritage Association organizes an annual festival, "Falun Då" ("Falun in the Past"), which is intended to give the city's inhabitants and tourists alike an opportunity to experience the history of Falun.

Yet this is nonetheless a construction of an official local place identity that likely does not mean anything to most of the people living in Falun today.

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endnotes

1 The expression "in the heart of Sweden" is used in the marketing of several geographical realms. Falun and Dalarna are included in the "heart" which is situated west of Stockholm (Heart of Sweden's website), but also in a much larger "heart" that includes both Stockholm in the east and Gothenburg in the west (visit Sweden's website).

2 I use "place" as opposed to "space" (the three-dimensional aspect of experience), where place is as something that is constructed, contested and bound by scale. See for example Linda McDowell (1999) and John A. Agnew (1987). Agnew divides place into "location" (the actual, three-dimensional "where"), "locale" (where people are living) and "sense of place", which is the shared, experience-based emotional relations to certain places.

3 This difference is similar to the classical divide between preservation and exploitation in cultural heritage management. See, for example, Ho and McKercher, 2004 and Prideaux and Kininmont, 1999.

4 Long before that, Dalarna was regarded as a model for the whole nation, and the people of Dalarna as the carriers of the true Swedish national character. See for example Gustav Näsström's critical analyses of the construction of Dalarna from 1937 and a more recent article about Dalercarlian women in Swedish iconography by Ella Johansson, 2008.

5 Carl Larsson-gården – the home of Carl and Karin Larsson – became famous through Carl Larsson's illustrations of its interior, which were published in a book entitled *Ett hem* (*Our Home*) in 1988.

6 "Bruksandan" is a concept that was coined in the 1970s and that has been investigated, analysed and criticized over and over again, for example in several articles in *Bergslagsidentitet i förändring: En forskningsresa i tid och rum*, eds. Sune Berger, Mats Lundmark and Thord Strömberg.

7 The supernatural being is usually referred to as Gruvfrun – the Mine Lady – however not on this DVD.

8 The fact that most of the individuals who attend the public film screenings of historical films are men contradicts a general assumption that the average "cultural consumer" is a woman. See, for example, Aronsson, 2004: 153.

Åsa Jernudd

Cinema, Memory and Place-Related Identities: Remembering Cinema-Going in the Post-Industrial Town of Fagersta in Bergslagen

the present article is based on the conviction that cinema-goers have the potential to bring new knowledge to, comment on and nuance official historical records concerning discursive, social and experiential aspects of film viewing and cinema culture. Oral cinema memory tends to be anecdotal, temporally organized in fragments or flashes, yet this kind of narrative is insistent on situating the anecdotes and the stories spatially (Kuhn, 2002: 11, 17). Cinema memory is largely about local and social experience (cf. Pedersen, 2009; Huggett and Bowles, 2004; Kuhn, 2002; Huggett, 2002). The following text will concern how senior citizens talk about cinema and related memories and how, in the process of reminiscing, local and regional identity is constructed.[1]

The people I have interviewed have spent most of their adult lives in the small town of Fagersta in Bergslagen. As in other regions of Sweden and Europe dominated by a single industry, in this case steel production, its senior inhabitants have lived through periods during which the region's material and symbolic economy have changed in several phases. Bergslagen is today a post-industrial region situated in the middle of Sweden, which is in the course of restructuring its economy and regional identity by promoting experiences and symbols related to cultural heritage (Jakobsson, 2009). The interviewees in this project lived in Fagersta when the town's steel industry thrived, through the crisis in the 1970s as well as through the following adjustment to a new tourist-based economy.

The cinema is a polyvalent or multifunctional space – its heterogeneous spatial qualities are perhaps best captured in the concept "heterotopia" (Foucault, 1986; Hansen, 1991: 107). The cinema is also a public place where the social is played out in the routines of everyday life in a community (Sjöholm, 2003; Kuhn, 2002; Huggett, 2002), and as such always embedded within a larger set of ethnic, social, economic, technological and ideological conditions. It is also a space in which identities can be set in motion through reflections of self and through encounters with others (Appadurai, 1996: 33–36; Bailey, 2005: 42–44). The purpose of the present study is to explore how the three cinemas in Fagersta play with notions of self in relation to the local community and predominant images of regional identity in the memory narratives told by senior citizens in the town.

In Fagersta, the cinemas were run by local exponents of two of the three major, popular, voluntary, non-governmental movements in Sweden: the temperance movement and the labour movement (the third movement being the Free Churches). The majority of historical cinema exhibition in small town and rural Sweden probably took place under the auspices of the societies and lodges of these two movements, yet little is known about the cinemas' social function and significance.[2]

Exhibition thrived throughout the country, in urban as well as rural settings, up until the 1960s when attendance radically dropped due to the spread of television, the advance of a new, more family-oriented lifestyle, more diversified (teenage oriented) leisure activities, increased mobility, etcetera – a story in no way unique to Sweden (Furhammar, 1998: 249ff; Spigel, 2001). The concurrent crisis in the cinema exhibition sector hit the small town and rural areas especially hard, and continued into the 1990s (SFI Annual Report, 1991/92; Heurling, 1993: 21). In urban centres, the crisis could be met by replacing single screens with multiplexes and, as of late, with an increased concentration of ownership. Needless to say, cinemas in small towns and rural areas did not have these options. During the past decade, however, the exhibition sector seems to have stabilized, as measured by the relatively consistent number of screens in rural as well as urban settings (SFI, Annual Report. Facts and Figures 2008).

A total of fifteen Fagersta residents, six women and nine men, were interviewed for the study. The interviews were designed and performed as informal and open events, and they took place in the interviewees' homes, at Folkets Hus Bio and at Sveasalongen. An interview guide with roughly twenty questions was used as a starting point and reference during the interviews. Depending on the dialogic dynamics of the interview, the conversations could turn in unexpected directions and vary in length.

Some were conducted on a one-on-one basis, others were with both spouses present and in one case the interview was a family gathering of four with two (both elderly) generations represented.

Some methodological distinctions need to be made before the results can be presented and discussed. To begin with, it should be said that contradictions and misrecognitions often occur in memory texts. However, the concern here is not with historical truth; the present focus is on articulations of collective forms of topographically defined identity. All personal utterances are also expressions of social discourse, and in oral historian Alessandro Portelli's words, they are "made up of socially defined and shared discursive structures (motifs, formulas, genres)" (Portelli, 1997: 82). Film historian Jackie Stacey offers another way of looking at this by acknowledging that (re)constructions of the past are always created from the perspective of the present and "will have been shaped by popular versions of (the past) which have become cultural currency during the intervening years." (Stacey, 1994/2003: 63) As a consequence, memories commonly adhere to "publicly acceptable narrative structures and discourses" (Huggett, 2002: 219) and it is also important to acknowledge that they will also be a product of the expectations brought to the interview by both the interviewer and the interviewee (Portelli, 1991: 29–31 quoted in Huggett, 2002: 137).

Images of Bergslagen and the Construction of Local Identity

In a recent study on the image construction of "Bergslagen'", cultural geographer Max Jacobsson argues that, since the structural transformation beginning in the 1970s, three different but interlinked images predominate in research, policy and other documents related to the region's development. The images refer to "The Historical Bergslagen", "The Region in Crisis" and "The Region of Experience". "The Historical Bergslagen" is tied to the iron mining and steel production that has a long history in the area. "This image is strongly associated with the prosperity of the region, and with a working-class identity based on men's work," Jakobsson contends (Jakobsson, 2009: 154). It is a heroic history of man's triumph over nature and the labour involved in the mining and production of steel in the region.

"The Region in Crisis" is an image based on the closing of the industries in the region beginning in the 1970s, which led to high levels of unemployment and the depopulation of many towns. Regional develop-

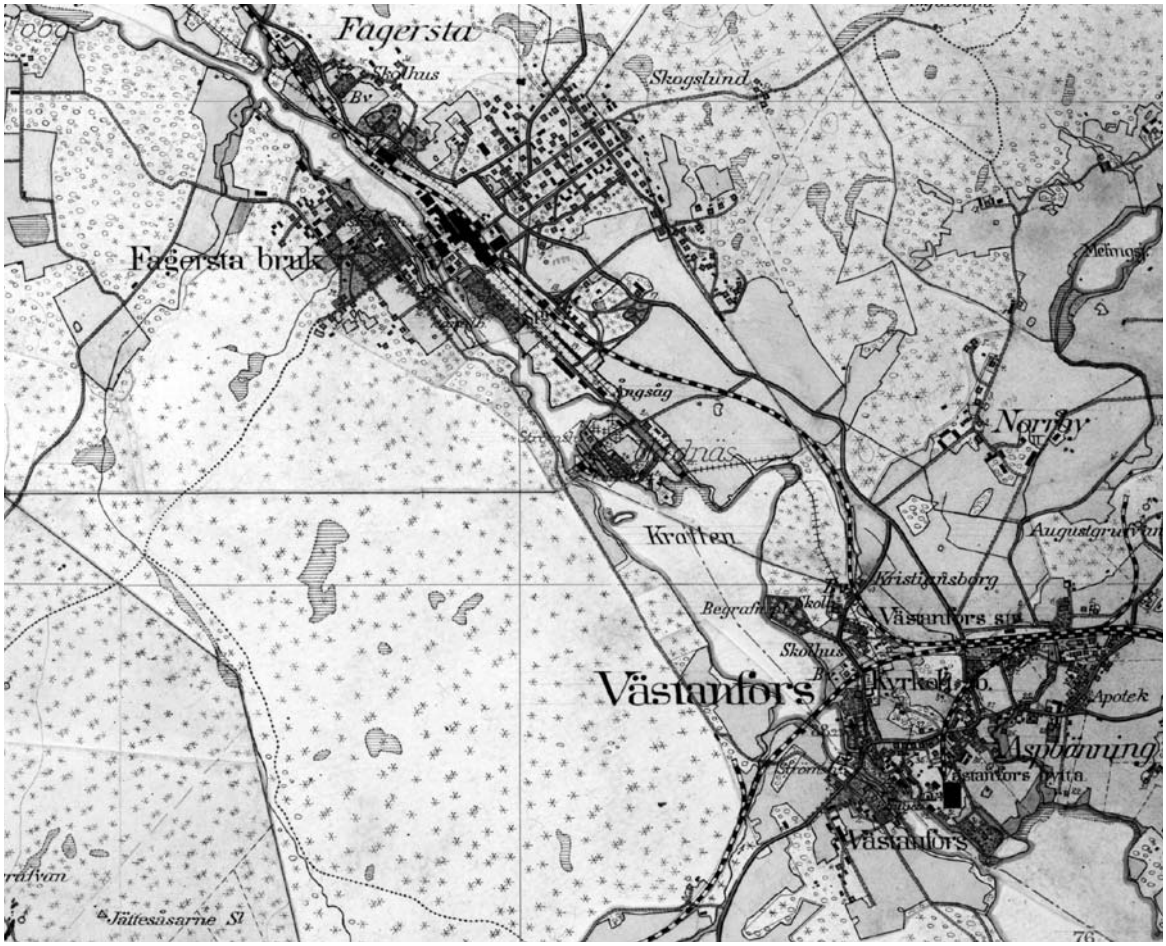
ment plans launched in the 1980s to overcome the crisis suggested promotion of the historical image as a key to reconstruction. There was, however, a problem with the plan. During the prosperous industrial period, a single company could dominate not only the economic, but also the social and cultural life of a town. Society was organized in a strict hierarchal order, centred on one company's undisputed power. According to regional development documents of the 1980s, a socio-culturally imposed mentality shaped by historical society in Bergslagen lingered and hampered progress and change. This particular mentality is referred to as "bruksanda" and is translated by Jakobsson into "single company town spirit". It was blamed for obstructing development by sustaining patriarchal structures, passivity as opposed to creativeness and a negative attitude towards formal education (Jakobsson, 2009: 154).

Since the 1990s, large-scale development programmes have been launched with the objective of creating a more positive regional identity based on commercial exploitation of Bergslagen's cultural heritage and nature areas. This new identity is taking form in conjunction with the expansion of tourism and the image of Bergslagen as "The Region of Experience". Jakobsson's empirical evidence of the new identity rests on the example from one town, Avesta, and his conclusions are not very clear when blown-up to regional scale, yet claims can be made that a transformation is going on involving an arrest in the crisis and an evolution towards a new, more diversified social structure and economy based on cultural heritage tourism.

Local identity is constructed in relation to community, place and the social. In the context of the present study, local identity is of importance to the memory narratives and is addressed in the discourse concerning the cinemas social and ideological superstructure, where the cinemas were located in the town, and in the relations between the cinemas.

Fagersta and Its Cinemas

Fagersta has existed as a town for only half a century. Going back several centuries, there have been three iron mills operating in the area, in Selma, Fagersta and Västanfors. Västanfors was an old parish, a community centre in the area. The operation in Fagersta expanded in the nineteenth century and overtook the two other mills. In 1873, The Fagersta Steel Company (Fagersta Bruks AB) was formed, and it soon became Sweden's largest iron mill. Fagersta Steel owned the land around its industry, built housing for the workers and encouraged workers to build their own homes on this land. The company community expanded, and by 1944



In 1911 Västanfors was a community centre which diminished in importance beginning in the mid-twentieth century with the expansion of Fagersta Bruks AB.

Västanfors and Fagersta together reached a population of 10,000. The two communities merged and were granted town privileges. Fagersta was the name granted to the new town. The community centre shifted from the old parish of Västanfors to the new industrial centre of Fagersta – thus marginalizing the old parish.

As mentioned earlier, three cinemas figure in the history of Fagersta. Two cinemas were run by different, local lodges of the temperance movement. Sveasalongen belonged to The Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) and Templarbion to Nationalgodtemplarordern (NTO), a

Christian branch of the movement (the two organizations merged into IOGT-NTO in 1970 and today belong to the International Organization of Good Templars). Despite their associational affinity, the two cinemas did not cooperate in any way. Besides screening films, the venues served as recreational centres for the members, offering a range of other activities. In the 1940s, a central organization was formed, *Våra Gårdar*, to support the temperance lodges throughout the nation with their activities and venues. Våra Gårdar centralized the distribution of film within the movement's cinema network (Lindberg, 1993).

Templarbion was situated near the modern centre of Fagersta. It started its cinema screenings sometime in the 1940s, and they came to an end around 1986. The cinema is rather anonymous in the memories recounted here.

Sveasalongen was situated in the centre of the old parish of Västanfors. According to the society's historical records, itinerant film exhibitors rented the IOGT venue in the early twentieth century for public, commercial screenings, and in 1910, when the lodge built a new venue, it was constructed to function as a cinema. In 1922, the local lodge started cinema exhibition and kept it going until 1986 or 1987. When the lodge commissioned a new building in 1992, cinema was not part of the architectural plan.

The third cinema belonged to the local People's Park and Community Centre and was situated near the community of Fagersta. The history of the People's Park and Community Centres is rooted in the emergence and expansion of the Labour Movement around the turn of the twentieth century. As the Labour Movement became more organized, the need for premises in which to gather became immanent. Throughout Sweden, community centres were built for political, recreational and educational purposes. Enclosed parks were also constructed to similar ends. Running a cinema was a way to attract people to the venues and, in the initial decades, an important source of income. Currently, around 500 cinemas are in operation within the National Federation of People's Parks and Community Centres. The organization is in the process of digitalizing the cinemas; around 50 community centres (and one temperance lodge) have installed digital equipment for exhibition. In Fagersta's heyday, the local People's Park and Community Centre included a restaurant, outdoor and indoor dance halls, indoor and outdoor theatres – and a cinema. The restaurant and indoor dance hall were sold off in the 1980s, as was part of the park. Film, however, has been screened regularly in Fagersta Folkets Hus Bio since 1911, and its cinema was still in operation at the time of the interviews.

Three Social Groups Interviewed

The interviewees are organized into three groups roughly corresponding to the three groups naturally formed through the different strategies used to approach the people for the study. The groups represent different ways of talking about their memories of cinema and cinema-going and reveal a variety of identities as well as ideological, social and cultural tensions within the local community. The first group was made up of teachers. The second group consisted of a handful of members of a local temperance lodge that had worked and lived at Sveasalongen. The third group joined former workers at the steel company.

The first group has a special relationship to film, as they have each produced a collection of amateur films that have been made public through deposition in a regional archive. They are teachers and men, born in the 1930s, and they had all worked in the Secondary Schools of Fagersta from the beginning of the 1960s through the 1990s. Two women, one a teacher in Primary School by profession and the other a pharmacist, partook in the interviews together with their husbands in this group. The interviews were co-conducted with a fellow researcher, Cecilia Mörner, who posed questions concerning their private film production. We had both seen the interviewees' amateur film collections prior to the interviews, which created a keen sense of familiarity and greatly eased the conversation flow.

The teachers disclosed an interest both in cinema and in narrating their memories of cinema-going. They recalled their life stories, which brought them to Fagersta in the early 1960s after which cinema-going was one activity among others in what was presented as a stimulating, local, social and cultural milieu with fellowships, associations and clubs, not least a nationally renowned amateur theatre, *Norrby Teater*. They settled in at work, into their new homes and family life; the women worked fewer hours in their professions when their children were young. One of the teachers spoke of a sustained interest in film and continued to go to the movies throughout his life, but it was more common that the anecdotes about cinema-going were concentrated to memories of childhood, the time of youth and of being a student – before family life, a professional career and TV obstructed the flow of cinema-going memory narration. It is likely that the teachers' predisposition to organize the memory narration more or less chronologically, in life story form, was encouraged by their knowledge that my co-interviewer and I had seen their respective collections of amateur film.

The second group was approached by way of the local proprietor of Sveasalongen. I conducted a focus group interview with four members of IOGT who had worked at Sveasalongen with cinema exhibition. The group included a woman in her eighties who had worked as the caretaker at Sveasalongen from the 1960s to the 1990s (which also meant she lived there), her son and daughter-in-law. The fourth subject was the current caretaker at Sveasalongen.

The people in this group were exceptionally involved in cinema, if not personally interested in film, and offered an exhibitor rather than a consumer perspective on a local cinema. A strong identification with Västanfors, where Sveasalongen was situated, as opposed to Fagersta was another issue that differentiated the narration in this group from the others. They were less inclined than the teachers to organize their cinema memory narration in terms of recounting life stories. By and large it was an interview that was more dispersed in its topics and fragmentary in form, which can perhaps be explained by the larger number of people present (4) who were all very familiar with each other. On the other hand, this interview revolved more exclusively around one cinema, Sveasalongen, and the interviewees' experiences of this particular venue. The men and women in this group had worked in their professional lives as a caretaker, lorry driver, social assistant, and as secretary at the Fagersta Steel Company.

Through the proprietor at Folkets Hus Bio and by approaching people during one of my visits at the cinema, I came into contact with a handful of people who all had spent a fair part of their professional lives as workers at the steel company. In this group it is clear that cinema-going was only one, and not necessarily the preferred, leisure time activity of the interviewees. Remembering and telling stories of playing or listening to jazz music and of going dancing were more pertinent to these people than talking about cinema-going. Frequently, cinema-going was anecdotally interwoven into narratives in which these other activities were more prominent. The narratives were not obviously life story chronologies, as was the case in the memory talk of the teachers; they were more anecdotal, the conversation less personal and in several, though not all, cases a nostalgia was expressed in the sense of offering past/present comparisons in which the past was glorified. The people in this group had been either a cleaner, shop assistant or had worked at the Fagersta Steel Company with mechanical repair work, construction or as a clerk. One of the men had been politically active in the Social Democratic Party and had been a board member of the local People's Park and Community Centre committee. One of the women currently held a position in the more left-

wing party, Vänsterpartiet and was, at the time of the interview, chairwoman of the People's Park and Community Centre committee.

In a historical perspective, the venues Våra Gårdar and the People's Park and Community Centres did not only dominate the exhibition of film in Sweden outside of the urban centres. Indeed, the voluntary, non-governmental movements provided what meeting halls, social and cultural activities there were in the smaller towns and communities in the early decades of the twentieth century and as the Swedish model of a welfare state emerged in the 1930s. A male steel worker recalls how he, as a child, would visit any and every happening at the local religious and other societies: "... one was starving for culture!" He attended all the film events and even went to the meetings at the Salvation Army, "... only because there'd be something moving on the stage." One of the elderly women interviewed told a similar story: "... there wasn't very much for youngsters to do (...), one went to the Salvation Army to sing on Wednesdays and then we went to the cinema Saturdays, yes, one had to be content with this, if one could afford it at all."

Despite the common practice of cinema exhibition in these venues and the centrality of these venues in everyday life and leisure, the task of assessing a regional identity on the basis of cinema memory is complicated, because there is nothing that in an obvious way ties cinema-going to Bergslagen *as a region*. The connections between Bergslagen, cinema and memory will here be discerned by comparing the memory narration to predominant images of Bergslagen and by observing how social demarcations are expressed.

The Group of Teachers

Among the group of teachers, their professional life and leisure time were spoken of as engaging, fun and interesting. One couple told a joint story of what it was like when they moved to the region. They had recently graduated, were newly wed, and came to Fagersta to work. In their story, they reveal an anxiety over what Fagersta would be like in comparison to the university town of Uppsala, from which they had moved:

> [W]e arrived here in 1960, from Uppsala and we agreed we'd stay for a year, I mean you can't possibly stay here. It was really beautiful and nice and all that but no, to come from Uppsala and there were lots of cinemas there, if one only considers that part of it, and then you arrive here and [...] and then we had children and [...] but we had a large and active social life mainly

through our professions. And Rotary and Odd Fellow and you know we entertained a great deal at home [. . .].

The social relations in Fagersta are brought to the fore of the conversation in the following way, confirming the claims of hegemonic discourse concerning the regional identity of Bergslagen:

[S]ocial relations were more or less defined by the workplace, and this was why, this is how this kind of 'single company society' is a bit strange, it is somehow kind of segregated. The company with the boss, the executives and all of those, the clerical workers, they formed one community and the school with its teachers and other staff formed another separate community and then there was the public officials who probably formed their own community as well and there was very little communication across the communities.

The couple often frequented the cinema in Uppsala, before moving to Fagersta, and they became members of the local film club that operated in the early 1960s at Fagersta Folkets Hus Bio. In line with the claims already made about Fagersta being a segregated society also in social and cultural aspects, the film club is described as a teachers' club. In further support of the dominant image of Bergslagen as a socially segregated society, the local amateur theatre in Fagersta is depicted as socially divided in its heyday in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

Norrby Teater was quite famous [. . .] we were different groups, one was a socio-political theatre and then there was our group. We played comedies, Strindberg, Edward Albee and the like, and they called us *the bourgeois group*. We had nothing in common, we didn't cooperate at all. [. . .] They thought of us and our choice of plays as being *so banal* [. . .] whereas we regarded the plays of Strindberg as being rather substantial.

The teachers speak of the current cinema situation in Fagersta and their own rare visits to the cinema as a sad affair. Television is blamed for the audience fall out, and having children and a career are offered as more personal reasons for not going as often after the 1960s as they had earlier in life. However, the opera performances at Folkets Hus Bio that are broadcast from the Metropolitan in New York are spoken of as extraordinary, wonderful events: "It's so wonderful, you don't think it's possible!" Technological aspects of the performances are hailed and the event is described as a genteel performance much appreciated by the teachers:

> When you arrive they have rolled out a red carpet, there are round tables, you stand around and drink and talk, cocktail snacks, proper lighting, coffee during the break and so forth. There is a more festive framing of the event and it of course gives the impression of something over and above the ordinary. And the performance itself, it is in my opinion fantastic!

The image of Bergslagen as a prosperous society based on the hardships of male labour in the steel works is entirely lacking in the interviews with the teachers. A region in crisis can be envisioned between the lines through the nostalgic focus on the prosperous 1940s up until the 1970s, a time period in which the teachers were socially and culturally active and content with life in Fagersta. The 1970s, 1980s and 1990s constitute a void space in the teachers' cinema memory narration. Television is mentioned as a drawback for cinema, as well as having children, but little else is said about this period. Concerning the current situation, the digital investment at Folkets Hus Bio is spoken of as having revived a few of the teacher's interest in cinema-going, perhaps indicative of a changing social identity.

Sveasalongen

A heroic image of male labour in the steel works also does not surface in the focus group interview with the Sveasalongen crowd. However, a different story of the historic hardships of labour and childcare was told by the elderly woman who had worked as a caretaker at Sveasalongen for 25 years, having inherited the job from her husband when he died in 1967. She lived at her workplace with her three children. As she describes her story, she took on any and all chores at the house, including working with cinema exhibition. Work, family and leisure were intertwined, which implies that she worked all the time: "And it was tough all right and hard but I don't think back and remember it as something repugnant, no, no – then."

A different perspective on the social segregation in the society was offered by a man in the Sveasalongen group, and was affirmed by the other interviewees in the focus group interview. The man grew up living at Sveasalongen in Västanfors and was not only born into the temperance lodge but was also a child of the lodge's cinema. He made it very clear that there was a boundary between the old parish of Västanfors and the community of Fagersta where the Fagersta Steel Company was established. He referred to the 'single company town spirit' in his explanation of this demarcation.

Västanfors is described as its own contained community, as is Fagersta. His family and friends were *here* in *Västanfors*, he said, and "one was almost ashamed if one had to go to Fagersta". Another interviewee described the schism in the following way:

> Fagersta and Västanfors were two separate entities really, though everything is Fagersta, is called Fagersta, but Västanfors is the old part. You see, the company had its people, the people who worked at the company and lived close to the company and on 'the other side' as it was called. That's where the company big shots worked, the cream of society, and you stuck with your side, and at the time it was hockey over there [. . .] and down here it was floorball, and people down here they stayed here in Västanfors.

It was all right to travel to towns situated at quite a distance from Västanfors, such as Norberg or Avesta, to visit the cinema if there was a movie showing that you wanted to see. If the same movie was showing at Fagersta Folkets Hus Bio, the cinema that catered to the workers at the steel company, you wouldn't go: "you would rather watch an old Western in Västanfors". In other words, the Sveasalongen group not only identified with the old parish of Västanfors, they placed it *outside* of the boundaries demarcating the historic image of Bergslagen (represented by Fagersta and Folkets Hus Bio in his story), which was identified as characterized by the steel industry and the "single company town spirit". One of the women recalled how her husband totally identified with Västanfors and floorball. He had moved to Västanfors to work at the steel company, but "he would *never in his life* set his foot anywhere else but at his workplace in Fagersta." Another interviewee picked up on this and explained: "Everyone who lived in Västanfors, they also worked for the company, but you transported yourself to work and you put in your hours, after which you went home. You didn't go on any excursions in town."

How then were Västanfors and Sveasalongen as place/s different from Fagersta and Folkets Hus Bio? One way of assessing their self-image is to look at how the group speaks of the audience at Sveasalongen cinema, especially when something happens in the story that upsets the social codes. The soft porn era of the 1970s offers such an opportunity. According to the interviewees in the focus group, the audience at Sveasalongen was, generally speaking, middle-aged and composed of workers. One exception was noted during the 1970s, when soft porn films were common at cinemas throughout Sweden, also at Sveasalongen. These films attracted a new crowd of middle-aged men who otherwise were not frequent

cinema-goers; this was reported in a slightly amused manner. When the soft porn films started to appear, protests were heard from the elders in the lodge. As one person in the group recalls, "we weren't supposed to be showing such filth, oh no, we were supposed to show *nice* and *Swedish* – whatever we thought of it, we had no choice really, and they were you know *Danish*, and they weren't the worst you had seen either, but they did attract a certain clientele [. . .]" According to the group, the only films that were censored locally were those that in an obvious way violated the ideology of the temperance movement – films that glorified drugs such as alcohol or LSD.

The temperance members in the focus group interview reveal tensions within the region as well as within the working class in their outspoken refusal to identify with the predominant historical images associated with Bergslagen and in their insistence on offering an alternative. This also involved the construction of new and different images. For example, the traditional image of the male steel worker was not identified as the hero who made the town and region prosper, in their memory narration. Instead they singled out the work of immigrants as representing the true motor and backbone of the industry:

> It was thanks to the immigrants who came here, many Finns and many arrived from Austria. They were loyal and hardworking people and managed to get the steel works going because they were willing to take all the dirty jobs. But they were grateful for what they got and they were amazing [. . .] yes, I worked for a year at the company too, and they were unbelievably hard workers.

The Sveasalongen group identified with an image that was counterproductive to the historical image of Bergslagen as well as to the 'single company spirit' associated with it. They idealized an historical image of Västanfors that existed in a period before Fagersta Steel expanded and overtook the area, before the town of Fagersta was founded. They more or less agree that the 'single company spirit' has disappeared today and Västanfors is spoken of as a defeated wasteland, at least as an abandoned parish deprived of its soul as depicted in the following phrase: "Now all the shops have been closed and there are only pizzerias left in this town [. . .]".

The description offered by the focus group interviewees of how the temperance lodge came to the decision to close the cinema at Sveasalongen is a story of crisis, which is parallel to the larger economic crisis in the region, yet the memory narration does not tie into the more comprehensive, struc-

tural context. The story of the closing of Sveasalongen is its own contained subtext within the larger framework of a region in crisis. According to the prime narrator of this story, the decision was taken in 1986 after years of catering to a diminishing audience and consequent economic deficits. A twofold explanation is given: 1/ technological innovations of home viewing systems that compete with the cinema and 2/ the uninteresting film repertoire at Sveasalongen, which in turn was explained by the organization of film distribution in the temperance cinema circuit. Since the 1940s, there has been a network of film distribution *within* the central organization Våra Gårdar. Sveasalongen was one of five temperance cinemas in the larger area (including cinemas in Hallstahammar, Norberg, Skinnskatteberg and the two in Fagersta), and often had to wait for the popular films to be screened elsewhere before they came to Sveasalongen, which affected the films' status and audience appeal. Fagersta Folkets Hus Bio, however, had the advantage of dealing directly with the film companies.

The Steel Workers

As was the case with the teachers, the memories of specific films and cinema events were concentrated to the youth or young adult years also for the people interviewed in this group, and thereby the period associated with the historical image of Bergslagen was evoked in a nostalgic albeit indirect way. The tales from the 1940s through the 1960s reveal these to be happy times, with dancing, courting and cinema-going. The men interviewed preferred not to focus on the working conditions at the steel company. However, from a different ethnic and gender perspective, a woman from the group of steel workers who is born and raised in Finland told a story about hard work and its consequences for someone in her position. She spoke of the social and cultural exclusion from local society that she experienced as one of over a thousand Finnish immigrant workers in Fagersta in the early 1960s. This was due to language differences. She described how difficult it was to learn Swedish at a workplace where your fellow workers were all Finnish immigrants and when you had no leisure time *what so ever* being a young and poor family of newly arrived immigrants:

> Yes, yes, it did take a very long time [to learn Swedish] because it was often the case that the man worked during the day and the woman worked in the evening and they only met in the doorway and never got the opportunity to go someplace to learn Swedish in this way and often your workmates in

> Finnish [sic!] so you rarely heard… in the shops you could hear a little Swedish. […] I was at least for ten years in a kind of void […].

Again an image of hardworking immigrants who arrived in Fagersta after the Second World War is evoked. Alongside the recollection of the hardships of the widow who for 25 years worked as a caretaker at Sveasalongen while raising three children, it also offers a counter-image to the dominant and biased historical one that represented only male workers.

Concerning the image of Bergslagen as a region in crisis, the group of teachers interviewed let the crisis pass in silence. A possible interpretation of their disregard for this issue is that they simply were not very affected by the structural transformation. They had settled into a socially active and highly segregated, family- and work-oriented lifestyle and were not economically or socially threatened by the economic changes. In the Sveasalongen group, on the other hand, the effects of the economic recession can be glimpsed in the subtext of the narrative recalling the closing of the cinema at Sveasalongen. Changed leisure habits due to technological innovation and dissemination are evoked to explain the local cinema crisis, as are the organization of film distribution and the difficulties for a temperance cinema in a small town to access popular films. The closing of the cinema was represented as a tragedy. Yet because the focus of the narrative is on issues with more general bearing, it is difficult to connect to a specific *regional identity* tied to an image of Bergslagen in crisis.

The interviews with the former steel workers, however, offer examples that are pertinent to an image of Bergslagen in crisis. A recurring motif in their memory narratives was the closing down of the dance hall at the local People's Park and Community Centre in the 1980s. One couple joyfully reported how they would jump into a car or on a bicycle and take off with friends to dance halls and parks in the region, to Vad, Norberg, Skillsberg and Söderbärke. They had enjoyed dancing very much and contrasted their gay memories from their youth in the 1940s with the situation in the 1980s, when dances with live music were replaced by discos and the dance hall at Fagersta People's Park and Community Centre was shut down. In another interview, the closing of the dance hall was explained as being a result of the long-standing local political animosity between the left-wing party and the Social Democrats, hence turning the issue into a local and ideological rather than a regional and economic one.

This local political quarrel concerning the Fagersta People's Park and Community Centre was also brought up by the woman who represented Vänsterpartiet, the left-wing party that governed the municipality at the

time of the interviews. She spoke of an ongoing debate concerning whether or not Folkets Hus Bio should be closed all together to make room for a public house in the town centre. Such a public house had the advantage of not being historically affiliated with a specific political party in the way the People's Park and Community Centre is tied to the Social Democratic Party. It would represent a new local identity in the making, perhaps better adjusted to the new regional one.

One of the other interviewees, a man who had been active in the local Social Democratic Party, also referred to this debate. He claimed that it was not likely that such an idea would be carried through. Even if the cinema at the community centre shows a continuous economic deficit, "no politician with self-respect would want to close down the cinema!" Recent investments in the digitalization of the cinema and the installation of a new sound system can be understood, in light of the debate, as a strategy of resistance and survival. The man went on to explain: "Broadcasts from the Metropolitan and also from the Opera hou – they will be broadcasting from the opera house [in Stockholm] now as well, so it will be even more difficult to get rid of it. So this is what I can contribute concerning the cinema in this context, that the cinema here, it is really valuable."

One consequence of the digitalization of Folkets Hus Bio, noted by the same interviewee, involves the changing cultural identity that the opera screenings signify in terms of their middle-class, rather than working-class, appeal. "[...] opera, it isn't a mainstream kind of entertainment in this town. [...] You know every single soul who comes here, who attends the opera and goes to the jazz concerts, it's the same people. [...] There are not many workers and that kind of people [...]"

The apprehension of the left-wing party to take action despite its ideological conviction on this issue can be explained by the strong symbolic value that the People's Park and Community Centre has in the local community, *especially its cinema*! Representing the prosperous era of Fagersta, an historical image associated with the hardships endured by the male steel workers to which the cinema catered, the continued existence of the cinema guarantees the continued existence of a local identity, a public sphere of sorts, whether the cinema has an audience or not. If the People's Park and Community Centre is shut down, if there is no cinema left in town, the message being sent is that the town – as you know it – is dead. It no longer has a public life.

Cinema and Discipline

A recurring motif in the interviews is the regulation of the younger audience's behaviour in the Fagersta cinemas. When trying to recall his first cinema memories, one of the teachers, who had grown up in Fagersta, remembered going to the matinees at Folkets Hus Bio in the 1940s and early 1950s, and how it was important to be there ahead of time. You had to quietly stand in line – and behave! "You bet it was orderly, and if it wasn't – ! [...] and once you were inside, there was no yelling and no rustle with bags of chip because there were none [...] it had to be quiet, but then – during the matinees, it was, as always, you bawled and followed the story, you were immersed, you didn't sit quietly."

Another story concerns how a male staff member would pace the auditorium during the matinees at Sveasalongen back in the early 1960s. If a child had a cap, he'd be told to take it off. One interviewee recalls: "He didn't have to *say* anything. He'd pace the aisle and just glare at the kid who had his cap on." In another anecdote, one of the staff approached a girl who had her feet on the seat in front of her when watching a horror movie and the girl gave off a terrified scream and jumped high in her seat when the staff tapped her on the shoulder to indicate to her that she should take her feet down. "I'm surprised she didn't die, that girl, the fright she had." When an interviewee recalled how he took over the job of ensuring that there was no mischief going on in the cinema during exhibition, I asked whether there ever was anything wicked going on? The answer is an unequivocal: "No".

If enforcing restrained behaviour in the children was important to these cinemas, the interviewees also told stories of how they violated the codes. One man from Västanfors recalled how he, at age 13, would go to Templarbion in Fagersta. There he could see adult-rated film because he was unknown to the staff. Another interviewee figured out a different method. He sneaked around to the back of the auditorium at Sveasalongen to watch adult-rated movies from the backside of the cinema screen:

> [...] and there was a huge speaker in the middle of the screen so it was difficult to see anything and you couldn't read the subtitles because they were back to front (haha) and it was exciting because it was an old house and it made creaking noises that sounded like someone was approaching and someone could show up from behind (haha).

The understanding of childhood changes over time, yet I would like to suggest that the disciplinary measures remembered so vividly in relation to the Fagersta cinemas can be interpreted as an expression of the voluntary, non-governmental movements' predilection for self-improvement (Ambjörnsson, 1988), which should be understood in an historical perspective as part of a larger discourse involving strategies of social empowerment. Though violations of social codes surely take place today as well, the codes themselves and the disciplinary conduct at cinemas have changed. One of the Sveasalongen group nostalgically noted how everyone, even the children, had "style" back in the old days, whereas today "they don't take their coats off and they take up three seats!"

Cinema, History and Identity

By way of the cinema memories explored here, tensions between different social groups and complacent as well as competing images of identity constructions are revealed in a town and region that have undergone several structural changes in the course of a life time. In the narratives of senior citizens in Fagersta, the predominant images of the region of Bergslagen were accepted, ignored, negotiated, split into other images and contested. The three social groups approached in the study – the teachers, the Sveasalongen group and the steel workers – each had different ways of representing history and identity by talking about the cinemas of their town.

The group of teachers told a story of a privileged life that was culturally (and professionally) stimulating and that was largely uninhibited by the structural crisis and current transformation in the region. They were aware of the historical image of Bergslagen and found a place in the social system where they could get on with life. The current cinema situation is either described as a sad story of television overtaking the cinemas (and with a nostalgic sigh in memory of the film clubs that attracted teachers in earlier decades), or as a romance, with the digitalization of Folkets Hus Bio providing a happy ending.

The Sveasalongen group complicated the predominant images of Bergslagen and disclosed historical social demarcations within the local community as well as within the working class. In their narratives, by belonging to Västanfors, they separated themselves from the identity associated with the steel workers at the Fagersta Steel Company and the 'single company spirit' designated by researchers and regional development policy makers to be typical of the region. In fact, they demarcated

themselves from the dominant historical image of Bergslagen and recalled an *earlier* image when the steel works had not yet come to dominate the region and Västanfors was still a lively, commercial centre. Again and again, they produced stories that offered an alternative understanding of history and Fagersta.

Other contestations and complications of the predominant historical image of Bergslagen were uncovered in the memory narratives pertaining to the immigrants who came to Fagersta to work at the steel company, and indeed also in the narratives of women workers.

Finally, the steel workers whom I interviewed seemed rather disinterested in cinema-going even if they had been frequent cinema-goers in their youth. They spoke of cinema in the context of other leisure time activities, yet as topics the People's Park and Community Centre as well as Folkets Hus Bio involved the interviewees in narratives of crisis and in the more recent debate on the future of the last cinema in Fagersta. The former hegemony of the political superstructure of the People's Park and Community Centres is gone. Yet, as one of the interviewees points out, closing the last cinema in a town or smaller community is not easily done owing to its strong symbolic value. A cinema is a potent sign of community life.

The intention with this study was to explore a different take on history by way of cinema memory. It has revealed the signifiance of cinema as a key semantic node in discerning place-realted identities in memory discourse. The analysis of memory narratives of cinema and cinema going in Fagersta indicates how cinema-going is deeply embedded within a complicated social network of competing ideologies, which is far from a simplistic understandning of cinema as a commercial – and therefore hegemonic – enterprise.

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endnotes

1 I understand identity as a web of values, ideas, attitudes that are or can be activated and combined differently in different kinds of socio-culturally defined situations. A distinction is made between individual and collective forms of identity. Characteristics that are unique to the individual and her life story are separated from a collective identity that corresponds to a sense of membership, of identification, with social groups. The latter are more or less imaginary (Anderson 1983) and involve the demarcation of boundaries, of expressions of inclusion and exclusion (Hall, 1996, Höijer, 2007, Olausson, 2009: 113). My focus is on collective forms of identity pertaining to the local and regional as topographical categories.

2 I write *under its auspices* to clarify that cinema exhibition could be run by the local unit of the voluntary organization that also owned the venue of exhibition, but there are also examples of private cinema entrepreneurs who rented the venue from the organization in question on a more or less permanent basis (Bäckström 2005).

Ulrika Holgersson

Regional Conflicts: From the Merchant's House to the "People's Home"

when embracing the Swedish maid film genre as a historical source, one gets a refreshing perspective on the troublesome issue of class analysis (Holgersson, 2005; Holgersson, 2008; Steedman, 2009). The association to John Bodnar's book *Blue-Collar Hollywood* seems natural. Here, he performs an analysis that is less occupied with the older paradigm of labour-capital, and more sensitive to a much broader and more inclusive cultural film analysis, presenting a manifold repertoire of narratives and identities, marked sometimes by rationality, sometimes by sensibility, alternatively by anger and eventually by sentimentality. In that sense, he goes a long way to undermine the prejudices of the classic producers of Hollywood cinema as the submissive henchmen of the capital, as expressly repressive from the top down (Bodnar, 2003: xv-xi, 219). As we will soon see, in revealing such rhetoric, the cultural historian may well be borrowing the terms and methods of classical film analysis.

Indeed, and as put by a later critic, the tale of "the robust maid from the countryside cutting out the saucy girls from the city" was known as one of "the dearest narratives of Swedish film".[1] Over and over again, the role swapping of the maid, from low to high, from the provincial periphery to the capital centre – or vice versa regarding the exchange of the society woman or lady – gained exceptional popularity among the public at large.

Yet this was a love cherished almost exclusively by the audience and

the filmmakers, while such films were dismissed by a hostile body of Swedish critics. However, the fact that the same theme was constantly repeated points to something crucial: As I see it, in the meeting of the classes, new narratives of national and social coexistence were carefully written – narratives in which the conflict between rural and city regions was highly conspicuous. In the present article, in the examination of this cultural process, my point of departure will be a late example of the genre, *Brita i grosshandlarhuset (The Maid,* Åke Ohberg, 1946).

My specific questions are: What does this feature film have to say about the compromises – in terms of constructions of class and gender, city and countryside – that paved the way for a new narrative, with a progression of imagery from, so to speak, the symbol of the merchant's house to the metaphor of the "Folkhem" (People's home)? And what were the roles of the two regions in this symbolic play, as well as, of course, of the maid herself?

Plot, Characters and Setting

The Maid was mainly shot in Sweden, between late September and the end of November in 1945. The three novels about Brita, by the presently more or less forgotten author Harald Beijer (1896–1955), attracted a great deal of attention when they were published during World War II, between 1940 and 1943 (Åhlander, 1980: 507). In short, the story told in the film, and in the three books on which it was based (*Brita i grosshandlarhuset*; *Brita i äktenskapet* and *Brita Burenberg*), is about a poor but persistent crofter's daughter (played by Eva Dahlbeck, today most well known for her part in Ingmar Bergman's *Smiles of a Summer Night* 1955), who leaves an unspecified countryside to join her much older Aunt Ida (Hilda Borgström) to work in the capital Stockholm in the household of the Burenbergs, a family of three: the father, once a miller, now turned rich merchant (Ernst Eklund); the rather amiable mother (Stina Hedberg) and their son, the spineless and melancholic Greger (George Fant). Moreover the merchant's house is inhabited by a cook (Astrid Bodin) and a second maid, Ella (Anna-Greta Krigström).

In due course, Brita ends up fighting the prejudices of class by marrying Greger. In this plot, a crucial role is played by Arvid (Åke Grönberg), a friend from Brita's childhood, who joins her in the city, finding his way by entering the army. Likewise, and not without certain significance, rich girl Sonja (Agneta Lagerfelt) appears as a marriage candidate for Greger, while the student Paniken (literally translated: "the panic"; Bengt Eke-



Advertising plate, Europa[1] Im: "A comedy about love, based on Harald Beijer's novel".

rot) has an important function in the personal development of the male principal part.

Concerning *The Maid,* the tone of the press differed somewhat from the usual critical one, thus displaying the exception that proved a rule. More exactly, the narrative had split the critics into two camps. The trait that attracted the most attention was the transferring of the plot and setting from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present time, which was done by Beijer when adapting his original novel (Beijer, 1940). Some critics considered the shift unrealistic and without credibility, while others considered it unproblematic (cf. Hanson, 1946; Alving, 1946; Wortzelius, 1946; Osten, 1946; Björkman, 1946; Idestam-Almquist, 1946; S. Almquist, 1946; nom de plume -m, 1946; nom de plume T. H-n, 1946; Liliedahl, 1946). Nevertheless, concerning this delicate question of faithfulness to the period, the markers of time in the novels are rather few – a commentator from the 1990s points to the mentioning of horse-drawn cabs.[2] The same is true of the descriptions of the settings, which underlines the suggestion that it is the characters as such that constituted Beijer's main focus of interest, not their surroundings.

As already implied, most of the film takes place in Stockholm, in an extremely elegant apartment at the exclusive address of Strandvägen. In a leaflet from the production company Europa Film, the apartment is described as specially designed for the occasion by architect Max Linder [!],



Brita in the cabbage ! eld.

at a cost of 100,000 Swedish crowns, which was a very great deal of money at the time (Europa Film, 1946). In contrast, the film's early exposition displays sceneries typical of the contemporary Swedish countryside. The settings comprise, among other things, a cabbage field, the interiors of the crofter's cottage, Arvid's family's farm house, and the small country roads leading Brita to the local depot, as she walks, escorted by Arvid, towards her unknown future in the big capital.

Launching the Con° ict between Countryside and Capital

"Why not put the little bewildered crofter girl into the madding crowds of the big city right from the start?", film reviewer Nils Beyer asked in the *Morgon-Tidningen* the day after the premier of *The Maid* in the beginning of February 1946. According to him, the exposition of the film was "long-winded and insignificant", and it is the country girl conquering the big city by means of her wholesome nature that is the very heart of the story. Banal as it may seem, the introductory part launches the fundamental – but not always and altogether predictable – conflict of the film, i.e. the struggle of the two principles of city and countryside, as it struc-



Brita and Arvid having breakfast.

tures the characters' endeavours to find the meaning of their existence, preferably to get ahead in life.

At the very beginning, we follow Brita and her male friend Arvid while they work in the cabbage field. Eventually they leave the field to take a breakfast break. Already from this early stage, the relation between them is established. Brita is the one walking ahead, quickly, though rather mechanically, with Arvid following in her footsteps more hesitantly, but still eager. She sits down on a rock and with an almost imperceptible gesture she indicates that he should take a seat on a smaller rock beside her. The camera now keeps the couple in focus, with Arvid in a slightly lower position and his eyes fixed on Brita.

Arvid: It was a good thing it cleared up to-day, so that we could harvest the cabbage.

Brita: Why?

Arvid: Otherwise we wouldn't hav [sic!] eaten together.

Brita: So you think that was a good thing?

Arvid: Yes, now when you are leaving, I won't see you any more.
Will you please take this. [he gives her a sandwich]

Brita: No, you shouldn't give me any of yours.

Arvid: Oh yes, just take it.

Brita: Yes, they are short of it at home.

Arvid: Yes, and you are very lucky being able to go to Stockholm.

Brita: You can do that too, can't you?

Arvid: No, I haven't got any aunt, who can get me a job.
I suppose that merchant family is a very fine family?
I wonder what you are going to do there.

Brita: Well, I know that I [sic!] won't be to harvest cabbage.

(Beijer, 1946: 1)

It is in the films of the 1940s and 1950s that the conflict between city and countryside gains substantial importance. During this period, the conflict between the two is almost always fashioned in favour of the countryside. In its traditional form, it occurs as a clear-cut dualism, usually built by way of letting the characters swap their customary places, as in the case of Brita moving to the capital city for work. In a wider context, including literature and other media, the genre of countryside depictions constituted an extensive cultural debate, deeply rooted in the Swedish mentality. On a political level, one can talk about a parallel in the popularity of the Farmer's Party, Bondeförbundet, twice in government (on one occasion with the Social Democrats) in the mid-1930s (Qvist, 1986: 7–8, 207–209).

However, moving back to the relation between Brita and Arvid, one finds quite a complex set of conflicts. From the very beginning, the film proposes the presence of asymmetry. It is Brita who is longing to leave the countryside, whereas the reason for Arvid to go away is not his longing to spend his life in the city, but his yearning to share it with Brita. Still, Brita is not dismissing him, but rather behaving in an ambiguous manner. It is, as we will see later on, as if Arvid is in possession of something that Brita needs.

Dwelling further on the broader relation between city and countryside, this is, naturally enough – as in the telling line "Well, I know I [sic!]

won't be to harvest cabbage" – time after time related to past/tradition or future/modernity, positively or negatively, although not always consistently. For instance, this is the case in the following scene, set in the crofter's cottage. Here, Brita is packing her suitcase, as she speaks to her mother and father. Her mother is encouraging her to continue her reading in her new home. However Brita, busy trying on a hat in front of a small mirror, doesn't seem very interested. Instead she complains that other girls get nicer hats when they go to the city, in that way starting an argument with her mother. Her father, on the other hand, gives her a glance of sympathy. Nevertheless, he can't help voicing his hesitations about her trip. But the crushing reply of Brita's mother comes instantly, as she makes clear that none of her daughters "are going to wear themselves out as crofters [sic!] wife" (Beijer, 1946: 1).

In this way, the different characters in the film harbour ambiguous principles: The mother wants her daughter to read and work (future/modernity), though not to care about her looks (past/tradition); the father understands her vanity (future/modernity), while at the same time a part of him wants her to stay with him in the countryside (past/tradition). Furthermore, it is also striking how the act of reading is presented as connected to her roots, and not to the modernity and future of the city. Yet reading books can have other connotations as well. As we will see, this kind of paradoxical play with characters and properties continues when Brita arrives in the city, and it eventually runs throughout the film.

Entering the Merchant's House

"Listen here! Yes, just you. What is it you want?" the caretaker addresses Brita as she walks through the main entrance of the merchant's house, defying a tacit rule of class and space (Beijer, 1946: 2). The question, nonetheless, plays the function of interpellation or hailing; it demands an answer from Brita, a recognition of belonging to the lower classes. Moreover, perhaps not realistic as such, the scene announces something essential about the poor country girl's character, i.e. her almost naive curiosity about, and determination to transcend, the boarders of class.

Finally calling at the "right" door, Brita is received by her Aunt Ida, who invites her to a welcoming meal. Then, Brita is anxious to get a look at the apartment. Equally uneasy about Brita's curiosity, Ida gives her the grand tour of the merchant's house, or – metaphorically – of a class society. Starting off by displaying the china in the pantry, Ida is asked whether the family ever eats in the kitchen. The answer is a defi-

nite "No…Thank God", which immediately indicates Ida's characteristic feature of being strict with regard to ceremonial matters and tradition (Beijer, 1946: 4). Ida's contentment, her demonstrative disinterest in the private affairs of the rich, from this point on stands out in glaring contrast to Brita's unblushing inquisitiveness and lack of respect for the highly positioned.

Continuing their walk, they gradually move through the dining room, the grand drawing room, to the lounge of the mistress and the library, presented by the old servant as male territory. Brita looks with great admiration at the impressive stock of books and then asks if they have read all of them. "No, the menfolks never read. They drink high-balls", Ida replies, then establishing prosaically: "Well they are there – and they have to be dusted off" (Beijer, 1946: 4). To Brita, the connection between the city and the culture of reading must accordingly seem somewhat puzzling: Are the books only male status symbols, or are women reading them someplace else than in the library? Although Ida herself is associated with the city life, books are certainly not a part of her lower class world, except as things to be cleaned.

After passing the library, however, the world of the male unfolds in greater detail as Ida opens the door to the merchant's office. Yet as she



Ida opens the door to the workroom of the merchant.

immediately catches sight of a painting of a naked lady behind the door, she quickly draws the door shut again, without Brita noticing the deeper secrets of the opposite sex. Walking across the hall another mysterious door is dismissed as forbidden territory: namely the one that leads to the room of the Burenberg son, Greger. "[Y]ou won't have much to do with him", Ida states as she brings her niece safe back to her own room. Still enthusiastic, even about her simpler surroundings, it is Brita's turn to stop at the sight of a painting, a white and innocent angel. "That is the most beautiful I ever saw", Brita says, conveying her ignorance, thus far, about the motif – and its accompanying symbolism – of the other picture in her master's study (Beijer, 1946: 5).

Parallelisms and Properties: Brita in Three Different Triangles

One Sunday, Brita is left alone in the apartment. As she walks dreamily through the different rooms imagining being part of the family, the young son Greger steels upon her. Then, just as she has reached the portrait of the naked lady, he addresses her.

Greger: You didn't like that, did you?

Brita: Oh, I didn't know that you were home, Mister Greger.

Greger: No, that is the funny thing about me, nobody ever knows where I am [. . .] by the way, why don't you call me just Greger – I thought we decided upon that.

Brita: Don't you understand that, Mister Greger, that it just isn't done.

Greger: Why not? Didn't you tell me that you dared to do it?

Brita: I have to consider my place.

Greger: You are only thinking that you are a maid, not that you are a human being.

(Beijer, 1946: 8)

This is Brita and Greger's second meeting. A couple of scenes earlier they have been introduced in the kitchen by the cook. In a fairly flirtatious ex-

change, Greger has urged her to call him by his first name, and Brita has accepted, quite boldly. The act of mutual recognition – or the refusing of it – between the two of them is a recurrent theme throughout the film. Greger is a spoiled and irresponsible brat, undeserving of much respect, and Brita is "just a maid". The latter phrase can be put into a wider intertextual context. Just as the quote at the beginning of this text implies, the maid had a reputation of being stupid. In a review in *Upsala Nya Tidning,* film critic Hugo Wortzelius exemplifies this, citing from another famous novel the exact words "She was just a maid anyway". In slightly different versions, this sentence is reiterated, as a parallelism, in *The Maid*, sometimes in the negative. In Wortzelius' column, furthermore, Brita is called "the first thoughtful maid on film", which to some critics was obviously a sign of a lack of realism (Wortzelius, 1946).

Encouraged to reflect further on the painting, Brita maintains that she does not like the fact that the lady is naked. Greger, who is a student of art history, tries to convince her that "when you look at art, you look at things in a different way", meaning that "[t]he world becomes more beautiful, if you look at it through the eyes of an artist" (Beijer, 1946: 8).

Obviously Brita takes the message to heart. When she visits a museum with Arvid, he stops at a picture of a dramatic landscape – a small cottage at a wild waterfall – that reminds him of their countryside home, romanticizing it as a place where he wants them to live together, "[s]omething altogether different from living in this city" (Beijer, 1946: 13). Brita's interest, however, is restricted to the origins and the fantastic career of the artist, who has started out as a harness-maker. Then, at the moment when Arvid stays at a more abstract work of art, expressing his unsympathetic feelings towards it, Brita makes use of the philosophic words of Greger, indicating that she has left the simple and practical life in the province behind, to embrace the more intellectual world of the sophisticated and inventive dwellings of Stockholm.

Ironically enough though, Arvid, who has joined the army, comes to a halt when he sees his superior officer, who then, at a fair distance, explains to the lady who is with him that Arvid is a true man of the future. Later in the evening, Brita also tries to dampen Arvid's outburst of feelings, simultaneously seeking to make him keep his interest in her.

Nonetheless, back in the merchant's house, she comes across Greger, who asks for his father. Once more a picture becomes an important property of the setting and narrative, as an oil painting of a woman slumped-over in a field flanks Greger on his left side, while Brita is positioned



Arvid's favourite painting at the museum.



Brita's favourite painting at the museum.



An oil painting ° anks Greger on his left side, while Brita is positioned on his right.

on his right. Soon there is a hot-tempered controversy between them. Greger declares his disappointment with Brita, while she scolds him for not working hard and taking care of himself properly, evidently, though not explicitly, alluding to the image on the wall. "I don't want to be like other people", says the merchant's son. "You want to be just a clown. You want to be interesting – at all costs", Brita answers, accordingly repressing her admiration for his knowledge of complex art philosophy (Beijer, 1946: 15-16). Then, at last, the quarrel ends in a declaration of their mutual affection, sealed with a kiss.

Unquestionably, these relationships between Brita and the two male opponents, Greger and Arvid, form a classic triangle. Furthermore, the narrative is made up of additional and similar patterns of conflict. Another one of these patterns connects Brita, Greger, and his student friend

Paniken. The scene just mentioned is followed by a close-up of a newspaper headline with messages about the weak stock market. The paper belongs to Greger's father, who puts it down to start writing a letter to his son. In the subsequent scene, we have moved to Greger's apartment in Uppsala. Greger and Paniken are suffering from a hangover:

> Paniken: You are talking about splendour [sic!]. Look at my feet. That is the real splendour.
>
> Greger: Well, your shoes look darned worn down, if you ask me.
>
> Paniken: Don't look at my shoes, look at my socks.
>
> Paniken: My mother knitted them [...] she is a cripple, and she peddles candy from a basket down at the station back home. That, you see is splendour. A mother [...] and she is dreaming of me becoming a minister [...] I'll never become a minister.
>
> (Beijer, 1946: 16)

The conversation is interrupted by the postman, who delivers the letter from Greger's father. The impact on Greger is manifest. The merchant only gives him a fraction of the money that he has requested, and asks him to come home straight away. The son makes the decision to leave Uppsala, once and for all, after giving a big party to celebrate the occasion. He also blames himself for getting Paniken into bad company and being such a demoralizing influence on a poor student with no financial means.

Arriving drunk at the merchant's house, Greger meets with Brita. Angry and upset, she smuggles him into his room and helps him get into bed. The next day Greger has a talk with his father. The merchant agrees to pay off his son's debts. Reluctantly he also lets himself be persuaded to lend money to Paniken, to enable him to complete his degree to become a minister. For the time being, he leaves 200 Swedish crowns to Greger to keep in safe custody. On the other hand, Greger promises to start working in the family company at a subordinate level, aiming to climb his way up. "[T]o study the history of fine arts I guess was a little too much for me" Greger responds, then – in fact – hinting at the ongoing conflict of the narrative "that when it comes to art you should create something yourself, and not only write about it and ponder over it" (Beijer, 1946: 19).

Unaware of the conversation between father and son, and with the night before still in her fresh memory, Brita laughs in Greger's face as he informs her with a light heart of his plans for a new working life. Greger's weapon of defence is an effective one, though a sign of his still immature character: "I thought we were friends – not a superior and a subordinate [...] but now I realize that you are of the lower class. Just an ordinary simple servant-girl!!!" he states, while he leaves her humiliated, pondering at her window cleaning (Beijer, 1946: 20–21).

As Greger drives away after the quarrel with Brita, he catches sight of a familiar figure from behind. Sonja is the girl who Greger is supposed to marry, and thus an evident corner of a third triangular set of relations including Brita and Greger. Recently home from a journey to Paris, she walks smartly in her dressy clothes along the sidewalks of the posh parts of Stockholm. Back in his old careless mood, Greger picks her up, suggesting they should spend their idle time together. Thus Sonja becomes the country girl Brita's natural antagonist, her cosmopolitan contrary, not only through her connection to the capitals of Stockholm and Paris, but because she agrees to follow Greger's passing whim to jump on a flight to Copenhagen.

Although the excursion to the Danish capital is intended to be a celebration of, in the words of Greger himself, "[t]he conversion of mister Burenberg, the esthete [sic!]", it soon proves to be a dead, or perhaps even dangerous, end (Beijer, 1946: 22). When winding up their exclusive dinner, Greger finds himself with a sisterly friend and no money to pay for her. "Sonja dear, you must never think that things are what they seem to be" he says – adding yet another layer to the many parallelisms of art philosophy – as he takes out the notes that were originally intended to pay Paniken's rent and life expenses (Beijer, 1946: 23).

However, the second he walks through the door, Greger arouses suspicions in his father's mind that something is terribly wrong. Yet Brita is the one to receive the confession of a young man who is tired of life. She puts the blame on herself for not taking his decision to start all over again seriously. Hence, later on, Greger finds 200 crowns in an envelope with a message from Brita. Then, once again after a romantic night out in the city with Arvid, Brita encounters Greger in the library of the merchant's house. "One should never turn down any help that is honestly meant" he explains (Beijer, 1946: 28). Finally the man of noble birth and the woman of the people walk as two equals into his room, and the camera does not follow inside.

Conquering the Merchant's House

According to leading film critic Bengt Idestam-Almquist (nom de plume *Robin Hood*), *The Maid* had two major faults. First, the style of the film was naturalistic, and as such it should not tell a "tale of the Woman of the people and the man of noble birth", but rather of "the circumstances right now", a task that he thought the film performed poorly. Second, Idestam-Almquist criticizes the character of Brita, saying he could not make head or tail of her. "Is the film of the opinion that she does the right thing when she deserts her faithfully loving countryside friend Arvid … for Greger, the spineless son of the merchant's house …?" The film did not, like the book, point in any clear direction, Idestam-Almquist maintained (Idestam-Almquist, 1946).

So what about Idestam-Almquist's remark that the film was unclear as to its opinion on Brita's choice of lover? Is the portrayal of Brita indistinct and confused? Was her love true or false? Or did Harald Beijer, as suggested by yet another critic, deliberately mean to "display two faltering, changeable and half-completed young individuals, who cause either sympathy or antipathy as the moments change and life continues" (S. Almqvist, 1946)? And finally, on what ground was the love between them built?

It stands to reason that Brita's love is largely connected with the modern and affluent life of the capital region. For instance, this is indicated already by the first scene set in the cabbage field. Furthermore, in the scene at the museum, she dismisses the painting that appeals to Arvid's fantasy of moving back home.

In the narrative of the film, the capital region is first and foremost represented by Greger and the merchant's house, with all its material belongings and intellectual challenges.

On the other hand, Brita is unable to get to Greger without external assistance. This is provided by Arvid, the strong and steady man of the countryside. In point of fact, no less than three times does Brita run directly, strengthened by her childhood friend, into the embrace of her recently acquired society lover. And, as the film is drawing to an end, as we will see, Arvid is the one that Brita turns her attention to when she suspects that Greger has only played on her feelings.

At the same time, however, Greger is in need of something himself. In the denouement of the film, the scene is laid at a dinner party in the merchant's house. Greger and Sonja are at the centre of their mothers' attention, as the two women speculate about the topic of their conver-

sation, guessing that it must have to do with love. But quite the reverse – at least on the surface – Greger and Sonja are dwelling on the question of art and representation.

Again the painting of the working woman standing on all fours in what – through the closer look now presented by the camera – appears to be a cabbage field serves its purpose as a property, a significant narrative object:

Greger: An idiot, that's what you are! An utter idiot when it comes to art.

Sonja: And I suppose that you are the only one in this city who knows anything about art?

Greger: Yes, I'll be darned if I don't think so, when I see what people are crazy enough to hang on their walls [. . .]

Sonja: So that is what you think.

Greger: As a matter of fact, a picture might very well serve some other purpose than just to hide a grease-spot on the wall [. . .]

Sonja: You don't say?

Greger: Yes, I'll show you!

Sonja: Oh, well [. . .]

Greger: Oh, yes, come on [. . .] come on!

Greger: Well? Does this picture here tell you anything?

Sonja: Well, I can see what it represents. That is something, anyway.

Greger: Yes, just as I said – an idiot!

(Beijer, 1946: 31)

In the light of these words, it seems as if Greger has found a third, middle way in his process of self-realization. He is now neither a dandified philosopher of art nor an anti-intellectual low-brow mandarin, but rather a sober-minded human being who, by means of his collected life experience, has acquired the ability to discern the essential aspects of life, and

hence the connections between art and reality. What is more, the clue to this understanding is to be found in this painting – on one of the walls of the merchant's house – of the working woman in the countryside. But to the same degree, of course, it is embodied in the self-sacrificing, hawking mother of Paniken or in Brita Månsdotter herself. Both these women were engaged in intensive cleaning, whereas the redundantly rich of the big city's society were occupied with wasting what they had never learned to miss, and thereby to hold in high esteem. More specifically, it is in the name of hard and dignified work – not just as practised by somebody else, like in a decorative painting, or by a hired maid, but by every decent human being – that Greger has found the discursive ground for his new identity.

Even so, Greger's new development is not fully evident to him. It is also not clear to the two mothers, the tittle-tattling servants or to Brita. Still, Sonja succeeds in urging him to laugh from a distance at Brita's manors. Profoundly insulted by this and by the rumours of an approaching engagement between Greger and Sonja, Brita hits Greger across the face in front of the whole party.

Then, at the very moment of her deepest humiliation, Brita is sent for and receives a telephone call in the kitchen from Arvid, who asks her for a date. Thus, once more the contact with Arvid has a soothing effect on her – he functions like a catalyst. Greger then enters the room, and by the time he persistently proposes, she consequently surrenders. During their talk, Greger makes clear that the blow finally made him realize that she wanted something else from him "than just money and a position". On the other hand, Brita is quick to confess that, although she likes Greger for who he is, the things she can get from him mean "as it only can mean to anybody that has been really poor" (Beijer, 1946: 33; Beijer, 1947: 197–199).

Even so there are limitations to Brita's honesty. Both in the film and in the novel, she is not clear enough about the particulars of her relationship with Arvid. After agreeing to marry Greger, she leaves for her date. When Brita refuses to agree with Arvid's opinion that things were as good as settled between the two of them, his reaction at first is one of astonishment. "Either a thing is correct, or it isn't", he insists (Beijer, 1946: 35). Born into the vernacular countryside culture of virtues such as uprightness and loyalty, where black is black and white is white, he then becomes inconsolable. Broken down with feelings of deceit he grabs her violently, as if the raw and wild male nature within him – once represented in a certain painting at the museum – is suddenly released.

From the Merchant's House to the People's Home

In a figurative sense, the union between Brita and Greger represents the process of levelling the barriers of class in Swedish society starting at least in the 1930s and continuing for some decades. In symbolic terms, Brita sums it up when she tells her aunt Ida straight out about her night with Greger. Brita sees herself not as a maid, but rather as "a human being, just as good as anybody else". Evidently, the rise from the crofter's cottage to the merchant's house is not a journey from low to high, as much as a passage from low to equal. Therefore, she refuses the shame put on her by "an old faithful servant with only a small salary", who in her opinion "have no idea what it means to live" (Beijer, 1946: 29).

In this respect, *The Maid* could be read as an allegory of a new union between the principles of two regions: the city/capital and the countryside. However, it is the former, rather than the latter, that is in the process of change. In neither the book nor the film does Brita's character alter very much through the narrative.

Even so, the difference between the books and the film, as several contemporary critics quite rightly remark, is still salient (Hanson, 1946; Beyer, 1946; nom de plume -m., 1946). In the novels, Brita eventually helps Arvid, who has fallen very low as a consequence of her betrayal. All the same, greed and self-righteousness get the better of her. Thus, at last, she interferes with the life of her own young son and his pregnant teenage lower class girlfriend, forcing them to get an abortion (Beijer, 1947: 329, 546–626). In this way, she finally confirms that she now thinks of herself as superior, as if she had forgotten her own simple background. Yet, at the dramatic end of the trilogy, the son murders his own mother, thus avenging his lost child. At the very end, Beijer closes the books about the life of Brita, the victim of her own offspring, using the following words:

> Perhaps one was living in a time, when the flood of pleasure swept across the world.
>
> Perhaps one deserved to drown.
>
> [- - -]
>
> But there were people outside the range of vision of Dean Paniken, that did not drown. These people were the likes of Arvid Persson, who was building the houses of tomorrow, where everybody will have more equal tenements,

> without having to steal upon them through the hearts of others, thus treading on its most beautiful flowers. These people, who were rationalizing and rationalizing and building a new era, perhaps without knowing what they were doing, an era that would not accommodate the all too privileged, who so easily drowned in the flood.
> (Beijer, 1943/1947: 776)

The issue of the influence of World War II on the discourses of gender is a complex, much debated question (cf. Summerfield, 1998). Although equally important, the corresponding relation between World War II and the imagery and language of the class society is still to be scrutinized (cf. Waites, 1987). While Sweden was not directly involved in World War II, the violence abroad certainly threatened the nation in its very foundations. The inspiration is there to be seen in Beijer's books about Brita. Publishing the final, third part of the trilogy in 1943, he predicts a society for rational builders at the expense of "the all too privileged", who haven't made an honest living. More or less in tune with the contemporary currents of racial biology, he also gives us to understand that our bad deeds and our weak characters will come to haunt us. Accordingly, Bengt Idestam-Almquist, referring to the novels, claims that "Brita did *not* do the right thing", treating her countryside friend Arvid unfairly and choosing the life of the wealthy and idle (Idestam-Almquist, 1946).

But is it true, then, that Brita's conduct in the film is inconsistent and illogical? As a matter of fact, to the audience, presented with a more complete picture, starting in the cabbage field, it becomes quite clear that Brita's feelings towards Arvid are of a friendly nature. Essentially, as I see it, Brita is described as part of a most classic game of romance, almost a Cinderella story, in which according to the rules of gender, the rich and handsome prince is supposed to be the apparent goal, although the object of love has to be brought to maturity by the wholesome effect of a woman. As legendary journalist Barbro Alving (*Bang*) quite rightly emphasized, in the film adaptation, Brita has become ennobled, as her character is obviously more cordial and less calculating (Alving, 1946; also N. Beyer, 1946).

Why, then, such a fuss about Brita as a dramatic character? Perhaps it is not too daring to suggest that it has something to do with the circumstance that Bruce Robbins points out in his study *The Servant's Hand*, that, in the history of literature, the servants have never been seen as suited to the task of representing "the people" or "the working class", even though they were, more than most other representatives of the so-

called "lower classes", constantly present. As literary figures, the servants appeared to be void in themselves, assigned instead to certain dramatic functions, e.g. in comic gestures, prologues, flashbacks etc. (Robbins, 1993: 1–23). Bearing this in mind, I want to stress the fact that, in the narrative of this particular film, the theme of the social position of the maid is brought out into the light – perhaps to some people's annoyance.

Moreover, when the ethics of work are illustrated by way of female examples, there is suddenly hope of a union over the boarders of class, and between the regions of countryside and capital, from the merchant's house to the "People's Home". In other words, in the first year of peace, there was perhaps no longer room for the fatalism and cynicism of war. From this point of view, moving the setting of the narrative, from the beginning to the middle of the twentieth century, may be seen as a veritable manifestation of the hope of the emergence of a new era.

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endnotes

1 The phrase is quoted from a short and unsigned paragraph in the evening paper *Expressen*, 26 September 1991, and is, indeed, a point of departure of my ongoing project *Between Prejudice and Popularity – the Maid in Swedish Feature Film 1930–1950*.

2 Unsigned notice in *Röster i radio-TV*, no. 39 1991; cf. Beijer, 1947.

Magnus Rodell

The Multitude of Celebratory Space: National Day Celebrations and the Making of Swedish Spaces

in the days prior to the national day celebrations in June 2005, various questions were posed in the Swedish media. Concerning one of the recurring questions – how will you celebrate the new national day? – one daily offered some possibilities: eat Baltic pickled herring and drink snaps, go to Skansen, the open-air museum in Stockholm, and watch the Swedish queen dressed in a traditional costume, or perhaps participate in a ceremony for new citizens (*Dagens Nyheter*, 5 June 2005). Some voices also expressed worries about street confrontations between right-wing extremists and radical left-wing activists. These practices were laden with symbolic meaning.

In 2005, 6 June was celebrated as a national holiday in Sweden for the first time. The previous year the parliament had decided to make it a holiday, so that Swedes could celebrate it in a supposedly appropriate way. The reasons behind this decision were manifold. In the age of globalization, and in the context of multicultural societies, there was a need for a demonstration that would serve to manifest "our national heritage and our identity" (Sidenbladh, 2005). A national holiday could also serve as an occasion to officially welcome new citizens. An MP from the Liberal Party stated that the advocates of democracy needed to re-conquer the flag; national symbols should not be taken hostage by undemocratic movements. The sixth of June had become the national day in 1983. Before that, this date has been known as the Day of the Swedish Flag, in-

stituted during World War I in 1916. Since 1893, however, 6 June had unofficially been celebrated as a national day. (see, for example, Swahn, 1997: 24).

To paraphrase Eric Hobsbawm's classic statement: It is hard to imagine traditions without references to the past. The Swedish past was of course evoked in the context of the national day celebrations. The reasons for celebrating 6 June were repeatedly mentioned in the press. On the 6 June, 1523, it was decided that Gustavus Vasa would be crowned as the new king. This marked the end of the oppression and foreign rule of the Kalmar union, founded in 1397. In historiography, the reign of Gustavus Vasa is often seen as the foundation of the Swedish nation-state. In 1809, on the same date, a new constitution was passed; a constitution that would remain until the 1970s, and which is still considered a crucial document for the formation of the modern state and its political institutions. The recurring references to why the nation was celebrated made clear the fact that many Swedes did not know the day's historical background.

In celebrations of national days, the mass media have played and still play a central role. Public celebrations are unthinkable without different media forms, staging the celebrations and transforming them into media events (see, for example, Geisler, 2005; Rodell, 2009a: 156–168). In these celebrations, various spatialities were formulated and depicted. Places as well as material artefacts were brought to the fore. One of my general arguments is that the multitude of meanings in national day festivities can be understood in more detail through an analysis of the spatiality that is a constituent part of these phenomena. The purpose of the present article is to explore and analyse what places were used and what spaces that were created in the context of the celebrations.

In particular I will focus on the national day celebrations taking place on 6 June in 2005, in Stockholm. Within the geography of the national capital, I will examine what places and spaces were mentioned and discussed by the media, and what particular meaning they were invested with. I will, when necessary, extend my study to other places. Furthermore, I will analyse the various spaces that were depicted in the media. As a means of organizing my analysis, I will discuss three kinds of spaces: nostalgic space, confrontational space and official space. In the last part of the article, I will focus on the municipality of Boden and explore the celebrations that took place there on 6 June 2009. Boden's geographical position and geo-politically important history ascribes it, in the context of the celebrations, with regional features of interest in relation to the purposes of this anthology.



Gustavus Vasa, of¹ cial founder of the Swedish nation-state.

In the making of national identities various spaces and places play a pivotal role. It is difficult to imagine French nationhood without *la Bastille* or the Eiffel tower, American patriotism without the Statue of Liberty, or Israeli nationalism without the Wailing Wall. This may seem fairly obvious. *How* places like these or others are *made into* significant national places is a different matter. The fact that, today, these places are

considered symbolic manifestations of each nation, is not merely a coincidence; it is the result of specific cultural practices and processes.

Cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove has stated that, during modernity, space and time were considered objective phenomena that existed independent of their contents. What has been labelled the spatial turn has called into question whether time and space should be explored in this way. Thus, space is no longer seen as something absolute, existing outside societal and historical contexts, but on the contrary as something intertwined with the processes that constitute it. "Geographical 'place' is today treated as an instantiation of process rather than an ontological given." (Cosgrove, 2004: 25)

In a more concrete manner, British geographer John Agnew argues that place is a vital and constitutive part of how various actors make politics. In his book *Place and Politics in Modern Italy*, Agnew delivers a thorough criticism of the previously shallow treatment of geography within social science and states that geography "is inherent in or constitutive of social processes rather than merely a backdrop on which they are inscribed" (Agnew, 2002: 6). Notions, values and identities that motivate various types of political action and public practices "are embedded in the places or geographical contexts where people live their lives" (3). My approach in examining the celebration of national days in Sweden is inspired by these perspectives.

In an article published in the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, the day before the national day in 2005, a historian was quoted as saying that when the Swedish flag is celebrated on the national day or on Midsummer Eve "it is often a harmless tradition". But when it is put on display on a terrace house in an area "where many immigrants live, it is often a conscious provocation" (Lerner, 2005). This statement illustrates a general point, namely that the significance of national symbols is dependent on the context in which they are used, and this applies to the historical as well as the spatial context. The spatiality and the symbol interact, and the meaning of the symbol is dependent on where and when this interaction takes place. Scholars interested in how nations are materially and spatially manifested must take this interconnection into consideration.

Nostalgic Spaces

Regarding the celebrations of the national day in 2005, Stefan Olsson, chairman of the Swedish Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*) – a nationalist right-wing party – in the southern town of Landskrona stated that:

"[N]ationalism is to love Sweden as a country, to want it to be as it once was, when I was younger. Everything has changed so rapidly. The little world is no longer safeguarded, small shops are closed and no one takes care of the traditions" (Lerner, 2005). In Olsson's words a nostalgic space is created where old traditions, family and kinship are seen as pivotal values; a space unaffected by the forces of modernization and flows of immigrants. Olsson's words are a typical example of the nationalist right-wing arguments that were expressed more or less violently throughout Europe after the end of the Cold War.

Nostalgic spaces do not necessarily have to be associated with right-wing extremism. They can also be created from a more mundane, less hardcore national agenda. Through different embodiments, a nostalgic space expressing a world now gone is put on display at Skansen, one of the Swedish *lieux de mémoire par preference*. Skansen was the first open air museum in the world, inaugurated in 1891. Situated at Djurgården in Stockholm, Skansen is one of the most famous national places in Sweden.

One of the primary reasons that Arthur Hazelius started Skansen was to gather the material remnants of the disappearing regional cultures of the late nineteenth century in Sweden (Biörstrand, 1991). Thus, it has come to encapsulate several regions, thereby depicting a spatial complexity between the regions and the nation. Since its opening, Skansen has become a Swedish national shrine, where various types of national manifestations have taken place (Biörstrand, 1967; Boman, 1998; Sörlin, 1998; Jönsson, 2008). For almost a century, celebrating the day of the Swedish flag and Skansen were almost synonymous. It was also at Skansen, 6 June was celebrated as a national day for the first time in 1893.

The celebration in 1893 marked the end of the spring feasts initiated by Hazelius. During the spring feasts and on the national day the visitor could see men and women dressed in traditional costumes from all parts of Sweden. Historical re-enactments were organized, and one of the most popular was the parade of Gustavus III and his courtiers. Early in the evening, King Oscar II and the crown prince arrived, and the Stockholm dailies informed the reading public the day after that the king had a glass of wine at one of the market stalls, that he was given a little Swedish flag at another and a cigar at a third. During the evening, several speeches were held that paid tribute to the greatness of the Swedish nation (Rodell, 2009a: 125–126, 128).

Many of these features were also present one hundred and twelve years later. One of the most striking similarities was the presence of royalty. Having participated in different festivities throughout the country,

all members of the royal family were present at the celebrations at Skansen during the evening (Jacobsson, 2005, Atterstam, 2005). During this occasion others, now as well as in the past, their presence can be seen as a prerequisite, a symbolic sanctioning of the festivities as a solemn, public event (Rodell, 2008). Just as in 1893, people in 2005 dressed in traditional costumes could be observed. Another similarity was the fact that the festivities in 1893 and in 2005 both marked the beginning of a new tradition.

At Skansen in 2005, Björn von Sydow, speaker of the parliament, gave a speech expressing several classic themes in a twenty-first century national commemorative context: the sense of nature, freedom and peace, and the history of democracy. In an interview in *Dagens Nyheter* the day before the national day, von Sydow acknowledged that these values might be difficult to capture, because they "do not obviously release the same intoxication of solidarity as does liberation from a painful occupation". But what we do have, von Sydow concluded, is music, and he mentioned the big music programme, including, for example, Abba songs from the musical *Mamma Mia*, that would follow after the traditional celebrations (Persson, 2005).

Nostalgia was also seen as something that belonged to the past. In a *Dagens Nyheter* editorial, Inga-Britt Ahlenius, newly appointed head of the United Nations Internal Revision, stated that Swedes had long persisted in commemorating mayor defeats in war. The 6 November 1632 (the death of Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lützen, Germany) and 30 November 1718 (the death of Charles XII at the siege of Fredriksten, Norway) were dates when the ruin of Sweden as a great empire was mourned and manifested. Luckily "we have finally liberated ourselves from this" and instead "we celebrate the unification of the country". Ahlenius concluded by evoking another sort of nostalgic space, the one felt and expressed by people living in exile. In New York she would use the national day to think about all the "beautiful composite words in the creative Swedish language, that are not easy to translate", such as "juninattsskymning, gullviveglänta, vitsippsäng, koltrastdrill, vindstilla, smultronställe, havsband, kvällsbris, skärgårdsbrygga, sensommarkvällar, augustimörker" (Ahlenius, 2005).[1]

Confrontational Space

On the national day in 2005, left-wing as well as right-wing movements intended to organize separate marches. The extreme right-wing party, the National Democrats, planned a meeting in Stockholm and after the

meeting they invited people to play rounders with nationalistic music in a "surrounding crowned by ancient monuments" (Persson, 2005). In choosing these surroundings, space was invested with a historic-mythic significance, material remnants created a link and continuity between contemporary Swedes and their ancestors. At the same time as the National Democrats would start their march, the left extremist organization AFA (Anti-Fascist Action) would gather at Sergels torg, *a lieux de mémorie* of the Swedish post-war modernization of the city centre. The architecture of the square does not primarily express explicit nationalist values. Its style can be found all over Europe and is more closely associated with a cosmopolitan progressive modernist agenda. AFA's purpose was to use the national day as a way to manifest "international solidarity". They also wanted to distance themselves from "nationalism", which "had created false notions [---] about a natural kinship between people that live within a certain territory" (Persson, 2005).

In articles, editorials, essays, commentaries and summaries of facts, a struggle between different interpretations of Sweden and Swedishness was brought to the fore. In these interpretations various spaces and places were used depending on the political position and agenda. In a polemical article entitled "Stockholm can be turned into a battlefield tomorrow" (Götblad, 2005), Carin Götblad, the chief commissioner of the police department, expressed her worries and stated that the police needed a forceful strategy to prevent right-wing and left-wing extremists from succeeding in making the national day into a symbol of a divided Sweden. This hypothetical division would be manifested on the streets, embodied by the fighting activists. Regarding the celebrations as a temporal political stage seemed to be a trend.

In another *Dagens Nyheter* article, Hannes Delling stated that "the sixth of June had become a day of political manifestation". The celebrations were not only "about flag waving". More people take the opportunity to "use the new holiday to deliver their political messages" (Delling, 2005). In 2007, one headline in the daily *Stockholms City* was even more explicit: "Several demonstrations – leave your car at home" (Lagerwall, 2007). The Stockholm cityscape ran the risk of becoming a scene of national disintegration. Another *Dagens Nyheter* article concluded: the celebrations during the coming years will probably determine the popular support of 6 June. "If the day will be embellished by carnivals and festivities, or if it will be Nazi rallies and counter-demonstrations that dominate the media coverage of the national day" (Brors, 2005). These more or less alarming prophecies created a narrative of conflict and public

clashes and were deeply rooted in a Swedish post-Cold War history in which the concept of nationalism had come to be associated with xenophobia and racism.

In 2005, these prophecies passed as mere prophecies. Outside the City Hall in Stockholm, where new citizens were welcomed by the minister of integration, a few hundred men with crew cuts and blonde women marched in procession in something called Folkets marsch (The Parade of the People). They were dressed in a uniform-like clothing, carried Swedish flags and shouted phrases expressing the urgent need to "force the enemy out of our country". Alongside the Swedish flag they carried banners with the Tyr rune, symbolizing struggle, battle and victory, which was used in the 1930s and 40s by the Hitler Youth. At the same time about a thousand left-wing activists had gathered. The police managed to keep the groups separated and no serious physical confrontations were reported (Letmark & Hennéus, 2005; Hanson, 2005).

Four years later, in 2009, in the northern coastal town of Skellefteå, the 2005 prophecies came true. Weeks before 6 June, it was widely known that the celebrations in Skellefteå might lead to violence. The neo-Nazi Swedish resistance movement had invited its members and sympathizers to celebrate the national day in the town. Other organizations had worked on creating support for a counter-demonstration. This resulted in the greatest police effort in the history of Skellefteå. The fight started at noon. The quick and solid intervention of the police separated the confronting parties. Separated by double lines of police officers, the two groups continued to insult one another with shouts, gestures and by throwing coins and eggs. To avoid confrontations, when the right-wing extremists were to leave the place, reinforcements were called in from the entire Norrbotten region. Large parts of the city centre were cleared of people, and the right-wing extremists were escorted to the People's Park where their cars were parked (Granström, 2009).

In 2005, in the Stockholm daily *Svenska Dagbladet*, ethnologist Barbro Blehr mentioned that, in Norway, all controversial questions are forbidden on the national day. Having said that, she stated that "it would be interesting if the Swedes could demonstrate for all sorts of things on 6 June, not only stay united" (Sidenbladh, 2005). In this way, potential confrontations are laden with a more positive meaning, as events that would truly convey the democratic culture that most Swedes are proud to be representatives of. It is hard to imagine that the average citizen would have embraced that idea during the 2009 celebrations in Skellefteå.



10 NYHETER | NATIONALDAGEN

SvD tisdag 7 juni 2005

I Stockholms stadshus hälsas nya svenska medborgare välkomna av integrationsminister Jens Orback. Utanför marscherar svenska nationalsocialister, som avslutar sitt tåg med en Hitlerhälsning och rop om att "jaga fienden ur vårt land."

FOTO: BJÖRN LARSSON ASK

En marsch med blonda rasister

Swedish Nazis marching in Stockholm city on the national day 6 June 2005.

Official Space

Throughout Sweden, numerous official events took place. At the celebrations in Södertälje, south of Stockholm, Prime Minister Göran Persson gave a speech. He stressed "the enormous changes" that Sweden has gone through. "Sometimes Sweden feels harder, colder. But Sweden feels filled with possibilities and is much more exotic than when I grew up. Our country is enriched by an enormous multiplicity of cultures, and that makes Sweden more successful." According to the prime minister, celebrating the national day should also make Swedes feel proud. "We do not need to copy other countries' celebrations. We have our own traditions to honour. Humanism, freedom, equality and democracy are values that constitute Swedish society and this should make us feel proud" (Karam, 2005).

As previously mentioned, Björn von Sydow, speaker of the parliament, underlined the same values at his speech at Skansen. In Mora, in the county of Dalarna, the County Governor Ingrid Dahlberg addressed "all the new citizens in our country" and stressed the importance of "having one country to belong to". In Scania, the county governor, Bengt Holgersson, described the unique features of "the democratic development of Sweden" (Persson, 2005).

If nostalgic and confrontational spaces were constructed, related to historical sites or on the city streets, official space was concomitantly constructed, imbued with the values that representatives of the Swedish state expressed and that most of the Swedish people embraced. In creating this official space, distinct types of places were used throughout the country.

In 2009, the official celebrations of the municipality of Uppsala took place in the City Park (Sken, 2009). That was also the case in Växjö, Borås, Varberg and in Norrköping (Fritzén, 2009; Glans, 2009; Hillgren, 2009; 'Nationaldagsfirande i Norrköping 6 juni 2009', 2009). In addition to parks, festivities were also located on city squares and in town halls. In the northern town of Piteå the celebrations were located on the Town Hall square. In Eskilstuna the national day ceremonies were held on Fristad's square in the city centre. The municipality of the northern coastal town of Örnsköldsvik had situated some of their celebrations on the Sea Square in the harbour (Bäckström, 2009; 'Kungligt nationaldagsfirande', 2009; 'Nationaldagsfirande 6 juni i Örnsköldsvik', 2009). These are just a few examples. Parks and squares were used in most Swedish towns throughout the country. These places became temporary stages were the official values of the municipalities and state could be presented.

Since 1991, a citizenship ceremony for new Swedish citizens has taken place in Stockholm City Hall. In 2005, a third of the municipalities in Sweden offered ceremonies like this. One of the most important ambitions of these ceremonies is to communicate concepts like citizen, citizenship, democracy and freedom. In Sweden and Norway, participation in the citizenship ceremony is voluntarily, while it is mandatory in England. In 2009, Stockholm's Cultural Commissioner Madeleine Sjöstedt, from the Liberal Party, stated that "the citizenship ceremony in the Town Hall [is] one of the most important events occurring on the national day", as this is the occasion when thousands of new Swedish citizens celebrates their new citizenship ('Lördagen den 6 juni firar Sverige', 2009).

The use of various parks, city squares and town halls throughout Sweden created an official space. In locating different events to these public places, an interconnection was created between authorities and institu-

tions, representing the Swedish state, the open spaces, accessible to all in a democratic society, and the public celebrations taking place there on the national day. These places were more closely associated with the mundane practices of the community than with some nostalgic grandeur of the Swedish past. The practices at these places were thus also characterized by civic notions of nationhood, stating that everyone who shares ideas concerning democracy, peace, freedom and multi-culture is welcome to become a full citizen of the Swedish nation-state. Defining nationality in this way stands in striking contrast to the definition according to which only a specific culture, a certain language, blood ties and kinship can determine whether you are Swedish, French or Serbian.

Celebrating the national day in 2009, the Islamic Centre in Malmö invited representatives of the Swedish Church, the Catholic Church and the Missionary Church. The chairman of the Centre, Bejzat Becirov, declared that the "national day is a joy for all imams. It is an important day for us all" ("Kristna och muslimer i gemensamt nationaldagsfirande", 2009). In Högsbo, Göteborg, a different way of celebrating the national day took place in the Ahmadiyya mosque. For the occasion, 60 guests from the neighbouring areas had been invited to see what happens in a Swedish mosque. Agha Yahya Khan, imam in the Ahmadiyya congregation, stated that a Muslim should love and respect his country, "the country where one lives is like a mother to us" and Sweden gives us freedom to practice our religion ("Nationaldagsfirande i moské", 2009). The celebrations in Malmö and Gothenburg can serve as a further way of inscribing the civic, inclusive ideal of nationhood.

Bordered Regional Space

In the northern town of Boden, the national day celebrations in 2009 took on regional as well as international meanings. These meanings must be situated in the geopolitical history of the town and region. During the last decades of the 1800s, there was an economic boom in the big province of Norrland, and the province was envisioned as the land of a prosperous future. Concomitantly the northbound railway was constructed and in 1894 it reached Boden. From Boden, a railway to the harbour in the coastal town of Luleå was constructed and westward it reached the Norwegian harbour at the Ofoten fiord in 1903. Railways were also under construction in the Grand Duchy of Finland, a part of the Russian empire. During the 1880s and 1890s, Russian rule in Finland hardened. Within parts of the Swedish public and military establishment, politi-

cians, journalists and officers argued that Sweden was under direct threat of a Russian assault and that this was further inscribed by the expanding railway (Rodell, 2009b: 72–73).

The interpretations within the security establishment and intense public campaigning lead to a parliamentary decision in the spring of 1900 to construct fortifications in Boden. The work started in January 1900 and the first parts of the fortification were put into operation in 1907. Throughout the twentieth century, the fortress was continuously developed, and Boden became one of the biggest garrison towns in Sweden during the Cold War. In January 1998, the fortress was closed. Boden is still the biggest garrison town in Sweden, although the Swedish armed forces have been radically reduced during the past twenty years. The new roles of the Swedish defence and the changed meanings of Boden as a place were depicted during the national day celebrations in 2009.

The local celebrations took place at Kvarnängen, a green area in the city centre. In 1987, the garrison of Boden donated "Militärhjälmen" ("The Military Helmet") to the municipality. This is a huge military helmet turned upside down and covered with greenery ("Kvarnängens salutplats", 2009). It manifested Boden's identity as a city dominated by the various branches of the defence and the peace-keeping work by the military and is placed at Kvarnängen. At four in the afternoon, the national day parade passed through Boden on its way to Kvarnängen. The ceremony was opened by the municipal commissioner Olle Lindström, who stated that the Swedish Armed Forces played a vital roll in keeping Boden's traditions. After Lindström, followed the key speaker, the commander of the garrison Jan Mörtberg (Engfors, 2009).

He started his speech by quoting the late nineteenth century poet Carl David af Wirsén and his poem "Vid Boden" ("In Boden"). Using the poem he outlined a local narrative of progress in which the little village with a church, during the twentieth century, was transformed into a regional centre for the nation's defence, for railway communications and for the county's medical services. The 1990s saw fundamental strategic upheavals "in our surrounding world", which greatly affected local and regional conditions. Thus, the situation at the beginning of the twenty-first century meant something new for the city and the region (Mörtberg, 2009).

In the festivities in 2009, several speakers and writers referred to the memorable year of 1809. So did Mörtberg by stating that this year, "we" are commemorating the bicentenary of the partition of Sweden and Finland. Stating this Mörtberg brought forward the 1809 war that resulted in the partition. The time that had passed from 1809 up until the present,

had seen wars, both warm and cold, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union that eventually resulted in Sweden's and Finland's entrance into the European Union in 1995 (Mörtberg, 2009).

The end of the Cold War gave "our defence" new tasks, and during the 1990s and 2000s, Sweden has increased its international cooperation and participates in peacekeeping missions in many parts of the world. In Afghanistan, Swedish troops, trained in Boden, can give children, girls as well as boys, hope for a better future. One other consequence of "our geopolitical situation and our welfare" is that we can open our borders for people fleeing from conflict and war. This fact, and that we do not need the fortress "for any obvious threat" and "we" can send troops from Boden to help bring "peace and freedom" to other people – all this is "worth celebrating", concluded Mörtberg in his speech.

Conclusion

In Boden various geographical scales merged. The 2009 celebrations took on local and regional features, as they brought the changing roles of the municipality to the fore. Once the biggest garrison town manning the biggest complex of fortifications in northern Europe, the end of the Cold War and the new millennia brought change to the region. Because Sweden no longer needed to be prepared for a Russian assault along the eastern borderlands, the garrison was reduced, and the focus of the remaining units was directed to international peace-keeping enterprises. In this way, the local, the regional and the international merged and within this framework it was also obvious that Sweden's role in northern Scandinavia had shifted. The case of Boden shows that regional dimensions and meanings in most cases can be situated in a broader geographical framework.

The phenomenon of national day celebrations can be explored in many different ways. Here, I have analysed what places were used and what spaces were created in the context of the celebrations. By using various media forms, I mainly explore what took place in the capital of Stockholm, above all during the national day celebrations in 2005. I organize my analysis by discussing three spaces: nostalgic space, confrontational space and official space. These spaces were sometimes produced at the same places, which can serve to illustrate the peculiar and dynamic relationship between space and place. Nostalgic space was invested with a harsher national agenda when produced by the Sweden Democrats or the neo-Nazi grouping the National Democrats. Right-wing nostalgic space was balanced by a more mundane national agenda clearly

depicted at the celebrations taking place at Skansen, where the presence of royalty and old houses and milieus from the agrarian Swedish past created a more officially acknowledged type of nostalgic space.

Skansen served both as a concrete and symbolic arena, concrete in the sense that speeches and entertainment were performed here. The speaker of the parliament underlined in his speech that a sense of nature, a history of democracy, peace and freedom represented specific Swedish values. Taken all together, the space that Skansen occupied at Djurgården in Stockholm depicted an ideal, nostalgic microcosm of a past Sweden. Hard core right-wing nostalgia was overcome by the official discourse and the presence of politicians, royalty and celebrity.

On the city streets, a confrontational space was forged. Before the celebrations in 2005, there were outright prophecies that the streets of Stockholm might turn into a battlefield between right-wing and left-wing extremists on 6 June. This never occurred, but in the northern town of Skellefteå the clashes predicted in 2005 became a reality four years later, when confrontations between neo-Nazis and radical left-wing groups resulted in the biggest police effort in the history of the town.

In 2005, the left-wing activist group AFA started their march at Sergels torg. This fact corresponds with the third space that I have discussed: official space. Throughout Sweden, celebrations took place on squares, in parks and in city halls. All these festivities were officially sanctioned by local, regional or national authorities. The national day was also celebrated in mosques, manifestations that can be seen as a way of inscribing the multicultural values officially represented by twenty-first century Sweden. It is clear that the right-wing making of nostalgic space differed a great deal from the gestures and words that were found in the official space created in the Stockholm City Hall or in the Ahmadiyya mosque in Gothenburg. In line with John Agnew's argument, it is obvious that the plethora of meanings of space and place must be explored in a contextually scrupulous way, such that the explorer always keeps in mind the multitude of possible meanings that can be ascribed to space and place.

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endnotes

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1 "The twilight of a June night", "a glade of cowslips", "a meadow of wood anemones", "the warble of a blackbird", "calm/windless", "favourite spot/wild strawberry patch", "the outskirts of an archipelago", "evening breeze", "a pier in the archipelago", "late summer evening", "the darkness of August".

Patrik Lundell

Regional Aesthetics in Transition: Ideology, Infrastructure and History

when german professor of theology, Friedrich Wilhelm von Schubert, was travelling in 1817, the province of Östergötland, which will be in focus in this article, was entered either from the south (via Småland) or from the north (via Närke or Södermanland), and both these border areas have a distinct upland character.[1] In the other two quarters, the western and the eastern, the province is surrounded by water. On his northbound route, crossing the border to the province, the professor thus wrote: "One is now in the rich corn land of Östergötland, something which can hardly be imagined in these forests and mountains" (Schubert, 1823: I, 201). The border area thus evoked definitions of the centre, and the power of the – yet unseen – cultivated flat land was obviously considerable.

On a more general level, von Schubert may illustrate three features of travel literature. First, the traveller is dependent on predominating aesthetic ideals. Second, the beholder is directed by his (in this article, they are indeed all men) previous knowledge, collected not least from earlier travel literature. And third, the landscape is seen from the beaten track, at least in the sense that most travellers for obvious reasons depended on the existing infrastructure. All three parameters are of course subject to historical change. Viewed over time, a fairly stable, unchanging landscape can hence be described in the most different ways. This underlines that space and culture are always deeply intertwined and therefore must be analysed in their specific historical settings. Seen this way, the case of

Östergötland becomes an elucidating example of more general phenomena.

Ideological Aesthetics

The German theologian was, however, in another sense not fully representative, or up to date. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the stereotyped image of Östergötland was actually enriched with an element of mountains and forests. Travellers in the eighteenth century had almost in unison described the province as a pronounced flat land. In 1774, English historian Nathaniel William Wraxall noted as he entered Östergötland proper: "every thing had assumed a cheerful appearance, and the groves of fir were succeeded by a cultivated and liberal soil, covered with grain, and exhibiting marks of industry" (Wraxall, 1807: 93). The actual appeal of the flat land is made very clear here. But to say that the utility aspect prevented an aesthetic appreciation would of course be deeply unhistorical. Combinations like "the beautiful and fertile flat land" (Meerman, 1810: II, 13) should be read aesthetically and economically. The useful *was* beautiful.

The mountains of Östergötland, if commented upon at all by the Enlightenment travellers, were usually depicted as obstacles. Danish historian Jacob Langebek travelled in 1753 on "a bad road, full of hills and slopes" (Langebek, 1794: 165). And these slopes were undoubtedly dangerous. Carts sliding off the road, cartwheels breaking, and horses not managing the weight or galloping were commonplace. And there were other perils as well. The Frenchman Drevon (1789: 189) reported fearing, during his entire passage through Kolmården, the dark and hilly region between Östergötland and Södermanland, that the peasant carriage drivers would kill him without further ado. He feels relief only at the sight of the city of Norrköping, down on the cultivated flat land. If the mountains have any value it is for the views of the flat land they offer, and it is common that the eighteenth century traveller leaves Kolmården unnoticed, but cries out in rapture once the flat land starts to unfold on the way down from the hills. According to Dutchman Johan Meerman in 1797, who simultaneously reveals his classical ideals, "The flat land, which spreads over a major part of Östergötland, has earned the province the pet name the Italy of Sweden".

That the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century favoured the cultivated flat land to the woods and the mountains is well known. The roots of this utilitarian view can be sought in the classics as well as in the Scrip-

tures. My point here is that this ideal had a profound influence on what they actually saw, or at least found it worthwhile to tell their readers about. The Östergötland of the eighteenth century thus became synonymous with the cultivated and controlled flat land. Wild nature was given no value. The woods were indeed sometimes hailed for their economical importance; however, if they were inaccessible for a sound forestry, they lacked charm. Ideals were classic and utilitarian; the change that was about to come is palpable.

With the nineteenth century came a more positive outlook on mountains and forests (Nicholson, 1959). So-called Romantic ideals called for if not sublime, at least picturesque landscapes. Variation and contrast became keywords. The region of Kolmården – called Italian by the 44-year-old Meerman in 1797 – was now, in 1804, compared with Switzerland by the 20 year younger Englishman John Carr. Ideals had shifted; the place was given other connotations. Where Meerman gaped at the flat land, Carr saw something quite different: "vast rocks, lakes, forests of fir, and scattered hamlets: This was by far the finest prospect which I beheld in Sweden". The outlook might very well have been exactly the same as Meerman's, and it captivates the romantic Carr to the point that he patches together a few moving lines on "A Swedish Cottage" (Carr, 1805: 114; see also Schubert, 1823: I, 203).

The esteem of mountains and forests, wild or interspersed with traces of human diligence, meant that the province had been re-coded. The Frenchman Daumont, for example, claims in 1830 that the city of Linköping is located "in the middle of a fertile valley" (Daumont, 1834: 54); to our eyes (and the city has not been moved), it resides if anything on a hillock on the flat land. Also other parts of the province were seen and commented upon using these new ideals. For many travellers, the region of Ydre, in the southern part of the province and a place actually frequented by several of the Swedish romantic poets, became the quintessence of Östergötland. Danish historian Christian Molbech, who for some time travelled with P.D.A. Atterbom, one of the chief Swedish Romanticists, actually refers to "the mountainous Östergötland" (Molbech, 1817: II, 116); the flat land is reduced to nothing more than an appendage. And a few years later, the poet Karl August Nicander almost lacks words for "the titanic masses of the landscape": "What mountains!" (Nicander, 1831: 4). A very telling opinion is given by one Hans Peter Klinghammer: "To be sure, mountains and forests are the most characteristic features of the physiognomy of Östergötland; but that Östergötland, notwithstanding, primarily is a corn land becomes appar-

ent when one sees the vast and most fertile fields, which on the plains in between extend their lighter verdure" (Klinghammer, 1841: 187). Or put in fewer words: A flat land whose prime characteristic is mountains.

With the passion for mountains and forests sometimes came a depreciation of the flat land. When Jonas Carl Linnerhielm, an early and distinct exponent of the picturesque ideal, gazed upon the flat land he saw "nothing but fields and flat shadowless meadows" ([Linnerhielm], 1816: 26). Or consider what one traveller in 1830 just called "the monotony of the region" (Lessing, 1831: 168). This attitude, however, must not be exaggerated. A more common opinion is that the flat land indeed is dull, but that this is compensated for by its fertility. "The monotony of this land is easily excused by its apparent fruitfulness," claimed, for example, the just-mentioned Linnerhielm (1806: 116). However, the most common attitude was still the old Enlightenment view. The aesthetician Adolf Törneros wrote in 1823: "on the southern hills of Kolmården we stayed for a long time and let our glances dwell on the *goldene Au* of Östergyllen [a poetic name for the province], the living image of fertility" (Törneros, 1840: 269).

The power of the flat land was great. A utilitarian view on the landscape was incorporated in the Romantic one. Variation and contrast were, as mentioned, keywords. Östergötland, according to the same Törneros (1840: 278), "can show evidence of everything that the other provinces can boast of in terms of the mild and the wild, the pretty and the sublime; the meagre dreariness, however, has certainly not settled down here". And no matter how romantic the poetry, it always sang the praises of fertility and wealth. Instead of seeing these notions as a shift from the utilitarian ideals of the eighteenth century, it is worth stressing the continuity.

Around 1800, the image of Östergötland was thus added a distinct element of mountains and forests. For some, albeit only a few, the province *was* primarily a mountainous region; the boarder areas in the south and the north comprised, they seem to have meant, the true and proper Östergötland. Expressions of this kind are easy to find in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. After that they more or less vanish. The image of Östergötand is once again almost completely dominated by the fertile flat land. So, what had happened? Had the dreams of mountains and bewitching forests just ended in 1830? Had ideals changed so swiftly? No, and the representational change should more correctly be dated to 1832, the year of the inauguration of the Great Canal.

Infrastructural Aesthetics

The influence of Göta kanal on the image of Östergötland can hardly be exaggerated. The canal meant that the majority of travel writers passed through the province on it. To these travellers, Östergötland became what could be seen from the steamships of the canal. If they previously had travelled on land through the forests of Småland, past the cities of Linköping and Norrköping to the dark Kolmården of the north, they now travelled on a route almost perpendicular to the old one, from Lake Vätter to the Baltic Sea, and the towns visited were now Vadstena, Motala and Söderköping. No mountains and forests, comparatively speaking. Of course, there were and had been exceptions. It is still reasonable to say that the majority of travellers after 1832 literally travelled through a different landscape.

Previously framed by woody mountains, now by water. The complement to the flat land was no longer heights and forests, but billows and, not least, islands. The archipelago was discovered. The German priest A. Dreising's travel experiences from 1839 show a novelty, a complete chapter on "Skärgården" (the Archipelago), with the concluding judgement: "The journey through the Swedish archipelago was idyllically beautiful!" (Dreising, 1885: 37). Englishman Robert Colton seconds this and calls his meeting with, what he beforehand thought would be, the "[t]he frightful Baltic" the "*bonne bouche*" of his entire trip to Sweden ([Colton], 1847: 70; for the lure of the sea, see Corbin 1994).

The canal itself was a major attraction, and as such it lent prestige and directed an increasing number of travellers to the province. Göta kanal became an obvious and prominent part of the image of Östergötland. Travel literature from Östergötland not discussing the canal is almost unthinkable. The canal was a monumental work of proportions hard to grasp today. Not only Swedes compared the enormous project with the most magnificent achievements of ancient Rome. References to Rome are frequent and should be understood literally. "The splendour and solidity of the locks can be compared with the buildings of the most brilliant Roman epochs", the German von Hallberg-Broich exclaimed – fifteen years prior to the inauguration (1820: 117f). Göta kanal made Sweden to "a nation in Europe" ([Sturzen-Becker], 1858: 31), a Sweden more often described as poor and backward.

Also in a literal sense, the canal spoke of wealth. "The price on land has increased in a most astonishing way", one traveller remarked ([Sturzen-Becker], 1858: 32). And the canal's importance for tourism is certainly not



A monumental work of proportions hard to grasp. "Bergs slussar", Album för resande å Götha kanal (Stockholm, 1858).

a late discovery. Göta kanal was built for the transport of goods and people and as an important link in the military defence. However, already from the start it was also made use of for sheer pleasure. The poet Herman Sätherberg, the year before the official opening, strongly recommended that his readers take a journey on the canal in high summer; it was "one of the most pleasant" in Sweden (Sätherberg, 1896: 248). And Sturzen-Becker refrained from remarks on the canal's "importance in economic terms and its grandeur as a mechanical monumental work" and only wanted to "stress its originality from a picturesque point of view" ([Sturzen-Becker], 1858: 30). There is, however, no reason to isolate the economic and aesthetic appreciations. As the same Sturzen-Becker exclaimed, in an obvious Enlightenment vocabulary: "Seldom has the useful in such a successful way been united with the beauteous, 'utile dulci'" ([Sturzen-Becker], 1858: 31).

The towns are of course part of the image of the province. Norrköping represented manufactories and industries. The port had a rising reputation as the foremost manufacturing town of the nation, sometimes nicknamed "the Birmingham of Sweden" (e.g., Lessing, 1831: 168; Daumont, 1834: 68; [Sturzen-Becker], 1856: 26). Norrköping was modern, its public services impressive. By Swedish standards, the town was big and rich. Linköping was, particularly during the eighteenth century, renowned as an ecclesiastical centre of learning. The cathedral, the school, and the library were all among the foremost in Sweden. During the beginning of the nineteenth century, the town was given the pet name "little Stockholm", due to its prosperous social life and public entertainments (Molbech, 1817: III, 71). These different estimations do not simply reflect the development of Linköping's city life; they are also significant for changes in travelling. In the eighteenth century, travellers were very often the learned; in the nineteenth century, they were tourists.

Historical Aesthetics

The "gothic" cathedral and the dust-laden library certainly had an appeal in the nineteenth century, with its awakening historical interest. Linköping was also recognized as the place of the battle of Stångebro, a battle that liberated Sweden from the power of the Pope and gave Freedom to the nation; in post-revolutionary times, the so-called blood bath of Linköping in 1600 was seen as nothing less than "[a] memorable assertion of political rights" (James, 1816: 103). Notwithstanding, Göta kanal directed travellers elsewhere. Linköping and Norrköping were to some extent abandoned as places to visit. And Norrköping had little to offer in historical peculiarities. The many fires had extinguished the old; instead one spoke of "the current regular and joyful look of the town" (Daumont, 1834: 66), characteristics that hardly appealed to those dreaming of the Middle Ages. Linköping and Norrköping can also be said to have been superfluous as places to visit. Except for forests and mountains, the canal route offered almost everything else that the nineteenth century traveller could ask for. By the approach to the canal, after a journey through the archipelago, the traveller met the ruins of Stegeborg Castle, "famed in Swedish history for hard fighting and romance" ([Colton], 1847: 71), then the town of Söderköping, "once renowned as the fairest city of Inner Sweden, in days gone by" (Atkinson, 1848: 205), and then the medieval church of Vreta kloster, "this old memorial site" ([Andersson], 1846: 8). The other side of the nineteenth century traveller, the

heir of the Enlightenment and the believer in Progress, in Historical Change, was satisfied with the canal itself, of course, and with the clattering and bustling Mechanical Engineering Industries of Motala.

Many routes included the short detour to Vadstena, by Lake Vätter. The changes in the impressions of Vadstena from over more than a century of travelling are very telling regarding how the landscape was gradually invested with history. Meerman, who visited in 1797, was dismissing: "The city is dead" (Meerman, 1810: 69). The same thing, but with completely different connotations is voiced half a century later, by Erik Magnus Pontin: "Wadstena is, if I may say so, a kind of Herculanum, the city of the dead, where great riches from days gone by are gathered." The mere disposition of Pontin's account, verging on mediative ecstasy and making claims of capturing Vadstena both past and present, is significant; only the last 25 of the 260 pages deals with "now" – a "now" starting in the sixteenth century.

Examples are manifold. The ugly and crooked streets of Vadstena become precious memories of days gone by; the tumbledown heap of stones becomes a castle in unfortunate disrepair; the abbey, which during the eighteenth century generated disparaging anecdotes about lecherous nuns and monks, is transformed to a place for contemplation; and Superstitious Birgitta gradually achieves some status as Saint Birgitta. Closely tied to this historicism and romantic love for ruins, expressed in lavish volumes of prints like Thersner's (1817–1867) and Anckarswärd's (1828–1830), was the popular habit of walking. With romanticism hiking came into fashion. And the rambler was not only closer to contemplation over the transient nature of human efforts. He could just as easily, and whenever he felt like it, stop and let himself be filled with whatever emotion that happened to be flooding, concerning nature, friendship or the common people (von Platen, 1981).

This is of course a simplistic picture. That the landscape was invested with history and that this phenomenon was concentrated around Göta kanal, the symbol of technological progress and modern times, is however obvious. A beautiful picture of this association of old and new is seen by the impressive steps of locks at Berg. The steamship travellers avail themselves of the opportunity to see the old graves of kings at nearby Vreta kloster, "the noise and din of new times" penetrates into the dusky medieval church (Hedberg, 1861: 17), and at a given signal one returns to the ship and its next goal, the industries of Motala.

And the sum of gems is certainly impressive to the historical dreamer: Stegeborg, Söderköping, Bråvalla, Linköping, Skännige, Vreta kloster,



Even from within the medieval church one could hear the noise from the steamships on the nearby Göta kanal. "Wreta klosters kyrka", Från Stockholm till Götheborg: Pittoreska vyer från Götha kana loch dess närhet (Stockholm, 1841).

Bjälbo, Ulfåsa, Vadstena, Alvastra all march past, with murders and monks, bishops and blood baths. "I am in love with everything I have seen", wrote Erik Gustaf Geijer in 1825 as he had just entered into Östergötland, "and I see it for the first time. This is indeed a bit embarrassing, since I am striving to become a Swedish historian." (Geijer, 1834: 93). Östergötland was filled to the bursting point with memories.

Aesthetics of Wealth

The present article has described and analysed the travel book image of the province of Östergötland from Enlightenment to Romanticism (ca 1740–1860). The genre grew considerably during the period at issue, wherefore one, with some simplification, can argue that it was then the image of this specific province, as that of the rest of Sweden, was constructed. I have, guided by Samuel E. Bring's *Itineraria Svecana* (1954), studied approximately 150 different texts. Half of these were published after 1836.

Östergötland was transformed from flat land to flat land. The romantic love of mountains can actually be seen as a short interlude; indeed, the

flat land was always there, fertile and captivating. And if the discovery of the forests and mountains around the turn of the century was dictated by aesthetic ideals, the return to the flat land was conditioned by something much more down-to-earth, the construction of Göta kanal. At the same time, the province was invested with history. History had taken place there due to the wealth and importance of the province. And wealth and importance had grown on the flat land. On the whole, the picture of the province was enriched, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. To be sure, the development involved a nuanced conception of the image, but at the same time the clichés and stereotypes were reinforced; the image of Östergötland was constructed.

Östergötland was a comparatively well-appreciated province, and were this appreciation to be explained in one word, it would be wealth. The main explanation for this wealth was the cultivate flat land, and the signs of wealth were to be seen everywhere: in the "unusual amount" of churches, "expressions of a well-being, which does not begrudge Our Lord more than its inhabitants" ([Sturzen-Becker], 1858: 24), in a plenitude of ditching (Schubert, 1823: I, 127), in bigger and sturdier horses, and, not least, in a conceited, haughty and proud peasant population. Karl August Nicander made the following note: "I noticed already on the road that I had entered Östergötland. No peasant acknowledged me; the boys hardly nodded their heads. The country was flat, seemed fertile" (Nicander, 1950: 21). The province was rich also in other aspects. "No region in Sweden, I believe, can be compared to Östergötland when it comes to a great variety of scenery" (Törneros, 1840: 278); the fact that several of the romantic poets came from Östergötland no doubt made it easier to express such an opinion. And the province gradually became richer in history, traditions and memories, particularly medieval ones. The flat land was also the foundation of the manufactories of Norrköping, manufactories turning to modern industries and gaining the city the reputation of being a Swedish Birmingham. And when Motala, with its steam engines and foundries, sometimes was lent this epithet, it could hardly be seen as a sign of weakness for the province.

Göta kanal, signifying wealth, did not only direct the routes *within* Östergötland, it also lured travellers *to* the province, which to an increasing extend came to represent Sweden. Carl Johan Billmark's expensive travel book, depicting a tour from Stockholm to Naples and published in 1852, contains 100 lithographic prints. Eleven of these have Swedish motifs; Billmark's favourites were on far more southern latitudes. Five of the Swedish pictures are, however, from Östergötland, depicting Stegeborg,

the canal at Söderköping, the steps of locks at Berg, the church of Vreta kloster and the castle of Vadstena. A contemporary mix of past and future wealth.

Comparisons were made with Italy, or Switzerland. And besides such stereotypes, one often projected images from home on the rich surroundings. The Danes saw a bit of Denmark, the Britons Britain, and the Germans Germany. And the landscape was by no means as monotonous as Skåne or Uppland; sometimes it was "dreamy like Norrland" ([Sturzen-Becker], 1856: 25), sometimes "distinctly southern" ([Pontin], 1846: 5). Comparisons were many and varied. And how they laid it on thick for the benefit of local patriotism! The most beautiful ruin in Sweden was Stegeborg, or Alvastra. No soil was as fertile, no oats were as high. No industry was more effective than Motala's, no city as historic as Vadstena. And no view was more beautiful than that from Kolmården: "as soon as we reached the summit, a view of Östergötland emerged, which surprised and captivated us, like the Israelites at the sight of the Promised Land" (Quandt, 1843: 185).

The soil of Östergötland was rich, and so it had been for ages. Hence, the image of the province was one of wealth and history. Tradition, however, strengthens itself, and must not always get its nourishment directly from the fertile fields. Ideals, memories and rich soil, gradually combined with modern industry and the bewitching power of the steam and literally dictated by the physical infrastructure in the form of the impressive Göta kanal, created even richer images. What we actually see, or choose to see and tell about, is of course always dictated by certain ideological as well as highly material conditions, and these conditions (be they aesthetic ideals, political values, roads and canals, or economical terms of production) are subject to change. With regard to the case of Östergötland in the period of Enlightenment and Romanticism, this article has shown some of the mechanics of this kind of aesthetic transition.

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endnotes

1 The present article is a development of a Swedish version (Lundell, 1998).

The Region

Ingrid Stigsdotter

Crime Scene Skåne: Guilty Landscapes and Cracks in the Functionalist Façade in *Sidetracked*, *Firewall* and *One Step Behind*

"a r e w e c a l l i n g this a crime scene then? Only I've got half of Skåne waiting to get the lights back on", says Nyberg (Richard McCabe) when the charred remains of a human body are discovered in a power station just outside the town of Ystad in *Firewall* (Niall McCormick, 2008). Indeed, through Henning Mankell's stories about Ystad detective Kurt Wallander, this small town on the south coast of Sweden has achieved fame precisely as a serial crime scene, with a fictional murder rate far exceeding that of the whole southern Swedish region of Skåne. This chapter will consider the representation of this part of Sweden in the first three English-language television films about Wallander: *Sidetracked* (Philip Martin, 2008), *Firewall* and *One Step Behind* (Philip Martin, 2008). My analysis will attempt to show how the British production team has negotiated the national specificity of the locations and the source material, in order to create a series of films that provide viewers of BBC crime fiction with a balanced mixture of familiarity and exoticism, or to paraphrase Philip Martin, a combination of magic, verisimilitude and novelty value (*The Wallander Look*, 2008).

In recent years, Swedish crime fiction has been translated into many languages and enjoyed considerable international success. In particular, the novels of Mankell and Stieg Larsson have attracted substantial interest and sold in great quantities to readers world-wide. The work of these writers can be seen to follow in the socio-critical tradition of Maj Sjöwall

and Per Wahlöö, whose ten books about Stockholm detective Martin Beck were published between 1965 and 1975.[1] Mankell has been an established figure on the Swedish literary and theatre scene since the 1970s, but he achieved a popular breakthrough with his series of crime novels about Wallander, published in the 1990s.[2] The books have been translated into forty languages and exported to over one hundred countries (Ferguson and McKie, 2008; *Who Is Kurt Wallander*, 2008).

As well as being translated linguistically, the Wallander novels have been the subject of intermedia translation, adapted from novels into screenplays and filmed for television and cinema audiences. Until 2008, all of the screen versions were Swedish-language productions. However, in the summer of 2008, three of the books were adapted by a British team filming on location in and around the town of Ystad, with Kenneth Branagh in the main role. The films have an English-speaking cast and were made for BBC Scotland, but Branagh's producing partner Simon Moseley and the British company Left Bank Pictures teamed up with the Swedish company Yellow Bird as a co-producer. Yellow Bird had previous experience of dealing with the Wallander brand, having already made thirteen Swedish-language productions starring Krister Henriksson as Wallander.[3] The Anglophone mini-series was broadcast on BBC1 in November and December 2008 and released on DVD shortly thereafter. A DVD set was released in Sweden in March 2009 and in October 2009 the films were broadcast on the Swedish channel TV4.

When approaching narratives that exist in several versions, it is common to structure the analysis around comparisons. To compare and contrast the differences between Mankell's books and their various screen adaptations might reveal interesting choices made by the filmmakers, but this will not be the main strategy employed here. Although my discussion of *Sidetracked* will bring up one significant case, where parts of the action have been moved from an urban to a rural location, my general aim is to consider *Sidetracked*, *Firewall* and *One Step Behind* as a British crime fiction series set in a foreign location and existing independent of the literary source material. Although the films would never have been made without the increasing popularity of Mankell's books in Britain – the project was initiated by Branagh, who read the novels and became interested in the possibility of starring in an adaptation – translations still account for a tiny percentage of UK book sales (Crace, 2009). Thus, in contrast to the Swedish productions, the English-language films could not count on arousing audience interest based on a pre-existing brand; they had to present Wallander to British viewers who might never have heard of Mankell or his fictional creations.

What interests me here is how the films' hybrid, transnational status affects the articulation of regional and national identity and locality. Through the use of real spaces that are clearly recognizable despite the cinematographic stylization, the films do create a kind of regional aesthetics, but the film-making team also draws on the well-known British tradition of television crime fiction. The most remarkable aspect of the film for a Swedish observer is the fact that the Swedish names of the characters and places have been retained (albeit pronounced with a British accent), and that all written texts on the screen, from newspapers to computer and mobile phone interfaces, letters and signs are in Swedish. Hence, on an auditory level, the series is likely to remind audiences of a British crime drama, owing to the language and the accents. However, the Swedish locations and the constant flashing of written signs of national and regional identity create a visual semiotics of Swedishness that clashes with the spoken language of the British actors. The deployment of *mise en scène* will therefore be of particular interest to my investigation of the films' representation of the city of Ystad and its surroundings. Influenced by Giuliana Bruno's suggestive writings on film as a vehicle for imaginary travel experiences (Bruno, 2002) and Jonathan Culler's explo-



British actors, Swedish scenery.

rations into the cultural meanings of tourism (Culler, 1988), I will use Stijn Reijnders' recent study of the tourism generated by television crime fiction as a starting point for my discussion of the relationship between the presentation of Skåne as a series of crime scenes and the ritualized way of looking at picturesque landscapes, landmarks, monuments and other tourist attractions that John Urry calls the "tourist gaze" (Reijnders, 2009; Urry, 2002).[4]

In "The Semiotics of Tourism", Jonathan Culler writes:

> American films treating foreign people and places characteristically have minor characters speak with charming foreign accents, to signify Frenchness, Italianeity, Teutonicity, while the main characters (even though foreign) speak American English. There are mechanisms of signification here with which tourism is deeply intertwined. (Culler, 1988: 154)

A variation on this well-established model for representing non-Anglophone cultures to English-speaking audiences was of course a possibility for the British makers of Wallander. According to the director of *Sidetracked* and *One Step Behind*, there were discussions as to whether or not the actors should speak with a Swedish accent (Martin in *Kobra*, 2009). Ultimately, the filmmakers opted to retain the British accent throughout, while using Swedish for the written language in the films. In the quote above, Culler points to Hollywood's English-language version of the world not in order to criticize it, but in order to argue that tourists approach "cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems" (Culler, 1988: 155) using a code based on a system of values that can be connected to representations of these locations and cultures disseminated through media forms. Similarly, in his study of the popular phenomenon of city tours based on crime fiction,[5] Stijn Reijnders argues, following Harvey (1973), that we all have a "geographic imagination", an interior mapping system of the world that includes areas we have not visited but known through popular media, including novels, film and television (Reijnders, 2009: 171). Because films and television programmes provide the viewer with tangible visual images, whereas novels rely on the reader's own visual imagination, the former could be seen to shape our expectations of a particular culture or place in a more concrete way.

Bruno has pointed to several ways in which film viewing and tourism can be connected. Both the tourist and the film viewer are involved in temporary activities associated with leisure and pleasure. Tourism and filmic armchair travel are linked through their impermanence; the holi-

day and the film narrative are inevitably followed by a return to everyday life. In addition, both activities include the consumption of some form of visual spectacle (Bruno, 2002: 76–82).[6] In comparison with many other European countries, Sweden has not often been subjected to Hollywood portrayals, and when exported, Swedish films rarely manage to reach large popular audiences. In that sense, the "geographic imagination" of Sweden among British audiences will have fewer connections to popular film and media than is likely to be the case with British viewers' "interior maps" of some other European territories, like France or Spain.[7] However, even though some British viewers of *Wallander* might not have encountered extensive footage of Swedish imagery previously, many of them will (directly or indirectly) have come across ideas about Swedish liberalism in sexual and political matters, because such discourses have been prominent in Anglophone reports about Swedish society since the early 1950s (Stigsdotter, 2008: 187–193; Lennerhed, 1994). In *Sidetracked*, Sweden's reputation as a liberal country is explicitly referred to when Hugo Sandin, a corrupt retired policeman, tells Wallander "I'm a patriot. I love this country. Openness, fairness, sexual liberation. The social experiment". Sandin goes on to imply that it is normal for a police officer to support his political masters by sweeping up the dirt from their messy private lives. The film thereby suggests that the bright ideals of post-war Swedish society form one side of a coin, the flipside of which is much darker; a dystopian vision of Sweden that Michael Tapper has discussed at some length in relation to the British *Wallander* productions (Tapper: 2009).

In a visual parallel, the film contrasts the sun-lit, pastoral landscapes of rural Skåne with shots of dark sidewalks, where urban crime and violence appear to be thriving. In fact, as the first film in the series, *Sidetracked* rather self-consciously foregrounds the theme of an innocent country descending into something darker and seedier. Early on in the film, the first murder victim, a (fictional) former justice minister, mentions the unsolved murder of the (real) Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in 1986, an event often seen as a turning-point in Swedish politics, and goes on to state that "the world now recognizes that Sweden stands for a little more than just Björn Borg, ABBA and a bit of skinny-dipping in mountain lakes", referring to stereotypical images of Swedishness that will be familiar to many British viewers. The violent crimes committed throughout the three films suggest that the light-hearted images of nudism, sports personalities and pop stars with seventies' hair styles bear little resemblance to contemporary Swedish society.

Throughout the films, Kurt Wallander appears to be stressed and exhausted by the level of criminal activity in Ystad. For Swedish audiences concerned with realism, the Ystad location pushes the boundaries of credibility, as this is a small town with a tiny, idyllic town centre and an extremely low murder rate; a reality hinted at in *Sidetracked* when Sandin asks Wallander, upon hearing that the detective belongs to the Ystad police force, whether "someone lost their cat".[8] The discrepancy between fictional and real statistics, however, would apply to most crime fiction settings, and a high frequency of murders is of course essential to the detective genre formula. In addition, for a British audience with little knowledge of Sweden, the town square with the cash machine that plays a key role in *Firewall* could easily be accepted as belonging in a much larger urban space; in real life the location has a quaintly picturesque feeling to it, but as filmed and lit during *Firewall's* narrative climax, the deserted square looks fairly large and very sinister on that dark, wet evening.

So how does the idea of a "tourist gaze" fit with these dark, ominous images of Ystad? The films do not exclusively present Skåne through images of violence and darkness, but rather deliberately contrast glossily inviting landscapes and interiors with shocking crime scenes, presenting the latter as the dark underbelly of superficial visual perfection. Reijnders uses the notion of a "guilty landscape" to describe the strategy whereby a pastoral setting, presented as idyllic, inviting and peaceful, becomes the scene of a horrible crime and in the process loses its innocence (Reijnders, 2009: 175). He has borrowed the term from the Dutch artist Armando, who used it to describe the beautiful nature in the former war zone of Camp Amersfoort in the Dutch province of Utrecht, where war crimes were committed during the Second World War (ibid.: 175; Armando, 1998).

The most striking images from *Sidetracked*, widely used in publicity materials, feature the intensely yellow rapeseed fields that are a staple ingredient in tourist imagery of the Skåne countryside during the early part of summer. The film begins with two quick, blurry images of vegetation and sky before cutting to a series of tracking shots following a young girl wandering through the field where she will soon set fire to herself. The bright yellows and luminous blues will later echo in scenes featuring various devious characters: the corrupt former justice minister Bo Wetterstedt has a Swedish flag outside his house, a young artist about to be signed up by the immoral art dealer Arne Carlman wears a dress with a blue and yellow pattern, and when Wallander interviews the evil policeman Sandin in his home, a miniature flagpole with a Swedish flag is visible in the background during part of the conversation. The "Northern skies" mentioned in the



The colours of the Swedish flag echoed in the landscape.

films' title music combine with the yellow rape to form a "guilty landscape". The attractive natural colour scheme links the physical landscape of Southern Sweden to death and corrupt political power. Indeed the landscape appears to become tainted in the process; in *Firewall*, the second film, the colour scheme has been bleached out and the hues are less bright, veering instead towards a subdued green and grey. The films' presentation of the Swedish landscape received considerable attention in the British press, where critics interpreted the deserted fields and roads and eerie light as evidence of a Scandinavian mentality. *The Times*, for example, claimed that what makes the series "truly distinctive is the pervasive atmosphere of Nordic gloom" that "infuses the landscapes, however beautiful, and the characters who all seem to be victims of seasonal affective disorder" (Hoggart, 2008). *The Independent* compared the landscapes to the "bruised pastels of a Munch sunset" (Sutcliffe, 2008), thus referring to a Scandinavian artist associated with expressionist angst.

In his comparative study of the way in which Oxford, Ystad and Amsterdam are represented in three different television crime series, Reijnders argues that most research on detective fiction has paid little attention to "the importance of *place* and *localization*"[9] (Reijnders, 2009:



Deserted landscapes and eerie light.

169). By contrast, Reijnders argues that the crime genre has a particularly "topophilic" character (Reijnders, 2009: 176). He suggests that the success of the *Inspector Morse* and *Wallander* television series (he is referring to the Swedish films made between 1994 and 2006)[10] may be partly connected to the ways in which the protagonists seem to blend in with their geographical and cultural surroundings: the intellectual, cultured milieu of Oxford for Inspector Morse, the deserted fields and solitary beaches near Ystad in the case of Kurt Wallander (Reijnders, 2009: 172). However, when Reijnders argues that both series are set in "a landscape that will be familiar to most viewers, domestic as well as international", he is comparing a well-known English university town with a southern Swedish locality that had few international claims to fame before the success of the Wallander books. The British publicity campaign around the Wallander series emphasized Ystad as an exotic foreign location, and sometimes journalists picked up on this, like when an article in the *Daily Telegraph* exclaimed that "Ystad plays a huge role in *Wallander* – it's as important as Oxford was to *Inspector Morse*" (Rampton, 2008). However, when Reijnders cites "the wide fields and wintry fir forests of southern

Sweden" as examples of "well-known icons of local identity" and claims that the "local atmosphere" in Wallander "is intensified by the representation of stereotypical weather conditions" (Reijnders, 2009: 172), he conflates the idea of a specific local identity in southern Sweden with a more generalized idea of "Nordic" or "Scandinavian" landscapes. This confusion becomes particularly evident when he describes the Swedish *Wallander* series as being characterized by "sombre lighting, chases in the snow and the long twilight that is so typically Scandinavian" (Reijnders, 2009: 172). The fact that Reijnders picks up on these details, however, points to the fact that most of the "Swedish" Wallander productions have been European co-productions, targeting not only a Swedish audience, but also the large readership of Mankell's books outside Sweden, for example in Germany. For a British audience, apart from art cinema viewers familiar with Ingmar Bergman's films, the Swedish landscape is much more uncharted territory. Interviewed in the *Daily Telegraph*, actress Sarah Smart (Ann-Britt Höglund in the Wallander series) describes Sweden as "eerie and remote" and "completely cut off from the rest of Europe" (Rampton, 2008). Interviews with Branagh and Martin also suggest that the filmmakers' semiotic codification of Swedishness involved a fair share of mythologizing; Martin talks about the wish to combine believability with magic, and Branagh describes the Swedish awareness of nature, climate and seasons that he sees manifested in the Midsummer celebration as revealing a "pagan" aspect of Swedish culture, in his words "a connection to something a little more primitive" (Martin and Branagh in *The Wallander Look*).

As Reijnders points out, the landscape plays a particularly important role in television crime drama, as the detective – like the tourist exploring the various attractions of their chosen destination – is always on the move. The landscape becomes "a realm that contains certain secrets, which means that it needs to be passed through and investigated" (Reijnders, 2009:173). In *Sidetracked*, *Firewall* and *One Step Behind*, we see Wallander travelling between home and work, from one crime scene to another, visiting suspects and witnesses in their homes, the spaces forming an integral part of the narrative. Because Reijnders is interested in the phenomenon of tours that revolve around fictional crime detectives, he focuses on how the detective's search for clues creates a potential travel narrative based on the tension between fiction and reality, the real physical sensation of moving between recognizable, real spaces, and the fictional bodies found in these places. However, the need to search for clues also means that both interior and exterior settings, which in many other



Swedish landscapes – uncharted territories?

types of films may feature more fleetingly in the background, are scrutinized at close range by the camera. Real locations and aspects of the studio-created interiors provide fascinating insights into how the filmmakers have chosen to present Skåne to their British target audience.

I have already mentioned the striking sequences at the beginning of *Sidetracked* featuring rapeseed fields. According to cinematographer Anthony Dod Mantle, these scenes were among the more costly in the production as a whole, because the filmmakers wanted to make the introductory episode cinematic and visually exciting (Silberg, 2009). Regarding the representation of Ystad as a town, however, the action in *Sidetracked* is almost exclusively confined to the police headquarters and Wallander's home, with the exception of few gloomy scenes showing Wallander driving through the streets in a darkness that belies the famously late sunsets in Sweden during summertime. There are no real establishing shots situating the action in Ystad. *Firewall*, by contrast, features the panoramic establishing shots Reijnders cites as staples of the television crime genre, with the camera hovering in the sky before moving down to a specifically situated part of the city (Reijnders, 2009: 170). In this film, many more

scenes take place in the town centre, in the harbour, and in the slightly run-down areas that appear to be located in the outskirts of Ystad. Wallander goes on a series of dates with Ella, a woman he has encountered online, and their meetings have the effect of making Ystad appear more city-like than in the other episodes, with several scenes taking place in lively cafés, restaurants and bars. The countryside features mainly as an area that Wallander drives through. When he stops in a non-urban setting to interview the parents of Sonja Hökberg or the estranged wife of Tynnes Falk, the light is much colder than in *Sidetracked*. The scenes shot outside Sonja's home feature dramatic effects including speeded-up imagery of ominous clouds moving across the sky and high-contrast photography of crops shivering in a powerful gust of wind. This creates an eerie atmosphere that fits with the theme of criminals using invisible digital technology to create chaos and mayhem; their ability to infiltrate and damage security systems almost has the effect of making them seem to have supernatural powers.

One Step Behind was the last of three films, and was made on a more modest budget than the other two. As Dod Mantle concedes, this meant that less money was available for extravagant sets and cinematographic experimentation (Silberg, 2009). After the opening showing the shooting of three young people in a forest, the narrative mainly proceeds through dialogue-driven studio scenes until the bodies are found. However, in all of the murder sequences, the camera evokes the sensation of a restless killer spying on other people's secrets by advancing voyeuristically from a distance, circling around people, thus marking the presence of an invisible murderous spectator. After the bleached-out photography of *Firewall*, *One Step Behind* marks a return to a brighter colour scheme. The dominant tone is an icy blue, suitable for the many scenes taking place with the sea in the background. At one point, Wallander drives across to Denmark using the bridge over the Öresund Channel that links Malmö to Copenhagen, allowing the camera to quickly tilt up in touristic awe at the impressive bridge structure against the blue sky.

While, as I have demonstrated, the British Wallander productions make use of the local landscape in interesting and varied ways, key scenes in the films take place indoors. Because the films employ very few establishing shots of Ystad, the places that provide background continuity for the action across the three self-contained narratives are primarily the police headquarters and Wallander's home. In addition, the need to uncover clues to the murder mysteries frequently prompts the camera to explore spaces in the homes of victims and suspects with great attention to detail.

The sets present Sweden as a country where both residences and official buildings are furnished in a discreetly modernist style, neither brutalist nor minimalist, but with an understated functionalist aesthetics primarily based on organic materials in shades of brown. This might seem a fairly good description of an average Swedish home from a British perspective. Indeed, in an article published at the time of the series' original broadcast, the *Observer's* design critic Stephen Bayley commented:

> Swedish design is very particular. There are reasons for this in the climate and the demography. Harsh winters meant Swedes were traditionally forced to enjoy the indoors: furniture, rugs, glassware and ceramics become exceptionally important when it is 30 degrees below outside (Bayley, 2008).

According to Bayley, connections can be made between Swedish modernist design and the country's social structure:

> Demographically, Sweden is more nearly all one social class than, say, Britain or France. This meant that when the first design movements began in the early last century, their appeals could be addressed to the whole population, not just a special interest group. This made Sweden modern while we were still Victorian (Bayley, 2008).

Courtesy of IKEA (founded in 1943), Swedes have long had access to cheap flat-pack versions of more expensive modern designs. Sweden is known as a trend-sensitive society with a high standard of living, and although design tastes in Sweden have not been quite as democratic as Bayley suggests, the IKEA concept has certainly made it possible also for households with a modest income to update their interior design on a fairly regular basis. It is therefore remarkable, even taking retro fashion into account, that the modernist furnishings seen in the Wallander films should seem reminiscent of the 1950s, 60s and 70s. After all, the series is set in contemporary Sweden, as evidenced by the police force's reliance on modern information technology. The ubiquity of classic wooden desks, lampshades and decorative furnishings therefore stand out as being at once a little too stylish and a little too old-fashioned to be quite real. This is particularly true of the 1960s architecture and styling of the police headquarters. Inside Wallander's house, a functionalist semi-detached building, the walls are covered with dark wooden panels. Most Swedish houses from this period have replaced such panels with brighter materials, but Wallander's house is as in a time warp. His colleague Svedberg lives in a

modest apartment block, but also his flat seems like a historical relic. In *One Step Behind*, Wallander explicitly mentions that the paisley bed linen in Svedberg's flat makes him feel sad, a comment that possibly implies a lament for times past. *In The Wallander Look*, Philip Martin explains that the decision to let designer Jacqueline Abrahams emphasize 1960s and 70s buildings and objects in her sets was intended to reflect the sense of regret pervading the Wallander books regarding the fact that the utopian society promised during those decades has failed to materialize. According to Martin, the films deliberately evoke an era in which people in Sweden thought that "good architecture, a good liberal democracy, a good civic pride and a sense of corporate responsibility" would change the world and make it better (Martin in *The Wallander Look*, 2008).

Touristic imagery of rural Sweden often features red-painted wooden cottages. These traditional cottages are not particularly common in the region of Skåne, but in *Sidetracked* the Fredman family nevertheless live in a red-painted house near Tomelilla, north of Ystad. It is interesting to note that, in the original novel, the family lived in Rosengård, a multicultural, densely populated area of Malmö, Sweden's third largest city. Rosengård's high unemployment rate and social problems have given the area a bad reputation. In comparison with a nice house in a forest glade, it would therefore seem to be a more conventional location for a dysfunctional family with a child who ends up committing murder. Here, two issues seem to be at stake. First, the pretty forest setting provides the story with a less predictable "guilty landscape" than a depressing urban council estate would. Second, despite the series' tendency to make Ystad look like it suffers from more urban problems than might be the case in real life, allowing the action to spread to real inner-city problem areas would disturb the binary tension between the glossy surface and the crime lurking below, as the down-trodden housing developments of Rosengård offer no inviting surface to crack, no picturesque scenery as a contrast to the violence.

The Wallander series' stylized mise en scène did not go unnoticed by British critics. The *Sunday Times* drew attention to the interior design, describing "the dressing and detail" as "a Scandinavian festival of immaculate good taste — polished wood and despair. It's so pretty, it almost overtakes the production and works against the grain and grit" (Gill, 2008). The *Observer's* reviewer identified both the colour-scheme inspired by the Swedish flag, the emphasis on design, and the deliberate tension between the touristically inviting surface perfection and the lurking social unease below:

> Replete with blameless blue skies and billowing yellow fields [*Wallander*] almost literally waved the flag for Sweden. Amid the patriotic colours, there were also some handsome houses and cool interiors, whose combined effect was to make the Scandinavian provinces seem a highly attractive place to live. It was just unfortunate the inhabitants kept being axed to death (Anthony, 2008).

I would like to return for a moment to Culler's discussion of tourism as a semiotic system. Culler points out that tourism tends to be presented as an inauthentic form of travel. There are parallels between this view and the critical tendency to complain about filmic portrayals of places made by outsiders, as in the case of Danny Boyle's depiction of Mumbai in *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008), or films that artificially recreate foreign locations in the studio, like the MGM version of Montmartre in *An American in Paris* (Vincente Minnelli, 1951). Such images are frequently dismissed as fakes, as less authentic than locally produced representations. By emphasizing the Swedish locations, avoiding the "charming accents" signifying Swedishness and stressing the presence of the Swedish language, the British film-making team clearly aimed to give their production a feeling of "authentic" local identity. Retaining Swedish names, having characters read real local newspapers like *Sydsvenskan* and *Ystads Allehanda* with headlines in Swedish, and displaying Wallander's mobile phone messages in Swedish are all noticeable indicators of on-location production that function as signs of authenticity. The (exaggeratedly) attentive Swedish viewer of *Firewall* might notice that Ella's message on the dating website does not contain the line "I think I may have overreacted", which Branagh pretends to read aloud from the computer screen, but of course for non-Swedish-speaking viewers, this is completely beside the point, as the words on the screen only signify "Swedishness", whereas Branagh's "translation" carries the message that matters.

Discourses on authenticity are important to travel guides; they frequently direct readers to streets and places where they claim that the non-touristic, true local culture can be found. Yet, as Culler points out, travel guides are of course part of the very industry of tourism. As he shows, the "distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic, the natural and the touristy, is a powerful semiotic operator within tourism" (Culler, 1988: 159). In line with Culler's suggestion that "wanting to be less touristy than other tourists is part of being a tourist" (Culler, 1988: 158), it could be said that wanting a film production to appear authentic is part of the process of representation. The Swedish Wallander produc-

tions struggle with different but comparable questions, for example, what dialects should be spoken by actors who are not from Skåne? In fact, according to Martin, the British film-making team experienced a sense of freedom from the demands of realism, because they were aware that British audiences have a limited knowledge of Sweden. As Martin puts it, "nobody knows in England what a Swedish police station looks like; nobody knows what a Swedish detective's house should look like" (Martin in *The Wallander Look*, 2008).



"Nobody knows in England what a Swedish police station looks like".

It is commonplace for fictional detectives to alleviate work stress by drinking too much, but the culture surrounding alcohol varies greatly across countries. In *Sidetracked*, Wallander's ordinariness is cleverly contrasted with Wetterstedt's snobbishness when the camera cuts from Wallander pouring a glass of red wine from a paper box container, popularly known in Sweden as a 'bag-in-box', to Wetterstedt pouring a drink from a crystal decanter. In other parts of the series, British drinking culture seems to have coloured the screenplay. In *Sidetracked*, a criminal profiling expert visiting the police station notices that Wallander is in a state of crisis. In the Swedish context, the cut to a shot of these two virtual strangers seated on bar stools next to each other, having a rather intimate conversation over a drink in an open, public space, seems unexpected and unusual. For a British audience, however, the ellipsis between the two scenes naturally infers the suggestion of a post-work chat in a wine bar, something much more common in Britain than in Sweden. Similarly,

when, in *One Step Behind*, Svedberg suggests to Wallander that they should have a drink after work, several minor details ring false to the Swedish ear (and grate on the eye). First, it seems highly unlikely that the small ice-cream stand by the harbour would have a license to sell pints of lager. Second, when Wallander stands up and makes a gesture to leave money for the bill, this also seems strange, as the normal procedure at an ice-cream van would be to pay immediately at the counter. Third, the actual gesture of paying for a round is much more common in Britain than in Sweden. However, because what counts in terms of making the series function is that the narrative appears credible to a non-Swedish audience, using signs that signify Swedishness in an acceptable manner, details that seem odd to the Swedish viewer are clearly not significant for the success of the individual film or the series as a whole.

The series met with almost unequivocal acclaim from British critics when it was broadcast on BBC1, and it went on to win the 2009 BAFTA (British Academy for Film and Television Arts) award for best drama series.[11] The first episode was seen by around six million British television viewers, and the audience figures remained high throughout the series, with an audience share of between twenty-two to twenty-four percent (Boyd: 2008, Yellow Bird). The productions also received BAFTA awards for original television music, production design, sound, photography and lighting. In May 2009, the films were broadcast by the American TV channel UBS, and in July 2009, Branagh and Philip Martin, who directed *Sidetracked* and *One Step Behind*, were nominated for Emmy Awards. At the time of writing the present chapter, the films have been sold to more than fourteen countries and a second series has just been filmed in Ystad, based on the books *Faceless Killers*, *The Fifth Woman* and *The Man Who Smiled* (Yellow Bird website).

At the end of *One Step Behind*, Svedberg's coffin is draped with a Swedish flag, which is a very unusual practice at civic funerals in Sweden. For international audiences, however, there is nothing strange about the presence of the flag; it functions as a symmetrical colour accompaniment to the beginning of the mini-series, echoing the yellow of the rapeseed and blue of the sky in the opening of *Sidetracked*, which also featured shots of the Swedish flag, and it closes the three-part narrative with an unequivocal sign of Swedishness. Swedish audiences may find Wallander's suggestion to his colleagues, on exiting the church, that they all go for a drink somewhat unusual, but for British audiences, it is easy to imagine a nice little country pub just around the corner in this idyllic location, and Branagh's familiar voice uttering the commonplace English phrase 'we should have a

drink' prepares viewers for their return to the everyday reality of British culture.

Martin wanted to make the world of the film 'simultaneously magical, believable and new' (Martin in *The Wallander Look*, 2008). This seems to fit with Bruno's description of cinematic and touristic experiences offering "[c]ultural and emotional (dis)placements, as well as journeys between the familiar and the unfamiliar, the ordinary and the extraordinary" (Bruno, 2002: 83). Bruno may be concerned specifically with the phenomenon of cinematic experiences, but her expression also seems like an apposite description of the BBC viewer, following the adventures of Kurt Wallander as embodied by the well-known figure of Kenneth Branagh, but in a foreign country where people have names like "Wetterstedt" and "Svedberg", live in places called "Surbrunnen" or "Tomelilla", pay with "krona" and buy their wine in cardboard boxes. In addition, I would argue, the film provides Swedish viewers with a strange and wondrous attraction precisely because English-language representations of Sweden are so rare. To see one's own culture portrayed in a different idiom and through a different cultural lens is to be displaced from within. For a Swedish audience, the armchair travel offered by Wallander becomes an internal journey in which moments of recognition and alienation meet and mesh in the creation of new, perverse spectatorial pleasures.

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endnotes

1 Sjöwall/Wahlöö, Mankell and Larsson are of course not alone in using crime fiction to present a critical view of society, nor is this a purely Swedish or Nordic phenomenon. However, the international publicity machine surrounding Mankell and Larsson has tended to link the authors' worldviews to their nationality (cf. France (2009), Crace (2009), Ferguson and McKie (2008)).

2 Nine books featuring Kurt Wallander were published between 1991 and 1999. They were followed by *Before the Frost* (2002), with the detective's daughter Linda at the centre of the story. In 2009, Mankell returned to his original protagonist with *The Troubled Man*, released in Sweden in August 2009 and presold to the UK, Germany and France at the time of writing.

3 Although Mankell has only written ten (or eleven, if *Before the Frost* is included) Wallander novels, he has produced additional stories about the detective that have been adapted for the small screen by Yellow Bird. Yellow Bird is also the company behind the film adaptations of Larsson's Millennium Trilogy. The first film in the trilogy, *Men Who Hate Women* (2009), based on the book with the English-language title *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2008)), broke box office records in Sweden and has become the most popular Swedish film ever in both Denmark and Norway. The second and third film, *The Girl Who Played with Fire* (2009) and *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornets' Nest* (2009), were released in Sweden in September and November 2009, respectively. Outside of Scandinavia, the film trilogy has – as of August 2009 – been sold to Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Austria, Poland, Greece, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Canada, Australia, Japan and South Korea (Yellow Bird website).

4 Reijnders' study contains minor factual errors (he writes that the British Wallander series was broadcast on Channel 4 in 2008-09, rather than on BBC1 in 2008), but it provides an interesting perspective on the popularity of crime fiction tours.

5 The Swedish television programme cited above also explores the phenomenon of crime fiction tours through the example of a Stieg Larsson tour of Stockholm for French tourists (*Kobra*, 2009).

6 I discuss these issues in further detail, albeit in a different context, in my doctoral thesis (Stigsdotter, 2008. See especially pp. 73–76; 103–104).

7 In addition, the countries of Southern Europe are of course more common destinations for British tourists and ex-pat residents.

8 The city itself has around 17,000 inhabitants, whereas the larger council district of Ystad Kommun has 27,200 inhabitants (Ystad Council website). In 2008, no murders were committed in Ystad, according to the statistics published by Brottsförebyggande Rådet, the Swedish Crime Prevention Council (Brottsförebyggande Rådet website).

9 Italics in original.

10 For his analysis, Reinjders has selected random episodes from Wallander productions made between 1994 and 2006, thus involving different actors playing the lead and films made by different companies. He compares these with episodes from the British series *Inspector Morse* (1984–2000) and the Dutch series *Baantjer* (1995-2006), which have not experienced these kinds of changes in terms of cast or production.

11 For examples of positive critical reactions, see Andrew (2008); Billen (2008); Chater (2008); Eyre, (2008); Ferguson (2008); Gill (2008); Hoggart (2008); Sutcliffe (2008); Tonkin (2008); Walton (2008); Wollaston (2008).

Olof Hedling

Murder, Mystery and Megabucks? Films and Filmmaking as Regional and Local Place Promotion in Southern Sweden

in early 2006, a two-part "document of analysis" on the subject of the newly commenced film and TV production in the southern Swedish region of Skåne, centered in the small town of Ystad, circulated among interested parties. The document had been commissioned by a number of public bodies in Skåne and written by one Joakim Lind. Lind was working out of a public and media relations company based in Stockholm, the Swedish capital.

One part of the document took its cue from the fact that a bilingual feature film – Swedish and Finnish are both spoken – *Den bästa av mödrar (Mother of Mine*, 2005) had recently been shot in the area. Subsequently, the film had been accepted by several international film festivals and won awards. Furthermore, *Mother of Mine* had been nominated as the Finnish selection for the Academy Awards and been sold to a number of territories, including several outside Europe.

The other part was concerned with an interrelated event. Since 2004, thirteen ninety-minute films centred on bestselling Swedish crime writer Henning Mankell's hero Kurt Wallander – the ten books, originally published between 1991 and 2002, all of which are set in and around Ystad –[1] had also been produced in the area.[2] These films were now about to be distributed through different outlets – cinema, DVD, cable-TV, etc. – in Scandinavia, but also in various countries across Europe.

The main subject of interest in the document was the sudden audio-

visual exposure of Ystad and the region of Skåne the films provided to a probable, comparatively large national and international audience. Rather than using more established terminology such as place marketing or metro branding – nonetheless, somewhat inaccurate as Ystad only has some 20,000 inhabitants – the report employed words such as "context placement" and "Scanian contacts" (the size of the possible audience was expressed in a similar way as the number of "person contacts" the films would have) to tentatively describe the promotional effects achieved through the films (Lind, 2006a: 3; Lind, 2006b: 3). These effects, the report duly noted, were of course also augmented by the large international sales of Mankell's books.[3]

What the analysis finally attempted to provide, however, was an answer to the question of whether the public authorities could expect revenue on their slight investment in the film projects. The document unhesitatingly stated that they certainly could. Depending on factors such as the length of the Wallander boom, the width of the distribution and how the regional film production would develop, revenues, in different forms,



Street in central Ystad.

were more or less guaranteed. As calculated in the document, these revenues would be generated through the service sector, in the measuring unit used throughout, through an increased number of "commercial guest nights".

The newly commenced filmmaking would hence guarantee more visits, more tourism and last but not least fiscal earnings for the regional economy at hand. Compared to the thirteen million Swedish crowns (approx. € 1, 5 million) invested by the public authorities in the films, the Wallander project alone would, according to the report, generate an increase in regional economic turnover estimated at between 24 and 92 times that amount (Lind, 2006b: 3). In short, besides stating that regional film production was beneficial in many ways, the "document of analysis" also legitimized the actions of those who had paid for the "document's" assembly. Indeed, reading the text, one certainly gets the impression that the authorities had acted cunningly when venturing into the field of audiovisual production.

Evidently, and read with just the slightest hint of suspicion, the "document of analysis" had been tailored for those who had commissioned it by a willing public and media relations firm. This firm appears not to have had any previous experience in this complex and particular field, which, of course, diminishes the document's value as a forecast of future developments, the very task the document claimed it was performing.[4]

Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that the thrust of the argument is accurate. For, as several sources have pointed out, film tourism – sometimes called "movie-induced" or "film-induced tourism" – *is* a growing phenomenon worldwide, which, most importantly, has been fuelled by "the growth of the entertainment industry and the increase in international travel" (Hudson and Ritchie, 2006: 387). However, every film location does not exert an equal pull on tourists. Rather, and as sociologist John Urry suggested in his seminal book *The Tourist Gaze,* it is presumably those environments and experiences that contrast with non-tourism realms that prove most attractive:

> [P]laces are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, or intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving a different sense from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records, and videos which construct and reinforce the gaze (Urry, 2002: 3).

In what follows, I would like to reconsider some of the very same issues discussed in the above-mentioned document in a more disinterested way or perhaps, one might say, within just another genre format, the academic essay. This includes a review of the general phenomenon at hand as well as some of the scholarly work that, after all, has been done in the field. It also comprises calling into question the more dead certain assumptions made in the document and contemplating the occurrence of increasing tourism throughout Sweden.

Consequently, how does the fact that Ystad and the region of Skåne are regularly depicted and exposed in TV shows and in feature films affect the economic and touristic development of the area? And what might some of the effects and benefits of the Wallander phenomenon and the commenced filmmaking be for the local and regional economy?

Filmic and Literary Tourism

During the last days of January 1998, I drove from Westwood, Los Angeles to northern Arizona. After spending the night in Flagstaff Arizona, I took off north towards the eastern parts of the border between Arizona and Utah. Having driven somewhat over a thousand kilometres, I arrived at my destination, Monument Valley. It is an elevated plateau, a flat reddish landscape punctuated by sandstone formations, mesas, buttes and monoliths that have been described as embodying "not just the West but all that America thought of itself, rugged and mighty and iconoclastic" (Bissinger, 2009: 120).

Beside the magnificent scenery, I found a motel – Goulding's Lodge – a visitor's centre, arts and crafts shops, together with an assortment of offers of guided trips, either by jeep or on horseback. Though it would be something of an overstatement to say the place was crowded, a stream of visitors seemed to trickle in steadily enough. Moreover, during the five hours or so I spent there, I heard both German and French spoken.

Having decided on the journey, I had rented a car, bought fuel, paid for motels, food and beverages as well as some souvenirs. Having done that, I had contributed to assorted businesses of various sizes. As for me, the visit resulted in a Swedish newspaper article complete with a self-serving portrait at a place dubbed John Ford's Point. In the piece, I praised the valley's virtues while concurrently recommending it as a glorious travel destination, hence further marketing the place (Hedling, 1998). Certainly, this was an experience that contrasted with non-tourism realms.



John Ford's Point, January 1□□8, Monument Valley Arizona/Utah, USA.

The reason for my visit, and presumably for the Germans, the French and the English speakers, was the prominence and iconic status that had been bestowed upon the valley since it had been used as a setting in a number of famous western films made between 1939 and 1964 by legendary Hollywood film director John Ford.[5] Ever since that exposure began and after progressively attaining the status ascribed to it above, the location, though off the beaten trail, has been the long-standing site of an "on-location film-induced tourism", now pushing into its eighth decade (Beeton, 2005: 185).

But even if film tourism consequently has existed for a long time, the fact that the amount of scholarly work on the phenomenon or on its cultural heritage equivalents is not particularly large has been mentioned repeatedly (Beeton: 17– 18; Riley, Baker and Van Doren, 1998: 920).[6] In other words, the effects of being regularly depicted and exposed in various ways in narrative media are only moderately known and then mostly based on singular instances, hearsay, or anecdotal accounts (Riley, Baker and Van Doren: 920). Still and as already hinted at, few – and my own story of course supports this – would contend that the phenomenon is

not observable and that its economic effects can be considerable, particularly on the local and regional level.

To take just one somewhat documented example, in 1976 Steven Spielberg shot some sequences for *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), which featured the picturesque Devil's Tower National Monument in Black Hills National Forest, in north-eastern Wyoming. In 1978, a year after the film's theatrical release, visitation to the site in question increased by 74 per cent. Furthermore, according to a survey conducted in the late 1980s, eleven years after the film's premiere, 20 per cent of respondents attributed their initial knowledge of the monument to Spielberg's film (Beeton: 22). Unfortunately, the local economic activity generated through the film seems to be unknown. Though, common sense would tell us that it must have been substantial.

There is a long succession of other places that have recently attracted large numbers of tourists after having been depicted in films (Hudson and Richie: 389). Here, one may just mention Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, north of Newcastle, United Kingdom, the Hogwarts school in the *Harry Potter* series of films (2001–), the coast of Normandy between Sainte-Honorine-des-Pertes and Vierville-sur-Mer (Omaha Beach) from Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), and a large part of New Zealand used for the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (Peter Jackson, 2001–2003).

Returning to the *Close Encounters* example, it illustrates how radical the impact can be when an exceptional environment or natural formation features prominently in a film and/or in its promotional material. Here travel behaviour was certainly influenced. On the other hand, this particular example demonstrates something of the relative short-sightedness of the audience's collective memory as well. Because of the massive and sudden increase in visitors immediately after the release of *Close Encounters*, it appears reasonable to attribute that boost principally to the film and its picturesque highlighting of the natural formation. Nevertheless, one may also note that a decade after the film's premiere, a large majority of the visitors did not mention the film as the primary source of their knowledge of the existence of the monument. Over time, the close connection between the film and Devil's Tower appears to have diminished.

Another example of how time as well as other complex factors may reduce the impact of film-induced tourism, but also of how it is dependent on elements that are difficult to predict, was considered in an article in *The Economist* on the occasion of the premiere of *Australia* (2008) (Unsigned, 2008a). Here it was recounted how a successful tourist campaign had been built up following the global success of the Australian film

Crocodile Dundee (1986), according to one source, "probably the only movie filmed in Australia to have instant recognition in the United States" (Beeton: 12). Using the protagonist's expressive verbal idiosyncrasies in the tagline "Come and Say G'Day", the campaign, according to the magazine, "brought visitors swarming to Australia". On the eve of the premiere of *Australia*, however, the country's tourism business was "back in the doldrums".

The government body Tourism Australia, however, had not forgot the effects of *Crocodile Dundee* and thus commissioned the director of *Australia* to make two "travel commercials". Through synergy with the feature film, these were believed to be able to raise visitor numbers to Australia by 3.2 per cent during 2009. Summing up their prediction about the venture's possible success at the time, the *Economist* nevertheless remained sceptical about the supposed certainty that the film would automatically attract travellers:

> The 'G'Day' commercials were a hit partly because of their freshness: Mr Hogan [Paul Hogan, the star of *Crocodile Dundee*] was an unknown face; the outback story struck a cord. Visitor arrivals doubled over the campaign's first three years. Can this be repeated? The new film's lukewarm reception, let alone the current economic climate, make it a tall order (Unsigned: 2008a).

Distilling the essence of the article even further, the piece was placed under the headline, "Can a film sell a country? Only if it is very good". Consequently, it is implicated that a myriad of aspects contribute to how successful the synergy between a specific film and tourism will be.

The form of tourism described above is often referred to as what in the present context has been mentioned as on-location film tourism; people travel to sites where particular parts or elements of the filming took place (Beeton: 42). Similar patterns have also been observed with regard to, for example, serialized TV shows. HBO's contemporary gangster saga "The Sopranos" (1999–2007), the Australian 39 part series "SeaChange" (1998–2001) and British ITV's long-lasting "Inspector Morse" (1987–2000) have, accordingly, all been instrumental in creating substantial tourism in parts of New Jersey, USA, in the small Australian coastal town of Barwon Heads and in Oxfordshire, England, respectively (Beeton: 109, 12) (Reijnders, 2009: 166).

Moreover, film- and TV-induced tourism obviously have a precursor in the long-existing literary equivalent. But instead of going to sites portrayed in books, literature-inspired visitors tend to go to regions that

relate personally to the author, for example to where the author lived or spent his/her childhood (Beeton: 52). Typical destinations are, for example, the California locations of the Salinas Valley and Monterey. Here the visitor can experience where John Steinbeck was brought up and where some of his novels, such as *Tortilla Flat* (1935) and *Cannery Row* (1945), are set.[7] Similarly, in Sweden, Nobel laureate Selma Lagerlöf's family estate Mårbacka is a destination for domestic as well as international visitors, attracting some 30,000 individuals annually.

Now and then literary and film tourism work in conjunction. Such is the case at the Swedish attraction Astrid Lindgren's World. Here, about 400,000 visitors, mainly families with children, arrive every year. They attend a specially built theme park, visit the internationally well-known children's writer's childhood home, and generally experience the environment in the north-eastern part of the Småland region in southern Sweden, where several of her stories are set as well as where the popular films and TV series adapted from them were shot (Fact sheet 2009).

In addition, there are other forms of film-induced tourism that can be deemed somewhat more marginal at present. These forms include the starmap industry, which caters to a clientele that wish to catch a glimpse of celebrities and their homes. Moreover, different forms of off-location film tourism have become an escalating activity. This includes visits to film studios, such as Universal Studios, theme parks such as Anaheim's Disneyland and to a certain extent film festivals such as those in Toronto and Berlin, which consistently attract large groups of people. Particularly film festivals have become an increasingly important tool for city marketing (Valck, 2007: 75).

Confusions and Miscalculations of the Film Business

Although film tourism appears to be a thriving business, it most certainly has effects on the respective communities in which it takes place. These effects are not considered desirable by everybody (Beeton: 97ff.). Accordingly, on-location film tourism is known to create traffic congestion, parking shortages, issues of privacy and changes in a community's atmosphere and appearance. It is often also accompanied by inflated prices, in shops as well as for land, rents and real estate. Moreover, visitors have occasionally come to be perceived as a kind of Other, who are thought of with resentment by the community.

Tourism has also created transformations in the commercial structure of communities. For instance, traditional shops and the like have been re-

placed by restaurants and businesses that are almost exclusively geared towards the tourist trade. In relation to Cannes, Dutch film historian Marijke de Valck has for instance noted how the film festival has had a long-term, detrimental effect on the city as a flourishing residential area: "It is almost as if the festival and conference visitors are the real citizens of Cannes and the city only comes alive when business from the outside takes up its temporary residence" (Valck: 118). Because little knowledge exists about how protracted an individual instance of film-induced tourism will be, a feeling of uncertainty may also surround the whole phenomenon.



Kamakura Cinema World, Kamakura.

Moreover, not every attempt at creating systematic film tourism is successful. In Japan, the Shochiku motion picture company, one of the vertically integrated firms that dominated Japanese film for decades, had devoted parts of its grounds in the Tokyo suburb of Kamakura to a theme park named Kamakura Cinema World. Here the company's long existence and its more than six decades of successful feature film production were chronicled. But there were also shops and snack bars, a CNN store, a scaled-down drive-in theatre with several convertibles sunk into the concrete floor as well as some sets for swordplay films and a large room devoted to the company's most beloved contract director, Yasujiro Ozu.

The facility opened in 1995 only to be closed down three years later. Reflecting on this short-lived venture, American film historian David Bordwell suggests, "the fragility of tradition, the confusions and miscalculations of the film business", may prompt the creation of attractions meant to commemorate films and filmmaking that, in reality, do not appear attractive at all to visitors (Bordwell, 2004: 1f). Ultimately, the misguided enterprise brought about closures, unemployment, reduced goodwill and severe financial losses. And the Shochiku experiment is not the sole instance (Beeton: 202).

From Ystad Ordinary to Wallander's Ystad

Ystad is a small town on the southernmost tip of Sweden. It is situated in a mostly agricultural area. The town has a harbour and was long marked

by the presence of several military garrisons. Because of its location by the sea and because several large beaches surround the town, Ystad has also attracted tourists in a modern sense for just over 100 years. To further confirm the area's long-standing commitment to tourism and travel, it can be mentioned that the town played host to a national exhibition called "Spare Time" ("Fritiden") already in 1936. The event was devoted to leisure activities and provided the incentive for several building projects. In its time, the exhibition attracted considerable attention (Strömberg, 2007: 40).

Henning Mankell's first book about Wallander was published in 1991 and met with considerable success among the public at large. Soon afterwards the first literary tourists were noted in Ystad (Sjöholm, 2008: 206). As further titles made Wallander into a household name, and the first three books were adapted into low-budget, small-scale TV productions in the middle of the decade – alternatively shown as serials or as TV movies in Sweden – the first on-location film-induced tourism may have taken place as well.

Quite early on, the series of books started to be translated into several languages – into German in 1993, English in 1997 – and in the late 1990s, the Wallander phenomenon became an international occurrence, albeit a small one, attracting visitors from abroad. Here, an important cause was the wider recognition the character started to receive in what still appears to be Mankell's most important foreign market, Germany (Høier, 2008).

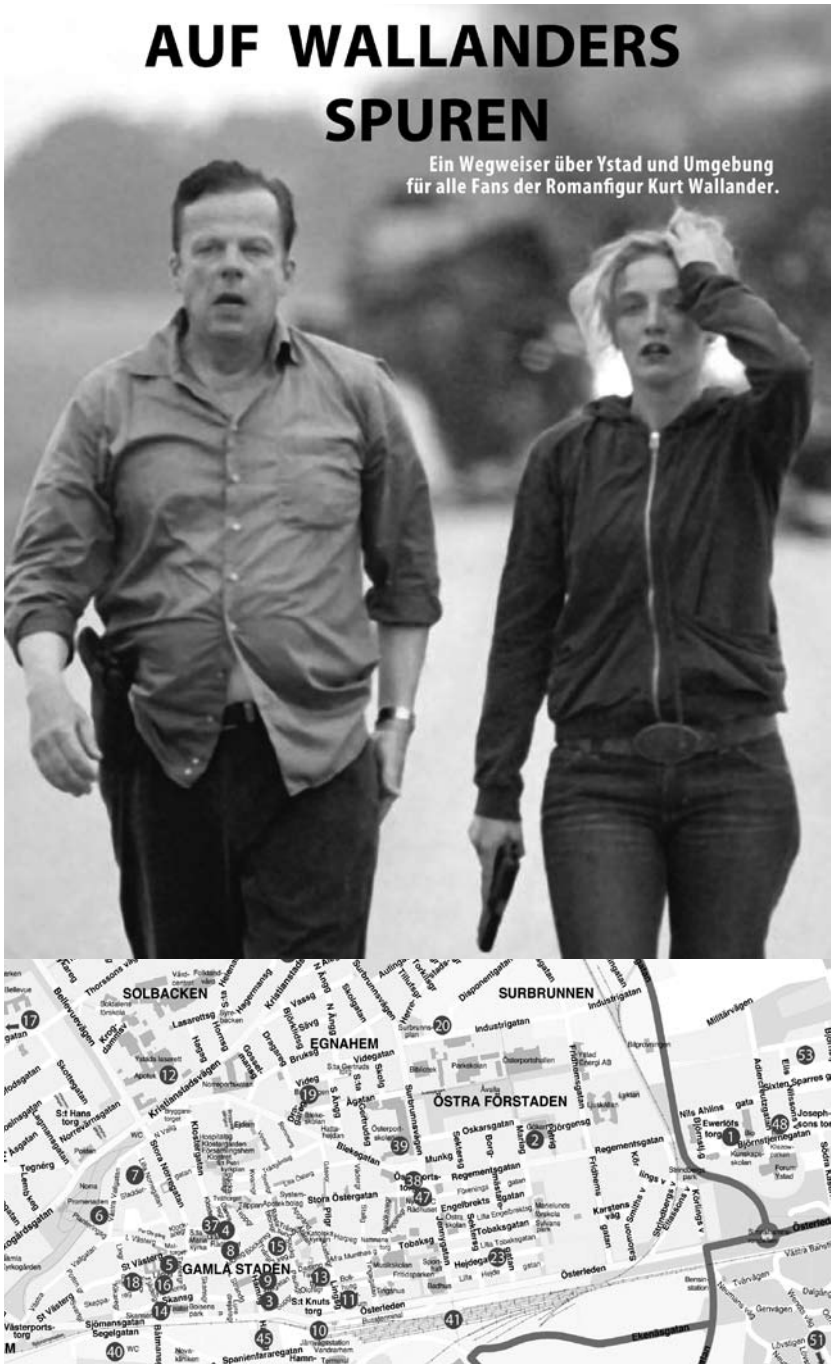
In Ystad, nothing much seems to have been prepared or arranged for these early instances of domestic and foreign, literary and film tourists. However, the town depicted in the books and, more anonymously, in the mainly domestically distributed films was there.[8] With some skill, visitors could locate spaces, buildings, environments and so on.

In 2000, however, the situation changed. Ystad was added to a small group of locations, supported by the main Swedish film support agency, the Swedish Film Institute, where regional feature film production was encouraged. Thus, the town became part of a fundamental change during the late 1990s and the early 2000s, which entailed that the majority of Swedish feature film shoots would be moved from the capital and onto locations and into studios in small, provincial towns like Luleå in the north, Trollhättan in the southwest and Ystad (Hedling, 2008: 8f). Because the town, or rather the region in which it is located, did not, as the other two had, receive support from the European structural funds for the novel activity, it took years of local and regional mustering of financial strength before something resembling continuous production commenced around 2004.



Sweden, with Trollhättan, Luleå and Ystad marked.

Since the beginning of 2000 and up to the end of 2008, thirty-three theatrical features, thirteen theatrically shown documentaries, fifteen TV films, 111 shorts and 113 documentaries of various length have been made with Ystad as base and with the regional film authority Film i Skåne acting as co-producer. Film i Skåne has similarly been part of the development of an additional seventy-nine feature productions. More than half of this activity took place between 2006 and 2008 (Film i Skåne, 2009: 19). To give some indication of the emphasis of the output, one may note that by the end of 2009 some thirty theatrical and TV films centred on Kurt Wallander will have been made in and around Ystad.



Location map in German for the Wallander [1] lms.

A Destination for Visitors

During this development, a more systematic approach to increasing Ystad's attractiveness and competitiveness as a destination has become discernible. Borrowing concepts from previous on-location and off-location examples, an assortment of efforts have been made to facilitate visits and visitor's various interests.

The freshly renovated tourist office has large signed photographs of both author Mankell and the actors who have portrayed Wallander. The books, in Swedish as well as in English and German translation, are prominently displayed and sold, as are the DVDs. There are also easily available location maps to facilitate visits to particular places depicted in both books and films.

In the old garrison area of the town, furthermore, where the current film studio is located, a visitor's centre, called *Cineteket*, has been created. Here, the general process of filmmaking is described and illustrated in quite a bit of detail. There are also opportunities for the visitor to try his or her hand at common cinematic practices such as blue screen filming. Even if the knowledge and practices presented are of a general nature, the experience has been tied to the ongoing filming activities by exclusively using audiovisual material from the regional productions. Besides this there have been more traditional events like studio tours, where people get a look at the actual soundstages used, guided murder walks and so forth (Sjöholm: 205f).

In addition, local authorities are attempting to further endorse Ystad's film identity by coordinating events related to the film activities. Since 2007, an annual gala show has been arranged celebrating and presenting awards to extras of different categories who have worked on regionally produced films. The event takes place in autumn and has been labelled "The Silver Fish Gala" (Silverfiskgalan). In October 2009, furthermore, a local annual film festival, with the crime genre as its focal point, was inaugurated.

It is also evident that the main local representatives, from both the public and private sector, favour the development and are acting with the aim to give it long-term reinforcement. As soon as the feature film production had commenced, they immediately tried to create infrastructure to support future activity. Accordingly, contributions were made so that nearby Lund University would be able to start up research on regional film production as well as master's programmes in film and media production and film music composition, the aim being to augment the future workforce.[9]



Announcing the upcoming ¹ lm festival, Autumn 200□

To widen the appeal of the region beyond the attractions of film and Wallander, the tourist office has also endeavoured to market places of more general interest. This includes the nearby megalithic monument Ale's Stones (Ales stenar), called "a Swedish Stonehenge" by a British journalist, as well as former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld's summer residence Backåkra, now a museum devoted to the life and career of its former proprietor (Davidson, 2008). A biannual event not connected to film but rather to Ystad's military past is Ystad Military Tattoo, which since its inception in 1999 appears to be a surprisingly flourishing attraction.

In all, the film production, together with the surrounding activities and professionalization of events created to facilitate tourism, can be deemed as having been successful in attracting visitors. From 2004 – the year production proper of Wallander films began – until 2008, the financial turnover from tourism went up by more than 60 per cent (meaning roughly a ten percent annual growth rate) (Andersson, 2009: 12). In a shorter perspective, after the first three English-language Wallander films, starring Kenneth Branagh, had been shown by the BBC in late 2008, an increase in visitors from Britain was rapidly observed. Hence, the number of Britons who stayed overnight in Ystad hotels during the

off season from January to May of 2009 was up some 34 per cent compared to the year before (Wernhult, 2009).

Still, certain limitations seem to exist. The largest group of visitors is still Swedish, nearly a majority comes only for the day, and the number of guest nights has fluctuated during the observed period. Similarly, the number of people employed within the trade has not increased every year, but sometimes decreased (Andersson: 11). Likewise, with regard to investment in infrastructure, the need to build, for instance a new hotel due to growing demand, appears not to have been observed (however, a local camping ground was about to be enlarged in early 2009). Certainly, however, this does not mean that the progress has gone amiss or that it is appropriate to speak about "miscalculations of the film business". What is perhaps fitting to say, however, is that some of the more adamant assumptions about the steadfastness of the growth, made in the "document of analysis" discussed at the beginning of the article, do not fully hold up.

Nevertheless, Ystad has come to be recognized regionally as something of a robust tourist attraction. In early 2009, the chief executive of the regional airport, Malmö–Sturup, expressed that the expected increase in Wallander tourism was perhaps his strongest card in a bid to attract more low-cost airline routes to the airport (Svensson, 2009). Likewise, other regions that are trying to reinvent themselves and that consider increased tourism together with exposure in audiovisual contexts to be an important part of the process often mention Ystad as a precursor they wish to emulate (Martinsson, 2008). A receipt of the impact on the national consciousness Ystad's concentration on tourism had made, was furthermore received during the autumn of 2009. As widely reported in the press, the town was selected as the recipient of the annual High Award for Tourism by The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (Tillväxtverket 2009).

As the films have been shown on TV abroad, some overseas curiosity about Ystad can be detected as well. When British celebrity actor Kenneth Branagh came to town in early 2008 to portray Wallander in the previously mentioned English-language films, several of the major British newspapers dispatched writers to report on the event. Obviously, they interviewed the actor and covered some of the production, but they also presented their impressions of Ystad. The largest one, not counting the tabloids, *The Daily Telegraph*, even made a web-TV featurette entitled "Real Trips: On the Detective Trail in Sweden", which supplemented Max Davidson's above-cited article on the newspaper's website. The coverage also included a fact sheet about travelling to Ystad and how to find accommodations (Davidson).



Kenneth Branagh as Wallander on location in Ystad.

Similarly, the German *Bild*, Europe's largest circulating newspaper, ran a series of articles called "Wo Brunetti, Wallander und Holmes ermitteln. Diese zehn Krimi-Orte sind eine Reise wert" during the summer of 2009. The series presented ten worthwhile places to visit, all of which had been made familiar through crime fiction. Together with London, Paris, Trieste and Venice, Ystad made the list (Unsigned, 2009). Another, more comprehensive example of the present German fascination with Scandinavia, Sweden, Skåne and crime fiction may be exemplified by literary editor of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Thomas Steinfeldt's 2004 book *Wallanders Landschaft: eine Reise durch Schonen* (*Wallander's Landscape: A Journey through Skåne*, Schonen is of course Skåne's German name).

In addition, the town has been depicted in more specialized international circumstances, such as in the now defunct Scandinavian airline Sterling's *Sterling magazine*, presented to travellers during flights. In one of the last issues, under the headline "Murder, Mystery & Megabucks", Ystad and the Scandinavian surge in crime dramas were presented in glossy pictures of the town and its surroundings, including stills from the films. Unashamedly, the town was promoted as a splendid travel destination and as a hub that benefits greatly from "Scandinavian creativity" (Unsigned, 2008b: 81).

Hence, Ystad's attempts to use the fame it has achieved through its as-

sociation with the character of Wallander, and the subsequent films, can be seen as successful in many respects. The development has been important for place promotion, rebranding and as a catalyst for a restructuring of the town's economic life. A more or less steady and ever-increasing line of visitors has trickled along predominantly Wallander's different haunts and paths, eaten at various restaurants, and visited the off-location facilities as well as the non-filmic ones. Still, it would be inaccurate to describe the development as a boom. No new hotels have been built, property has not been overtaken by the new tourists, just as prices have not escalated particularly compared to other areas in the region. And although the economic growth of this particular activity seems to have been better than that in society at large, it is far from exponential and few large non-public investments have seen the light of day in connection with the development.

On the other hand, not many of the above-mentioned negative effects of film-induced tourism can be observed. Few mention the visitors as anything resembling the Other. Except for parking shortages during the summer, concerns like traffic congestion, issues of privacy, and changes in the community's atmosphere and appearance, even if they exist, have not yet become real issues.[10] The scarcity of temporary housing, which has resulted in competition between holiday-makers and film workers, is mentioned now and then. Similarly, certain people working with different artistic endeavours, who feel they have been lured by the public authorities into moving to town, express regret, as they have not been able to become part of the filmmaking activities. Another point made by many observers is that central Ystad is now and then particularly congested by pedestrians during the summer months. This, however, can hardly be blamed on the film and literature visitors alone. As noted, the town and its surroundings were a traditional summer destination long before the Wallander phenomenon appeared and have continued to be so up to the present.[11]

Perils of the Game

Having enjoyed the good fortune of Mr. Mankell setting the core parts of his stories about inspector Wallander in Ystad and its regional surroundings, together with rather moderate public and private investments, the town has seen the birth of a thriving if not exactly large-scale trade. Besides providing approximately 500 full-time jobs (the number refers to the aggregated tourist sector, not just the part serving the film

and literary tourists), this trade appears to have enriched, solidified and provided hope for the community as well as set in motion a change in the identity of the town and the region, with relatively few negative effects visible thus far (Andersson: 11).

Still, certain issues remain to be examined. If nothing else, they illustrate that there are a number of weaknesses and uncertainties surrounding an endeavour of this kind. Some are directly connected to local, regional and national circumstances specific to Ystad, others are more general in nature.

First, and as has frequently been remarked upon by both Mankell himself – allegedly a sympathizer with the Maoist revolutionary left during the 1970s – as well as by his commentators, one of the main aims of the Wallander books was to paint a critical and non-idealized picture of contemporary Swedish society, a society that Mankell views as being in a state of "escalating decay" (Wendelius 1999: 169, 171).

In the Swedish-language films, this theme does not appear to be one to which the filmmakers have paid particular attention. On the other hand, in the three completed English-speaking instalments, *One Step Behind*, *Firewall* and *Sidetracked* (2008), one may suggest that the tendency is pronounced.

For instance, already about seven minutes into *Sidetracked*, Wallander receives a short lecture from a forensic pathologist about an apparent pandemic among local young people which involves causing severe harm to themselves. As he listens, Wallander looks increasingly ill at ease while finally exclaiming: "What kind of a world do we live in, a fifteen-year-old girl who wishes to burn herself to death?", thus commenting on the incident that has set the narrative underway. In the following scene, as he drives from the hospital along the streets of Ystad at night, he merely observes as a group of young boys on the sidewalk are involved in a brutal assault. Wallander is so tired and his outlook so jaded that he does not care enough to lift a finger. Of course, there are also various scenes and shots throughout the films that show off the beauty of parts of the environment. Nonetheless, a pessimistic and somewhat negative outlook on contemporary society, on the national authorities, on the town at hand and on its distressed inhabitants prevails.

This illustrates a dilemma, or in film tourism researcher Sue Beeton's words, "the message of a feature film will not always conform to the strategic objectives set by a destination agency" (Beeton: 60). In other words, local and regional authorities as well as community members who want to take advantage of the promotional potential of film are not party to



Sidetracked. Brutal assault taking place in the streets of Ystad.

the decision to film certain sites. Besides, they have no control over the image presented. According to Beeton, "little (if any) research has been done" to assess the influence on tourism and a particular location in cases when it has been presented through negative images (Beeton: 60). However, to be fair, at least one academic article suggests that "the locations need not be beautiful nor the storylines positive in order to attract visitors" (Riley, Baker and Van Doren: 932).[12] Although Ystad does not seem to have suffered particularly from the above-discussed negative theme that permeates the books and on occasion, the films, it can nonetheless be seen as a feature of uncertainty in attempts to promote the town.

Second, and closely associated with this downbeat portrayal, the Swedish critical reception of the Swedish-language films cannot be described as particularly enthusiastic. In an unpublished Swedish MA-thesis, Lars Jansson has meticulously considered the reviews and general reception of the first two films that were given theatrical release domestically (Jansson, 2006). In most cases, the films received poor marks.

Generally, they were seen as parts of a series rather than as unique artefacts, as low-grade products made for TV, not quite good enough for the big screen, and as commodities from the assembly line rather than works of art resulting from an artist's vision. Now, this kind of judgement is not altogether untypical when this kind of "product" is reviewed (Hedling, forthcoming). Nevertheless, in this case the remarks seemed more derogatory than usual.

Again, there seems to be no particular investigation that considers the correlation between bad reviews and tourism. Nonetheless, the lukewarm critical reception supposedly added a certain negative image to the entire Wallander project. As stated before, tourism to Ystad does not seem to have suffered particularly. On the other hand, it is impossible to know whether the number of visitors and tourists would have been larger had these reviews and the books' and films' depiction of Ystad and of contemporary Sweden been more favourable.

Third, Sweden as a destination for mass tourism is a quite recent phenomenon. This is illustrated by the fact that while Sweden has outperformed the rest of Europe regarding tourist volume growth since the early 1990s, the travel and tourist industry in the country still contributes a lesser share to the gross national product than is the case in most comparable European states (Nutek, 2008: 7–8). Moreover, incoming mass tourism's present existence appears closely correlated with the historic development of the value of the Swedish currency, the krona (SEK). As mass tourism developed during the decades after World War II, Sweden missed out as a destination. The cost of living was too high, and the weather too cold and subject to considerable variation. Furthermore, the country is in the geographical margins, separated from the European continent by the Baltic Sea. Since the collapse of the Bretton Woods system of monetary management in 1973, and as Sweden went through a two-decade-long phase of more severe stagflation – high inflation, low growth, large deficits in the government budget – than was experienced in comparable countries, the currency was habitually devalued (Magnusson, 2000: 269f; Bohlin, 2008). In 1991, the krona was pegged to the ecu (later the euro) at 7.42 krona to 1 ecu. That lasted little more than a year. Since 1992, the krona has been a floating, fluctuating currency, together with the pound sterling, one of the very few floating currencies in northern and Western Europe. As of this writing, the krona has recently been valued at 11.60 a euro, which marks an all-time low in the value of Swedish currency. Accordingly, tourism in Sweden and in Ystad can be seen as dependent on a monetary policy that has lasted for fifteen years, but that

is historically exceptional and almost unique in a contemporary Western European context.

In sum, the present tourism in Sweden is highly dependent on the fact that it has become more expensive for Swedes to go abroad. Concurrently, visitors from abroad have progressively experienced the country as less and less expensive. As Sweden is technically bound to eventually adjust to the euro, the current volatility and the future rate of the krona appears to be crucial risk factors for the long-term potential of both the tourist industry in general and a locality like Ystad in particular.

Fourth, speaking to producers and others involved in film, it is invariably mentioned how film production in Ystad, compared to the two other major regional production centres in Sweden, Trollhättan and Luleå, is underfunded in relation to the regional public authorities. This is confirmed by the respective centres' websites, where their annual reports are posted and where the regional contributions, after support from the structural funds ended, are stated (Film i Skåne; Film i Väst; Filmpool Nord: 2009). In short, Ystad as a film production centre has not gained the same amount of regional approval as its two main national competitors have. The reasons for this, obviously, are that many interests compete for backing and that political conviction about the proceeds and gains that audiovisual production will bring to a particular town in the region is somewhat less strong in Skåne compared to the respective regions in which the other centres are situated. This may also imply, for instance, a division of interests within the overall political body responsible for funding.

During the spring of 2009, Malmö, the largest town in Skåne, completed an application for backing from the European Union's structural funds. The purpose behind the application is to develop Malmö into a centre of a network called Moving Media Southern Sweden, the aim of which is to make southern Sweden "internationally known as a leading environment in innovation and production in areas such as film, TV, computer games, internet and mobile platforms" with "Malmö as the engine" (MMSS 2009). On 30 June, the application was approved. Furthermore, information was soon circulated that several businesses within the field were keen on moving to a planned media village at Malmö's fashionable West Harbour (Västra hamnen) district (Bosson, 2009). Several of these businesses had been involved in films produced in Ystad, but had never shown any inclination to start up a regular office there.

Accordingly, two towns, one small, one large, and less than an hour apart within the same region, are at the moment trying to establish themselves within closely related fields. To do so, both rely greatly on public

funding. Of course, it may be that the two towns can co-exist, with Ystad in some kind of, ultimately, subordinate role ("Malmö as the engine").

From the beginning and despite its unique qualities, Ystad, like other production hubs, has had to endure some competition from other audio-visual centres both in Sweden and abroad. From now on, what may be described as intraregional rivalry – at least on the level of competition for public funding – appears to be a distinct possibility as well. In the long run, this situation may not be altogether beneficial. The awareness of this state of affairs in Ystad has provoked an attempt to start a locally sustained film fund. However, as of this writing, the interest shown by local entrepreneurs and businesses to invest in such an endeavour appears to have been much smaller than anticipated (Lantz 2009).

Fifth, while I was speaking to a Danish film producer, who shall remain anonymous, but who has extensive experience with working in Ystad, he suddenly exclaimed, "But there is nothing there!" Asking him to clarify, his assessment was twofold. On the one hand, he said the fact that so few regular film companies had established real offices or a presence in town meant that the talk about a production hub or a cluster sounded hollow and that the long-term potential appeared to be dubious. In his estimate, production units only seemed to be there in order to either capture the Wallander locations or present enough for the requirements stipulated in the contracts with the local film authority acting as co-producer. Knowledge-wise, business-wise and talent-wise, he saw little attraction in Ystad.

On the other hand, the producer's opinion converged with, unbeknownst to him I presume, a discussion referred to at the beginning of the present text. For that reason, one may argue that, according to him, there was little in Ystad and its surroundings that, in John Urry's words, "contrast with non-tourism realms". In short, the producer thought Ystad nice enough, but not particularly different from hundreds of other European towns spread over the northern parts of the European continent and the Scandinavian peninsula. Consequently, and to further follow the producer's train of thought, even if pictures of Ystad are distributed through film and TV, there is supposedly too little "involving a different sense from those customarily encountered" to really set the town apart and prove it as a particular tourist realm. Should the producer's characterization and John Urry's theory about what separates tourist realms from non-tourism realms prove true, Ystad may be in a precarious position if the Wallander phenomenon eventually fades.

Sixth, there is a quandary related to both of the two last-discussed

topics as well as to the question of the long-term potential of Ystad as a feature film production centre, gradually becoming a "creative city" and housing its own "creative class", to borrow some of urban studies theorist Richard Florida's influential concepts. Quite recently, two Swedish social and economic geographers undertook a large survey on film workers – including everything from A-functions such as directors to C-functions, meaning semi-skilled workers of different kinds – and on how "flows" of people within the sector could be studied following the present regionalized setup. Among many things, one of their findings was that it does not seem like a skilled work force has developed around the regional centres to a large enough extent. Neither have skilled workers or talent relocated there in any substantial way, or as the authors note (and as others have before them), "The net flow of film workers between regions in Sweden means that film workers from Stockholm dominate film production in Norrbotten [around Luleå] and make up a substantial proportion of those in Västra Götaland [around Trollhättan]" (Dahlström & Hermelin 2007: 117). As for Ystad, similar patterns can be observed. Besides those from Stockholm, many workers in different categories have to be brought in from Copenhagen in Denmark and from the larger towns in the region, as workers appear reluctant to move. This situation is of course an obstacle, in a sense, for Ystad – as well as for the other regional production centres – and not least for its plan to develop itself into a permanent site for feature film production.

Seventh, very little seems to be known about the longevity of individual instances of film- and literature-induced tourism. Some of the examples mentioned earlier, such as the tourism in connection with *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* and *Crocodile Dundee,* demonstrate that there is ultimately a time limit on how long an individual film can continue to attract tourism. Other, slightly different examples, like Monument Valley or the Disneyland theme park, have maintained their appeal for numerous decades. Literary tourism also seems to be quite resilient. Still, each example presents particular features. Therefore, it seems impossible to predict how long a single case in point like Ystad, which, furthermore, combines literary and filmic attractions, will last.

Eighth, and finally, among the few critical voices regarding the Ystad experiment, an undergraduate thesis written collectively by three students at Lund University, Sweden, examines what is broadly defined as the sustainability of film tourism (Johansson, Ohlsson and Olsson, 2008). Basically, the argument subscribes to the often repeated and on occasion documented quandary that tourism carries with it the seeds of its own

destruction, "the 'love it to death' dilemma", as it has been called (Beeton: 12). While pondering this, however, the writers also suggest, but never discuss, an area that indeed appears challenging, not just in regard to the case of Ystad, but also for the expanding tourist industry in general. Accordingly, when Ystad appeals to tourists, the town, in a sense, encourage people to travel. Because most, but not all, travel and transportation involves the burning of fossil fuels – in cars, airplanes, motorcycles and so on – the environmental strain from tourism to a specific locality, like Wallander's Ystad, is obviously not limited to that locality. Hence, appealing to the tourist gaze is also, in a way, promoting the further emission of greenhouse gases. If this continues to be the global problem it is currently considered to be, and if more neutral means of transportation are not developed, heavier restrictions on travel, and especially leisure travel, may very well see the light of day. To put it mildly, this may have consequences for the combined tourist and travel industry, as well as for individual places and regions presently making themselves more dependent on this particular trade.

Conclusion

According to a recent OECD report, cultural tourism is one of the largest and fastest-growing global tourism markets. Moreover, it is of increasing importance for "economies around the globe" (OECD, 2009: 20). In a crowded marketplace, Ystad has been able to use its limited but distinct cultural assets in a discrete way that situates it in the forefront regionally, but also on a national level. After all, it is the only Swedish town that has been able to make the fact that a series of books and films were set and shot there its main appeal. In doing so, the town has rebranded itself to some extent and, at the same time, escaped a possibly much more dismal fate as a place mainly characterized by its shut down former military garrisons and the typical post-industrial malaise. Yet, and as discussed above, several factors and circumstances constitute perils that surround the project. Not least of these are the difficulties that surround a small town's aspiration to evolve into a long-term, more or less self-sustained film production centre. If and, eventually, how these circumstances will affect the tourism industry is, however, not for me, or for an external media relations consultant, to say. It all depends.

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endnotes

1 Only nine seem to be regarded as proper Wallander books. The last one, *Before the Frost* (*Innan frosten*), is actually centred on Wallander's daughter Linda. An eleventh one was published in August 2009.
2 At the time of this writing, sixteen further Wallander productions, mainly for DVD and TV, have been made on location in Ystad.
3 Sources vary regarding the number of books sold globally in Mankell's name. Sometimes the figure of 25 million books is mentioned (Sjöholm 2008: 211). During a symposium in Ystad, 2–3 June, 2008, I heard Mankell's international agent Anneli Høier mention that almost 40 million books had been printed (Høier, 2008).
4 Interestingly, the document has on occasion been cited by scholars as a scholarly text.
5 According to a *Vanity Fair* article from 2009, it was the endless promotion of the valley by its "explorer" Harry Goulding, who came there in the 1920s, that made the place known (Bissinger: 120ff).
6 The book by Anne Beeton, which is extensively cited in this article, appears to be the sole one on the subject. Though it has a great deal of merit, Beeton's book is somewhat shaky on film-related facts. Accordingly, one can read that *Stagecoach* (1939) was filmed in 1935 and that Disney distributor Buena Vista International is the production company behind *Calendar Girls* (2003)!
7 In Salinas, a large museum entirely devoted to Steinbeck's "*rich legacy and to present, create and explore stories of the human condition"* has been built and seems, at least when I made the visit in 2002, to attract a substantial number of visitors. Monterey is also well catered for regarding Steinbeck enthusiasts, with plaques and so forth.
8 I have not been able to find out where actual location shooting took place for these first efforts. A presently active producer, however, mentioned that he heard it took place in Svedala, rather than Ystad. Svedala has the distinction of

being fifteen minutes closer than Ystad to the production base of those early films, Malmö.

9 The present article and the research behind it were supported by a grant from one of the local banks, Sparbanken Syd.

10 Having visited Ystad quite a number of times during the past few years and also having coordinated an academic film programme located there, I have on occasion simply asked people whom I have met about their feelings about the development.

11 In fact, and without speculating about possible synergies between different attractions within the region, Ale´s Stones, which is twenty minutes away, may actually be the cause for the congestion. The megalithic monument is ranked among the top twenty-five on official rankings of national tourist attractions (Nutek: 29).

12 Personally, I am not particularly convinced by their example, which is *Deliverance* (John Boorman, 1972). At least in my opinion, most of the environment depicted in the film is breathtaking.

Mats Jönsson

Lund: Open City? Swedish Municipal Mediation 1939–1945

almost half a century ago, cultural theorist Raymond Williams concluded: "since our way of seeing things is literally our ways of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community [...]" (Williams, 1961: 10). Together with two complementary concepts often employed when studying national identity making – Pierre Nora's *memory sites* and Michael Billig's *banal nationalism* (Nora, 1989 and Billig, 1995) – Williams' commonsensical statement guides this analysis of audiovisual communication in and about the Swedish town of Lund during the Second World War.

Situated in the southern part of Sweden, just opposite the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen, Lund has functioned as an important regional centre in both countries for more than a thousand years. Like most old municipalities of its kind, Lund encompasses a number of symbolic locations with clerical and academic histories going as far back as the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, respectively. Under investigation below is the fact that these iconic memory sites constituted pertinent ingredients in filmic depictions of Lund during World War Two. Apart from analysing *how* Lund was depicted, the chapter also tries to ascertain *what messages* these representations conveyed to audiences inside and outside the city limits.

Under the Magnolias

Like many Swedish communities in 1945, Lund began hosting refugees from the Nazi concentration camps. The first buses with Polish-Jewish women from Ravensbrück, Buchenwald and Belsen arrived on 26 April 1945. The citizens of Lund quickly realized that this was neither a small nor marginal activity that was to be taken lightly. On the contrary, it was immediately clear that the entire city would be affected, not least owing to the significant number of refugees arriving. On 3 May alone, for instance, more than 1,500 refugees came ashore in southern Sweden, and for a short while Lund hosted no fewer than 3,171 refugees within its city borders (Unsigned, 1945a). Relatively speaking this is a considerable figure, at the time amounting to more than ten per cent of Lund's total population. Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that Lund and other hosting cities were recurrently hailed in the media for being open, tolerant, and freedom-loving harbours of temporary rescue for all those in desperate need of help. In accordance with these acclamations, Lund's own daily newspaper proudly concluded that, to the refugees, "Lund is now a paradise" (Unsigned, 1945b). The most prominent regional poet of the time also participated in making such acclaims, including Lund in one of his patriotic odes: "To always answer and quickly respond, when freedom calls is custom in Lund, in life, science and art" (Gabriel Jönsson quoted in Oredsson, 1996: 181, my translation).

On 7 May 1945, one of Lund's citizens, amateur filmmaker Rudolf Åhlander, had his 8 mm camera ready when people from his hometown celebrated the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany together with foreign students and a group of female Polish refugees (Swedish Film Institute, 663/2004).[1] The municipal arena chosen was one of Lund's most frequently used memory sites, University Place, conveniently situated just outside the university's gymnasium building Palæstra, where 194 of the Polish refugees had been given temporary shelter (Unsigned, 1945c and Unsigned, 1945d). The students involved mainly consisted of young Danes attached to the so-called Danish School in Lund, but Swedes and Norwegians studying in the city also participated, which explains the presence of the three Scandinavian flags in Åhlander's film.[2]

This silent sequence runs for two and a half minutes and begins with a shot of a crowd of people standing by the magnolias at University Place. Everyone familiar with the city instantly recognizes this symbolic setting, particularly because activities taking place on this high-profiled arena normally have some sort of significance, not just for Lund in general,

but more specifically for the university and/or the church. (The famous city Dome is situated just one hundred metres away.) Hence, the location was neither randomly selected by nor unfamiliar to the people behind and in front of the camera. And even if Nora speaks of symbols imposed on and by the French state in his analyses of national memory sites, the Lund setting undoubtedly exposed similar, albeit condensed, characteristics on a municipal level.

In Åhlander's establishing shot, we see people standing in a long line headed by the three Scandinavian flags, which are visible in between the magnolias and the heads of participants standing just in front of and facing away from the camera. One of these onlookers is wearing a nurse's bonnet, which fits the occasion well, as all war refugees arriving in Sweden in 1945 were under constant surveillance by healthcare organizations owing to the mutual risks of contagion (Unsigned, 1945a). That such precautions also were taken during the peace celebration at University Place becomes apparent in Åhlander's film in at least three different ways. First of all, the images reveal that there was constantly a few metres of space between the Lund crowd and the Polish guests. Additionally, all refugees were situated within a rope-enclosed area, which further increased the actual distance between the two crowds. The third and final confirmation of irrefutable distance consisted of small, yet significant, signs that either hung on the aforementioned ropes or stood on the ground stating "Quarantine – No Admittance!" In other words, the Polish refugees were not invited into the community of Lund unconditionally.

This constant presence of municipal signs and ropes is not something we learn about solely by looking at Åhlander's images. These markers also appeared regularly in the press reports of the time, indicating that the topic of explicit precautions was never avoided in the public sphere. In fact, the constant presence of such precautions in the media could indicate a completely opposite strategy. The day after the peace celebrations at University Place, for instance, the largest regional newspaper had an extensive article accompanied by a single photograph depicting Polish refugees behind ropes in Lund; they sung while standing just beside a large quarantine sign (Unsigned, 1945b). The controlling ropes and signs thus seem to have developed into significant and officially accepted means of communication for the Lund authorities, the local press and the local readership. And one thing these demarcations signalled to everyone from the city, region or nation was the indisputable otherness of the newly arrived foreigners.



Singing Polish refugees behind a quarantine sign, here depicted in a local Lund newspaper.

The next shot in Åhlander's film shows the Polish women in the back of the picture facing him from a distance, while people from Lund stand with their backs to his camera facing the refugees. This celebrative encounter is registered from an elevated position behind the Lund crowd, enabling Åhlander to include both groups in a single shot. To a certain degree, the resulting spatial orchestration can be compared to the classic standoff in an old western. What we see are two disparate parties – refugees and "Lundians" – standing opposite one another, both facing unknown Others who also are inspecting the new faces in front of them. In all its simplicity, there is still something emblematic about this scene, not least its effective demonstration of how people generally relate to and communicate with someone from outside their own community.

The joint efforts to create an impression of symbolic unity between the two groups at University Place – despite all the signs, ropes, and space in between them – become most evident when the singing begins. From the newspapers we learn that the initiative came from the Lund crowd, which apparently all of a sudden began singing the three Scandinavian national anthems for their temporary guests. This patriotic performance was, in turn, followed by spontaneous singing replies from the Polish participants on the other side of the rope (Unsigned, 1945b). Whether these latter chants were songs of appreciation for being allowed to stay in Lund, songs to strengthen a collective Polish identity a long way from home, or polite replies to the Scandinavian anthems just performed is difficult to establish based on Åhlander's silent extract and the local press. And actually, it is not an especially important detail for the purpose of the present text. Of more significance, however, is the fact that the spontaneous singing in Lund on 7 May 1945 almost immediately transformed into a collective ritual with which the majority instantly seemed to be familiar. Official common singing in the public sphere was apparently something everyone on both sides of the ropes had done before in other places and on other occasions. Elaborating on Williams' initial claim, it seems as if quite disparate communities may have certain communicative practices in common despite differences in nationality, language, history and fate. One could perhaps even go so far as to suggest that national belonging is less important than social practices in determining whether or not communities share communicative processes with each other. Whatever the case may be, the two crowds at University Place end their mutual performance by resuming their collective cheers for the long-awaited Peace, followed by applauds and smiles from all the participants, while waving vigourously to each other and to Åhlander's camera. At this point in time, Åhlander panned back and forth across the crowd, thereby emphasizing the potential bonds within and between all the nationalities present. Suddenly, and for a few seconds, it seems as if all of them belong to one big happy family.

What was staged and performed in Lund on 7 May 1945 could perhaps be described as a local equivalent to Billig's idea of banal nationalism – a concept that has certain aspects in common with both Nora's memory sites and Williams' aforementioned quote. However, Billig clearly differs from his two colleagues in his emphasis on the mundane and ordinary dimensions of national identity making as well as in his belief that nationalism often becomes invisible in established nation-states such as Sweden. More to the point, Billig suggests that banal nationalism is a normal pa-



Everyone wawes to each other and the camera.

triotic condition embedded in everyday life and that it is always taken for granted as the preferred identity site (Billig, 1995: passim). What I find especially pertinent to the Lund example discussed above is Billig's conclusion that "banal practices, rather than conscious choice or collective acts of imagination, are required" if a nation is to continue its existence (Billig: 95). Although the Lund peace celebration of 7 May 1945 followed the schemes of ancient rituals and well-known rules of collective performances in the public sphere, I would like to suggest that it was first and foremost a unique occasion in its own right, which came to life at the spur of the moment thanks to a number of intuitive and spontaneous (and slightly banal) actions on the part of the participants.

True, the singing, cheering and waving at University Place all emanated from a long tradition of European public behaviour, and this cultural heritage had paved the way for all nationalities present, allowing them to actively take part in an event of more banal than ritualistic proportions. From such an angle, the mutual rejoicing performed in Lund can be seen as an unofficial invitation into the community. On the other hand, however, it can just as well be conceived of as a seemingly generous act that in reality never gave the foreign refugees any real access to the town. For de-

spite all spontaneity taking place on both sides of the rope, the Lund peace celebration primarily reflected the normal patriotic state of the city, which mainly consisted of carefully orchestrated public behaviour along the lines of an ancient and, to the inhabitants, already well-known pattern. Hence, the local and celebratory version of banal activities at University Place can be understood in at least two different ways. On a manifest level, it functioned as an identity site across national borders and languages, while on a more profound symbolic level, it largely maintained the literal and figurative distances between all the groups present.

Following a scene in which the Lund crowd sings anew as they pass in front of Åhlander's camera when leaving University Place come a number of shots of the area where the Polish refugees were contained. Enclosed by a high wooden barrier in the back and a low stone wall in the front, we see a few men and about ten women moving around in the spring sunshine. Almost immediately, some of them realize they are being filmed and start to act accordingly – either by avoiding the camera or by becoming more curious. The latter response is what shines through in the preceding shot, when Åhlander places himself just outside the quarantine ropes. What we see are several extreme close-ups of refugees who curiously gaze and smile directly into the lens while talking to each other, almost as if they were commenting on Åhlander and his camera.



Actions and reactions.



Actions and reactions.

Psychologically, what we are witnessing here is a complex set of actions and reactions from both sides of the rope. And although this kind of scene may be criticized for portraying the refugees as exotic Others in the Lund cityscape – as subjects of a collective community gaze concretized by Åhlander's camera, if you will – the warmth of the images undoubtedly triumphs over their potentially speculative nature. In fact, to me this scene has more in common with amateur films of family and friends than with official registrations of temporarily contained foreigners on Swedish soil. Moreover, the calmness with which most of the Polish women respond to Åhlander's filming makes it all the more likely that they had been the focus of much harsher types of attention prior to their arrival in Sweden, and that Åhlander's focus was therefore never conceived of as an intrusion into their personal space. Indeed, his explicit interest in these women was probably also more welcomed than were the curious and implicit gazes regularly directed at them by many of the passers-by in Lund (gazes that are detectable in the background of some of Åhlander's shots).

That there *was* in fact a darker and more sinister background to these peaceful images seeps through when we for a few seconds detect a Swedish soldier in the background. Standing guard by the quarantine ropes at the



Actions and reactions with a soldier in the background.

southern end of Sandgatan – a street that connects three of the most prominent memory sites in Lund: the University Building, the Bishop's Palace and the Dome – we see a soldier, dressed in full uniform and a helmet.

Despite the fact that this soldier is guarding a thin and symbolic barrier in the form of a rope, his presence undoubtedly emphasizes the fact that harbouring refugees in the middle of Lund constituted one of the most serious tasks this neutral city had undertaken during World War Two. But what exactly was this soldier guarding: the refugees, the city and its citizens, or perhaps the Swedish nation as a whole? Here, Billig's ideas about banal nationalism once again prove useful, especially when he argues that banal nationalism is typically expressed using attributes such as military metaphors, an overall division of news into foreign and domestic, as well as explicit and implicit employment of "deictic markers", where the latter by definition are always dependent upon the context in which they are uttered. Consequently, the soldier at Sandgatan should of course not merely be seen as a soldier, but also as a military metaphor subtly emphasizing the patriotic state in which Lund – and the entire Swedish nation – found itself at the time. Moreover, and despite of the mutual rejoicing and singing at University Place, the two crowds

registered by Åhlander on 7 May 1945 were clearly still divided into one domestic and one foreign group. And as mentioned, the news coverage of the event in the local press emphasized this division in similar ways. Finally, the abundance of implicit and explicit deictic markers in Åhlander's film and the press – the memory sites, the magnolias, the flags, the singing, the ropes, the student caps, and the solider – all confirm that this municipal happening can be likened to a kind of banal localism that both protected and opened the city.

Beyond the Magnolias

Sweden's cautious activity during World War Two has been aptly characterized as "negative adjustment to shifts in power relations" (Johansson and Norman, 1992: 356). Even though this national strategy had already been implemented during the *interbellum* period, it was upgraded to entirely new proportions once the war had begun, affecting Swedish citizens on every level of society – not least in local contexts such as Lund. When trying to understand how such adjustments manifested themselves in wartime depictions of this particular town, amateur films such as Åhlander's certainly contribute a great deal of significant information. However, broader and more general perspectives on the city are seldom addressed in such films, and even if they are, these productions rarely reach an audience outside the personal or local spheres. Consequently, one also needs to look beyond the magnolias. The examples consist of two professionally filmed representations of Lund that both were included in nationally distributed newsreels. What these two extracts have in common – with each other as well as with Åhlander's amateur film – is the almost compulsory use of the university and the church as iconic memory sites to spin their tales around. And just as with the peace celebration in 1945, none of these institutions were randomly selected by or unfamiliar to those filming them. On the contrary, exposing Lund's religious and academic ancestry in national media such as newsreels not only verified the significant function the university and the church had on the local arena, but also legitimized and manifested Lund's symbolic power nationwide.

The first segment was originally shown in Swedish cinemas on 20 November 1939 as part of the country's largest and most renowned newsreel, the so-called SF-journalen (SF1038A).[3] The event in focus had occurred just a few days earlier, 15 November, and had already been extensively covered in the local media (see for instance, Unsigned, 1939 and

nom de plume Esge, 1939). The occasion was the inauguration of a large monument in Lund's City Park created by artist Gunnar Nordborg, celebrating the hundred-year anniversary of the death of Per Henrik Ling, the "founding father" of Swedish gymnastics and a man who lived in Lund when he begun his national health quest. What makes this otherwise quite ordinary topical segment interesting in connection with a national strategy characterized as "negative adjustment to shifts in power relations", is that it was Lund's Bishop, Edvard Rodhe, who held the inaugural speech. Rodhe was an interesting public figure during the war for a number of reasons, and his prominence in Lund and the nation was indirectly confirmed in this newsreel by the fact that he was the only person mentioned by name in the commentary. But Bishop of Lund was not the only prestigious office Rodhe held in the city, as this position also automatically made him Pro-Chancellor of the university.

In other words, we are talking here about an individual who in many ways single-handedly personified the two most powerful institutions of the city. This would surely have been an effective media solution for all parties concerned, had it not been for the fact that Rodhe frequently made controversial statements on contemporary political issues. For instance, in a speech held at the university's festive opening banquet in the autumn of 1933, Rodhe harshly criticized the "collective egoism" that he saw surfacing in the wake of a reviving European nationalism. (Oredsson, 1996: 28–32). But the speech did not exclusively expose a populist rhetoric on the international arena. Certain xenophobic fractions closer to home were also addressed, focusing on Lund's growing tendencies towards local patriotism through which old traditions, legendary heritage and mythical history were increasingly used as protective shields, enabling the municipality to continue to look inwards at its familiar centre rather than worry about unknown matters outside of it. In short, Rodhe criticized Lund for being a closed city. Paraphrasing Billig's idea of banal nationalism, Rodhe can thus be said to have openly attacked, already in 1933, what he saw as local expressions of mundane banal identity positioning. And interestingly enough, he almost exclusively launched his attacks from the most prestigious memory sites of the city.

The inward-looking tendencies of Lund never become apparent in what was said or done at the ceremony by the Ling monument. Of more consequence was – just as in the case of the peace celebration in 1945 – who attended the event, why they did so and how they performed. Apart from Rodhe, the newsreel and newspaper cameras singled out many distinguished members of both the university and the church. Lund city



Celebrating and singning in the fall of 1□3□.

council members were of course also in attendance, as were people from the national military, the University of Copenhagen, and the international diplomatic corps. Lund students in their white caps can also be detected in the crowd, and at one point the newsreel images show how they begin to sing as part of the ongoing ritual, indirectly linking it to the spontaneous singing in front of Åhlander's camera five and a half years later.

To me, the guiding principle behind the Ling ceremony – and the representation of it in a nationally distributed newsreel – was to maintain appearances at all costs; everything was still "business as usual" in the realm of Sweden and the city of Lund. Anything new or destabilizing, such as a new world war, was repressed and kept away from the official agenda in the hope of also keeping it away from public opinion. And this is more evident in the nationally distributed newsreel than it is in the local paper, especially as Rodhe's speech was quoted in full in the newspaper. Naturally, he did not hesitate to take the opportunity and address his fellow men about the difficulties they all were facing, ending his speech by concluding that "the times are just as hard now as they were during Ling's Lund years." Subsequently, Sweden's "negative adjustment to shifts in power relations" during World War Two can partly be exemplified through how domestic newsreels depicted the neutral nation and its

cities, which was more apparent in what the footage failed to show than in what it actually displayed. Ancient shields against the threatening future, such as the church and the university, were therefore increasingly demanded by the media. In 1939, the recurring visible presence of these institutions was of great patriotic significance in Lund's City Park, in the local and regional papers as well as in the national cinemas.

More than five years later, Bishop Rodhe was again registered on film when taking part in a unique Lund ritual. This time the extract dealt with the celebration of Saint Lucia on the night between 12 and 13 December in 1944. The most interesting aspect of this more than three-minute-long segment is that it was presented to Swedish audiences as a Nazi newsreel with Swedish voice-over and produced by Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (UFA), the famous German film company that at the time was in the hands of the German Propaganda Ministry. From November 1941 up until the very end of the war, UFA produced and distributed Nazi newsreels in the Swedish language under the name "Ufa-journalen".

The voice-over in this particular extract informs us that the students of Lund were "dressed in the forgiving cover of the nightgown" when they went to fetch Bishop Rodhe at his home at the end of Sandgatan so that he could take part in the nocturnal event. In the preceding shot, we see Rodhe and the students, together with the city mayor and professors



Together with Lucia, bishop Rodhe jumps over the traditional bon¹ re.

from the university, jumping through the flames of a large bonfire that had been lit in the middle of the University Park Lundagård, where the University Building and the city Dome are situated.

What we are witnessing here is a local tradition signalling an unchanged ritual pattern similar to the one performed around the Ling monument in the City Park five years earlier. And just as when peace was celebrated in a more spontaneous manner on 7 May 1945, the rules of conduct were already familiar to everyone participating in the event, thereby making it almost impossible for an outsider to detect or understand all the nuances and significations.

On the other hand, nothing in this extract confirms that it was a German film crew that had received permission to film this particular ritual. Instead, the aesthetic principles guiding the imagery clearly followed the generic conventions of the time. Given that UFAs filming in neutral Sweden was often done on commission by domestic film crews, there is no real evidence that Lund officially invited the Nazi propaganda apparatus into the very centre of the city. Given Rodhe's harsh and repeated criticism of the war, racism, and nationalism, such permission seems even more improbable. Even more unlikely is that Rodhe would have taken part in this ritual in front of Nazi cameras, thereby indirectly legitimizing a kind of "collective egoism" similar to the one he formerly had criticized so harshly in public. The old Lucia ceremony – with its religious origins and frames of reference – should perhaps therefore rather be seen as an municipal effort to communicate an alternative and future ideal of collectivism to the citizens of Lund and the audiences in the cinemas, that is, to communicate a kind of collectivism that was neither egoistic nor nationalistic nor exclusive nor racist. Which, on the other hand, by no means suggests that Lund was ever an entirely open city during World War Two.

Styles of Imagination: A Conclusion

Benedict Anderson might sum up the discussions above as follows: "Communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 1991: 6). No doubt, the three short film extracts discussed here share a similar style when portraying Lund during the war years. To me, they all signal a kind of *banal local aesthetics* comparable to other mediations of the time and thus are also representative of a more general aesthetic tendency during the war. The photos of Lund in the local and regional press, for instance, were often identical to these film images. Of course, this is largely related to the fact

that the events depicted took place at certain pre-scheduled times and places, and therefore only offered certain possible perspectives on what was going on. Put differently, the city of Lund only opened up certain selected parts of its cityscape to the participants in the ceremonies and the filmmakers and photographers depicting everything. Just as elsewhere during the war, Lund tried to govern the communication that took place within its borders at the same time as it did its best to control discourses reaching beyond these more or less tangible demarcations. Like any other community, Lund wanted to control how it was imagined.

Whatever the case may be, however, I actually think that Anderson's emphasis on the *style* in which we imagine communities is most useful when trying to sum up the above discussions. To my mind, the single most significant aspect of the three film extracts analysed – and of several other mediations about Lund I have come across – is the *celebratory style* in which Lund was imagined. These cases range chronologically from saluting and singing for an ancient city hero with a new monument in stone that should withstand the passing of time, to joyful feasting and fire jumping in the dark with religious undertones strategically performed between the Dome and the University, and ending with the citizens of Lund singing and cheering for peace along with foreign refugees in May 1945. These three film sequences therefore suggest that Lund – owing to its powerful history, symbolic memory sites, and banal or ritual activities – constituted a useful public arena to act upon. Recurring reporting about these events in the media invited spectators and readers to join in on or take notice of the celebrations. The messages of national, regional and local patriotism sent to everyone stressed that the municipal equilibrium of the town of Lund was being upheld and that its public celebrations would therefore continue to be performed, regardless of whether the war was ongoing or had just ended.

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endnotes

1 Film number 1 from Rudolf Åhlander's collection is registered as number 663/2004 and is available in digital format at the documentary film archive in Grängesberg. The films were donated by Rudolf Åhlander's son, Lars, who would later write a history of Lund's cinemas.

2 The Danish School had its facilities around the square behind the Dome, Krafts torg. It was established in November 1943 and did not close down until 9 June 1945. Of its more than 100 refugee students from Denmark, two thirds were Jews. See Oredsson, pp. 179–183.

3 In the digital database "Journal Digital" at the Audiovisual Section of the National Library of Sweden, the film is filed under registration number SF1038A.

Erik Hedling

"On the Rocks": The Scanian Connection in Ingmar Bergman's Early Films

ingmar bergman spent two formative periods of his life in the Swedish county of Skåne, situated at the very southern tip of the country. It was here that in 1944, at the age of 26, he became Sweden's youngest ever director of a municipal theatre. This was the theatre in Helsingborg in the northwestern part of Skåne, where he stayed on for two years.

In 1952, he became first director and artistic advisor at the monumental theatre in Malmö in southwest Skåne, just across the strait from Copenhagen and Denmark. (Because the theatre had been inaugurated in 1944 as a "people's theatre" with seating space for 1695 spectators, the appointment emphasized Bergman's growing popularity and influence.) Bergman would remain until 1959 with his troupe of actors, or "Bergman artists", as theatre historian Henrik Sjögren calls them (Sjögren, 1968: 123). The "Bergman artists" were employed both in theatre productions and films. They included Harriet Andersson, Bibi Andersson, Gunnel Lindblom, Ingrid Thulin, Naima Wifstrand, and Max von Sydow (Sjögren, 1968: 123). At the end of the 1940s, Bergman also began regularly using Skåne as a setting for his films, particularly during the decade when he lived in the county. Here, he directed *Till glädje* (*To Joy*, 1950), *Gycklarnas afton* (*Sawdust and Tinsel*, 1953), *En lektion i kärlek* (*A Lesson in Love,* 1954), *Sommarnattens leende* (*Smiles of a Summer Night*, 1955), and two of his artistic *tours de force*, *Det sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957) and *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1958).

Already at the beginning of his career, Bergman creatively employed geography to metaphorically depict mental landscapes, at first with influences both from Italian neo-realism and from American film noir. And he did this in ways that often deviated radically from mainstream Swedish cinema (Hedling, 2006: 50–59; Hedling, 2008a: 180–193). The making of beautiful landscape imagery had been a stylistic convention in Swedish film since the silent era, but to my mind, Bergman eventually came to use the same landscape as a means of criticizing not only traditional landscape depiction in the cinema as such, but also the new, Social Democratic post-war modernity that was Sweden towards the ideological goal of creating a new welfare state. This critique was articulated by means of deconstructed image making, emphasizing space as barren, warped, hostile or even downright ugly, which – along with the dark, brooding narratives of death, humiliation and infidelity – paved the way for a Bergmanian counter-image of the sunny, Social Democratic, and successful Sweden.

One of the first good examples of this strategy appeared in *Sommarlek (Summer Interlude*, 1951). In this film, as Birgitta Steene states

> a young Bergman transformed a Swedish idyll into a post-utopian world of angst. [. . .] Bergman punctures the iconic summer motif that constitutes a generic feature in the *folkhem* by infusing it with his own sombre mood and personal brand of symbolism. Marie's [the main character, author's note] trip into the archipelago begins traditionally enough with sunny shots [. . .], a sky filled with cumulus clouds and popular [. . .] music on the soundtrack. But what is depicted is really a tragic flashback, and the moment Marie disembarks alone on an island the music, lighting and mood darken. [---] It is an emblematic Bergman vignette signalling the direction of his future filmmaking (Steene, 2008: 226)

The sequence is characterized by its drab, autumnal and greyish representation of a canonical Swedish summer landscape: that is, the Stockholm archipelago, the setting of countless Swedish films and also one of the most popular resorts for welfare-stricken and *nouveau riche* Swedes buying summer houses, a phenomenon that increased strikingly during the 1950s. Bergman himself would always mention *Summer Interlude* as one of his favourites: "It was there I first found that I functioned on my own, with my own style, in a very individual film, that looked as a very individual work that no one could make after me. It did not look like any other film. It was all my own work" (Björkman, Manns and Sima, 1970: 55). In the same in-

terview, Bergman also mentioned that the summer of 1951 was unusually rainy, which might have added to the general look of parts of the film. Nevertheless, as Steene rightly claims, the threatening and dull visual style would come to signal a dominant direction in Bergman's films, a direction that would reach its zenith in the films that Bergman eventually directed on the island of Fårö in the Baltic, starting with *Såsom i en spegel* (*Through a Glass Darkly*, 1961) all the way up to *Trolösa* (*Faithless*, 2000), the latter directed by Liv Ullmann, based on Bergman's script. It had all begun, however, in Skåne, in Bergman's Scanian films in the 1950s.

Skåne as Multiple Geographical Region

When dividing Sweden into ten regions, geographers, basing their argument on "natural geographical conditions, the history of colonization and the existing rural landscape", stipulate that the county of Skåne is part of three of these regions (Sporrong, Ekstam and Samuelsson, 1995: 42). Northeastern Skåne is part of "The South Swedish Highlands", the south of Skåne constitutes precisely "Southern Sweden", and the northwestern part of Skåne is connected to "Western Sweden".

Particularly southern Skåne has always been one of the most densely populated and richest parts of Sweden, both in terms of agriculture and heavy industry. Favourable states of the market – Sweden kept out of the Second World War and had its industrial infrastructure intact – along with rapid economic growth created a good foundation for the lavish Social Democratic welfare policies of the 1950s (cf. Skansjö, 1998: 232–233). In their history of industry in Malmö, Lars Berggren and Mats Greiff maintain: "The 1950s and 1960s were golden ages for Skåne. The city [Malmö] continued to grow, both in terms of geography and population" (Berggren and Greiff, 1992: 51). They also point to the fact that the huge Malmö wharfs (Kockums) produced the greatest amount of tonnage in the world and that many other factories were among the leading European industrial complexes (Berggren and Greiff, 1992: 54). Furthermore, Skåne had been very well represented in all Social Democratic governments since 1932 (Persson, 2008: 86), in the 1950s primarily through Prime Minister Tage Erlander. Though originally from a different part of the country, Erlander was an alumnus of Lund University and the well-known editor of the Lund-dominated Swedish encyclopaedia, *Svensk uppslagsbok*. Finally, the verdant, fertile countryside of southern Skåne is extremely attractive farmland that is "well known for its many estates" (Sporrong, Ekstam and Samuelsson, 1995: 50).

All these positively charged factors could be claimed to be represented – in metaphorical terms, that is – in Bergman's lyrical film *Smiles of a Summer Night*, set at Jordberga Gård, an elegant eightteenth century mansion outside Trelleborg on the southernmost coast of Skåne. This was, however, the only film that Bergman would make in southern Skåne, apart from the ending of *Wild Strawberries* in Lund and the small town shots of Ystad in *Sawdust and Tinsel*.

The region that appears most frequently in Bergman's Skåne films is instead "Western Sweden", starting on the west Skåne coast south of Helsingborg and reaching all the way up to Karlstad and to the north of Lake Vänern. The geographers maintain that northwestern Skåne is characterized by "grazing on large meadows [. . .]. We can find one of the better known areas of this type round Kullaberg" (Sporrong, Ekstam and Samuelsson, 1995: 123). The vicinity of Kullaberg, a rather dramatic hilltop jutting out into the sea, was to be the setting of several Bergman films. And he regularly employed the dramatic landscape around Kullaberg as a space connoting tragedy. In a geographical sense, it is here that Skåne really lives up to its name, which in linguistic terms derives from the ancient Nordic word for "dangerous peninsula" (Skansjö, 1998: 7).

To Joy

To Joy was the first of Bergman's Skåne films, shot by cinematographer Gunnar Fischer in the summer of 1949 and premiered on February 17, 1950; according to Birgitta Steene's reference guide to Bergman, the only foreign country that showed *To Joy* the same year was East Germany (Steene, 2005: 186), a fact that at least to me has a touch of ironic significance, as it is a tragic story of failure and estrangement.

The film is about Stig (Stig Olin) and Marta (Maj-Britt Nilsson), both violinists. The narrative is sombre, according to Bergman himself it

> was to be about a couple of young musicians in the symphony orchestra in Helsingborg, the disguise almost a formality. It was about Ellen [Bergman's wife at the time] and me, about the conditions imposed by art, about fidelity and infidelity [---]. The end of the film became terribly tragic. The female character was blown up by a paraffin stove (possibly wishful thinking) (Bergman, 1988: 159).

All through the story, Stig and Marta struggle with his vain ambition to become a solo violinist, and also with him having an adulterous affair with

another woman. "The exteriors were filmed on location in Helsingborg" (Bergman, 1988: 160), Bergman writes, but for the scenes of interest here, he went some 30 kilometres up the coast to Skälderviken, a large gulf cutting into the Skåne mainland. In the southwestern corner looms the protruding mountain of Kullaberg, in the north the hilly peninsula of Bjäre.

The sequence analysed here begins with a shot following the coastline of the gulf with the mountain of Kullaberg in the left corner. There is a printed inter-title over the image, reading "[A]utumn has come with a vengeance". The camera pans over the stony beach, exposing the excess of fermented algae on the surface of the sea, which would have been a repugnant greenish-yellowish had the film been shot in colour. The rocks are pointed, even appearing razor sharp. This is certainly not one of the favourite bathing spots in the gulf. When the camera reaches Stig and Marta on some cliffs, the surroundings are made to appear directly hostile, as a verdict on their relationship, doomed from the very start. This is the first time I have encountered this type of negatively charged landscape depiction in a Bergman film. Even if we return to more smooth-looking imagery from Kullaberg and vicinity in other parts of *To Joy*, Bergman had obviously found a visual archetype that he employed as metaphor – a kind of physical ugliness representing the dark and threatening sides of existence – and that he would explore even further in his later Skåne films.

Sawdust and Tinsel

The famous beginning of *Sawdust and Tinsel* – that is, the extensive flashback beginning a few minutes after the beginning proper – was shot at a spot very close to the scenes from *To Joy* and *A Lesson in Love*. We are further to the northwest and on the northern slopes of Kullaberg itself with its rocky beach. Here, the coachman Jens (Erik Strandmark) tells the circus director Albert (Åke Grönberg) the tragic story of the clown Frost (Anders Ek) and his wife Alma (Gudrun Brost). Regarding the personal background behind the scene, Bergman himself recounts:

> The drama had its origin in a dream. I depicted the dream in the flashback about Frost and Alma. It's rather easy to interpret. A few years earlier I had been madly in love. Pretending professional interest, I enticed my beloved to tell me in detail about her multifaceted erotic experiences. The peculiar excitement of a fresh jealousy over her long-past actions scratched and tore at my innards and my genitals. The most primitive rituals of shame became

> a permanent alloy in my jealousy. Jealousy became a kind of dynamite that nearly exploded out of me, its creator. To express it in musical terms, one could say that the main theme is the episode with Frost and Alma (Bergman, 1994: 184).

The scene, permeated by jealousy, initially depicts Alma walking towards Swedish artillery troopers on manoeuvre exercise; they fire their cannon out into the sea. The setting is the bare, sharp-edged rocks of Arild.[1] The cinematography by Hilding Bladh, who shot parts of the film (the rest was the first Bergman film shot by Sven Nykvist), is overexposed and the images assembled in a style highly reminiscent of Eisensteinian montage (Bergman has vehemently denied any direct influence, however (Björkman, Manns and Sima, 1970: 96)). The music by Swedish composer Karl-Birger Blomdahl is modernistic, atonal and eerie. Alma disgraces herself by flirting and undressing in front of the soldiers, who laugh cruelly at her while collecting money in order to pay her to strip naked (she does not herself notice her humiliation). And the firing cannons are obvious phallus symbols. The colonel, played by Bergman heavy Åke Fridell, who, juxtaposed with the firing cannon, is particularly nasty, greedily stares at Alma. He sends a boy to fetch Frost with the evil intent to humiliate even more, and the boy is seen running against the imposing geographical background of the mountain of Kullaberg, looming in the northwest.

When the boy returns with the straggling Frost, the clown's real ordeal begins. Many people have been attracted to the scene to enjoy this spectacle of Bergmanian humiliation, and Frost stumbles in between members of the jeering audience. The stones serve double purposes. They constitute an arena and plenty of space is provided for the seated spectators. They are also physical obstacles, making difficult Frost's endeavour to save his nearly naked wife (she is just wearing a thin vest reaching over her hips). Then, after undressing, he wades between the rocks into the water through the same kind of slimy substance (fermented algae) we saw in *To Joy*. While he is pulling his wife out of the water, and the spectators are laughing hysterically, the boy hides Frost's clothes so that he will have to return in his underwear. At this moment, the stones serve still another purpose, namely that of hiding an evil deed. The stones-as-obstacle theme is further developed when Frost attempts to carry his wife from the beach. His sore feet are shown in close-up, eventually he falls twice on the stony ground from the weight of Alma and he has to be carried back to the circus by the very people who just ridiculed and insulted him. Later in the film, we realize that the theme of jealousy and humili-



Sawdust and Tinsel: The sore feet of Frost on the rocks.

ation will be re-iterated in the relationship between the circus director Albert and his fiancée Anne (Harriet Andersson).

The scene has, of course, been studied and commented on by numerous Bergman scholars. Maria Bergom-Larsson, for instance, writes: "The clown Frost in *Sawdust and Tinsel* carries his naked wife Alma under the incandescent sun, all to the ridicule of the crowd. The sharp rocks on the beach hurt his feet and Frost crumbles under his burden. His wander is a Golgotha walk" (Bergom-Larsson, 1976: 94). In the present study, however, the focus has been exclusively on how Bergman used the northwestern Scanian landscape of "Western Sweden" as something threatening, harmful, and humiliating.

A Lesson in Love

Cinematographer Martin Bodin shot this film in 1953, among other places in Helsingborg and Arild in northwestern Scania, the latter being the same place that was used to create negatively charged connotations in *To*

Joy and *Sawdust and Tinsel*. The imagery here is far smoother, it is beautiful, complete with moonshine on the mountain in all three shots with Kullaberg in the background. Regarding his writing of the film, Bergman claims:

> I had made *Sawdust and Tinsel* and then Harriet and I were in Arild where we had done the exteriors for *Sawdust and Tinsel*, and Harriet liked sunbathing on the beach very much, which I did not. [---] Whatever happened I started to fool around with a few scenes, scenes from a marriage (Duncan and Wanselius, 2008: 158, my translation).

His words are interesting because he would use them again nearly 20 years later in his workbook for the TV serial *Scener ur ett äktenskap* (*Scenes from a Marriage*, 1973): "I can imagine a couple of scenes from a marriage" (Hedling, 2008b: 72). This is interesting, because *A Lesson in Love* in some ways seems to be the precursor of *Scenes from a Marriage*, with the exception that the comic aspects of the infidelity in the former are nonexistent in the latter. Also, while Liv Ullmann's Marianne in *Scenes from a Marriage* seems to be the ultimate winner in the struggle, in *A Lesson in Love* the winner is definitely the husband, in an ending that would hardly please present-day feminists.

In any event, the film is about a gynaecologist, played by Gunnar Björnstrand, who has become estranged from his wife through his affairs with his patients. The wife, Eva Dahlbeck, in her turn has taken up her old relationship with a bohemian sculptor in Copenhagen. The film is about their gradually coming together again and can be compared to what Stanley Cavell once famously called "The Hollywood Comedy of Remarriage", a generic form with strong Shakespearean influences (Cavell, 1981: 1–42) (one can also note that Mikael Timm, in his biography of Bergman, compares the film to American comedies (Timm, 2007: 232). At the beginning of *A Lesson in Love*, a voice-over (by Gunnar Björnstrand, the leading actor) states that: "This is a comedy which could have become a tragedy". The comedic aspects are easily discerned, as are the tragic ones. The adultery is both comic and tragic, the child's loss of faith in both love and marriage more on the tragic side. And it is now that the very Scanian Kullaberg, despite the American influences, comes significantly into the action.

Here, by chance, the gynaecologist encounters his daughter Nix (Harriet Andersson), who asks her father whether it is possible to have an operation that will change her into a man. She then gives a lecture on how

she will never love anyone, at least not a man, and how she is disgusted by the very thought of sex. She also condemns her parents' unhappy marriage. It is in the wake of this discourse that the shots of Kullaberg appear as the earlier part of the film is loaded with suitable connotations of marriage trouble.

The Seventh Seal

For this art cinema classic, Bergman once again turned to northwestern Skåne, this time to the quite dramatic cliffs of Hovs hallar (or, Hov's Cliffs), situated at the very tip of northwestern Skåne on the Bjäre peninsula, across the Skälderviken gulf from Kullaberg. He brought along his regular troupe of actors from the Malmö theatre. *The Seventh Seal* tells the story of the Knight Antonius Block (the surname meaning a large piece of stone in Swedish). Just back from crusading in the Holy Land, the Knight encounters Death (Bengt Ekerot) with whom he plays a game of chess, in which his life is at stake. It is on Hovs hallar that the majestic beginning of the film takes place, when the Knight meets Death for the first time.

Regarding locations, Bergman himself states:

> Everything was filmed at Film City [in Stockholm] with the exception of three scenes we shot at Hovs hallar: the prologue, the ending, and Jof's and Mia's supper in a strawberry patch located there. For the outdoor scenes we moved in a very confined space, but we had good luck with the weather and were able to shoot from sunrise to late at night (Bergman, 1994: 234–235).

The first scene in the film depicts the stony slopes of Hovs hallar, rising over a pebbly beach up from the sea. The barren shoreline is clearly hostile, rocky and harsh. The Knight and his Squire (Gunnar Björnstrand) rest on the jagged stones. In his monograph on the film, Melvyn Bragg states:

> We see that the chess set is laid out beside the sleeping Knight [resting actually, since his eyes are open, my comment]; that the Squire sleeps with a bared dagger in his hand; that the sea is cold and unrelenting, the beach stony, unyielding. When the knight wakes, he looks challengingly, even angrily, at the sky. When he prays, his lips do not move, perhaps he can no longer pray (Bragg, 1993: 56).

Thus, the famous encounter with Death is given its logical setting: icy water, poor shelter, threatening weather, everything caught by an expres-



The Seventh Seal: The encounter with Death in the stone landscape.

sionist cinematography, signed by Gunnar Fischer, with all its shadows and lights. The scenery is also, of course, an allusion to the famous source of inspiration for *The Seventh Seal*, that is, the biblical *Book of Revelations*, where the "sixth seal" concerns the movements of mountains and islands and where kings, masters and ordinary people take refuge among holes, cliffs and mountains.

From a landscape point of view, however, the most striking scene in the prologue is perhaps the elevated images of the Knight and the Squire riding away on their horses. Hovs hallar are imposing merely by virtue of their height, the stony ground particularly uninviting and the long shots diminishing the characters to dwarf-like creatures. I cannot recall any other shots like this in Swedish cinema. The imagery is really more like a John Ford Western, set in Monument Valley, like *The Searchers* (1956), where the Comanches look down upon their white foes in the valley.

The second exterior sequence emphasized by Bergman is the ending of the actors', Jof's (Nils Poppe) and Mia's (Bibi Andersson), wild strawberry supper. According to Marc Gervais, who has studied this particular sequence in meticulous detail, it is "the most positive and life-affirming [scene in] the film" (Gervais, 1999: 195); Jof and Mia constitute the holy family of Joseph and Mary. A pan from the Knight in close-up to Death in extreme close-up, however, abruptly breaks this affirmation of life. The musical theme of Death is accompanied by the menace of the Bjäre peninsula hill slope, which forms the dark background of the shot. The ensuing chess game leaves the Knight and Death suitably in the shadow, while Jof, Mia, their little son and the Squire sit in the light, unaware (possibly, with the exception of Jof) of the deadly game being played in front of them. In his sequence analysis, Gervais maintains:

> Even the closing nature scenes, because of the harsh contrasts and absence of fertile aspects, becoming menacing, a kind of 'cosmic' warning when Death is around [---] The dark cluster of images and sounds is indeed present in this most benign of sequences, though relatively reduced in breath and intensity from its powerful representation in most of the rest of the film (Gervais, 1999: 205).

The film, however, reaches its height of darkness in the final images of the "Dance of Death", the third occasion Bergman mentioned as shot in Skåne. The scene shows Death with the scythe leading six of his victims over a darkish hill with powerful cloud formations in the background.



The Seventh Seal: "The Dance of Death".

The scene, of course, has become emblematic of the art of Ingmar Bergman, or even of the art of cinema as a whole; I recently saw a wall painting of this image on a cinema-turned-bookstore in Austin, Texas. This is also an excellent example of the regional aesthetic employed by Bergman in Skåne: the menacing hill constructing the space of tragedy. Bergman's story of its conception is often quoted. Bergman, seeing a suitable cloud in the evening when most actors had gone off to their accommodations, improvised the scene with the help of extras (Bergman, 1994: 235). According to extra Owe Svensson, who took part in the "Dance of Death", the course of events was slightly different, however:

> I had been looking forward to that scene (the dance of death against the background of the sky) the whole summer. Since I'm a historian myself I knew all the symbols and I was particularly interested in the middle ages. I don't know where Bergman intended to shoot the scene; I think he was waiting for the right moment and early one morning when we were close to the Skåne coast to plan another scene, the sky and the light suddenly turned dramatic and Bergman decided to shoot that scene. Some of the actors had partied the night before and Åke Fridell [in the film the blacksmith Plog, my comment] had been drinking and suffered a minor accident, making it impossible for him to walk. And in that scene the intention was for the actors to dance after Death. So when Bergman decided to shoot, Åke excused himself. Then Bergman decided that I should be in the scene instead of Åke. I had to take my clothes off in front of all the people, but I had to obey. Everything was very brisk because Bergman really wanted that scene (Duncan and Wanselius, 2008: 202–203, my translation).

I quote Svensson rather extensively, as he emphasizes the Scanian connection of the shot. In any event, it was the landscape of "Western Sweden" in its Scanian appearance on the Bjäre peninsula that inspired this awesome scene, which according to Melvyn Bragg "reaffirms the black and light contrast" where the "players go off into light [Jof and Mia, my comment]; the others into darkness" (Bragg, 1994: 62–63). Even if Bergman later found an even more dramatic landscape on the island of Fårö, he returned to Hovs hallar to shoot *The Hour of the Wolf* in 1966. Stones, in all shapes and sizes, from mountains to pebbles, were to become one of his artistic trademarks, at least in films depicting the Bergman angst.

Conclusion

It is interesting to conclude that the creative use of rocks, particularly famous in Bergman's Fårö films in the 1960s, had begun already in his 1950s Skåne films. In these, as in the Fårö films – *Persona* (1966) being perhaps the best example of them all – tragedy clearly looms behind and beneath the stones. In the "Western Sweden" landscape of northwestern Skåne, Bergman found a natural expression for the tragic vision of existence that he often advocated, even during a period otherwise characterized by record breaking social progress, particularly in Skåne, with all its highly effective industry and flourishing agriculture. It is particularly interesting that he would dress the hill-top of Kullaberg in such dark clothes. Few other places in Sweden have been so frequently lauded by poets and painters.[2] And on the south side of Kullaberg, lies the small and idyllic town of Mölle. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this was one of the major tourist resorts in Sweden, attracting Germans and Danes in great numbers. Mölle was also the setting of many, many films from the early silent period and afterwards. Bergman, however, chose his cinematic landscape on the northern, more dramatic side of Kullaberg. I have tried to explain why.

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endnotes

1 From what I can see, the scene was definitely shot in the vicinity of Arild. This is also the claim made in Birgitta Steene's reference guide (Steene, 2005: 207). The Ingmar Bergman Foundation website states the same. See http://www.ingmarbergman.se/page.asp?guid=9414C9EB-84BB-4272-BB51-AD89552D88FA (09-06-02). And the the Öresund Film Commission's list of film locations in Skåne also situates *Sawdust and Tinsel* at Arild. See http://www.skane.com/cmarter/cmarter.asp?doc=1916&qid=212327 (09-06-02). In the recently published standard coffee table volume *Regi Ingmar Bergman*, British film journalist Peter Cowie claims that the scene was shot on a beach at Simrishamn in southeastern Skåne; the same thesis is reiterated on the same page by actress Gudrun Brost, who plays Alma in the film (Duncan and Wanzelius, 2008: 152). Theoretically, then, one could have alternated between locations, as the unmistakable images of Kullaberg are still there. Without having to turn to the primary sources, the question, I think, is answered by actress Harriet Andersson, who

stars in *Sawdust and Tinsel.* Asked by journalist Jan Lumholdt whether she was present in the scene with Alma and Frost on the beach at Arild, she recollects: "Yes, one was present all the time.[---] I saw it all and the whole of the fantastic tracking shot. They had built a rail track on the beach, the rough terrain with all its rocks and cliff" (Andersson, 2005: 61).

2 Interestingly, Kullaberg was used as the setting of a thriller television mini-series, *Kullamannen* (1967). Here, however, it was certainly the Bergman code that was employed, with the hill-top rising aggressively in the background.

Fredrik Persson

From Patriotic Jigsaw Puzzling to Regional Rivalry: Images of the Swedish Nation and Its Regions

a common picture of Sweden, in historical writing and popular and cinematic culture alike, is that of a coherent, consensus-orientated society in which history has been running along a calm course. Artistically addressed conflicts are above all, as in Ingmar Bergman's productions, assigned to the individual and private sphere (Lindvall, 2006; Linderborg, 2001; Johansson 2001; Koskinen, 2008).

The lack of culturally and historically articulated conflicts between centre and periphery sustain the image of Sweden as a strong and stable unitary nation-state. The picture is so convincing – there are after all, no Swedish Basque Countries where statues, cars and people are being bombed in the name of historical wrongs – that we tend to forget to ask whether it holds true, how it came into place, and to keep our eyes open for interesting exceptions.

In the early modern era, more specifically in 1658, Skåne was ceded from Denmark to Sweden, as a result of extensive inter-Scandinavian warfare and the following treaty of Roskilde (Sanders, 2008; Frandsen and Johansen, 2003).

Through its historical cultural aftermath, Skåne's transition from Denmark to Sweden offers a possibility to address and examine the relationship between the regional and national level in a modern Swedish context. The centre of attention for this study is a number of Scanian regional organizations, orientated towards identity politics, together with

a few illustrative examples of how the Scanian-Swedish issue has been addressed in popular and audiovisual culture.

The more specific questions that will be discussed are: What has characterized organized Scanian history production in terms of form and content and what significance has this had for identity and ideology alike? In what way did this use of history correspond to the image of Swedish-Scanian relations displayed in popular audiovisual productions? What conclusions about Swedish nationalism, regionalism and their interwoven liaison can be drawn from this?

History, Identity and Film

As a historian today and unlike in the discipline's formative days, it is legitimate to pose questions other than the one about "how it really was". Questions regarding the ideological and existential function of history have vitalized the discipline, and today these issues form a lively field of research within the humanities.

A fruitful way of aligning oneself with these perspectives as well as of viewing history as construction and a constant political resource is to draw theoretical and analytical inspiration from ethnogeographer Anssi Paasi's discussion of the institutionalization of regions, but above all from classic works on nationalism, such as those of Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, and Anthony D. Smith (Paasi, 1986, 1996; Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1992, 1994; Smith, 1986).

Research on nationalism is used here to identify the connection between the past, the present, and the future: a link epitomized by a term crucial to any study of the use of history – *historical consciousness*. Theories on nationalism do also draw attention to the ideological significance of history writing, and the importance of having a firm grasp of the given context, as well as underscoring that the manner in which history is presented to us is the result of an active choice, a perspective that teases out the elements of power and partiality that are present in all historical accounts (Jensen, 1997; Persson, 2008: 14–15).

I would argue that any communicated history that is used as the basis for autonomous identities or political demands has to be understood as an *identity creation drama* – one that converges on a number of given and effective dramatic elements: origin and success, decline and enmity, and future and renewal. The identity creation drama as it is used here amounts to an ideal type in the Weberian sense, a theoretical event with which the material can enter into a dialogue (Persson, 2008: 15–19).

The interest in narrative structures and composition – symbolizing a cultural historical turn – harbours a fruitful rapprochement between History and disciplines like Comparative Literature and Film Studies, that hopefully can help historians overcome their reluctant inability to bring film and images into play as historical sources – pointed out by historian Tommy Gustafsson, among others (Gustafsson, 2006; Hedling, 2002).

Here, turning to such audiovisual materials – not normally used when studying identity political phenomena like regionalism and nationalism and combining them with more traditional written historical sources – is to profit by the potential found in works by historians such as Gustafsson and Ulf Zander (Gustafsson, 2007; Zander, 2006). By employing essential historical methodological tools and focusing on context and change, I wish to underline that the relevance of audiovisual culture lies in the possibility to grasp social settings and historical processes, rather than in its artistic values alone.

Patriotic Jgsaw Puzzling in Covers

As indicated above, Skåne's transition from Denmark to Sweden took place in the early modern era. With *l'ancien régime* and authorities like the church and the monarchy still holding strong, nationalism as we know it today was, together with the nation-state, a phenomenon as unnecessary as it was unknown (Hobsbawm, 1992; Gellner, 1994). *The conglomerate state* was instead the dominating principal in accordance with which European political space was organized: "A state composed of territories standing in different relations to their rulers, a state where the rulers found themselves in different relations to different parts of their domains. [...] A political, judicial and administrative mosaic, rather than a modern unitary state" (Gustafsson, 1998: 189).

With such logic in place, a territory shifting from one state to another was less of an upheaval than it would be today. Skåne's transition from Denmark to Sweden became, in other words, a potential identity political problem first in connection with the formative heydays of modern nationalism. Consequently, the earliest organized initiative to publicly present a specific Scanian history derives from the mid-nineteenth century.

1865 saw the foundation of *De skånska landskapens historiska och arkeologiska förening* (*The County Historical and Archaeological Association of Skåne*). The Association's annual journals published extensively on history, and in considerable detail (Persson, 2008: 32–36). Prompted by the administrative circumstances of the early medieval period, Skåne was construct-

ed as a stable and prosperous entity. Its subsequent surrender by Denmark to Sweden was portrayed, in sharp contrast, as a disastrous episode – and the war that brought it about was seen as the enemy of history itself (Persson, 2008: 37–45).

This brand of history did not constitute a fully-fledged identity creation drama, but for all that, it did not lack ideological meaning. The desire to address Skåne's history in its entirety, while disregarding national history, demonstrates an unmistakably Scandinavian stance that corresponds to the *Scandinavistic* idea of a shared Scandinavian cultural heritage and political cooperation between the Nordic countries. While emphasizing Skåne's Danish history and the importance of reconciliation, the authors dissociated themselves from a conservative and chauvinistic Swedish nationalism (Persson, 2008: 45–48).

This line of action, however, should not be understood as anti-nationalism. Skåne's transition from Denmark to Sweden was after all presented as history running its predetermined course (Persson, 2008: 44–45). I therefore find it more appropriate to label it as an alternative form of nationalism. The Association's activities certainly aimed at carving out Skåne as a unique piece. But once that was done, the county was nonetheless deliberately drawn into what I have chosen to call a *patriotic jigsaw puzzle* (Persson, 2008: 48–51). This patriotic jigsaw puzzling came to be characteristic of Swedish nationalism around the turn of the past century and in the early twentieth century. The folkloristic open air museum Skansen in Stockholm – also discussed elsewhere in this book – illustrates this phenomenon. Since the late nineteenth century, distinctive building structures from various Swedish regions have been gathered at Skansen as a means of promoting a "healthy" nationalistic sentiment (Facos, 1998: 71f; Sörlin, 1998). A parallel focus on culture and nature – rather than on a conservative and militaristic historical narrative – strongly contributed to the establishment of a more popular Swedish nationalism that also the burgeoning labour moment was able to embrace (Persson, 2008: 50–51; Edquist, 2001 Sundin, 1994: 14–18; Edling, 1996).

In 1906/07, Nobel laureate Selma Lagerlöf published one of her most beloved works, *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (*The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*). Writer and philosopher Lars Gustafsson recently described the book's opening scene – in which the young Scanian boy Nils realizes that he has been turned in to a manikin – as a proof of the great artistic craftsmanship that makes Lagerlöf an indispensable part of the world literature (Gustafsson, 2009). However, the aesthetic value of the book is of trifling interest in this context.

Drawing attention to what follows the imaginative and frightening metamorphosis is nonetheless relevant. Nils' new shape and costume enable him to travel with a flock of wild geese across Sweden. With a literally bird's eye view, the young boy and the book's readers get to know the country, its provinces and hard-working inhabitants.

As pointed out by historians Lars Elenius and Nils Kayser Nielsen, Lagerlöf captures Sweden as a local, but still national, place (Elenius, 2002; Nielsen, 2007: 177). Together with the activities of the previously mentioned *De skånska landskapens historiska och arkeologiska förening,* this underlines and strengthens the concept of the patriotic jigsaw puzzle. Expressed differently, around the turn of the past century, the Swedish nation and its regions were interdependently intervened and mutually constructed.

Patriotic Jgsaw Puzzling on the Screen

In the first decades of the twentieth century, *De skånska landskapens historiska och arkeologiska förening* – as a consequence of social change and the professionalization of History as a discipline – grew unable, even unwilling, to hold the field open for any Scanian history intended for general consumption. Instead it was a lone pioneer, David Assarsson, who, as a Catholic and a Scanian, perceived himself very much as an outsider, and who with his intellectual deeds caught the public eye. The history in his book *Det skånska problemet* (*The Scanian Problem*, 1923) was reminiscent of that found in the Association's journals, but it was darker, with greater prominence given to the hostilities between the Scanian *snapphanar* (the guerrilla-like characters who fought for Denmark after the Swedish conquest of Scania in 1658) and a merciless Swedish state. This historical narrative together with contemporary ideological influences like nationalism – that was elevated to a political norm after World War I – and to some extend race formed the basis for Assarsson's political objective to make a strong Scanian entity to be part of both Denmark and Sweden (Persson, 2008: 59–81).

In 1937, the *Sällskapet Skånsk Samling* [*The Scanian Assembly Society*] (SSS) – another regional society – was founded, and Assarsson was no longer a solitary public voice. The SSS took as its organizational models the popular movements of the day, and developed an impressive range of activities, along with strong corporativistic ambitions. The society's political goals – especially expressed in a series of 1950's campaigns – were interwoven with the history expounded upon in its journal. It reacted to what was seen as Swedish *history imperialism*, a conscious and systematic

denial of Scanian history, referring above all to a perceived withholding of regional history in the schools (Persson, 2008: 85–103).

The SSS version of history was, as previous Scanian initiatives, ideologically akin to the Nordic approach, the difference being that Swedish nationalist assertions were questioned primarily on the basis of an equally nationalist Scanian character. In order to restore Skåne's greatness, its history would have to be won back. Nonetheless, Skåne's affiliation with Sweden was emphasized. Such circumspection becomes intelligible in light of the Cold War climate, with its demand for internal consensus in the face of an external menace. Clashes between moderate and radical SSS members in the late 1950s show, however, that not all could bring themselves to acquiesce (Persson, 2008: 103–127).

The more radical SSS phalange set their mark on the history produced in the 1960s and 1970s. Their identity creation drama, albeit a short one, took the shape of images of a Scanian age of greatness, matched by Swedish wrongs in the period of conquest and decline. In misgivings about Swedish supremacy, in criticism of the favouring of large-scale over small-scale government, and in the idea of national liberation, we can see the spirit of 1968 at work. Gone were assertions of Skåne's Swedish affiliation. By comparing Skåne to Schleswig (with its Danish nationalist diasporas under German rule), it was established that the main concerns were now a Danish affiliation, the importance of struggle, and Skåne's character as a national entity with corresponding symbols. The red and yellow of Skåne's flag were very much in evidence (Persson, 2008: 131–154).

To make a long story short, there existed self-proclaimed inheritors of *De skånska landskapens historiska och arkeologiska förening* who saw Scanian culture and history as a separatist argument – rather than a building stone for Swedishness. With reference to the lack of press attention and substantial public and political support, it is reasonable to view the Scanian movement not only as radicalized, but also as marginalized. The adaption of *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* to the screen offers an opportunity to verify that this was the case.

Lagerlöfs' book, originally commissioned by *Sveriges allmänna folkskollärarförening* (*The Swedish Elementary Schoolteacher's Association*) and used as a school textbook, was also a commercial success (Elenius, 2002). Already in 1939 it was made into an animated short directed by Einar Norelius, and, consequently, it was only a matter of time, money and technique before the book was to be produced as a feature film.

In 1962, filmmaker and head of Svensk Filmindustri (Swedish Film Industry) Kenne Fant's screen version *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* opened

in Swedish cinemas. The film principally follows the book. In other words, we are invited to follow Nils and the geese on their journey across Sweden via a series of romantic panoramic air shoots. The Scanian sceneries cement an established image of the region: wide undulating fields, numerous white stone churches, renaissance castles and willow tree avenues.

Thereafter, the film bears away to other well-known and symbolic parts of Sweden: The Hanseatic town of Visby, deep green forests with elks, Stockholm with its royal castle, the folkloristic province of Dalecarlia, the dramatic coast of northern Sweden, the mountains of Lapland with reindeer hordes. On the southbound journey home, Lagerlöf's home province Värmland and the coastal city of Gothenburg pass by.

The film contains several clearly nationally coded scenes: parading ships from the Swedish navy, fluttering blue-yellow flags, and a waving King Gustavus Adolphus VI. The clearest manifestation of Swedishness lies, however, in the deliberate nature-oriented way in which regions are plaited together into a nation: an act of patriotic jigsaw puzzling.

Following scholars like Hedling and Gustafsson, the potential of films as a mean of grasping attitudes and notions in certain historical and social settings rests on an acknowledgment of the medium's pluralism. The production process of a film is, to a much greater extent than the writing of a novel, a collective process, involving a large number of people and perspectives. More important, the film medium is extremely expensive and hence exceedingly sensitive to commercial incentives. The obvious aim to attract as many viewers as possible makes it is difficult for filmmakers to express extreme or marginalized values. Mainstream cinematic culture is therefore, by definition, likely to mirror a broad spectrum of and/or the dominating attitudes in a society at a given time (Gustafsson, 2006: 482–486; Hedling, 2002: 76–77).

A cast list including prodigious names such as Max von Sydow, Jarl Kulle, Christina Scholin and Gösta Ekman, together with the advanced aerial photography, made *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* into a very costly production for its time. Moreover, the film was clearly directed towards a broad family-based audience and additionally received a warm welcome in the press reviews, where several critics stressed the strong and beautiful Swedish imagery (Schild, 1962; Hähnel, 1962; Manns, 1962). Despite the fact that *Dagens Nyheters'* (*Daily News*) legendary editor Olof Lagercrantz proclaimed his divergent position, labelling the film as smeary nationalistic kitsch (Lagercrantz, 1962), the film convincingly makes clear that the reinforcing dialectic between regional particularism and national gathering was very much alive and widely accepted in the Swedish post-war society.

Primetime Regio-Nationalism

As can be seen above, there are good reasons for paying attention to how the relationship between Skåne and Sweden – the region and the nation – has been expressed in more recent popular and cinematic culture.

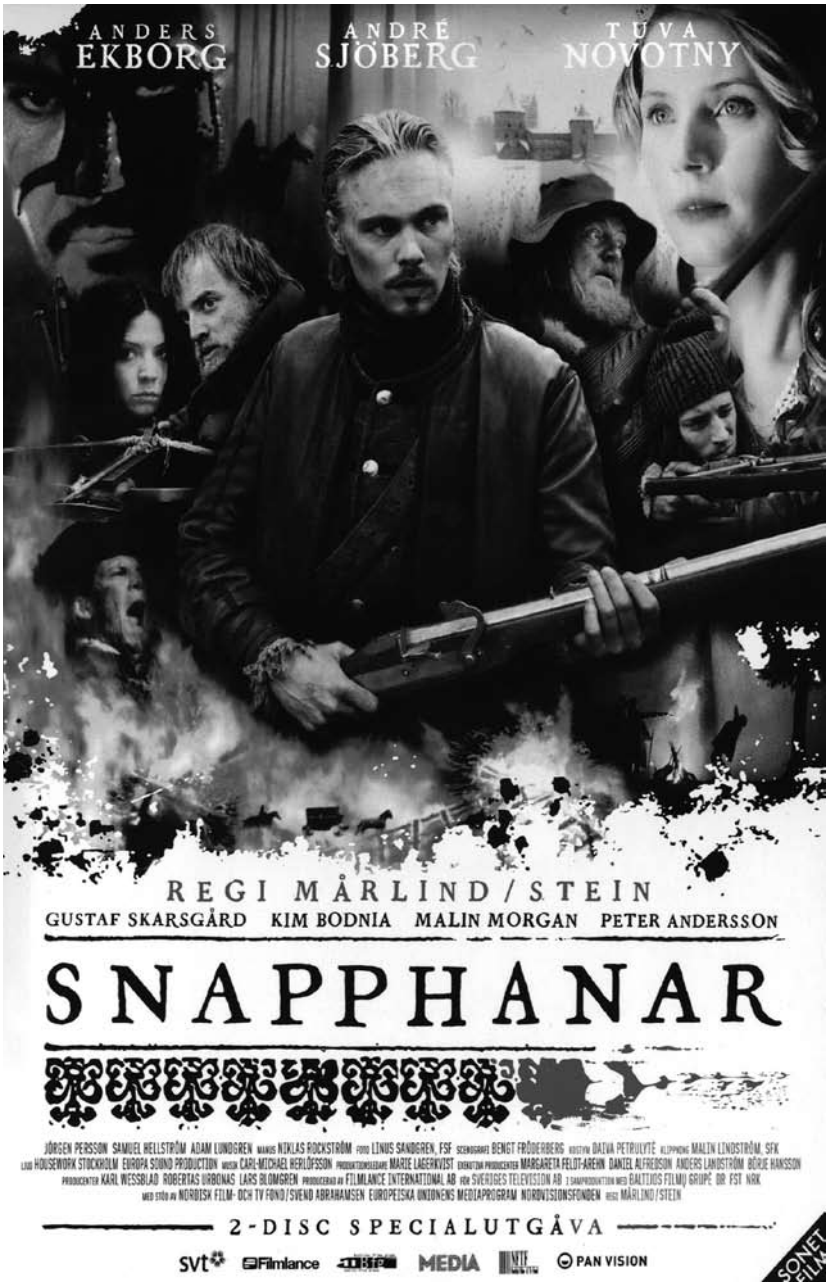
In the past decade, Swedish public service television (SVT) has televised an annual high-budget costume drama in historical settings around the Christmas Holidays. In this popular format the viewers have been able to dive in to the life of the authoritarian and artistically orientated king Gustavus III (regent 1771–1792 and founder of the Swedish Academy) and to follow Swedish special forces operating in the Baltic States during the Cold War, just to mention a few examples.

The 2006 production *Snapphanar* (*Snapphanes*, Mårlind & Stein) was of great Scanian relevance as is dealt with the province's transition from Denmark to Sweden, and more specifically, with the previously mentioned, often highly romanticized guerrillas. To direct this historical drama, the producers chose two young filmmakers, Måns Mårlind and Björn Stein, who had made a name for themselves with the fantasy and adventure film *Storm* (2006). This generic preference left a clear mark on the storytelling and style in *Snapphanes*. In the centre of attention stands the godly young man Nils Geting, who, after his family farm has been burned down by Swedish army forces, joins a group of snapphanar to take his revenge.

What follows is 167 minutes of guerrilla warriors dressed up like role-playing game characters, a devilish Swedish commandant, a beautiful good-hearted virgin, and a brutal demon-like creature on a horse coupled with an upright Swedish king.

The directors' preference for fencing and explosions, at the obvious expense of a coherent story and credible dialogue, did not convince the critics. The questioned artistic value is, however, irrelevant when it comes to using *Snapphanes* as an indicator of attitudes regarding the relationship between Skåne and Sweden in the early twenty-first century. With a budget of 30 million SEK (roughly 3 million Euros), this was one of the most expensive Swedish television productions ever (Leonardz, 2006). Moreover, the fact that it was aired in an absolute primetime slot underlines the film's potential as a source, in accordance with the medium's pluralism, as discussed above.

Despite *Snapphanes*' lack of an unambiguous overriding moral, it is possible to take hold of a number of central messages that appear as strong symbolic scenes – all long, detailed, and accompanied by a gloomy yet dramatic soundtrack. First: The main character finding his murdered brother



The fanciful freedom ¹ghters in Måns Mårlind and Björn Stein's high-budget costume drama Snapphanes (2006), point towards a new and more con° ict-orientated relationship between the regional and national level.

wrapped up in a red and yellow Scanian flag, indicating that he was killed for the sake of his cultural identity. Second: Suggestive images of captured snapphanar being pierced on poles. Third: Ongoing torture in a concentration-like camp draped in Swedish flags. Fourth: Heroically fighting Scanians being sacrificed on the political alter of the great powers.

What becomes visible is a representation in which Skåne, its history and particular character, stands in opposition to and is not a part of Sweden. In a broader sense, we see an altered relationship between the region and the nation. What shine through more specifically are scenes in accordance with the historical narrative that dominates the rhetoric of the radicalized Scanian regional movements, great attention being given to the image of Swedish atrocities and Scanian resistance. This makes it pertinent to once again turn to the general development of the movement and its surrounding society.

As previously stated, seeing and using Skåne's characteristics as a separatist instrument was a marginalized idea up until the 1970s. It principally remained so during the 1980s, despite the fact that the populist *Skånepartiet* (*The Scania Party*) actively used historical rhetoric when obtaining just over seven per cent of the votes in the 1985 election to the Malmö municipal council. The history produced incorporated the themes of Swedish tyranny and Scanian resistance, the identity creation drama, and Sweden's persistent history imperialism came once again under attack. Using historical and legal references to the treaty of Roskilde, the idea of an independent county was conjured up. Scanian self-determination became the way to escape from a repressive Swedish Social Democratic political system. It was by using history that a genuine nation would be carved out, one that was rooted in the Scanian heartland – making use of political scientist Paul Taggart's revealing term (Taggart, 2000: 3, 95–97) – ready to rise against a dishonest establishment. By the same token, the outsiders who wrought such havoc on society could be readily identified and denounced. Xenophobia was married with red-and-yellow flag-waving in the grand nationalistic style. *Skånepartiet* reinforced the idea that Scanian history was one of extremes, but equally well, it imprinted Scanian symbols and expressions on the mind of the public (Persson 2008: 155–174).

This, however, changed in the 1990s, when general European insecurity and Swedish social jitteriness were greeted by a revived interest in history and when Scanian history production found new organizational outlets. *Stiftelsen Skånsk Framtid* (*the Scanian Future Foundation*) (SSF) lobbied at regional, national, and international levels and was an early adopter of online self-promotion. The SSF's website included extensive history pro-

duction, which in terms of content and presentation comprised a pure identity creation drama. With talk of ethnic cleansing, inspired by the resurgent nationalism and subsequent collapse of Yugoslavia, Scanian history writing was further politicized and radicalized (Persson, 2008: 177–194). Interestingly enough, SVT's head of drama used a similar parallel when talking to the press about *Snapphanes* contemporary relevance (Persson, 2006). This brand of history was paired with a clearly articulated vision of the future that laid bare its ideological function: Skåne would attain regional self-determination within the expanding "Europe of the Regions" on historical grounds. Despite the explicit rhetoric and criticism of the nation-state that regionalism necessitated, the history produced was framed by red and yellow concerns (Persson, 2008: 193).

The regional renaissance came into proper political existence just before the turn of the millennium when an experiment with regional self-rule was implemented in Skåne. The laurels of nationalism were now achieved by *Region Skåne* (*Region Scania*), the new administrative and political unit. In launching and legitimising *Region Skåne*, history – reminiscent in both form and content of an identity creation drama – played a crucial role. The image of Sweden was not as brutal or as detailed as that promulgated by the SSF, but with the use of historical examples, it was made clear that Skåne was indeed distinct from Sweden. In order to translate the county's historical achievements into future successes, it was necessary to draw the correct regional and political conclusions (Persson, 2008: 194–202).

This excursion into the history of the Scanian regional movement shows a change in the movement's history production, and a subsequent shift from the political margins to the centre. This ought to be seen in the light of significant political and economic opportunities provided by a European regional renaissance. Scanian history was now produced and distributed in more established and institutionalized forms than ever before. This corresponds to Paasi´s plea for observing regions as "results of a process whereby the interaction between structures of society and actors create regions as a consequence of intentional actions". This is, moreover, a process in which the creation of institutions strengthens and cements the regional symbolic shape that has been carved out – for example with an active use of history (Paasi, 1986).

This new type of Scanian history production, together with the analysis of *Snapphanes,* forms an interwoven confirmation of a new relation between the regional and the national level, where the earlier interdependent and mutual relationship has been replaced by a competing and challenging one: Skåne as an oppressed and obstinate region, Sweden as an oppressive imperialistic state.

To view this new and more conflict-orientated relationship between the region and the nation as a regionalist conceptual and political triumph lies near at hand, but, as been indicated throughout the text, this is far too simple.

The previously mentioned scene in which *Snapphanes's* main character, Nils Geting, finds his dead brother wrapped in the red and yellow Scanian flag is a clear hint about the nationalist spirit that haunts the regionalist challenge and the organized Scanian identity political history production.

Despite the explicit rhetoric and criticism of the nation-state, many of the sharpest devices in the nationalist tool box – such as the constantly flag waving – are present in the activities of the contemporary Scanian regional movement. This, together with a predominating historical narrative in the shape of an identity creation drama, makes the late modern regionalism look like a blue print of classical modern nationalism. I have found it fruitful to understand this form of identity politics using the concept of *regio-nationalism*: The demand for regional self-determination within the framework of (and at the expense of) an existing nation-state, by invoking a community and attendant political unit based on a combination of identity creation drama and ideological history production (Persson, 2008: 214).

Contemporary Nationalism

A shift in the correlation between the national and regional level, as it appears in the Swedish-Scanian case, can be observed in the past good hundred years. A patriotic jigsaw puzzling where the Swedish nation and its regions were interpedently intervened and mutually constructed has been replaced by an order in which regional characteristics are used to challenge the nation-state.

Organizations with different means and aims that, in opposition to Swedishness, underlined Scanian culture and history certainly existed throughout this entire period. Selma Lagerlöf's *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* and Kenne Fant's screen adaption of the book show that, by acknowledging the film medium's pluralism and historical contributions, such radical Scanian expressions remained marginalized through the better part of the twentieth century.

The costly television costume drama *Snapphanes* shows, following the same line of reasoning, that a more conflict-oriented relationship between region and nation had a wider breakthrough first around the turn of the millennium, something that must be seen in light of a general European

regional renaissance and the financial and political incentives belonging to it.

The drama also stands as a clear indicator of the nationalist spirit that haunts so much of the regionalist rhetoric. With this in mind, *Snapphanes* not only bares witness to a new relationship between the Swedish nation and region, but also reminds us of the explosive effect nationalism still has in contemporary popular culture and our societies as such.

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Tina Askanius

Video Activism 2.0: Space, Place and Audiovisual Imagery

this chapter explores the local embeddedness of global activism. From the perspective of contemporary online political activism, the discussion scrutinizes a series of media texts deriving from the European Social Forum 2008 in Malmö disseminated by and circulating in global activist networks. The aim is to illustrate how the audiovisual images of contestation and community distributed online by adherents to a *transnational* social movement resonate in various ways around the specific *locality* of Malmö and more generally Sweden.

Combining a theoretical discussion of the role of virtual space and the local place in global activism with an empirical focus aimed at identifying the audiovisual imageries of public dissent, this chapter addresses the user-generated video productions revolving around a specific protest event in Malmö. The European Social Forum 2008 attracted people from all over the world, who came together in the region of Öresund to take concerted action against what they perceive to be the neo-liberal doctrine in contemporary politics and to put forward an alternative agenda more in tune with issues of global justice, democracy and sustainability.

The empirical data consist primarily of a number of activist videos circulating on YouTube all revolving around the ESF2008 in Malmö in conjunction with a series of news articles and debate chronicles – circulating on alternative media platforms concerning the Scandinavian

governments' and police authorities' handling of public demonstrations and subversive forces. The large-scale event, attracting thousands of people to the region, unavoidably led to divided opinions among the local population. Mainstream media coverage of the forum in Sweden and Scandinavia in general was scarce and by no means dominantly positive towards the event. In many regards, the mainstream media coverage stands, perhaps not surprisingly, in direct opposition to the discursive framing of the event in the media produced by the organizers and participants themselves. In this manner, the counter-debate is also taken into account: integrated into my empirical framework and analytical lens are also editorial letters, anti-ESF Facebook groups as well as news articles critical of the Forum and the larger left-libertarian movement it blends into.

Hence, on a methodological note, a purely text-centric approach is proposed here. As argued by Tom Gunning (2008), however, moving images or any aesthetic object cannot be understood without mediating knowledge of the cultural and historical discourses that surround and penetrate them. Further, the study could no doubt have been nuanced through the use of interviews and similar initiatives. Still, I posit that the texts themselves provide the place where such cultural contexts are actualized and addressed to viewers and readers (Gunning, 2008: 193); the texts thus constitute the key cultural terrain and the starting point of the present inquiry.

In this manner, this contribution to the ongoing debate on mediated political activism seeks to explain how the *local* can be differentiated in the audiovisual representations of the European Social Forum; in the universality of its cause and combatants; and in the competing discourses of political resistance they link up with. Further, taxonomies of counter-culture movements have often been constructed on a dichotomy between *aesthetic movements* and their antipode, *revolutionary movements* (see, e.g., Desmond et al., 2000). In the following, several arguments are proposed concerning why the scrutinized texts should be seen as the footprints of a larger social movement that is essentially just as aesthetic as it is political in nature. Finally, I seek to avoid a dichotomizing discussion of the dynamics and tensions between the global and the local that saturate the texts by introducing the concept of the *translocal* in order to understand the relation between the two and accentuate how anything global is always local and vice versa.

Digital Media and Global Activism

Optimistic rhetoric on the potentials of the Internet as a vehicle for social change and participatory public spaces for political engagement has been prevalent ever since "the coming out party" of the popular use of the World Wide Web in the mid-nineties. Although the overly one-sided celebration of its progressive potentials has been toned down somewhat, new information and communication technologies still hold a privileged position in the literature on social movement organizations and enquiries into their communicative and cultural practices.

From a social movement perspective, media technologies are often said to close the distance between people around the world, ultimately leading to a *democratization of responsibility,* in that the global flow of interconnected communication increases the awareness of citizens across the world; encountering "distant others" is seen as forging tolerance and mutual understanding between strangers. At the same time, ICTs fragment the dimensions of place and time to a certain extent, thereby rendering the exact location in the world and the specific time of one's online engagement of little or no relevance. Illustrative of this process, the different networked sites and platforms used by activist can be considered, albeit virtual, as local *places* of their own that are reachable from anywhere in the world.

These sites constitute a place where you can interact at all hours of the day and night. Anthony Giddens (1990) refers to this process as the time-space distanciation and considers the liberation of space and time as a prerequisite for globalization. He sees globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990: 64). Media and the development of new media technologies such as the Internet have gradually compressed time and space even further. The global activist networks orchestrating shared political efforts in regional contexts online are illustrative of this process of de-territorialization of social relations in terms of their ability to mobilize civic cultures across space and time.

The rather idle prefix "new" is often attached to the study of any one aspect of contemporary information and communication technology concurrently labelled as, e.g., *social media*, *post-broadcast media, participatory media* or *Web 2.0*. This small prefix indicates that something has irrevocably changed in the current media environment, shaping new circuits of production and consumption that are altering existing power

structures in visual media. In the search for an adequate conceptual framework, the media texts stemming from this new media landscape have been designated by such terms as *user-generated, open-source* or *ephemeral*. These designations all emphasize the fleeting, fluctuating and polycentric features of the media texts and in some way or another discursively mark a conversion in the conceptualization of the audience from media consumers to media producers. In the context of online video activism, *ephemeral texts* signify short-form films often no more than a couple of minutes long; these videos both contribute to and challenge the semiotic environment in which they circulate. In this regard, ephemeral texts are texts that exist *beyond and between* the films, television programmes, documentaries, etc., more commonly isolated for analysis.

From the perspective of online political activism, one particularly pertinent aspect of user-generated ephemera is the rapid proliferation of online videos creating new opportunities for user-generated content to reach a broader audience, further enabled by recent phenomena such as YouTube, MySpace, Facebook, Google Video, etc. Within the past couple of years, these social file-sharing communities have been used in the dissemination of politically imbued videos and images and now in some regards serve as part of the coordinative and communicative platform for activists scattered all over the (mostly Western) hemisphere. Every day, huge numbers of unfiltered activist videos such as mobilization videos, live footage of demonstrations and other forms of direct action as well as short-form, semi-professional documentaries are uploaded onto the Web. Some of them end up in rather obscure corners of cyberspace and with only a very limited click-through rate never make it out of the great unknown. Others are watched, reworked, shared, uploaded on new sites and in new personal networks interminably.

In this manner, new social networking and self-publishing phenomena have yet again rekindled the debate on the role of the Internet in shaping public opinion and forging political participation. The flexible, networked and transitory characteristics of contemporary global activism are well supported by the cognate features of today's social media and the nature and life span of ephemeral media texts. The aspirations of Web 2.0 applications lie in their ability to reinforce the propensity for networked protest orchestrated from the online realm.

Further, this growing body of open-publishing software and file-sharing communities, indicates and demonstrates an increasingly *visual turn* in the nature of what material can be found on the Web, forging an increased *visuality and visibility* of political protest culture. The platforms

allow self-made "journalists" or video activists to distribute live footage or their own small-scale film productions rapidly, easily, and cost-free and on many occasions simultaneously with the events they set out to cover and frame. What is at stake here, on a more general level, is an aestheticization of public protest. This emerging audio-visual repository of interconnected narratives stages popular contestation within a coherent framework and constitutes the basis from which collective identity formation is forged among activist scattered around the world.

Global Activism and the Geopolitics of Place and Space

> Geographical experience begins in places, reaches out to others through spaces, and creates landscapes or regions for human existence (Tilly, 1994).

In recent years, we have witnessed a reinvigoration of the much debated and ambiguous dual concept of space and place understood in conjunction with the changing political landscape of an increasingly globally integrated world (see, e.g., Amin, 2004; Escobar, 2001; Massey 2004; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). Theories of global activism often evolve around the binaries of local/global, space/place. However, the globalization matrix with which all aspects of current development and social change seems to be articulated tends to downplay the importance of the local level and the social struggles taking place in a local context. In the traditional conceptualization of the dichotomy of space and place in geopolitics, the local place is often considered a victim of globalization; something that is subjected to the destructive forces of the global capitalist economy (Massey, 2004). This leaves the local sphere with little or no agency. One of the main goals of the larger global movement to which the forum belongs is to re-conquer the *space* lost by democracy to the sphere of finance.

Implicitly, the organizational structure of the Social Forum process tied to a specific locality of cities around the world underpins how this lost space is to be won back by resistance from below, from the local *place*. Ever since the first forum was launched in 2001, the idea behind moving the forum from year to year has been to gain new supporters and raise awareness of the cause in as many corners of the world as possible. Hence, a great deal of agency is assigned to the local. It is, in other words, in the local realm that the foundation for global resistance is to be forged. Consequently, following Massey, a pertinent approach should encourage us to revise the way we think about the binaries of local and global, space

and place and to re-imagine the power differential in these concepts by rethinking local identities as not being subjected to globalization but as being subjected to the *discourse* of globalization and the narratives it dictates. In this regard, I subscribe to Arturo Escobar's (2001) view that the insistent focus in contemporary social theory on concepts such as mobility, de-territorialization, networks, flow, and the abstraction of space brought about by, e.g., digital information and communication technology shouldn't make us lose sight of the continued importance of place-based practices and discourses for the production of cultures.

It is often argued that the contemporary political activism taking place in the online realm is challenging our very understanding of politics and what we have traditionally conceived of as being political in the context of the nation-state or in the framework of supra-national institutions. Following Jenny Pickerill and Paul Chatterton (2006), the kind of political engagement represented by the Social Forum Movement, in an online as well as offline context, is multi-scalar and multifaceted, manifesting itself through global and regional convergences.

For many of the groups involved in the forum, political campaigns are grounded in particular places. (Re)localization is a strong thread and transnational political campaigns "customize" global issues to a distinctively local context. Activities are thus not simply locally bounded and then networked globally, but from the very outset a product of mobile transnational or trans-local geographies of resistance and solidarity. While some scholars are sceptical about the localization strategies of social movements, arguing that local responses are inadequate to challenge globalization (e.g., Bauman, 2002), others celebrate these tactics. One such example is Escobar (2001), who proposes that place-based struggles are multi-scale, network-oriented subaltern strategies of localization. From an anthropological perspective, he underscores the importance of the emplacement of all cultural practices, seeing how culture is always "carried into places by bodies" (Escobar, 2001), and commends social movements for their ability to turn place-based imaginaries into a radical critique of existing power relations.

Images of Contestation and Imageries of Community

The political location that sparks the present enquiry is Malmö, Sweden. A specific location in the regional settings of Öresund – yet in the images under study a globally constructed place.

The European Social Forum, the regional counterpart to the "World

Social Forum", is often presented as an alternative to the World Economic Forum held each year in Davos, Switzerland. According to the "World Social Forum Charter of Principles" (2001), the social forums of the progressive Left serve to counter the agenda of the economic forums with a *counter* forum that is more in keeping with notions of justice, equality and democracy. These annual global, macro-regional and national events function as arenas where organizations, affinity groups and networks – radicals as well as reformists – meet in a "real life" exchange of knowledge, experience and ideas to coordinate their shared strategies and campaigns for an alternative world order. In this sense, the forum is both a physical manifestation of a larger social movement often coined as the alter globalization or global justice movement as well as a symbolic event, which marks the political process of a worldwide popular struggle for social and political change at the grassroots level in civil society.[1]

Hence, the various networks of social forums are best described as more of a social process than a social organization per se, a catalyst for political mobilizations. According to the Charter of Principles, the WSF and its regional and national counterpart do not constitute a body representing global civil society. It is a forum that brings together and interlinks the various organizations and movements of civil society. Rather than a conference, an annual event or a social movement organization as such, the World Social Forum is thus seen to constitute a *political space*; a process involving the convergence of a wide range of networks, movements and organizations including both new horizontal network-based social movements as well as more hierarchical Labour organizations of the traditional Left (Juris, 2005:194).

In September 2008, this ongoing process unfolded in the former Labour stronghold Malmö, in the southern part of Sweden. According to the organizers, the 2008 version of the ESF attracted a total of 12,544 participants, who engaged in political and cultural activities all over the city from 17 to 21 of September. The official ESF demonstration was estimated to have attracted some 15,000 participants (Björk, 2009). In the following, the ESF2008 is approached from a media-centric perspective by looking at some of the web-based activities of the organizing committee as well as central organizations and individual forum participants. The task is to discuss and question whether the act of sharing these visually strong manifestations of solidarity and antagonism in these often pathos-imbued videos are construed as giving rise to a sense of "de-territorialized" responsibility or potentially serve as a launch pad to increase public debate and awareness of global issues.

The Geographies of Responsibility in Online Activism

The videos uploaded onto YouTube concerning the ESF2008 encompass a broad range of modes and styles. While some videos are more or less unedited live footage with little or no added text or audio track, others constitute small-scale documentaries on the forum and the movement in general. Yet another "genre" is made up of the often more professional productions by organizations distributing mobilization videos with a call for action and mobilization in the prelude to the coming event. Videos posted on YouTube are provided with an appurtenant text by the uploader; some examples are: "Thoughts on the upcoming forum in Malmö in September 2008. With views of the People's Park in November, clips from World Social Forum [. . .]" or as yet another goes "[d]uring the European Social Forum days in Malmö, Reclaim The Streets took over a huge street for a few hours, resulting in a violent rush". These info boxes provide basic information on the content of the video, some contextualization and guidelines as to how the video should be understood in broader terms. Another noteworthy feature of the use of the AV repository of YouTube by ESF participants is that people have often constructed their community username in direct connection to their organization affiliations identifying themselves as for e.g. "attacnico" or "carolineamnesty".

A recurring figure in the narratives of the mobilization videos is that of the *world citizen,* continuously addressed and called to man the barricades in alternative media discourse. In the video "Street party September 19 2008!", the attempt to construe the appeal for action around the identity of world citizens is very pronounced (see video 11). This video is illustrative of both a recurrent form of dialectic text/image interaction, as well as of the way in which a collective identity is forged by means of images shaping the actors involved in the process of communication as "citizens of the world" with a political and ethical responsibility to act upon the injustices they are witnessing.

This call for action is produced by ESF2008 action.net – a radical Left network built as an alternative to and independent of the official ESF2008 committee, which they considered to have become de-radicalized and bureaucratized (Björk, 2008). The video augurs a Reclaim the Streets Party on Friday night by stating that "we're going to challenge the power at its core and the entire world is invited!" Images and text offer the spectator an opportunity to join a collective of like-minded and act against the "evildoers" in joint force. The latter are depicted in the form

of powerful politicians, employers as well as representatives of public authority, such as the police. The images of demonstrations and street riots are taken from all over the world, but with an emphasis on images revolving around the Youth House riots in Copenhagen, culminating after the eviction and destruction of an anarchist venue and social centre by the city authorities in Copenhagen the previous year. In this manner, the different political struggles of left-wing activists around Europe are constructed as one. By trying to connect the different protesters and subversive groups visually, the ESF2008 is framed as part of the same, larger "battle field" against an omnipresent neoliberal logic, which merely takes on different shapes and forms in the different local contexts around Europe. The user is provided with guidelines for how to take action online by consulting the ESF2008 action.net and offline by giving concrete directions for where and when to show up physically in Malmö if you are "sick of politicians being miles away" or "sick of being messed around with at work", as two of the calls for action go.

Thus, a recurrent theme in the videos is not only that one has the responsibility to act on political matters affecting one's personal life world, but also that political responsibility *per se* is indifferent to one's geographical coordinates. Doreen Massey (2004) provides a platform from which to explore the geographies of political identity and responsibility and examines how these issues tie to the theoretical dichotomy of place and space. She seeks to counter the traditional pairing of global/local in the meta-narrative, which insists on conceptualizing the local place as the grounded seat of genuine meaning and global space as the abstract outside. Responsibility, within her analytical framework, is relational and thereby depends on a notion of entity (e.g., in the shape an individual or political group) – an entity that is always constructed in relation to others. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, it is a responsibility that implies an extension beyond the immediate or the very local.[2]

For the purpose of understanding these modes of appeal to global citizens put forward in the videos, the notion of "rooted cosmopolitans" is of particular relevance. The designation of rooted cosmopolitans is coined to signify people and groups rooted in specific national contexts but involved in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts. Activists are described as having "multiple belongings" i.e. overlapping memberships linked with polycentric networks and characterized by "flexible identities" spurring inclusiveness and a positive emphasis on diversity (Tarrow and Della Porta, 2005; Fenton, 2008). In this sense, the imagery saturating the media texts under study here seeks to expand our space of

action and open up the notion of political and moral responsibility towards the geographically (and culturally) "distant other". At the centre of attention in these "calls for action" is the agent's ability to act on behalf of the distant other (the stranger without) and to engage politically in an altruistic or ethical way, which extends beyond the immediate local context and the boundaries of the nation state.

In this manner, two social and political agents feature both implicitly and explicitly in the texts, by working on two different levels: in the text and in its semiotic environment. First, on a textual level, the protester in the streets who is "putting his body out there", as portrayed in the video, is manifestly pushed to the fore. Second, operating "outside" of the text itself is the video activist, who is circulating the digital mediation. Even though the video activist is merely redistributing the text, this agent is construed in the appurtenant self-presentation of the user profiles as an equally powerful agent. S/he is seen as a public actor with a responsibility to act politically and ethically when faced with the spectacle of injustice by spreading the calls for mobilization virally in personal networks.

As illustrated above, the moral and ethical dimensions of issue-oriented struggles within new social movements are much more salient, compared to the classical conflicts between labour and capital. The process of political change, as a consequence of this "moral turn", has increasingly become a question of changing the attitudes, values and behaviour of citizens after ideally permeating these issues to enter into the formal political agenda. In the words of Bart Cammaerts (2007), new media technology has the ability to change the hearts and minds of people and thereby engage citizens and mobilize the collective forces required to influence the political agenda and achieve change through the formal juridical and parliamentarian procedures of the representative system (Cammaerts, 2007: 218).

In this way, the general critique of the system inherent in the discourses of resistance saturating the texts synthesizes two basic types of critique against which capitalism has perennially been judged: the social and the artistic critique, which ultimately represent two different time/space responses to achieving social change. Whereas the former draws upon the traditional Marxist claims that capitalism is a source of both poverty and structural inequality, the latter draws on the contention that capitalism is primarily a source of inauthenticity, subtle forms of oppression and false consciousness. This latter form of critique is tied to the practices and tactics of *aesthetic movements*, which privilege space over time, in search-

ing for "timeless and immutable values" (Desmond et al., 2000: 248). Such movements seek to re-appropriate the public space colonized by the logic of commodification and induce a collective display of political concern other than its opponents. The texts show proof of not only attempts to change existing material conditions (as when addressing the concrete working conditions of Swedish workers), but similarly and perhaps more predominantly to change, over time, the general political climate along with the attitudes, values and beliefs of citizens around the world. The Social Forums thus bear the traits of a social movement that is aesthetic in nature rather than essentially revolutionary. By using the potentials of the online realm to create horizontal networks and common venues, adherents and participants challenge the aesthetics of public space rather than the base-superstructure differentiation of society directly.

Tensions between the Global and the Local

In a mobilization video (a term coined to refer to videos distributed *prior* to a direct action event) by a group of Swedish ESF organizers, the narrative weaves together images of an empty "Folkets Park" – the main site of the upcoming forum in Malmö with images from Porto Alegre 2002 – home stay of the second WSF. The dialectical interaction between the images shifting back and forth between the empty "Folkets Park" – traditionally an arena that has played a pivotal role to the Swedish labour movement and the development of the social democratic party in Sweden – and the vivid images of the dancing crowds and street actions in Brazil quite literally inscribe Malmö into the list of places around the





A call for action, "Shape the forum – European Social Forum 2008".

world where key events, demonstrations and forums of the movement have taken place – often articulated as battlefields where decisive battles have been fought.

Seattle, Genoa, Porto Alegre, Prague, Gothenburg, Heiligendamm, etc. – all names of the specific cities around the world that represent "localities" that have come to play a pivotal part in the history of the movement and to some extent have been given a somewhat mythical status in the collective identity of European protest cultures. These are names of cities that resonate in a shared memory of the movement, strike a responsive chord and form part of a common vocabulary among activist. Hence, the ESF in Malmö ties into a succession of place-based events that have come to mark key points in the history of an ongoing political process. But at the same time, the imageries cut across multiple times and places in a relational rather that place-bound way. In this manner, the audiovisual imageries aim to put Malmö on the global map of the global justice movement, so to speak, and Malmö as a location *and* an event is inscribed into the ongoing forum process.

This narrative of Malmö as a site of agency concurrently ties to a more general imagery of a globally integrated world and Sweden's place within this world order. Blond babies holding red versions of EU balloons intertwine with images of indigenous Bolivian children decorated with Swedish flags. One girl with a Bolivian flag on one cheek and a Swedish on the other is depicted in various settings around the city and often in the company of a heterogeneous, colourful crowd of people from all over the world marching the streets of Malmö side by side. In this manner, the texts are saturated with visual imageries of a process of globalization from below; global civil society in joint forces with a sense of belonging based on common values rather than national identities.

The picture painted here, however, is far from unequivocal and all-embracing. By turning our attention away from the user-generated videos themselves and taking a closer look at the immediate semiotic environment of these videos, a different picture emerges and a conflicting narrative becomes evident. The debate taking place around the videos in many ways counters the imageries of solidarity and harmonious heterogeneity dominating the videos produced by forum participants. In these settings, flaming among the debating audiences and a certain degree of linguistic exclusion is taking place, limiting the scope of the debate among global players. In the above, indications of how Malmö is constructed as a global site of action have been presented. All the while, the narrative of global responsibility extending beyond the nation state is omnipresent;

this is often merged with a narrative that revolves around the localized or place-bound struggle and concrete policy making of the local government. Activists airing their discontent with local politicians (often even mentioned by name), working conditions or the general political climate of the region in a certain sense illustrate the lived experience of neoliberalism through the activist operating within the horizons of a closed local context.

> We want to focus on a Malmö of conflict, where union activists are pepper-sprayed by police, where homeless people freeze to death on the streets while politicians pay millions for christmas lights, a Malmö where police force kids up against the wall for hours without reason and then have the nerve to lie about it afterwards. A Malmö where we stand up for one another and realize that only by working together can we ever change society! (Street party 19 September, 2008!, video 11)

Similarly, in yet another video, contestation and the demands for action centre on the specifically local context of the forum:

> They are forgetting one thing. To own the buildings, the workplaces, the streets, the prisons, the schools is not the same as being them! We are these streets, we are the workplaces, we're the schools, the prisons, the buildings! We are Malmö and today we'll show them that the hole fucking city belongs to us. ("Reclaim Malmö", my translation, video 10)

These verbal or written statements within the video and debates that the videos contain or promote are often in Swedish and therefore for obvious reasons the interactions are restricted to the immediate circles of Scandinavians debating with one another. This entails a certain linguistic exclusion, raising questions as to the viability of a functioning transnational public sphere so often envisioned in online debate forums of academic contributions to the area.

Further, these observations remind us that contemporary political activism is not either local or global, but should be understood as facilitated through numerous multi-scalar and networked flows. The different scales are not fixed but should be understood as overlapping and intertwined. Malmö and Sweden are, on the one hand, globally constructed spaces that are incorporated into a series of historical events in a larger global movement. On the other hand, the specific locality, political climate and distinct struggles taking place in the region saturate the overall picture painted by the debate around the videos, not only excluding non-Swedish or

non-Scandinavian actors in the debate, but mainly revolving around essentially esoteric issues of a specifically local character, rather than raising the broad political issues and visions of the forum movement itself.

Truth Telling

In addition to these linguistically determined struggles, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion within the texts are further exemplified by the struggles between the different frames of interpretation and truth claims at play. Today, literally everyone with a camera and an Internet connection can turn attention to events and stories they feel are distorted or simply ignored in mainstream media news coverage. In this regard, online content sharing can be seen to democratize access to information and revoke broadcast media of its monopoly on the ”truth”. Self-proclaimed video activists turn the lens towards things that have traditionally had difficulty finding their way through the agenda setting process, in this manner challenging the power structures in visual media and questioning who decides what images of the world we see and what truths we are presented with. This is particularly true of the proliferation of live footage of public demonstrations into cyberspace, where the handheld camera or mobile phone has become an important political weapon for activists to document, e.g., police brutality or to counterpose the framing of demonstrations as violent venues of aggressive, masked anarchists (the black bloc) when these fractions often comprise only a minority of the demonstrators.

This element of truth telling can be traced in the video productions around the forum in Malmö as well. People contributing to the ongoing debate both in the prelude and aftermath of the forum share their version of just what *really* went down and try to shed new light on, in particular, the Reclaim the Streets party on the Saturday of the forum via, e.g., mobile phone uploads. In this manner, the comment field provides space for people to air their opinions on what *really* happened and to present their versions of “the truth”. When it comes to the presentation of the videos, however, instead of framing the event as violent or peaceful, these moving images with little or no appurtenant text leave the interpretation and judgement of the actions to the viewer. In one case, a video-clip of the so-called black bloc of the demonstration is sarcastically categorized under “Pets and Animals” (video 12), and in yet another a single isolated comment is left in the presentation box saying “This is what your tax money goes to”, clearly seeking to direct the interpretation in a certain direction, though without leaving much of a fingerprint on the raw footage as such.

In this sense, truth is elusive and the arena of constant negotiation and struggle. These issues of truth seeking and truth telling so distinctly permeating the videos and the surrounding debate are intimately linked with the long debated question in visual studies of *truth claims* in the photograph. In this regard, the image or the visual representation has a long-standing status as something seen to have an indexical function and thus as depicting "reality" in a certain sense. Gunning (2004) states that the truth claim relies upon both the indexicality and visual accuracy of the photograph. However, in this so-called digital age dominated by intermediality and intertextuality, media constantly refer to other media, not only in their content, but also in the ways people encounter and use media. In this intertextual media environment, where literally everyone is given the possibility to report on events and become a participatory "journalist", questions are raised of how digitization and remediation challenge, and to some critics' minds undermine, the truth claim in visual representation.

Flaming – Opponents from Within and Outside the Enclaves of the Like-Minded

Within recent years, the mediated spaces of action and debate in political activism have to some extent shifted from taking place in an independent media environment in small-scale alternative media to, as previously noted, increasingly occurring in the context of large corporately owned spaces such as YouTube, MySpace and Facebook. The activist videos circulating in content-sharing communities are in this sense emblematic of a reorganization of political space and mark a shift in the arenas where video and other media texts are circulated and consumed. Moving from the echo chambers of more or less like-minded people to sites of heated debate and dispute in mainstream platforms, opinions tend to collide and tensions to openly occur between people of radically different political and cultural backgrounds.

This very scene is most certainly being played out in the present case. The videos stir up fierce – often extremely polarized – debate among users of the YouTube forum; these debates take place in the commentary fields connected to each video. Supporters of the movement give shoutouts, whereas dissenters use crude language condemning the acts, creating a debate that is moving towards pure flaming or a so-called "flame war", a term used to designate the distinctive online phenomenon of aggressive and often insulting interactions between Internet users. In par-

ticular the issue of violence is continuously raised and heavily debated, often resulting in flaming between the debating users, not only dividing the waters between movement adherents and opponents, but concurrently causing internal conflicts between ESF participants. The demonstrations by "Reclaim the Streets" on the second day of the Forum, which led to a clash between demonstrators and police and caused material damage estimated at around 26,5 million Swedish kronor (Westerberg, 2009), are the subject of fierce disagreement between debaters who do not hesitate to smear each other violently in the chat forum.

> 'By taking over the streets'? Who the FUCK do you think you are? They're OUR fucking streets, NOT yours! People in Malmö don't want you, you fucking middle class whiner. You just want to be the ones DICTATING to the rest of us how we should think. You're no better than the NAZIS you claim to oppose. 'Oppose'? You ARE them! Fuck you and the BMW you drove in on…

And the hostile exchanges between flamers debating in the comment fields attached to each video continue to create a series of isolated statements rather than a constructive discussion.

> It's like a bunch of 5-year-olds in grown up bodies, they don't know what the fuck they're doing, just that they wanna fight and destroy. How about you grow up you fucking wankers, I piss on your cause because it does no good, it only hurts people ("Street party 19 September 2008!", see video 11).

The dominant dispute thus hovers around the issue of violence as a means to obtain political goals and represents not only a conflict between movement opponents and adherents, but should also be understood in terms of an internal dispute between reformist and radicals within the movement. These disputes often deal with the issue of civil disobedience and the use of violence as a political tool to achieve change. Internal disputes between the radical wing of the movements represented by, e.g., the Antifa (Antifascist network) or the so-called Reclaimers (Reclaim the Streets) and the more reformist wing urging peaceful demonstrations thus take up a considerable amount of space in the ongoing debate carried out online.

One person responds in the following way to a video documenting a demonstrator getting a beating by others demonstrators for trying to stop the smashing of bank and shop windows:



Police and protesters clash during a RTS party on the Saturday of the Forum.
"ESF2008 – Reclaim The Streets in Malmö"

> Don't think he deserves it as he's trying to stop the people denigrating what it all stands for! It was a street PARTY where we should demonstrate that parties in the street are possible without anything having to happen and not like what is now reported all over the media. A small group ruins it for everyone else! Is that fair? Now the entire population looks upon the RTS phenomenon (Reclaim The Streets) exactly the way the media wants them to. And especially THE POLICE! ("RTS Malmö SEB 2008", my translation, see video 14).

Tolerance, respect and mutual understanding are, to put it mildly, not a dominant feature of the debate streams connected to each video. In this manner, there is a clear-cut gap between the representations of caring world citizens within the videos, images of streets filled with colourful multiethnic crowds of people in concerted action and the actors debating about the videos. The same cleavage seems to permeate the equivocal narratives of spatiality demonstrated in the above, impeding the clear-cut identification of the geographical scales put into play.

So how should we then understand these seeming contradictions and tensions between the global and local occurring in these conflicting, parallel narratives? Instead of trying to locate the answer within an either/or framework or a dichotomizing debate between the localizing or globalizing dynamics at play here, one might benefit from taking a closer look at the relations found in the levels in between the two unfolding processes.

Translocal Dynamics in the Production of Malmö as A Site of Agency

This relation (of an in-between) is perhaps best captured by Arjun Appadurai's (1995) concept of the *translocal.* The concepts of the translocal and translocalization allow for an understanding of the different in-between levels of local and global dynamics or rather the *interaction* and *reciprocity* between the two dimensions. In other words, the concept helps to account for the localization of the global and the globalization of the local, in this way avoiding a dichotomized discussion. From the vantage point of alternative media studies, Nico Carpentier (2008) argues that alternative voices in society, with the current proliferation of Web 2.0 applications and user-generated content, have a greater chance of transgressing into the (more rigid) mainstream media channels with their participatory and potentially de-territorializing discourses. Because of their rhizomatic nature, combined with their confinement to the local (and often the urban), community media by way of example play key roles in opening up the frontiers between the city and its "outsides", without giving up on their local embeddedness (Carpentier, 2008), a spatial-political component of digital media that he, leaning on the work of Arjun Appadurai (1995), terms as *the translocal*. In this line of argument, the seeming contradictions saturating the debate around the ESF could tentatively be seen as being due to the ability of user-generated content and participatory media to move into the translocal, i.e. back and forth between the global and the local. The concept of translocality allows for theorizing the moments, where the local is effectively expanded by moving into the realm of the outer context, which is traditionally not considered part of the local. And his account of the translocal continues: "It is the moment where the local merges with a part of its outside context, without transforming itself into this context. It is the moment where the local simultaneously incorporates its context and transgresses into it. It is the moment where the local reaches out to a familiar unknown, and fuses it with the known." Contrary to related definitions of "fluid" geographical scales such as that of the glocal with its unavoidable emphasis on the global as a starting point of analysis, the concept of the translocal takes the local as its point of departure, thus rendering it more active.

The videos scrutinized here are all small-scale amateur productions connected to the immediate context of their respective local communities. They not only revolve around Malmö as a locality, but also stem from an

essentially local production context whether uploaded by Swedes, Poles or Danes. A case in point, feeding into the idea of the translocal, is one particular video of a group of Eastern European activists and their road trip through Europe towards Malmö. Images of how they travel along, going through Copenhagen and crossing the Oresund bridge into Sweden, are accompanied by music and their discussions on and expectations of the forum as they move closer to Malmö. These activists on the move are quite literally transgressing the local and moving around in the global. The bus is the local, but it moves through and travels around in the global. This image – or allegory even – of the bus, is in this sense emblematic of how activist discourses are bound to a specific locality, but travel into the global, they move and enter other localities at the same time. In this manner, any global is always local and vice versa, suggesting that the relation should be understood in terms of a two-way traffic between two dimensions that are not easily separated analytically. To be sure, what we're dealing with here is a dialectical interaction – not an either/or.

Some Conclusions

Suggesting an understanding of multi-scalar geographies, which moves beyond simple dichotomies of local–good, global–bad, allows for an examination of contemporary political activism as moments of translocalization and an ongoing two-way and intertwined process between local and global dynamics, between space and place. In arguing that the terrain of social movements offers fertile grounds for illustrating key features of place-based dynamics and processes of translocalization, I depart from a number of activist videos on the European Social Forum in Malmö 2008 and an inquiry into the different discourses stemming from this social movement convergence.

Informed by the concept of geographical scales, I argue that Sweden as a host nation is not the only geographical point of reference within the texts. In the political geography of the European Social Forum 2008, several scales are brought to the fore in an overlapping and intertwining way, integrating the local scale, as well as the Scandinavian, the European and a global scale. These geographical scales merge (but also clash) with images of transnational protest cultures and imageries of political alternatives.

The local has a privileged position in the images of contestation and imageries of community circulating in user-generated videos on the ESF2008, reminding us of the continued importance of place-based struggles and events to the production of global cultures and identities.

The texts constantly move back and forth between global and local vantage points. Hovering between both nationalist and cosmopolitan rhetoric, juggling tolerance, community and pluralism along with hostility and agonistic flaming, the discourses stemming from the ESF2008 leave a conflicting and mosaic impression.

Consequently, contemporary activism is not either local or global, but should be understood as facilitated through numerous multi-scalar and networked flows. The production of Malmö as a site of agency and resistance in these discourses highlights the continued importance of place-based action to the production of global cultures and identities as well as illustrates how media technologies, such as the video sharing site scrutinized here, enable activists to make visible the manifold forms of production of cultures and identities emerging from local communities around the world.

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endnotes

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1 The movement against neoliberal globalization links different transnational protest campaigns and provides a shared master frame and a series of organizational structures (SMOs, NGOs and national associations) that interact periodically in transnational events such as counter-summits, world and macro-regional social forums (Della Porta, 2006).
2 This conceptualization of the notion of responsibility ties to a wider discussion on cosmopolitanism and the far-reaching implications of an increasingly globally interconnected world to issues of morals and ethics in society, raising the question of the need for heightened care for the ‘distant other’ (For an extensive discussion of this subject see, e.g., Appiah, 2006; Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Silverstone, 2006; Benhabib, 2006; Kaldor, 2004; Toulmin, 1990). In this manner, discourses on cosmopolitanism and political geography intersect on issues of the geographies of our political responsibilities and the scope of our space of action.

Ann Steiner

Town Called Malmö: Nostalgia and Urban Anxiety in Literature from the 1990s and 2000s

malmö is the third largest city in Sweden (however, with a population of less than 300,000) and was long seen as an industrial town, divided between rich merchants and a large and poor working class. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the city went through a transition, from being an industrial town of manufacturing to a post-industrial place of leisure and commerce. This process of transformation has been the ambition of the Malmö Municipal Council, and the story is regarded as one of success (Dannestam, 2009: 31). Most inhabitants and local politicians consider the new town to be an attractive place for the future, and the media narrative regarding Malmö is generally characterized by enthusiasm. However, the story has been told in a different manner in much of the literature written in Malmö during the period.

The present article will analyse how changes in the town are described in the fiction of the 1990s and early 2000s. In addition, these works will be read in their historical context. The article will focus both on how the literature represents the town's social development and on the ways in which different texts question and diverge from the public image of the transformation.

The Town

In the 1982 hit "Town Called Malice", by the British band The Jam, the lyrics describe a place of despair and lost hopes, where life is poor and

money, love, and faith have vanished: "Struggle after struggle – year after year". The working class reality of the 1980s in Thatcher's Britain has been depicted in music, film and literature as one of hardship in a time when middle-class conditions were improving. Like many northern English towns, Malmö experienced a recession in the 1980s, with the closing down of factories, emigration of the middle class, and immigration of non-European refugees. In Malmö, the symbolic decline of the large shipyard Kockums meant the beginning of a transformation from an industrial town into something new and different. However, to most people, the development during the 1980s and the 1990s was seen as negative, with large numbers of unemployed, low levels of integration, and general feelings of hopelessness and despair.

The Jam's lead singer/songwriter, Paul Weller (born 1958), was of working class origin, and he came to express the feelings of his generation. He later developed a less rebellious sound, but like many of his generation, he went through a gentrification of lifestyle. This did not mean, however, that his artistic expression no longer included his political beliefs or that he ceased to be loyal with the working classes. The same pattern can be seen in the literature written about Malmö – especially among authors with a working-class background. The gentrification of Malmö is described in 1990s fiction as the loss of the town's soul. These texts also express nostalgia for the working-class dreams of the past. The novels published in the 2000s, however, give us contrary images, and important motifs in the later texts are the conflicting interests between societal groups and between old dreams and new realities.

Malmö has been portrayed in literature before the 1990s, but the interaction with and response to the town's transition provide illuminating insights into how literature can reflect social change. Within the theoretical framework of the sociology of literature, the "mirror theory" basically claims that literature can be analysed and interpreted as a reflection of society. The theory of mirroring should not be misinterpreted as a simplifying gesture of absolute likeness, but rather as a method of comparing literature with changes in a historical and societal context.

The transitional phase of Malmö began in the early 1990s, and the first example of prose fiction is from 1994: A compilation of short stories and works of art depicting the town, *Boken om Malmö* (*The Book about Malmö*, Papageorgiou). The texts are written mostly by men, and they give a distinct impression of the Malmö of the past – an industrial and mercantile town that most of the authors feel a complex reluctance towards. Several of the texts in the anthology describe Malmö as a masculine place for

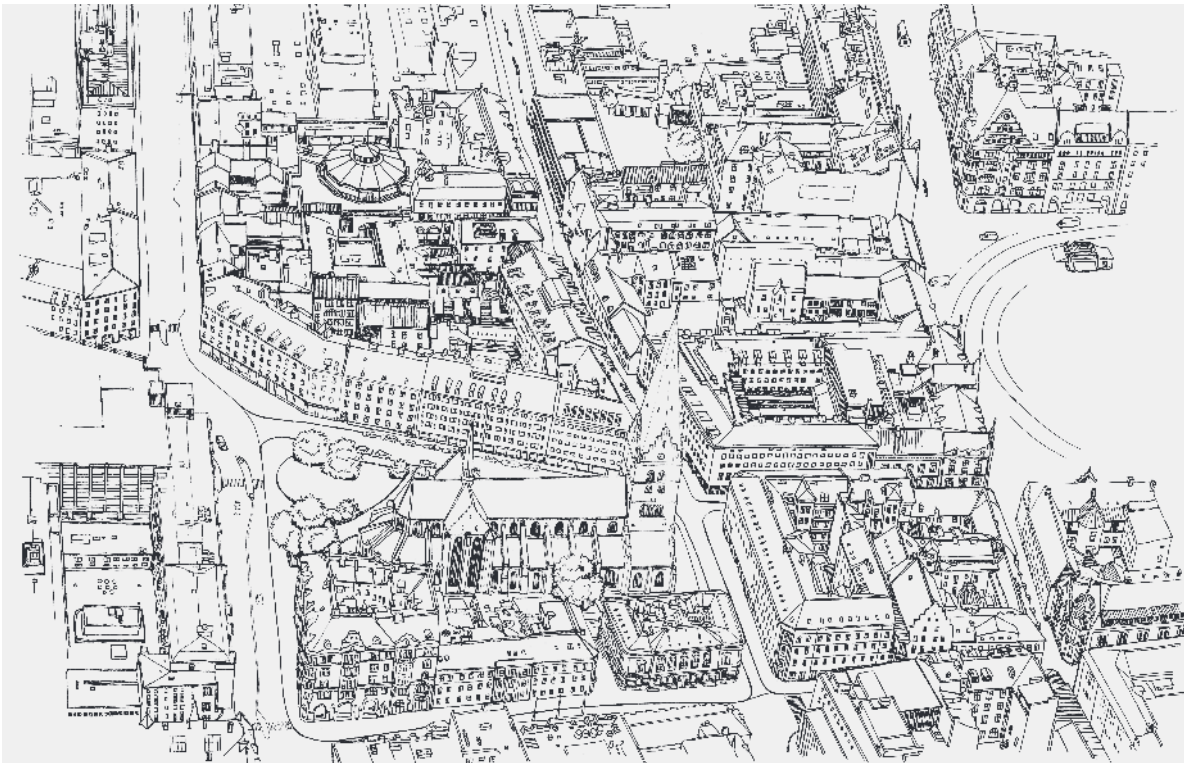
football, male work and male bonding. A similar pattern is visible in three novels published in subsequent years: Björn Ranelid's *Till alla människor på jorden och i himlen* (*To Everyone on Earth and in Heaven*, 1997); Fredrik Ekelund's *Jag vill ha hela världen* (*I Want the Whole World,* 1996) and Torbjörn Flygt's *Underdog* (2001). In these texts, there is little room for women, and almost all the female characters are simplistic and stereotypical in contrast to the complex and intriguing males. The male perspective in Malmö fiction has already been noted by Torbjörn Forslid (2006), but in the novels published after 2001, it appears as though this nostalgia for a male past has been replaced by new kinds of gendered narrative.

The mentioned anthology was an interesting attempt to identify Malmö as a place and a space. The concepts of place and space have been defined variously, depending on the discipline or theoretical tradition in question (Högdahl, 2003: 33–35). In the present article, a place is considered the physically stable and clearly identifiable: the streets, parks, water, buildings, etc. Space is what fills a place; it exists in the gaps and is constantly changing, fleeting, and abstract. A space is filled with meaning through social interaction and is shaped by humans moving in it, using it for all sorts of purposes. The first part of the article will deal with how Malmö, the place, has been defined, both in general discourse and in contemporary fiction. In the second part, I will discuss how fiction uses and interacts with the concept of space in Malmö.

The complex transition process that took place in Malmö, moving it from an industrial to a post-industrial place, was unmistakably linked to its historical past. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Malmö's industrial and mercantile character was one of economic growth. The number of employees rose steadily in industrial manufacturing of textiles, chocolates, stockings, concrete and in the large shipyard. Since the early twentieth century, Malmö has been one of the most important industrial towns in Sweden, and early in the century, 60 per cent of the population were industrial workers (Smitt, 2007: 64).

The development was progressive, and although many inhabitants were still poor, Malmö experienced almost full employment during the expansive post-war years. The workforce had a strong position, and the local Social Democratic party won the elections time after time until 1991. The party ruled the municipal council together with the opposition in a political state of consensus, and Malmö became an ideal example of the Swedish welfare model. The 1950s and 1960s were even called "the record years".

The industries in Malmö peaked in the early 1970s. In 1973, the shipyard Kockums was the fourth largest in the world (Smitt, 2007: 72) – but



Buildings, streets, and squares in a drawing of central Malmö 200□.

the oil crisis changed everything. Despite government support, the industrial climate would never be the same, and in 1986, major parts of the shipyard were closed down. In the 1970s, the large stocking industry in the city also experienced difficulties, and its closure became emblematic of the town's loss of its industrial force.

Malmö's economic contraction was a slow process, and it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that the full effects of the industry closures were visible. The recession hit Malmö harder than any other city in Sweden (Stigendal, 2006: 38), and the unemployment rate rose by ten per cent (Stigendal, 1998: 10). In 1991, further manufacturing industries closed down in Malmö, and in a few months unemployment had doubled (Billing, 2000). During the spring months of 1991, the municipal office experienced a rising sense of panic, but in many ways this was also the beginning of the new Malmö. The changes quickly forced upon the city paved the way for a rapid transition.

Comparisons have been made between Malmö and the British town

of Newcastle (Vall, 2007). Both towns experienced a decline in industry during the 1970s and 1980s, and through a process of transition, both became post-industrial places of living. Both towns were important ports during the nineteenth century, with an emphasis on manufacturing and shipyards. The restructuring of work and social formations caused these industrial and working-class towns to become places for consumption, retail establishments, leisure, and culture. In the new economy, everything was geared towards a middle-class audience with education and money. Malmö and Newcastle experienced economic contraction and unemployment, and they both transitioned into post-industrial life, including shopping, nightlife, cultural events, restaurants and other kinds of entertainment.

In leaving the town's industrial identity behind, many Malmö inhabitants experienced a split in their engagement with the industrial heritage. On the one hand, it is regarded as old, dirty, grey and even stigmatized. In this respect, the industrial Malmö is in opposition to the clean, positive future of the new Malmö, characterized by service, leisure and commerce. On the other hand, there is also a sense of the old buildings as transformed into what ethnologist Robert Willim calls "industrial cool" (2005). And although the concept lacks a deeper understanding of these transformation processes, it is clear that old industrial buildings, such as the chocolate factory and the now dismantled Kockums' crane, have become symbols of the town's proud history. The chocolate factory is now a cultural centre, and on the crane site a university college and various communications businesses are situated.

Malmö's transformation from industry and manufacturing to commerce and communications became particularly visible in new buildings and structures that were symbolic in both their usage and their shape. The physical renewal started with the creation of a university college in 1998, partly hived off from the neighbouring Lund University. This marked a pivotal turn for Malmö as a new centre of learning, communications and culture, which was further enhanced by the 2000 inauguration of the Öresund bridge, spanning across the strait to Copenhagen, an important housing exhibition, Bo01, in 2001, and crowned by the spectacular skyscraper Turning Torso, completed in 2005.

The buildings and landmarks are important in the sense that they are an intrinsic part of Malmö's transformation, and both historical and modern ones are visible in contemporary prose fiction. Places, street names, bars, shops, parks and buildings make up an integrated and important part of the narratives. The use of the street names, etc., in the

texts enhances the realism, and specific places and buildings link the texts to historical times and places. Areas and streets, however, also convey a sense of belonging, perhaps even enhanced by the fact that only locals can easily decode such references.

The Crane

Malmö was long synonymous with the shipyard and manufacturing industries, the key symbol being the great gantry crane at Kockums. The crane was a landmark easily seen from afar, and it characterized the silhouette of Malmö. Although the large crane supplemented a smaller one as late as 1974, it is often associated with the history of industrial Malmö. Naturally, the main reason for this is that the history of the Kockums company is intimately intertwined with the city's development. Founded in 1840, the industry grew slowly but continuously up until 1974. Moreover, Kockums was long the town's largest employer, at times even requiring more workers than could be found. The influx of foreign labour to Kockums from other parts of Europe – such as Italy, Greece and the former Yugoslavia – helped make Malmö a multicultural and ethnically mixed place (Lund, et al., 2007).

The glory days of Kockums and Malmö were the 1950s and 1960s, which is quite evident in a photo collection from 1949–1950 published by Malmö City Museum, *Från Lustgården till Möllevången* (*From Lustgården to Möllevången*, Ranelid, 1999). The pictures are accompanied by texts written by Björn Ranelid, who by this point had described his childhood town in several works of fiction as well as in other contexts. Ranelid is poetic and euphoric in describing the town's soul and says that the parks, the industries, the water and the connections between people are the real Malmö. To Ranelid, Malmö is the entire world. The neighbourhoods are compared with Baghdad, Harlem, or Palermo. Who needs to travel when everything already exists at home? Photographer Gunnar Lundh enhances the feeling of the metropolis in his 1950s images. The girls are smiling on the beach, the squares are lively and the cinemas have twinkling lights, just like in a big city. According to the town's own historical account, this was the best period in Malmö, and the images display a world where everyone belonged and no one seemed to long to be anywhere else.

Similar emotions can be found in Ranelid's novel *To Everyone on Earth and in Heaven*. It tells the story of a young boy and his life in Malmö in 1954. Even though the boy experiences difficulties and has personal misfortunes, the atmosphere of the text is nostalgic – full of hope and a sense



The great gantry crane at Kockums inaugurated in early 1974.
© Kockums mekaniska verkstad/Malmö Stadsarkiv.

of the 1950s as a time of innocence. The boy's street begins in the middle of the town and ends in the countryside; he lives close to the fields and farmlands. Across from the family's apartment building a farmer uses a horse for ploughing. The family's proximity to the old way of life has a tint of beauty but also of difference, because it is a life they no longer have to live. The boy's parents are workers, but still they belong to a generation that can afford to live in a newly built two-bedroom apartment with a kitchen and bathroom (Ranelid, 1997: 37). On Sundays, the family can take a bus to one of the parks. They have soda, cakes, and coffee and wear their Sunday best. In this life, the sun is shining and there are no serious worries (Ranelid, 1997: 53). This working-class town is hard, but always warm and friendly – a place where everybody knows each other. All the details – the smell of chocolate from the factory, the sun in the summers, the yellow fields, even the accidents and other bad incidents – take on a romantic aura.

The Malmö literature published before the 1990s was less nostalgic and inclined to describe a working-class town in which the living conditions were very poor. For example, author Mary Andersson has shown the hardship of the 1930s and 1940s in areas Ranelid remembers as being

idyllic in the 1950s. One reason, of course, is the gradual improvements that took place in working-class conditions during the 1950s. Ranelid's parents benefited from the post-war building projects around the country, which made it possible for many workers to afford better accommodations.

Previous studies of the literary Malmö have discussed the town as an arena of conflicting social classes (Forslid, 2006: 131). The central areas of the town were mixed up until the 1960s; there were industrial buildings, expensive executive villas as well as working-class dwellings. During the 1950s and 1960s, many of the older houses with poor sanitary conditions were torn down to make room for modern office buildings and hygienic, but often brutal modernist, architecture in the city centre and in large suburban areas in the periphery. In the first half of the twentieth century, Sweden had a lower standard of living than did other parts of industrial Europe, particularly in comparison with Germany and Britain (Hirdman, 2000: 93). With the so-called Million Dwelling Programme, the government aimed at creating one million new homes in ten years, 1965–1975. The goal was achieved, and today these apartments make up 25 per cent of Swedish housing (Söderqvist, 1999: 12). The million dwelling areas in Malmö – Rosengård, Lindängen and even the central Lugnet – can be seen as the symbolic beginning of Malmö's decline. However, even though the modern buildings did add to the grimness, the main concern has been with the segregation the new areas brought with them. The effects of the housing-programme on Malmö were more far reaching than on other Swedish towns, owing to a large immigrant population and widening social differences.

In the 1960s, however, the first housing projects were regarded as improvements. Torbjörn Flygt's *Underdog* (2001) takes place in one of the early built estates, Borgmästargården, and there is a nostalgic streak running through the novel. Although the main character Johan's life is difficult – he has a single mother with little money – there is warmth between the family members and among the boys he hangs out with. It is true that there are seedy characters on the edges of the story – potential paedophiles, older boys using drugs and sadistic teachers – but none of them take charge over Johan's life. The mother loves her two children – she works long hours in the manufacturing industry. Still she is never angry, just tired. The only thing that matters is that the children get a proper education and find a way out of poverty. The mother's dream of a life in better economic circumstances is realized through her children, and Johan, like many others in Malmö, climbs the social ladder and joins the

middle class, where he has no lack of funds but an emotional hole inside. At the end of the novel, he hopes his son will be whole, not like his father – who is torn between being a working-class boy and a middle-class man. Perhaps this hope applies to the town itself – a longing for a whole instead of a complex relationship between past and present. *Underdog* reveals the gentrification process the town has undergone, but also how many felt lost in this transition.

Fredrik Ekelund's *I Want the Whole World* (1996) is another example of how both the main character and town have transformed from one thing into another – with pain and at great expense. Football (soccer) is the only thing that keeps the novel's main character sane after a disgraceful fall. He has abandoned an academic career, leaving behind an unfinished dissertation in linguistics, and given up family life in a small seaside town. He picks up his middle-class alcoholic father's habits, finds further release in football. In Malmö, football was the working-class sport above all. The players were the town heroes and, during the 1950s and 1960s, football was an important part of the local identity. The success of MFF (Malmö Fotbollsförening), the local football club, was linked to the success of Malmö as an industrial town. In 1958, a new arena was inaugurated coinciding with the rising economy, and hopes of a better life were intermingled with sports and housing. Football was an intrinsic part of the male working-class networks of the same period, but in the 1970s, interest in the sport declined, which affected social constructions and the sense of belonging (Vall, 2007: 120–124). In Ekelund's novel, football still stands out as one of the few things capable of saving poor, immigrant boys and middle-class, middle-aged men alike.

The three texts by Ranelid, Flygt, and Ekelund provide contrasting images of Malmö's development. What they have in common, however, is their reminiscences about the real Malmö, symbolized by male working-class comradeship and industries such as the Kockums' crane. In 2002, the gantry crane was dismantled and sold to South Korea, and the old Malmö was forever gone.

The Bridge

Malmö was historically a part of Denmark. The water between the different parts of the country united Malmö with Denmark, while the forests and mountains in the north of the county Skåne divided the area from Sweden. The loss of the county to Sweden in the 1658 peace treaty meant that the town's significance changed. Shifting from a position in the cen-



The Bridge across Öresund, from Malmö to Copenhagen, was inaugurated in 2000. Photo: Søren Madsen.

tre of the Danish kingdom to the periphery of Sweden, Malmö saw a long period of decline. The rise of the town as an industrial hub in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reversed the development, and there was a steady rise in the population (Skansjö, 2006: 177, 214–215). Malmö became the centre of the region, even if many politicians and others still felt neglected by Stockholm and expressed resentment over being regarded as the margins of the country, especially after the financial downturn in the 1980s. In the 1990s, politicians on both sides of Öresund began defining the region in new, or rather old, ways. Öresund was described as a defined area and given the visionary name Örestad. For Malmö, this meant placing the town yet again in the centre of an important region, rather than in the periphery of Sweden. As Kristian Lundberg puts it in one of his crime stories: "Copenhagen had finally become the capital of the area and Stockholm appeared more and more as the isolated, smaller provincial village it really was." (Lundberg, 2007: 92)

The transformation of Malmö was generally driven by economic forces, and although several previous attempts had been made to renew the industry, they were not successful. However, in the crisis of the early 1990s, city politicians decided not to try to attract new heavy industry,

but to put the town's recourses into making Malmö a city of commerce and education. For one, the decision process regarding a permanent connection to Denmark was accelerated. The bridge, inaugurated in 2000, became a key symbol of the new Malmö, with links to the continent, and of the new region, Örestad.

In the local politicians' rhetoric, the bridge symbolized hope, a connection to change and an expanding financial and social future. In the local newspapers as well as among most of the inhabitants of Malmö, the bridge was seen as a prospect for the future. However, such positive images of the changes are not apparent in contemporary fiction. On the contrary, the novelties and the social transformations are depicted in terms of urban anxiety. The new Malmö is described as a place of crime and despair. The middle-class town is bleak, desolate and commercial, and the segregated, suburban poor areas are full of immigrants, drugs and social problems.

Fredrik Ekelund describes the nature of the new Malmö in his crime novel *Nina och Sundet* (*Nina and the Sound*, 1999), which is a dark story about a town of violence and hardship. The proximity to social problems existing on the continent and in Copenhagen is exposed as the main threat to middle-class security. The bridge and internationalization are transformed into a nightmare of prostitution, drugs and violent crime. Like in the previously mentioned novels, the text is realistic, and through this narrative style claims to relate the truth and express strong social criticism. There are plenty of bad guys – the investigating journalist, the victims, as well as the perpetrator of several murders. These are all cynically part of the brutality of Malmö's history – a past that is coming back to haunt the present. In the novel, a number of board members of a large company are murdered. In the past, these men had knowingly used dangerous and poisonous substances in manufacturing, causing the death of many people. *Nina and the Sound* reflects both the historical, industrial town and the developing modern, international city.

The positive future the bridge symbolized for politicians and businessmen alike stands in contrast to the negative effects depicted in contemporary fiction – more illegal immigration, drugs, and women being brought from Eastern Europe and forced into prostitution. One of the hardest critics of the new Malmö is Kristian Lundberg. His texts exhibit a hatred of what the town has become. Malmö, according to Lundberg, "is a dump for the new Europe" and "a city that has lost control" (Lundberg, 2005: 39 and 64). Furthermore, "The town breathes horror. It lives in fear" (Lundberg, 2006: 37).

The four crime novels published by Lundberg 2004–2007 show a Malmö characterized by ferocity, isolation, and failed integration. The new slums outside the city are becoming increasingly brutal. All hope is lost, and Malmö has turned into a small town with all the social problems of a big city. However, the nostalgia displayed in the novels from the 1990s is gone, and in the texts from the 2000s, there is no longing for the bygone. The past is just as guilty as the present, and the future has little comfort to offer. Lundberg does not share the enthusiasm of local politicians or the media, rather he argues strongly that the truth and the realities are quite different.

The Tower

As already noted, Malmö's physical transformation process began in the mid-1990s with the town planning of the western areas. Eventually, architect-designed houses were built and inaugurated with a large home exhibition, Bo01 (short for Living2001). The area also included a new town icon; the office and apartment building Turning Torso, a tower nearly 200 metres high. In a very short time, the old industrial area had transformed into a residence for the rich middle class, marking the emergence of the new Malmö. In a book about the building, *Turning Torso* (2005), Björn Ranelid was yet again chosen to give the development its literary depiction. He places the building in a long tradition of architecture and beautiful buildings in Malmö, but Ranelid also compares Malmö with the world's great cities and the architecture with that of Antoni Gaudí in Barcelona, thereby giving Malmö a sense of the world in connection with housing and building developments.

The gentrification of Malmö was in part realized through new houses, but also through old industrial buildings being put to new uses, for example education, culture, and leisure. In this way, it was possible to capitalize on nostalgia for the past, especially a past visible in old buildings. Industry became synonymous with an aesthetic of old Malmö – easy for the inhabitants to distance themselves from and yet love with retro romantic notions of steel, red bricks and functional design. The political visions of the 1990s stipulated cultural branding and the sustainable city, but as reality has shown, the transformation of Malmö was generally based on visions of financial growth and economic expansion (Dannestam, 2009: 123). Even the new housing areas were intended to bring back a middle class that had left the town for suburban townships outside the municipality.



The new icon of Malmö, The Turning Torso, is also the highest tower and skyscraper in Sweden. © HSB Turning Torso. Photo: Pierre Mens.

Today, these new areas are presented on the city's website as the crown of Malmö. The living conditions have improved with regard to housing, possible leisure activities, and jobs, even if the response in literature, music and theatre to these material improvements has been one of anxiety, bewilderment and of feeling lost. This emotional void is illustrated in Amanda Svensson's *Hey Dolly* (2008), a novel less about the physical Malmö and more about the mental state of the town. But coming from one of the youngest authors in Malmö, the novel saliently exposes the feelings among many young people. They are well off materially, but

lacking in emotional satisfaction. The characters suffer from anxiety, hypochondria, neurosis, and anorexia – words that here describe the condition of the middle-class young and urban people in the novel. The main character is unable to love – friends or men – and has a taste for drugs, sex, and fast cars. However, the novel is not a generic popular text about a generation, but a well-formulated account of the difficulties of growing up in Malmö today. Arguably only a few places are mentioned in *Hey Dolly*, but the odd street and park situates the story in Malmö. Although Svensson's motif is general, a significant feature of the novel is the description of a space filled with human emotions and interactions.

The twenty-first century young urban people in Malmö are gentrified cosmopolitans. Belonging to a place gives them a sense of identity, structure and security; on the other hand, this can also provide a sense of entrapment, infringement, and lack of options. In Svensson's fiction, the main character responds to the new Malmö with anxious protest. Her vision of the town is contrasted with the marketing of Malmö, which paints positive pictures of consumption and leisure. The seaside, the shopping centres, the restaurants and coffee houses give the new middle class things to do with all their spare time and extra money. Cosmopolitan consumption practices previously not associated with Malmö prosper, as do visions of culture. In 1990, the local city council identified the arts as one of the strong areas that Malmö could define as unique. Art was described as a valuable future prospect that could provide regeneration in the post-industrial urban experience. As has been seen in other towns worldwide, one important basis for regional growth is cultural capital (Florida, 2002). In Malmö, the art exhibition halls Malmö Konsthall and Rooseum were influential starting points for the cultural experience between 1990 and 1996. These institutions changed how many viewed the arts, and during the following years, art, theatre, music, and literature became an important part of the town's identity.

The arts were connected to the growing middle class and partly replaced the previously dominant football. The sport had been a male working-class game, and the shift towards female middle-class activities is significant. Since the 1980s, the gentrification of Malmö has replaced old traditional values connected to the working man. In industrial society, women and men were spatially separated in the home and workplace (McDowell, 1999), and thus the transformation of Malmö into a mercantile post-industrial place included a mingling of sexes. The loss of the old – lamented by Ranelid, Ekelund and Flygt – included the demise of the male position. According to some, the new man in Malmö has been

feminized, as he might choose to wear a pink shirt and spend his time shopping in the new malls or drinking café lattes in the chic western harbour area.

However, the residents of Malmö hardly consist solely of metrosexual men or culturally active women, and the growth of the middle class has led to increased segregation. The town has always been divided between east and west. The eastern parts were historically poorer, which was emphasized in the 1970s with the building of the housing estate Rosengård, today one of the most problem-ridden parts of the city (Ristalammi, 2003: 81). The attempts in the 1960s and 1970s to improve housing conditions for the working class led to increased segregation. The new slums had, at the time at least, high standards in terms of hot running water, central heating, flushing toilets, and a kitchen, but the social isolation there became more paralysing than it had been in previous dwellings.

In addition to the housing built in areas such as Rosengård, the main factor contributing to the development was the large influx of refugees and other immigrants. Malmö has been subject to immigration before. In the 1870s, the population increased by 50 per cent, but those immigrants came from the surrounding farmland in the region (Ristalammi, 2003: 41). In the 1950s, immigration mainly entailed the influx of foreign labour, which was generally regarded as positive and necessary. But that view changed. Ever since the 1980s, the immigrant population has largely consisted of non-European refugees, and Malmö has accommodated a much larger proportion of immigrants than have other parts of Sweden (Andersson et al., 2007: 14). The consequences have been segregation, xenophobia, a strained municipal economy, and social problems.

Suburban areas, such as Rosengård, have been marked as ethnically different places where Swedes do not live. The increase in the non-Swedish population in the area occurred in the late 1990s, growing from 45 to 80 per cent of inhabitants (Billing, 2000: 18). A social, economic and linguistic polarization exists between different parts of town, and Rosengård has been stigmatized as a failure. In the local daily press, the headlines are often about crimes in Rosengård. If it isn't kids lighting fires that gets press coverage, it is police actions in the area, or stories about cockroaches, abused women, and forced marriages.

The differences between the neighbouring parts of Malmö have created a new kind of urban fear. Concerns about crime, increased social diversity and neighbourhood change have led to a fear of the unknown and foreign. Marjaneh Bakhtiari uses segregation, multiculturalism and isolation as the main motifs in her two novels *Kalla det vad fan du vill* (*Call It*

whatever the Hell you Want, 2005) and *Kan du säga schibbolet?* (*Can You Say Schibbolet?*, 2008). In contrast to both Lundberg and Svensson, her tone is ironic and humorous. Her account of Rosengård paints a multifaceted picture, and her insightful rendering of life among Iranian immigrants is to the point and enlightening.

Bakhtiari uses realistic features in her prose, but is nevertheless playful and experimental. Her perspective as well as narrative style is very different from that of the male Malmö authors. The narrator shifts as does the focalizer. Malmö no longer has only one story to tell, but many. Bakhtiari uses some realistic features in her prose, but only to emphasize the social criticism. In both her novels, she criticizes a lame Swedish society as well as immigrants. This is, however, always done in an affectionate and understanding fashion.

A Space Called Malmö

"Malmö is an allegory" and has to be seen as an image of itself, declared Niclas Qvarnström in his essay *Memento Malmö* (Qvarnström, 2001: 12). Qvarnström reflects on Malmö as a city of death, as alluded to already in the title. The text shows ambivalence towards how the town has been reshaped. He is sarcastic where greed, the rich middle class, commercialism and consumerism are concerned, but Qvarnström also sees hope and love. His apprehensive, yet loving attitude can be seen in most of the Malmö novels published in the years between 1994 and 2008. This is in contrast to Kristian Lundberg, who expresses anger and, at times, even hate.

Malmö as *place* is the streets, the parks, the water, the buildings and everything else tangible and visible. Malmö as *space* is what fills the place – the gap between buildings, the atmosphere in the squares, the angle of the sun on the water and everything else, however elusive, that makes up an urban town. The obvious sense of concrete reality in physical place conceals the illusory transparency of space surrounding the streets and parks. The social and cultural complexity in space cannot easily be defined. And in literature, there is a constant negotiation regarding how this space should be defined. The characterization process is visible in the optimism, in the strong belief in history, and in the nostalgic prose as well as in the research reports that indicate failed integration and in the despair found in the novels by Lundberg and Svensson.

According to French sociologist Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1974), there are a number of different practices at play in the creation of space, but the one common denominator is human interaction.

Space is, he says, produced through human communication. Although Lefebvre rejects literature as a source for defining space, he admits that literary texts provide feelings and descriptions that can evoke the space of a city (Lefebvre, 1974: 14–15). Drawing on his ideas of physical interaction between people as well as intellectual representations of space, we can look at the Malmö literature as part of the creation of a Malmö space. Through literature, in writing and reading the texts, space is communicated and created in the actual representation of the city. A literary guide to Malmö (Holmström, 2005) leads the reader through the harbour, the squares, the parks and the suburbs. In this sense, the physical places simultaneously define the literary space of Malmö. It is as if the local literature were characterized by the physical places.

From Ranelid's 1996 text to Lundberg's 2008 novel, there is a development towards more complicated narration. The uses of realistic techniques are more frequently combined with narrative experiments, giving a sense of a modern intricate town plot. The transformation of Malmö has brought forth new kinds of fiction. But the interplay is double, as the literature published during the period is part of explaining and negotiating what Malmö, the space, is.

The most significant feature of the literature during the period is that it does not mirror the general image of Malmö. Instead, it argues for a different story, often contrary to the official account of developments. The local literature is negotiating its own narrative, one that together with other accounts will make up the space that is Malmö.

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